Franz Lebsanft, Felix Tacke (Eds.)

MANUAL OF STANDARDIZATION IN THE ROMANCE LANGUAGES

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Manual of Standardization in the Romance Languages
MRL 24

Manuals of Romance Linguistics

Manuels de linguistique romane
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Edited by
Günter Holtus and Fernando Sánchez-Miret

Volume 24

Manual of Standardization in the Romance Languages

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DE GRUYTER

Manuals of Romance Linguistics

The new international handbook series *Manuals of Romance Linguistics* (*MRL*) will offer an extensive, systematic and state-of-the-art overview of linguistic research in the entire field of present-day Romance Studies.

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The focus of each volume will be either (1) on one specific language or (2) on one specific research field. Concerning volumes of the first type, each of the Romance languages – including Romance-based creoles – will be discussed in a separate volume. A particularly strong focus will be placed on the smaller languages (*linguae minores*) that other reference works have not treated extensively. *MRL* will comprise volumes on Friulian, Corsican, Galician, among others, as well as a *Manual of Judaeo-Romance Linguistics and Philology*. Volumes of the second type will be devoted to the systematic presentation of all traditional and new fields of Romance Linguistics, with the research methods of Romance Linguistics being discussed in a separate volume. Dynamic new research fields and trends will yet again be of particular interest, because although they have become increasingly important in both research and teaching, older reference works have not dealt with them at all or touched upon them only tangentially. *MRL* will feature volumes dedicated to research fields such as Grammatical Interfaces, Youth Language Research, Urban Varieties, Computational Linguistics, Neurolinguistics, Sign Languages or

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August 2019 — Günter Holtus (Lohra/Göttingen)
Fernando Sánchez-Miret (Salamanca)

Preface

The standardization of Romance languages is a well-established domain in Romance studies. As shown in our detailed introduction ("Romance standardology: roots and traditions"), there is a considerable amount of research on this classical issue, and all the contributors to this manual draw heavily on it. However, this volume strives to do more than just provide an essential update of previous research findings. The first part of the book, dedicated to the theories of linguistic norm, presents, of course, overviews on traditional and proven methodologies, which have constantly enhanced our understanding of standardization. Nonetheless, it also ventures to include more recent approaches to the construction of regulated forms of language that are not easily found in former manuals. In the same manner, the second part on language-specific instruments and reference tools combines articles treating the traditional realm of language codification and modernization (i.e., orthographies, normative dictionaries and grammars). This engaging section encompasses elaborate analysis of the hitherto neglected issue of normative pronunciation (orthoepy) as well as the ever more dynamic field of usage guides (the so-called dictionaries of language difficulties).

From the standpoint of standardization, it is justifiable to distinguish between "major" and "minor" Romance languages. The chapters on Romanian, Italian, French, Catalan, Spanish and Portuguese always follow the same, full-fledged scheme (four articles each); a more concise chapter is dedicated to "minor" Italo-, Gallo- and Ibero-Romance languages not to mention Romance-based Creoles. Even though each language is treated separately, the introductory essay additionally contains a section intended to provide the reader with a comparative approach.

It goes without saying that in order to be useful and easily accessible, a manual needs a coherent structure and an analogous, corresponding treatment of the objects. However, if the reader detects excessive or disturbing heterogeneity in the presentation of (some of) the data, we as editors have failed to convince the contributors of the well-foundedness of our approach. We assume, of course, responsibility for any shortcomings in this respect.

Many esteemed colleagues have contributed to making the idea of a Manual of Standardization in the Romance Languages come true. First of all, we'd like to thank our General Series Editors Günter Holtus and Fernando Sánchez-Miret for their patience and support; of course, a lot of gratitude goes out to the many contributors of this volume – those who have fulfilled the promise of a substantial article and those who have generously helped us out in the case of a few missing articles by assuming that task on short notice. Furthermore, we also wish to thank Steven Dworkin for his advice in the early stages of this volume. We would also like to express our appreciativeness to Brandon Davenport, who has tirelessly improved the style of many manuscripts, as well as to Judith Strunck, Thea Göhring and Judith Harzheim, who rendered their services of laboriously reading and copy-editing the

whole volume. Last but not least, many thanks to the De Gruyter editorial team for their unconditional assistance we received during the long editing process: Ulrike Krauß, Christine Henschel, Gabrielle Cornefert, Anna Hofsäß and Monika Pfleghar.

Bonn, June 2019   Franz Lebsanft and Felix Tacke

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Abbreviations

Cat.	Catalan
CLat.	Classical Latin
Eng.	English
Fr.	French
Frp.	Francoprovençal
Ger.	German
Glc.	Galician
Grk.	Greek
It.	Italian
Lat.	Latin
MGrk.	Modern Greek
Occ.	Occitan
OFr.	Old French
Pt.	Portuguese
R.	Russian
Rom.	Romanian
Sp.	Spanish
VLat.	Vulgar Latin

Introduction

Franz Lebsanft and Felix Tacke

0 Romance Standardology: Roots and Traditions

Abstract: Standardology is the study of linguistic standardization. The purpose of this introduction is twofold: on the one hand, it explains the roots and traditions of this linguistic discipline by exposing the key concepts "standard", "standardization", "pluri-" or "polycentric standard" and "polynomic standard", their origins and the most important contributions to them. On the other hand, it provides a comparative standardology, that is, a comparative overview of the activities of "formal" standardization in the Romance languages by characterizing the main domains of codification, the most important actors and relevant concepts underlying the codification and modernization of Romance standard languages up to the present day.

Keywords: standard, standardization, destandardization, restandardization, language codification, language planning, language cultivation, language modernization, *ausbau* language, pluricentricity, polynomic norm

1 Overview

This Manual is about standardization in the Romance languages. In this introduction we will explain what linguists understand by "standard" (2.1) and "standardization" (2.2) and discuss some models that try to understand how standardization works. We hold that "standard" is the normal – the ordinary, conventional – use of language by the socio-culturally dominant class, i.e. normally the (more or less) well-educated, (upper) middle stratum of a modern, industrial and post-industrial society. The "standard" is also called the "prescriptive norm" or the "exemplary use" of language in the sense that a certain "normal" use receives the status of a privileged, i.e. "normative" form of language use. We understand standardization as the complicated processes that lead to the standard. As we explain, the standard may be the result of long-lasting, informal activities that gradually shape the dominant, prestigious use of language. However, these informal processes are normally accompanied by formal activities that give explicit recognition to the linguistic norm or standard. They include the elaboration not only of systematically designed reference books on orthography and orthoepy, on grammar and vocabulary but also unsystematic though much more accessible, "popular" usage guides that discuss the "difficulties" of the standard.

The focus of this Manual is on formal standardization usually supported in the Romance-speaking countries by state and parastatal institutions, especially lan-

guage academies. Most – not all – Romance languages are spoken in different countries. In the case of French, Italian, Portuguese and Spanish, this is also the result of linguistic "transplantation" by colonization. In all the situations that give rise to plurinational languages, we are facing the diversification of the standard, particularly the development of national (or regional) "variants" of the standard. We address this problem as the "pluricentricity" of the standard and we will describe how this field of research developed (2.3). The description of the formal standardization of each and every Romance language may be called "standardology"; it also lays the foundation for a "comparative standardology", a term coined by Joseph (1987, 13; cf. also Muljačić 1993; Pöll 2001). The exposition of such a comparative standardology, which will complement the language-specific chapters of this Manual, is the object of section 3. Finally, section 4 will provide general information on the structure and the use of this Manual.

2 Concepts and theories

2.1 Standard

2.1.1 Standard and norm in British and North American linguistics

On August 22, 1138, English forces sent by King Stephen I and commanded by William of Aumale and Walter Espec repelled Scottish invaders led by King David I on Cowton Moor in Brompton parish around 2 miles north of the little town Northallerton in Yorkshire. The English had gathered around a "*carroccio*, a cart with a pole carrying northern church banners. At its top was a silver pyx containing the host. This was the Standard" (Bradbury 2005, 152). Therefore, the 1138 clash between the English and the Scottish has since been known as the *Battle of the Standard*. A standard, Bradbury (2005, 278) explains,

> "was an ancient way of marking the leadership of a group. Each standard bore distinguishing marks – images, designs and sometimes text. Standards were used by the Romans and throughout the Middle Ages. A standard provided a signal flag for group manœuvres and a rallying point".

The Romans called the standard *vexillum*; the Medieval Latin writers used the word *standardum* – *Battle of the Standard* corresponds to *bellum standardi* –, a borrowing from Old French *estandart* which again is perhaps of Frankish origin.[1] Even though

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1 FEW 17, 219b ***standhard** 'standfest' = 'steady, stable'. FEW 17, 220a rejects the etymology accepted by OED, s. v. *standard*: Latin *extendĕre* 'to stretch out' + *-ard*.

using a folk etymology, Richard's of Hexham (1884–1889 [1135–1138]) *De gestis Regis Stephani et de bello standardii* (sic) gives a similar explanation:

> "dicitur a stando standardum, quod stetit illic, militie probitas vincere sive mori" (DMLBS online s. v. *standardum, standardus*; "*standard* is said from *to stand*, because there stood the warriors' worth to conquer or to fall").

Whereas continental Old French only uses *estandart* as a military term (TL, vol. 3, 1357–1360), Anglo-Norman French also develops the metaphorical meaning '(of weights etc.) standard' in the 13th century:

> "cum nous eyoms les estaundartz et les essaumplaries de nos poys et de nos mesures baylé a garder a akun de nos ministres [...] BRITT i 190 (= Nichols 1865, 1,189; text from ca. 1292)" (AND online, s. v. *estandard*[1]).

This is also true for Medieval Latin in Britain:

> "**5** standard measure or weight, authorized exemplar of a unit measure or weight. **b** (*~um regis* or sim., w. ref. to official standard measure or weight). **c** (of money). **d** (as adj.) standard" (DMLBS online, s. v. *standardum, standardus* with examples from 1274 to 1534; cf. Du Cange, s. v. 2. *standardum*).

and since the 14th century for Middle English:

> "**(a)** A standard measure of volume; *the kinges ~*, an official standard measure of volume; **(b)** a standard measure of length; also, an authorized exemplar against which to measure a form for tile-making [1st quot.]; *the kinges ~*, an official standard measure of length; **(c)** a standard weight; *the kinges ~*, an official standard weight; **(d)** a rule or main consideration; also, a standard of authority [2nd quot.]; **(e)** *cook.* a main dish in a course of a meal, an entrée" (MED online, s. v.).

The first uses of *standard* in relation to language are found in the 18th century (Joseph 1987, 3s.):

> "'Twas thus they [the Greeks] brought their beautiful and comprehensive Language to a just *Standard* [...] The *Standard* was in the same proportion carry'd into other *Arts*" (Shaftesbury 1711, 138s.).

> "Racine was of another opinion; he no where gives you the phrases of Ronsard: His language is the language of the times, and that of the purest sort; so that his French is reckoned a standard" (Richard West to Thomas Gray, April 4, 1742, in: *The Poems of Mr. Gray. To which are prefixed Memoirs of his Life and Writings by W[illiam] Mason*, York, A. Ward, 1775, 136).

Comparing French and English in the same century, Jonathan Swift (1712, 15; cf. Crowley 1989, 93) imagined an English standard analogous to the French *bon usage* of the 17th century:

"But the *English* tongue is not arrived to such a Degree of Perfection, as to make us apprehend any Thoughts of its Decay; and if it were once refined to a certain Standard, perhaps there might be Ways found out to fix it for ever".[2]

Announcing the imminent publication of Samuel Johnson's dictionary (1755), Lord Chesterfield laments the fact that "we had no lawful standard of our language set up, for those to repair to, who might chuse to speak and write it grammatically and correctly" (Chesterfield 1754, 588) in his famous *Two Letters on fixing a Standard of the English Language*.

However, the OED, which mentions neither Swift nor Chesterfield, assigns (s. v. *standard*, A. I., 12. a) only the meanings 'a definite level of excellence, attainment, wealth, or the like, or a definite degree of any quality, viewed as a prescribed object of endeavour or as the measure of what is adequate for some purpose' to Lord Shaftesbury's text and (s. v. *standard*, A. I., 10. a) 'an authoritative or recognized exemplar of correctness, perfection, or some definite degree of any quality' to Richard West's statement. According to the OED, the figurative use of *standard* (first as an adjective) refers to language with the meaning 'the variety of a spoken or written language of a country or other linguistic area which is generally considered the most correct and acceptable form' only in the 19ᵗʰ century (*standard English*):

> "1836 *Q[uarterly] Rev[iew]* Feb. 356 It is, however, certain that there were in his [sc. Higden's] time, and probably long before, five distinctly marked forms, which may be classed as follows: – 1. Southern or standard English, which in the fourteenth century was perhaps best spoken in Kent and Surrey by the body of the inhabitants [...]" (OED, s. v. *standard*, B. 3. e).

and another nearly hundred years later as a noun ('a standard form of a language': *Received Standard*, *Modified Standard*):

> "1913 *Mod[ern] Lang[uage] Teaching* Dec. 262/2 While within the London sphere of influence [...] Received Standard goes on quite gaily, the London type of Modified Standard has won the day in this area, among those sections of the community who might otherwise speak a Kentish or Surrey type of Modified Standard" (OED, s. v. *standard*, A. 16. d).

The quotation comes from the very influential philologist Henry C. Wyld (1870–1945) who develops an early model of linguistic varieties in British English (Wyld 1913; cf. also Crowley 1989, 174–204):

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2 Cf. also "the *Court* [of Charles II], which used to be the Standard of Propriety and Correctness of Speech" (Swift 1712, 19) and "those books [the *Bible* and the *Common Prayer Book*] [...] have proved a kind of Standard for Language" (Swift 1712, 32).

Tab. 1: Linguistic Varieties (Wyld 1913, 257).

A. Class Dialects		
I. Received Standard		
spoken	a) in towns	Practically uniform all over England.
	b) in the country	
II. Modified Standard		
(Vulgar and Provincial Variants of Standard)		
spoken	chiefly in large towns	Varies from town to town and from class to class. Generally modified by nearest regional dialect.
B. Regional Dialects		
spoken	a) in purely rural areas	Vary from district to district. Often more or less modified by Received Standard.
	b) in country towns	

According to Wyld (1913, 250), the (English) standard is simply "the speech [...] of the higher classes" as

"the product of the Metropolis, modified, to some extent, on the one hand, by the type of English in use in the University city of Oxford, and, on the other, by the East Midland type of Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk".

Some years earlier, Sweet (1908, 7) – to whom Wyld (1913, 253) refers – had formulated more or less the same idea:

"Standard English itself was originally that mixture of the Midland and Southern dialects which was spoken in London during the Middle Ages, just as Standard French is the dialect of that district of which Paris is the centre".

"Standard English, like Standard French, is now a class-dialect more than a local dialect: it is the language of the educated all over Great Britain. But although it has, to a great extent, supplanted the local dialects, it is still liable to be influenced by them; each speaker imports into it something of his own local form of speech, whether it be a rustic dialect or the vulgar cockney of London, Liverpool, or any other large town. The best speakers of Standard English are those whose pronunciation, and language generally, least betray their locality".

It is not our purpose to discuss Wyld's concept of (English) standard any further,[3] which in our time has come under heavy attack from a discourse linguistics (or analytical) perspective, since it purports an alleged intrinsic superiority over other class dialects (cf. Wyld 1934; Crowley 1989, 196–204; Milroy 1999, 31–33; Hackert 2012, 124–126). Notwithstanding the ideological shortcomings of his approach, one

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3 Note, however, that Wyld's "modified standard" corresponds more or less to the actual concept of "regional standard", which has proved particularly fruitful for the description of French (*français régional*) and Italian (*italiano regionale*).

cannot deny the adequacy of the definition of the standard as a prestigious social dialect. Bloomfield (1935 [1933], 48), who is unjustly quite absent in these modern debates because of his rather simplistic identification with anti-prescriptivism (Milroy/Milroy ³1999 [1985], 5s.), insists on the extrinsic properties of the standard:

> "Children who are born into homes of privilege, in the way of wealth, tradition, or education, become native speakers of what is popularly known as 'good' English; the linguists prefers to give it the non-committal name of *standard* English. Less fortunate children become native speakers of 'bad' or 'vulgar' or, as the linguist prefers to call it, *non-standard* English. For instance, *I have none*, *I haven't any*, *I haven't got any* are standard ('good') English, but *I ain't got none* is non-standard ('bad') English".[4]

He also introduces notions opposite to "standard" and at the same time draws a line between "non-standard" and "sub-standard" speech (Bloomfield 1935 [1933], 50), a terminological distinction which has never been respected in later linguistic research:

> "In such [i.e. older-settled] communities the non-standard language can be divided, roughly, to be sure, and without a sharp demarcation, into *sub-standard* speech, intelligible at least, though not uniform, throughout the country, and *local* dialect, which differs from place to place to such an extent that speakers living some distance apart may fail to understand each other".

Bloomfield's use of the words *non-standard* and *sub-standard* belongs to the earliest occurrences of the adjectives (OED, s. v. *nonstandard*, A. 1. b *Linguistics*. 'Containing or designating a feature that is especially associated with uneducated usage'; s. v. *substandard*, 2. Of speech: 'not conforming to standard usage, nonstandard; *spec.* employing forms which are widely used but are considered incorrect'). His discussion of the negation *ain't* as a non-standard form is rather sophisticated. In his view, this topic is not a futile one, although it is often treated in an incompetent way (Bloomfield 1935 [1933], 22):

> "It is part of his [sc. the linguist's] task to find out under what circumstances the speakers label a form in one way or the other, and, in the case of each particular form, why they label it as they do: why, for example, many people say that *ain't* is 'bad' and *am not* is 'good'. This is only one of the problems of linguistics, and since it is not a fundamental one, it can be attacked only after many other things are known. Strangely enough, people without linguistic training devote a great deal of effort to futile discussions of this topic without progressing to the study of language, which alone could give them the key".

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4 Over the years, the form *I ain't got none* has become a shibboleth of Non-Standard English, cf. Trudgill/Hannah (2017 [1982], 1): "Thus: *I haven't got any* is a sentence of Standard English, no matter how it is pronounced, while *I ain't got none* is not a sentence of Standard English, consisting as it does of forms used in many non-standard dialects".

This "key" is delivered, some decades later, by the development of sociolinguistics during the 1960s in Britain and the United States. A focus on the early work of William Labov shows that his concept of standard refers to the "normal" dialect of the (upper) middle class within a certain socio-geographical microcosm (namely, the City of New York). It becomes a "normative", prestigious value – an "exterior standard of correctness" – insofar as the teachers' speech differs from the vernacular of the students (Labov 1964, 88; [2]2006 [1966], 318). The justification underlying the imposition of the teachers' standard (Labov [2]2006 [1966], 333) is that of social success:

> "One of the reasons for the resistance of children to the middle class norms is that their teachers advocate a language, and an attitude towards language, which is quite remote from everyday life. The teacher quoted above told me of her difficulties in explaining to children the importance of pronouncing the word *length* as [lɛŋθ] and not [lɛnθ].
>
>> Some children, you correct them – and they aren't anxious. They say, 'What difference does it make?' And I try to tell them that it does make [a difference]. There might be two people applying for a position, and someone might talk about the length [lɛŋθ] of the room, and someone else about the [lɛnθ] of a dress, and I said the one who spoke correctly, probably, in many instances would get the position".

However, "(in)correctness", with its corollaries of prestige and stigmatization, works as a valid variable of social success only in the case of accepting this value (Labov [2]2006 [1966], 334):

> "An African-American man gave me this view of the pressure exerted against working class children who adopt middle class standards of speech:
>
>> When I was small and going to school, if you talked that way, the kids would kid you, but we had a few kids that would do it, and we always kid them ... There was a girl who was always very proper ... so, she'd always walk up and say, 'Pardon me.' We'd all laugh, we knew it was correct, but we'd still laugh. Today, she end up successful".

This is also true for the famous "deviant case of Nathan B." who refuses to learn "correct" pronunciation (Labov [2]2006 [1966], 160):

> "A professor in the political science department had an informal conversation with him, in which he told Nathan B. that he had a promising future at the university, and that he would be glad to see him continue on the staff. However, he would have to take corrective courses to improve his speech. Nathan B. abruptly refused to do anything of the kind, and the academic world was closed to him. He continues, not unhappily, working in political science, but primarily as a writer and not as a speaker".

To sum up, from a sociolinguistic standpoint the standard is the normal, i.e. the ordinary, conventional, use of language by the socio-culturally dominant class, i.e. normally the (more or less) well-educated, (upper) middle stratum of a modern, industrial and also a post-industrial society. For those who do not belong to this class and want to perform its social and cultural functions in accordance with aspi-

rations of social ascension, any deviance from the normal linguistic (upper) middle class behavior entails social and cultural sanctions. As a consequence, the acquisition of the standard use of language becomes a normative, imperative value, usually disseminated and imposed by school education seen as a guarantee of social mobility and cultural emancipation.

2.1.2 Standard and norm in Romance Linguistics

For anglophone writers and linguists, it has been quite common to speak of the "standard" of a Romance language for a long time. For example, we see that Sweet's reference to Standard English also mentions the "French Standard" (cf. above, 2.1.1). In the same manner, West's letter to Thomas Gray talks about Racine's language as a standard of French theatrical style (cf. above, 2.1.1). Lord Chesterfield (1754, 588; cf. above, 2.1.1) compares Johnson's dictionary not only with the "celebrated dictionaries of the *Florentine* and *French* academies" (Accademia della Crusca 1612; Académie françoise 1694) but also with the first dictionary of the Real Academia Española (1726–1739), "a good one too [...], in six large volumes in folio". Even earlier, Swift raises his complaints (1712, 14s.) about the lack of an English standard in the context of French "perfection". However, it "appears to be declining by the natural Inconstancy of that people and the Affectation of some late Authors to introduce and multiply *Cant* Words", namely Jean de la Bruyère.

This long and well-established terminological tradition has no equal counterpart in Romance languages. The Romance terms – Rom. *limbă standard*, It. *lingua standard*, Fr. *langue standard*, Cat. *llengua estàndard*, Sp. *lengua estándar*, Pt. *língua standard* – are recent "reborrowings" belonging almost exclusively to the discipline of 20th-century linguistics. With reference to language – to the English language –, the word *standard* appears early in the Spanish translation of Bloomfield (1933) – the French and the Italian translations follow in the 1970s (Bloomfield 1970; 1974):

> "Por ejemplo, *I have none, I haven't any, I haven't got any* 'no tengo ninguno o nada', es inglés 'standard' ('bueno'), pero *I ain't got none* es inglés 'no standard' ('malo')" (Bloomfield 1964, 54s.).

> "Par exemple, *I have none, I haven't any, I haven't got any* est de l'anglais standard ('bon' anglais) mais *I ain't got none* est de l'anglais non-standard ('mauvais' anglais)" (Bloomfield 1970, 50).

> "Per esempio, *I have none, I haven't any, I haven't got any* appartengono tutti all'inglese standard ('buono'), ma *I ain't got none* è inglese non standard ('cattivo')" (Bloomfield 1974, 56).

Not by chance, francophone phoneticians working in Canada took up the older British (Jones ⁴1956 [1909]), as well as North American (Lounsbury 1904) tradition and have used the term *standard* for the description of "good" French pronunciation since the 1960s (Léon ²1969 [1966]; Léon 1972; Grundstrom/Léon 1973). In this re-

spect, the first three (out of four) examples given by the TLF, s. v. *standard*[2], reflect the influence of anglophone linguistics:

> "*LING.* [En parlant d'un état de lang., d'une lang.] Qui est le plus couramment employé au sein d'une communauté linguistique, qui correspond à l'usage dominant jugé normal, sans tenir compte des variations géographiques ou sociales. *L'anglais, le français standard; prononciation standard. La langue standard tend à supprimer les écarts en imposant une forme unique entre toutes les formes dialectales*" (*Ling.* 1972).

The definition of the TLF retakes some aspects of contemporary US-American sociolinguistics ("l'usage dominant jugé normal") (cf. above, 2.1.1) but takes it for granted that the standard has already lost its (upper) middle class flavor ("sans tenir compte des variations géographiques ou sociales"). The reference to "normal" use ("couramment employé") gives a hint at the more familiar concepts of *français commun* or *français courant*. The fourth example of the TLF stems from Dubois et al.' (1973) article "standard, standardisé", a dictionary of linguistics, which at that time was a prominent symbol of "modern" linguistics and which has been translated to Italian (Dubois et al. 1979a), Portuguese (Dubois et al. 1978), and Spanish (Dubois et al. 1979b). Although the reception of Labovian sociolinguistics (cf. Schlieben-Lange [3]1991 [1973]) helped to accommodate the term *standard* in European Romance Linguistics in the wake of a variationist approach, the conceptual focus is understandably much more concentrated on the complementary aspects of the terms *non-standard* and *sub-standard* (Rom. *limba non-/sub[-]standard*, It. *lingua non-/sub[-]standard*, Fr. *langue non-standard/substandard*, Cat. *llèngua no-/sub[-]estàndard*, Sp. *lengua no-/subestándar*, Pt. *língua não-/substandard*). This is also true, though to a lesser extent, for Romance linguistics in German-speaking countries (cf. Holtus/Radtke 1986; 1989; 1990).

The terms *standard* and *non-* or *substandard* build a pair of complementary antonyms which recover the totality of diasystematic variation within a language. When *standard* is used in Romance linguistics, it should be highlighted that this use implies *a priori* a descriptive approach; the standard is seen as "just one variety among others". Linguists emphasize the fact that the sociocultural value of the standard stems from extralinguistic, contextual factors. In Romance-speaking countries, these factors normally depend not only on state but also, or even more, on parastatal institutions, especially language academies (see below, section 3.2). In this sense, the prescriptive norm depends on the institutionalization of the standard. In the case of French, the relationship between standard and (prescriptive) norm is excellently explained by the reference grammar Riegel/Pellat/Rioul ([6]2016, 19s.):

> "Le français standard, par exemple, n'est qu'une variété parmi d'autres, mais qui, promue au rang de langue officielle, se trouve strictement normée et contrôlée institutionnellement. Ainsi entendue, la norme du français telle qu'elle est fixée par l'Académie française, enseignée dans les écoles et codifiée dans les manuels didactiques (grammaires et dictionnaires) est un artefact qui ne fait que privilégier un usage identifié, selon les auteurs et pour des raisons histori-

ques, au parler d'une région (à Paris ou au 'jardin de la France' qu'est la Touraine) et des milieux cultivés en général".

With Spanish, the normative reference grammar (NGLE) seems to refer the concept *lengua estándar* to a sort of "general" Spanish used without any diaphasic markedness (on the theoretical relationship between standard languages and diasystematic markedness, cf. Krefeld 2011), as can be deduced from the following series of general oppositions introduced in the introduction:

> "Las construcciones gramaticales poseen forma, sentido e historia; unas son comunes a todos los hispanohablantes y otras están restringidas a una comunidad o a una época. Pero además, las construcciones gramaticales poseen prestigio o carecen de él; se asocian con los discursos formales o con el habla coloquial; corresponden a la lengua oral, a la escrita o son comunes a ambas; forman parte de la lengua estándar o están limitadas a cierto tipo de discursos, sea el científico o el periodístico, sea el lenguaje de los niños o el de los poetas" (NGLE 2009, vol. 1, XLIII).

In other cases, the NGLE opposes *estándar* to other forms of diasystematic, i.e. to diachronic, diastratic and diatopic restriction; see for example comments like the following ones:

> "El empleo de *calor* como femenino no pertenece al español estándar. Se registra sobre todo en la lengua popular del español europeo meridional, en el Río de la Plata y en ciertas regiones del área andina" (NGLE 2009, vol. 1, 113).

> "Un gran número de estos verbos son de uso general en español, pero otros son antiguos, pocos usados o están limitados a determinadas regiones. Así forman parte del español estándar *haraganear, holgazanear, pastorear, vagabundear*; en cambio, están restringidos a la lengua popular o al registro conversacional de ciertos países *compadrear, cobardear, cantinflear, hombrear*" (NGLE 2009, vol. 1, 589).

Generally speaking, these restrictions hint at a lack of prestige so that *estándar* can be interpreted as widely "accepted" uses. Nonetheless, there is only one clear statement which associates the concept "español estándar" with that of "lengua culta":

> "A pesar de que no existe un español estándar único, en el sentido de una sola lengua culta y uniformada que todos los hispanohablantes compartan, el grado de cohesión y homogeneidad del español actual es muy elevado" (NGLE 2009, vol. 1, 8).

Because the careful speech of educated speakers exhibits much less variation than that of other social groups, it is "esta expresión culta formal la que constituye el *español estándar*: la lengua que todos empleamos o aspiramos a emplear, cuando sentimos la necesidad de expresarnos con corrección" (DPD 2005, XIV). Of course, it is the institutionalized and recognized authority of the Spanish academies which "transforms" the standard into a prescriptive norm. The academies, however, maintain the position that the NGLE only describes what the educated strata of the His-

panic societies consider as recommendable in careful speech (NGLE 2009, vol. 1, 8; cf. below, 3.3).

As the two examples from well-known French and Spanish reference grammars show, linguists are aware of the problem of localizing the standard between the two poles of normal and normative appraisal in our days. They try to overcome the distinction between "descriptive" and "normative" grammars (Riegel/Pellat/Rioul ^{6}2016, 24–27; NGLE 2009, vol. 1, 5s.) by integrating normative aspects in their descriptive approach. As a consequence, they make a sharp distinction between judgments of "correctness" and of grammaticality. "Correctness" concerns the sociocultural prestige or stigma of a linguistic form; "grammaticality" its conformity with the structure of the language. It is obvious that these reference grammars have serious reservations about judgments of "(in)correctness", which they only report. On the contrary, judgments of (a)grammaticality are far more important for them since they concern the adequacy of linguistic description. The latter refer to the "vraies [!] fautes contre la langue" and are marked by an asterisk (Riegel/Pellat/Rioul ^{6}2016, 27; cf. also NGLE 2009, vol. 1, 8). Perhaps the Italian reference grammar Renzi/Salvi/Cardinaletti (^{2}2001) gives the best explanation for the different treatment of the two types of judgment:

> "Tra i principi fondamentali della ricerca in grammatica generativa c'è l'idea che la nostra conoscenza dei fenomeni si fa attraverso la distinzione delle frasi dalle non-frasi, cioè di ciò che è *grammaticale* e quindi *accettabile* (che in questo caso vuol sempre dire *grammaticalmente accettabile*), da ciò che non lo è".

> [...]

> "Le forme considerate 'scorrette' dalla sensibilità grammaticale di tutti o di alcuni sono forme effettivamente usate, o altrimenti nessuno penserebbe di giudicarle tali. Queste forme, in quanto esistenti, non potevano non venir registrate in questa grammatica, naturalmente in modo ben distinto da quelle *agrammaticali* (le sole che si fregiano di asterisco)" (Renzi/Salvi/Cardinaletti ^{2}2001, vol. 1, 26, 30).

Renzi/Salvi/Cardinaletti (^{2}2001) describe these forms indicating their diasystematic status – the construction *A me mi piace*, for instance, belongs to the "parlato spontaneo" (^{2}2001, vol. 1, 148) –, the reference to any standard and prescriptive norm remains, however, totally implicit.[5]

2.2 Standardization

According to the OED (s. v.), the deverbal noun *standardization* has been attested since 1896; unfortunately, the OED doesn't permit to reconstruct the use neither of

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5 Although some types of left dislocations are described as "neo-standard"-features (Cerruti/Crocco/Marzo 2017, 10) – a concept that goes back to Berruto (^{2}2012 [1987]) –, this doesn't seem to be the case for the *a me mi piace*-type.

the noun nor the corresponding verb *to standardize*, attested since 1873 (OED, s. v.), in relation to language. Wyld's famous *History of Modern Colloquial English* does not use these words, even though it describes the "emergence" of the modern Standard (Wyld 1920, 5). In our days, of course, the history of English is described as a history of standardization on the basis of Haugen (1966b) and Milroy/Milroy (³1999 [1985]). This is true for the history of English considered as a whole (cf. Bergs/Brinton 2012, chap. VII) but also looked at epoch by epoch (Old English: Kornexl 2012; Middle English: Schaefer 2012; Early Modern English: Moessner 2012; Late Modern English: Auer 2012). The reference to Haugen (1966b) does not imply, by any means, that in the anglophone tradition the emergence of a standard – the standardization – is necessarily seen as the result of deliberate, institutionalized action. Hope (2000, 51) rightly makes this point:

> "[Standardisation] may be much more of a 'natural' linguistic process than has previously been thought. One of the paradoxes of the relationship between standardisation and prescriptivism is that prescriptivism always follows, rather than precedes, standardisation. It is therefore wrong to see prescriptivism as the ideological wing of standardisation: standardisation can be initiated, and can run virtually to completion (as in the case of English in the early seventeenth century), in the absence of prescriptivist comment. In fact, it is arguable that prescriptivism is impossible until standardisation has done most of its work – since it is only in a relatively standardised context that some language users become conscious of, and resistant to, variation".

Hope's observation is in consonance with the belief that the standard is the product of a primarily bottom up-process (standard as the "normal" use of a certain class; cf. above, 2.1.1) which is only secondarily followed by a top-down process of deliberate action (standard as a "normative" value, imposed on other classes by education). In this sense, Stewart (1968 [1962], 534) distinguished between "formal" and "informal" standardization. However, the concept of standardization definitely gained momentum when it was referred to as formal, i.e. intentional, planned interventions on language. In this latter sense, *standardization* refers to the process of consciously conforming language use to a standard (making "is" to "ought") as well as to the codification of the standard. Weinreich (1953) seems to be among the first linguists who handle the concept in this way. One of the main differences between two "languages" in contact, which he studies when discussing the attitudes of French-Schwyzertütsch bilinguals towards interference, is the fact that one is a "standardized" and the other an "unstandardized" language. Standardized languages, he says, are "applicable in all types of formalized communication (governmental activities, literature, radio, schools, etc.)", i.e. they are languages of "unrestricted functions"; on the contrary, unstandardized languages are predominantly spoken languages, characterized by "functional inferiority" (Weinreich 1953, 88). In this context, Weinreich (ibid., 99) proposes the concept of "language loyalty" as "the state of mind in which the language […], as an intact entity, and in contrast to other languages, assumes a high position in a scale of values, a position in need of

being 'defended'". If the language comes under attack, language loyalty "makes the standardized version of the language a symbol and a cause" (ibid.). This is why language loyalty "ordinarily concentrates on the standardization of the language" (ibid., 102). Subsequently, he (ibid., 103) considers the investigation of "standardization programs (vocabulary, syntax, phonics)" and the evaluation of the "effectiveness of standardization". Weinreich (1954, 396 = 1968, 314s.) gives a more systematic description of these insights (cf. Joseph 1987, 14):

> "[…] it is necessary to distinguish between standardized and non-standardized language. This set of terms is proposed to avoid the use of the ambiguous word, 'standard,' which among others has to serve for 'socially acceptable,' 'average,' 'typical,' and so on. On the contrary, STANDARDIZATION could easily be used to denote a process of more or less conscious, planned, and centralized regulation of language. Many European languages have had standardized varieties for centuries; a number of formerly 'colonial' tongues are undergoing the process only now. Not all leveling is equivalent to standardization. In the standardization process, there is a division of functions between regulators and followers, a constitution of more or less clear-cut authorities (academies, ministries of education, *Sprachvereine*, etc.) and of channels of control (schools, special publications, etc.)".

It seems to us quite obvious that Weinreich's reflections on standardization are central to Ferguson's concept of "diglossia", a term modeled after the French *diglossie* (Ferguson 1959, 325; cf. Kremnitz 2004; Kabatek 2016). One of the features that account for the difference between "high" and "low" varieties is standardization (Ferguson 1959, 331s.):

> "In all the defining languages there is a strong tradition of grammatical study of the H form of the language [= high variety]. There are grammars, dictionaries, treatises on pronunciation, style, and so on. There is an established norm for pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary which allows variation only within certain limits. The orthography is well established and has little variation. By contrast, descriptive and normative studies of the L form [= low variety] are either non-existent or relatively recent and slight in quantity. Often they have been carried out first or chiefly by scholars OUTSIDE the speech community and are written in other languages. There is no settled orthography and there is wide variation in pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary".

In the 1950s, a third author discussing standardization in the United States is Paul L. Garvin, who positions himself in the tradition of the Prague theories on "language cultivation" (Czech *jazyková kultura*, from Russian *Культура языка* [*Kul'tura jasyka*] and *Культура речи* [*Kul'tura reči*]).[6] Garvin publishes a Praguean reader (³1964 [1955]) which contains partial English translations of two important theoretical

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6 Cf. Vinokur (1925). We know of only one translation into a western language of Vinokur's contributions to the theory of language cultivation, Vinokur (1975 [1923]). In German, the term *Sprachkultur* has been used at least since the late 1920s; in Yiddish, the term *shprakhkultur* is found in the same period, cf. for example Spivak (1931). Weinreich (1953, 84) glosses the expression "language cultivation" with the German compound.

texts: Havránek (³1964 [1955]) and Mukařovský (³1964 [1955]), originally published in Havránek/Weingart (1932).[7] The editors' original title, *Spisovná čeština a jazyková kultura*, is rendered by "Standard Czech and the Cultivation of Good Language" (Garvin ³1964 [1955], 153), where English *standard* corresponds to Czech *spivosný, -á, -é* 'literary, standard, written'. Garvin/Mathiot (1960; also 1968), in a paper presented at the 5th International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Science in 1956, define the standard as "a codified form of a language, accepted by, and serving as a model to, a larger speech community" (Garvin/Mathiot 1960, 783). The degree of standardization is discussed along three criteria (Garvin/Mathiot 1960, 784; cf. also Garvin 1959):

> "1) the intrinsic properties of a standard language, 2) the functions of a standard language within the culture of a speech community, and 3) the attitudes of the speech community towards the standard language".

Intrinsically, the standard is characterized by "flexible stability" (Mathesius 1932) and "intellectualization" (Havránek ³1964 [1955]); it develops the "unifying", the "separatist", the "prestige" as well as the "frame-of-reference function". Whereas the first three functions do not need any further explanation, the fourth means that the standard serves "as a frame of reference for correction and for the perception and evaluation of poetic speech". Finally, attitudes are linked to functions, language loyalty (cf. Weinreich 1953, 99) to the unifying and the separatist functions, language pride to the prestige function and awareness of the norm to the frame-of-reference function (Garvin/Mathiot 1960, 784–789). Generally speaking, standardization refers to "continuous, sliding-scale features rather than discrete, yes-no features" (Garvin 1959, 30).

At the 1958 Meetings of the American Anthropological Association – the same meetings where Garvin discusses "the standard language problem" (Garvin 1959) – Einar Haugen presents a paper on "Planning for a Standard Language in Modern Norway" in which he launches the term "language planning", previously used by Weinreich (cf. Haugen 1966a, 355):

> "By language planning I understand the activity of preparing a normative orthography, grammar, and dictionary for the guidance of writers and speakers in a non-homogeneous speech community. In this practical application of linguistic knowledge we are proceeding beyond descriptive linguistics into an area where judgment must be exercised in the form of choices among available linguistic forms. Planning implies an attempt to guide the development of a language in a direction desired by the planners. It means not only predicting the future on the basis of available knowledge concerning the past, but a deliberate effort to influence it. In most countries such planning has been distributed over a long period and among many individuals, with little conscious direction. It has usually taken place at a period when the number of writers was small and standards of conformity not rigid. It has been shaped by the speech

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7 In parallel to Garvin, see also Vachek (1964; 1966).

habits of a social élite which was also a governing class and automatically established its own patterns as normative for the whole nation. The resulting 'standard' language has had two mutually supporting aspects, on the one hand a generally accepted orthography, and on the other a prestige dialect imitated by the socially ambitious" (Haugen 1959, 8).

This is more or less what Ferguson, Garvin and Weinreich called "language standardization". However, Haugen's well-known case study – "the case of modern Norwegian" – shifts the focus from planning "with little conscious direction" to systematic planning according to political intentions and programs, with examples from 19th- and 20th-century nation building in Europe and elsewhere. Haugen (1966a, 2) admits that the

"ideas and motivations underlying a program of language planning are so remote from the experience of educated Americans or Englishmen that they may find it difficult even to understand them. In our ever-shrinking world the notion that a national language is something worth working at and struggling for may seem merely a piece of inscrutable mysticism".

The discussion of the planning process leads to a cross-classification (Haugen 1966a, 17s.) that is not presented as such but can be deduced from the text:[8]

Tab. 2: Haugen: Language planning process, first model.

	form (linguistic structure)	function (variety of uses of the linguistic structure)
initiation (proposals)	(1) selection of (a) norm	(3) elaboration of function
implementation	(2) codification of form	(4) acceptance by the community

Whereas the dimension "form vs. function" is quite clear, the dimension "initiation vs. implementation" is less convincing. If "implementation" means "decisions [...] implemented by some kind of social institutions" (cf. Haugen's text in fn. 12), then the implementation of form cannot be represented by "codification". In a more general discussion, Haugen (1966b) relabels the planning process as "language development", leading "from 'dialect' to 'language', from vernacular to standard". It uses the same elements as in Haugen (1966a) but rearranges them according to the opposition "society" vs. "language", replacing "initiation" vs. "implementation" (Haugen 1966b, 933):

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8 The text reads as follows: "Most of the problems faced may be distinguished into problems of form or function: by the former we mean the linguistic structure in all its ramifications, by the latter the variety of uses to which that structure is put. In any movement for change one may distinguish initiation from implementation: proposals are made, initiatives are taken, but decisions, whether conscious or unconscious, have to be implemented by some kind of social institutions" (Haugen 1966a, 17s.). Subsequently, Haugen (1966a, 18–26) elaborates on the four aspects.

Tab. 3: Haugen: Language planning process, second model.

	form (linguistic structure)	function (variety of uses of the linguistic structure)
society	(1) selection (of norm)	(3) acceptance (by the community)
language	(2) codification (of form)	(4) elaboration (of function)

A third, "revised" model is first proposed in Haugen (1983, 275) and then in Haugen (1987, 627):

Tab. 4: Haugen: Language planning process, third ("revised") model.

	form (policy planning)	function (cultivation)

society (status planning)	(1) selection (decision procedures)
	  (a) identification of problem
	  (b) allocation of norms
		(3) implementation (educational spread)
		  (a) correction procedures
		  (b) feedback and evaluation

language (corpus planning)	(2) codification (standardization procedures)
	  (a) graphization
	  (b) grammatication
	  (c) lexication
		(4) elaboration (functional development)
		  (a) terminological modernization
		  (b) stylistic development

The reinterpretation of the dimension "society vs. language" as "status planning vs. corpus planning" introduces the two famous concepts proposed by Heinz Kloss (1969).[9] We cite his definitions at length:

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9 Kloss (1952) attracted the interest of North American linguists from the early 1950s on, cf. the review by Birnbaum (1954). Cf. also Weinreich (1953, 102, 108), Ferguson (1959, 325) and Haugen (1966b, 930). Birnbaum (1954, 285) observes that Kloss "advocates a scheme of research that has nothing [!] to do with the German 'cultural propaganda' and 'language politics', which were the basis of a similar program advocated by him in pre-war years". Kloss uses the concept "Abstand" not only with reference to linguistic but also to ethnic features and behavior, cf. Kloss (1942, 23). Kloss's strong commitment to Nazi racist ideology was known in the United States at least since the end of World War II, cf. *Hitler's Professors*, published by Uriel Weinreich's father Max Weinreich in 1946; (Max) Weinreich (1999 [1946], 175s.) mentions "Dr. Heinz Kloss" among the "extremely able group of scholars with the Deutsches Auslandsinstitut" who were "specialized in German minority rights abroad and, since the advent of Hitler, as a matter of course justified each of his territorial demands and acquisitions". On the (dark) "shadow" that Kloss's activities during the Nazi regime cast over his post-war success, see also Smith (1965) and Weiser (2016, LIII) with more recent bibliography.

"Planning with regard to languages is usually understood to mean that some agency, person, or persons are trying to change the shape or the corpus of a language by proposing or prescribing the introduction of new technical terms, changes in spelling, or the adoption of a new script. Occasionally (as in the case of Norwegian Bokmål) even changes in morphology may be initiated, new endings prescribed and a new gender admitted. These innovations have one thing in common, that they modify the nature of the language itself, changing its corpus as it were. We may thus speak of language corpus planning.

There exists, however, another dimension of planning where one busies oneself not with the structure and form of language but with its standing alongside other languages or vis-a-vis a national government. Those concerned with this type of language planning take the corpus of the language for granted, at least for the time being. They are primarily interested in the status of the language whether it is satisfactory as it is or whether it should be lowered or raised. Here we can speak of language status planning" (Kloss 1969, 81).

The explanation of the form-function dimension by "policy planning vs. (language) cultivation" reactivates the Praguean term *jazyková kultura*. Whereas Mathesius' "flexible stability" corresponds to "codification", Havránek's "intellectualization" may be linked to "elaboration". However, Haugen (1983, 273) takes elaboration as "an equivalent of Kloss's German *Ausbau*" (cf. Kloss 1952, 15–37), whose international career begins with Kloss (1967, 29):

"The term Abstandsprache is paraphrased best as 'language by distance', the reference being of course not to geographical but to intrinsic distance. The term Ausbausprache may be defined as 'language by development'. Languages belonging in this category are recognized as such because of having been shaped or reshaped, molded or remolded – as the case may be – in order to become a standardized tool of literary expression. We might say that an Ausbausprache is called a language by virtue of its having been reshaped, i.e., by virtue of its 'reshapedness' if there were such a word. Terms such as reshaping or remolding or elaboration, by focusing on deliberate language planning, help us to avoid a misunderstanding that the term development might lead to, namely that 'Ausbau' might come about by that slow, almost imperceptible and quite uncontrolled growth which we are wont to call natural".

According to Omdal (2008, 2386), Haugen's third model, the result of broader forgoing discussions (cf. Rubin/Shuy 1973; Fishman 1974), "still seems to function as an overall model of the L(anguage) P(lanning) process" (cf. its recent discussion in Ayres-Bennett 2019 and del Valle 2019).

It is well known that early US contributions to the theory and practice of language standardization by Ferguson, Garvin and Haugen occasionally refer to Romance languages. It is even true that the basis of Weinreich (1953), his doctoral dissertation *Research Problems in Bilingualism with Special Reference to Switzerland* (1952, first published, 1975; new edition 2011), contains a thorough case study which analyzes "the Romansh language movement in Central Grisons" (Weinreich 2011 [1952], 269–300). Using Haugen's later concepts, we can effectively say that Weinreich starts with the "identification of a problem" ("Realization of the danger", Weinreich 2011 [1952], 269), goes on with "codification" ("Standardization of the Sutsilvan dialects": orthography, grammar, vocabulary, Weinreich 2011 [1952], 271ss.) and finally describes "implementation" ("Putting the standardized language

to use": literature, church, press, theater, radio, and administration; Weinreich 2011 [1952], 279ss.). However, it seems that Weinreich's study on Romansh was not used in later works on the standardization of Romansh.

From the very beginning of research on diglossia and bilingualism, scholars specialized in the study and promotion of the standardization of "minor" Romance languages are stimulated by Ferguson's (1959) and Fishman's (1967) concepts, in combination with Kloss's "roofing variety" (German *Dachsprache*, first mentioned in Kloss 1952, 15, elaborated in ²1978, 23–63). Especially in Catalonia and Galicia, but also in France, successful (and also unsuccessful) processes of standardization – "normativization" as an element of "normalization" (Aracil 1976 [1965]; Vallverdú 1979) – are described as the emancipation of dominated, "low" or "roofed" varieties (Kremnitz 1981; cf. Ammon 2004, 279–281). This is also the case for the even more complex situation of French in Canada, where French varieties have to be situated in relation to the English and metropolitan French standards (Chantefort 1976). At that time, Haugen (1983) and Bédard/Maurais (1983) – from the Quebec Conseil (supérieur) de la langue française – focused on Praguean theories. In their volume, Bédard/Maurais (1983) include not only an overview presented by Garvin (1983) but also translations (Havránek 1983; Mathesius 1983) from Havránek/Weingart (1932). In the same volume, we find a contribution on language planning by Fishman (1983) without any explicit reference to Haugen or Kloss (Kloss 1969 was published in Canada!), although some of their concepts are definitely used. The Quebec translators do not completely eliminate the borrowing *planification*. However, they obviously prefer the calque *aménagement* (Fishman 1983, 385):

> "Pour la génération qui a 'rompu avec les traditions', l'aménagement linguistique constitue toujours une planification du statut de la langue, même si, à ce chapitre, elle a été pleinement victorieuse. Chaque corpus dont la planification est 'réalisée' (qu'il soit grammatical, lexical, orthographique ou orthoépique) se voit immédiatement réinterprété en fonction de son impact sur le statut".

In the same vein, they prefer *normalisation* to *standardisation*, which is used only once (Fishman 1983, 383). At the same time, Hagège (1983, 13) speaks of a "synonymie de principe entre les notions de standardisation et de normalisation".

Although predominately directed to actual and future linguistic problems, Haugen's heuristic tool for the analysis of language planning processes has also (cf. above, 2.2) been applied retrospectively as we have already seen in the case of English, i.e. to the history of the standardization of the "major" Romance languages, where, as Haugen (1959, 9) states, "such planning has been distributed over a long period and among many individuals" (cf. above, 2.2). A pioneer work, unfortunately absent from some important recent Hispanic studies, is a well-informed essay by Francisco Marcos Marín, who presents the "elaboration" of Spanish as a series of four "reforms" in the 13th, 16th, 18th and 20th centuries (Marcos Marín 1979, 84; cf. also Marcos Marín 1983). His concept of "reforma y modernización" is based on early theories of language planning, yet without any reference to Kloss:

"Los criterios propios de una planificación lingüística (concepto desarrollado, por ejemplo, en Karam: 1974), especificados por distintos investigadores, y que podríamos llamar *decisión política*, *codificación*, *elaboración*, *instrumentación* (Haugen 1966 [c], 1969), *cultivo* (Neustupný: 1970), *orientación* (Fishman: 1974), *evaluación* (Rubin: 1971), se complementan y precisan, para poderse aplicar a un instrumento tan preciso. El punto de partida ha de ser, naturalmente, la *decisión política* (1) de tomar una actitud lingüística determinada, que se plasma en una *codificación* (2), por la elección de un esquema básico, el cual debe sufrir una *elaboración* (3)" (Marcos Marín 1979, 81).

Much more influence has exercised the seminal work of Joseph (1987), whose theoretical chapters give an excellent synthesis of current contemporary concepts of standard and standardization. Though insisting on the "failures of [modern] language planning" (Joseph 1987, 16), i.e. the practice of this activity, exercised by actual language planners, it owes much to the Praguean "insistence on the standard language as an urban CULTURAL manifestation" (Joseph 1987, 19) and discusses at length Kloss's *Ausbau* theory (Joseph 1987, 76–79). An interesting case study that has received a lot of attention in Romance studies describes the emergence of Modern French in the 16th and 17th centuries (Joseph 1987, 132–159). Only six years later, Anthony Lodge writes a history of French – titled "from dialect to standard"[10] – which is organized around Haugen's second model:

"[...] the central section [of the book] will examine the development of the French standard, that is the processes of 'Selection', 'Elaboration of function', 'Codification' and 'Acceptance'; the final chapter will consist of a discussion of the problems of the 'Maintenance of the standard' in contemporary France" (Lodge 1993, 27).

Nonetheless, this approach refers much more to a historical heuristics than to the idea that the history of the French standard was a systematically planified process.

According to Joseph, the history of a standard may be compared to a "life cycle" (Joseph 1987, 23). At the end of this cycle, the gap between an established standard and the evolution of linguistic use may grow so deep that a new standard replaces the old one. It "may persist as a classical language or fall from use, surviving only in the many relics assimilated from it by the new standard" (ibid.). In the first scenario ("classicism"), Joseph finds no evidence in modern languages. The second case is tantamount to a loss of prestige of the traditional standard and is labeled "destandardization" (ibid., 174); it may be followed by the standardization of varieties which were previously considered sub-standard in relation to the old standard; this phenomenon is called "restandardization" (ibid., following Ferguson 1968, 31). Without any reference to Joseph (1987), processes of this kind are discussed and described predominantly for Germanic languages (cf. the various contributions in Mattheier/Radtke 1997; Kristiansen/Coupland 2011) and they have recently been

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10 Note that the French translation avoids the expression *standard* in its title and prefers, instead, the word *langue* (Lodge 1997).

applied to the emergence of a "new" Italian standard (*italiano neo-standard*; cf. Cerruti/Crocco/Marzo 2017) in Romance studies. In these cases, reference to Mattheier is made (1997; cf. Daneš 2008), who describes "destandardization" as the result of "demotization" (German *Demotisierung*, Mattheier 1997, 7), i.e. the difficult acquisition of a traditional, elitist standard by all the strata of a society (Mattheier 1997, 6). Obviously, different speech communities differ significantly in their capacity to maintain a sufficiently flexible standard (cf. Mathesius 1932), i.e. a normative elasticity that makes it possible to update, reform and modernize the codified norm (cf. Fodor/Hagège 1983–1994) and thus reduce the ever deepening gap between a codification becoming more and more outdated and the development of language use according to the communicative necessities of the speakers. With reference to the Romance-speaking countries, the Spanish speech community notably seems to be open to the modernization of the prescriptive norm (Marcos Marín 1979; Lebsanft 1997). On the other hand, the French-speaking community represents the well-known case of a situation where

> "the rigid codification imposed upon the written language and the powerful institutional pressures promoting standard ideology [...] have brought about a greater rigidity in the standard form of French than is to be found in many languages in the modern world" (Lodge 1993, 260).

Regardless of this discussion, however, one should not lose sight of the fact that in Romance studies the concept of "destandardization" also applies to the quite different type of situation where one standard language is replaced by another standard language.[11] The case of post-medieval Occitan, supplanted by French, has been described in these terms (Bec 1991, 46–48); consequently, in this context "restandardization" describes the 19th-century renaissance of the language (Bec 1991, 48–55).

2.3 Pluri- or polycentric standards

At least since Wyld (1913), linguists have acknowledged the variation of the standard due to diatopic and diastratic factors. Bloomfield (1935 [1933], 48–52) not only distinguishes differences between American English and British English; he develops a variational model that comprehends the levels "literary standard", "colloquial standard", "provincial standard", "sub-standard" and "local dialect",[12] with significant differences between the United States and Britain. Beyond any doubt, Bloomfield is aware of the already long existing call "for a new and separate American form of the language" (Schneider 2014, 198); however, he still assumes the existence of a

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11 Auer (2017, 373), who distinguishes between three senses of *destandardization* – (i) the loss of high prestige, (ii) the integration of sub-standard features, (iii) the dissolution into regional standards –, does not discuss this use of *destandardization*.

12 Note that Haugen (1959, 9, 19) applies this model to Norwegian.

"most privileged group, whose members are sure of themselves in speech as in all other issues of mannerism; in the English-speaking community, this should be the British upper class, which speaks the 'public school' variety of southern English" (Bloomfield 1935 [1933], 497).

An adequate conceptualization of the existence of two (or even more) equal standards within a speech community, which covers different nations, takes shape only later in the context of the "variation paradigm". Discussing formal standardization as an "attribute" of language types, Stewart introduces the terms "monocentric" vs. "polycentric":

"The standardization of a given language may be *monocentric*, consisting at any given time of a single set of universally accepted norms, or it may be *polycentric*, where different sets of norms exist simultaneously. When a language has come to be used in more than one country and has, in addition, developed multimodal standardization, the form of standardization prevalent in any one country may be either *endonormative*, when it is base[d] upon models of usage native to that country, or *exonormative*, when it is based upon foreign models of usage" (Stewart 1968 [1962], 534).

Kloss, who explicitly refers to Stewart in 1967, probably on the basis of personal communication ("what William A. Stewart has dubbed the polycentric standard language",[13] Kloss 1967, 31; cf. Ammon 1995, 45s.), illustrates polycentrism with Serbo-Croatian, "where we have two variants of the same standard, based on the same dialect or a near-identical dialect" (Kloss 1967, 31). Other examples of polycentric standards are found

"where a language is dominant in two or more geographically separated countries (British and American English; Portuguese in Brazil and Portugal) and in speech communities which are still in the beginning stage of their modernization (Albanians, Basques, Kurds, etc.), or where political circumstances have brought about separated developments for two variants of one single language (Roumanian and Moldavian; Serbian and Croatian)" (Kloss 1967, 31).

Without giving any concrete example, Kloss (1967, 33) also mentions the case of a language with "a single though polycentric standard". In this case, there exists – in the terms chosen by Stewart – "a single set of universally accepted norms" which stem from different centers. A prescriptive norm built on the basis of a koine meets these conditions.[14] Kloss ([2]1978, 66s.) uses the term "pluricentric" languages for "more than one" variety ("Spielart") of the standard with equal rights. The difference between pluricentric standards and *ausbau* languages resides in the fact that

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13 The definitions of Stewart (1968) cannot be found in Stewart (1962).

14 Cf. Mesthrie (1994, 1864), who identifies as key features of a koine (1) "a new, common variety based on existing dialects"; (2) "its use as a common (or 'vulgar') medium of communication between speakers with different first languages or speakers from different dialect areas"; (3) "its use as the standard/official language of a politically unified region", (4) "changes in its structure on account of its wide use as both first and second language". On the history of Ancient Greek κοινή διάλεκτος, cf. also Regis (2012).

in the first case the users of the varieties consider themselves as belonging to the same language and the same speech community, whereas in the latter case the elaboration of new languages further fosters the development of new nations. Nonetheless, pluricentricity is not incompatible with nation-building. This is shown by the many cases where pluricentricity is the result of decolonization; in the words of Joseph (1987, 170):

> "The unique feature of polycentricity is that a new standard is recognized in spite of an insufficient degree of Abstand for it to be considered a separate language, and in spite of a desire on the part of the speech community to maintain a linguistic-cultural identity with the imperial homeland, even if (as is typical) hostilities with the homeland marked the attainment of independence".

Joseph's (1987, 170) starting point is the variety of Standard Englishes, which has received ever increasing attention at least since Trudgill/Hannah (2017 [1982]). With reference to English(es), Schneider (2003) develops an important model for understanding the establishment of new varieties – "dialects" – of English. He distinguishes five phases – foundation, exonormative stabilization, nativization, endonormative stabilization and differentiation; from the perspective of pluricentricity (a term that Schneider does not use), the stages "nativization" and "endonormative stabilization" (a Praguean term!) are crucial. Schneider (2003, 247) describes nativization as follows:

> "In the STL strand [i.e. from 'the settlers' perspective'], this implies the transition from the acceptance of a distant mother country as the source of both political power and linguistic and cultural guidance to gradual independence – or at least a phase of striving towards it. When the 'mother country' is felt to be less and less of a 'mother', the offspring will start going their own ways, politically and linguistically – slowly and hesitantly at first, gaining momentum and confidence as time passes".

Endonormative stabilization, Schneider (2003, 249s.) explains,

> "is marked by the gradual adoption and acceptance of an indigenous linguistic norm, supported by a new, locally rooted linguistic self-confidence, prototypically expressed by Gordon and Deverson (1998: 108) in describing the New Zealand attitude: 'In language now we can and must go alone, creating our own standards'".

In this context, the codification of the new variety of the standard is decisive because "for a language to gain official recognition requires accepted reference books, that is, dictionaries, grammars, and usage guides" (Schneider 2003, 252).

If we take a step back, we see that Aleksandr D. Švejcer already describes American and British English as "two varieties of Standard English" in the 1960s and 1970s (cf. Švejcer 1978, 5). At the same time, the hispanist Stepanov proposes the study not only of the "norma de ejemplaridad" of European Spanish but also of

the "múltiples normas ejemplares americanas" (Stepanov 1971, 1167),[15] which developed on the basis of a "dialecto colonial" (ibid., 1164).[16] Together, Stepanov and Švejcer coin the term "transplanted languages"[17] in order to describe the colonial expansion of European languages as "national variants" (Stepanov/Švejcer 1981, 219), a frequently used term in Russian sociolinguistics (Fleischer 1984; cf. also Clyne 1992a, 2; Ammon 1995). According to them, the linguistic situation in Latin America is characterized, among other things, by:

> "The existence of autonomous national languages within individual states (Spanish as an official language in some twenty countries, Portuguese in Brasil)
> [...]
> Different forms of relationship with the former 'mother country's language' – from orientation toward cultural unity and linguistic integration to separatist trends, particularly explicit in 'linguistic nationalism' (these phenomena are conspicuous in such countries as Argentina, Brasil, etc.)" (Stepanov/Švejcer 1981, 223).

As Stepanov elaborated his theories in terms of "national variants" instead of "pluricentricity", his highly insightful contributions to the study of Spanish standards were taken into account only by very few though particularly well-informed scholars (especially Zamora Salamanca 1990; 2010; cf. also Ammon 1995, 43s.). Unfortunately, they didn't earn the attention they deserved (and still deserve) in the developing mainstream research on the variety of Romance standard languages.

In General Comparative Linguistics as well as in "Western" Romance studies, research on pluricentric standard languages definitely starts moving with Clyne (1992c). The important cross-linguistic volume contains contributions to French (Lüdi 1992), Portuguese (Baxter 1992), and Spanish (Thompson 1992), certainly most valuable surveys of language situations but without deeper theoretical claims. In his introduction, Michael Clyne, an Austrian-born Australian Germanist, focuses mainly on the situation of English and German (Clyne 1992a). Among the various issues addressed in his epilogue (Clyne 1992b), we find the gradient problems of (a) power symmetry or asymmetry between the different varieties of the standard, (b) exonormativity and endonormativity, i.e. codification of the standard from centers outside or inside the country under scrutiny, (c) the positive or negative attitude

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15 Stepanov uses "ejemplaridad" for "prescriptive norm" in the same sense as Coseriu (1988, a paper written in the 1950s), who had direct access to Russophone research.

16 Cf. also Stepánov (2004, 95) – a translation from the Russian original (Stepanov 1979) – who speaks of a "coiné hispanoamericana colonial". Note that Lüdtke (2014, 48) also uses the concept "colonial dialect" ("Ya que normalmente estos dialectos [sc. secundarios] se forman en el proceso de la colonización, pueden llamarse igualmente *dialectos coloniales*"), however without any reference to Stepanov.

17 Cf. also Schneider (2003, 241), whose aforementioned model explains processes that operate "whenever a language is transplanted". In a footnote, Schneider (2003) suggests a comparison of the development of New Englishes not only with the medieval emergence, but also with the colonial expansion of the Romance languages.

toward pluricentricity, i.e. the (non-)acceptance of different standards according to the dominant or dominated position of a country. All these questions have been discussed chiefly with reference to Spanish in highly controversial papers since the 1990s (cf. the overview by Lebsanft/Mihatsch/Polzin-Haumann 2012). The aspect of (a)symmetry is at the center of recent cross-linguistic volumes by Muhr et al. (2013; 2016). Finally, Soares da Silva (2014) addresses problems of pluricentricity from a perspective of cognitive sociolinguistics.

2.4 Polynomic standards

The concept of polynomic standard is applied in the case of some Romance "idioms" that lack a unitary "common language". Standardization in terms of "polynomy" refers to the codification and teaching of a language composed of two or more geographical varieties without imposing any hierarchy between them. Despite similarities with the concept of pluricentricity outlined above, the concept differs from it in two important aspects: 1) there are no pre-existing formal or informal standard languages (consequently, variation does not regard the standard); 2) the codification of any supra-dialectal, compositional standard is not included. Instead, the creation of a "polynomic norm" entails the codification of various forms for each linguistic feature.

The concept was created in the 1980s in the context of the standardization of Corsican (Marcellesi 1983; Chiorboli 1991; 2002; Thiers 2000; Adrey 2009; Di-Meglio 2009; Giacomo-Marcellesi 2013; Goebl 2015; it is also applied to Occitan, cf. Tacke 2015, 233s.), a language divided into several regional varieties even though speakers assumed the existence of an abstract common language. According to the definition by Marcellesi (1983, 314) polynomic languages are languages

> "dont l'unité est abstraite et résulte d'un mouvement dialectique et non de la simple ossification d'une norme unique, et dont l'existence est fondée sur la décision massive de ceux qui la parlent de lui donner un nom particulier et de la déclarer autonome des autres langues reconnues".

Implementation of the "polynomic norm" not only entails teaching one standard form but is also meant to teach the corresponding regional dialect and to raise awareness of other variants among speakers. The value of this concept of standard resides in the rejection of standardization through hierarchization. It is a concept mostly applied to "lesser-used" not yet standardized languages (or "idioms"). In this sense, Pountain (2016, 638) states:

> "It is perhaps not surprising, then, that polynomic standardization has been favoured in situations where language shift is very advanced and the sense of the speech community is principally associated with local cultural heritage, coupled with an academically informed awareness of a written linguistic tradition".

Nevertheless, if standardization means the formal imposition of hierarchies between variants, the concept of "norme polynomique" is more of a didactic approach to the teaching of non-standardized languages meant to be implemented in school education than a full-fledged concept of standard (cf. Comiti 2009, 166s.). As such, it serves to avoid the typical problems arising from standardization in contexts of "lesser-used", i.e. regional or minority, languages: while standardization is generally meant to increase prestige and gain recognition, speakers of traditionally spoken idioms often reject the standardized language, which entails the stigmatization of all the other variants (cf. below, 3.4).

3 Comparative standardology of the Romance languages

3.1 State of the art in (Romance) standardology

As we have seen above, standardization is not a recent subject of linguistic research. The study of standardization has received major attention in a whole series of most valuable manuals. In the "Handbooks of Linguistics and Communication Science" (German series title: "Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft" or HSK), standardization is markedly well treated by Ammon et al.'s (²2004–2006) excellent manual *Sociolinguistics*. Standardization in Romance languages has, however, been treated neither in a comprehensive nor a comparative manner. This is not to say that there is no valuable information on the standardization of individual languages and particular aspects thereof. Extensive and useful, diachronic and synchronic information was already provided by Holtus/Metzeltin/Schmitt's multi-volume (1988–2005) *Lexikon der Romanistischen Linguistik* (LRL) and, often but not always more up to date, by Ernst et al.'s (2003–2008) *Romanische Sprachgeschichte* (RSG; cf. Lebsanft 2008). In addition, standardization is also the exclusive subject of some larger handbooks. An excellent cross-linguistic manual with important contributions concerning Romance languages is Janich/Greule's handbook *Sprachkulturen in Europa* (2002). This also holds true for Fodor/Hagège's (1983–1994) impressive volumes on *Language Reform*. A manual on the Council of Europe's *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* contains valuable information on standardization of Romance languages in socially dominated situations (Lebsanft/Wingender 2012). To this picture, some minor contributions like a very short overview by Pountain (2016) – a contribution to Ledgeway/Maiden's *Oxford Guide to the Romance Languages* (2016; cf. Tacke 2018) – must be added. More than 20 years ago, Posner/Green's (1980–1993) *Trends in Romance Linguistics and Philology* contained a similar though much more extensive state of the art on standardization by Muljačić (1993). Furthermore, some volumes of the new series "Manuals of Romance Linguistics" (MRL; 2014–) edited by Günter Holtus and Fernando Sánchez-Miret, to

which this Manual belongs, treat this subject from a historical and/or a systematic perspective with reference to the different Romance languages and to different theoretical approaches and key issues. See, for example, the recently published *Manual of Romance Sociolinguistics* (Ayres-Bennett/Carruthers 2018). In this respect, an overlap in information with our Manual is inevitable. Likewise, there are important contributions of a more limited scope that focus on specific reference instruments, most notably dictionaries. In this context, see the important conceptual contributions in volume 1 (1989) and especially the articles on Romance dictionaries in volume 2 (1990) of Hausmann et al.'s comprehensive manual *Dictionaries. An International Encyclopedia of Lexicography* (1989–1990) as well as Haß' (2012) more recent manual on European dictionaries and encyclopedias, which contains articles on the development of the Italian (Schweickard 2012) and Spanish (Lebsanft 2012) lexicographic tradition. In addition, language standardization as a part of the history of linguistics as such is treated in various articles within Auroux et al.'s multi-volume *History of the Language Sciences* (2000–2006) and Haßler/Neis' excellent *Lexikon sprachtheoretischer Grundbegriffe des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* (2009).

3.2 Reconceptualizing standardization: the purpose of this Manual

Against this background, the purpose of our Manual is to gather all the given knowledge and to update it by integrating the latest developments in the field of Romance language standardization. In some cases, this endeavor also entails the reconceptualization of standardization processes under new angles. It is our wish that standardization is seen more as a dynamic and constant process which goes way beyond the elaboration and publication of dictionaries and grammar books. In this sense, we have tried to highlight the often-neglected aspect of "modernization" subsumed, in Haugen's theory (cf. above, 2.2), under what he calls "elaboration" or "functional development" of standard languages. In the same spirit, we have integrated more recent concepts and perspectives that have not been considered by former manuals such as "restandardization" (cf. 2.2) and, above all, the notion of "pluricentricity" (cf. 2.3). What is more, the presentation not only considers the traditional objects of formal standardization, the triad consisting of orthography, lexicon and grammar, but also integrates two subjects that have barely been studied in a systematic manner until today: the standardization of pronunciation (orthoepy) and the treatment of linguistic doubts and difficulties within Romance language cultures. Consequently, this Manual is the first to offer a comprehensive presentation of the dynamics of standardization. It comprises all Romance languages, including "minor" ones and Creoles and integrates the most important concepts that govern the creation, elaboration and – in some cases – reconfiguration of today's Romance standard languages.

On account of the fact that most of the aforementioned contributions to Romance standardology are not accessible to scholars who lack multilingual education and in the absence of a scientific *lingua franca* in today's Romance linguistics, we have decided – "with a heavy heart" and against personal preferences – to choose English as the language of description for this Manual even though it represents a foreign language to all of our authors including us. However, in light of our expected readership, we have preferred not to include translations of quotes from Romance languages (at least in the case of Italian, French, Catalan, Spanish and Portuguese). We count on the language competence of our readers.

3.3 A comparative approach: the findings of this Manual

The internal symmetric structure of the language-specific chapters and articles that constitute this Manual is conceived to allow quick access for both readers interested in only one language and scholars doing cross-linguistic research. In what follows, we will present a comparative overview of the findings of this Manual based on the comprehensive presentations provided by our authors within chapters 8 to 14. In this sense, it is meant to offer a resumé that complements our authors' insights in order to identify both the regularities that govern the ongoing standardization of Romance languages and the idiosyncrasies that characterize each of them. According to the overall concept of this Manual, we will not present an (external) linguistic history of Romance languages nor analyze the primarily bottom-up development of "informal" standard languages in pre-modern times. This section will instead deal with the process of "formal" standardization that was initiated in Romance language cultures from the 16th and 17th century onwards, after informal norms governing language use had already emerged (cf. Haßler 2009, 698).

Formal standardization, as defined by Stewart (1968 [1962], 534), comprises above all the top-down process of deliberate standard-setting through codification activities regarding all relevant fields of language use. It encompasses activities meant to give explicit recognition to the linguistic norm or standard. Standardizing language thus means to codify those options that are considered "exemplary" (↗3). Codification might potentially cover all aspects of language regarding both form and content. However, since standardization has traditionally focused on codifying written (literary) language, some aspects of language use might be more subject to explicit regulation than others. Commonly, the domains of orthography, grammar and vocabulary are considered the core aspects of standardization, and languages that "dispose" of corresponding instruments (orthographic treatises, grammars and dictionaries) are usually considered "fully codified". Nonetheless, there are potentially no limits to standardization: with the emergence of audio-visual mass media, the importance of codifying pronunciation via orthoepies has arisen. Furthermore, while formal standardization has always had the tendency to consider the use of language in formal situations, i.e. the highest register, in recent decades, it has also

taken the usage of educated speakers in more or less informal situations into account. The domains covered by formal standardization might also vary according to specific socio-historical and ideological contexts: take, for instance, the imposition – by law – of the forms of address *tovarăşul* 'comrade' and *tovarăşa* 'female comrade' in communist Romania in 1977 (cf. Techtmeier 1980, 67; Dahmen 2002, 225); another example is the more recent tendency to regulate public language use and specifically the forms not only of address but also of reference concerning the representation of women and minorities ("political correctness"; ↗6). These domains of language use are often regulated through specific usage guides of a more limited scope, e.g. the use of language by journalists or within a specific local or regional administration.

Considering the correspondence between domains (or objects) of standardization and formal reference instruments (like dictionaries), there is however no 1:1-relationship. From a semasiological perspective, codification instruments often serve more than one purpose, contributing thus to the codification of various domains and vice versa, as the following table shows:

Tab. 5: The correspondence between codification instruments and standardization domains.

Reference instrument	Domains codified (*primary object*, secondary object, [optional objects])
Orthographic treatises	*orthography*, [orthoepy]
Normative grammars	*grammar* [orthography], [orthoepy]
Normative dictionaries	*vocabulary*, (word) orthography, [orthoepy], (word) grammar
Dictionaries of language difficulties	*language use (speech), all domains*

Unlike the development of standard language(s) in the English-speaking world, which might be considered a perfect example of what Stewart (1968 [1962], 534; cf. Schneider 2003; 2014) called "informal" standardization, faithful to Robert A. Hall's (1950) "Leave your language alone!", two core aspects become obvious. First, that the very idea of formal standardization, i.e. the purposeful, deliberate act of forging a standard language, is firmly anchored in all Romance language cultures – this is to say: language is never left alone! Second, the cultivation of Romance languages is – for historical reasons – typically conceived as an institutionalized activity that aims at stipulating formal standards and is strongly tied to institutional actors (statal, parastatal, private corporations), namely language academies. Under these specific circumstances, which originated, as we will see, in the Early Modern period, the question of the actors of standardization is essential to the understand-

ing of how today's Romance standard languages have been shaped. Generally, the actors of standardization can be classified as follows:

1) According to their status as supranational, (para-)statal or private actors depending on their linkage (or not) to governmental authority;

2) According to their corresponding areas of competence and the type of standard (supranational, national, regional) their norm-setting activity applies to.

The following table, adapted from Lebsanft (1998, 259; cf. also 1997, 93s.), represents these distinctions in a structured way:

Tab. 6: Actors, status and areas of competence in the field of language cultivation.

status		supra-(para-)national	(para-)statal	private
area of competence		cultivation of a supranational standard	cultivation of a regional/national standard	cultivation of standards of all scopes
actor	individual	–	–	*[persons]*
	institutional	*international associations of language institutions*	*national language institutions*	*corporate actors (e.g. news agencies, broadcasting stations, publishing houses)*

Not all language cultures dispose of actors on all levels. In fact, this scheme is originally based on the Spanish language culture, which offers a complete picture of possible actors. All the same, it could easily be used to describe French and Portuguese language cultures.

Standardization, like any activities that pertain to the broader field of language cultivation, does not happen in a vacuum; put in context, this is particularly true for Romance language cultures, which have, from early on, exerted much influence on one another. In this sense, the conception and most activities of formal standardization in Romance languages follow the way paved by Italian, French and, most notably, Spanish in the Early Modern period. In these languages, long-lasting informal activities had already resulted in the awareness of what was the "good use" (*bon usage*) of language and thus more or less informal language standards. The invention of the printing press, the rise of Humanism and the emergence of early modern nationalism increasingly called for formally standardized written languages. This quest for the codification of prestigious models of language use can be observed, above all, in the foundation of language academies, i.e. literary and/or philological societies with public authority: first, the Accademia della Crusca, founded in Florence in 1583, then the Académie française, founded in Paris in 1635, and finally, the Real Academia Española, established in Madrid in 1713 for the pur-

pose of catching up with the Italian and French academies. The first activities of these institutions consisted in the formal activity of creating dictionaries in order to codify the "good" language that had presumably arrived at its "golden age" and was closely tied to literary usage. The codification of vocabulary served, in this specific historical context, a twofold purpose: first, to conserve a vocabulary and an exemplary (written) language used by prestigious authors; second, to create a prestigious symbol of "the" language in order to defend cultural and linguistic superiority in a kind of "language competition" (Lat. *contentio de primatu linguarum*, Ger. *Sprachenwettstreit*) between early modern nations. Other codification tasks like the standardization of orthography and grammar were secondary to that goal and only followed the lexicographic work or accompanied it for practical reasons (a dictionary requiring a consistent spelling).

While all three institutions still exist today, their status as authorities in questions of linguistic norm and standardization varies greatly. Only one of them, the Spanish academy, living up to its founding spirit of Enlightenment, has managed to maintain its role in the process of constant formal codification and elaboration. It was able to adapt its premises to a modern notion of standardization and standard language by integrating, systematically, the notion of pluricentricity (cf. above, 2.3) and by democratizing – at least discursively – its work and decision processes. In contrast, the Italian and French academies' importance has considerably diminished over time. In the field of formal standardization, the Accademia della Crusca never went beyond the publication of dictionaries, the last of which appeared – unfinished – in 1923. The Académie française, in turn, didn't abandon the task of standardizing the lexicon but has hardly made any progress in the 9th edition of its dictionary. Its grammaticographic mission was abandoned after the long awaited *Grammaire de l'Académie française*, finally published in 1932, was judged to be of poor quality (cf. Brunot 1932; Baum 1983; 1986). Dictionaries being the only common denominator, a comparison of their publication history might serve as an indicator of the codification activity of the three academies:

Tab. 7: Publication history of the Italian, French and Spanish language academies (dictionaries).

Accademia della Crusca	Académie française	Real Academia Española
Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca	*Dictionnaire de l'Académie françoise/française*	["*Diccionario de autoridades*"], *Diccionario de la lengua castellana/española*
[1]1612, [2]1623, [3]1691, [4]1729–1738, [5]1863–1923 [unfinished]	[1]1694, [2]1718, [3]1740, [4]1762, [5]1798, [6]1835, [7]1878, [8]1932–1935, [9]1992– [not yet finished]	[1726–1739], [1]1780, [2]1783, [3]1791, [4]1803, [5]1817, [6]1822, [7]1832, [8]1837, [9]1843, [10]1852, [11]1869, [12]1884, [13]1899, [14]1914, [15]1925, [16]1936–1939, [17]1947, [18]1956, [19]1970, [20]1984, [21]1992, [22]2001, [23]2014, ([23.1/online]2018, [23.2/online]2019, [23.3/online]2019)

Even though the Spanish academy is the only one to exhibit such influence on the ongoing standardization, the importance at least in symbolic terms of language academies is typical for almost all major Romance language cultures. In the spirit of the aforementioned academies, it is from the 19th century onwards that standardization became institutionalized in other Romance language cultures, too. In 1866, the Societatea Literară Română was founded in Bucharest (rebaptized *Academia Română* in 1879). The academy has the status of an officially regulatory institution for Romanian. In the Lusophone world there are two language academies to be considered: one of them is the Academia de Ciências de Lisboa, which was established in 1779 in the same spirit of Enlightenment as the Spanish academy, and the other the Academia Brasileira de Letras, founded following the example of the French academy in Rio de Janeiro in 1897. In the case of Catalan, the corresponding language academy, the Institut d'Estudis Catalans (IEC), was founded in Barcelona in 1907. In 1911, the Secció Filològica was established as a part of it in order to create and implement a formal standard in all Catalan-speaking regions and countries. Yet, despite its ambition to represent all Catalan-speaking areas, the IEC has not stayed the only relevant authority in this field since the Valencian Community created its own academy, the Acadèmia Valenciana de la Llengua, in 1998.

The influence that language academies exert in their respective countries and the overall societal status differs greatly. Of the aforementioned institutions (not considering those of "minor" Romance languages), only the Spanish, the Catalan and the Valencian language academies can be considered, as of today, major players in the domain of ongoing codification and modernization. In contrast, the importance of the other institutions is rather symbolic (the French academy sees its role rather in preventing any modernization) or has shifted towards the domain of recommendation-giving (the Italian). Various factors can be identified that explain the different standing of central language academies in the Romance-speaking countries:

a) the historical role and legislative backing of language academies,
b) their "human" resources, i.e. the role that linguists play within these institutions,
c) the relative importance and the quality of reference instruments elaborated by language academies as opposed to the (normative) works divulged by other actors like competing language academies and private sector actors,
d) their financial and technical resources and
e) the openness of these institutions to reform and adaptation.

This latter aspect should not be underestimated. The openness to reform regards, first and foremost, the willingness and the ability to constantly modernize its codification in order to keep up with the communicative needs of the speakers and overall societal changes that impact language use. Take, for instance, the debates in nearly all Western language cultures about "sexist language" and "gender-neutral" or "in-

clusive" forms of expression. It regards, in other words, what Haugen (cf. above, 2.2) subsumes under the notion of "elaboration", i.e. the functional development of the standard language. Rather than a mere additional aspect of standardization, elaboration is of utmost importance. In this sense, the Praguean concept of "elastic stability" (↗2) has not lost any of its topicality. This is true especially under the (post-)modern conditions of globalization, the emergence first of mass media (radio, TV, internet) then of social media and, correspondingly, of both written and oral "media standards". Consequently, language academies either adapt their concept of standard, away from the ideal of purified literary standards that still prevailed at the beginning of the 20th century, or they inevitably become less important in terms of actual actors of standardization and shift to a more symbolic role.

Nonetheless, even when central institutions are lacking or existing academies only contribute partially to standardization, language is never "left alone" but codified through dictionaries and grammars elaborated by individual scholars and private sector actors. Although these reference works might not always be explicitly published for the purpose of setting language standards, they assume that function by the way speech communities use and perceive them. In this sense, regardless of their approach – descriptive or prescriptive –, it is the most widely divulged and consulted dictionaries and grammars that tend to be taken as "references" of good language use, representing "the standard". Therefore, it is essential to take private and private corporate actors into account when studying the field of formal standardization in the Romance languages. In an emergent process during the last decades, these actors have gained considerable influence on language use, particularly within the domain of post-school language education. Consequently, standard languages can no longer be conceived as "elitist literary standards". In this sense, dictionaries of language difficulties that address linguistic topics in an accessible way, as well as style books and corresponding (online) consultation services, constitute important tools by which standards are not only dynamically set but also effectively implemented.

In accordance with the structure of chapters 8 to 13, the following comparative overview will take the objects of standardization as its point of departure: orthography and orthoepy (3.3.1), normative grammars (3.3.2), normative dictionaries (3.3.3) and dictionaries of language difficulties (3.3.4). In each case, the comparison will point out the main actors implicated, the specific instruments that fulfill this purpose within the respective language cultures as well as the underlying concepts and cultural influences. The "minor" Romance languages and Creoles (3.3.5) will only briefly be mentioned since the expositions in chapter 14 are already conceived as comparative overviews. Bibliographical references will only be given when the information results from the applied comparative approach and refers to texts not mentioned within the corresponding articles. In order not to disturb the readability of the text, cross-references will only scarcely be used.

3.3.1 Orthography and orthoepy

The problems arising first from putting the Romance languages to writing and later from standardizing their graphic representation into orthographic codes were essentially the same for all major languages: after centuries of Latin constituting the only written code for distance communication, scribes were confronted with the difficulty of representing newly evolved sounds that did not exist in Latin phonology with the limited inventory of letters that constitute the Latin alphabet. The diversity of letters (graphs and digraphs) that represent these sounds throughout today's Romance orthographies (cf., e.g., the representation of /ɲ/ or /ʎ/) is a mere reflection of the diversity of solutions that coexisted during the Middle Ages and beyond within each Romance language and their different writing traditions (also called *scriptae*). In this context, only Romanian stands out: appearing, as a written language, as late as the 16th century, it was not the Latin but the Cyrillic alphabet that was used until the 19th century. The problems of representation of certain characteristics of the Romanian phonology were, however, quite similar. Subsequently, the processes of informal standardization conceived as the bottom-up emergence of regularities in what is considered the "good" use of language (in this case writing) had culminated in the consolidation of writing traditions that allowed for much variation. In this situation, Humanism had great impact since the rediscovery of Ancient rhetoric and grammar (↗1) prompted a new kind of linguistic consciousness and resulted in a multitude of proposals to formally standardize orthography. At the same time, the invention of the printing press contributed to this rather new assessment that there was a need for an *ortho*graphy, i.e. that variability should be eliminated. Consequently, the scholars participating in these debates in Italy, France and Spain evaluated the coexistence of graphic variants mostly as "chaotic".

Since then and even today, the proposals to standardize or to "reform" established writing traditions have oscillated between two basic concepts: on the one hand, there is the idea, often referred to as "Quintilian's principle", that orthography should represent phonology – preferably in a 1:1-relationship between sounds and letters. On the other hand, through orthography, there is the desire to reflect the Ancient (i.e. Latin and Greek) roots of Romance languages called the "etymological principle", i.e. to conceive and preserve a symbolic, sometimes called "true", representation of words (cf., e.g., the French "guerre du nénufar" in the 1990s, ↗10.1). Italian and French best represent these two extremes: based on the Florentine and Roman model of pronunciation, Italian undeniably constitutes the most phonological orthography of all Romance languages, whereas the French orthography perpetuates a conservative, etymological, spelling system that was already in place by the 16th century and has barely been modified since. The other Romance languages are generally more inclined to the phonological principal although the closeness between orthography and phonology depends, of course, on the pronunciation model in question (for a comparative study of several Romance languages according to the underlying principles, cf. Meisenburg 1996).

Formal standardization of orthography, i.e. the codification of guidelines that would constitute the model to follow, began with the publication of the first dictionaries of the newly founded language academies in Italy, France and Spain. Beyond individual word orthography, which is a necessary side effect of lexicography, the Real Academia Española's dictionary also included an extensive exposition of the orthographic rule-set applied, the "Discurso proemial de la orthographía de la lengua castellana" (RAE 1726). The Spanish academy stands out in this regard because it has continued to treat orthography as a proper object of codification through the publication of dedicated treatises ever since. Only the Catalan language institution, the Institut d'Estudis Catalans, has followed since its *Normes ortogràfiques* were first published in 1913. By contrast, the most common way of codifying orthography in the Romance languages is through general dictionaries and sometimes through dedicated orthographic dictionaries as is the case in Romanian and Portuguese language culture. In France, where orthography is especially difficult to learn and considered a sign of social distinction, orthographic dictionaries and guidelines are published by all relevant publishing houses and complement the field of general reference dictionaries.

Among Romance language cultures, Portuguese is a special case in orthographic matters: not only did the first codification of orthography take place as late as 1911, but Portuguese does not dispose, as of today, of a unified orthography. Attempts to apply a unified spelling could not be accomplished and orthographic differences between national varieties are codified in a pluricentric manner through an online instrument, the *Vocabulário Ortográfico Comum da Língua Portuguesa* (VOC) (it shows the different variants according to the Lusophone country in question). Today, the orthographic codes of the Romance languages are quite stable and have not changed much in a long time. This does not only regard French orthography where an attempt to introduce some minor simplifications to its conservative code through a non-obligatory reform (the so-called *Rectifications* published in the State Gazette in 1990) was prevented, not least by the actions of the French academy. The constantly updated Spanish orthography has not introduced any changes to its system of sound-letter correspondences since 1815 either: as in Catalan and Portuguese, modifications mostly concern graphic accentuation, word division rules and punctuation. Hence, challenges of word orthography regard, above all, the difficulty of integrating foreign loanwords, especially Anglicisms (↗12.1).

Whereas orthography counts among the most regulated aspects of human speech, orthoepy, i.e. the definition and promulgation of a model of "good" pronunciation, is a rather neglected object of formal standardization by central institutions. Among them, only the Romanian academy has published dedicated instruments including an orthoepic dictionary. In other countries, orthoepy (more often called *orthology*) has been treated mostly in less influential treatises published by individual scholars. This means that historically, orthoepy has been subject to rather informal standardization in Romance language cultures: the diction of the highest

social group (the king, aristocracy and educated speakers) of certain political and cultural centers came to represent the "good" pronunciation and served as a model for other social groups. These centers are Bucharest for Romanian, Rome for Italian (or rather the "lingua toscana in bocca romana", ↗9.1), Paris for French and Barcelona for Catalan. In the case of Spanish, the speech of the educated speakers of Castile traditionally constituted the model of pronunciation, but during the last century, independent pronunciation models evolved in Latin America. The same is true for Portuguese where various Brazilian and African pronunciation standards, quite different from European Portuguese, have been emerging for quite some time.

All Romance language cultures, especially those provided with predominantly phonologically based spelling systems, are marked by the dialectics between spoken and written language. Not only do Romance orthographies tend to be shaped phonologically by the pronunciation of educated speakers, but orthography has also had great influence on the evolution of pronunciation. The latter phenomenon is generally described as "spelling pronunciation". In this sense, the maintenance, in French standard pronunciation, of /l/ in *il* [il] and *table* [tablə] or the almost general restitution of learned consonant groups in Spanish (e.g. DIGNUS > *dino* > *digno*) is due to a remodeling based on written language (↗10.1; ↗12.1).

Two phases regarding both the codification and the implementation of pronunciation models can be divised historically: the first took place in most Romance language cultures of the 19th and early 20th century when compulsory education was being introduced throughout Europe and led to the propagation of a "reading pronunciation" that disseminated learned pronunciation among all social classes. The second phase began with the appearance and spread of audio-visual mass media in the 1920s. Pronunciation was first propagated by professionals, later by all kinds of speakers through broadcasting stations, and entertainment media in general have facilitated the emergence of "oral" or "media" standards that are much less rigid than traditional models. It is in this domain, the articles of this Manual show, that formal standardization activities have been pursued by corporate media actors, drama schools and universities, sometimes building on the respective traditions of stage diction. These standardization activities are aimed at training professional speakers but undeniably have great impact on the whole speech community. Alongside the case of Italian, the most striking example might be the contribution of Brazil's most influential broadcasting station, TV Globo, which creates and disseminates a pronunciation standard throughout the country (sometimes called "Globês") by training its professional speakers in a supposedly neutral Brazilian exempt of regional characteristics (↗13.1).

3.3.2 Normative grammars

The first grammars describing Romance languages arose in the late 15th and 16th century. Beginning with Leon Battista Alberti's *Grammatica della lingua toscana*

(or *Grammatichetta*, ca. 1438–1441) and Antonio de Nebrija's *Gramática sobre la lengua castellana* (2011 [1492]), it is a shared feature of all grammatical descriptions to be based on the Greco-Roman grammatical model, also called "traditional grammar" that has only partially been renovated until today through the influence of linguistic grammar models (↗1). This process of "grammatization" (Auroux 1992) can be considered the beginning of formal standardization. Out of the coexistence of different forms of (grammatical) expression for each linguistic feature, grammatization entails the selection and generalization of forms and the stigmatization (often labelled as "errors") of linguistic deviations. In this sense, any grammar formulates linguistic norms and can be considered "normative" even though some grammars tend to follow a more descriptive approach while others are discursively more openly selective and thus "prescriptive". In taking up the Greco-Roman legacy of grammaticography, the normative grammars of Romance languages continued the normative conception of grammar right from the start, with the *ars bene/recte loquendi et scribendi* placing emphasis on the latter: the notion of correctness underlying this conception is based, first and foremost, on the written language of literary authors. Like Latin grammaticography, each Romance language had its own literature considered "classical" and representing the respective "golden age". Accordingly, deviation from the usage pertaining to this literary canon – and thus change in general – received negative assessment. In this context, the notion of purism has been most relevant in all language cultures. In Catalan grammaticography, it means primarily purity (and purification) from Castilian influences. Regarding Romanian, grammaticography was defined by the rejection of any Balkan influences and the preference for Latin and Romance forms in what was denominated "westernization", "re-Latinization" and "re-romanization" throughout the 19th century. Conversely, in Italian, French and Spanish grammaticography, purism was rather directed against anything deviating from the codified literary language and, of course, geographical varieties other than the cultural center: non-Florentine, non-Parisian (and non-hexagonal) and non-Peninsular forms.

Considering this as the common ground of Romance grammaticography, the relationship between the more or less rigidly grammatized, i.e. standardized, language and the more dynamic norms (in the Coserian sense; ↗3) defining the speech of educated speakers has varied both throughout time and from culture to culture. The codified literary norms of Romance languages have been modernized gradually since the 20th century by adopting a more description-driven grammar model based on a notion of standard oriented towards language use (the same is true in the field of lexicography, see below, 3.3.3).

Grammaticography was officially assumed as a task by most Romance language academies. Nevertheless, the Spanish academy is the only one to accomplish this task beginning with its *Gramática* of 1771 (RAE 1771) and updating its grammatical codification rather continuously until its recent *Nueva gramática de la lengua española* in 2009/2011 (NGLE). The Crusca, on the other side, never produced a reference

grammar and the French academy abandoned its grammaticographic mission after publishing its long awaited *Grammaire de l'Académie française* in 1932 (cf. above, 3.3; ↗10.2). The younger Lisboan academy, as well as the Brazilian one, did not produce any reference grammar either. The Catalan reference grammar published in Spanish by Pompeu Fabra in 1917 was assumed by the Barcelonese Institut d'Estudis Catalans and republished in Catalan in 1918 (Fabra 1918); most recently, the Institut d'Estudis Catalans published a new ambitious grammar in 2016 (GIEC). The Valencian academy also published its own normative grammar describing Valencian Catalan in 2006 (AVL 2006). The Romanian academy's first reference grammar is a collective work published in 2005 (²2008), coordinated by Valeria Guțu Romalo. The comparison shows that only the Spanish and the Catalan language culture have a long tradition of "official" grammars defining the codification and proliferation of grammatical rules. More often than not, the renowned reference grammars are the works of individual scholars such as *Le Bon Usage*, first published in 1936 by the Belgian linguist Maurice Grevisse and taken over after his death by André Goosse (currently in its 16th edition: Grevisse/Goosse ¹⁶2016). In Italy and the Lusophone countries, no single most important reference grammar can be identified, and several grammars share this (informal) status that comes from general diffusion, prestige and influence in terms of language education.

The comparison of the concept of standard applied in Romance reference grammars and the normative discourse (in the sense of Berrendonner 1982) has shown an interesting development since the late 20th century: a shift towards codifying a norm no longer based exclusively on literary language through an ever more descriptive discourse. Standard languages are increasingly based not only on written but also on spoken language, not only on literary texts but also on the language used by the mass media and educated speakers in general (often by relying on big linguistic corpora). Instead of ahistoric literary norms, variation and change are embraced and form part of the codification. Hence, sociolinguistics has entered grammaticography: grammatical forms are assessed in terms of their social evaluation. This descriptive-normative attitude entails a certain democratization of the standard through the approximation of the codified grammatical code to actual language use. This development is observable in both official normative grammars and individual scholars' publications. Especially significant in this context are the recently published grammars of the Spanish and the Barcelonese academies. Here, the notion of standard language, formerly marked by purism, has been conceptually reoriented towards a pluricentric concept (called "compositional model" by the IEC) that no longer stigmatizes but integrates the different geographical standard varieties which have emerged throughout the 19th and 20th century. The modification of criteria as part of the modernization of the concept of standard also means the return to both Quintilian's notion of *consuetudo*, that is, the consensus of what constitutes the good use of language according to educated speakers (presenting less variation than the speech of other social groups), and to the rhetorical notion of

aptum. This entails that linguistic variants are assessed in terms of their status among educated speakers and in terms of their adequacy or appropriateness according to the degree of formality required by the speech situation. However, the development of Romance languages, especially those most characterized today by pluricentrism, shows that complexity does not end here: not only does the use of educated speakers vary according to the formality of the situation but it also differs geographically – particularly in speech communities of such vast geographical and political extension like the Spanish and the Portuguese one. Meanwhile, Italian grammaticography has also "restandardized" (cf. above, 2.2) its grammatical code leaving behind its insistence on the Florentine literary canon, even though school grammars are still marked by normative conservatism and "entirely outdated prescriptions" (↗9.2). Portuguese reference grammars, on the other hand, are in effect – despite calling themselves "contemporary" or "modern" – still mostly built on literary language (↗13.2). Even the French codification, criticized ever since for its rigid and ahistoric concept of *bon usage*, is being modernized, although in a more prudent fashion and avoiding to look beyond hexagonal French.

Turning the inherent complexity of geographical, social and situational variation into a normative discourse that is still effective in terms of orientation is a major challenge of modern-day normative grammars. All grammars applying the concepts of variation and pluricentricity tend to be both descriptive and normative (cf. Tacke 2011). This is not a contradiction since there is no purely descriptive, "objective" discourse. Even the most descriptive grammars and dictionaries are inherently prescriptive for being perceived and used as such. However, the requirement of "normative orientation" is difficult to meet not only in the case of pluricentric codifications that describe – for each linguistic feature or variable – a multitude of variants. In this context, a comparison of the criticism directed at contemporary grammars (see the respective contributions) shows interesting parallels.

The lack of normative orientation is addressed in various ways:

1) by producing reduced, i.e. simplified, versions of the same grammar (by omitting part or all of the sub-standard variation like in the case of the Spanish academy's grammar);
2) by complementing the normative grammar by other, more accessible and orienting types of reference tools like, for instance, dictionaries of language difficulties (see below, 3.3.4);
3) by offering language-advice through other kinds of publication and online services (cf. "La Crusca per voi") (see below, 3.3.4).

This clearly illustrates that today, more than ever, the standardization of grammar, traditionally carried out by grammar books that followed the Greco-Roman model, is being taken over and implemented through a variety of instruments that complement each other.

3.3.3 Normative dictionaries

Generally, dictionaries exhibit highly social and symbolic value in any language culture. For this reason, among the three core instruments of formal standardization, lexicography is undeniably the most publicly outstanding codifying activity. In Italy, France and Spain the publication of great dictionaries constituted the first major endeavor of the newly founded academies (see above, 3.3). In their beginnings, these dictionaries were not strictly meant to standardize language use but to demonstrate the cultural greatness, wealth and significance of their respective language. Nonetheless, these were normative dictionaries right from the start in the sense that they codified, through the mechanisms of word selection and exclusion, what was considered the "good use" of language in lexical terms. The comparison of Romance lexicography shows that formal standardization in lexicography was mostly restricted to literary language up until the 19th and in some cases even well into the 20th century. Differences between the three major dictionaries, the *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca*, the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie françoise/française* and the *Diccionario de la lengua castellana/española*, concerned the openness of the respective literary canon, the reference to a more or less defined geographical variety and the acceptance or exclusion of sub-standard forms. The most striking example of restrictiveness is perhaps the Italian case. Following the pattern of Pietro Bembo's *Prose della volgar lingua* (2001 [1525]), the presence or lack of writings of the great Florentine authors of the 14th century determined the selection of lexical means. In this context, the codification of the lexicon could only be modernized in all three languages to the extent that the literary canon was extended to authors of more recent centuries and other geographical provenience. A key concept governing the exclusion of vocabulary is purism. In Italian language culture, it was directed against authors from other regions and only in more recent centuries against foreign borrowings. In France, it was meant to restrict the canon to Parisian *bon usage* and in Spain, purism was directed against both American Spanish forms and foreign borrowings up until the 20th century.

Following the example of Italian, French and Spanish and according to the same premises (literary language, purism), the formal standardization of the Catalan lexicon was initiated at the beginning of the 20th century with Pompeu Fabra's *Diccionari ortogràfic* (1917) and especially the *Diccionari general de la llengua catalana* (1932). Purism meant – and still regards today – the stigmatization of Castilianisms. In the case of Romanian, academic lexicography followed the way paved by purist dictionaries in the 19th century when the first official dictionaries were published starting in the 1950s. The last of the major Romance languages to receive official instruments is Portuguese. In 1988, the Brazilian academy officialized the dictionary first published by Antenor Nascentes between 1961 and 1967. In 2001, the Lisboan academy accomplished the publication of its first complete dictionary, the *Dicionário da Língua Portuguesa Contemporânea* (DLPC). However, these dictionar-

ies were no longer based primarily on literary language but already represent a newer type of normative lexicography based on a much wider notion of (written) standard language.

Beginning in the middle of the 19th century, a conceptual reorientation of (normative) lexicography took place and both the restriction of selection criteria to literary language and purism have slowly been given up in a process of "destandardization" (cf. above, 2.2). Since then, the selection criteria have been opened up to neologisms and scientific vocabulary, and most importantly, to everyday (written) language usage and geographical varieties previously regarded as sub-standard. In this context of restandardization (cf. above, 2.2), dictionaries became usable instruments for any educated speakers and the academies' multi-volume dictionaries (the Spanish DRAE is an exception since 1780) gave place to single-volume dictionaries rather devoid of literary *exempla*. Again, the Italian situation is a particularly good illustration of this development. As a result of the political unification of Italy (1861–1871), the age-old limitation to the literary Florentine language became obsolete and gave place to the creation of a whole series of non-academic dictionaries adapted to "the new linguistic scenarios" (↗9.3) beginning with the *Dizionario della lingua italiana* by Niccolò Tommaseo and Bernardo Bellini (1865–1879). At the same time, the Crusca's inability to adapt explains why the fifth edition of its *Vocabolario* remained unfinished and was abandoned in 1923. Since then, the reference in terms of lexicographic standardization is set by dictionaries "dell'uso" published by individual actors. The French academy's lexicographic activity, while officially still ongoing, seems to be meeting the same fate. Whereas it symbolically maintains its status as "the" norm-defining actor, the publishing houses Hachette, Robert[18] and Larousse have come to be the "big players" (↗10.3) when it comes to defining and constantly modernizing the lexicographic standard. A similar situation defines Catalan language culture (cf. Kailuweit 2002; Tacke 2017): although the Institut d'Estudis Catalans has recently recognized the necessity for reorienting Fabra's archaizing literature-based codification towards a concept of standard language (cf. above, 3.3.2) that takes into account actual usage, it has not applied it to its dictionary yet. Against this backdrop, more pragmatic entities like the Catalan Media Corporation (Corporació Catalana de Mitjans Audiovisuals) have been establishing their own more flexible "media standard", more adapted to the communicative needs of modern society (↗11.3; ↗11.4). Meanwhile, in Portuguese language culture, the aforementioned recent publication of academic dictionaries entered a lexicographic landscape already occupied by important reference-setting dictionaries like those of the publisher Porto Editora in Portugal, and the Brazilian "dictionary families" popularly dubbed *Michaelis*, *Aurélio* and *Houaiss* (↗13.3). The Spanish academy's dictionary stands out in this context: on the one hand, it has constantly been modernized

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18 The Robert dictionaries are based on the model of Émile Littré's dictionary, the most important French dictionary of the 19th century (↗10.3).

in order to keep up with the increasing competition from individual actors since the 19th century; on the other hand, the Spanish academy has successfully managed to replace its concept of purism for a modern and pluricentric concept of standard that embraces geographical variation (↗12.3). Alongside excellent dictionaries "de uso" and despite all criticism, it thus remains the most important dictionary in the Spanish-speaking world.

The recent notion of pluricentrism (cf. above, 2.3) could also be most relevant regarding French and Portuguese. While the French academy rejects considering non-hexagonal forms and private dictionaries like those of Robert, who applied it rather cautiously, pan-Portuguese endeavors to embrace it have not yet completely materialized. It remains to be seen if the recent creation of a common orthographic dictionary (*Vocabulário Ortográfico Comum da Língua Portuguesa* [VOC]) can constitute the grounds for future projects (↗13.3).

In recent years, the rhythm in terms of lexicographic standardization and modernization has increased and the way dictionaries are consulted has changed. On the one side we see how private publishers have adopted a policy of annual new editions starting with the *Zingarelli* (since 1994), the *Petit Robert* (PR) (since 2002), and, most recently, even the Spanish academy's dictionary (since 2017). On the other side, modern language users prefer online consultation and access via smartphone applications. The information provided by our contributors demonstrates that dictionaries are among the first codification instruments to benefit from the advantages of digitalization.

3.3.4 Dictionaries of language difficulties

One of the consequences of formal standardization and the implementation of the standard through school education is the imposition of hierarchies between linguistic variants, i.e. between those forms considered "good use" and those stigmatized as sub-standard (colloquial, vulgar, etc.). This is not just an "objective" fact but also a mental reality for speakers: the implementation of standard languages raises awareness among speakers about the value judgements tied to the use of these variants (cf. Joseph 1987, 16). Since the prescriptive (written) norm of a language constitutes an arbitrary social convention, which is not necessarily based on actual usage or only on the use of a social elite, it "forms a kind of second language" whose acquisition is "comparable in some respects to the acquisition of a foreign language" (↗12.4). Consequently, the implementation of linguistic norms through the constant enforcement of "the good use" and the sanctioning of deviating variants creates linguistic doubts among speakers who wish (and need) to speak and write "correctly", i.e. according to the standardized linguistic model. What is more, in each language culture, there are specific domains of the standard (concerning all types of linguistic structure not only prescriptive grammar rules) that appear

particularly difficult. These doubts and difficulties regarding the acquisition and use of the standard lead to what is called "linguistic insecurity" (Labov 1972; cf. Francard 1997). The scope of linguistic insecurity is, however, not limited to school education, where the standard is effectively implemented but also extends to post-school education.

Against this backdrop, it comes as no surprise that during the Early Modern period, in parallel to the beginning of formal standardization activities in the Romance languages, specific tools addressing both doubts and difficulties emerged. These instruments have evoked and followed up on an ancient textual tradition most famously represented by the *Appendix Probi* and its rhetorical formula "*x*, non *y*" (cf. Lausberg ³1990, § 784, 791; Joseph 1987, 16), also called *Antibarbarus* since the Early Modern period. Hausmann (1977, 139) calls them "dianormative dictionaries" for the general characteristic of discussing and marking variants according to their status. The first of its kind in Romance languages is probably Vaugelas' *Remarques* from 1647. The expression "doutes et difficultez" used by Vaugelas (2009 [1647], 70) was later taken up and is, as of today, quite common within Romance language cultures. For the purpose of this Manual, instead of the English term *usage guide*, we prefer the term *dictionaries of language difficulties*, although, the tools and instruments considered and treated in this Manual under this heading might be known under different names.

Comparing the development of this kind of dianormative instruments, the roots of the present-day dictionaries of difficulties can be traced back to the 19ᵗʰ century in all Romance language cultures. This is especially true in the case of Italian, where the centuries-old Florentine standard "as a non-native and almost only literary grapholect" (↗9.4) was quite unknown to most Italians. By contrast, it is only in the 20ᵗʰ century, when Catalan was first formally standardized by Fabra and the Institut d'Estudis Catalans, that such dictionaries emerged. In their title, most of these works refer to the concepts of doubt or difficulty, either by naming them explicitly or by other terms that address the speakers' linguistic insecurity: by evoking the idea of (in)correctness, speaking well, by referring to barbarisms, "traps" or "subtleties". These instruments vary from one language culture to another regarding their degree of openness towards modernization. In Italian language culture, the "constancy of tradition" (↗9.4) prevails over the acknowledgement of linguistic dynamics. The same is true in French and mostly in Portuguese language culture, while the Spanish case has adopted a more forward-looking normative attitude in consonance with the policy adopted by the Spanish language academies. Again, the Catalan case is special. Due to its sociolinguistic situation within Spain, the official codification with its dictionaries of language difficulties is characterized by a strong puristic attitude against any interferences from Castilian and continues, in this sense, a centuries-old tradition of *tractats de barbarismes* (↗11.4).

Another textual tradition aimed at the resolution of linguistic uncertainties emerged in the 1970s in Spain when newspapers and press agencies created linguis-

tic consultation services in order to cultivate their "product". Spanish *libros de estilo*, first described systematically by Lebsanft (1993; 1997), merged the aforementioned tradition of dianormative dictionaries with American *style books* and have since been adopted as a reference instrument in other Romance language cultures, too. Aimed at the language used by mass media, style books have a special role to play when it comes to modernizing and implementing the given prescriptive norm. While language academies and other actors rarely dispose of the resources necessary to modernize its codification in such a dynamic way as media practices demand (take, for instance, the integration of foreign words), style books and consulting services are much more flexible and adapted for the continuous activity of standardizing and modernizing. It is especially the more recent emergence of online consultation services that extend the scope of printed style books. These are often accessible by the general public as is the case of the Spanish press agency EFE's *Fundación de Español Urgente* (Fundéu) or the Catalan *Optimot* and the CCMA's *ésAdir*, which have even gone so far as to incorporate Twitter and Instagram as viable dissemination tools in recent years. Following the example of these corporations, language academies have been trying to keep up and impose themselves as major players in the field of recommendation giving: the Italian and the Spanish academies have similar offers and even the French academy has a Twitter account through which it occasionally publishes "On dit … On ne dit pas …"-recommendations. *Ciberdúvidas da língua portuguesa* offers a comparable consultation service for all Lusophone countries since 1997.

In sum, instruments like the above-mentioned are becoming increasingly important in Romance language cultures. This is not only due to the general necessity of implementing standard languages through post-school education but can also be explained by the general shift, exposed above, in section 3.3.2, from a prescriptive normative discourse towards descriptivism and variational complexity in (normative) grammaticography. Where speakers do not feel oriented by traditional instruments, they turn to more easily accessible and normatively explicit tools.

3.3.5 "Minor" Romance languages and Creoles

The long tradition of institutionalization in the field of formal standardization that characterizes the cultivation of "major" Romance languages explains why language planning, especially regarding corpus planning and the elaboration of formal instruments, can be considered a matter of course in Romance-speaking cultures. "Minor" Romance languages, most notably Creoles, are, in most cases, languages that dispose of neither a long and continuous tradition of written literature nor a unitary "common language" and informal standard languages. Nevertheless, it comes as no surprise that during the rather recent emergence of "lesser-used" minority or regional languages initiatives to standardize them often tend to follow the way paved by

their already "fully" standardized sisters. This concerns both the creation of similar institutions and instruments. In this sense, in order to affirm an idiom's status as a "full-fledged language", it has to be named. That means, it needs an institution and it needs to dispose of at least an orthography. This is particularly true for the Iberian Peninsula, where (royal) academies and institutes were founded for those languages that are labelled today "las demás lenguas españolas" in article 3 of the Spanish Constitution: the Real Academia Galega and the Instituto da Lingua Galega in 1906 and 1971 respectively, the Real Academia de la Lengua Vasca-Euskaltzaindia in 1918 (for the only non-Romance language), the Academia de la Llingua Asturiana in 1980/1981, the Academia de l'Aragonés in 2006 and – following the establishment by the Catalan government of a commission to standardize Aranese, the variety of Gascon spoken in Spain – the Institut d'Estudis Aranesi in 2014. Since orthography is the most symbolic instrument, and at the same time paramount to status planning, all these institutions have at least proposed spelling norms. While the implementation of those norms is often difficult due to the existence of competing proposals, the authority of the Galician and the Asturian institutions is quite consolidated nowadays and standardization also comprises dictionaries and grammars of high quality. By contrast, the Aragonese academy lacks official status and legislative backing. Besides other associations that claim authority like the Sociedat de Lingüística Aragonesa, founded in 2004, it is the regional government that assumed official authority through its Dirección General de Política Lingüística in 2015 and intends to codify spelling in cooperation with the aforementioned institutions. In the absence of a continuous writing tradition and thus informal standards, the codification of these languages, as well as other "intermediate" idioms (e.g. Mirandese and Galician-Asturian), is often difficult. Critical aspects concern the pursuit of *abstand* (cf. above, 2.2) both to Castilian and to neighbouring languages and varieties as well as the finding of a compromise between diatopical varieties. These compromises often oscillate between polynomic, pluricentric and supra-dialectal approaches (↗14.3). Moreover, the subsequent implementation of codified standards is sometimes more difficult to achieve than codification itself.

In France, Switzerland and Italy, institutionalized language academies with para-statal status and legislative backing are somewhat less common. However, many regions are politically committed to the promotion of "their" languages as is the case of the Osservatorio linguistico per la cultura e la lingua sarda, which is a public entity of the regional government of Sardinia. More often, standardization relies on the initiatives of individuals and private language associations, as was the case with Francoprovençal and Corsican. Among the other "minor" Romance languages, the Institut d'Estudis Occitans, founded in 1945 and named after its Catalan counterpart, resembles the above-mentioned academies more by name than by its activities, which are mostly limited to cultural events. In 2011, a new institution, Lo Congrès permanent de la lenga occitana, was founded in order to promote a unitary Occitan standard language. It provides various reference tools, most notably dictionaries and databases (↗14.2).

Concerning the Rhaeto-Romance languages, the standardization of Ladin is co-ordinated through the Servisc de Planificazion y Eleborazion dl Lingaz Ladin which has been publishing both a reference grammar and dictionaries that enforce the newly created *Ladin Dolomitan* standard since its foundation in 1994. As of Romansh, a similar concept of a written supra-dialectal standard, *Rumantsch Grischun*, was created and codified through dictionaries, databases and grammars. The association Lia Rumantscha, founded in 1928 as an umbrella organization, constitutes the most important institution in all aspects of its promotions. In the case of Friulan, the Società Filologica Friulana, founded in 1919, is the most important actor (↗14.1). Generally when looking at standardization, it is difficult to cross the line between these institutions and the codification work of individuals. In many cases, orthographic proposals, dictionaries and grammars elaborated by individuals are simply assumed and published by or implemented through these associations.

In the case of Romance-based Creoles, the question of relevant actors is even more complicated. In many cases, dictionaries and grammars have been elaborated by (foreign) researchers in attempts to document, not codify, them. Apart from that, problems like competing norms often resemble those observed in the above-mentioned "minor" Romance languages since consensus on which spelling system and linguistic forms are to be considered "standard" are hard to find in environments of traditionally spoken languages that are characterized by high internal variation (↗14.4).

4 About the structure of this Manual

The focus of the first part of this Manual is on theoretical approaches to standard and standardization, from Antiquity to new trends in linguistics. Some of the first seven chapters on (prescriptive) linguistic norm may perhaps be more expectable than others. Nonetheless, we assume that all are necessary to cover the study of "formal" standardization not only as the result of normative activities but also as ongoing processes that lead to codified standards. The key issues of standardization are already addressed by Ancient grammar and rhetoric. Only in the 20th century, after a long period of disinterest, did the theory of linguistic cultivation of the Prague Circle of Linguistics reopen the debate on standardization as an object of descriptive linguistics. Coseriu's comprehensive, multi-layered model of linguistic competence shows that the "exemplary" usage of language is the vanishing point of any categorization of linguistic variation. This is also true for sociolinguistics since its focus on "non-" or "substandard" varieties presupposes the existence of a standard. Pragmatic and Cognitive Linguistics focus on interactional aspects of normative activities, however with quite different frames of explanation. Finally, Discourse Linguistics privileges a metanormative approach that looks behind the scene on which the play of "Standardization" is performed.

The second part of our Manual describes the instruments of codification and modernization of the prescriptive norm in a second set of seven chapters (8–13), corresponding to Romanian, Italian, French, Catalan, Spanish, Portuguese. Furthermore, and this decision may be a controversial one, another chapter (14) is dedicated to "minor" Romance languages as well as Romance-based Creoles. It offers surveys on corresponding activities of formal standardization activities. The focus on reference books of orthography and orthoepy, grammar, and lexicon, as well as on usage guides (the "dictionaries of language difficulties"), is certainly only one among many other possibilities to structure the field of standardization. However, the answers that our authors give to the question "quibus auxiliis?" ("By what means?") show that they don't exclude the other elements of the famous medieval heuristic hexameter "quis, quid, ubi, quibus auxiliis, cur, quomodo, quando?" ("Who says what, where, by what means, why, how, when?"), which is frequently used in the study of standardization (cf., for example, the bibliography in Lebsanft 1997, 82; ↗7). Since the domains of standardization and codification instruments do not correspond with each other in a 1 : 1-relationship as we have shown above (cf. section 3.3), each author has been given the liberty of discussing their subject by adding an onomasiological perspective to their article. Beyond normative grammars and dictionaries, the question of "By which means?", or here: "Through which instruments?", is particularly interesting regarding the domain of orthography and orthoepy, the latter often lacking dedicated codification instruments. Finally, as of today and against the backdrop of what might be called a "descriptive turn" in normative grammaticography, the standardization of grammar is increasingly codified through usage guides – a tradition of texts providing normative orientation that have many different names within Romance language cultures and constitute an interesting, yet – in our opinion – overly neglected object of study.

All chapters follow a roughly similar structure: After an introduction that outlines the basic theoretical premises, information is given on the normative traditions in which contemporary instruments and reference tools are embedded. Even though the focus of this Manual is on contemporary codification instruments and reference tools, these are almost always the result of long historical processes and embedded in normative traditions. Therefore, in order to highlight these traditions and to identify both continuities and discontinuities or even ruptures with previous instruments, all articles include at least a brief historical section.

Finally, this Manual provides an index of subjects that allows the reader easy access to both to theoretical notions and to secondary subjects.

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Theories of Linguistic Norm

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1 Linguistic Norm in Classical Grammar and Rhetoric

Abstract: The chapter addresses the concept of linguistic norm in the tradition of classical grammar and rhetoric, paying special attention to activities concerning standardization processes in the Romance languages. Since a clear distinction between a *pre*scriptive and a *de*scriptive point of view is not given in "traditional grammar", the latter is manifested in the form of grammatical treatises which often also aimed at offering norms for "correct" language use. As a consequence thereof, our contribution will be concerned with aspects relating to the realm of the history of language sciences and, at least partially, to the history of rhetoric. The period taken into consideration ranges from Latin antiquity (Cicero, Quintilian) to the middle of the 17th century (Vaugelas). The topics to be discussed were selected with regard to the significance of the respective protagonists in the history of ideas in (Latin and) Romance language standardization.

Keywords: traditional grammar, rhetoric, *latinitas*, *consuetudo*, *sermo humilis/ rusticus*, Carolingian Renaissance, Humanism, Quintilian, Alberti, Nebrija, Dante Alighieri, Old Occitan, *bon usage*, *Questione della lingua*

1 Introduction

In line with the overall structure of the present volume, this chapter elucidates the concept of linguistic norm as it appears in the tradition of classical grammar and rhetoric. The structure of the article depends, therefore, on the selection of issues which can be considered of (particular) relevance against this background (cf. below) and meet the criterion of relating to activities concerning the standardization process in the Romance languages.

Although concepts and criteria such as *puritas*/*latinitas*, *ratio*, *vetustas*, *auctoritas* or *consuetudo* can shine through in even recent prescriptivist discourses (cf. the examples mentioned in Kraus 2007, 1132), in their original context they are endowed with both grammatical and rhetorical aspects. Nevertheless, this double-faceted character has diminished over the course of time: since the departure of grammar (and logic) from rhetoric can be considered as having been accomplished in 1660 at the latest (obviously, in Spain, France and Italy it occurred at varying times in history; cf. Eggs 1996, 1081–1087 for further information) with the publication of Antoine Arnauld's (1612–1694) and Claude Lancelot's (ca. 1615–1695) *Grammaire générale et raisonnée* (the so-called *Grammaire de Port-Royal*), we have chosen Vaugelas' *Remarques sur la langue françoise* (1647) as the endpoint of the period covered

here (Vaugelas still acts as the antagonist in the *Grammaire générale et raisonnée*, cf. Arnauld/Lancelot 1966 [1660], 79–87 and passim; cf. Marzys 2009, 14). With regard to a suitable starting point, Latin antiquity shall serve this function here, since, for a long time, any attempt at linguistic description/standardization concerning the Romance languages has relied on (some version of the) Latin doctrines (for the dependency of Latin thought on Greek models, cf. e.g. Siebenborn 1976).

The development of linguistics – more precisely the approach to languages as the object of scientific analysis in their own right – has resulted in a clear distinction between the *pre*scriptive and the *de*scriptive point of view. Such a distinction is of course alien to what is generally termed "traditional grammar", but nevertheless, the latter is part of the history of language sciences (and, to a certain degree, the history of [applied] rhetoric as well). This manifests in the form of grammatical treatises which indeed aimed at offering norms for "correct" language use. Apart from that, one should bear in mind that "le grammatiche antiche non potevano essere prescrittive senza essere prima descrittive" (Renzi 2001, 360; cf. also, with reference to sixteenth-century France, the "ordnende Bestandsaufnahme" [comprehensive and systematic inventory] in Winkelmann 1990, 338).

The present article is thus concerned with aspects which also belong to the realm of the history of language sciences or even to (one part of) what has been called "grammatisation", i.e. "le processus qui conduit à *décrire* et à *outiller* une langue sur la base des deux technologies, qui sont encore aujourd'hui les piliers de notre savoir métalinguistique: la grammaire et le dictionnaire" (Auroux 1992, 28; cf. also Auroux 1994, 109–127; Swiggers 2001, 37 and passim, speaks of "mise en grammaire").[1] However, for reasons of space aside, a presentation, analysis and evaluation of theories regarding linguistic norm in the classical "paradigm" cannot be intended to describe comprehensively how norm(s) developed in a period ranging from Latin antiquity to the 17th century.[2] In order to give a coherent account of the most important approaches, a selection has been done according to the signifi-

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1 The modern prescriptive dictionary "n'est pas antérieur à l'imprimerie" (Auroux 1994, 117). Cf. Quondam (1978, 581s.) for the situation in sixteenth-century Italy, e.g. Niccolò Liburnio's (ca. 1474–1557) *Le tre fontane* (1526) and Francesco Alunno's (ca. 1485–1556) *La Fabrica del mondo* (1548). Later, the *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca* (1612) became a (direct or indirect) reference point for the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* (1694) and the *Diccionario de la lengua castellana* (known as "Diccionario de autoridades"; 1726–1739), published by the Real Academia Española; cf. Schweickard (2012, 54).

2 A historical-chronological approach similar to the present one can be found in Bédard/Maurais (1983, "Première partie: La tradition de la norme"). Comprehensive presentations can be found e.g. in Gómez Asencio (2006–2011) for Spain, Settekorn (1988) and Lodge (1993) for France, and Vitale (1984) for Italy. Furthermore, the compendia LRL and RSG are naturally worth mentioning, in particular the articles dedicated to the history of grammaticography/lexicography, language evaluation, language standardization and the external history of the Romance languages (cf. the survey articles no. 1b, 17a, 57, 59 and those concerning Italian, French, Occitan and Spanish in LRL as well as the respectively relevant articles in sections II, VII, X, XI in RSG).

cance attached to certain protagonists in the history of ideas in (Latin and) Romance language standardization, i.e., at least in part, independently of the effective impact these ideas had at their time. We will therefore start with an overview of the concept of *latinitas* in Latin antiquity (section 2) and the question of norm in texts written by Christian authors (section 3); subsequently, we will present the efforts made with regard to norms in Romance vernaculars in the Middle Ages (section 4) and during the age of Humanism (section 5). Special attention will then be paid to the so-called *Questione della lingua* in Renaissance Italy (section 6) and the rise of the concept of *bon usage* in seventeenth-century France (section 7).

At this point, we would like to note a methodological issue: wherever it seems reasonable and adequate to facilitate understanding, our presentation relies directly on primary sources, since, in our opinion, it is crucial to give a voice to the protagonists themselves.

2 The concept of *latinitas*

As is well known, in Classical antiquity, rhetoric plays a crucial role in political, legal and social practices (cf. Porter 2008 and Landfester 2008). According to rhetoric doctrine, every *orator* has to pass through five stages when preparing his speech, the so-called *officia oratoris* or, as Quintilian (ca. 35–100) called them, the *rhetorices partes* (cf. *Inst.* 3, 3, 11): *inventio*, *dispositio*, *elocutio*, *memoria*, *pronuntiatio/actio* (cf. *Inst.* 3, 3, 1). Naturally, aspects concerning the linguistic form in general come into play at the stage of the *elocutio*, the *elocutionis virtutes* being *latinitas*, *perspicuitas*, *ornatus* and *aptum*, first mentioned by Cicero (106–43) in *De oratore*:[3] "primum, ut pure et latine loquamur; deinde ut plane et dilucide; tum ut ornate; post ad rerum dignitatem apte et quasi decore" [we must speak, in the first place, pure and correct Latin, secondly with simple lucidity, thirdly with elegance, lastly in a manner befitting the dignity of our topics and with a certain grace] (1, 144; cf. also Quintilian, *Inst.* 11, 3, 30: "[oratio] emendata dilucida ornata apta esse debet" [speech must be correct, lucid, ornate, and appropriate]; cf. Lausberg [2]1973, §§ 453–1082 for a detailed presentation). As far as linguistic correctness in particular is concerned, the crucial *virtus* is *latinitas*, since it represents the necessary condition for achieving the other *virtutes*.[4]

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3 Unless otherwise indicated, the quotations (both Latin and English) in this section are taken from LCL.

4 This becomes apparent when considering Cicero's use of the adverb *latine* and the adjective *latinus*: in rather identical contexts, the use of both *latine* and *latinus* confirms that they do not have a glottonym reading, but the normative one of "correct, elegant", which can likely be dated back to the 3rd century BC. For a more detailed discussion of *latinitas*, cf. e.g. Uhl (1998, 21–40) and Müller (2001, 249–258).

The expression *latinitas* itself, a calque on the Greek ἑλληνισμὸς (however, for fundamental differences between the concept of ἑλληνισμὸς and that of *latinitas*, cf. Uhl 1998, 25–27 and references mentioned there), is first attested in the anonymous *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (8th decade of the 1st century BC), where it is defined in the following way: "Latinitas est quae sermonem purum conservat, ab omni vitio remotum" [It is Correct Latinity which keeps the language pure, and free of any fault] (4, 17, 3).

Latinitas as a necessary condition for achieving the other *virtutes* depends, however, on rules which are applicable to any type of speech, so that "[s']intéresser [...] à la *latinitas*, c'est s'intéresser à ce qui, dans un énoncé, est indépendant des circonstances où il est émis ou de la personne qui l'emploie" (Baratin 1989, 302). Unsurprisingly so, Cicero speaks somewhat dismissively of the "praecepta Latine loquendi, quae puerilis doctrina tradit" [the rules of correct Latin style, which are imparted by education in boyhood] (*De orat.* 3, 48).

Over time, *latinitas* in the sense of idiomatic correctness continues to gain more and more autonomy from the realm of rhetoric and increasingly becomes a subject of interest within the domain of grammar. The first attestation of *ars grammatica* can be once again found in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, whose author, in fact, makes the promise – despite breaking it in the end – that "[h]aec qua ratione vitare possimus in arte grammatica dilucide dicemus" [how to avoid these faults I shall clearly explain in my tract on Grammar] (4, 17, 6).[5] In the 1st century BC, thus, "[l]inguistic correctness belongs to the domain of grammar rather than rhetoric" (Andersen 2008, 31) or, as Lausberg (²1973, § 456) put it,

> "[d]a die *elocutio* also die sprachliche Formulierung betrifft, hat sie Verwandtschaft mit der *grammatica* [...]. Der Unterschied zwischen beiden liegt im Grad der angestrebten *virtutes* [...]: die Grammatik zielt als *ars recte dicendi* [...] auf die sprachliche Korrektheit (*recte*), die Rhetorik zielt als *ars bene dicendi* [...] auf (redezweckentsprechende) höhere Vollkommenheit (*bene*), auch im Hinblick auf die sprachliche Formulierung (*elocutio*)".

> [[s]ince *elocutio* is concerned with linguistic formulation it is related to *grammatica* [...]. The difference between the two lies in the level of the *virtutes* striven for [...]: grammar as the *ars recte dicendi* [...] aims at linguistic correctness (*recte*), whereas rhetoric as the *ars bene dicendi* [...] seeks higher perfection (*bene*) (in relation to the purpose of the speech) even with regard to linguistic formulation (*elocutio*).]

The decision of whether a somehow unusual grammatical element is reconcilable with the virtue of *latinitas* or whether a linguistically correct *sermo* has been ob-

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5 But cf. Baratin (2000, 459): "Cette indication ne garantit nullement qu'il y ait eu à Rome à l'époque de ce texte une grammaire latine du genre des *artes* tardives. L'auteur de la *Rhétorique à Hérennius*, qui suivait selon toute vraisemblance un modèle grec, peut s'être ici simplement conformé aux indications de ce modèle sur la répartition des tâches entre rhétorique et grammaire, et avoir transposé littéralement en latin le projet purement grec de rédiger une *tékhnē grammatikḗ* [...]".

tained essentially depends on four criteria according to Quintilian (cf. Ax 2011, 230–233 for a detailed commentary; for varying approaches to compiling the criteria, cf. Siebenborn 1976, esp. 53–55; for further details, cf. also Lausberg ²1973, §§ 464–469; Baratin 1989, 345–350; Eggs 1996, 1042s.; Uhl 1998, 27–32; Pagani 2015, 832–848):

> "Sermo constat ratione vetustate auctoritate consuetudine. Rationem praestat praecipue analogia, nonnumquam etymologia. Vetera maiestas quaedam et, ut sic dixerim, religio commendat. Auctoritas ab oratoribus vel historicis peti solet [...]. Consuetudo vero certissima loquendi magistra, utendumque plane sermone, ut nummo, cui publica forma est. Omnia tamen haec exigunt acre iudicium [...]" (*Inst.* 1, 6, 1–3).

> [Language is based on Reason, Antiquity, Authority, and Usage. Reason is grounded principally on Analogy, but sometimes also on Etymology. Antiquity is commended to us by a certain majesty and, I might almost say, religious awe. Authority is generally sought from orators and historians. [...] Finally, Usage is the surest teacher of speaking, and we should treat language like money marked with the public stamp. But all these criteria need keen judgement [...].]

Since meeting all four of these criteria can give rise to situations of conflict and the application of only *ratio*, *vetustas* or *auctoritas* can lead to mistakes, applying *acre iudicium* becomes indispensable. Nevertheless, "[d]ie wichtigste und letztlich entscheidende Richtlinie ist die *consuetudo*" [the most important and ultimately decisive guideline is *consuetudo*] (Lausberg ²1973, § 465; cf. also § 469; for a detailed discussion, cf. Müller 2001, 183–207, 324s.), which must be read exclusively in the sense of the "consensu[s] eruditorum" [consensus of the educated] (*Inst.* 1, 6, 45; with regard to the relation between *consuetudo* and its near-synonym *usus* cf. below, 3.3).

These guidelines of linguistic correctness found use in normative descriptions of "good" Latin (grammars of the "*de latinitate* type", cf. Ax 2005, 123, 133), in which problematic instances of language use, divided into the different parts of speech to which they belong, were discussed and resolved. Among the authors of this type of grammar, one can mention (cf. Siebenborn 1976, 33s.) Gnipho (*De sermone latino*, 2nd/1st century BC), Caesar (*De analogia*, 54 BC), Varro (*De sermone latino*; books VIII–X of *De lingua latina*; both 4th decade of the 1st century BC), Crassicius Pasicles/Pansa (*De latinitate*, end of the 1st century BC), Pliny the Elder (*Dubii sermonis libri octo*, before 68) and Caper (*De latinitate*, ca. 200). However, while most of these texts are no longer extant, they became part of the grammars of late antiquity, which in turn established the basis for Latin grammars in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period (for an overview of the "developing model of *grammatica* in the Roman and early medieval world", cf. Irvine 1994, 49–87).

Still, there is also another type of grammar treatises, the "*ars* type" (cf. Ax 2005, 123, 132s.), a rather didactically inspired presentation of linguistic elements. This was first and foremost designed with the intent to clarify certain language structures in a given text, not to provide normative judgements; this genre can be further subdivided (cf. Ax 2005, 123) in the tripartite "Donatus type" (*elementa*, *partes ora-*

tionis and *virtutes et vitia orationis*) and the bipartite "Priscianus type" (*partes ora-tionis*, syntax). The most important texts of this type are those of Donatus (*Ars minor* and *Ars maior*, ca. 350) and Priscian (*Institutiones grammaticae*, 526/527), who serve as models for both further developed Latin and, subsequently, vernacular grammati-cography (cf. below, section 4ss.).

As far as grammars dating from the 3rd to the 5th centuries are concerned, Law (2003, 63s.) proposes another distinction, based on their writers' motivation: gram-mars "of a predominantly semantic orientation [...] reflect the needs of native speak-ers" (e.g. Donatus, Priscian's *Institutiones grammaticae*; cf. Law 2003, 63–80), "whereas those which concentrate on form [...] are geared to foreign students of Latin" (e.g. Priscian's *Institutio de nomine et pronomine et verbo*; cf. Law 2003, 83–88). This difference with regard to the target groups is closely intertwined with the evolution of the overall socio-linguistic situation in late antiquity, which contribut-ed to the appearance of the so-called *Appendix Probi* (second half of the 5th century), a "heterogeneous assemblage" (Law 1986, 374). It consists of eight sections, rather different in nature, concerning phonetic, morphological, orthographic/orthoepic and semantic/lexical aspects.[6]

3 The question of norm with Christian authors

The rise of Christianity from a small sect to the state religion of the Roman Empire (and beyond) had far-reaching repercussions on the question of the rhetorical and linguistic norms that had to be observed in the relevant texts. This can easily be illustrated by the selection of statements below, ranging from the end of the 4th to the end of the 8th century (cf. Auernheimer 2003, 16) since they offer insight into

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6 We cannot enter the complex field of what is traditionally termed "de orthographia" here, but questions of orthoepy and morphology as well as the discussion of *differentiae verborum* eventually come into play (for an overview cf. Desbordes 1990; Brugnoli 1955; Codoñer 1985; De Paolis 2010 and the references mentioned in these four sources).

As far as the *Appendix Probi* is concerned, it has become famous in historical Romance linguis-tics due to its antibarbarus ("x *non* y"). It should be born in mind that what is often referred to with the label "Appendix Probi" is merely this section (but cf. e.g. Reutner 2014, 206, as opposed to the correct presentation in Iliescu/Slusanski 1991, 103), which must be considered in the context of the other *appendices*. Recently, the (entire) *Appendix Probi* has been the object of profound re-assessment on historical, philological and linguistic grounds, cf. Stok (1997); Quirk (2005; 2006); Lo Monaco/Molinelli (2007); Powell (2007); Asperti/Passalacqua (2014); De Paolis (2015); Di Giovine (2015) and the respective references mentioned therein. As far as the structure "x *non* y" of this antibarbarus is concerned, this "formula rigidamente prescrittiva, che *pour cause* non ricorre nei trattatisti più antichi come Terenzio Scauro e Velio Longo, è indizio di un rigido atteggiamento normativo all'interno di [...] un tipo di grammatica che [...] cominciò a diffondersi allorché flussi sempre maggiori di alloglotti si accostarono con fatica all'apprendimento della lingua latina" (Man-cini 2007, 75).

certain conflicting views on language norms of those periods. These statements show that there were proponents of "functional" language use, prioritizing the successful transmission of the Christian faith over formal aspects, and later, advocates of only "correct" Latin, i.e. Latin used strictly in conformity with the authorities' expectations:[7]

"Non est absconditum os meum a te, quod fecisti in abscondito. Os suum dicit; quod vulgo dicitur ossum, latine os dicitur. [...] Nam possemus hic putare os esse, ab eo quod sunt ora; non os correpte, ab eo quod sunt ossa. Non est ergo absconditum, inquit, os meum a te, quod fecisti in abscondito. Habeo in abscondito quoddam ossum. Sic enim potius loquamur: *melius est reprehendant nos grammatici, quam non intellegant populi*" (Augustine, *In psalm.* 138, 20; italics added).

[*My bone is not hidden from you, for it was you who created it in that secret place.* He speaks of his bone, *os*, another form of which in popular Latin is *ossum*. [...] we might have thought he meant *os* [...], of which the plural is *ora*, rather that [*sic*] *os* [...]. *My bone is not hidden from you*, he says, *for it was you who created it in that secret place*. I have a certain *ossum* hidden within me (we prefer to use the word *ossum*; better that linguistic experts should find fault with us than that people should not understand) (III-20, 272).]

"Quaeso autem ut huius operis dicta percurrens, in his verborum folia non requiras, quia per sacra eloquia ab eorum tractatoribus infructuosae loquacitatis levitas studiose compescitur [...]. [...] Unde et ipsam loquendi artem, quam magisteria disciplinae exterioris insinuant, servare despexi. Nam sicut huius quoque epistolae tenor enuntiat, non metacismi collisionem fugio, non barbarismi confusionem devito, situs modosque etiam et praepositionum casus servare contemno, quia *indignum vehementer existimo, ut verba caelestis oraculi restringam sub regulis Donati*" (Gregory the Great, *Epist.* 5, 53a; 601; italics added).

[I beg you not to expect a great deal of eloquence as you read over the work, for the Word of God carefully restrains easy, fruitless talkativeness in its interpreters [...]. [...] Therefore I have refused to be a slave to the art of rhetoric taught by the masters of external excellence. As the movement of this letter already shows, I do not avoid collisions of metacism or the confusion of barbarisms; I disdain word order and tenses of verbs as well as the rules governing the use of prepositions. I consider it highly unworthy of the words of heavenly revelation to subject them to the rules of Donatus (Gregory the Great 2014, 55).]

"Psalmos, notas, cantus, compotum, grammaticam per singula monasteria vel episcopia et libros catholicos bene emendate; quia saepe, *dum bene aliqui Deum rogare cupiunt, sed per inemendatos libros malo rogant*. Et pueros vestros non sinite eos vel legendo vel scribendo corrumpere; et si opus est evangelium, psalterium et missale scribere, perfectae aetatis homines scribant cum omni diligentia" (*Admonitio generalis*; 789; italics added).

[Correct, we command you, with due care the copies of the psalms, the written signs, the chants, the calendar, the grammar in each monastery and diocese, and the Catholic books,

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7 Unless otherwise indicated, the quotations in this section are taken from the following sources: LLT–A (Augustine, Gregory the Great, Jerome), eMGH (*Admonitio generalis*, *Epistola de litteris colendis*, Gregory of Tours, Council of Tours) and LCL (*Rhetorica ad Herennium*, Cicero, Horace, Quintilian) for Latin; the English translations of Augustine's texts are taken from Augustine (1990ss.), quoted by part, volume and page.

because often people wish to pray to the Lord, but do so badly, because the books are at fault. And do not allow your boys to corrupt the books by their own reading or writing. If a copy be needed, of the Gospel, or Psalter or Missal, let men of ripe age write it out with all diligence (Duckett 1965, 122).]

While Augustine (354–430) does not challenge the validity of grammatical norms as such, since they are irrelevant only in view of the effect to be achieved, Gregory the Great (ca. 540–604) outright places the *verba caelestis oraculi* above the *regulae Donati*; for Charlemagne (747/748–814), praying correctly implies praying linguistically correctly.

Early Christian authors therefore mark an important change in their attitude towards Latin norms, distancing themselves from "classical" positions and giving priority to ideas such as *humilitas* and *rusticitas* (3.1); but this development was not crowned with success (3.2).

3.1 *Sermo humilis* and *sermo rusticus*

3.1.1 *Sermo humilis*

A profound shift with regard to the stance towards the *sermo humilis* occurs due to Christian authors, first of all Augustine – Müller (2001, 111) speaks of the "Augustinische Wende" [Augustinian turn] (Auerbach 1958a remains essential as insight into Augustine's relevance for the *sermo humilis*). According to this Church Father, rhetoric can be well commissioned to serve *veritas* instead of *falsitas*:

"Cum ergo sit in medio posita facultas eloquii, quae ad persuadenda seu prava seu recta valet plurimum, cur non bonorum studio comparatur, ut militet veritati, si eam mali ad obtinendas perversas vanasque causas in usus iniquitatis et erroris usurpant?" (*Doctr. christ.* 4, 2, 3).

[So since facilities are available for learning to speak well, which is of the greatest value in leading people either along straight or along crooked ways, why should good men not study to acquire the art, so that it may fight for the truth, if bad men can prostitute it to the winning of their vain and misguided cases in the service of iniquity and error? (I-11, 202).]

Thus, "Christianizing" Cicero's doctrine of styles in the fourth book of *De doctrina christiana*, Augustine states, paraphrasing the *Romani auctor eloquii* himself:

"Qui ergo nititur dicendo persuadere quod bonum est, nihil illorum trium spernens – ut scilicet doceat, ut delectet, ut flectat –, oret atque agat ut, quemadmodum supra diximus, intellegenter, libenter, oboedienterque audiatur. Quod cum apte et convenienter facit, non immerito eloquens dici potest, etsi non eum sequatur auditoris assensus. Ad haec enim tria, id est ut doceat, ut delectet, ut flectat, etiam illa tria videtur pertinere voluisse idem ipse Romani auctor eloquii, cum itidem dixit: 'Is erit igitur eloquens, qui poterit parva summisse, modica temperate, magna granditer dicere' [cf. Cicero, *Orat.* 101; cf. also 100], tamquam si adderet illa etiam tria, et sic explicaret unam eamdemque sententiam, dicens: Is erit igitur eloquens, qui ut doceat poterit parva summisse, ut delectet modica temperate, ut flectat magna granditer dicere" (4, 17, 34).

[The man, therefore, who is striving by speaking to persuade people to do what is good, bearing in mind each of those three things, namely that he is meant to be teaching, delighting and swaying them, should pray, and take pains to ensure, as we said above, that he is listened to with understanding, with enjoyment, and with obedience. When he does this in a fitting and suitable manner, he can be not undeservedly called eloquent, even if he does not win the assent of his audience. For to these three things, that is teaching, delighting and swaying, that other trio seems to have been attached, according to the mind of the great founder of Roman eloquence himself, when he said in similar vein, "That man therefore will be eloquent, who can talk about minor matters calmly, about middling ones moderately, about great matters grandly." It's as if, were he to add those other three as well, he could set it all out in one and the same judgment by saying, "That man therefore will be eloquent who, in order to teach, can talk about minor matters calmly; in order to delight, about middling matters moderately; in order to sway, about great matters grandly" (I-11, 220).]

Yet, while the tripartite system with its differentiation in *genus grande*, *genus mediocre* and *genus humile* is appropriate "in causis forensibus" [in instances taken from the law courts], the same does not hold true "in ecclesiasticis quaestionibus" [on ecclesiastical occasions], where "omnia sunt magna quae dicimus" [everything we say is a great matter] (*Doctr. christ.* 4, 18, 35 [I-11, 220s.]), but where attention must be paid rather to the communicative circumstances, cf. e.g.: "cum doctor iste debeat rerum dictor esse magnarum, non semper eas debet granditer dicere, sed summisse cum aliquid docetur, temperate cum aliquid vituperatur sive laudatur" [while this teacher should always be setting forth great matters, he does not always have to say them in the grand manner. But he should do it calmly when he is teaching, moderately when he has something to blame or praise] (*Doctr. christ.* 4, 19, 38 [I-11, 222]; cf. also Auerbach 1958a, 30–34). Augustine thus suspends the rule of *aptum*, aesthetic concerns becoming subordinate to pragmatic ones.

Speaking of the "Scripturarum mirabili[s] altitud[o] et mirabili[s] humilita[s]" [the marvelous heights and equally marvelous lowliness and humility of those scriptures] (*Doctr. christ.* 2, 42, 63 [I-11, 162]) in order to demonstrate the seemingly paradoxical relation between content and form, Augustine reframes *humilis*/*humilitas* in a clearly rhetorical sense (cf. *Confess.* 6, 5, 8 [I-1, 142]: "humillimo genere loquendi" [in very humble modes of speech]). The *sermo humilis*, in Horace's (65–8) poetics and Quintilian's rhetoric relegated to the realm of substandard (cf. Müller 2001, 99–104, 104s., 319),[8] now specifically covers the ideational realm of Christian speech

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8 Cf. e.g. *Ars*, 225–230: "Verum ita risores, ita commendare dicaces / conveniet Satyros, ita vertere seria ludo, / ne quicumque deus, quicumque adhibebitur heros, / regali conspectus in auro nuper et ostro, / migret in obscuras humili sermone tabernas, / aut, dum vitat humum, nubes et inania captet" [But it will be fitting so to seek favour for your laughing, bantering Satyrs, so to pass from grave to gay, that no god, no hero, who shall be brought upon the stage, and whom we have just beheld in royal gold and purple, shall shift with vulgar speech into dingy hovels, or, while shunning the ground, catch at clouds and emptiness]; *Inst.* 11, 1, 6: "neque humile atque cotidianum sermonis genus et compositione ipsa dissolutum epilogis dabimus" [nor again shall we employ low or colloquial language, without rhythmical structure, in the Epilogue].

(but cf. nevertheless what he says in his *Retractationum libri duo* 2, 3 [I-2, 112]: "Liber *De agone christiano* fratribus in eloquio Latino ineruditis humili sermone conscriptus est" [The book on the Christian combat was composed in simple language for brothers who were not educated in Latin]).

With the rise of Christianity, the "commun[is] loquendi consuetude[o]" [usual common way of talking] (Augustine, *Gen. c. Manich.* 1, 1, 1 [I-13, 39]) emerges from the shadows and emancipates itself from exemplary Latin in literary, rhetorical and grammatical respects (cf. Müller 2001, 193s., 321–324), becoming an alternative norm for contact between the *docti* and the *indocti*: "Hunc enim sermonem usitatum et simplicem etiam docti intellegunt, illum autem indocti non intellegunt" [The learned too, after all, can understand this ordinary and simple language while the unlearned cannot understand that other sort] (*Gen. c. Manich.* 1, 1, 1 [I-13, 39]). The rupture of tradition with the *consuetudo* in Quintilian's sense of "consensu[s] eruditorum" [consensus of the educated] (*Inst.* 1, 6, 45) becomes evident from Augustine's statement in *De doctrina christiana* 2, 13, 19 (italics added; cf. also below, 3.3):

> "Nam non solum verba singula, sed etiam locutiones saepe transferuntur, quae omnino in latinae linguae usum, si quis *consuetudinem veterum* qui latine locuti sunt tenere voluerit, transire non possint. Nam soloecismus qui dicitur, nihil est aliud quam cum verba non ea lege sibi coaptantur qua coaptaverunt qui *priores nobis* non sine auctoritate aliqua locuti sunt. Utrum enim 'inter homines' an 'inter hominibus' dicatur, ad rerum non pertinet cognitorem. Item barbarismus quid aliud est nisi verbum non eis litteris vel sono enuntiatum, quo ab *eis qui ante nos latine locuti sunt* enuntiari solet? [...] Quid est ergo integritas locutionis nisi *alienae consuetudinis conservatio, loquentium veterum auctoritate firmatae*?".

> [It is often the case, after all, that not only single words but also whole phrases are transposed which simply cannot go into correct Latin [...] usage, if one wishes to stick to the standards of the old classical authors who spoke the language. [...] What are called solecisms, after all, are simply cases where words are put together without observing the rules followed by our predecessors, whose manner of writing and speaking was not without authority. I mean, whether you say in Latin *inter homines* or *inter hominibus* [...] makes no difference to our ability to get the meaning. Again, what else is a barbarism but the spelling or pronunciation of a word in a way which was not accepted by received authors of the past? [...] What else then is correctness of speech but the observation of a manner that is foreign to one, which has been established by the authority of past speakers? (I-11, 138).]

3.1.2 *Sermo rusticus*

Until Augustine and Jerome (347–420), the qualification of *rusticus*/*rusticitas* had born a clearly pejorative connotation, but it became a neutral one. The verse of the *Second Epistle to the Corinthians* (cf. 2 Cor. 11,6), to which Jerome alludes in his dictum "nisi forte rusticum Petrum, rusticum dicimus et Iohannem, quorum uterque dicere poterat: etsi inperitus sermone, non tamen scientia" [but perhaps we ought to call Peter and John ignorant, both of whom could say of themselves, "though I be rude in speech, yet not in knowledge"] (*Epist.* 53, 4 [Wace/Schaff 1893, 98]), turned at first into a general permission and then became a programmatic imperative (cf. Müller

2001, 68) – even if there could be some resistance on behalf of the church attendees, as Gregory of Tours (538–594) tells us and immediately rejects such claims:

> "[...] uni presbiterorum gloriosa solemnia caelebrare praecepi. Sed cum presbiter ille nescio quid *rustice* festiva verba depromeret, multi eum de nostris inridere coeperunt, dicentes: 'Melius fuisset tacere, quam sic *inculte* loqui'. Nocte autem insecuta, vidi virum dicentem mihi: 'De mysteriis Dei nequaquam disputandum'. [...] Unde, dilectissimi, nullus de hoc mysterio, etiamsi *rustice* videatur dici, disputare praesumat, quia apud Dei maiestatem magis simplicitas pura quam philosophorum valet argutia" (*Mart.* 2, 1; italics added).

> [I ordered one of the priests to celebrate the glorious ceremony. But when that priest for some reason pronounced the words of the liturgy incorrectly, many members of my congregation began to laugh at him and said: "It would have been better to be silent than to speak so incorrectly." During the following night I saw a man who said to me: "There must never be any disagreement about the mysteries of God." [...] Therefore, most beloved people, let no one dare to disagree about this mystery, even if it seems to be recited in an uncouth fashion, because in the presence of God's majesty pure simplicity is more effective than philosophical cleverness (van Dam 1993, 229).]

Precisely because of his frequent emphasis on his poor language skills, which thus appears somewhat unconvincing and rather potentially instantiates the modesty topos (cf. Müller 2001, 73–76 for examples and discussion; cf. also Berschin 1986, 299–302; Heinzelmann 1994, 84–90), Gregory of Tours arguably intended to legitimate the *sermo rusticus* as a new, forward-looking variety able to fulfil the communicative needs of the broader public (cf. Auerbach 1958b, 83; Berschin 1986, 302; Fuhrmann 1994, 346; Müller 2001, 74). The advanced stage of this process, despite being doomed to failure in the course of the 7th century due to the extinction of literary life in Gaul (and Italy) (cf. Auerbach 1958b, 83, 88s.; Fuhrmann 1994, 346, 349), can easily be inferred from Gregory the Great first using the term *lingua rustica*. This expression became famous by the well-known decision made during the Council of Tours (813), which prescribed the use of the *rustica romana lingua* in homilies: "Visum est unanimitati nostrae, ut quilibet episcopus habeat omelias continentes necessarias ammonitiones [...]. Et ut easdem omelias quisque aperte transferre studeat in rusticam Romanam linguam aut Thiotiscam, quo facilius cuncti possint intellegere quae dicuntur" [We were unanimous in deciding that every bishop should have at hand homilies containing the necessary admonitions [...] and that these homilies should be translated in a straightforward way [...] by each one of them into the rustic Roman speech or into Germanic, so that people may more easily understand what is said][9] (cf. also below, 3.2).

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9 The translation is taken from Herman (2006, 200). It seems noteworthy that in translations of this canon, the expression "in rusticam Romanam linguam" is often maintained as such, probably because of the notoriously thorny problem with its "correct" interpretation (cf. e.g. Ledgeway 2012, 1, n. 2: "'rustic Roman(ce?) speech'"). For this and other questions concerning the canon quoted, cf. Asperti (2006, 124–129); cf. Kramer (1998, 163) for the relation between *latinus* and *romanus* in the Middle Ages; cf. also Herman (2006, 200–203); Selig (2011, 263–268).

3.2 The impact of Carolingian Renaissance

Gregory of Tours' experiment, which could have resulted in a new kind of prose style (cf. Fuhrmann 1994, 346), was not crowned with success because of the general decline in cultural life in Gaul (and Italy) from the 7th century onwards (cf. above, 3.1.2). By the end of the 8th century, this situation would be countered with measures that led to the so-called "Carolingian Renaissance", i.e. the overall cultural revival of which Charlemagne and his court, in particular the Irish monk Alcuin (735–804), were the impetus (cf., among others, Brown 1994; Irvine 1994, 298–313; Law 1994; Auernheimer 2003, 103–127; Lüdtke 2005, 618–644).

Aside from the requests expressed in the *Admonitio generalis* (cf. above, section 3), the other important manifesto is the programmatic *Epistola de litteris colendis* (cf. Martin 1985; Berschin 1991, 101–113), where, audaciously reinterpreting the verse 12,37 of the *Gospel according to Matthew*, it is stated unambiguously (italics added):

> "[...] sicut regularis norma honestatem morum, ita quoque docendi et discendi instantia ordinet et ornet seriem verborum, ut, *qui deo placere appetunt recte vivendo, ei etiam placere non negligant recte loquendo*. Scriptum est enim: 'Aut ex verbis tuis iustificaberis, aut ex verbis tuis condemnaberis'. [...] Debet ergo quisque discere quod optat implere, ut tanto uberius quid agere debeat intellegat anima, quanto in omnipotentis Dei laudibus sine mendaciorum offendiculis cucurrerit lingua".

> [[...] just as the observance of the rule imparts order and grace to honesty of morals, so also zeal in teaching and learning may do the same for sentences, so that those who desire to please God by living rightly should not neglect to please him also by speaking correctly. For it is written: "Either from thy words thou shalt be justified or from thy words thou shalt be condemned." [...] Therefore, each one ought to study what he desires to accomplish, so that so much the more fully the mind may know what ought to be done, as the tongue hastens in the praises of omnipotent God without the hindrances of errors (DHUP, no. 5, 12s.).]

As long as correct pronunciation was guaranteed "automatically" by a standard traced back to the upper class (Cicero) or the educational elite (Quintilian), orthoepy did not need to preoccupy Latin rhetoricians and grammarians. This changed, however, during the 2nd and 4th century, whereby orthoepy did indeed gain considerable attention (cf. Müller 2001, 327–329; cf. also above, n. 6). Nevertheless, Origen's (185–ca. 254) early dictum "καὶ ὁ πάσης διαλέκτου κύριος τῶν ἀπὸ πάσης διαλέκτου εὐχομένων ἀκούει ὡς μιᾶς, ἵν' οὕτως ὀνομάσω, φωνῆς τῆς κατὰ τὰ σημαινόμενα ἀκούων, δηλουμένης ἐκ τῶν ποικίλων διαλέκτων" [And the Lord of every language hears those who pray in every language as though He were hearing one utterance, so to speak, the same meaning being expressed by the various languages] (Origenes 2001 [248], 552 [Origen 1980 (248), 479]) had made the quality of spoken expression an affair of little importance for Christians. That *recte loqui* had become a "problem" is in this way, among others, due to the increased distance between the spoken and the written expression of Latin (cf. Berschin 1991, 144s.), a development Alcuin intended to antagonize taking recourse to the *auctoritas veterum*:

"A[LBINUS]. Facunda [elocutio] erit, si grammaticae regulas servat et auctoritate veterum fulcitur. K[ARLUS]. Qualiter ad auctoritatem priscorum potest oratio nostra pervenire? A. Legendi sunt auctorum libri eorumque bene dicta memoriae mandanda: quorum sermone adsueti facti qui erunt, ne cupientes quidem poterunt loqui nisi ornate. Neque tamen utendum erit verbis priscis, quibus iam consuetudo nostra non utitur, nisi raro ornandi causa et parce, sed tamen usitatis plus ornatur eloquentia"[10] (*Disputatio de rhetorica et de virtutibus* 37; Halm 1863, 544).

[ALCUIN: It [style] will be eloquent if it preserves the rules of grammar and is sustained by the authority of the ancient writers. C[HARLEMAGNE]: How can our speech attain the authority of the ancient writers? A: The books of the *auctores* should be read and what is well said in them committed to memory. Whoever has become trained in their discourse cannot but speak eloquently when wishing to do so. Nevertheless, we should not use antique words which current practice does not employ, unless they are used for the sake of ornament and sparingly. But eloquence is equipped more with familiar words (Irvine 1994, 326).]

Re-establishing, at least for certain contexts, (a variety close to) classical Latin as a point of reference, Alcuin contributes to making palpable or rather audible, the difference between Latin and the *rustica* (*romana*) *lingua*, referred to only a few years later and sanctioned in the decision made during the Council of Tours (cf. above, 3.1.2).

3.3 A remark on *consuetudo* and *usus*

As indicated by both Augustine's distinction between the *latinae linguae usus* and the *consuetudo veterum* (cf. 3.1.1) and Alcuin's warning against the "verb[a] prisc[a], quibus iam consuetudo nostra non utitur" [antique words which current practice does not employ] (cf. 3.2), the primacy which Quintilian had accorded to the criterion of *consuetudo* (cf. section 2) led to a clear orientation towards the contemporary language use as a normative guideline.

In the intended meaning relevant here, *consuetudo* appears for the first time in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (4, 32, 43, with regard to metonymic speech: "plena consuetudo est non modo poetarum et oratorum sed etiam cotidiani sermonis huiusmodi denominationum" [the use of metonymies of this kind is abundant not only amongst the poets and orators but also in everyday speech]). This text also contains the first traces of the lexical family of *usus* in the reading relevant to the current discussion: "Usitata sunt ea [verba] quae versantur in consuetudine cotidiana" [Current terms are such as [those which] are habitually used in everyday speech] (4, 17, 21). The noun *usus* itself is first attested in Cicero (*De orat.* 3, 177: "non enim sunt alia sermonis, alia contentionis verba, neque ex alio genere ad usum quotidianum,

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10 Alcuin's answer is an almost literal quotation from C. Julius Victor's (4th century) *Ars rhetorica* (cf. Halm 1863, 431), who in turn follows Cicero, *De orat.* 3, 39, but note the difference between Victor and Cicero: "quorum sermone assuefacti qui erunt, ne cupientes quidem poterunt loqui nisi *Latine*" [those who have made themselves familiar with their language, will be unable to speak

alio ad scenam pompamque sumuntur" [the vocabulary of conversation is the same as that of formal oratory, and we do not choose one class of words for daily use and another for full-dress public occasions]; *Orat.* 160, 6: "usum loquendi populo concessi" [I yielded to the people in the matter of usage]) and later also used by Horace: "Multa renascentur quae iam cecidere, cadentque / quae nunc sunt in honore vocabula, si volet usus, / quem penes arbitrium est et ius et norma loquendi" [Many terms that have fallen out of use shall be born again, and those shall fall that are now in repute, if Usage so will it, in whose hands lies the judgement, the right and the rule of speech] (*Ars* 70–72).

Alongside *consuetudo*, Quintilian had reverted to *usus*, too (cf. e.g. *Inst.* 2, 10, 9: "verba in usu cotidiano posita" [words that are in daily use]; 8, 6, 21: "cotidiani sermonis usus" [usage in everyday speech]), but according to Müller (2001, 211–213), the relation between *consuetudo* and *usus* is only one of near-synonymy: while the point of view conveyed by *usus* is a strictly synchronic one, *consuetudo* causes one to conceive of a given situation rather as the result of a historical development. As a consequence, as far as Quintilian himself is concerned, *usus* would thus not be "[e]ine andere Bezeichnung für *consuetudo*" [another designation for *consuetudo*] (Lausberg ²1973, § 469), but this explicit "terminological" differentiation would have disappeared later (cf. e.g. Uhl 1998, 309–337, 399–407 on *usus* in Servius' (4th/5th century) commentaries on the works of Virgil; Ferri/Probert 2010 for a more general overview and a small "glossary" of relevant terms). The Romance lexemes denoting '(language) usage' (cf. Occ. *us*/*uzatge*, It./Sp. *uso*, Fr. *usage*), however, point to the lexical family of USUS as the etymological starting point (It. *consuetudine* is a Latinism).

4 Norms and vernaculars in the Middle Ages

The "vernacular turn", i.e. "the shift from the use of Latin as a written language to the use of vernaculars for that purpose" (Percival 1999, 11), triggers the long-term process of "grammatisation" (Auroux 1992, 28; cf. also section 1). At the beginning however, efforts to standardize prove rather varied: while in the case of Occitan, one recognizes an early success (4.1), as with Dante Alighieri, the situation in Italy appears rather unsatisfactory (4.2).

4.1 The Occitan *koiné*

The earliest texts concerned with the question of norm(s) in Romance vernaculars involve "the first literary Romance *koiné*" (Kabatek 2013, 174), the language of the *trobadors* in the 12th/13th centuries. Although the texts in which this language is

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anything but good Latin, even if they want to] (italics added). On Victor's modifications of Cicero and those of Alcuin with respect to Victor, cf. the detailed analysis in Martin (1982).

used show some minor differences, "cet 'occitan des troubadours'" (Swiggers 2011, 134) was rather uniform and unsurprisingly was the first Romance variety "described in didactic texts as early as the 13th century" (Kabatek 2013, 174).

Among these texts, the Catalan Ra(i)mon Vidal de Besalù's *Razos de trobar* (end of the 12th century/beginning of the 13th century), the Occitan Uc Faidit's *Donatz Proensals* (ca. 1240) and the Toulousian Guilhem Molinier's *Leys d'Amors* (the manuscripts date from 1328 to 1360) are of particular note.[11] The *Razos de trobar* and the *Donatz Proensals* are associated with a courtly environment – the former with "the aristocratic public of the Catalan courts" (Marshall 1972b, LXX; for a different view, cf. Swiggers 2011, 137, n. 21), the latter with the court of Frederick II in Italy (cf. Marshall 1969b, 62–65) –, while the *Leys d'Amors* are written in and designated to the urban, bourgeois environment of Toulouse (cf. Coseriu/Meisterfeld 2003, 31).

The *Razos de trobar* – an "[o]uvrage poético-grammatical" (Swiggers 2011, 137) –, "are not a comprehensive grammar of Old Provençal", containing only "an outline of the nominal, pronominal and verbal systems", but despite "announc[ing] an organization according to the part-of-speech model [...], [...] a general division between 'substantive' words, 'adjective' words and 'invariable' words" is used, "which reflects the influence of logic and modistic grammar" (Stammerjohann [2]2009, vol. 2, 1237):

> "Totz hom qe s'entenda en gramatica deu saber qe og partz son de qe totas las paraolas del mont si trason, so es a saber, del nom et del pronom et del verb et del averbi et del particip et de la coniunctio et de la prepositio et de la interiectio.
> Par[t] tot aiso qe ieu vos [ai] dich, deves saber qe las paraola[s] i a de tres manieras: las unas son aiectivas et las autras substantivas et las autras ni l'un ni l'autre. [...] Mas cellas de l'averbi et de la coniunctio et de la prepositio et de la interiectio, per [so] car singularitat ni pluralitat non an ni demostron genre ni persona ni temps ni sostenon ni son sostengudas, non son ni l'un ni l'autres, et podes las appellar neutras" (Marshall 1972a, 6).

The *Donatz Proensals*, by contrast, is "a didactic and philologically well-informed work, which includes a dictionary of rhymes"; "based on the parts-of-speech model", "[it] combines definitions from Donatus and Priscian" (Stammerjohann [2]2009, vol. 2, 1533). Though not questioning generally the idea "that the terminology and framework of Latin grammar was a fitting mould for the exposition of the grammar of his own language" (cf. "Las oit partz que om troba en gramatica troba om en vulgar provençhal", Marshall 1969a, 88), Uc Faidit "was intermittently aware of the discrepancies between *gramatica* and *vulgar*" (Marshall 1969b, 67); nevertheless, note the different attitudes toward the relation between *vulgar* and *gramatica*:

> "[...] mas aici *no sec lo vulgars la gramatica els neutris substantius*, an se diçen aici cum se fossen masculi [...]" (Marshall 1969a, 90; italics added).

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11 Cf. Schlieben-Lange (1991, 106–108) for a more detailed overview of the characteristics of these and other texts; for a more detailed discussion, cf. Swiggers (2011). For the *Razos de trobar* and the *Donatz Proensals*, cf. Swiggers (1989), for the *Leys d'Amors* cf. Swiggers/Lioce (2014). Spanish

> "De l[as] autras tres conjugaços sun tan confus l'infinitiu en vulgar que *coven a laissar la gramatica e donar autra regla novella* [...]" (Marshall 1969a, 108; italics added).

> "Pero de la regla on fo dit desus que·l nominatius cas no vol -*s* en la fi quan es pluralis numeri, voilh traire fors toiz los feminis, que non es dit mas solamen dels masculis e dels neutris, que sun scenblan el plural per totz locs, *sitot s'es contra gramatica*" (Marshall 1969a, 94; italics added).

The *Leys d'Amors* consist of a poetics, a grammar and a rhetoric, hence being "a full treatise on poetry as practiced in the Occitan culture" (Stammerjohann [2]2009, vol. 1, 588; cf. also Schlieben-Lange 1991, 108–110). The grammar is contained in the third part of the *Leys*, and "combines traditional grammatical knowledge (derived from Donatus, Priscian, Isidore of Seville, Alexander de Villa Dei) with critical insights [...], with reflections on meaning and reference, and with detailed descriptive analyses" (Stammerjohann [2]2009, vol. 1, 588); "errors of language (barbarisms and solecisms) and of versification" (Stammerjohann [2]2009, vol. 1, 588) are dealt with in the fourth part. Just as is the case of the *Donatz Proensals*, "la description grammaticale dans les *Leys* est orientée à partir du latin et [...] le *romans* [...] est appréhendé en termes de 'caractéristiques absentes' ou en termes de 'déviation' par rapport au latin" (Swiggers/Lioce 2014, 66):

> "Le passius se forma tostemps del actiu segon lati laqual forma nos no havem en romans. mas le passius es ditz en respieg de lactiu. e lactius en respieg del passiu en ayssi cum payres e filhs que la us es ditz en respieg del autre" (Gatien-Arnoult 1842, 232, 234).

> "Item deu hom saber que segon lati. *si*. vol tostemps conjunctiu. [...] Enpero segon luzatge de parlar en romans. nos dizem lo contrari. quar aquel. *si*. os pauza conditionalmen. o acertivamen. tostemps saordena am lo prezen del indicatiu en aquel loc on hauria loc le prezens del conjunctiu en lati. oz am lo preterit perfag del indicatiu. layon hauria loc preteritz imperfagz de conjunctiu segon lati" (Gatien-Arnoult 1842, 262).

As far as the question of the norms to be followed is concerned, Ra(i)mon Vidal is interested in teaching "la dreicha maniera de trobar" (Marshall 1972a, 2), and he starts with the diatopic aspect:

> "Totz hom qe vol trobar ni entendre deu primieramant saber qe neguna parladura non es naturals ni drecha del nostre lingage, mais acella de Franza et de Lemosi et de Proenza et d'Alvergna et de Caersin. Per qe ieu vos dic qe, qant ieu parlarai de 'Lemosy', qe totas estas terras entendas et totas lor vezinas et totas cellas qe son entre ellas. Et tot l'ome qe en aqellas terras son nat ni norit an la parladura natural et drecha" (Marshall 1972a, 4).

Nevertheless, depending on the discourse tradition to which a given text pertains, one can choose between different idioms, but "li cantar de la lenga lemosina" have

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translations of the *Razos de trobar* and the *Donatz Proensals* can be found in Vignau y Ballester (1865, 81–93 and 94–116, respectively); Gatien-Arnoult (1842) contains a French translation of the *Leys d'Amors*.

"attained to a 'classic' status in the vernacular comparable with that of the Latin *auctores*" (Marshall 1972b, LXXXII):

> "La parladura francesca val mais et [es] plus avinenz a far romanz et pasturellas, mas cella de Lemosin val mais per far vers et cansons et serventes. Et per totas las terras de nostre lengage son de maior autoritat li cantar de la lenga lemosina qe de neguna autra parladura [...]" (Marshall 1972a, 6).

In any case, code-mixing is not allowed: "Per aqi mezeis deu gardar, si vol far un cantar o un romans, [...] qe sos cantars o sos romans non sion [...] de doas parladuras" (Marshall 1972a, 22).

Even if it is the principles of the *gramatica* which "régissent la façon dont il faut *menar las paraulas*" (Swiggers 2011, 142), Ra(i)mon Vidal acknowledges the role of the "usage établi (et reconnu comme plus élégant)" (Swiggers 2011, 142, n. 49): "i a de paraulas qe s'alongon per totz los cas singulars et plurals per *us de parladura*", "en aisi ditz los homs per *us de parladura*" (Marshall 1972a, 13; italics added). The author in turn draws on the Quintilian concept of *consuetudo*, but also on that of *auctoritas*, to which he adds those of logical coherence and *sotileza*:

> "Las autras paraulas del verb, per so car ieu no la[s] poiria [dir] sens gran affan, totz hom prims las deu ben esgardar et usar cant au parlar las gentz d'aqella terra; e demant a cels qe an la parladura reconoguda e qu'esgart con si li bon trobador las an dichas, car nul gran saber non po hom aver menz de gran us [et] de sotileza" (Marshall 1972a, 22).

Regardless, he does not shrink away from criticizing the authorities:

> "Et tug aqill qe dizon *amis* per *amics* et *mei* per *me* an fallit, et *mantenir*, *contenir*, *retenir*, tut fallon, qe paraulas son franzezas, et no las deu hom mesclar ab lemosinas, aqestas ni negunas paraulas biaisas. Dieis En P. d'Alvergne *galisc* per *galesc*, et En Bernartz dieis *amis* per *amics* et *chastiu* per *chastic*" (Marshall 1972a, 24).

In striking contrast to Ra(i)mon Vidal's dogmatism (cf. Marshall 1969b, 71s., 77), Uc Faidit admits a wide range of alternative forms and only very rarely shows a preference for one form to the disadvantage of another (cf., e.g., "*eu senti* o *eu sen*, *eu dizi* o *eu dic*; mas mielhz es a dir lo plus cort que·l plus long", Marshall 1969a, 110), considering "his principal aim seems to have been inclusiveness" (Marshall 1969b, 77). Not paying attention to linguistic variation, he is rather interested in establishing rules (cf. above, e.g. "donar autra regla novella"), since occasionally the morphology of vernacular can be rather chaotic: "E per çho ai fait tant longa paraula de la terça persona del preterit perfeit, quar maier confusios era en aquela que en totas las autras" (Marshall 1969a, 140).

The *Leys d'Amors* provide a rather differentiated account of linguistic norms: they underline the importance of the (*bon*) *uzatge acostumat* ("en pronunciatio de gendre deu hom gardar *bon uzatge longamen* en diversas teras *acostumat*", "Dels quais verbs e de las autras partz doratio en est cas deu hom recorre ad *us acostumat*", Gatien-Arnoult 1842, 74, 404; italics added), but stress that certain "mistakes" can be accepted after all: "O aytal mot son *finch* e *fargat* segon lati. et en re nos

conformo am lo romans. ni son acostumat de dire. [...] E ges daquest vici li clerc nos podon payrar. perque cove quom los suferte alcunas vetz coma *genols flex*" (Gatien-Arnoult 1842, 202). Obviously, the expression *bon uzatge longamen acostumat* points to the ancient criterion of *vetustas*, but *auctoritas* can also justify certain deviations:

> "E jaciaysso que cascuna termenatios se puesca dire. quar es acostumat. enpero miels es dig *beleza blanqueza* ab. *z*. o ab. *s*. et en ayssi dels autres. quar *belessa malessa riquessa* am dos. *ss*. son mot quaysh gasconil. enpero tant trobador antic los han pauzatz per esta maniera. que nos noy volem contradir. E dizem tug que mays. quar ges en totz no se sec coma *corteza*. *repreza*. *marqueza*. quar mal seria dig *cortessa*. *repressa*. *marquessa*. perque deu hom gardar en aytals vocables uzatge acostumat. lo qual hom pot haver per los dictatz dels anticz" (Gatien-Arnoult 1842, 196, 198).

In order to be of normative relevance, the *uzatge* must also be a general one: "que aytals costuma no sia particulars so es duna vila. o de motas. an sia be acostumat de pauzar e de dire aytals motz per una diocesi so es. i. avesquat et en mays de locz que no es una dyocesis" (Gatien-Arnoult 1842, 206); "[...] jaciaysso quom diga en Tholoza aytals motz. enpero ges per totz aquels qui son natural de Tholoza no son dig ni pronunciat aytal mot per la dicha maniera generalmen. mas per alqus particularmen" (Gatien-Arnoult 1842, 388).

4.2 In search of norms in Italy: Dante's *De vulgari eloquentia*

Despite only having been rediscovered at the beginning of the 16th century and therefore, without immediate impact during the time of origin, Dante Alighieri's (1265–1321) treatise *De vulgari eloquentia* (ca. 1303/1304) is of crucial importance since it represents an important step in the history of ideas on language norm(s) in the vernacular language.

In his *Convivio* (ca. 1304–1307), Dante expresses himself rather unambiguously on the future role of the vernacular in relation to Latin: "Questo [the vernacular] sarà luce nuova, sole nuovo, lo quale surgerà là dove l'usato [Latin] tramonterà, e darà lume a coloro che sono in tenebre e in oscuritade per lo usato sole che a loro non luce" (1, 13, 12).[12] In *De vulgari eloquentia* (cf. *Convivio* 1, 5, 10: "uno libello ch'io intendo di fare, Dio concedente, di Volgare Eloquenza"), he starts "with a resounding declaration of his own absolute originality" (Botterill 1996, XVI): "Cum neminem ante nos de vulgaris eloquentie doctrina quicquam inveniamus tractasse, atque talem scilicet eloquentiam penitus omnibus necessariam videamus, [...] locutioni vulgarium gentium prodesse temptabimus" [Since I find that no one, before myself, has dealt in any way with the theory of eloquence in the vernacular, and since we

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12 All quotations of the *Convivio* are taken from the OVI corpus. Note that in this quotation, *questo* doesn't refer to an expression denoting the vernacular, but to *pane* 'bred', more precisely to "pane

can plainly see that such eloquence is necessary to everyone [...] I shall try [...] to express something useful about the language of people who speak the vulgar tongue] (1, 1, 1; Dante Alighieri 1996 [1303/1304], 2 [3]). Dante thus proposes an elaborate – yet incomplete – theory of vernacular rhetoric (cf. Trabant 2005 on the importance of this *doctrina*).

Firstly, what is of interest in our context (for the content of *De vulgari eloquentia*, cf., among others, Mengaldo 1970; Botterill 1996; for a detailed presentation of the first book and an annotated bibliography, cf. Coseriu/Meisterfeld 2003, 124–141, 143–148), is Dante's view of the relation between Latin and the vernacular languages:

> "[...] vulgarem locutionem appellamus eam qua infantes assuefiunt ab assistentibus cum primitus distinguere voces incipiunt; vel, quod brevius dici potest, *vulgarem locutionem* asserimus quam *sine omni regula* nutricem imitantes accipimus. Est et inde *alia locutio secundaria* nobis, quam Romani *gramaticam* vocaverunt. [...] ad habitum vero huius pauci perveniunt, quia non nisi per spatium temporis et studii assiduitatem *regulamur et doctrinamur in illa*"[13] (1, 1, 2s.; Dante Alighieri 1996 [1303/1304], 2; italics added).

> [I call 'vernacular language' that which infants acquire from those around them when they first begin to distinguish sounds; or, to put it more succinctly, I declare that vernacular language is that which we learn without any formal instruction, by imitating our nurses. There also exists another kind of language, at one remove from us, which the Romans called *gramatica*. [...] Few, however, achieve complete fluency in it, since knowledge of its rules and theory can only be developed through dedication to a lengthy course of study (Dante Alighieri 1996 [1303/1304], 3).]

> "[...] gramatica nichil aliud est quam quedam inalterabilis locutionis ydemptitas diversibus temporibus atque locis" (1, 9, 11; Dante Alighieri 1996 [1303/1304], 20).

> [[...] *gramatica* is nothing less than a certain immutable identity of language in different times and places (Dante Alighieri 1996 [1303/1304], 23).]

> "Harum quoque duarum [*vulgaris locutio* and *gramatica*] nobilior est vulgaris: tum quia prima fuit humano generi usitata; tum quia totus orbis ipsa perfruitur, licet in diversas prolationes et vocabula sit divisa; tum quia naturalis est nobis, cum illa potius artificialis existat" (1, 1, 4; Dante Alighieri 1996 [1303/1304], 2).

> [Of these two kinds of language, the more noble is the vernacular: first, because it was the language originally used by the human race; second, because the whole world employs it, though with different pronunciations and using different words; and third, because it is natural to us, while the other is, in contrast, artificial (Dante Alighieri 1996 [1303/1304], 3).]

After having proposed a division of different vernacular languages, Dante concentrates on the Romance idioms: "Est igitur super quod gradimur ydioma tractando tripharium [...]: nam alii *oc*, alii *sì*, alii vero dicunt *oïl*" [The language with which I shall be concerned, then, has three parts [...]: for some say *oc*, some say *sì* and

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orzato"; Dante here clearly alludes to the *Gospel according to John* (6,4–13); cf. De Blasi (2015) for a detailed discussion.

13 Cf. also (but from a rather different perspective) *Convivio* 1, 5, 14: "lo volgare seguita uso e lo latino arte".

others, indeed, say *oïl*] (1, 9, 2; Dante Alighieri 1996 [1303/1304], 18 [19]). Each of these languages has its specific advantages:

> "Allegat ergo pro se lingua *oïl* quod propter sui faciliorem ac delectabiliorem vulgaritatem quicquid redactum est sive inventum ad vulgare prosaycum, suum est [...]. Pro se vero argumentatur alia, scilicet *oc*, quod vulgares eloquentes in ea primitus poetati sunt tanquam in perfectiori dulciorique loquela, ut puta Petrus de Alvernia et alii antiquiores doctores. Tertia quoque, <que> Latinorum est, se duobus privilegiis actestatur preesse: primo quidem quod qui dulcius subtiliusque poetati vulgariter sunt, hii familiares et domestici sui sunt, puta Cynus Pistoriensis et amicus eius [Dante himself]; secundo quia magis videntur initi gramatice que comunis est, quod rationabiliter inspicientibus videtur gravissimum argumentum" (1, 10, 2; Dante Alighieri 1996 [1303/1304], 22).

> Thus the language of *oïl* adduces on its own behalf the fact that, because of the greater facility and pleasing quality of its vernacular style, everything that is recounted or invented in vernacular prose belongs to it [...]. The second part, the language of *oc*, argues in its own favour that eloquent writers in the vernacular first composed poems in this sweeter and more perfect language: they include Peire d'Alvernha and other ancient masters. Finally, the third part, which belongs to the Italians, declares itself to be superior because it enjoys a twofold privilege: first, because those who have written vernacular poetry more sweetly and subtly, such as Cino da Pistoia and his friend, have been its intimates and faithful servants; and second, because they seem to be in the closest contact with the *gramatica* which is shared by all – and this, to those who consider the matter rationally, will appear a very weighty argument (Dante Alighieri 1996 [1303/1304], 23).]

Concentrating further on the Italian vernaculars and searching among these the "decentiorem atque illustrem Ytalie [...] loquelam" [the most respectable and illustrious vernacular that exists in Italy] (1, 11, 1; Dante Alighieri 1996 [1303/1304], 26 [27]), i.e. suitable for rhetorical purposes, that which comes *closest* (but is not identical to it) is what "ab ore primorum Siculorum emanat" [emerges from the mouths of the leading citizens of Sicily] (1, 12, 6; Dante Alighieri 1996 [1303/1304], 28 [31]). This is a clear reference to the poets of the *Dolce Stil Novo* who had "strong links to the southern French *trobadors*" (Kabatek 2013, 165) and virtually "nichil differt ab illo [vulgari] quod laudabilissimum est" [it is in no way distinguishable from the most praiseworthy variety of the vernacular] (1, 12, 6; Dante Alighieri 1996 [1303/ 1304], 28 [31]). The *vulgare laudabilissimum*, in turn, in its purest form and worthy of the epithets "illustre, cardinale, aulicum et curiale" ['illustrious', 'cardinal', 'aulic', and 'curial'] (1, 17, 1; Dante Alighieri 1996 [1303/1304], 40 [41]) has been used by the "doctores illustres qui lingua vulgari poetati sunt in Ytalia, ut Siculi, Apuli, Tusci, Romandioli, Lombardi et utriusque Marchie viri" [illustrious authors who have written vernacular poetry in Italy, whether they came from Sicily, Apulia, Tuscany, Romagna, Lombardy or either of the Marches] (1, 19, 1; Dante Alighieri 1996 [1303/1304], 44 [45]). As such, Dante can define the "illustre, cardinale, aulicum et curiale vulgare in Latio" as "quod omnis latie civitatis est et nullius esse videtur, et quo municipalia vulgaria omnia Latinorum mensurantur et ponderantur et comparantur" [the illustrious, cardinal, aulic, and curial vernacular in Italy as that which

belongs to every Italian city yet seems to belong to none, and against which the vernaculars of all the cities of the Italians can be measured, weighed, and compared] (1, 16, 6; Dante Alighieri 1996 [1303/1304], 38 [41]).

In contrast to the situation of Occitan, in Dante's Italy there is, consequently, no pre-existing, well-established or generally accepted literary *koiné* that could have served as a reference point, upon which he could base linguistic or rhetoric rules. Not surprisingly, in the "parte più propriamente 'linguistica' del primo libro" (Mengaldo 1970, 404), Dante therefore had to first of all hunt for and identify a vernacular suitable for rhetorical purposes, while only the subsequent book (interrupted after the 14th chapter) "verte più analiticamente sulla dottrina specifica del volgare illustre e dello stile eccellentissimo in quanto applicati alla lirica elevata" (Mengaldo 1970, 404).

5 Norms and vernaculars in Humanism

Over the centuries, most texts dating from Classical antiquity were entirely lost (for instance, Petrarch was ignorant of Tacitus) or only available in linguistically corrupted versions, as is the case with Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*. It was a watershed event, when in 1416, during his stay at the Council of Constance (1414–1418), the papal secretary Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459) discovered a complete manuscript of the *Institutio oratoria* at the Abbey of St. Gall. His discovery, which provoked a veritable hunt for further manuscripts, revitalized the interest in Quintilian's work, particularly in authorities such as the humanist Lorenzo Valla (1407–1457), whose *Elegantiarum linguae Latinae libri sex*, published in 1449, became an important reference point in the field of Latin grammar and stylistics (for a brief presentation of this text, cf. Ax 2001; on *usus* and *consuetudo* in Valla's oeuvre, cf. Dreischmeier 2017, 63–66).

Important humanists such as Leon Battista Alberti in Italy (5.1), and Antonio de Nebrija in Spain (5.2), however, were especially interested in applying this new impetus to the vernacular as well.

5.1 Leon Battista Alberti's *Grammatichetta*

Leon Battista Alberti (1404–1472), one of the most important Italian humanists in the 15th century, is the author of the so-called *Grammatichetta* (ca. 1438–1441; for the *Grammatichetta*, cf. Grayson 1964 and Patota 1996; cf. also the annotated bibliography in Coseriu/Meisterfeld 2003, 230–232). Just as in the *Proemio* of the third book of his *Libri della famiglia* (written between 1433 and 1437; cf. Patota 1996, XXXIV), Alberti is equally inspired in the *Grammatichetta* by the famous dispute which had arisen in 1435 between Leonardo Bruni (1370–1444) and Flavio Biondo (1392–1463) over the linguistic situation in ancient Rome: while Bruni, on grammati-

cal grounds, argued in favor of a diglossic state, i.e. "that a kind of vulgaris *sermo* was characteristic of the *illitterati*, and that it must have been [...] sharply distinct from the *litteratus sermo*" (Tavoni 1986, 23), Biondo, from a rather rhetorical point of view, defended "the idea that the Latin community was internally graduated by steps rising from the linguistic usage of common people to that of orators and poets" (Tavoni 1986, 25).

Yet, Alberti was hardly interested in the central aspects of the dispute, but instead in a rather peripheral one, i.e. Bruni's idea, expressed in his *An vulgus et literati eodem modo per Terentii Tulliique tempora Romae locuti sint* [*Whether the common people and the men of letters spoke the same language in the times of Terence and* [*Marcus*] *Tullius* [*Cicero*]] (1435) that the actual vernacular was not a "grammatical" language since Bruni adheres to the simple equations "Latin = grammaticality vs. vernacular = agrammaticality" (cf. Patota 1996, XVI): "Ego autem, ut nunc est, sic etiam tunc distinctam fuisse vulgarem linguam a litterata existimo" [I believe that just as now, also then there was a *volgare* different from the language of literature] (Marcellino/Ammannati 2015, 238 [Ramminger 2010, 8]). Wherefore, at the very beginning of the *Grammatichetta*, he argues succinctly against Bruni's position:

> "Que' che affermano la lingua Latina non essere stata commune a tutti è populi latini, ma solo propria di certi docti scolastici, come hoggi la vediamo in pochi, credo deporranno quello errore, vedendo questo nostro opuscholo, in quale io racolsi l'uso della lingua nostra in brevissime annotationi" (Alberti 1996, 15; cf. also Patota 1996, XXXIV).

However, Alberti goes on with a similarly resounding declaration as does Dante, even making the text itself talk:

> "Qual cosa simile fecero gl'ingegni grandi e studiosi presso a' Gr$_a$eci prima, e po' presso de è Latini; et chiamorno queste simili ammonitioni, apte a scrivere e favellare senza corruptela, suo nome, *Grammatica*. Questa arte, quale èlla sia in la lingua nostra, leggietemi e intenderetela" (Alberti 1996, 15).

As clearly evidenced, for Alberti both Latin and *la lingua nostra* are at the same level, and a certain pride on the part of the author, well aware of his pioneering work, also resounds in the end:

> "Si questo nostro opuscolo sarà tanto grato a chi mi leggerà, quanto fu laborioso a me èl congettarlo, certo mi dilecterà haverlo promulgato, tanto quanto mi dilettava investigare e raccorre queste cose, a mio iuditio degne e da pregiarle. Laudo Dio che *in la nostra lingua habbiamo homai è primi principii* di quello ch'io al tutto mi disfidava potere asseguire" (Alberti 1996, 39; italics added).

Notwithstanding, even if he follows the model of Priscian's *Institutiones grammaticae*, Alberti does not pretend to be exhaustive, as his statements might suggest at first glance (cf. Patota 1996, XXXVI–XLII for details).

Similar to Dante's *De vulgari eloquentia* (cf. above, 4.2), the *Grammatichetta* remained unknown for a long time (until 1850), and did not play any role in the effective history of linguistic norm in Italy. Its importance rather concerns the history of ideas on language norms, in particular the question of whether it is possible to provide evidence for the vernacular possessing rules as was the case for Latin.

5.2 Antonio de Nebrija's *Gramática sobre la lengua castellana*

The first grammar of a Romance vernacular language to have appeared in print (as an incunable) is the *Gramática sobre la lengua castellana*, written by Antonio Martínez de Cala y Xarana, better known as Antonio de Nebrija (1441/1444–1522), and published in 1492 (cf. Braselmann 1991 as well as Pellen/Tollis 2011 and 2018 for an in-depth analysis of the *Gramática*; while not entirely dedicated to Nebrija and not actually recognizing the tribute he owes to medieval grammar, a nevertheless useful synthesis is provided by Rico 1978).

While residing in Bologna for ten years – "para que por la lei de la tornada despues de luengo tiempo restituesse en la possession de su tierra perdida los autores del latin, que estavan ia muchos siglos desterrados de España" (Nebrija 1951 [1494], f. 2v°) –, Antonio de Nebrija had encountered the new humanist Latin grammar in the works of Guarino Veronese (1374–1460; *Regulae grammaticales*, before 1420), Niccolò Perotti (1429/1430–1480; *Rudimenta grammatices*, first printed in 1473) and, in particular, Lorenzo Valla (*Elegantiarum linguae Latinae libri sex*, published in 1449). In 1481, he published the *Introductiones latinae*, a Latin grammar following humanist ideals, which immediately had great success ([2]1485, [3]1495) and at the behest of Queen Isabella, was followed up by a bilingual edition in 1486 – the *Introduciones latinas contrapuesto el romance al latin*, an important step towards the *Gramática* (for a contrastive analysis between the *Introductiones*/*Introduciones* and the *Gramática*, cf. Baldischwieler 2004, part 1, 89–129; for a comprehensive biobibliography of Nebrija, cf. Braselmann 1991, 45–101).

In spite of being a dyed-in-the-wool humanist, Nebrija reveals his commitment to the medieval framework in the *Gramática*, in particular to that of speculative grammar, as is shown by his frequent use of *manera de significar*, which corresponds to *modus significandi*, cf. e.g. "ésta es la significación general del genitivo, pero tiene otras muchas maneras de significar que en alguna manera se pueden reduzir a aquélla" (IV, 4; Nebrija 2011 [1492], 123). This commitment is also exemplified by expressions such as "reduzir en artificio este nuestro lenguaje castellano" (*Prólogo*; Nebrija 2011 [1492], 9), "el que quiere reduzir en artificio algún lenguaje" (I, 4; Nebrija 2011 [1492], 24), "[l]a maior dificultad dela gramática, no sola mente castellana, mas aun griega i latina i de otro cualquier lenguaje que se oviesse de reduzir en artificio" (V, 5; Nebrija 2011 [1492], 164), whereby *reduzir en artificio* is reminiscent of a rather abstract system of grammatical rules, applicable to languages in general.

For Nebrija, the necessity of "reduzir en artificio este nuestro lenguaje castella-no" is first of all a consequence of the overall political situation which has put "nuestra lengua tanto en la cumbre, que más se puede temer el decendimiento della que esperar la subida" (*Prólogo*; Nebrija 2011 [1492], 9):

> "Assí que, después de repurgada la cristiana religión [...]; después delos enemigos de nuestra fe vencidos por guerra et fuerça de armas [...]; despúes dela justicia i essecución delas leies que nos aiuntan i hazen bivir igual mente enesta gran compañía que llamamos reino i república de Castilla; no queda ia otra cosa sino que florezcan las artes de la paz. Entre las primeras es aquella que nos enseña la lengua [...]. Ésta, hasta nuestra edad, anduvo suelta i fuera de regla i a esta causa a recebido en pocos siglos muchas mudanças por que, si la queremos cotejar con la de oi a quinientos años, hallaremos tanta diferencia i diversidad cuanta puede ser maior entre dos lenguas.
>
> I por que mi pensamiento i gana siempre fue engrandecer las cosas de nuestra nación i dar a los ombres de mi lengua obras en que mejor puedan emplear su ocio, que agora lo gastan leiendo novelas o istorias embueltas en mil mentiras i errores, acordé ante todas las otras cosas reduzir en artificio este nuestro lenguaje castellano, para que lo que agora i de aquí adelante enél se escriviere pueda quedar en un tenor i estender se en toda la duración delos tiempos que están por venir, como vemos que se ha hecho enla lengua griega i latina, las cuales, por aver estado debaxo de arte, aun que sobre ellas an passado muchos siglos, toda vía quedan en una uniformidad" (*Prólogo*; Nebrija 2011 [1492], 7–9).

In the first chapter of the first book of his *Gramática*, Nebrija provides an overview of the different parts of the "arte de letras" – his "translation" of *gramática* –, pretending to follow Quintilian's point of view (cf. above, section 2):

> "Ésta, según Quintiliano, en dos partes se gasta. La primera los griegos llamaron 'methódica', que nos otros podemos bolver en 'doctrinal', por que contiene los preceptos i reglas del arte;[14] la cual, aun que sea cogida del uso de aquellos que tienen autoridad para lo poder hazer, defiende que el mesmo uso no se pueda por ignorancia corromper. La segunda los griegos llamaron 'istórica', la cual nos otros podemos bolver en 'declaradora', por que expone i declara los poetas i otros autores, por cuia semeiança avemos de hablar" (I, 1; Nebrija 2011 [1492], 15).

Clearly, Nebrija only adopts Quintilian's *consuetudo* (*uso*) and *auctoritas* (*autoridad*) and, what is more, establishes a directly dependent relation between these two categories: the relevant *uso* is no longer grounded on the "consensu[s] eruditorum" [consensus of the educated] (*Inst.* 1, 6, 45; LCL) but on that of "aquellos que tienen autoridad" – who are, however, the *gramáticos* and no longer determinate authors (cf. Ridruejo 2006, 101). Furthermore, in contrast to Quintilian's point of view, the "enarratio auctorum" [exegesis of the authors] (*Inst.* 1, 9, 1; LCL)/"poetarum enarrati[o]" [interpretation of the poets] (*Inst.* 1, 4, 2; LCL) is also given a direct norma-

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14 Cf. *Inst.* 1, 9, 1 (LCL): "partes duae quas haec professio pollicetur, id est ratio loquendi et enarratio auctorum, quarum illam *methodicen*, hanc *historicen* vocant" [the two subjects which this profession claims to undertake, namely the principles of speech and the exegesis of the authors; the first of these is called "methodical" and the second "historical" *grammaticē*].

tive relevance ("los poetas i otros autores por cuia semeiança avemos de hablar"; for a comparison between the ideas put forward in the *Gramática* and those in Nebrija's grammars of Latin, cf. Baldischwieler 2004, part 1, 39s.). More generally speaking, Nebrija's idea that the purpose behind grammar is that of preventing the rules of a language from being corrupted by the speakers' ignorance is completely alien to Classical antiquity.

Among the norms proposed by Nebrija in his *Gramática*, we would first like to mention some of those concerning orthography (but cf. also his *Reglas de ortographia en la lengua castellana*, published in 1517; cf. Nebrija 1977 [1517]). Nebrija is the first to have postulated the universality of the alphabet ("por un consentimiento i callada conspiración de todas las naciones", I, 2; Nebrija 2011 [1492], 17; cf. Teuber 1987, 45) and a biunivocal relation between letters and sounds:

> "Para maior declaración delo cual avemos aquí de presuponer lo que todos los que escriven de orthographía presuponen: que assí tenemos de escrivir como pronunciamos i pronunciar como escrivimos, por que en otra manera en vano fueron halladas las letras. Lo segundo, que no es otra cosa la letra sino figura por la cual se representa la boz i pronunciación. Lo tercero, que la diversidad delas letras no está enla diversidad dela figura, sino enla diversidad de la pronunciación.
>
> Assí que, contadas i reconocidas las bozes que ai en nuestra lengua, hallaremos otras veinte i seis, mas no todas aquellas mesmas que diximos del latín; alas cuales de necessidad an de responder otras veinte et seis figuras si bien i distinta mente las queremos por escriptura representar" (I, 5; Nebrija 2011 [1492], 29).

In order to conform the Spanish alphabet to such a system of biunivocal relations, i.e. in order to assign only one "of(f)icio" (I, 5; Nebrija 2011 [1492], 29; cf. also passim) to each letter, Nebrija proposes several modifications (cf. I, 6; Nebrija 2011 [1492], 33–35), amongst others the orthographical differentiation between [k], [ts] and [tʃ]; in this context some of his more general ideas again begin to reappear:

> "La *c*, como diximos, tiene tres oficios i, por el contrario, la *c*, *k*, *q* tienen un oficio, i si agora repartiéssemos estas tres letras por aquellas tres pronunciaciones, todo el negocio en aquesta parte sería hecho. Mas por que en aquello que es como lei consentida por todos es cosa dura hazer novedad, podíamos tener esta templança: que la *c* valiesse por aquella boz que diximos ser suia propria llamándola, como se nombran las otras letras, por el nombre del son que tiene; i que la *ç*, puesta debaxo aquella señal que llaman çerilla, valiesse por otra para representar el segundo oficio dela *c* llamándola por el nombre de su boz; i lo que agora se escrive con *ch* se escriviesse con una nueva figura, la cual se llamasse del nombre de su fuerça, i mientras que para ello no entreviene el autoridad de Vuestra Alteza o el común consentimiento delos que tienen poder para hazer uso, sea la *ch* con una tilde encima, por que si dexássemos la *ch* sin señal, verníamos en aquel error, que con unas mesmas letras pronunciaríamos diversas cosas enel castellano i enel latín" (I, 6; Nebrija 2011 [1492], 33).

As far as the order of elements in a sentence is concerned, Nebrija assumes that there is a "cierta orden casi natural i mui conforme a la razón" (IV, 2; Nebrija 2011 [1492], 119), according to which *el cielo i la tierra* is preferable to *la tierra i el cielo*.

Yet while the latter "se pued[e] escusar algunas vezes por auctoridad", "aquello en ninguna manera se puede sofrir, que la orden natural delas personas se perturbe; como se haze común mente en nuestra lengua, que, sigiuendo una vana cortesía, dizen *el rei i tú i io venimos* en lugar de dezir *io i tú i el rei venimos*" (IV, 2; Nebrija 2011 [1492], 119s.). It is interesting to note how the humanist Nebrija's opinion is still influenced by medieval thought, more precisely by Peter Helias' (ca. 1100–after 1166) reflections in the *Summa super Priscianum* (ca. 1150), where – albeit on onomasiological grounds – a scale of *dignitas* is proposed in accordance with the (decreasing) degree of "autonomy" attributed to the speaker, the hearer and the referent, respectively (cf. Baldischwieler 2004, part 1, 156s., for details).

Another interesting topic is the problems which arise when strategies of verbal politeness enter into conflict with the "preceptos naturales dela gramatica":

> "I aún más intolerable vicio sería diziendo *vos sois bueno*, por que peca contra los preceptos naturales dela gramática, por que el adjectivo *bueno* no concuerda con el substantivo *vos* alo menos en número. I mucho menos tolerable sería si dixiesses *vuestra merced es bueno*, por que no concuerdan en género el adjectivo con el substantivo"[15] (IV, 2; Nebrija 2011 [1492], 120).

In his discussion "Del barbarismo i solecismo" (IV, 5; Nebrija 2011 [1492], 125), a frequent topic of grammatical debates since Donatus' *Ars maior* (cf. Holtz 1981, 653ss.), Nebrija follows Servius' commentary on the *Aeneid* of Virgil (cf. Uhl 1998, 250s.), thus – in contrast to Donatus – also denoting that which is "unmarked":

> "Si en alguna palabra no se comete vicio alguno, llama se *lexis*, que quiere dezir 'perfecta dición'. Si en la palabra se comete vicio que no se pueda sofrir, llama se *barbarismo*; si se comete pecado que por alguna razón se puede escusar, llama se *metaplasmo*. Esso mesmo, si enel aiuntamiento delas partes dela oración no ai vicio alguno, llama se *phrasis*, que quiere dezir 'perfecta habla'; si se comete vicio intolerable, llama se solecismo; si ai vicio que por alguna razón se puede escusar, llama se *schema*. Assí que entre barbarismo i *lexis* está metaplasmo, entre solecismo i *phrasis* está *schema*" (IV, 5; Nebrija 2011 [1492], 125s.).

It must be noted however, that Nebrija's terminology differs from Servius' as far as the "aiuntamiento delas partes dela oración" is concerned: while Servius proposes *schema – figura – soloecismus*, Nebrija uses *phrasis – schema – solecismo* (but cf. nevertheless IV, 7; Nebrija 2011 [1492], 130–143, where again *figura* is used; for a detailed commentary, cf. Nebrija 2011 [1492], 573–576). Nebrija, in any case, offers a more complete view and simultaneously abandons the current restrictions for *metaplasmo* and *schema*, normally only allowed in poetic texts (as opposed to prose).

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15 Nevertheless, at the end of this chapter Nebrija resigns: "Pero ala fin, como dize Aristóteles, avemos de hablar como los más i sentir como los menos" (IV, 2; Nebrija 2011 [1492], 120). Rather than a quotation from Aristotle, however, "Loquendum est ut plures, sapiendum vero ut pauci" [Our speech should be that of the multitude, but our thought the thought of the few] (Hamesse 1974, 323, no. 26 [Major 1892 [1521], 18]) "es dicho de incierta procedencia que en la Edad media [and the age of Humanism] circuló atribuido a Aristóteles (quizá sugerida por *Topica*, 110a, 15–19)"

As it should have become apparent, Nebrija's *Gramática sobre la lengua castellana* not only offers a synthesis of classical, medieval and humanist thought on language, but clearly surpasses said thought in that its author, well aware of his pioneering work (cf. the *Prólogo*; Nebrija 2011 [1492], 9), reinterprets certain issues rather innovatively. While one might still wonder what the readers' responses to Alberti's *Grammatichetta* would have been, in the case of Nebrija's *Gramática*, the answer is clear at least as far as its commercial success is concerned: "frente a las innumerables ediciones de las *Introductiones Latinae*, la *Gramática* de 1492 quedó inmediatamente enterrada en el cementerio del olvido" (Nebrija 2011 [1492], IX; but cf. Swiggers 2001, 52, 56s. and Ridruejo 2006, 92, n. 4 on its influence on other grammarians), at least up to the 1740s (cf. Esparza Torres 2011, 114–118). Among the reasons which could explain this failure to reach a greater public, one can at least mention the break with the dominant tradition "en la cultura filológica del momento" and the fact that the *Gramática* is a text "que queda casi totalmente aislado de antecedentes que lo expliquen" (Ridruejo 2006, 92).

6 The struggle for the one and only norm in Italy: the *Questione della lingua*

In the first half of the 15th century, the advent of Humanism and the (re)discovery of key classical Latin texts had given rise to an intense discussion of questions among humanist scholars such as the linguistic situation in ancient Rome (cf. above, sections 5 and 5.1) and the norms to be followed in Latin (Ciceronian style or a rather eclectic model). Ultimately, from both Bruni's "ut nunc est" [as it is now] and Alberti's statement in favour of the vernacular, the relation between Latin and the vernacular was also a matter of current and ever-increasing interest at a time when the Ciceronian model prevailed and its elitist nature became a problem because of the "insufficienza delle possibilità espressive del latino umanistico" (Patota 1993, 104s.; cf. also Koch 1988, 346; Vitale 1984, 20–26).

By the late 15th century, Alberti's clear-sighted yet premature statement in the *Proemio* of the third book of the *Libri della famiglia* – "E sia quanto dicono quella [lingua] antica apresso di tutte le genti piena d'autorità, solo perché in essa molti dotti scrissero, simile certo sarà la nostra s'e dotti la vorranno con suo studio e vigilie essere elimata e polita" (quoted from Patota 1996, XXIV) – is readopted in particular by the Florentine humanist Cristoforo Landino (1424–1498). There, one finds attested "la coscienza che la regolamentazione degli scrittori è l'unica realtà che conferisce alla lingua la sua dignità letteraria e che a tale regolamentazione affinatrice deve presiedere una seria e profonda cultura classica indotta dalla lezione umanistica" (Vitale 1984, 25):

(Nebrija 2011 [1492], 120, n. 7; cf. also 2011 [1492], 568). Cf. also the version "*Hablar komo todos, i sentir komo los pokos*" registered in Correas (1967 [1627], 586).

"[...] dico che niuno potrà essere nonché eloquente ma pure tollerabile dicitore nella nostra lingua, se prima non arà vera e perfetta cognizione delle lettere latine. [...] Se adunque fa di bisogno l'arte, fa di bisogno la dottrina, e queste sanza la latina lingua non s'acquistano, è necessario essere latino chi vuole essere buono toscano" (*Prolusione petrarchesca*; Landino 1974, 37s.).

"[...] affermo che come ne' vetusti secoli prima la lingua greca, dipoi la latina per gran copia di scrittori, e' quali di tempo in tempo la ripulirono, di roza e povera divenne elimata, così la nostra e già da ora per la virtù degli scrittori da me nominati [Dante, Petrarca, Boccaccio, but also others] è divenuta abondante ed elegante, e ogni giorno, se non mancheranno gli studi, più diventerà" (*Proemio al commento dantesco*; Landino 1974, 139).

Among the *studi* referred to by Landino, the *Regole grammaticali della volgar lingua*, the first Italian grammar to appear in print (1516, Ancona), are thereby of particular importance; its author, the Friulian Giovan Francesco Fortunio (7th decade of the 15th century–1517), states indeed:

"Et scernendo tra ' scritti loro [= Dante's, Petrarca's and Boccaccio's] li lumi dell'arte poetica et oratoria [...] non con minor luce che in qualunque piú lodato auttore latino risplendere, non mi potea venir pensato che sanza alcuna regola di grammaticali parole la volgar lingua cosí armonizzatamente trattassono. [...] Et quindi [...] mi parve che, come li grammatici latini dalla osservatione degli approvati auttori loro latine regole hanno posto insieme, cosí nella volgar lingua, la quale invece di quella hoggidí usiamo communamente, con la osservatione delli sopranomati tre auttori, in ciò degli altri primi, ad ogni studioso di lei il medesimo poter essere concesso" (Fortunio 2001 [1516], 3s.).

The *Regole* (reprinted in Milan in 1517 and repeatedly between 1518 and 1552 in Venice, cf. Quondam 1978, 587–590) are the first grammatical treatise in a long series, continued amongst others (for a complete list cf. Quondam 1978, 587–592), by the Vicentine Giovan Giorgio Trissino (1478–1550) with the *Epistola de le lettere nuwvamente aggiunte ne la lingua italiana* (1524; cf. Trissino 1986), the Venetian Pietro Bembo (1470–1547) with what is usually called the *Prose della volgar lingua* (1525)[16] and, as the first Florentine author, Pierfrancesco Giambullari (1495–1555) with the *Regole della lingua fiorentina* (1552).

Both the attempts of *ausbau* (in the sense of Kloss [2]1978) in the vernacular within the realm of communicative distance/conceptual literacy (in the sense of Koch/ Oesterreicher [2]2011) and the demands of standardization arising from letterpress printing make the establishment of linguistic norms necessary. However, initially three different "solutions" were available:[17] "quella [corrente] arcaizzante che fa capo al Bembo,

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16 Cf. Patota (2017, 41–61) on the "vero titolo delle *Prose*". For a comparison between Fortunio's *Regole* and Bembo's *Prose*, cf. Marchiò (2012); for the influence of the *Regole* on the stance taken up by Bembo over certain grammatical topics, cf. below.

17 This situation constitutes the specifically Italian *Questione della lingua*; in a wider sense, the question of the norms to be followed in Latin and that of the alternative "Latin vs. vernacular" also form part of this *questione*, cf. Koch (1988, 346).

quella che inclina verso una lingua di tipo eclettico, più o meno ispirata alla coinè delle corti, e infine la corrente toscana, che ritiene che la lingua debba prendere per modello il fiorentino o più genericamente il toscano moderno" (Migliorini 1994, 310; for a detailed presentation of the single positions, cf. Vitale 1984, 50–105).

The most important advocate of the eclectic solution, i.e. the model of the *lingua cortigiana*, is Baldassare Castiglione (1478–1529). In the dedication of his famous *Il libro del Cortegiano* (published in 1528), he states:

> "[...] nella lingua, al parer mio, non doveva [imitare Boccaccio]; perché la forza e vera regula del parlar bene consiste piú nell'uso che in altro, e sempre è vizio usar parole che non siano in consuetudine. Perciò non era conveniente, ch'io usassi molte di quelle del Boccaccio, le quali a' suoi tempi s'usavano, ed or sono disusate dalli medesimi Toscani. Non ho ancor voluto obligarmi alla consuetudine del parlar toscano d'oggidí [...]. E perché, al parer mio, la consuetudine del parlare dell'altre città nobili d'Italia, dove concorrono omini savii, ingeniosi ed eloquenti; e che trattano cose grandi di governo dei stati, di lettere, d'arme e negozii diversi, non deve essere del tutto sprezzata; dei vocabuli che in questi lochi parlando s'usano, estimo aver potuto ragionevolmente usar scrivendo quelli, che hanno in sé grazia, ed eleganzia nella pronunzia, e son tenuti comunemente per boni e significativi, benché non siano toscani, ed ancor abbiano origine di fori d'Italia" (Castiglione ⁴1947 [1528], 6s.).

For the advocates of the *lingua cortigiana* model, the normative guideline manifests in the *uso/consuetudine*, the "uso vivo di un ambiente sociale determinato, quale era la corte" (Marazzini 2004, 116); more precisely, in contrast to the position held by Vaugelas (cf. below, 7.2), this guideline manifests in the individual courtier rather than in the courtly ambiance in general.

Similarly, for those who favor the Florentine/Tuscan model, the contemporary *uso vivo* should be followed: for instance, Giambullari's intention is that of writing "quella [grammatica] che si parla e scrive in Firenze comunemente" (Giambullari 1986 [1552], 5), i.e. "fondamentalmente la lingua parlata dai fiorentini colti" (Bonomi 1986, XLIV). Claudio Tolomei (1492–1556), another representative of the Florentine/Tuscan proposal, is even the first to delineate clearly "la natura sociale e *istituzionale* della lingua dalla qualità letteraria che essa acquista ad opera degli scrittori; cioè l'*uso* della lingua dalla elaborazione letteraria che la eleva a strumento della espressione ornata ed elegante, a lingua d'*arte*" (Vitale 1984, 82). In his *Il Cesano de la lingua toscana* (written in 1525, published in 1555), Tolomei indeed states:

> "Stimo ancora che l'haver voi in Fiorenza migliori scrittori che l'altre parti di Toscana, mercé di Dante, Petrarca e Boccaccio, vi porga più tosto nome d'haver buoni autori che d'esser sola vostra la lingua. Quando che se costoro, che così nobilmente scrissero, niente havessero scritto, non però questo idioma sarebbe spento, di nissuno uso. Prima certo sono le parole, poscia gli scrittori, che s'ingegnano quelle con destrezza ed eleganza comporre insieme" (XII, 15; Tolomei 1996 [1555], 72).

All the same, the model to finally prevail was the archaic one, put forward by Pietro Bembo, one of the major exponents of the *umanesimo volgare*. Following the humanist approach with the *imitatio* of the *auctoritates* as a key concept, Bembo's

attitude is downright rhetorical: "egli si rivolge agli scrittori, e li spinge a cercare una lingua elegante attraverso l'imitazione dei migliori trecentisti toscani" (Migliorini 1994, 311; cf. also Vitale 1984, 51), i.e. Francesco Petrarca (1304–1374), Giovanni Boccaccio (1313–1375) and, despite certain reservations, Dante Alighieri (1265–1321). The rhetorical approach becomes immediately evident from the expositions in the second book of the *Prose*:

> "Da scieglere adunque sono le voci, se di materia grande si ragiona, gravi, alte, sonanti, apparenti, luminose; se di bassa e volgare, lievi, piane, dimesse, popolari, chete; se di mezzana tra queste due, medesimamente con voci mezzane e temperate, e le quali meno all'uno e all'altro pieghino di questi due termini, che si può" (II, 4; Dionisotti ²1966, 137[18]).

The third book contains a series of grammatical rules with a certain prescriptive intention (but cf. Patota 1993, 108–111 for a more detailed view; for the "grammatica silenziosa" entailed in *Prose*, cf. Patota 2017, 101–119; cf. Stark 2006 with regard to Bembo's use of indefinite determiners and pronouns as an example thereof), which not only immediately impacted contemporary literary practices – Ludovico Ariosto (1474–1533) "tuscanized" his epoch-making *Orlando furioso* (cf. e.g. ¹1516/²1521 → ³1532: *rivera → riviera*, *reuscire → riuscire*, il *scudo →* lo *scudo*, *se dippartiva →* si *dipartiva*, *indugi*a → *indugi*o, *avea fatt*a *una pertica → avea fatt*o *una pertica*; cf. Trovato 1994, 292–305) –, but for the most part upheld their binding character until the 19th century. Indeed, the rejection of *lei* (and *lui*) as the subject (*voce del primo caso*) appears constantly in grammars up to the 19th century:

> "Egli si par bene, Giuliano, che la natura di queste voci porti che *Ella* solamente al primo caso si dia, e *Lei* agli altri, come diceste usarsi nelle prose; ma sì come si vede [...] che nei poeti si truova alle volte *Ella* posta negli altri casi, così pare che si truovi eziandio *Lei*, nel primo caso posta, appo il Petrarca, quando e' disse: 'E ciò che non è lei, / già per antica usanza odia e disprezza.' Con ciò sia cosa che al verbo *È* solo il primo caso si dà, e dinanzi e dopo [...]; o pure io non intendo, come queste regole si stiano –. Alle quali parole il Magnifico così rispose: – Lo avere il Petrarca posto questa voce *Lei* col verbo *È*, non fa, messer Federigo, che ella sia voce del primo caso; perciò che è alle volte, che la lingua a quel verbo il quarto caso appunto dà, e non il primo [...]" (III, 17; Dionisotti ²1966, 211).

Similar to Vaugelas' *Remarques* (cf. below, 7.2), in some cases the "definitive" rule given in the printed edition is the result of a noteworthy shift in opinion with respect to the manuscript version:

> "Ma tornando a questa particella [= *come*], in quanto ella comperatione fa, è da sapere che non se le dà il primo caso, anzi il quarto; sì come gliele diede il Boccaccio: 'Costoro, che d'altra parte eran sì come lui malitiosi, dicendo pur che ben cercasse, preso tempo tiraron via il puntello'" (III, 69; Tavosanis 2002, 339).

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18 For practical reasons of readibility, quotations are taken from the vulgate edition; a philologically accurate version of the *editio princeps* is Bembo (2001 [1525]).

As Patota (2017, 75s., 78–80) highlights, this rule is no longer found in the *editio princeps*, where, at a different position (III, 16) and most probably against the background of Fortunio's *Regole* (cf. Fortunio 2001 [1516], 44–48), a completely different rule is proposed (cf. Tavosanis 2002, 58, for another case in point):

> "Con ciò sia cosa che quando alla particella *Come* si dà alcun caso, quel caso se le dà, che ha la voce con cui la comperazione si fa; sì come si diede qui: *Donne mie care, voi potete, sì come io, molte volte avere udito*; il che tuttavia è così chiaro, che non facea bisogno recarvene testimonianza. Anzi, se altro caso si vede che dato alcuna volta le sia, ciò si dee dire che per inavertenza sia stato detto, più che per altro" (Dionisotti ²1966, 210).

7 Language standardization in France: the *bon usage*

The *Ordonnance du 25 août 1539 sur le fait de la justice* (*Ordonnance de Villers-Cotterêts*), which prescribes in article 111 the exclusive use of the "langage maternel francoys" in texts of legal relevance,[19] is typically considered the historical starting point of language standardization in France. Notwithstanding, one must also bear in mind the importance of economic aspects, in particular those of printers.[20] The importance of the printed text for acquiring knowledge, and hence rising through social strata, in addition to the latter's dependence on correct language use is underlined by the poet and chronicler Jean Bouchet (1476–ca. 1557):[21]

> "Mais parautant qu'entre vous Imprimeurs / Estes souuent des facteurs reprimeurs, / Et qu'adiustez a vostre fantaisie / Chose mauluaise au propos mal choisie, / En corrompant la rime bien souuent, / La prose aussi, la mettant trop au vent, / Et qui pis est corrompant la sentence / De l'escripuant, c'est iniure & offense, / Gardez vous en messieurs les Imprimeurs, / Ou aultrement serez impugnateurs / De verité, voire presque faulsaires / Pensez y bien, sans estre trop haulsaires.
>
> Ie vous l'escris, non pour moy seulement, / Mais parautant que voy communement / Liures tant beaulx de la langue vulgaire / Et des latins gastez pour tel meffaire.
>
> Ayez tousiours de bons compositeurs / Lettres asses, & de bons correcteurs, / N'y espargnez argẽt, quoy qu'õ vo[us] trouble / Vous y aurez a la fin gaing au double. [...]
>
> Au temps present plutost on a comprins / Quelque scauoir qu'on n'auoit pas apprins / Le temps passé seulement a bien lire, / Si ie l'ay veu, ie le puis bien escrire." (Bouchet 1969 [1545], seconde partie, f. 48r°).

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19 Cf. <www.culture.gouv.fr/Wave/image/archim/0010/dafanch06_a200525n00057_2.htm> (03/19/2018).

20 In Geoffrey Tory's (ca. 1480–1533) *Champ fleury* (1529) the unity of professional-economic and linguistic-cultural humanistic interests appears to have already crystallised, cf. Settekorn (1988, 43s.).

21 Louis Meigret's (ca. 1500–after 1558) failure to introduce a phonetically-based orthography must be seen against this background (cf. Hausmann 1980, 77–129).

While sixteenth-century normative discourse is characterized by a certain realism, which makes its connection to other social aspects explicit, in the 17th century, it is the adequate conversational behavior at the royal court, thereby extending to linguistic norms, which becomes the relevant normative reference point (cf. Settekorn 1988, 45–51).[22]

Among the proponents of French seventeenth-century normative discourse, François de Malherbe (7.1) and Claude Favre de Vaugelas (7.2) must be considered the most important ones.

7.1 François de Malherbe

The standardization of French in the narrow sense began with the Norman François de Malherbe (1555–1628) – "selbst ein Erzeugnis der französischen Gesellschaft" [himself a product of French society] (Lausberg 1950, 173) –, who arrived at Henry IV's court in 1605. Naturally, in this context, one cannot help but recall Nicolas Boileau's (1636–1711) brief history of French literature in his *L'Art poétique* (1674), ranging from "les premiers ans du Parnasse François" (Boileau 1979, 159) to François Villon (1431–after 1463), Clément Marot (1496–1544) and Pierre de Ronsard (1524–1585), down to Philippe Desportes (1546–1606) and Jean Bertaut (1552–1611), while "culminating" in Malherbe (cf. also Lausberg 1950, 172s.):

> "Enfin Malherbe vint, et le premier en France, / Fit sentir dans les vers une juste cadence: / D'un mot mis en sa place enseigna le pouvoir, / Et reduisit la Muse aux regles du devoir. / Par ce sage Ecrivain la Langue reparée / N'offrit plus rien de rude à l'oreille épurée. / Les Stances avec grace apprirent à tomber, / Et le vers sur le vers n'osa plus enjamber. / Tout reconnut ses lois, et ce guide fidele / Aux Auteurs de ce temps sert encor de modele"[23] (Boileau 1979, 160).

Analysing the *reduction* of the Muse "aux regles du devoir", especially as it appears from Malherbe's meticulously annotated copy of *Les premières œuvres de Philippes*

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22 However, the concept of *usage* as a normative guideline had already been discussed in the preceding century: Pierre Fabri (1450–1535; formally, Pierre Le Fèvre) speaks of the "commun langage" (Fabri 1969 [1521], *Premier livre: Rhétorique*, 13); Robert Estienne (1503–1559) follows "ce que nous avions le temps passé apprins des plus scavans en nostre langue, qui avoyent tout le temps de leur vie hanté es Cours de France, tant du Roy que de son Parlement a Paris, aussi sa Chancellerie et Chambre des comptes: esquels lieux le langage sescrit et se prononce en plus grande pureté qu'en tous autres" (Estienne 2003 [1557], 27); Abel Matthieu (ca. 1520–ca. 1572) considers "coustume et usage de parler le plus commun, le plus simple, et le moins corrompu du peuple" (Matthieu 2008 [1560], 163). Cf. Swiggers (2001, 64) for further information.

23 Nevertheless cf. Boileau's more differentiated view expressed in a letter to François de Maucroix (1619–1708) in 1695: "La verité est pourtant et c'estoit le sentiment de notre cher Ami Patru, que la Nature ne l'avoit pas faict grand Poete mais il corrige ce defaut par son esprit et par son travail" (Boileau 1979, 796).

Des-Portes,[24] Lausberg (1950) shows to what extent Malherbe had in mind the classical *virtutes dicendi* of *puritas/latinitas* (cf. Boileau 1979, 160: "aimez sa pureté"), *perspicuitas* (cf. Boileau 1979, 160: "de son tour heureux imitez la clarté"), *ornatus* and *aptum*:

solecism as a violation of *puritas*:

"Séchoit ses *larges pleurs*. ... En latin, bon; en françois, non."; "*Elle a deuil* [...]. Phrase normande."; "Pour rendre en regardant maint et maint amoureux. [...] *Maint et maint* est gascon" (Malherbe 1862, 389; 469; 275).

ambiguity as a violation of *perspicuitas*:

"Je ne veux soupirer / Ni me douloir pour brûler davantage. Considérez ici l'ambiguité du sens. Je ne sais s'il veut dire: *L'envie que j'ai de brûler davantage fait que je ne veux ni soupirer ni me douloir*. [...] Il se peut aussi prendre d'autre façon: *Je ne veux pas me douloir pour brûler davantage* [...]" (Malherbe 1862, 429s.).

"métaphore trop continuée" as a violation of *ornatus*:

"Ma nef passe au détroit d'une mer courroucée, / Toute comble d'oubli. ... / Elle a pour chaque rame une longue pensée. Vice de la métaphore trop continuée" (Malherbe 1862, 261).

κακέμφατον *iuncturae* as a violation of *aptum* (cf. Quintilian, *Inst.* 9, 4, 33; cf. also 8, 3, 45–47):

"Et que mon âme libre erroit à son plaisir. *Brerroit*" (Malherbe 1862, 303).

Among the guidelines for *puritas/pureté*, Malherbe appears to follow that of *consuetudo/usage*, refusing both Latinisms (cf. above, *larges pleurs* ← *largi fletus*; cf. Lausberg 1950, 181) and what is "bas" and/or "plébée" (Malherbe 1862, 435; cf. also Settekorn 1988, 50), only censuring as "peu courtisan" (Malherbe 1862, 380) an expression used by Desportes. Between the two poles of "la langue semi-latine de certains érudits et la langue populaire", he finds "un parti plus sage à prendre, celui d'adopter l'usage des gens qui parlaient bien", and who could presumably be found "à la Cour, dans la partie de cette Cour au moins qui était dégasconnée" (Brunot 1891, 225; but cf. also 223s.).

7.2 Claude Favre de Vaugelas

In 1635, the "principale fonction" of the Académie française was established as that of "travailler avec tout le soin et toute la diligence possibles à donner des règles certaines à notre langue et à la rendre pure, éloquente et capable de traiter les arts et les sciences" (Académie française s. a., art. 24; cf. also Académie française s. a., 19, n. 1: "Article essentiel qui formule la raison d'être de l'Académie, lui prescrit

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24 Malherbe's copy is accessible on *Gallica*, <gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k700650> (03/19/2018). Nowadays, Malherbe's annotations are directly integrated into editions of Desportes' works, cf. e.g. Desportes (1958).

sa mission et fonde son autorité"). This function was fulfilled in particular by the *Remarques sur la langue françoise*, published in 1647 by Claude Favre de Vaugelas (1585–1650), one of the founding members of the Académie who coined both the concept and phrase *bon usage* (but cf. above, 4.1, the expression "bon uzatge" in the *Leys d'Amors*; cf. Marzys 2009, 19s., for the history of this expression).

In the *Preface*, Vaugelas presents himself as a "simple tesmoin, qui depose ce qu'il a veu et oüi" (I; Vaugelas 2009 [1647], 65). Despite this modesty, it is safe to assume that he was well aware of his prescriptive power (cf. for an example thereof Settekorn 1988, 72), particularly since the subtitle of the *Remarques*, "utiles à ceux qui veulent bien parler et bien escrire" – Settekorn (1988, 52) underlines their "praktische Zielrichtung" [practical purposes] –, clearly indicates that adherence to his observations was a necessary condition for gaining access to the court or, more generally, attaining social prosperity (cf. Settekorn 1988, 53s.; Marzys 2009, 15–18): "Il ne faut qu'un mauvais mot pour faire mespriser une personne dans une Compagnie, pour descrier un Predicateur, un Advocat, un Escrivain" (*Preface* IX, 2; Vaugelas 2009 [1647], 89).

Drawing upon the *usage* as "le Maistre et le Souverain des langues *vivantes*" (*Preface* I; Vaugelas 2009 [1647], 65; italics added), Vaugelas defines *bon usage* as follows (for a detailed discussion on the different elements behind the definition of *bon usage*, cf. Marzys 2009, 19–29; for a rather sociological point of view, cf. Settekorn 1988, 54–64):

> "*C'est la façon de parler de la plus saine partie de la Cour, conformément à la façon d'escrire de la plus saine partie des Autheurs du temps*. Quand je dis *la Cour*, j'y comprens les femmes comme les hommes, et plusieurs personnes de la ville où le Prince reside, qui par la communication qu'elles ont avec les gens de la Cour participent à sa politesse" (*Preface* II, 3; Vaugelas 2009 [1647], 68).

However, the court alone is insufficient for "servir de reigle, il faut que la Cour et les bons Autheurs y concourent, et ce n'est que de cette conformité qui se trouve entre les deux, que l'Usage s'establit" (*Preface* II, 4; Vaugelas 2009 [1647], 68). As far as the relation between the *Cour* and the *Autheurs* is concerned, Vaugelas holds the following:

> "Ce n'est pas pourtant que la Cour ne contribuë incomparablement plus à l'Usage que les Autheurs, ny qu'il y ayt aucune proportion de l'un à l'autre; Car enfin la parole qui se prononce, est la premiere en ordre et en dignité, puis que celle qui est escrite n'est que son image, comme l'autre est l'image de la pensée. Mais le consentement des bons Autheurs est comme le sceau, ou une verification, qui authorise le langage de la Cour, et qui marque le bon Usage, et decide celuy qui est douteux" (*Preface* II, 5; Vaugelas 2009 [1647], 68).

Should an aspect of language come into question, "pour l'ordinaire, il vaut mieux les [= the men and women without education] consulter dans les doutes de la langue, que ceux qui sçavent la langue Grecque et la Latine" (Vaugelas 2009 [1647], 811).

With regard to the relevant authors, Vaugelas provides an important chronological specification: it is the "Autheurs du temps" (*Preface* II, 3; Vaugelas 2009 [1647], 68) who must be taken into consideration. As Marzys (2009, 23) states, "[l]'usage oral de la cour étant par définition actuel, seuls les écrivains contemporains sont capables de le consigner par écrit. Ainsi est consacrée *la rupture avec la tradition littéraire*, qui perd toute espèce d'ascendant sur le bon usage" (italics added).

In contrast to Quintilian's concept of *consuetudo* (cf. above, section 2), which, despite being the "certissima loquendi magistra" [the surest teacher of speaking] (*Inst.* 1, 6, 3; LCL), must be seen together with *ratio*, *vetustas* and *auctoritas*, for Vaugelas "l'Usage est celuy auquel il se faut *entierement* sousmettre en nostre langue" (V, 2; Vaugelas 2009 [1647], 81; italics added). In addition, while for Quintilian the "consuetud[o] sermonis" [usage in speech] is the "consensus[s] *eruditorum*" [consensus of the educated] (*Inst.* 1, 6, 45; LCL; italics added) and thus that of an *intellectual* elite, for Vaugelas it is the usage of a *social* elite (cf. Marzys 2009, 28). And even if Vaugelas appears to have been inspired by the discussions on language norm in Italy (cf. Marzys 2009, 20, n. 13, 28s.), in particular by Castiglione's concept of the *lingua cortigiana* (cf. above, section 6), in his mind, the repository of *bon usage* is not the individual courtier, but rather the courtly ambiance in general.

In contrast to the necessary lack of systematicity in Malherbe's comments on Desportes' work, Vaugelas' approach is deliberately unsystematic and a "major innovation" (Ayres-Bennett 2002, 355): he rejects arranging "toutes ces Remarques sous les neuf parties de l'Oraison" because such ordering "ne serviroit qu'à ceux qui sçavent la langue latine, et par consequent toutes les parties de la Grammaire" (*Preface* XII, 1; Vaugelas 2009 [1647], 108s.; for further discussion, cf. Settekorn 1988, 62–64; Ayres-Bennett 2002, 355; Marzys 2009, 47–50).

Concentrating specifically on the following two examples, both respectively illustrate a case of shift in opinion from the manuscript version to the printed edition, and the complex relationship between spoken and written language:

> "***Naviger, naviguer.*** Tous les gens de mer, disent, *naviguer*, mais à la Cour on dit, *naviger*, et tous les bons Autheurs l'escrivent ainsi" (printed version; Vaugelas 2009 [1647], 232; cf. Settekorn 1988, 73–76 for a detailed presentation).

> "*Naviguer*[.] On disoit autrefois *naviger*, mais aujourd'huy tout le monde dit *naviguer* à la Cour [...]" (manuscript version; Vaugelas 2009 [1647], 233).

> "***Nu-pieds.*** Ce mot se dit ordinairement en parlant, mais jamais les bons Autheurs ne l'écrivent, ils disent, *les pieds nuds*, *se trouvant les pieds nuds*, dit M. Coeffeteau en la vie de Neron. Il faut dire, *nu-pieds*, au pluriel, et non pas *nu-pied*, au singulier, comme, *il est venu nu-pieds*" (Vaugelas 2009 [1647], 233; cf. Settekorn 1988, 76–82 for a detailed presentation).

Beyond the frequent reimpressions of the *Remarques* (cf. Marzys 2009, 14), their success and relevance become apparent not only from annotated editions by the *académiciens* Thomas Corneille (1625–1709) and Olivier Patru (1604–1681), but also from

the *Observations de l'Académie Françoise sur les Remarques de M. de Vaugelas*, published by the Académie française itself in 1704.[25]

Besides, the *Remarques* became the archetype for similar texts (cf., e.g., Dominique Bouhours' famous *Remarques nouvelles sur la langue Françoise*, which appeared in 1675) and even engendered an entire discourse tradition meant to last.[26]

8 Conclusion

In the preceding sections, we have attempted to give an account of approaches to language standardization in the period ranging from Latin antiquity (Cicero, Quintilian) to the 17th century (Vaugelas). We focused on ideas and events that can be situated within the "paradigm" of classical/traditional grammar and which therefore appear of particular importance with regard to the history of language norms and (attempts at) language standardization in the Romance languages in the Middle Ages and the age of Humanism/Renaissance. Nevertheless, as has been shown relating to the attitudes of certain Christian authors and the subsequent impact of the Carolingian Renaissance, as well as with regard to the *Questione della lingua*, the development of language norms in the Romance area has shown not to be a continuous one, but one rather marked by discontinuities, even of different types.

The basic concepts of *latinitas* (in the general sense of 'linguistic correctness'), *auctoritas* and *consuetudo*, which had been established in Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*, proved important points of reference throughout the entire period in question, even if the interpretations of these criteria could vary considerably: keep in mind, for instance, that from Bembo's perspective, it is the great authors of the 14th century that should be imitated, while for Nebrija, it is the grammarians "que tienen autoridad"; for Vaugelas, the only authority is the language used by the social elite.

The acceptance, however, of a certain entity as an *auctoritas* or of a certain type of *consuetudo* was also shown to be easily questioned at any time, as Augustine as well as the advocates of the *lingua cortigiana* model in sixteenth-century Italy did.

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25 While in the *Statuts et règlements* one finds "Il sera composé un dictionnaire, une grammaire, une rhétorique et une poétique sur les observations de l'Académie" (Académie française s. a., art. 26), the *Grammaire de l'Académie française* did not appear until 1932. However, as Blochwitz (1968, 125) points out, the Académie française indeed considered Vaugelas' *Remarques* to be "its" grammar.
26 Cf. Ayres-Bennett (1987); Ayres-Bennett/Seijido (2011); Colombat/Fournier/Ayres-Bennett (2011). Interestingly, with the 6th edition (1955 [¹1936]), the subtitle of Maurice Grevisse's *Le Bon usage* (!) had changed from "Cours de grammaire française et de langage français" to "Grammaire française avec des remarques sur la langue française d'aujourd'hui", maintained up to the 11th edition (1980; cf. Lieber 1986, 107, 196s.). In the 12th edition (1986), the subtitle was reduced to "Grammaire française", while from the 13th edition (1993) onwards, this specification has been replaced with "Grevisse Langue française" (cf. Grevisse/Goosse ¹⁶2016).

This appears to be particularly true when the requirements of successful communication could not be fulfilled by means considered linguistically "correct" in other discourse traditions.

Even if a certain amount of grammaticography was owed to attempts at second language teaching (cf. e.g. Swiggers 2001, 46, 51, for French and Spanish, respectively; cf. Bonomi 1986, XXXVs., for an Italian example), the process of "grammatisation" (Auroux 1992, 28) of the Romance languages caused the "vernacular turn" (Percival 1999, 11) to be applied primarily to literary discourse traditions for a long time (nevertheless cf. Alberti's *Grammatichetta*). The goal of such a "gramática literaria" became that of "auxiliar en la composición a los poetas y escritores" (Esparza Torres 2006, 77, 78; cf. also Malherbe's *Commentaire* on Desportes and his "presentation" by Boileau as well as the traces of such a tradition still in Vaugelas' *Remarques*, cf. *Preface* XIII, 1; Vaugelas 2009 (1647), 110; Marzys 2009, 44s.).

Finally, we would like to stress the recurrent focus on the very possibility of establishing rules for the vernacular languages, as opposed to Latin with its rules as unquestioned property. While this may be considered rather unsurprising in Dante Alighieri (cf. *De vulgari eloquentia* 1, 1, 2: "sine omni regula" [without any rule]) and still appears coherent from a strictly humanist point of view (cf. e.g. Alberti 1996, 39: "principii"; Nebrija 2011 [1492], 9: "reduzir en artificio"; Fortunio 2001 [1516], 3: "sanza alcuna regola di grammaticali parole"), Giambullari's explicit affirmation "mettere insieme sotto nome et forma di *Regole*" (1986 [1552], 3) is all the more noteworthy since his *Regole della lingua fiorentina* differ from both the preceding treatises and those of his contemporaries in more than one respect (cf. Bonomi 1986, XXXVIs. for further information). Vaugelas, by contrast, rejects the suspicion of proposing "des Loix que je fais pour nostre langue de mon authorité privée" (*Preface* I; Vaugelas 2009 [1647], 65) and does not have in mind a systematic description of the French language. Rather, he views French as "en sa perfection" (*Preface* X, 2; Vaugelas 2009 [1647], 103) and wants to establish norms of linguistic behaviour in a certain type of society.

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Jörn Albrecht

2 Linguistic Norm in the Prague School of Linguistics

Abstract: This chapter provides an overview of the contribution the Prague School of Linguistics has made to the study of linguistic norm. Departing from a functionalist approach to the analysis of language, the Prague School shaped and theorized the influential notions of language culture (*jazyková kultura*, *Sprachkultur*) and language cultivation (*Sprachpflege*) at a time when, in Western Europe, prescriptive approaches to language were considered unworthy of scientific attention. Distancing themselves from "purist" and "school-grammar" conceptions of language maintenance and based on the case of Czech language culture, the representatives of the Prague School advocated for the cultivation of the written (standard) language in functional terms in order to achieve a "stable" yet "elastic" concept of norm.

Keywords: language culture, language cultivation, standard, target standard, purism, poetic language, spoken language, written language, automatization, deautomatization (foregrounding)

1 Introduction

1.1 Short history of what is usually called the Prague School

The Prague School or Prague Linguistic Circle (*Pražský lingvistický kroužek*) emerged in the second half of the 1920s. Its founder was the Czech linguist Vilém Mathesius. The circle is generally considered to have made one of the most important contributions to European structuralism. In the world of linguistics, the Prague School is associated first and foremost with its efforts in the field of phonology; Eugenio Coseriu asserts that the school "a partir de 1929, se conoce bajo el nombre de 'Escuela fonológica de Praga'" (Coseriu 1981, 134). Its contributions to the study of linguistic norm are less well known; specialists in this domain sometimes feel obliged to remind us of this important aspect of the School's activities:

> "Une étude de la norme en linguistique contemporaine se doit de faire une place à l'Ecole de Prague et à sa théorie de la langue standard. Moins connue que la contribution des membres du Cercle linguistique de Prague à la phonologie, principalement parce que la plupart des articles qui l'exposent ont été publiés en tchèque, la théorie de la langue standard et de la langue littéraire constitue pourtant un des principaux résultats des travaux linguistiques menés en Tchécoslovaquie [...]" (Bédard/Maurais 1983, 5).

Like other important schools of European structuralism, the Prague School was indebted to the heritage of Ferdinand de Saussure, albeit less deeply than the Geneva

or Copenhagen Schools. The members of the circle refused to accept the strict dichotomy between synchrony and diachrony in linguistics and they never attempted to study language as an autonomous system by leaving aside all extra-linguistic factors (more details below).

The most important period of the school's activity extended from 1929 to 1939. The members published the major part of their linguistic works *stricto sensu* (phonology, morphology, syntax) in the *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague* (TCLP); vol. 7 contains the famous *Grundzüge der Phonologie* by Nikolai Trubetzkoy. The great majority of the papers on questions of linguistic norms and literary language appeared in the journal *Slovo a slovesnost* (Word and Literature). The German occupation of Bohemia brought the activities of the circle almost to a complete standstill, and after the war a fruitful continuation of activities was further hampered by the coup d'état of 1948 in Czechoslovakia. Only in the 1960s did the school undergo something akin to a resurrection. As of 1964, a new journal appeared: *Travaux linguistiques de Prague* (abbreviated TLP) not to be confused with TCLP (see above). Scholars like E. Beneš, F. Daneš or J. Firbas developed different models of the "Functional Sentence Perspective".[1] Feeling a need to reestablish the response the Prague School would have been assured in the world of linguistics without the intrusive interruption caused by the war, some members of the second and third generation began writing up the history of the "classical" period of the circle (for more details cf. Albrecht ³2007, 59–65; Albrecht 2011, 830–832; Akamatsu 2001, 1769; Fontaine 1974; Robins 1967, chap. 8).

1.2 Principal members

The Czechoslovakian members of the circle, such as Vilém Mathesius (1882–1945), Bohumil Trnka (1895–1985) and Josef Vachek (1909–1996) are not as famous – at least today – as two important members of Russian origin, Nikolai Trubetzkoy (1890–1938) and Roman Jakobson (1896–1982). Only the latter was interested in questions of linguistic norms and poetic language. The most important contributions to this field of interest though came from Bohuslav Havránek (1893–1978), Jan Mukařovský (1891–1975) and Miloš Weingart (1891–1939). The German Henrik Becker, certainly the only fervent Nazi among the members of the circle, was also engaged in research on problems of standard language and language cultivation. After the war, he continued his studies on this subject in the German Democratic Republic (cf. Ehlers 2005, chap. 4.1.1).

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1 Other customary terms are: *contextual sentence organization*; *theme/rheme*, *topic/comment structure*; *information focus*; s. *Theses*, English version 1982, 31, n. 2.

1.3 Principal activities and general characteristics of the School

Though investigations in the field of standard language and language culture – a strange mixture of descriptive and prescriptive approaches to the study of language – were not central concerns of the school, they still played an important role, as can be seen from the official program, i.e. the *Theses Presented to the First Congress of Slavic Philologists in Prague* (published in Czech but cited here in the English translation by John Burbank). The title of section III, *Problems of Research into the Different Functions of Language, particularly in Slavic Languages* (11–18) announces the principal subjects selected for future research: (a) *On the Function of Language*; (b) *On Standard Literary Language*; (c) *On Poetic Language*. Section IX, *The Importance of Functional Linguistics for the Cultivation and Critique of Slavic Languages* (24–26) and is a justification of the heterogeneous approach referred to above. The principal aim, i.e. the cultivation of the Slavic languages, is practical in its nature and thus merits a prescriptive approach, while the methods employed to achieve this goal are theoretical and descriptive in nature.

With reference to the "classical" period of the school, Eduard Beneš and Josef Vachek concede in retrospect that in scholarly terms the investigative methods employed by the members of the circle were less rigorous than those of modern linguistics (Beneš/Vachek 1971, XVIII). They indicate that language functions were the main research interest of the Prague School. Every linguistic phenomenon should be classified according to its purpose. This also applies – paradoxically in a sense – to poetic language. It exists for its own sake. The "poetic function" of language that Roman Jakobson defined alongside five other language functions in his familiar model (Jakobson 1960) reminds us of the time he spent with his colleagues in Prague.

The writings on linguistic norms and language cultivation focus first and foremost on Czech, but as Daneš (2006, 2456) points out, the ideas developed by the Prague School have also had significant impact on other language cultures, especially in the domain of Slavic languages (Slovak in the former Czechoslovakia; Croatian, Serbian, Slovenian in the former Yugoslavia; Russian in the former Soviet Union). Furthermore, they yielded great influence on the cultivation efforts in the former German Democratic Republic and West Germany, while similar interests in other language cultures like the French have rather been motivated by older national traditions. Inspired by its relevance in German studies and partly in cooperation with them, the approach of the Prague School was also taken up, subsequently, by Romance studies and applied to the study of French, Italian and Spanish language culture (Greule/Lebsanft 1998a), with a monographic study dedicated to the latter (Lebsanft 1997) as well as to the language cultures of Catalan, Galician, Friulian, Ladin, Occitan, Portuguese, Romanian, Romansh, and Sardinian (Janich/Greule 2002). Going more into detail would seem to be of little interest for the readers of a manual dedicated to problems of Romance linguistics. For this, the present article will concern itself mainly with theoretical principles.

2 Linguistic norms

The mainstream of modern linguistics has long been hostile to any form of prescriptive norm:

> "Longtemps délaissée par les linguistes qui, tout à leur tâche d'ériger leur discipline en science, voyaient d'un mauvais œil ce qui ne pouvait facilement être ramené à des faits objectifs […] la norme refait aujourd'hui surface comme en témoignent les publications récentes qui y sont consacrées; les linguistes entendent désormais faire valoir leur point de vue dans un champ naguère presque entièrement occupé par les enseignants, les chroniqueurs de langue et par tous ceux que l'on regroupe sous l'étiquette de 'puristes'" (Bédard/Maurais 1983, 1).

The members of the Prague Circle were among the prominent exceptions referred to in the quotation above. They considered linguistic norms a subject suitable for linguistic enquiry, but they didn't want to be identified with "purists" or "schoolteachers". Because language cultivation was already a subject of Classical and Medieval Rhetoric, the Prague Circle followed up on the ideas of Noreen (1892), Jespersen (1914; 1925) and Vinokur (1924; 1925). They adopted the term *Sprachkultur* and its functional-stylistic conception from the work of the latter (Vinokur 1925). Instead of the traditional notion of "linguistic correctness", they focused on the "appropriateness according to the use" ("Zweckdienlichkeit", Mathesius 1976, 89) in order to allow the written language to be "stable" yet "elastic", coining thus the concept of "elastic stability" (cf. Daneš 2006, 2453–2455).

"Leave your language alone!" This famous piece of advice from the American linguist Robert A. Hall (1950) is characteristic of the prevailing attitude (cf. Greule/Lebsanft 1998b, 11). But the members of the Prague School and some of their colleagues in other Slavic countries did not share this opinion – and neither did the American public showing great interest in normative orientation (cf. Daneš 2006, 2459). For them, linguistic norms played an important role in an approach to language problems or "language management" that they termed "language cultivation". The following quotation comes from the English translation of the *thèses* presented to the first Congress of Slavic Philologists in Prague in 1929:

> "A concern for the cultivation of language is crucial for the majority of Slavic standard literary languages because of their relatively young tradition or their interrupted or hasty development" (*Theses IX*, in: Steiner 1982, 25).

2.1 *Jazyková kultura* (language culture or language cultivation; Sprachkultur)

The term *Kul'tura jazyka* (language culture) was probably coined by the Russian linguist Grigorij O. Vinokur. It corresponds to the Czech term *jazyková kultura*. *The Dictionnaire de Linguistique de Prague* edited by Josef Vachek provides an explana-

tion of the term taken at least in part from the theses of 1929 (the English terms used in the translation of the *theses* by John Burbank are added in brackets):

> "**Culture de la langue** (Culture of Language, Sprachkultur, Kultura jazyka) La culture de la langue est la sollicitude déployée pour développer dans la langue littéraire, tant celle de la conversation que celles des livres, les qualités que réclame sa fonction spéciale. La première de ces qualités [*features*] est la *fixité* [*stability*], c.-à-d. que la langue littéraire doit éliminer toutes fluctuations inutiles et qu'on doit former un sens linguistique sûr pour la langue littérai-re; la seconde est *l'aptitude à rendre avec clarté et précision, finement et sans effort les nuances les plus variées* [*versatility*]; la troisième est *l'originalité de la langue* [*specificity*], c.-à-d. le renforcement des traits qui lui donnent son caractère" (Vachek 1970, s. v. *culture de la langue*).

This definition (or rather explanation) contains nearly all the important elements that can be found in the various papers published by different members of the Prague Circle:

– *La solicitude déployée pour developer* **...**: language should not be "left alone", at least not entirely; its intrinsic development should be "reinforced" by external support coming from linguistic experts:

> "The cultivation of language is concerned with reinforcing those features which the special function of the standard literary language requires both in the written and in the colloquial standard literary language".

– *Fixité, éliminations des fluctuations inutiles* **...**:

> "The first of these features is *stability*. The standard literary language must eliminate any unnecessary fluctuation in order to develop a sure linguistic sense for the standard".

One of the early Czech writings of Vilém Mathesius, the founder of the circle is entitled: "On the need of stability in a standard language" (Mathesius 1932; cf. below 2.3)

– *L'aptitude à rendre avec clarté et précision [...] les nuances les plus variées*:

> "The second is *versatility*, the ability to express the most varied nuances of content with clarity and precision, with subtlety and ease".

– *L'originalité de la langue*:

> "The third is *specificity*, the reinforcement of characteristic features of the given language".

All these features can be developed on the basis of latent characteristic elements of the respective language:

> "In developing these features, it is often a question of one of various possibilities present in a language or of transforming a latent linguistic tendency into an intentional means of expression" (all quotations are from *Theses*, in: Steiner 1982, 24).

Two fundamental questions arise in this context: the first empirical, the second methodological:

(1) What are the "features" that enable a literary language to play its role as a general linguistic standard?

(2) What can we do to reinforce these qualities?

2.2 Descriptive norm vs. prescriptive norm (standard vs. target standard)

These two fundamental questions suggest that the Prague Circle has an ambiguous concept of linguistic norm: *norm* means either "usage of the majority of the (cultivated) speakers of a language in speaking or writing" (standard) or "the manner in which educated people should use their language" (target standard). These two meanings correspond to different approaches to the problem of linguistic norms. We can either try to find out how educated people *normally* use their language, or we can endeavor to "improve" this usage by *normative* measures. As we will see in the following paragraphs, the concept of "norm" found in the writings of the members of the Prague School is both descriptive and prescriptive. This stands out clearly in the following passage quoted from an article by Karel Hausenblas written in the "postclassical" period of the Prague School:

> "La notion d'usage indique simplement l'emploi, l'occurrence habituelle d'un phénomène linguistique. Usuel a trait à ce qui est fréquent, habituel, sans égard au fait que cela soit correct ou incorrecte, propre ou impropre [...]".

> "La notion de *norme* implique, en plus un élément de conformité à des règles établies. La norme de la langue standard (les autres variétés de la langue nationale ayant, elles aussi, chacune leur norme), c'est l'ensemble des règles ayant une existence objective et provenant de la compréhension mutuelle d'une collectivité qui sont perçues et acceptées comme obligatoires dans l'usage collectif des locuteurs d'une langue donnée".

> "La *codification*, c'est l'enregistrement et la régularisation de la norme dans les manuels, les grammaires, les dictionnaires, etc., par une autorité reconnue. [...] Une codification peut refléter bien ou mal la norme existante" (Hausenblas 1960, French version by Paul Garvin, in: Bédard/Maurais 1983, 148).

There is a sliding scale from a clearly descriptive (*usage*) to an inherently prescriptive (*norme*) and finally to an explicitly prescriptive point of view (*codification*). The norm is "inherently prescriptive" insofar as each member of a society feels obliged to behave "normally". At least in everyday communication we speak "normally" in order to be understood by others. To some degree, this resembles the concept of "norm" proposed by Eugenio Coseriu but without the important distinction between language system and language norm (↗3). A particularly important aspect of the Prague School theory is the connection between norm and codification of the norm.

Bohuslav Havránek made a sharp distinction between the norm and its codification (cf. Beneš/Vachek 1971, XV).

2.3 Characteristic features of the concept of norm shared by the members of the Prague School

– *The source of the standard*, that is to say the usage of a given language that may serve as a model for all kinds of prescriptive measures, can be found in the linguistic behavior of the educated class of a society:

> "Die Quelle für die Erforschung der Norm der Literatursprache [ist] die durchschnittliche literatursprachliche Praxis der letzten 50 Jahre" (*Allgemeine Grundsätze der Sprachkultur*; Autorenkollektiv 1932, in: Scharnhorst/Ising 1976, vol. 1, 75).

> [The source for the research on literary standard is the average practice of production of standard texts in the last fifty years.]

To put it simply, the norm represented by standard literary language can be deduced from the linguistic practice of the contemporaneously educated "standard writers" and "standard speakers". A period of fifty years seems however very short. This would exclude the works of André Gide or Thomas Mann from the coexisting literary standard of French or German. What is more, there is a degree of circularity in this wording. The members of the Prague Circle endeavor to make this less obvious with a number of precisions and restrictions:

– *Anti-purism*: In contrast to many upholders of linguistic standards in the past, the members of the Prague School, notable Roman Jakobson, were hostile to purism. Well-integrated linguistic elements should not be removed from standard language and replaced by "homemade" archaisms:

> "En ce qui concerne la correction linguistique, on trouve en Tchécoslovaquie [...] l'idée que la correction historique se confond avec la *pureté historique de la langue*. Selon les puristes, les seuls éléments valables [...] dans le tchèque standard actuel sont ceux que l'on retrouvait déjà dans la langue avant même le début du XVIIᵉ siècle [...]. Le manque de pureté ne constitue pas un empêchement à un développement; en revanche, la pureté ne le garantit pas à elle seule. [...] Du point de vue de la pureté historique, l'anglais est une véritable macédoine. Et pourtant, en tant que langue, cet assemblage disparate atteint un niveau de développement linguistique égal sinon supérieur à celui de l'allemand" (Mathésius 1932, French version by Paul L. Garvin, in: Bédard/Maurais 1983, 810).

In the 19th century, Czech purists combated borrowings from German, but Roman Jakobson advocated a different opinion:

> "La linguistique historique justifie-t-elle la lutte contre les germanismes? La linguistique historique nous enseigne au contraire qu'une grande langue de civilisation, subit toujours une cer-

taine forme d'hybridation; elle se développe au contact d'autres langues de civilisation, enrichissant ainsi ses sources expressives. C'est surtout par le croisement linguistique que le développement linguistique se manifeste de la façon la plus marquante" (Jakobson 1932, 92, French version, in: Bédard/Maurais 1983, 142).

The same is true of course for the 20th and 21st century under the changing conditions of Globalization and the surge of new forms of communication. Daneš (2006, 2458) considers the finding of a balance between purism and the integration of loans from other languages one of the main challenges of today's language cultivation.

– *Functional differentiation*: National languages should not be restricted to one official standard variety only. Apart from the standard *stricto sensu*, room should remain for less formal varieties that serve special purposes. Standard literary language should not be leveled out; on the contrary, its functional differentiation should be promoted (Beneš/Vachek 1971, XVI):

> "Les travaux théoriques du linguiste peuvent aussi contribuer à la *différenciation fonctionnelle et à l'enrichissement stylistique de la langue standard*; pour permettre la différenciation fonctionnelle, la langue standard a besoin de moyens d'expression riches et fonctionnellement différenciés, particulièrement dans le lexique et la syntaxe, et d'une exploitation efficace de ces moyens" (Thèses 1932, French version, in: Bédard/Maurais 1983, 806).

Language spoken by educated people may be a source of enrichment for the literary standard:

> "A cultivated colloquial language is a source which constantly and safely revitalizes written language. It is a medium in which one can, with the utmost security, cultivate the linguistic sensibility necessary for the stability of a standard literary language" (*Theses*, in: Steiner 1982, 25).

B. Havránek distinguishes several "linguistic shapes" of the utterance:

> "We clearly see that, with essentially the same subject matter (the same thematic plane) the linguistic shape of the utterance (the grammatico-semantic plane) changes in accord with its purpose [...] a scientific subject matter must be rid of technical automatizations [linguistic routines, J.A.] in a popular presentation (journalistic and the like) and be expressed, at least in part, by means of the automatizations of everyday language" (Havránek ³1964 [1955], 11).

The author gives a schematic survey of the *functional styles* of the standard language:

A. According to the *specific purpose* of the response:
   1. matter-of-fact communication, information
   2. exhortation (appeal), suasion
   3. general explanation (popular)
   4. technical explanation (exposition, proof)
   5. codifying formulation

B. According to the manner of the response (private-public; oral-written):
Oral: 1. Private (monologue) – dialogue
         2. public: speechmaking – discussion
Written: 1. private
         2. public: (a) notice, poster
                   (b) journalistic
                   (c) book writing (magazine writing)

The distinction he makes between styles and dialects does not correspond to that of modern sociolinguistics:

> "The difference between functional style and functional dialect [*funkční jazyk*] consists in the fact that the functional style is determined by the specific purpose of the given verbal response – it is a function of the verbal response (of the act of speech, 'parole'), whereas the functional is determined by the overall purpose of the structured totality of means of expression, it is a function of the linguistic pattern ('langue')" (Havránek [3]1964 [1955], 15s.).

Havránek differenciates between *dialect* as a variety at the *systemic level* and *style* as a more or less *individual usage* of the language in pursuing specific purposes. This corresponds to the traditional philological concept of "style". But Havránek uses *style* in the sense of *register*, that is to say a role-related code at the systemic level.

Be that as it may, the concept of "linguistic norm" in the Prague school was rather flexible. The most important thing was to make sure that everybody had access to the literary standard. That does not mean that less formal varieties were considered as undesirable. Even local dialects should not have been banished completely but tolerated in those domains where they could have functioned as a means of achieving certain ends (cf. Nerius 1985, 64).

– *Flexibility of codification*: In this connection, the observations of the members of the Prague Circle are not entirely devoid of contradictions and vagueness. On the one hand it is not possible to do without any codification of the norm:

> "Cet aperçu des tendances principales du développement des langues standard, lié aux cas particuliers que nous avons cités, justifie notre thèse selon laquelle la norme d'une langue standard n'est pas formée simplement de l'usage" (Mathesius 1932, French version by Paul Garvin, in: Bédard/Maurais 1983, 819).

On the other hand, it is important to respect the "natural development" of the language. The codification should not be imposed from outside but deduced from intrinsic tendencies. These should not be thwarted but reinforced:

> "En même temps, elle [= la codification] aide à unifier et à stabiliser la norme qui est bien souvent soumise à des oscillations; elle ne doit pas pourtant la freiner jusqu'au point d'empêcher le développement souple dont une langue standard a besoin" (Hausenblas 1960, French version by Paul Garvin, in: Bédard/Maurais 1983, 148).

> "Bei der Bildung neuer Ausdrucksmittel sowie bei der Eliminierung bestehender Varianten wird die literatursprachliche Norm objektiven Tendenzen angepaßt, wobei die Erkenntnis zugrundeliegt, daß die natürliche Entwicklung der Sprache von sich aus zu einer optimalen Norm tendiert. Die Sprachkultur kommt den natürlichen Entwicklungstendenzen also entgegen" (Horálek 1976, 36).

> [In the formation of new means of expression, as well as in the elimination of existing variants, the norm of the literary language is adjusted to fit in with objective tendencies, and this happens on the basis of the insight that the natural development of the language automatically tends towards an optimal norm. Language cultivation therefore accommodates the natural tendencies of language development.]

We should ask ourselves why we need any codification, if the natural development of the language tends automatically towards an optimal norm. In any case, the followers of the Prague School were strictly against a procedure that was very important in the French language culture of the classical period: *la fixation de la langue*. In his *Questions sur l'Encyclopédie*, Voltaire (1879 [1770], s. v. *langues*) notes:

> "Toute langue étant imparfaite, il ne s'ensuit pas qu'on doive la changer. Il faut absolument s'en tenir à la manière dont les bons auteurs l'ont parlée; et quand on a un nombre suffisant d'auteurs approuvés, la langue est fixée. Ainsi on ne peut plus rien changer à l'italien, à l'espagnol, à l'anglais, au français sans les corrompre. La raison est claire; c'est qu'on rendrait bientôt inintelligibles les livres qui font l'instruction et le plaisir des nations".

2.4 Different norms of written and spoken language

"Un homme qui parle comme il écrit nous fait l'effet d'un être artificiel, anormal …" (Vendryès 1968 [1923], 304). For very good reason, B. Havránek introduced this passage from a French introduction to general linguistics in his paper on the functional differentiation of standard language (Havránek [3]1964 [1955], 12, n. 20). As far as the connection between spoken and written language is concerned, the linguists of the Prague School were ahead of their time. For them, written language was not just a replica of spoken language, a mere substitution of phonetic sounds by graphic signs to express more or less the same content. They considered written language a phenomenon sui generis. It does not seem unlikely that they were influenced in this regard by the French linguist Joseph Vendryès (1875–1960). In his book *Le langage. Une introduction linguistique à l'histoire* we read:

> "C'est une erreur de croire qu'un texte écrit puisse être l'exacte représentation de la parole. Contrairement à l'opinion de bien des gens, on n'écrit jamais comme l'on parle (on écrit ou l'on cherche à écrire) comme les autres écrivent. Les personnes les moins cultivés, dès qu'elles mettent la main à la plume, ont le sentiment qu'elles usent d'un certain langage, qui n'est pas le même que le langage parlé …" (Vendryès 1968 [1923], 361).

This corresponds rather well to Josef Vachek's ideas about the relation between the two modes of language:

"A leitmotiv of Josef Vachek's work is establishing written language as a legitimate domain of linguistic inquiry. He argues that the mutual relation should not be formulated exclusively in diachronic terms as one of primary and secondary, but mainly in the synchronic terms of their mutual *functional* differentiation. In this functional spirit, Vachek (1939) differentiates spoken and written language as two systems of language means which differ not only materially (phonic vs. graphic substance) but mainly functionally; the task of spoken language is to provide means for a quick and immediate reaction to extralinguistic reality, while the task of written language is to provide means for a reaction to extralinguistic reality, which is preservable and easily surveyable" (Luelsdorff 1989, X).

Verba volant, scripta manent. According to the Prague School, one of the most important tasks of language cultivation is *intellectualization*:

"*The distinctiveness of the standard literary language is caused by its role*, particularly by the greater demands placed on it than on common language. It serves to express the life of culture and civilization [...]. This task, and its goal of professional instruction and formulation, expands and changes (intellectualizes) its vocabulary. [...] *This intellectualization of the standard literary language* also results from the need to express the independence and complexity of mental processes, manifested not only in expressions for pertinent abstract concepts but also in syntactic forms [...]. Furthermore, this intellectualization manifests itself in a stringent control [censorship] of *emotional elements* (the cultivation of the euphemism)".

"[...]. The characteristic features of the standard literary language are best represented in uninterrupted speech and particularly in the written utterance. Written speech strongly influences standard spoken speech" (*Theses III*, in: Steiner 1982, 13s.).

It is seldom expressed clearly, but it goes without saying that this "intellectualization" can only be achieved in a satisfactory way in a medium which is "preservable and easily surveyable", that is to say in written language.

In Havránek's definition of "intellectualization", written language is not even mentioned:

"L'intellectualisation de la langue standard, qui pourrait aussi être appelée sa rationalisation, est l'adaptation de la langue dans le but de produire des énoncés définis et précis, du degré d'abstraction nécessaire, et capables d'exprimer la 'connectivité' et la complexité de la pensée, donc, de renforcer le caractère intellectuel de la parole" (Havránek 1932, French version by Paul Garvin, in: Bédard/Maurais 1983, 822).

In his article from 1939, published in TCLP 8, "Zum Problem der geschriebenen Sprache" [On the problem of written language], Vachek operates tentatively with a higher, abstract norm to which both the spoken and written norms are subordinated. But in view of the incomplete parallelism of the two modes of language, he rejects this hypothesis and, what is more important, one of the most famous by Ferdinand de Saussure (1971 [1916], 157):

"Moreover, from the functional complementarity of the spoken and written norms Saussure's thesis that language is a form, and not a substance, is found to be untenable [by Vachek]" (Luelsdorff 1989, XI).

3 Two specific problems

Finally, two questions need to be discussed that are not closely related to the problem of linguistic norm *stricto sensu* but play an important role in the general discussion: the concepts of *automatization* and *deautomatization* (*foregrounding*) and the status of poetic language. The two questions are closely interrelated.

3.1 Automatization and deautomatization (foregrounding)

The Dictionnaire de Linguistique de l'École de Prague contains only one entry on this subject:

> "**Automatisation des moyens de la langue** (Automatization of the means of language. Automatisierung von Sprachmitteln. Automatisace jazykových prostředků) Nous entendons par automatisation ... l'emploi des moyens linguistiques, soit isolés ou bien liés entre eux, qui est usuel pour une certaine tâche de l'expression, c.-à-d. un tel emploi que l'expression elle-même n'attire pas l'attention; au point de vue de la forme elle est conçue et reçue comme conventionnelle et veut être 'compréhensible' déjà en tant que partie du système linguistique et non seulement lorsqu'elle est complétée dans la manifestation linguistique concrète par le contexte et la situation'" (Vachek 1970, s. v. *Automatisation des moyens de la langue*).

In modern linguistics, the term *lexicalization* has widely taken the place of *automatization*:

> "We thus call automatization what, in the case of phrases, is sometimes called lexicalization of phrases. [...] In other words, we can speak of automatization only in those cases where the speaker's intent does not fail to obtain the desired effect, where the link between intent and effect is not broken [...]" (Havránek [3]1964 [1955], 10).

The expression "*How are you?*" – to use a simple example – is used "automatically", i.e. normally as a greeting formula. If somebody uses it as a real question about the state of the addressee, he "deautomatizes" the formula, attracting the attention to its literal meaning:

> "By foregrounding, on the other hand, we mean the use of the devices of the language in such a way that this use itself attracts attention and is perceived as uncommon, as deprived of automatization, as deautomatized, such as a live poetic metaphor (as opposed to a lexicalized one, which is automatized)" (Havránek [3]1964 [1955], 10).

The last example can lead to misunderstandings. A live poetic metaphor is not yet automatized but neither is it deautomatized. We can "deautomatize" only lexicalized metaphors by "taking them at face value" as for instance: "Yes, she had *a heart of stone*, but it was a crumbly one, like a piece of chalk". German linguists use the term *Resemantisierung* in this connection.

3.2 Poetic language

Although poetic language plays an important role in the discussion of linguistic norms, there is no entry on this subject in the *Dictionnaire de linguistique*. The *Theses* from 1929, however, dedicated a long paragraph to this issue (III, c). At the center of discussion is the idea that poetic language exists "for its own sake" and not for external purposes such as expression of thought or communication (cf. above 1.3, Roman Jakobson's model of language functions):

> "From the thesis that poetic speech is directed at expression itself it follows that all the levels of a system of language that play only an ancillary role in communicative speech acquire a greater or lesser autonomous role in poetic speech" (*Theses III*, c, in: Steiner 1982).

In different papers of Prague scholars, the concept of poetic language appears again and again in constantly new wordings as the esthetically intentional distortion of common language:

> "*Poetic vocabulary* is deautomatized in the same way as the other levels of poetic language. It is reflected against either a given poetic tradition or communicative language. Unusual words (neologisms, barbarisms, archaisms etc.) have a poetic value in that they differ in their phonic effect from words current in communicative speech whose phonic details, as a result of frequent usage, are not perceived but only apperceived" (*Theses III*, in: Steiner 1982, 17).

This is not very far from widespread popular convictions. At a scholarly level they were given, at least in German, sophisticated names like *Abweichungsstilistik* [stylistics of deviance] or *Verfremdungsästhetik* [esthetics of alienation].

3.2.1 The relationship between standard language and poetic language

Among the members of the Prague Circle, the "chief theorist" of poetic language was Jan Mukařovský. In an article from 1932 (quoted here in the English translation by Paul Garvin), the author addresses two important issues:

> "The problem of the relationship between standard language and poetic language can be considered from two standpoints. The theorist of poetic language poses it somewhat as follows: is the poet bound by the norms of the standard? Or perhaps: how does this norm assert itself in poetry? The theorist of standard language, on the other hand, wants to know above all to what extent a work of poetry can be used as data for ascertaining the norm of the standard" (Mukařovský ³1964 [1955], 17).

As far as the relation between the language of a specific author and standard language is concerned, he argues:

> "There are, generally speaking, three possibilities: the writer, say a novelist, may either not distort the linguistic components of his work at all [...], or he may distort it, but subordinate

the linguistic distortion to the subject matter by giving substandard color to his lexicon in order to characterize personages and situations, for instance, or finally, he may distort the linguistic components in and of themselves by either subordinating the subject matter to the linguistic deformation, or emphasizing the contrast between the subject matter and its linguistic expression" (Mukařovský ³1964 [1955], 28).

This is a rather subtle analysis of the problem. One should add that it applies only for a short period. Every distortion can be successful, that is to say it may enter into the usage of standard speakers, and in this case, it will soon be "automatized".

The relation of standard language and poetic language is very complex. In this respect, it is impossible to take all the statements of the Prague scholars into consideration. They are by no means devoid of contradictions.

3.2.2 The importance of meter

According to the *communis opino*, meter belongs to the province of literary scholars, not linguists. The Russian formalists and their successors, the members of the Prague School and above all Roman Jakobson, took a different view. They were convinced that there was a close connection between the original verse forms of a people (not the imported ones) and certain characteristics of their language, especially the prosodic features:

> "Verse is characterized by a particular hierarchy of values. *Rhythm* is the organizing principle, and the other phonological elements of verse – melodics, the repetition of phonemes and phonem-groups – are closely associated with it. [...] The laws of verse technique can be established only on a phonological basis. Two apparently identical rhythmic structures belonging to two different languages can be essentially distinct if they are composed of elements having a different role in the pertinent phonological systems" (*Theses III*, c, in: Steiner 1982, 16).

4 The reception of the ideas of the Prague School

In an earlier period, only the ideas of the Prague School concerning "hard-core subjects" like phonology or morphology (especially diachronic phonology) were met with a wide response in the world of linguistics. Although Vilém Mathesius published his first paper on functional sentence perspective ("information packing") during the classical period of the circle, this pragmatic approach to syntax gained importance only in the 1960s. The rise of sociolinguistics in the 1970s fostered a general interest in the ideas of the Prague school about language culture. In this context, Haugen's influential theory of language planning not only follows up on the same Scandinavian tradition (cf. Lebsanft 1997, 81s., n. 8), but it integrates the idea of "language cultivation" which regards not the form but the function, i.e. the "process of continued planning, summed up here as *implementation* and

elaboration, which goes on in every language once the basic form has been established" (Haugen 1983, 274; cf. Haugen 1987, 633–635). Yet, the most ardent propagators of the Prague heritage were the members of the younger generation of the circle. Scholars like Josef Vachek or Paul Garvin published a series of Czech articles in English or French translations. The retrospective reports on the golden age are both nostalgic and notable for a species of Marxist-oriented self-criticism.

Beyond the domain of Slavic languages, the reception was particularly intense in the Canadian province of Québec and in German-speaking countries, especially in the former German Democratic Republic and in Western Germany (cf. Lebsanft 1997, 80s.) where it was, however, less influential in practical terms due to the lack of a central institution that could implement changes (cf. Daneš 2006, 2457). The two volumes *Grundlagen der Sprachkultur* edited by Jürgen Scharnhorst and Erika Ising provide an overview of the contributions to the theory of language culture in the classical and post-classical period of the School (Scharnhorst/Ising 1976–1982; cf. also Wimmer 1985 and Straßner 1995). Dieter Nerius (1985) reports on the theoretical and practical activities in this domain in the former GDR, and Klaas-Hinrich Ehlers (2005) gives a detailed description of the reception accorded to the ideas of the Prague School in Germany from 1926 to 1945. Even if language culture only plays a minor role in this voluminous book, it is important for our knowledge of the history of the School. The author indicates that Nazi Germany was less hostile to structuralism than has generally been maintained.

With the rise of sociolinguistics in the 1970s, dealing with problems of the linguistic norm became "fashionable" even among technically oriented linguists. The "multi-national" linguist Eugenio Coseriu, who spent the second half of his life in Germany, was a forerunner of this trend. Well acquainted with the whole theoretical framework of the Prague School, he drew diverse inspirations from its theoretical issues, adapting them to his own concept of "integral linguistics". Unfortunately, a voluminous manuscript entitled *El problema de la corrección idiomática* has never appeared in print. Only minor excerpts have been published in German so far (Coseriu 1988). Jürgen Trabant, a pupil of Coseriu, has been deeply influenced by concepts like "poetic function", "deautomatization" or "distortion" in dealing with the question of "poetic license" (cf. Trabant 2008, chap. 13). The scientific anthology *Europäische Sprachkultur und Sprachpflege* (European language culture and language maintenance) edited by Albrecht Greule and Franz Lebsanft (1998a) follows up on the theory of linguistic norm proposed by the Prague School, which had been adapted by Lebsanft (1997, 79–81) in his comprehensive analysis of the Spanish language culture. It contains many insights into the theory of linguistic norm proposed by the Prague School. Two extensive systematic treatments of the question of linguistic norms published by German authors mark the transition to a new paradigm. In *Sprachnormen* [Linguistic norms] by Klaus Gloy (1975) and *Sprachnormen: Theorie und Praxis* [Linguistic norms: theory and practice] by Renate Bartsch (1985), we can detect traces of the legacy of the Prague School. However, the general ap-

proach to the problem is much more analytic and technical. The connection with the traditional world of the humanities, still perceptible in the works of the Prague School, has clearly been severed.

Last but not least, an important anthology published in Québec calls for acknowledgment at the end of this section, a book which has often been quoted from in the article: *La norme linguistique* (Bédard/Maurais 1983). In his article on the role played by the Prague School in the development of the norm of Czech language, Paul Garvin draws a parallel between the linguistic situation of the Czech language and the French language in Québec:

> "Les deux communautés linguistiques se caractérisent par une attitude semblable envers leur langue. C'est une attitude bien différente de celle que l'on peut observer chez la plupart des anglophones de L'Amérique du Nord, une loyauté linguistique beaucoup plus émotive que celle des anglophones, et qui tient de l'"amour de la langue"" (Bédard/Maurais 1983, 150).

This emotional attitude toward the mother tongue explains the interest of the Prague School in questions of language culture.

5 Conclusion

The Prague School, well known for its studies in phonology and morphology, also dealt with questions of language culture, at a time when – at least in Western Europe – genuine linguists considered this subject unworthy of scientific attention. Language maintenance, *Sprachpflege*, *défense de la langue*, language planning etc. were considered activities that should have been left to politicians or language buffs.

The question of linguistic norms was embedded in the broader context of language cultivation. The members of the Prague School were entirely conscious of the contempt that their colleagues in western countries had for any prescriptive approach to language. They did not want to be equated with "purists" or "schoolteachers". Moreover, they were convinced that on the basis of a meticulous observation and description of the existing characteristics of the literary standard, linguists should reinforce the "natural tendencies" of the standard. The concept of "function" (*funkce*) was elevated to a superordinate status. Neither the nature of the linguistic norm nor the definition of the central concept of "function" was completely clear. The members of the school did not agree on these issues.

In two respects, however, the members of the school had a forward-looking approach to the problem of linguistic norm:

The less formal varieties of the national language were not combated but promoted to a certain degree as a reservoir for functional differentiation and stylistic enrichment of the linguistic standard.

In contrast to traditional linguistics (including Saussure), written language enjoyed special attention from the members of the school. Like scholars of a later period such as Jacques Derrida, they considered written language not to be a replica of spoken language but a phenomenon *sui generis*.

In one respect, the Prague School acted as a pioneer: it was in the classical period of the circle that the problem of the linguistic norm first won the attention of professional linguists. Today, this domain is a generally accepted field of linguistic research.

6 Bibliography

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Johannes Kabatek

3 Linguistic Norm in the Linguistic Theory of Eugenio Coseriu

Abstract: The aim of this chapter is to illustrate Eugenio Coseriu's conception of linguistic *norm* considered as a *descriptive* term and to relate it a) to its place in Coseriu's theory of language, b) to the history of linguistic thought, c) to normative conceptions in Coseriu's theory and d) to other concepts, mainly to that of *discourse traditions* (Koch 1997) largely discussed during the last years. I will depart from some general observations on Coseriu's terminology and on his relationship with the work of Ferdinand de Saussure, showing how Coseriu develops his conception of *norm* in a discussion of the limits of the *langue-parole* distinction. The next steps will be to introduce Coseriu's terms of *correctness* and *exemplarity* and to indicate the relationship between *norm* and *discourse traditions*.

Keywords: Coseriu, Saussure, norm, correctness, exemplarity, standard, common language, discourse traditions, history of linguistic thought

1 Introduction: Coseriu's *norm*

This is not the first time that Coseriu's concept of norm is being discussed in a manual on language norms (see Bédard/Maurais 1983). In fact, a possible initial statement could be that what is currently understood as "linguistic norm" and what is *norm* (*norma*, Coseriu 1952) in Coseriu's terminology are two completely different things related only by the homonym. This would shorten the chapter, but it would not be very satisfactory. Another possibility would be to claim, as some authors have done, that Coseriu's *norma* may in fact be much more related to current normativity than it seems at a first glance. However, this would also be partially misleading and incomplete. So, I will pursue a different way in this chapter: firstly, I will try to show what Coseriu's concept is really about and then see how it relates to other concepts of normativity, even those to be found in Coseriu's own work.

Coseriu's conception of norm is presented explicitly in his seminal chapter *Sistema, norma y habla* [System, norm and speech], first published in Spanish in Montevideo in 1952 (and later re-published in several editions). As in other of his fundamental contributions from this period (such as *Forma y sustancia en los sonidos del lenguaje*, 1954, *Determinación y entorno*, 1955/1956, and *Sincronía, diacronía e historia*, 1958), the starting point of the chapter is Ferdinand de Saussure's terminology, with the strategy of resolving the aporias of Saussure's dichotomies by adding a third concept: *norm*, in the case of the dichotomy between *langue* and *parole* and *history* in the case of the dichotomy between *synchrony* and *diachrony*.

Coseriu's term aims at criticizing an orthodox structuralist view and, at the same time, at signaling the importance of a structural analysis. We could roughly say that Coseriu is a structuralist who believes in the adequacy of structural analysis for those aspects of language that appear in fact as structured, adding at the same time numerous insights into phenomena that are not seen in a structural view. *Norm* is a term that allows to take into account linguistic facts that go beyond purely oppositional features of *langue*. Moreover, the claim is that there are, between individual *parole* and systemic *langue*, traditional, non-distinctive realizations of the *langue* in different communities. One of Coseriu's clearest examples to illustrate this is the Spanish vowel system: there are only five oppositional vowel phonemes, /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/, and /u/. Nevertheless, speakers of Spanish *normally* realize the first /e/ in a word like *verde* 'green' as an open vowel and the second as a closed vowel. Any other realization would be possible and probably understood by hearers (as long as it remains within phoneme boundaries), but it would not be considered to be *normal*.

This basic observation has numerous consequences, and Coseriu develops his conception of norm far beyond phonology, as we will see. Before coming back to Coseriu's framework, I will first start with some general observations on Coseriu's terminology and the relationship between Coseriu and Saussure.

2 Coseriu's terminology and Saussurean thought

2.1 Coseriu's terminology

Eugenio Coseriu (1921–2002) was a Romanian linguist who, after studies in Romania and Italy, left Europe in 1951. He went on to work in Uruguay several years before coming back, first to Portugal and then, until his death, to Germany where he occupied the chair of Romance linguistics at Tübingen University from 1963 until his retirement in 1993. He can be considered as the most influential Romance linguist in the second half of the 20th century with considerable impact even beyond Romance linguistics.

During his academic education, Coseriu was not really part of a linguistic school and has defended his own, particular linguistic theory and terminology. The basic and obviously controversial principle he follows is that linguistics, as part of humanities (and as its base) must not ignore the intuitive knowledge of its object. Linguists, as speakers in general, are producers of language and they implicitly know what a language, a dialect, a syllable or a phoneme is. Language is thus an object incomparable to objects in natural science where such an intuition does not exist and arbitrary hypotheses must be verified. Of course, linguistics as a science does not end with intuition but rather profits from intuitive knowledge as a starting point for explicit and systematic analysis (Kabatek 2014). For Coseriu, the connec-

tion to everyday knowledge should be mirrored in an adequate linguistic terminology, which may be close to current usage of words (which are, in a further step, termed explicitly). With this in mind, it is not surprising that we find terms like *norm*, *correctness*, *situation*, *region* or *history*, all of them rooted in everyday language but used as terms in Coseriu's theory (see Kabatek/Murguía 1997, 221–224). The problem with this kind of terminology (as compared to artificial and motivated terminology like *signifiant*/*signifié* or completely artificial terminology like *x-bar-scheme*, see Kabatek 2015) is twofold. First, it can be easily confounded with everyday usage, and second, the same terms might appear in different terminological settings, and this is the case, e.g., with *language* or also with *norm* where we have very different definitions and different conceptions in different linguistic theories. A remedy to this is to talk systematically about "norm in Coseriu's sense". However, in fact, we find rather a connotational stratification between those pertaining to a Coserian "in-group" who use the term without mentioning the author (presupposing that the theory they refer to is widely known) and those who do not use it at all in this sense.

2.2 Coseriu and Saussure

Coseriu defines his linguistic theory as one created within a Saussurean frame: "qu'à strictement parler, mon travail de linguiste s'est déroulé dans un cadre saussurien" (Coseriu 2004, 21). This must of course be commented on. It would be wrong to understand this in the sense that one would consider Coserian linguistics as an evolution within the limits of Saussurean thought. In fact, Coseriu takes Saussure – or, to be exact, the *Cours de linguistique générale* (Saussure 1984 [1916]) – as a departing point for discussion, pointing at the limits of Saussure's dichotomies and adding, in general, a third term in order to show phenomena left out or ignored in Saussure's view. This could be regarded as totally anti-Saussurean, but it somehow helps to preserve some of the basic assumptions of Saussurean thought: by adding the *norm* to *langue* and *parole*, the systemic view towards the langue can be maintained. This is also the case with other Saussurean conceptions.

Now, we actually know from more recent studies that the "real" Saussure was less dogmatic than the *Cours* and that some of the apodictic statements (like the famous last sentence of the *Cours*, postulating the primacy of the *langue*) were in fact added by the editors. The priority given to the study of *langue* and of *synchrony* is somewhat exaggerated in the *Cours*, and in some of the famous *Orangerie*-manuscripts published some years ago, we see a much more "Humboldtian" Saussure – a Saussure much closer to Coseriu's thought (see, e.g., Saussure 2002, 129).

However, for Coseriu, it was the text of the *Cours* which offered an almost perfect counterpart for the presentation of his own linguistic thought. He adopted the fundamental idea of the *langue* as structured abstraction and at the same time limited the structuralist view to those aspects of language which could really be de-

scribed as systemic, adding other aspects which lead *beyond structuralism*, "más allá del estructuralismo", as Coseriu formulated it on several occasions.

3 *Sistema, norma y habla*

The exhaustive paper *Sistema, norma y habla* was published by Coseriu in 1952. The author had left Europe in order to occupy a position at the recently created *Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias* at the *Universidad de la República* in Montevideo, Uruguay. Like other South American countries, Uruguay had not suffered but rather profited from the World War and offered, in contrast to Europe after the disaster, welfare and good working conditions. Coseriu's mission was to build up a new department. He wanted his own work and that of his colleagues to be recognized worldwide, so he initiated a series of publications and systematically sent the papers he and his group produced to renowned linguists all over the world. The first of these papers was *Sistema, norma y habla*, an exhaustive study comprised of 64 pages with a short, four-page summary in German (*Sprachsystem, Sprachnorm und Gespräch*). It was published as a separate, independent paper and as part of the ninth issue of the newly created *Revista de la Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias* in Montevideo. Originally, it was an oral communication presented at the *Centro de Lingüística* in Montevideo on May 10th, 1952. In that same year, an Italian version was published, and in later years the text was re-edited several times and translated into several languages. The version with the largest diffusion was the one included in the volume *Teoría del lenguaje y lingüística general*, a collection of five of Coseriu's most important studies published by the prestigious Spanish editor Gredos in 1962 (with subsequent re-editions). However, the text remained, as Coseriu's theory in general, largely unknown in the English-speaking world, and an English translation is still lacking.

In fact, the basic idea already appeared in a nutshell a few years earlier in *La lingua di Ion Barbu*, a short paper published in 1949 in Milan in Italian in the *Atti del Sodalizio Glottologico Milanese* (see <http://www.coseriu.de/>). Here, Coseriu speaks of some linguistic innovations in the work of the Romanian poet Ion Barbu, "estensioni di usi normali nel sistema linguistico romeno" [extensions of "normal" uses within the Romanian linguistic system] (p. 3), distinguishing between these extensions and "errors". It is interesting to note that in this short paper, Coseriu not only considers innovations of form, but also of content, and that the idea of "norm" implicitly appears here in a large sense, not limited to phonic phenomena.

The 1952 paper contains seven sections and departs from several attempts by other scholars to modify or to complete Saussure's distinction between *langue* and *parole*, adding further categories and differentiating the two terms. Coseriu rejects proposals such as those presented by the linguists working in the framework of

glossematics due to their "excessive abstractions". At the same time, he defends the abstract side of language as a system which must be harmonized with the concrete nature of utterances. He comprehensively discusses Saussure's own view as presented in the *Cours*, claiming that the threefold distinction he wants to introduce can be found implicitly in Saussure's own conception when *langue* is considered on the one hand as a social reality, and, on the other hand, as functional language defined by oppositions between its elements. The clearest predecessor is found in Trubetzkoy's distinction between phonemes as functional units and variants, i.e. traditional realizations of phonemes, which go beyond their merely functional value. Likewise, the phenomenon of *neutralization* is considered to be part of this non-functional but "normal" realization. The phonic dimension is seen as that which allows most easily for illustrating what *norm* is meant to be. The aforementioned example of Spanish vowels allows for a good illustration of this. There are only five vowel phonemes /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/ and /u/, but at least in the case of /e/ and /o/, there are two clearly different current realizations, an open one and a closed one according to the articulatory context. So, between the unlimited amount of individual realizations and the abstract functional unit, there is the *normal* realization, the *norm* of the language:

SISTEMA   NORMA   HABLA
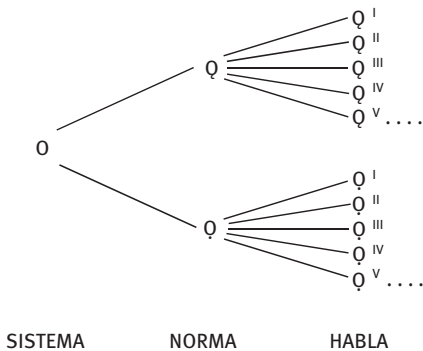
Fig. 1: The Spanish phoneme /o/ and its realizations in norm and speech (Coseriu 1952, 43).

Even if phonetics allows best for showing this, Coseriu's claim is that the threefold distinction is valid for all levels of linguistic structuring (for critical remarks see Baumann 1976). On the level of morphology, the "norm" is responsible for the existence of irregular forms, and when children create regular analogies and say *fighted* instead of *fought*, this just shows how they apply the rules of the system. In word formation, the norm of French prefers *garantir* and the norm of Spanish *garantizar* even if the systems of both languages would also allow for forms such as Fr. **garantiser* or Sp. **garantir*. This is also valid for content: Coseriu claims that the adjective *papal*, which refers to the Pope, could also perfectly refer to the 'potato', *papa* (in American Spanish), but the norm of the language has chosen this limitation. Anoth-

er example on the level of the lexicon: Spanish *agua dulce* refers to fresh water and not to sweet water whereas *agua salada* is salted water. He also discusses some syntactic phenomena and insists that *norm* is a general concept relevant for all levels. Once the examples are given, Coseriu sketches what he calls nothing less than a "coherent theory of speech and its formalizations", where different degrees of abstraction are shown between concrete utterances and *langue* as functional system, including the step in between, the norm:
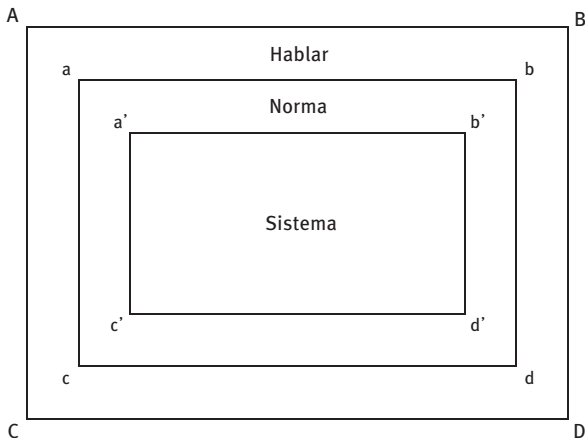
Fig. 2: Schematic representation of the concepts of system, norm and speech (Coseriu 1952, 57).

In this view, the concrete and individual utterance (ABCD) is an example of "normal", traditional realization of a langage (abcd) which shows the systematicity of the language (a'b'c'd'). The norm is vaster than the system since it also includes the traditional, non-systematic facts. On the other hand, the system goes beyond the norm since it is a "system of possibilities" which also includes virtually possible but not actual traditional realizations of the system: a word as *shaveable* is not a common word in English (maybe with the exception of barber's jargon). However, it essentially exists and can even be used by those who have never heard it ("he had an almost completely unshaveable face"). Here, Coseriu also sees the potential of the term for describing aesthetic effects of linguistc innovation (as in the mentioned work of Ion Barbu). He furthermore insists on the importance of the *norm* for language change. Since the norm within the system reflects the balance of the system ("el equilibrio del sistema", Coseriu 1952, 107), changes in norm can precede changes in the system (see also Coseriu 1983). In a later paper (Coseriu 1968), Coseriu widens this view adding a further category, *language type*, a notion referring to Wilhelm von Humboldt's typology and the idea that the different areas of a language system are deeply related and reflect deep principles which can be discovered

by the linguist. In this view, changes of the system are changes within the type, and changes of the norm are changes within the system.

To sum up this section, Coseriu considers *norm* to be a fundamental term for linguistic theory. It is necessary in order to resolve the lack of clarity given in a limitation to the Saussurean dichotomy of *langue* and *parole*. It distinguishes explicitly what, in Saussure's thought, appears fused in two aspects of *langue*: the social side of common, traditional ways of realizing the system and the system with its oppositions. This distinction has little to do with the prescriptive idea of norm (cf. Ezawa 1985; 2012), as Coseriu himself explains:

> "Aclaramos además que no se trata de la *norma* en el sentido corriente, establecida o impuesta según criterios de corrección y de valoración subjetiva de lo expresado, sino de la norma objetivamente comprobable en una lengua, la norma que seguimos necesariamente por ser miembros de una comunidad lingüística y no aquélla según la cual se reconoce que 'hablamos bien' o de manera ejemplar, en la misma comunidad" (Coseriu 1952, 90).

But this does not mean that Coseriu is not interested in the issue of prescriptive norms as we will see in the next section.

4 Coseriu and prescriptivism: *exemplarity*

In the context of the present handbook, it is convenient to look at other areas of Coseriu's theory where normativity is being treated once we have shown that *norm*, in the sense of Coseriu (1952), is not to be confounded with prescriptive norm in his terminology. There is one central text in his work where this is the case: in the 1950s, one of the issues Coseriu was working on was linguistic "correctness". He starts writing a manual entitled *El problema de la corrección idiomática* [The problem of linguistic correctness] for language teachers directed originally towards his students at the *Instituto de Profesores* in Montevideo. However, his extensive study remained incomplete, and the finished parts are still waiting to be published (see Coseriu [in print]) even though some of the central ideas were already published in several papers (e.g. Coseriu 1988; 1990; see also Kabatek/Murguía 1997, 207–219).

Coseriu opens his study with a distinction between what he calls "correction" and "exemplarity", claiming that in the discussion of linguistic correctness, we can frequently find confusions and reductions. Both terms are again, as was the case with *norm*, used in a particular way by Coseriu and must be understood within his framework. "Correct" is used in a purely systemic way as "belonging to a system" no matter if this system is the one of the standard language or a dialect: "Lo correcto se relaciona con la 'estructura' de la lengua (de toda lengua): es la conformidad con tal estructura" (Coseriu [ms.]) [correctness is related to the "structure" of language (of any language): it is the conformity with this or that structure]. He quotes among others Charles C. Fries as source for this conception:

"First, it is often maintained that the speech habits of the socially acceptable are *correct* and that those of the other groups are *incorrect*. From the point of view we have here set forth concerning differing dialects we are driven to the conclusion that such a judgement is untenable. There is a correctness in each of the dialects [...]".

"To use 'I saw' and 'I did' in speaking 'vulgar' English is just as incorrect and careless as to use 'I seen' and 'I done' in the dialect of the socially acceptable" (Fries 1945, 133).

Coseriu insists that in this sense, it is absurd to say that someone "speaks Spanish correctly" since nobody speaks the Spanish language as a whole, and Spanish dialects and sociolects are as Spanish as the Spanish standard. When talking about correction, it must always be specified to which variety this correction refers. What is correct in a certain dialect might not be correct in the standard language and vice-versa.

"Exemplary" in change is referring to the language selected as prestige language in a community, the variety serving for supra-regional communication, a synonym to *standard*, as Coseriu himself states generally without using this term.

The terms imply Coseriu's conception of language variation as presented in different works from the 1950s onwards (Coseriu 1958; 1980; 1998). He not only criticizes the limitation of Saussure's distinction between synchrony and diachrony, adding *history* in a Hegelian sense as a category for a holistic view on language, but he also postulates to distinguish between what he calls a *Historical language* as a bundle of varieties on the one hand, and a single variety on the other. This is done by adopting the important terminological distinction between language *structure* and *architecture* introduced by the Norwegian linguist Leiv Flydal. In a paper which discusses Saussure's notion of *language state* ("état de langue"), Flydal (1952) distinguishes two dimensions of synchronic variation: *diatopic* (spatial) and *diastratic* (social) variation. Coseriu adds *diaphasic* (stylistic or situational) variation as a further dimension.

For structural analysis, linguists need to identify such varieties, and the identification is always threefold: a variety is *syntopic*, *synstratic* and *symphasic* at the same time, e.g. the variety of a certain village spoken by a certain group in a certain situation. Now, once a variety as a *langue* is identified, the linguistic features being part of it and forming oppositions in it are considered "correct" and those not pertaining to it are considered "incorrect". For example, in certain varieties of English, it is "correct" to use double negation and forms like *ain't* instead of standard English *have not*. In a variety where *I ain't got no money* is the normal expression, *I do not have any money* would not be "correct", i.e. it would not be a form of that variety. This does not mean that in a discourse a speaker could not use both forms. However, this would be considered a switch between two varieties.

"Correctness" would thus be something completely different from "exemplarity". In Coseriu (1990), the author illustrates the two notions with the example of Argentine-Spanish forms of address. In Argentina, the form *vos* is used as an informal address. Coseriu claims that the form is *correct* in Buenos Aires Spanish but not

exemplary in the whole Spanish-speaking world, where *tú* is considered to be the general standard form of informal address. He condemns tendencies to prohibit the use of *vos* at Argentine schools even in informal contexts saying that in such cases the whole language would be reduced to exemplarity. He also criticizes the opposite reduction when everything which is "correct" in any variety is also accepted as "exemplary" and standard selection is denied. The criticism, directed towards Hall's (1950) claim to "leave your language alone!" calls it "false liberalism" to teach people that "anything goes", especially when those who teach this ideology are part of elites able to speak the "exemplary" language and impede the access to elites when teaching a utopic ideology not corresponding to the social reality (Kabatek/Murguía 1997, 216).

Exemplarity is not the only term Coseriu uses to refer to supra-regional forms of language. The other ones are *common language* [*lengua común*] adopted probably from Ger. *Gemeinsprache* as we find it in the work of Hermann Paul ([5]1920 [1880]), and finally *norma*, but in a different sense here.

In *La corrección idiomática*, Coseriu first introduces the term *lengua común* as a "supradialectal variety" able to influence and even absorb the dialects. He states that the common language might also be internally differentiated and that this differentiation is stronger in the case of languages spoken in several countries. He furthermore specifies that there are generally more differences in the lexicon than on the phonetic level and even less in the morphosyntax of a language. In a way, Coseriu sketches the situation of *pluricentric languages* (Clyne 1992). It is not by coincidence that these reflections appear in a manual designed for teachers of Spanish.

But not enough with the common language and its differentiation: the exemplary language is on top of the common language and it functions like a common language within the common language: "lo ejemplar es una lengua común dentro de la lengua común" (Coseriu [ms.])

Finally, even the exemplary language as an abstract model can be differentiated in the different regions where a language is spoken. Hence, we have a complex, hierarchical building in the architecture of a historical language with basic dialects, sociolects and styles, a common language with its inner differentiation and an exemplary language which again also might be differentiated. On the top of all, Coseriu claims a "virtual" exemplarity defined by common elements of the different exemplarities. In this context, he also uses the term *norma*, this time referring to the ideal norm of a language:

> "pues lo ejemplar es una 'norma' – una *lengua*, un sistema de regularidades –, y no una suma de realizaciones" (Coseriu [ms.]).

Here, norm is not the descriptive norm in a structural sense as outlined above but an ideal of orientation in a linguistic community:

"Por otro lado, así como la lengua común suele presentar v a r i e d a d e s regionales, en el plano de lo ejemplar suelen desarrollarse n o r m a s regionales, muy en particular en las lenguas que se hablan en varios países, pero a menudo – y por lo menos hasta cierto punto – también en un mismo país. Así, en inglés se distinguen perfectamente, por lo menos, una ejemplaridad 'inglesa' y una ejemplaridad americana (con varias normas regionales). En el caso del portugués, hay una norma de Portugal y una norma brasileña; dentro de la primera, una norma de Lisboa y otra que puede llamarse 'de Coímbra'; y dentro de la segunda, por lo menos, una norma de Río ('carioca') y otra de São Paulo ('paulista'). En el caso del italiano, se habla, en particular para la fonética, de una norma 'florentina' y una norma 'romana'. Y para cada una de estas lenguas existe también una ejemplaridad general, no sólo idealmente, sino también concretamente (en la medida en que las varias normas regionales coinciden). A este respecto puede hablarse de *planos* o *niveles de ejemplaridad* (diferentes, por supuesto, de los 'niveles de lengua')" (Coseriu [ms.]).

Here, *norm* appears as a term for the differentiation of regional standards of pluricentric languages and on the other hand with reference to the "levels of norm" as a taxonomically superposed term.

5 Norm and varieties

It should be added to the previous section that the "exemplary language" is also an exemplary norm and it includes non-systematic aspects (in a structuralist sense of "system"). For example, the pronunciation of [ç] and [x] in German *ich* and *doch* is not a matter of systemic opposition but of allophonic variation fixed in the norm. In this sense, a standard norm is, in Coserian terms, an *exemplary norm* and not only a system. It might be said that Coseriu's view follows two different aims: first, he tries to complement the structuralist view and secondly, he aims at offering an integral view on language beyond structuralism.

In the first sense, the distinction between dimensions of variation is important in order to identify structural units. The structuralist needs to disclaim between elements that are part of a system and extrasystemic elements. An analysis of the structural oppositions must exclude, e.g., foreign elements.

In the second sense, however, there is no reason to limit variation and the view of language varieties to purely oppositional terms. This is precisely a consequence of the system-norm distinction. For a speaker's production and perception, a dialect is distinct from others not because of structural, oppositional reasons but rather because it presents perceivable differences. From the perspective of the Spanish standard language, Eastern as well as Western Andalusian are clearly perceived as dialects. Eastern Andalusian has a different vowel system (distinguishing e.g. singular from plural by vowel quality) than standard Spanish, where Western Andalusian doesn't. For speakers from other regions, Eastern Andalusian is not "more of a dialect" than Western Andalusian: both are perceived as realities which differ with regards to the standard. Even differences, which only affect the norm and leave the

systemic oppositions intact, are perceived as such. This is why, in an integral view on language variation, the notion of "diasystem" (Weinreich 1954) as a purely structuralist notion is not sufficient, and the dimensions in a Coserian sense should not be limited to a systemic view. Instead of a diasystem, we could rather talk of "dianorms", as I proposed earlier (Kabatek 2003).

6 *Norm* and *discourse traditions*

Some scholars have criticized the apparent contradiction between Coseriu's inclusion of the notion of *norm* in synchronic linguistics saying that in its reference to traditional usage, *norm* should in fact be considered as a historical term (Lara 1983, 174s.). According to Lara, the historicity of elements of the norm may only be shown by comparing different synchronies. Here seems to be a misunderstanding with regards to the concept of historicity. Coseriu clearly distinguishes the assumed historicity of language (including the norm) from the external view on the history of language. Speakers are historical individuals and do not invent their language but adopt it; they are, in that sense, part of a common history. But once they assume the language, they internalize this history, and they need no further explicit historical knowledge of it. In a very Saussurean sense, to speak a language is a synchronic fact. This includes the norm. A speaker always speaks individually, realizing a certain norm and a certain language system.

However, some decades ago and within a Coserian framework, a different perspective on historicity of language was proposed by Peter Koch (1997). He claimed that not only systems and norms should be distinguished, but also so-called *discourse traditions*, traditional ways of saying things, formulae, textual forms, particular stylistic facts. Koch refers to Coseriu's distinction of three levels of linguistic perspectives, a distinction Coseriu himself considered to be his most important contribution to linguistics (Coseriu 1985). With reference to Aristotle and Humboldt, Coseriu distinguishes between a *universal* level of human speech, a *historical* level of particular languages (with varieties, systems and norms) and finally, an *individual* level of concrete texts or utterances. Each of the levels can be regarded from the viewpoint of activity, competence or result. Koch claims that discourse traditions should be located on the historical level, whereas Coseriu in his inedited text on linguistic correction considers textual traditions as part of the historicity of the individual level (see also, in the same direction, Lebsanft 2005; 2006; Lebsanft/Schrott 2016; Schrott 2017 and Kabatek 2018).

The relationship between discourse tradition and norm should be discussed since both terms refer to *traditionality* in language. It seems to me that both concepts should clearly be considered separate: norm, in its "structural" sense as outlined in Coseriu (1952), is a term which serves to show that linguistic signs are realized in traditional ways which show a competence beyond the purely structural one.

To speak is not only to represent oppositional signs but also to transmit these signs in a traditional way. *Discourse traditions*, in turn, are not traditions of linguistic signs but traditions of *texts*, including the situational and the interpretational component of texts.

7 Discussion

The reception of Coseriu's theory of linguistic norm (including the notion of "correctness" and "exemplarity") is manifold and ranges from adoption and continuation (mainly among Coseriu's disciples), partial adoption (including misinterpretation) up to complete rejection.

The adoption of the term and the continuation of its usage according to Coseriu's conception is common in the work of Coseriu's disciples. It is generally related to the overall reception of the Coserian framework (see, among many others, Schlieben-Lange 1973; Albrecht 1986/1990; 2001; Ezawa 1985; Kabatek 1996) and has also entered handbooks of linguistics (e.g. Dietrich/Geckeler 1990; Geckeler/Dietrich 1995; Kabatek/Pusch 2009). In several cases, the differentiation between system and norm is not only mentioned and explained but rather usefully applied for the description of particular linguistic phenomena. To mention just two examples: Laca (1986) is an exhaustive description of word-formation processes in Spanish which departs from the distinction between the "grammar of the lexicon", i.e. the system of word formation, and the concrete lexicon with its limitations and particular choices, i.e. the norm. In Kabatek (1996 with reference to Coseriu 1977), the distinction between interference affecting the system and interference affecting the norm is further developed for an adequate description of language contact phenomena.

Outside the immediate impact on the Coserian school, the distinction between system and norm was adopted in some linguistic traditions and is still quite common in Spanish linguistics, where Coseriu's linguistics, with main contributions published originally in Spanish, had a particularly strong impact. Sometimes the adoption is limited to a simple mention without further consequences, and in some cases, the adoption is partial and even misleading. It is probably due to the aforementioned ambiguous use of *norm* in linguistics (and, as we have seen, also partially in Coseriu's work) that certain confusions emerged when the second sense of *norm* (= norm within an architecture) is mixed with the first one (= norm as structural term). With explicit reference to Coseriu's conception, it has been claimed that Portuguese is a language with two norms (the Portuguese one and the Brazilian one) corresponding to the same *system* (Vázquez Cuesta/Mendes da Luz [3]1971, vol. 2, 129). In the same vein, the Real Academia Española, without explicit mention of Coseriu's terminology, differentiates between different norms of Spanish as part of a pluricentric system (cf. Tacke 2011). Most likely, we can trace this back at least

to Manuel Seco's argumentation – here with explicit mention of Coseriu – between the descriptive and the prescriptive norm (Seco [9]1986 [1961], XVII). Seco, an influential Spanish lexicographer and grammarian, was head of the Spanish academy's department of lexicography during the 1980s and 1990s and defends in the foreword of his *Diccionario de dudas y dificultades de la lengua española* ([10]1998 [1961]) that the attitude of his dictionary is not purist, but describes the norm in the sense of Coseriu, i.e. the objective realization of the language system. In some way, this might be acceptable if we consider the prescriptive norm as derived from the usage of a certain social class in certain communicative circumstances. However, it is also a rhetorical trick to defend normative statements – frequently based on subjective *decisions* – which are in fact derived from some "objective", descriptive reality.

In both cases, Portuguese as well as in the Spanish, the incompatibility with Coseriu's conception emerges at least at the point when both languages are considered global languages, with attempts to limit variation to the level of "norms" within one global "system". This is obviously not compatible with the structuralist notion of *system* since Portuguese in Portugal and Brazil, as well as Spanish in the different Spanish speaking countries, clearly present different systemic features (e.g. different sound systems in the European and the American varieties). This does not deny the virtual unity of Spanish or Portuguese. However, this is simply another issue. The Coserian term of norm appears as "vulgarized" or consciously (or maybe not) misunderstood in order to claim language unity, without distinguishing its two different functions (see Kabatek 2015 for further details).

Criticism includes statements that Coseriu's conception is not really new when it is presented in the 1950s, and that it is strongly based on Hjelmslev's conception of norm without sufficiently mentioning this source (Schmitt 2001, 439). In fact, as we have already mentioned, Coseriu quotes Hjelmslev several times, building up his own theory without considering it a further development of Hjelmslev's ideas. Furthermore, he generally rejects the extremely formal approach of Glossematics. Moreover, it has been criticized that neither Coseriu nor his disciples adopted their views to later tendencies in sociolinguistics and that Coseriu largely ignores the social value and the empirical reality behind linguistic norms. A harsh rejection of the concept is formulated by Baumann (1976), who dismisses Coseriu's general attitude towards linguistic theory. Baumann denies that there is an objective truth and adequacy and that linguists should try to "say the things as they are" in the sense of Coseriu's platonic motto *tà ónta hos éstin légein*. He claims that the subjective view on the object shapes the object itself and that we will never get to the things themselves but rather to more or less adequate models.

A lot of this particular criticism is due to a general negative position regarding Coseriu's views or towards his school in general. The main problem with Coseriu's conception, however, seems to lie in the difficulty to merge a descriptive view with the conception of norm and to invalidate Hume's principle of *is* and *ought* (see Pigden 2010).

8 Conclusion

As we have seen, the concept of *norma* in Eugenio Coseriu's linguistic theory is a complex and a crucial one. In *Sistema, norma y habla*, Coseriu develops this concept mainly for the *structural* description of a language. He exhaustively shows that linguistic competence embraces more than just the knowledge of a language system in a structuralist sense. Between the abstract level of phonemes and morphemes, there is a collective, traditional level of realization, sometimes – on the phonic level – partly determined by articulatory reasons and sometimes – on the level of word formation – determined by communicative needs and conventions beyond purely systemic oppositions. In this sense, what Coseriu calls *norm* is not "norm" in the prescriptive, normative sense. The distinction between system and norm is a necessary one for the structuralist analysis. In his later writings on structural semantics or *lexematics*, Coseriu claims that a coherent structural analysis needs to make seven prior distinctions in order to identify its real object of analysis. This means that the structure of the system, even if considered something really existing in language and by no way an invention of linguists, is not served on a tray immediately but it must be identified by a series of prior analytic techniques:
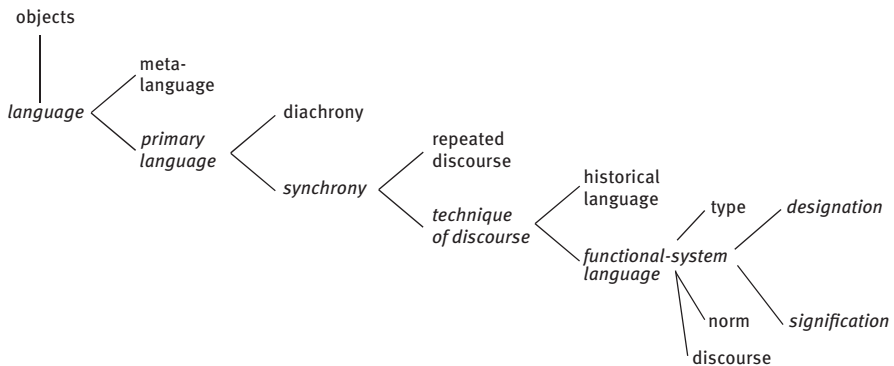
Fig. 3: Preliminary distinctions (Coseriu/Geckeler 1974, 148).

Simultaneously, in the unpublished *El problema de la corrección idiomática* as well as in other writings, Coseriu refers to *norm* in the context of the *architecture* of *historical languages*. Here, he first talks about *correctness* and limits this term to the distinction between elements corresponding to a system (i.e. "correct" elements in that system) and elements not corresponding to a system. Secondly, he introduces the terms *common language* and *exemplary language* in order to refer to historically selected forms of a language which serve for large-scale communication. The term *norm* reappears here, somehow independently of Coseriu's structuralist distinction,

in a more common sense referring to different local standards in the case of pluricentric languages.

Norm refers in both contexts to an orientation and to something to be followed (Koch 1988). Since the orientation implies traditional realizations of language, the term has thus some affinity to the more recent term *discourse tradition*, introduced by Peter Koch within a Coserian framework. However, discourse traditions should not be confounded with norm: they are traditions of texts, of concrete utterances, of *ergon* in a Humboldtian sense even if their repetition makes them become part of linguistic creativity, of *energeia*.

Coseriu's concept of *norm* still seems to be a useful notion since it allows for describing linguistic realities between individual variation and systemic abstraction. Some scholars have understood it in a purely statistical sense, as a term for the average realization of language (Rey-Debove 2003). Others have introduced similar concepts without making a clear-cut distinction between *system* and *norm* (Langacker 1987; Tomasello 2000). Coseriu's term is a necessary one within his own linguistic framework. It criticized Saussure's distinction of *langue* and *parole*, making it meaningful at the same time. It shows the limits of structural analysis, simultaneously helping to preserve the structural method for those aspects of language that really appear as structured. It was probably somewhat confusing to have chosen an already traditional term and to have tried to impose a new concept competing with other, already established ones. In addition, it was also probably misleading to use the same term in another context, much closer to the traditional ones when talking about the *architecture* of a language. But if we leave the purely terminological question apart and look at the conceptual framework behind it, Coseriu's notions of *norm*, *varieties*, *correctness*, *exemplarity*, etc., still enclose stimulating and interesting contributions to current discussions. Above all because they are part of an impressively coherent language theory.

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Carsten Sinner

4 Linguistic Norm in Sociolinguistics

Abstract: This chapter analyzes the way linguistic norms and the issue of linguistic standard(s) have been dealt with in linguistics and sociolinguistics. After a short, chronologically organized outline of the relation of variation and norm in linguistics and the early history of sociology of language and Labovian or variationist sociolinguistics, which had an important impact on the study of norms in linguistics, this chapter deals with the main concepts of norm. Subsequently – and highlighting conceptual instead of chronological relations – this chapter further investigates the development of the concept of norm sociolinguistics established as an independent sub-discipline and its application in sociolinguistics itself and in language planning, particularly in the context of Romance languages.

Keywords: sociolinguistics, linguistic norms, communicative norms, standard, standardization, correction, language planning, normalization, grammaticality, acceptability

1 Introduction: variation, norms and sociolinguistics

Since its early days as a science, at the beginning of the 19th century, linguistics relied on the only permanent data available at those times: written language. In order to establish family bonds between different languages and what would later be considered genealogical relationships, linguists operated with an idealized standard, such as *the* Greek or *the* Old Icelandic language, although obviously even the oldest documents showed traces of variation (Cornips/Gregersen 2016, 504s., and references cited there). Dialectology was practically the only branch of linguistics to somehow consider spoken word – the answers of informants then introduced into questionnaires – in order to gather mostly lexical data. An important issue in this context was the determination of what was supposed to be dialect (versus language); we can already find explicit debates on this matter in works of authors such as Schuchardt from 1870 (Schuchardt 1900) (cf. Iordan 1977 [1967]). Norm was seen as relevant only insofar as it was understood as a necessity to have a language apt for literary expression and written communication in general (cf. Paul 1880). This is why *standard* alternates with terms such as *literary language* in some languages.

Documented diatopical variation was not even interpreted initially as such, as it was believed that dialects behaved like languages and thus were supposed to be homogeneous (Dittmar 1997, 48); variation in space was seen as indication of existing dialect borders. The interest was not centered in describing the dialects but

documenting them in their prototypical form in order to characterize the language composed of these different dialects. Variation and linguistic shifts were of no immediate concern to investigators. *Norm* only played a role insofar as any documented linguistic feature would be measured against the language usage deemed or explicitly labeled as standard.

With the growth of empirical data from dialect descriptions and the gradually established dialect geography, it became increasingly obvious that boundaries between dialects and languages were not as clear as supposed. Groundbreaking in this regard was the famous dispute between the Italian Graziadio Isaia Ascoli and the Frenchmen Gaston Paris and Paul Meyer. Ascoli (1864; 1876) defended the traditional view of the existence of discrete units defined by fewer features, sometimes even by a single feature. Paris (1909 [1888]) and Meyer, on the other hand, denied the existence of unambiguous dialect or linguistic boundaries (Sinner 2014, 116).

The criticism of historical comparative linguistics, by the so-called *Neogrammarians* of the Leipzig school of linguistics, gave an important impetus to the way of analyzing language (that later became characteristic for sociolinguistic approaches). The Neogrammarians advocated for dealing with contemporary – written *and spoken* – language and espoused the idea of researching linguistic variation, highlighting first geographical then social variation. Romance scholars such as Gilliéron (considered the founder of linguistic geography) or Ascoli were important contributors to this development (Gilliéron 1880); it lead Saussure to dedicate part of his *Cours de Linguistique générale* to *Linguistique géographique* and Bloomfield to include a chapter on *Dialect Geography* in his groundbreaking book *Language*. As Schlieben-Lange (³1991 [1973], 31) pointed out, especially studies in dialectology and dialect atlases are "veritable treasure troves" for sociolinguists.

The Neogrammarians believed the main object of linguistic observation and research should not be the system but the idiolect, later to be "re-discovered" during the so-called *third wave* of sociolinguistics in the 21st century as a fundamental way of gaining understanding into the social fundaments of stylistic variation (cf. section 4).

With the so-called Generative approach, things changed dramatically from the late 1950s as it brought a distinction between descriptive and theoretical linguistics and a shift from inductive descriptivism to grammar-model-building based, among other things, on non-attested facts (Cornips/Gregersen 2016, 505). Using this approach, identifying linguistic norm is determined via an assessment by the linguists themselves, depending "anti-empirically" (Gloy 1980, 365) on their introspective information.

The social dialectology emerging then reacted to Chomskyan theory, its postulate of homogeneity and its optional rules, among others by including variable rules in order to take into account social and stylistic variation (Cornips/Corrigan 2005; cf. Kerswill 2004 for a critical review of variable rules). Interest in variation for its own sake only arises from the early 1960s onwards, accompanied by a rise in the

interest of heterogeneity of language and the relation of language usage and external aspects – mainly social conditions. Nabrings (1981, 9) calls it the "re-discovery" of heterogeneity. These interests led to the emergence of new research paradigms bearing in mind societal conditioning of language usage, particularly the approaches that became known as sociolinguistics (also called social dialectology, cf. Kerswill 2004) and sociology of language. They converted the two-dimensional approach of language and space that ruled dialectology into a pluri-dimensional approach that added social and situational parameters. These new approaches put aside the idea of the "variation-free" ideal speaker-listener envisioned by Chomsky (cf. especially 1965), which, until then, allowed for a complete disregard for any linguistic variation. Both examine the interaction between language and society. However, while sociolinguistics focuses on language (and how society impacts on language), the target of sociology of language is society (and the relation between language and society) (cf. Sinner 2014 for a comprehensive account).

The writings of the British sociologist Basil Bernstein, particularly his ideas on the so-called deficit hypothesis (today also known as Bernstein's hypothesis), which are partly based on the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis of linguistic relativism, gave an important catalyst to the debates on the links between society and variation in language, and hence the role of the standard. In a long series of articles published from the late 1950s onwards, Bernstein developed his hypothesis, arguing that linguistic behaviour is socio-culturally determined and that the language variety used by the middle and upper classes differs from the language used by the lower classes. Moreover, linguistic behaviour specific to certain social classes is passed on through family influence. Essentially, the hypothesis claimed that the socio-economic stratification of society mirrors the corresponding differentiation of the linguistic behavior of its members. According to the hypothesis, upper and middle classes use a certain form of the language – Bernstein generally referred to it as a *variant* of the language, cf. Bernstein (1964) –, the elaborated code which clearly differentiates itself from the restricted code used by the working class. *Code* is understood in this context as a system of organizational principles that constitute the fundaments of the language used by a social group (cf. Littlejohn/Foss [9]2008, 318). The elaborate code of the middle and upper classes was supposed to be characterized by a high frequency of features such as subordinate clauses, a wide range of adjectives and adverbs, a relatively large vocabulary including specialized terminology, grammar close to what was considered standard language and high cohesion and coherence. It was seen as an explicit language more suitable for formal contexts: as an explanation for better cognitive achievements and therefore also as an explanation for the greater success of middle and upper class children in school and in society. On the other hand, the restricted code was supposed to be characterized by simple syntax, little use of sentential connectors, the presence of few adjectives and adverbs, less vocabulary and few technical terms and a clear lack of stylistic range. In other words, it was seen as deficient, suitable only for communication in informal con-

texts among group members – insiders who share assumptions and who are familiar with the topics dealt with beforehand. The restricted code was supposed to be less expressive and allow for less abstraction. Therefore, it was seen as a hindrance on cognitive development and, ergo, an obstacle for success in school and, as a consequence, in society. The assumed linguistic deficiency of the working class was interpreted as a linguistic and social barrier. *Norm* was reduced to an instance used to compare linguistic utterances with: the standard language used as a measuring instrument to determine if a person used a 'correct' or a deficient language.

While the hypothesis invigorated the tendencies to lower social barriers in society, critics rejected the idea of a linguistic determination of thinking, particularly because it was seen as bolstering positions of Social Darwinism. Even though Bernstein's approach, which raised a lot of publicity and controversy, is generally rejected and viewed as obsolete today, it has proven to be quite influential in many contemporary publications. It is still palpable if we look at the history of certain terms such as the use of *elaboration* in connection with the expansions of the function of a language, which can also be seen as clearly corresponding to Kloss' idea of linguistic *ausbau* (cf. Haugen 1966; Kloss ²1978 [1952]; 1967).

Particularly the publications of the US-American author William Labov are seen today as a clear response to Bernstein's idea of a – basically insurmountable – linguistic and social barrier and to any linguistic approach leaving out the social dimension of language. Labov, today often acclaimed as "the father of sociolinguistics", has refuted Bernstein's approach by means of several extremely innovative studies on (social) dialects and dialect shifts that have caused a stir among linguists since the 1960s. With his expertise in dialectology and linguistic geography, Labov continues Bloomfield's empirical tradition; the transition towards sociolinguistics can be seen in the fact that the term *dialect* is used comprising both geographical and social variation. Labov was able to prove a connection between the pronunciation of certain diphthongs among fishermen on the isle of Martha's Vineyard and their attitude regarding tourists from the mainland (Labov 1963). He showed that those who opposed the influx of "foreigners" would (phonetically) converge with the variety spoken by the older generations of islanders in order to dissociate, linguistically, from mainland Americans. In another study regarding the social stratification of English spoken in New York, the author was able to show that the pronunciation of the phoneme /r/ in postvocalic position was clearly related to the social background of the salespersons and their adaption to the language used by their clients (Labov 1966). Furthermore, Labov (1972) proved that the language spoken by underprivileged black inhabitants of US-American cities could, under no circumstances, be seen as restricted, and that so-called *African American Vernacular English* should not be stigmatized as a substandard of English but rather described and treated as a variety of American English all its own. Labov clearly stated that the differences between these speakers regarding the language of the (white) middle and upper class, whose language use could be seen as closer to the idealized stan-

dard, should not be interpreted as a *deficit* regarding a standard norm. The core of the approach to the variety spoken by the lower class(es) should lie in a description of its otherness. Their language should not be understood and analyzed as inferior, "second class" systems but as linguistic systems in their own right. For this reason, and in clear contrast to Bernstein's approach, Labov's approach is also called "difference hypothesis". Labov's approach made it necessary to differentiate between *norm* (singular) in the sense of standard language and *norms* (plural) in the sense of different varieties of language use seen as most expectable *in certain contexts and situations*, thus coexisting with the standard, without any need to be similar to it. As Dittmar (1997, 53) indicates, Labov did not "resolve" the problem posed by linguistic relativism by relying on insuperable communication barriers, as done by Bernstein; instead the American linguist inductively showed that the varieties of English spoken by both white and black Americans constituted a *continuum* of varieties characterized by considerable contrast in their forms, and that they correspond to equivalent communicative functions and norms.

An important aspect of Labov's approach is the clear differentiation between the manifold varieties used by the various social groups in diverse social contexts, on the one hand, and the so-called standard language, on the other. It is seen as something that serves as a benchmark by which the varieties can be "measured" or assessed. The standard language is apparently perceived as an idealized language norm all other instances of linguistic performance are usually measured against. Scrutiny of the relationship between language and society induced an accelerated search for the reasons for the selection of determined linguistic forms, their relation to context, interlocutors, their social and educational background, i.e. the correlation of linguistic and extralinguistic variables (Sinner 2014, 11). The focalization of a diverse and socially-determined linguistic reality, as well as the analysis of the social conditions of language use, led to the necessity of approaching the concept of norm(s) differently.

The ideas and concepts of US-American and British sociolinguistics then found their way into European linguistics, and thus into Romance linguistics. Be that as it may, this reception is accompanied by a reassessment and continuation of the way linguistic variation was dealt with in the different linguistic approaches developed on the European continent (cf. Schlieben-Lange [3]1991 [1973], 34s., 80–84, i.a.).

2 A short history of dealing with norms

Norms, from Lat. *nōrma* 'carpenter's square, norm, standard, rule, precept', are requirements meant to regulate human behaviour in social life; norms can be set by individuals as a guide for themselves, they can result from explicit or implicit consent in the sense of conventions or stem from the decisions of official instances

whether on the grounds of creation of new norms or the institutionalization of existing social conventions (Gloy 1980, 363). The regulations aimed at with these norms can be sub-differentiated. Behavioral norms or norms of action concern actions and activities. The selection of certain means to allow for a certain action or activity to be carried out responds to instrumental norms. Technical norms concern the result of an activity that is not identical with the purpose of the action, and ethical norms – which often have blurry, fluid borders with morals and values – concern the purposes of certain actions (Gloy 1980, 363s.). Norms are seen as the precondition for any socialization but stem from concrete social necessities. As Gloy (1980, 364) states they should therefore be analyzed regarding their content and the claim for their enforcement in the context of societal needs; the latter can be seen as one of the desiderata of linguistic research into norms.

The issue of linguistic norms took some time to attract the interest of linguists. In the 1930s, Havránek, a leading representative of European structuralism, still felt the need to ask if linguistic norm, standardization of written language and linguistic culture were even tasks of linguistics, and therefore he analyzed how the problem of norm could be dealt with in this field of knowledge and how linguists should behave with regard to normative matters (Havránek 1936; cf. Bartsch 1982; 1987, 155–157, for a brief discussion of the concept of norm in the contributions of the linguists of the Prague Linguistic Circle; cf. also Schmitt 2001; ↗2). Generative linguists, due to their homogeneity approach mentioned above, did not take into account the concept of norm at all. Despite the growing recognition of the importance of norm in other disciplines coupled with the fact that in linguistics there was at least a broad agreement on the necessity of standardization for communicational needs, Oksaar (1968) continued to highlight a lack of accord on the role of the linguist regarding norm and normative questions. It was only with increasing concern for the relation between language and society that the interest in the concept of linguistic norm grew considerably. The concern for standardization contributed to intensify this interest, especially since the 1970s (cf. Gloy 1975; Zamora Salamanca 1985, 227). Very often, such reflections were closely related to the attempts of finding out what made varieties turn into languages or dialects or the effort to determine the criteria that played a role in this distinction (cf. especially Kloss [2]1978 [1952]; 1967).

With the interest in sociolinguistics, the need to deal with the normative questions and the concept of norm itself arises (cf. section 3). Since the 1970s, there has been a broad consensus that language norms represent socially conventionalized usages and thus, an expectable realization of linguistic rules that determine the use of linguistic forms which are considered acceptable in a given textual or situational context (Schmitt 2001, 437; cf. section 3). Linguistic norms are a special case of social norms, and with the acquisition of linguistic competence, the speakers also acquire metalinguistic awareness allowing for the distinction between normative (that is: prescriptive) and non-normative rules. Likewise, knowledge of grammaticality and acceptability is acquired. They are based on social consensus, but this

consensus can also be reached by delegating normative decisions to institutions authorized to do so (cf. Schmitt 2001, 438).

In the late 1980s, specialists in normative aspects and the relation of language and norm still felt urged to explicitly reject the – common – practice of speaking of *norm* in the singular (cf. Bartsch 1987, 155). Since the 1990s, the plurality of norms has generally been accepted at least in those branches of Linguistics not reluctant to assume the necessity of taking into account societal aspects when dealing with language and its development.

Ever since, different concepts of norm have played an important role in certain branches of linguistics, especially in Romance linguistics. This is particularly due to the important advances made in the standardization of several Romance varieties and the ongoing debates regarding normative aspects and the standardization of different Romance languages (cf. Burr 2001, 189; Sinner 2005). Codification and standardization processes in the context of different minority languages and topics related to language planning, together with an overall increase in the attention paid to minority languages since the 1960s, have led to an important widening of perspectives and advances in the debates on methodological and theoretical issues related to norm (cf. Bartsch 1985; Dahmen et al. 1991; Fernández Rei/Santamarina Fernández 1999). Furthermore, we see the elaboration of a series of theoretical models of language planning, such as Ferguson (1962) or Haugen's influential model of language planning (based on authors such as Kloss), which the author amended several times over the next decades (cf. Haugen 1966; 1983; 2003 [1966]). Later, other authors published more or less relevant complemented versions of Haugen's model (cf. Cooper 1989) (cf. section 2.3).

Even today norm is not an issue usually dealt with in general linguistics; a quick glance at any manual of general linguistics or introduction into general linguistics for students proves that terms such as *norm* or *standard* usually do not even appear in the index.

Scholars agree on the tremendous degree of ambiguity of *norm* and related terms and on the problem of extensive interchangeability of terms such as *rule* and *norm*, *norm* and *standard*, *normalization* and *standardization*, etc. (Bartsch 1985; Zamora Salamanca 1985; cf. also Takahashi 2008). The particular terminological problem of using *standard* and *norm* as synonyms becomes apparent if we take into consideration what has been said, ever since Labov's findings, about the fact that non-standard contexts are also ruled by norms.

The classification of norm is seen as a complex task, as there are many factors exerting influence on it due to the fact that concepts of different classifications can interfere or overlap, or as a result of the word frequently being used to relate to assessing something as *good* or *bad* (Areiza/Cisneros/Tabares 2004, 64). In different languages there are very different preferences, which can be explained as the result of different academic traditions. So, in languages such as German, French and Russian, we often find solutions parting from the term *norm* (such as French *normalisa-*

tion, German *Normalisierung* or Russian *нормализация* [normalizatsiya]). In other languages like English, the preferred solution is *standardization*. Zamora Salamanca's opinion that the linguistic terminology in English and other languages regarding norm and standard needs a proper standardization itself (Zamora Salamanca 1985, 227) still holds true. The list of publications, definitions, theoretical models on norm and standard is vast and practically unmanageable today. Particular classes and categories determined by different authors, or even in the same approach sometimes overlap, which makes any attempt to describe the positions on norm in an unambiguous way extremely difficult. Therefore, instead of resuming an open list of definitions and models, in what follows we will concentrate on the main concepts of norm in linguistics and, particularly, on their application in studies on sociolinguistics and language planning.

3 Concepts of norm and criteria

In essence, there are two fundamental concepts of norm in linguistics. As Dittmar (1997, 164) points out, the first comes from a basically intralinguistic perspective and asks for the correction of a certain linguistic form, and if and how this can be understood (semantically). The very notion of correction immediately relates to prescription: to established rules. These rules can be codified as a result of tradition or by means of explicit normative actions, and measures can be taken in order to set rules for language use and teaching. The second concept of norm is built on the understanding of a coexistence of different norms; it takes into account the social contexts that determine linguistic performance and is generally seen as a system of different (sociolinguistic) norms, in the sense of a sociolinguistically determined set of norms or communicative norms.

Regarding the first concept, it is necessary to establish a difference between various possible settings of prescriptive norms, with the following three main categories:

(i) Norms can develop over time, as traditions of speaking and writing (cf. Schlieben-Lange 1983); some instances which are habitual, expectable and thus "normal", can evolve into prescriptive norms, as a certain variety develops into standard language; a certain variety seen as particularly adequate is elevated to function as an implicit standard.

(ii) Norms are consciously determined, that is, as a result of activities of individuals or institutions that are meant to codify instances of language viewed as *normal, frequent, expectable*, etc. in a given population; they are rules in the sense of prescriptions but clearly meant to mirror what is done anyway by the members of a given population. Certain solutions are elevated to the status of standard and are therefore expected in a given context, becoming the forms seen as correct. This concept of norms implies an adaption of norms to linguistic evolution:

if the majority of people no longer do what the norm says, the norm will have to be adjusted to the new reality.

(iii) Norms are set based on actions of individuals or institutions that decide upon different criteria, i.e. what *should* be correct, what *should* be normal in the linguistic production of a given population. The chosen solutions do not necessarily represent what is actually *done* in a given group or what could be considered *normal* in this speech community at the time being; the chosen forms do not necessarily represent or mirror what the respective speech community already does.

While in (iii) the actual usage is not necessarily taken into account, it is essential in conceptualizations (i) and (ii), as those basically rely on the criterion of quantity. As correct, normal, and therefore as *norm* is often seen what is used by a majority of the members of a linguistic community. For linguists, what is understood as correct generally depends on what is actually the majoritarian use regardless of aesthetic or etymological principles (Oksaar 1968, 74). In Paul (1880), codification in the sense of a standard norm (for writing) was already linked to the need of adapting the standard to language shifts. When speaking of prescriptive norms, explicit codification is not even indispensable: speakers do not need to be aware of the norms, as they unknowingly follow them in order to avoid sanctions from society even in the case of implicit norms (see below) passed on from generation to generation (cf. Dittmar 1997, 163; Zamora Salamanca 1985, 231–234).

The opposition of norms of usage as *descriptive* norms, on one hand, and standard norms as *prescriptive* norms, on the other, is probably the most important normative dichotomy. The descriptive norm is what can actually be observed as the "normal" use in a given speech community, while the prescriptive norm is the result of a deliberate selection of certain variants on the grounds of different criteria such as tradition, evidence in the writings of canonized authors, profound linguistic analysis, etc. One of the components of norm often mentioned is the characteristic feature of obligation, and some authors, such as Gloy (1980, 364), believe this trait excludes the idea of the existence of descriptive norms. As descriptive norms affect the level of practice (of what is actually done and what is normal in a society), one could claim that in order to fit in and be seen as part of the group, the individual has to adapt their language to the language use shown by the group. Therefore, there can actually be a certain degree of obligation even in the domain of descriptive norms. Compare the differentiation of *descriptive norms* and *prescriptive norms* in Koch (1988, 341), who explains that the *prescriptive norm* gains prestige and status for having been associated, at a certain moment in the history of the language, with the linguistic rules of distance (written language), and that due to this fact, the *descriptive norms* are relegated to the level of proximity.

Some of the major normative conflicts stem from the divergence of descriptive and prescriptive norms; from the distance between what is actually done and what

is supposed to be done and seen as correct. This divergence can be the result of setting up linguistic rules or norms that do not actually represent common usage in a speech community, or in the fact that the existing prescriptions formulated at a certain moment in time are not adjusted to a changing linguistic reality. Many of the existing normative debates can be explained by the lack of adaption of norms to language shift on one hand, or the resistance to any such adaption of the norm on the other. The latter can materialize in puristic positions defended by self-appointed guardians of the language who even happen to contradict professionals or institutions entrusted with the task of elaborating and cultivating prescriptive norms (on lay linguistics, cf. Antos 1996; Demel 2006; Kailuweit/Jaeckel 2006; Osthus 2006; Techtmeier 2006).

Another dichotomy to be found in studies dedicated to normative matters is the opposition of *explicitness* and *implicitness* of norms, often directly related to the opposition codification – lack of codification. As already stated, speakers are not necessarily aware of the existence of norms but follow them anyway as they are a part of social norms that regulate and structure human co-existence (Dittmar 1997, 164). This dichotomy is *related* to the opposition of codified and un-codified varieties but cannot be seen as identical to it (in the sense of a merely terminological alternative). Even in varieties that have not yet been codified, there is no doubt that language use itself is guided by implicit norms, and the members of a speech community *can be*, but do not necessarily *have to be*, conscious about their existence.

Grammaticality – generally understood as determined by grammar, correctness regarding grammar or the mere possibility of occurrence according to the system, the (prescriptive) norm – and *acceptability* – regarding the suitability of its use in a certain context – are another set of terms often related to the normative question being usually applied in linguistic categorizations of utterances (cf. Chomsky 1957, and the critical analysis in Sinner 2004, 98–103).

Another important contribution to the theoretical and methodological debate on norms is the differentiation of norm in common sense, established following criteria of correction or subjective valuation of an utterance, and the *objective norm*, which can be observed in a language, and one that the speakers follow in their daily lives because they are members of a determined linguistic community. On this level, what matters is how we *say* it, not how we *should say* it, and the connected concepts then would be *normal* and *anormal*, not *correct* or *incorrect* (Coseriu ³1973 [1952], 90; ↗3). Important aspects of Coseriu's perspective on norm were introduced to Romance linguistics and sociolinguistics mainly via German linguists such as Schlieben-Lange (cf. ³1991 [1973], 32–33; 1983). The most important aspects are probably the elaborations on the role of the norm between *system* and *speech* inherited from Saussure's *langue* and *parole*. They were mainly built from Hjelmslev (1942) and his vision of the norm of a language as those realizations of a language that are and have actually been "produced", and that the norm constitutes a limitation

of the system, as not all the possibilities of the system materialize in speech (cf. Coseriu 1992, 68; see also ³1973 [1952], 53–57; cf. Schmitt 2001 for a critical account of Coseriu's approach). As Schmitt (2011, 440) highlights, no proof has yet been provided that the system of any (Romance) language restricts the possibilities of communication within a given linguistic community, and that the system actually remains "embeddable" in the norm (Bartsch 1985, 86).

Whatever the terms chosen to describe the reality of norms they are referring to, linguists usually allude to what can be broken down in the following three dimensions of norm that can interact and therefore show reciprocal effects (cf. Dittmar 1997, 163–169; Gloy 1980, 364; Brumme 1992, 385–387; Areiza/Cisneros/Tabares 2004, 64s.; Sinner 2004, 66–72):

(a) A linguistic norm, in the sense of a highly codified variety, deliberately chosen as the most prestigious variety and used for the totality of activities that imply greater complexity such as: writing, journalism, teaching, literature and intellectual production, mainly in contexts marked by the use of the language of distance, according to Koch and Oesterreicher's model of proximity and distance (both in terms of space, time and figuratively, cf. Koch/Oesterreicher 1985; for the English terminology, cf. Weininger/Shield 2001, 90). According to some authors, *linguistic norm* indicates a demand for a certain action, activity or product for a certain individual or group, under determined social conditions, and for a certain purpose. Furthermore, it implies there is some instance to set, supervise and monitor the norm. They often have determined addressees and are often reduced to certain scopes, speech situations or communicative purposes.

(b) A sociolinguistic norm seen as a selection of forms viewed as more prestigious or more appropriate than others in a certain speech community and in determined contexts, styles and registers. It is the result of a selection motivated by certain attitudes, assessments of situations and value judgments that are dominant in a given community. They are the result of cultural characteristics and historical and social conditions of a determined context. The sociolinguistic norm is often seen as being intertwined, depending on, or even representing the so-called communicative norm (see above).

(c) An academic or rather "institutional" norm, corresponding to the use of language per se seen as "correct", which is fixated, institutionalized in manuals, grammar and dictionaries, and adopted as the standard (e.g. through governmental resolutions or laws and sometimes referred to with a distinctive name, such as "la norma de la Real Academia Española" [the norm of the Royal Spanish Academy] in Spanish (a concept heavily contested by the Academy itself), "die Duden-Norm" [the *Duden* norm] in German, etc.). As a matter of fact, institutional norms usually draw both on the respective linguistic and sociolinguistic norms.

All three can be found referring to standard language, yet the differentiation between them is sometimes complicated. As Gloy (1980, 364) points out, the linguistic

concept of norm, found in different authors, often shows a peculiar ambivalence between description and prescription. He relates this with the underlying fact that what is frequent, and constitutes the norm of usage, is often interpreted as what has to be expected or has to be determined as such. As a matter of fact, norm is often seen as linguistic awareness, and thus, as assessment of norms (Hartung 1985, 186).

Some of the most common criteria mentioned to legitimate prescriptive norms are, according to Gloy (1980, 366s.; cf. also Brumme 1992, 385–387 and Sinner 2014, 96–99, on the criteria generally used in order to justify the classification of a variety as a language):

(a) the language usage of cultural authorities (elites, role models, etc.)
(b) historically "grown" linguistic phenomena (in the sense of a genetic concept of norms)
(c) regional coverage / distribution (particularly of whole varieties)
(d) practicability regarding comprehensibility (functional concept of norm)
(e) the actual use "by everyone"
(f) the higher frequency of one variant in comparison to others
(g) the fact an element "fits" structurally into the system
(h) the social adequacy, especially situational adequacy, i.e., accordance with non-verbal norms of interaction.

Some of these "modern" criteria have a long history in linguistic thinking (cf. Lat. *auctoritas* (a), *vetustas* (b), *consuetudo* (c, d, e, f), and *ratio* (g)), while other aspects traditionally dealt with (such as *puritas*/*latinitas*) are not represented in this list, and from a historiographical point of view, the criterion of social adequacy (h) constitutes a novelty (cf. Siebenborn 1976).

Due to the enormous variety of normative situations, the English *standard language* (sometimes even *standard norm*) and its equivalents in different languages such as German, French or Spanish can refer to very different realities. *Standard*, for instance, can refer to a determined (for example, diatopic) variety chosen as such, or to a "unified" norm created from scratch on the basis of selection and creation with criteria such as tradition, evidence in use, distribution, frequency, etc. (as is the case of Galician and Basque, respectively); it can be applied to the Spanish norm(s) prescribed by the Academies of the Spanish-speaking countries, and the English norm(s) not "validated" through any institutionally "controlled" normative institution. According to Catford (1965, 86), many languages have a standard dialect or a literary dialect that in its written form shows little variation in the different places where it is used. Such a variety would then be unmarked. For Bagno (2007, 19), this position is to be rejected, as the norm of a language – at least in the case mentioned by him, Brazilian Portuguese – could not be seen as a standard dialect, standard language or standard variety in the sense of *norm*, because no one would actually "speak the norm". However, a language, variety or norm could not exist
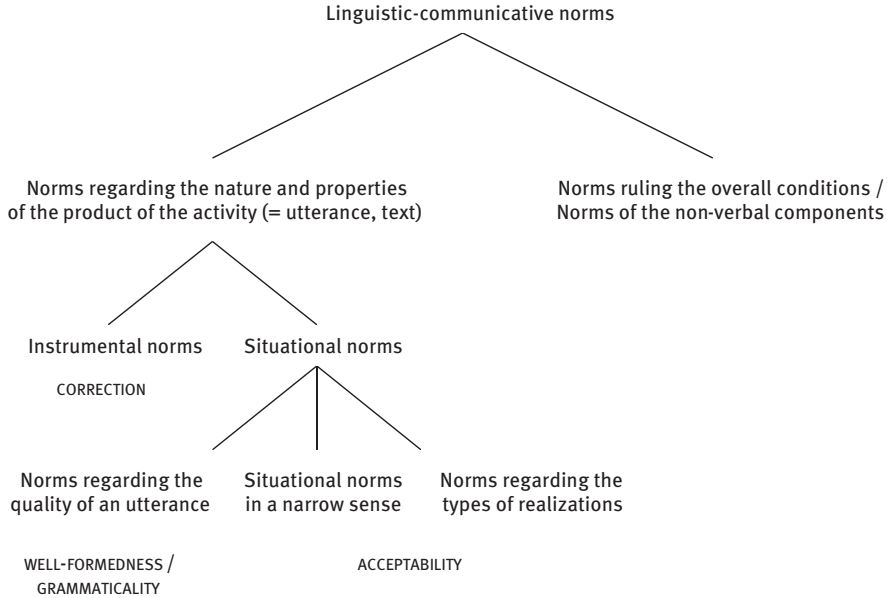
Linguistic-communicative norms

Norms regarding the nature and properties
of the product of the activity (= utterance, text)

Norms ruling the overall conditions /
Norms of the non-verbal components

Instrumental norms   Situational norms

CORRECTION

Norms regarding the
quality of an utterance

Situational norms
in a narrow sense

Norms regarding the
types of realizations

WELL-FORMEDNESS /
GRAMMATICALITY

ACCEPTABILITY

Fig. 1: Linguistic-communicative norms (from Hartung 1977).

without its speakers. Therefore, Bagno (2007) does not accept the position that standard languages (as well as idiolects) constitute varieties of their own (cf. Sinner 2014, 21 and 42).

It is somewhat controversial whether sociolinguistic norms stem from other norms, such as pragmatic or communicative norms, or if sociolinguistic and communicative norms are actually the same. In fact, time and again, sociolinguistic and communicative norms are used indistinctively. This is mainly because with the sociolinguistic concept of norm, the social characteristics of linguistic norms and the socially determined activity of the individual are taken into consideration. The main feature of these norms is precisely the fact that they refer to the communicative adequacy of an act of speaking or writing (cf. Gloy 1980, 364)

As a matter of fact, the norms in (a), (b) and (c) are often associated with or tied to other concepts of norm embedded in other branches of linguistics and not always clearly differentiated (or even distinguishable). Grice's idea of the conversational maxims, published in his classical *Logic and Conversation* (1975), for example, is not mentioned explicitly by Hartung (1977), who proposed a well-received model of Linguistic-communicative norms. But as Fix/Poethe/Yos ([3]2003, 184) point out, it is clearly present in his approach, as he considers the "general basic conditions of communication" (Hartung 1977, 27; my translation). The model proposed by Hartung (1977; cf. Fix/Poethe/Yos [3]2003, 184s.) is a good example of how differently the categories, dimensions and criteria mentioned before are combined (cf. figure 1).

4 Applying the concept of norm(s)

The problems of applying concepts of norm are manifold and can therefore only be addressed in a very summarized and exemplary form here. The notable plurality of definitions and perceptions of the norm complicates their application. Many authors struggle to bring together the models and results presented by different authors on the grounds of alternative or synonymic use of terms, due to the differing or even contradictory terminology or as a result of the overlapping of concepts and terminology. The plurality of terms and positions makes it rather difficult to combine the different approaches, schools and tendencies. Whenever assessing utterances, linguists are faced with the problem of having to decide upon the standard used for comparison. The use of an institutionalized, prescriptive norm, maybe in the form of official grammar, implies leaving out any variation beyond stylistic variation in the language seen as adequate mainly for formal language use contexts, usually characterised by a use of the language of distance. Relying on speakers' judgment implies the need to decide on which speakers' opinion the analysis will have to rely. As Gloy (1980, 364) pointed out, the problem of determining the norm of actual usage – in other words, the descriptive norm – resides in the need of having to know what is seen by the speakers as normal, but that for doing so we need to decide which members of a speech community will be the fundament of the analysis (cf. Sinner 2004, 66s.). The speakers' judgments depend – to a varying extent – on a long list of factors, such as a (more o less considerable) impact of language education during schooling or some of the different criteria related to the legitimization of norms mentioned above (cf. section 2.2).

One of the most important fields for the application of concepts of norm is its different use in language planning. Haugen's model (2003 [1966], table 1), itself heavily influenced by Kloss' approach and amended several times over the decades by Haugen himself (cf. Haugen 1983), shall be taken as an example, as it is one of the most quoted and considered to be one of the most important models of linguistic intervention.

Other authors, such as Cooper (1989), published more or less relevant versions of Haugen's model, that is, elaborations based on one or several of the different versions of the model that were amended and improved several times afterwards (cf. Sinner 2004, 60s.). As Haugen's matrix has been modified several times, the plurality of terms used in its context has also grown over time. A look at language

Tab. 1: Language planning matrix according to Haugen (2003 [1966], 421).

	Form	*Function*
Society	Selection	Acceptance
Language	Codification	Elaboration

Tab. 2: Integrated language planning matrix based on Haugen (2003 [1966]; 1983) (Youlden 2012, 28).

	Form **(policy planning)**	*Function* **(language cultivation)**
Society **(status planning)**	1. Selection (decision procedures) a. identification of problems b. allocation of norms	3. Implementation a. correction procedures b. evaluation
Language **(corpus planning)**	2. Codification (standardization procedures)	4. Elaboration a. terminological modernization b. stylistic development

planning models, such as Haugen's approach to the development of a variety – "from 'dialect' to 'language', from vernacular to standard" (Haugen 2003 [1966], 421) –, clearly shows that in its first phase, the whole process depends heavily on the selection of a variety supposed to be the standard and on the localization of the norm. As we have shown, this process depends completely on the linguistic and sociolinguistic analysis carried out and the criteria that are being applied in order to do so. Thus, it is subjected to all the problems with the determination of the norm mentioned above. In a second step, codification – in some interpretations of the model, codification and elaboration – takes place: meaning, (a) the development of a writing system (if there are no former systems to build on) or the synthesis of such a writing system on the basis of existing solutions, (b) codification of spelling, (c) fixation of grammar rules, etc. This codification requires, as a precondition, the selection of the norm (and this brings with it the problems mentioned above). A third phase consists of implementation, also referred to as stabilization, which consists in the stabilization, development and elaboration (cf. Kloss' *ausbau*) by means of linguistic policies or language planning, diffusion through education, evaluation of the codification, etc. In some versions of the model, elaboration is only used to designate the last step of the process and consists of the adaption of the standardized language to the needs of the linguistic community, functional and stylistic development, terminological modernization, etc. In the application of the language planning matrix, and aggravated by the existence of different versions, some of the measures are assigned whether to the third or the forth phase, or to both of them, resulting in a certain drawback for the comparability of studies carried out on these matters. Cf. table 2 for a model combining the different approaches.

Coulmas (1985) adds the differentiation between status planning into two separate aspects: status planning and corpus planning, as two axes that are parallel to Haugen's terminology but do not coincide with it. The change in the status of a certain variety in a given society would not be possible without the creation of the necessary conditions by means of corpus planning, and vice versa. Almost all cases of planning are oriented towards the modification – improvement – of the status of

a certain variety (cf. ib., 80), which obviously is very relevant for the success of a chosen standard. Haarmann's model of the development of a standard language adds *prestige* to the given factors *corpus* and *status*. Prestige is different from the factor corpus, which is measurable, and the factor status, which is at least partially quantifiable (cf. Eckkrammer 1996), and very difficult to determine. According to Haarmann (1988, 21), it is extremely important that the speakers can identify with the standard and therefore, it is not sufficient to standardize structures and techniques of a written variety or delimit their socio-cultural status and their status regarding language policies; a standard language also has to allow the individual to identify with it without conflicts.

The selection of forms, identification of problems and allocation of norms, as well as the evaluation of their function in the linguistic community, is part of any attempt to standardize varieties or adapt an existing standard to the changing necessities. The remarkable tendency to standardize hitherto non-standardized varieties, for example the standardization of the different regional languages in Spain since the 1970s, has led to a wide range of publications on standardization, or, as is the common use in the Romance languages, *normativization* and *normalization*. An analysis of those contributions shows a considerable variety of concepts, terminology and models, which can be seen as testimony to the plurality of opinions on standard and norm exposed above. There are considerable differences between the contributions embedded in the Anglo-American tradition and those following Russian (or former Soviet) approaches or the theoretical outlines that are dominant in Romance linguistics. These differences are clearly anchored in the different interests in the role of norm or standard (according to the preferred terminology) in society and the objectives of the studies, for example, mere theoretical discussion vs. actual language planning, interest in emerging standard varieties vs. interest in social dialects and substandard, etc. Regarding the last aspect, for example, while the core of Romance sociolinguistics lay in the emergence of new standard languages, US-American sociolinguistics is characterized by a focus on non-standard that only lately has widened, with the so-called third wave of variation study. As Eckert (2012, 96) puts it, "The focus on style has led beyond the regional and obviously nonstandard variables that have been the bread and butter of the first two waves". Gloy (2004, 395) highlights the worries that with the rise in attention to substandard, there might also be a return to the dichotomy of *high* and *low* in standard debates, thought to be overcome long ago.

While the Anglo-American tradition favors the use of *standard* and *standardization*, Catalan sociolinguistics, for example, prefers the concepts of *norm*, *normativization* 'codification' and *normalization*. *Normalization* was introduced for being a term that comprises the totality of processes implied in the codification, elaboration and implementation. The term, originating in the 1960s by the Valencian (socio) linguist Lluís Aracil and adopted from political language, is oriented towards the dissolution of a diglossic situation. Together with normativization, it underpins the inherited

preference for *norm* instead of *standard* in Catalan sociolinguistics. Curiously, this fact influenced the preferences of Romance linguistics in the German-speaking countries, where *Norm* and *Normalisierung* in Romance studies run parallel with the use of other terms, mainly *Standard* and *Standardisierung*, in German and English studies carried out in the German language.

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Angela Schrott

5 Linguistic Norm in Linguistic Pragmatics

Abstract: In linguistic pragmatics norms can be seen as traditions that guide verbal interaction. In order to pin down the notion of tradition, we use a model of linguistic pragmatics that goes back to Eugenio Coseriu's system of linguistic competence and to the concept of tradition elaborated by Ramón Menéndez Pidal, thus bringing together linguistics and philology. The functioning of norms as traditions is illustrated with two examples: with a routine of verbal politeness and with a narration style that is based on the aspect system of Romance languages and functions as a cultural tradition.

Keywords: tradition, linguistic tradition, discourse tradition, polite request, question, verbal politeness, narration, tense, aspect, *imparfait narratif*

1 Linguistic pragmatics

From the standpoint of linguistic pragmatics, norms guide verbal interaction. The definition of these norms depends largely on the model that is chosen as a blueprint. In the following, linguistic pragmatics is understood as a culture-oriented discipline that is fundamentally based on traditions and norms, both linguistic and cultural.

1.1 Linguistic pragmatics as a culture-oriented discipline

Language and language use play an important part in the creation of norms and traditions. This dynamic point of view is central to linguistic pragmatics that can be understood as a perspective which explains linguistic structures and patterns through the dynamics of language use.[1] Following Coseriu (1988, 69), language is to be seen as an activity (*energeia*) that follows traditions and norms and at the same time continually generates new structures. If these innovations are successful, they can be integrated into the already existing system of traditions and therefore may change the norms of language use. The cultural nature of language lies in its traditionality: language is a cultural activity because it produces something new that can be learned and passed on as a tradition (Coseriu 1974, 92; 1988, 69). The essential idea is that culture generates traditions and accordingly a competence based on traditions is *per se* cultural or culture-oriented (Coseriu 1988, 65; Gardt

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[1] For the idea of the pragmatic perspective see Fetzer (2012, 25s.) and Verschueren (1995, 11, 13s.).

2003, 271). From this point of view, language use is based not only on linguistic norms but also on cultural norms and traditions. Language use and verbal interactions are situated at the interface of language and cultural traditions, and it is therefore an essential task for linguistic pragmatics to establish a clear-cut analytical distinction between linguistic traditions and cultural traditions.

1.2 Linguistic pragmatics as a tripartite system

In what follows, I propose a tripartite system of linguistic pragmatics that differentiates between three types of norms and goes back to Eugenio Coseriu's system of linguistic competence (1988). According to Coseriu (1988, 70), language use is a universal activity achieved by individuals with a specific language. Hence, linguistic competence can be analyzed on three levels: (1) the universal level of language use in general, (2) the historical level of speaking different languages, and (3) the individual level of context-dependent individual speech in specific communicative situations; discourse, texts, and speech acts as verbal interactions in context are situated on this level.

Tab. 1: Rules and traditions of speech (adapted from Coseriu 1988, 75).

level	universal level	historical level of languages	individual level of discourse and text
rules and traditions	universal principles and rules	linguistic traditions	discourse traditions

Following Coseriu, language use is guided by three types of knowledge that are located on three different levels: the universal, the historical and the individual level. On the universal level, we find universal principles and rules of verbal interaction that function as general guidelines of language use in all languages, e.g. the Gricean cooperative principle and its maxims (Grice 1989, 26–28). The historical level is related to specific languages and comprises the linguistic traditions of language, i.e. the linguistic knowledge that enables us to communicate in a particular language like Spanish, English or German. On the individual level, we find discourse traditions like cultural knowledge that guide verbal interactions in individual situations of communication. Discourse traditions play a key role in the selection of adequate linguistic expressions which allow the speakers to successfully perform a communicative task. Speakers follow cultural discourse traditions when they open up a conversation, ask a favor or tell a story. Considering that we speak of general rules or principles on the universal level, we use the term *tradition* in reference to the historical and individual level. The reason is that the norms located on the historical and individual level are both subject to change in time and are passed on

from generation to generation as traditions.[2] Linguistic rules of speaking a language – the syntax and the lexicon, both of which speakers have to be proficient in if they want to speak a certain language – are traditional in the sense that they remain stable to a certain degree but are at the same time open to variations and language change. On that basis, a language is a system of traditions that is passed down from one generation of speakers to the next. In a similar way, discourse traditions are a cultural knowledge that undergoes change in time from one generation to the other. The changes are mostly gradual and are realized in a continuum of family resemblances (Koch 1997, 43–45). Discourse traditions of asking a favor, greeting or telling a story are not only variable in different cultural communities, they are also subject to historical change. The tripartite system shows that the competence of language use comprises linguistic and cultural knowledge and is shaped by traditionality.

All three types of knowledge are omnipresent in verbal interactions where the speakers respect universal principles, follow the linguistic traditions of the specific language they use and follow the discourse traditions that seem appropriate to them. Therefore, linguistic pragmatics can be seen as a discipline with three fields (Schrott 2014, 9–12; 2015, 120–123):

Tab. 2: The three fields of pragmatics, adapted from Schrott (2014, 10).

level	universal level	historical level of languages	individual level of discourse and text
rules and traditions	universal principles and rules	linguistic traditions	discourse traditions
fields of pragmatics	universal pragmatics	pragmatics of linguistic traditions	pragmatics of discourse traditions

From a universal perspective, general pragmatics is concerned with general rules and principles of language use that are valid for all languages. From a perspective focused on particular languages and their linguistic traditions, the pragmatics of linguistic traditions studies linguistic structures and their functions. Finally, the pragmatics of discourse traditions explores the cultural knowledge that governs verbal interactions. In an analytical approach based on traditionality and normativity, it is important to clearly separate the three types. At the same time, the linguist has to be aware that all three knowledge types are closely interwoven in language use

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2 For the discussion of Coseriu's system in Romance linguistics see Schlieben-Lange (1983, 13–16, 138–140), Koch (1997, 45–47; 2008, 53s.), Oesterreicher (1997, 20, 23s.), Lebsanft (2005, 30; 2015, 100–104), Lebsanft/Schrott (2015, 19–24), Kabatek (2015, 49s., 57–59), and Schrott (2014, 8–10; 2015, 120–125).

to the effect that the three fields of pragmatics are, to a certain extent, a matter of focus. Therefore, all three levels, norms and fields have to be considered simultaneously, and it is the interaction of the three types of rules and traditions that has to be accepted as the focus of linguistic pragmatics.

The model elaborated by Coseriu not only gives a clear-cut distinction between the three types of rules and traditions, but it also offers a characterization of those norms and shows that each type of knowledge is linked to a different judgment type and rated according to a different category.

Tab. 3: Traditions and judgment types, adapted from Coseriu (1988, 8).

level	universal level	historical level of languages	individual level of discourse and text
rules and traditions	universal principles and rules	linguistic traditions	discourse traditions
judgment types	congruency	correctness	appropriateness

The principles of language use located on the universal level are assessed according to the category of *congruency* that includes e.g. the principles of cooperation, logical coherence and communicative trust. In contrast to this, linguistic traditions are evaluated according to the category of *correctness*. Every language can be used correctly when users comply with the traditions of the linguistic system or incorrectly when the language use does not conform to the traditions of the language, e.g. when a speaker is still learning a language and does not fully master the linguistic system. Finally, on the individual level, language use is judged according to its appropriateness: one and the same tradition of asking for help, greeting or making a joke can be completely acceptable in one situation but inappropriate in another communicative activity. These three categories are an important tool when describing and separating different types of norms.

However, the three verdicts not only distinguish different sets of norms between language and culture, they also form a hierarchical model. First of all, the three types of norms are independent of each other (Coseriu 1988, 86s.). This autonomy means that a linguistically correct utterance can be incongruent or inappropriate for a specific situation or discourse whereas linguistic incorrectness does not prevent an utterance from being congruent or appropriate. More important still, the three judgments form a unidirectional hierarchy. Thus, a lack of congruency can be overcome by linguistic traditions or by discourse traditions as the following examples show (Coseriu 1988, 117). Whereas in logic the negation of a negation corresponds to an affirmative assertion, some languages can cancel out that rule and use double negations as expressive affirmations ("We don't need no education"). Some discourse traditions can have the same effect and override logical fallacies. This

effect can be achieved by the discourse tradition of quoting. In this vein, the utterance "The left horn of the unicorn is black" is illogical, but the utterance "Eugene says that the left horn of the unicorn is black" is congruent as the speaker merely quotes the opinion without asserting it (Coseriu 1988, 78, 117). In regards to the norms of linguistic correctness, these norms can be overruled by discourse, too. A popular example is the imitation of a foreign language, e.g. when the Britons in *Astérix* speak French using English syntax: the incorrectness of "Une romaine patrouille!" is, in this case, overruled by the discourse tradition of mockery (Coseriu 1988, 176s., quoting *Astérix chez les Bretons*). The only complex of norms that cannot be overruled are the norms of appropriateness. Congruency on the universal level cannot save a lack of appropriateness on the individual level, neither can linguistic correctness compensate the use of a flouted discourse tradition.

1.3 Rules, traditions and speech acts

The tripartite system of rules and traditions, functioning as norms of language use, can be connected to well-known models of linguistic pragmatics. The concept of language as an activity (*energeia*), and the model of the three fields of linguistic pragmatics already embrace the idea of the speech act.

The definition of speech act elaborated by Searle includes the idea of norms and rules from the very beginning (Searle 1969, 54–71). The successful performance of a speech act is linked to a set of conditions that have to be fulfilled and to norms that can be extracted from those conditions (Searle 1969, 54). A speech act, such as making a request or making a promise, demands not only that both interlocutors speak the same language and can understand each other, but also requires the fulfilment of social and communicative conditions (Searle 1969, 66s.; 2010, 9s., 73–76). These conditions refer to the propositional content of the utterance, to the state of mind of the speaker and his relation to the interlocutor, and these conditions further include that the speech act is well adapted to the speech situation and functions as a meaningful act (Searle 1969, 66s.). The conditions that have to be satisfied can be seen as the identifiers of different illocutionary types: each speech act type has its specific set of conditions (Searle 1969, 64–71). As a model, speech act theory is based on the default case of fulfilled conditions and respected norms, but the fact that language as an activity depends on norms also allows for the idea of failure or deception.[3] So far, speech act theory elicits norms of language use mostly from the different dimensions of the speech situation, but this focus can be embedded in a broader social setting by including more complex social and cultural contexts and

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3 The bending and breaking of norms is an important subject in linguistic pragmatics from the beginning; see Searle (1969, 62) on "insincere promises", Grice (1989, 30s.) on violations of the maxims, and Lebsanft (2005, 30s.) on the historicity and flexibility of maxims.

their norms of action (Goffman 2010 [1971], 95–100, 103–105). This approach has the merit of not only describing the many ways in which norms of interaction can be violated but also the variety of sanctions that may follow and the possible "remedial interchanges" that can be started in order to re-establish cooperation (Goffman 2010 [1971], 108–112).

Turning back to the tripartite system of linguistic pragmatics, the conditions and norms linked to the different speech act types can be classified either as general rules or as discourse traditions. As Searle is mostly interested in universal pragmatics and in a universal system of speech acts, the listed norms are, for the most part, general rules and can be subsumed under the label of cooperation and communicative trust, e.g. the "sincerity condition" that implies that the speaker has the intention and will to perform a certain speech act. Yet this general character does not apply to all the conditions mentioned by Searle (1969, 66s.). In this way, conditions that specify a speech act like giving advice, greeting or asking questions strongly depend on cultural norms. Whether a piece of advice can count as an obligation or whether a knowledge deficit justifies a question is a matter that differs considerably in different cultural communities of the present and past. Following our blueprint of linguistic pragmatics, we can establish that speech acts follow general rules, linguistic traditions and discourse traditions. Furthermore, the successful performance of speech acts has to satisfy the judgment of congruency on the universal level, the norms of correctness on the level of specific languages and the norms of appropriateness on the individual level of texts and discourse.

2 Norms and traditions

2.1 Norms as traditions

In light of the model of linguistic pragmatics presented above, norms can be understood as general rules, as linguistic traditions and as discourse traditions. These three types are the three layers that form the norms of linguistic interaction.

The understanding of norms as traditions adopted in this pragmalinguistic approach is influenced by the concept of norm described by Coseriu (1974). Embedded in the triad of system, norm and speech (↗3), Coseriu underlines the traditionality of the norm. Following Coseriu, the norm encompasses the socially and culturally fixed patterns of speech which function as traditions of speech and mold verbal interaction in a speaker community (Coseriu 1974, 47s.). These traditions can be stronger or weaker: The weaker a tradition is, the bigger the chance that a new structure becomes an accepted variation that can modify an already existing tradition. On the contrary, the stronger a tradition is, the more it can resist innovations and variations (Coseriu 1974, 117). Thus, strong traditions have little room for variations whereas weaker traditions impose less constraint on the speakers and offer more room for variations.

In a perspective that focuses on the dynamics of language and language use, it becomes clear that norms can be conceived as traditions. The norms that shape a language have a history; they have been passed down from generation to generation, put into practice, adapted and changed. In that process, the norms have acquired traditional value and are respected by the speakers as traditions that are part of their identity. Norms are dynamic knowledge that continues to change and constantly produces new norms of verbal interaction. Norms are not only shaped by traditions, they *are* the traditions that speakers use at present. In that perception, norms can be seen as traditions in a *synchronic* perspective, and traditions are simply the other side of the coin. They underline the historicity of norms. Norms of language use are the historical result of language changes and have the prospect of changing again in the future. In that way, the concept of tradition allows us to capture the dynamic nature of norms.[4] Therefore, norms will be interpreted as traditions in order to pin down their historical and dynamic character and to do justice to the concept of language as an activity in the sense of *energeia*.

2.2 Language, culture and tradition

The system of the three fields and perspectives of pragmatics introduced above shows that the concept of tradition is essential for language use. This is most obvious in the field of the pragmatics of discourse traditions. Discourse traditions are in a constant process of cultural evolution which is often much more visible than changes in the language system. Most speakers are very aware that traditions of greeting or asking for a favor are changing, but they are less aware of changes in the language system. However, the concept of tradition is equally important for the linguistic traditions that form language as a system. Following Coseriu (1974, 184), language as a system and tradition are intrinsically tied to each other:

> "Die Sprache ist nicht zuerst System und dann Tradition oder umgekehrt, sondern sie ist gleichzeitig und in jedem Augenblick 'systematische Tradition' und 'traditionelles System'" (Coseriu 1974, 184).

Paraphrasing Coseriu, there is no opposition between language as a system and language as a tradition. On the contrary: language is to be seen and understood at each moment in time simultaneously as a *systematic tradition* and as a *traditional system*. Linguistic traditions and discourse traditions have in common that the transition from innovation to tradition goes hand in hand with a process of integration into the already existing language system or configuration of discourse traditions. While linguistic traditions are integrated into the language system, discourse tradi-

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4 For the concept of traditionality in linguistics and philology see also Lebsanft/Schrott (2015, 24–29).

tions are integrated into cultural configurations, into discourse domains and into the communicative repertoire of cultural communities.

Linguistic change in the language system and cultural change in the domain of discourse traditions can be understood as updating and as a continuation of traditions. Both tradition types are in a constant process of change. Therefore, neither changes on the level of linguistic traditions that form the language system nor changes on the level of discourse traditions are to be seen as a deviation from a fixed system. Quite the contrary: language change on the linguistic and cultural level is to be understood as a universal process where innovations form (new) traditions which can become more and more stable over time. In that perspective, tradition is a counterbalance to the plethora of variations that speakers constantly produce (Coseriu 1974, 91). From a pragmalinguistic point of view, the normative force of the discourse traditions is the most important one, since they shape verbal interactions in communication and thus are responsible for the linguistic patterns and structures that are selected in different types of interaction.

Linguistic traditions, as well as discourse traditions, can be characterized as historical, social and collective knowledge. This social characteristic implies that a tradition is currently being used in a community. Traditions therefore unite past and present; they mark not only the history of a speech community but also its actuality (Coseriu 1974, 52). Furthermore, traditions are a concept that link individuals and collectives because individual speakers learn and practice traditions as members of a linguistic or cultural community (Coseriu 1974, 38). Speakers use the traditions of their community due to the fact that they consider these traditions as their very own and as part of their identity. Linguistic traditions and discourse traditions together constitute the identity of the speakers (Coseriu 1974, 41, 59). As traditions of verbal interaction link past and present, they also generate identity in two ways by virtue of their double reference to past and presence. First, speakers consider the history of linguistic traditions and of the discourse traditions they use as part of their own history. Second, the experience of making oneself understood and of being understood, owing to the traditions of speaking, reinforces the feeling of belonging to a linguistic and cultural community: speakers consider the present practice of those traditions as an activity that strengthens a community and in the process their own identity as group members.

2.3 Central features of traditions

The concept of the norm as a tradition can be enriched by the features of traditionality that have been elaborated in Romance linguistics and philology (Lebsanft/ Schrott 2015, 24–26, 29–31). In general, traditions convey cultural knowledge and practices; they are shaped by the interplay between individual innovations and the acceptance of cultural communities. In the context of Romance linguistics, the works of Ramón Menéndez Pidal offer a still topical and relevant view of traditions

and traditionality. Menéndez Pidal defines tradition as "trasmisión de conocimientos y prácticas con interés social o colectivo" ([9]1991 [1942], 458) and understands language use as the most traditional activity of human beings (Lebsanft/Schrott 2015, 24s.). For Menéndez Pidal, the concept of tradition explains changes in the language system as well as changes in the cultural traditions of speaking. In his view, language change is a social and cultural process molded by individual speakers. Individual acts of innovation at first exist as variations with optional character, i.e. the speakers can choose freely between them. If the speakers prefer one variation, this preference becomes a collective tendency that can turn into a tradition (Menéndez Pidal [8]1976 [1926], 526, 532, 544). It depends on historical and cultural contexts which option is chosen and finally becomes a norm, so that each tradition has its own history of interaction.

For Menéndez Pidal, the concept of traditionality cannot only be applied to language but also to particular text genres like the oral poetry of the Middle Ages (Lebsanft/Schrott 2015, 25–27). The texts of oral poetry go back to individual creations that are constantly modified and enriched with variations and transmitted as traditions by the cultural community (Menéndez Pidal [9]1991 [1942], 457). While the "fluid" traditionality of text types is valid only for specific literary genres, it holds true for many (non-literary) types of text and discourse like telling a story, telling a joke or making a compliment. Those types of discourse evolve in the interplay of individual innovation and adoption and are characterized by a richness of variation that gives them fluidity. The philological approach of Menéndez Pidal has the merit to distinguish the central features of traditions: the tension between individual creativity and the community that functions as an emergent system that constantly stabilizes and modifies traditions. Hence, the most relevant categories for the description of traditions are stability and conspicuousness, variation and the fact of being part of a more comprehensive structure.

The stability of a norm largely depends on the size of the community that applies a certain tradition. In general, traditions performed by a large number of speakers change gradually and slowly, whereas in smaller communities, an innovation is more easily adopted and leads to more variation and change in traditions (Menéndez Pidal [9]1991 [1942], 459). This is a general guideline for all types of tradition, however, there is a substantial difference between linguistic traditions and discourse traditions. Linguistic communities – the speakers of Spanish, German or English – normally encompass more members than the communities that are held together by the performance of certain discourse traditions. Therefore, discourse traditions are usually more accessible to variation and change as innovations can make their way more easily in the smaller groups that practice a specific discourse tradition.

Furthermore, the degree of firmness is closely linked to the number of variations a certain tradition offers: the more stable a tradition is, the smaller the number of variations. Variations that become accepted by a majority of speakers can change

a tradition. The acceptance of a variation depends on its status in the community. In the case of linguistic traditions, what counts is the status of a variety in the architecture of a language, e.g. the prestige of a diatopic, diastratic, diaphasic, or diamesic variety (Koch/Oesterreicher [2]2011, 15–18). In the case of discourse traditions, the status is defined inside the cultural system of norms, e.g. in the system of verbal politeness or in the "communicative household" of a society (Luckmann 1988, 282; 1997, 12–14).

A third feature of traditions is the fact that they are often part of a bigger structure. It is evident that linguistic traditions are part of the language system as a complex unit of structures and paradigms. However, many discourse traditions are also part of a bigger unit, even if this relatedness is not as systematically traceable as the language system. Thus, discourse traditions can be seen as part of the "communicative household" of a cultural community and are structured and ordered by that household (Luckmann 1997, 12–14). The different degree of systematicity between the linguistic traditions of a language and the cultural traditions of a certain domain of discourse can be illustrated by the following example. If a German businesswoman wants to negotiate a contract with partners in Argentina in Spanish, she has to master a large part of the linguistic traditions of the Spanish language system in order to obtain a successful negotiation. She must have the language system, at least a large part of this system, at her disposal. If she has only rudimentary knowledge of the linguistic traditions, the conversation will not take place. On the other hand, if the businesswoman has a solid knowledge of Spanish but is not familiar with the discourse traditions that guide verbal interaction in Argentina, she may encounter difficulties. Nonetheless, it is still likely that she will be able to entertain a conversation and negotiate successfully with her partners. In order to fulfill the judgment of correctness on the level of the language system, the speaker needs a profound knowledge of the language system and has to master a large part of the linguistic traditions (Coseriu 1988, 89). On the level of discourse traditions, it is certainly helpful if a speaker is able to master with confidence the communicative household of discourse traditions as a whole. However, more often than not, it is sufficient to master the discourse traditions that apply in a specific situation in order to act according to the judgment of adequacy (Coseriu 1988, 89). In other words: linguistic knowledge is a linguistic competence defined by the traditions of a linguistic community, whereas discourse traditions are a competence that is defined by the different communicative situations and the competences they require.

3 Norms and traditions of verbal politeness

Many techniques of verbal politeness can be explained in the context of linguistic and cultural traditionality. A classic example in the field of linguistic pragmatics are utterances of the type *Could you please pass the bread?* which function as a

polite request. The core question is how this well-known communicative routine can be described in the meshing of language and culture. Based on Eugenio Coseriu's concept of the system of a language as a form of cultural competence, we raise the question whether such routines belong to the linguistic traditions of a language or whether this technique is to be seen as a cultural discourse tradition.

3.1 Questions as polite requests

Questions of the type *Could you please pass the bread?* function in many languages and cultures as polite requests. They are realized with interrogative structures, i.e. with the structure that is most closely linked with the speech act of asking a question. The use of questions as polite requests can be explained by the illocutionary profile of the question act. A question like *Who is the next plenary speaker?* implies a knowledge deficit on the part of the speaker and sends a signal to the interlocutor that the speaker expects them to fill the epistemic gap. A central feature of questions is that they are highly activating – the speaker wants the addressee to do something for him. But at the same time, questions do not name the action that is expected. The speaker does not verbalize the action, he simply lays open his knowledge deficit in the hope or expectation that the cooperative partner will fill the gap (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 2001, 84–86). If we look at directives or volitions, which are often attained by imperatives, the technique is different. A volition like *Please tell me who the next plenary speaker is* explicitly names the desired action. Thus, questions and volitions both possess a highly activating illocutionary force but have a different degree of explicitness (Schrott 2014, 13–16, 18s.).[5]

Questions functioning as polite requests are frequently used in many languages and cultures, for example in German, Spanish, French and English.[6] In these languages, questions functioning as polite requests are a communicative routine that is highly conventionalized (Coulmas 1981, 13). Utterances like *¿Puedes pasarme el pan, por favor?* or *Tu pourrais me passer le pain, s'il te plaît?* are questions that function as requests. These requests have an attenuated, polite character. In the following, we refer to polite requests that are accomplished with question acts as "directive questions", i.e. as questions that have an affinity to the speech act type of the directive or volition (Escandell Vidal 1999, 3375–3376). Directive questions seem to give options between a positive and a negative answer (Lakoff 1973, 298;

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5 For the discussion concerning the relation between questions and volitions see Searle (1969, 66s.) who categorizes the question as a subtype of the directive, and Schrott (2014, 14–16) who gives arguments in favor of a clearer distinction between questions and volitions. For the concept of the indirect speech act used in order to explain directive questions, see Searle (1979, 43–48).
6 See Brown/Levinson (1987, 132–142) for directive questions as a technique of verbal politeness in English, Kerbrat-Orecchioni (2001, 33–52, 85) for the polite request in French; the use of "preguntas directivas" in Spanish is discussed by Escandell Vidal (1999, 3975–3978) and Briz (2004, 76).

Leech 1983, 108, 132). It is clear that in the case of the conventionalized polite request, the option given is more fiction than fact. Nevertheless, a question like *Kannst du mir (bitte) das Brot geben?* does not explicitly impose the action on the interlocutors but suggests that they themselves will infer the illocutionary value of the request. In spite of the conventionalized character, the optionality of the question is not entirely lost, as questions of this type are exclusively realized with interrogative structures that have the strongest elective affinity to the speech act of question. The implicitness of the volition expresses respect for the addressee's autonomy and therefore functions as a technique of verbal politeness.[7] This optionality does not exist in volitions like *Pásame el pan* that explicitly name the desired action and refer to the addressee as a person who has to execute the speaker's will.

3.2 Polite requests as a discourse tradition

After presenting directive questions as a communicative routine, the next step takes us to the tripartite model of linguistic pragmatics: the aim is to get a precise idea of the rules or traditions that characterize this routine. As we find this routine in a lot of languages, it may seem plausible that this is a universal rule or principle of language use. However, studies in intercultural pragmatics have shown that directive questions are not used as routines of verbal politeness in all languages,[8] and we can exclude the status of a universal rule that would exist in all languages and cultures.[9] Therefore, the central question is to decide whether the type *Could you bring us some coffee?* is a linguistic tradition that exists in different languages or a discourse tradition that exists as a norm of politeness in several cultural communities.

Polite requests like *¿Puedes pasarme el pan?* consist of linguistic structures that form part of the linguistic traditions of various languages: the interrogative structures are the linguistic material on which the routine is based. However, the selection of this material is guided by cultural norms. With respect to our model of linguistic pragmatics and its subdivision into two types of traditionality, we can conclude that the directive question does not belong to the linguistic traditions of specific languages but is to be seen as a widespread discourse tradition that is used in several languages. The directive question is a discourse tradition and a norm that selects specific linguistic structures – namely, interrogative structures. As a routine, the polite request is culturally determined and belongs to a set of discourse tradi-

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7 For the functioning of polite requests in the context of face and face-work see Brown/Levinson (1987, 61–63, 65–74, 102, 130–132).

8 Wierzbicka (2003, 32–37; 2010, 50–52) points out that polite requests of the type *Can you pass the salt?* are significantly less used in Polish and Russian, as optionality is a less important value in these speaker communities. On Polish see also Ogiermann (2012, 43–45).

9 Wierzbicka (2003, 203s.; 2010, 50–52), Schrott (2014, 14–16).

tions that constitute the techniques of verbal politeness in a cultural space that encompasses various languages.

How can we link the directive question to the system of norms and judgments (Table 2) that distinguishes general rules, linguistic traditions and discourse traditions and, along with them, the judgments of congruency, correctness and appropriateness? As a cultural technique, the directive question is exclusively achieved with interrogative structures and thus specializes in a very specific set of linguistic traditions. The usage of the interrogative structures respects the norms of linguistic correctness, and there is no conflict or tension between discourse traditions and linguistic traditions. However, the concept of realizing a request with a question that supports the fiction of a free choice between different options could be seen as a violation of the cooperative principle and its maxims, especially with the *Maxim of Manner* and its norms of perspicacity that banish ambiguity (Grice 1989, 27). If we consider fictional optionality as a possible source of ambiguity, the discourse tradition of the polite request could be in conflict with the general rules of language use. The fact that directive questions are rarely ambiguous is due to the extreme conventionalization of this technique which ensures the clarity of the speech act: Here, conventionality is the antidote to ambiguity.

4 Norms and traditions of narration

The passing of time and actions in the past are extralinguistic phenomena which are expressed in texts through linguistic structures. In many ways, the linguistic structures of different languages – their tense and aspect systems – are not only a reflection of real events, but also an interpretation of the events: speakers can choose between different tenses and aspects and can form the past in different ways. At the same time, speakers can also opt for different techniques of narrating the past: they can depict events in their chronological order or change the sequence of events. Therefore, narrations are a domain where linguistic traditions – like tenses and aspects – and discourse traditions – in this case: cultural techniques of narration – are closely interwoven. The following case study refers to different traditions of narration in French that make use of the tense-aspect system in a creative way.

4.1 *Passé simple* and *imparfait* in narrative structures

On the level of linguistic traditions the French past tense system is characterized by the opposition between perfective and imperfective aspect. The perfective aspect presents actions as limited in time with a clear beginning and/or ending. For this reason, the perfective aspect is the ideal form when it comes to expressing sequen-

tial events. In contrast to this, the imperfective aspect presents a past event as being in progress in a past situation. The event belongs to the past, it clearly has a beginning and an end but those limits in time are blanked out and the focus is on the action in progress. In French, the imperfective aspect is conveyed by the *imparfait*, whereas the perfective aspect is expressed by the *passé simple* and in some contexts by the *passé composé*. In written literary texts, which we analyze here, the *passé simple* and the *imparfait* are used as aspectually marked forms that represent the opposition between perfective and imperfective aspect. In light of our model of linguistic pragmatics, the perfective and imperfective aspect are to be considered as linguistic traditions of the French language. In order to comply with the judgment of correctness, the speakers have to use the verbal forms according to their aspectual profiles.[10] The following example illustrates how temporal outlines are shaped and transformed by both forms:

> "Après un peu d'attente au bout d'un couloir, un vieillard bien mis, frais comme un gardon, s'était présenté au bras d'une nurse. Gloire l'avait embrassé. Mademoiselle, avait dit le vieillard, vous êtes absolument charmante mais je ne crois pas que nous ayons encore été présentés. La nurse en arrière-plan *secouait* la tête. Tiens, papa, avait dit Gloire, je t'ai apporté du cognac. La nurse en arrière-plan *secoua* la tête dans l'autre sens" (Jean Echenoz, *Les grandes blondes*, Paris, Minuit 1995, p. 85).

Gloire pays a visit to her father who lives in a retirement home. The text describes how the nurse shakes her head two times: the first time, the shaking of the head is expressed with imperfective aspect, the second time with perfective aspect. Both actions are not identical. The imperfective aspect expresses that the nurse is already shaking her head when the old man welcomes Gloire without recognizing her. In contrast to that relation of simultaneousness, the use of the perfective aspect works out a different temporal setting: when the nurse hears Gloire say that she brought her father cognac, her reaction is to shake her head in disapproval. The perfective aspect, its nuance of a starting action, makes all the difference and demonstrates that we have a succession of events. The shaking of the head is a reaction that follows Gloire's words.

After illustrating the different temporal contours of perfective and imperfective aspect, the follow-up question is how both aspects function in narration. First of all, narrative structures can be defined as text units that express a sequence of events in time: one event happens after the other in chronological order. Analyses of narrative texts clearly show that the perfective aspect is the ideal candidate for expressing sequences in time whereas the imperfective *imparfait* cannot establish chronological order. The reason is that the perfective aspect presents actions as limited in time and these limits offer the basis for a consecutive sequence of events.

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10 The opposition of perfective and imperfective aspect is commented upon by Togeby (1982, 318–320), Becker (2010a, 83–86, 92), and Schrott (2011, 140–142, 145–147).

The following text offers a typical example of a narrative sequence built by perfective forms:

> "Kastner *s'endormit* assez rapidement. Il *s'éveilla* très vite aussi, deux heures plus tard, se *tourna* deux fois dans son lit sans trouver le sommeil, *ralluma* le plafonnier puis *tenta* de reprendre un ouvrage de science fiction dont les tenants lui échappaient encore plus que les aboutissants" (Jean Echenoz, *Les grandes blondes*, Paris, Minuit 1995, p. 13).

The example shows that the linguistic tradition used for narration in French is the perfective aspect and that the *passé simple* is the right choice if we want to express sequence in time.

4.2 The *imparfait narratif* as a discourse tradition

However, the tradition that the perfective aspect and hence the *passé simple* is used to establish sequences of actions in time is contradicted by narrative texts in which we have good reason to expect the *passé simple* but are confronted with the *imparfait* instead:

> "Cela fait il *retira* d'un placard une couverture qu'il *étendit* sur le canapé avant de se glisser dessous en compagnie d'un ouvrage intitulé *How to disappear completely and never be found* (Doug Richmond, Citadel Press, New York, 1994). Mais à peine avait-il ouvert ce livre qu'il le *refermait*, *pressait* l'interrupteur, et six secondes plus tard il *dormait*" (Jean Echenoz, *Les grandes blondes*, Paris, Minuit 1995, p. 48).

At the beginning of this example, the subsequent actions are expressed by the *passé simple*, as is to be expected.[11] Yet, at the end of the text, three actions that make sense only as sequential actions are realized with the imperfective *imparfait* (*refermait*, *pressait*, *dormait*): Salvador closes the book, switches off the light and falls asleep. This interpretation as a sequence is contrary to the aspectual semantics of the *imparfait* that cannot be used for sequences in time. At first glance, the use of the *imparfait* could be understood as an incorrect use of the imperfective form that violates the linguistic traditions of the language system. However, this is not the case. The explanation is that the *imparfait* in the last example represents a technique invented in the early 19th century that consists of using the *imparfait* in narrative sequences in which it was hitherto not accepted. This use provokes an effect of semantic collision that changed the routines of narration in the 19th century. The so-called *imparfait narratif* had – and still has – the effect of creating a contrast between an imperfective aspect that suppresses the temporal limits of an action and

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11 For the characterization of the *passé simple* and its use in narration see Togeby (1982, 319), Becker (2010b, 19–21), and Schrott (2011, 145–147).

a context dominated by a chronological structure that claims a perfective form.[12] Therefore, the *imparfait narratif* bares no change in the aspectual system but in the technique of narration (Blumenthal 1986, 102; Bres 2005, 9, 31–49; Schrott 2011, 160s.). Instead of reinforcing the given chronological structure with a perfective form, the text structure is revolutionized with an imperfective form that dissolves the chronological order and creates a new technique of narration.

The case study of the *imparfait narratif* shows how linguistic and discourse traditions interact and how this interaction changes the norms of narration. The *imparfait narratif* is a discourse tradition that uses the imperfective aspect in a way that contradicts the norms of the aspect system and the opposition of the perfective and imperfective aspect. However, this violation of the aspect system is justified by the produced effect, which helps to create a new technique of narration. On a more abstract level, the case of the *imparfait narratif* shows that in the system of norms – general rules, discourse traditions and linguistic traditions – the correctness of the linguistic traditions can be overruled by discourse traditions as a cultural technique. Thus, the *imparfait narratif* confirms the finding that discourse traditions can override linguistic correctness by creating new traditions of language use.

5 Conclusion

The concept of tradition is essential for linguistic pragmatics as language use follows two traditions: the linguistic traditions of languages and the discourse traditions that characterize the cultural groups in which interactions take place. If we understand language as a dynamic system and as an activity, the norms of language and language use are essentially dynamic. In this light, norms are not only rooted in traditions or shaped by traditions, they *are* the traditions that guide verbal interaction. The concept of tradition has the advantage of widening the conceptional scope of norms, and it also shows that norms can have very different degrees of complexity, ranging from a simple communicative routine to a complex narrative structure.

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12 This effect is described by Togeby (1982, 341–345), Blumenthal (1986, 49–51), Pollak (²1988, 124–144), and Weinrich (⁶2001, 135–140, 144–146).

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Felix Tacke
6 Linguistic Norm in Cognitive Linguistics

Abstract: This chapter gives an overview of the conception(s) of linguistic normativity in Cognitive Linguistics (CL) and the contributions of CL to the study of normativity on the level of language use (discourse). While normativity has never been a central concern of CL, it is most relevant – though in quite different ways – for both cognitive semantics and cognitive grammar models. The concept of sign of those grammar models is based on the assumption that the linguistic units which constitute a language do not only exist as entrenched units in speakers' minds but also as conventional units by virtue of being shared in a speech community. Cognitive semantics, on the other hand, is most relevant in the field of cognitive language criticism (*Sprachkritik*) and its application to the analysis of public discourse ("political correctness", "gender-neutral language").

Keywords: Generative Grammar, Cognitive Grammar, language criticism, conventionality, entrenchment, grammaticality, political correctness, prescriptivism, categorization, framing theory

1 Introduction

Within the paradigm of cognitive linguistics (CL), the question of linguistic norm(s) or normativity has only recently been raised. Even though CL was developed in the 1970s in opposition to the then dominating Chomskyan linguistics, it inherited the general idea that linguistics as a science had to be strictly descriptive and that questions of normativity did not constitute a proper concern of linguistic research. In this sense, Itkonen (2008, 302) duly asks why there has been "such a pronounced inclination to ignore the ineluctably normative character of language?" However, while it is only recently that attention has been dedicated explicitly to the role of normativity within a so-called "social turn", a closer look at the very premises the linguistic theory of CL, especially its concept of sign, reveals that it exhibits, right from the start, a social conception of language and usage that integrates normativity in a fundamental way. In this sense, the classic notion of conventionality has been adopted and further developed by cognitive approaches to language. It constitutes a cornerstone not only of cognitive semantics (*conventional meaning*) but also of cognitive grammar models (linguistic constructions as *conventional[ized] linguistic units*). Moreover, cognitive semantics has proven to be of particular relevance to language criticism (*Sprachkritik*), i.e. the practice of evaluating and sanctioning language use in discourse. In this context, the concepts of cognitive semantics shed light not only on the potentially manipulative strategies behind political discourse but also on the debates of "political correctness" and feminist language criticism.

Though normativity has not been subject to much (explicit) theorizing within the (heterogeneous) framework of CL, this chapter aims at presenting the essential proposals that have been put forward in this regard and at highlighting those aspects that seem of special importance within the domain of language standardization. After contextualizing CL within general linguistics and with regard to European theory development (section 2), I will give a general account of normativity within CL (section 3), before providing a more detailed portrayal of the notion of conventionality on which cognitive grammar models and general cognitive language theory are based (section 4). Finally, I will outline the important contribution of cognitive semantics to the domain of language criticism (section 5).

2 Contextualizing Cognitive Linguistics

Throughout the 20th century, the basic assumptions concerning the concept of language have been quite different depending on the theoretic framework in question. While Saussure and European structuralism considered language as a *fait social*, Chomsky's theory conceived it as a purely cognitive phenomenon situated in the brain. Hence, generative grammar being the dominant linguistic theory within general linguistics for decades, language has not been conceived as a socially grounded practice. Instead, investigation drew mainly on the linguist's introspection assuming an ideal speaker-listener. The object of study was then limited to the speaker's *competence*.

As a reaction to the generative paradigm that focused on formal properties of language, the theories that evolved from it have ever more emphasized the primordial role of semantics with meaning deriving "from embodied human experience" (Langacker 2008, 28; cf. Conceptual Metaphor Theory since Lakoff/Johnson 1980) and on the assumption that linguistic structure emerges through interaction (cf., e.g., Harris 1993). Widely ignoring post-Saussurean European linguistics, the emergence of CL is therefore sometimes considered a return to a socially grounded language conception, "a recontextualizing approach" (Geeraerts 2016, 530). Yet, looking beyond North American general linguistics and considering other branches of linguistics, particularly the theoretical and methodological perspective of Romance linguistics where generative grammar never came to be the only theoretical framework, it might be surprising that a "recontextualization" was necessary in the first place. Here, a whole series of pragmatic models have developed over the 20th century. Among others:[1]

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1 Likewise, the paradigm of *linguistic psychology* (*Sprachpsychologie*), developed within European comparative linguistics at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century and based on the psychological premises of that period, has not been taken into account by American CL. In this case, however, this is mostly due to European structuralism, which, during its emergence as the

- Benveniste's *linguistique de l'énonciation*, which emerged from Saussurean structuralism and focused on the interactional level – the context – of the *parole*;
- Coseriu's comprehensive language theory (2007 [1988]) that considers language in Humboldtian terms as a product (*ergon*) that constantly emerges through usage (*energeia*);
- Coseriu's theory of contexts (*entornos* 'environments', 1955/1956; cf. Aschenberg 1999)
- Coseriu's influential notion of *norm* that describes the collective, traditional instantiation of a language as a level between the language as a system of expressive possibilities (*system*) and the level of individual utterances (*speech*) (1952; ↗3).

However, even within its own historical and epistemological context, CL has not been the "recontextualization" of language all at once. Classical works in CL have focused on general grammatical description under its cognitive premises rather than on aspects of interaction, variation or society (cf. Langacker 1987, 62, and, in retrospective, Dąbrowska 2016). Hence, despite its presumably usage-based approach opposed to Chomskyan linguistics, early CL tended to "describe the linguistic competence of the abstract idealized speaker of a language (predominantly English)" (Divjak/Levshina/Klavan 2016, 451) and neglected the assumed social and interactional nature of language usage.

Still, it should be differentiated between the theoretical and descriptive potential of the framework(s) on the one hand and the research interests and subsequent theoretical and methodological elaborations in actual practice on the other hand. In response to this obvious gap between descriptive potential and investigative practice, a series of propositions for a "social turn" echoed within CL. Geeraerts (2016, 536) calls it a return "to the pre-Chomskyan Saussurean conception of language as a social semiotic", while the usage-based character of CL would reverse the "Saussurean and structuralist emphasis on *langue*, as an internally homogeneous system in favor of *parole* as intrinsically varied".[2] As of today, there are two comparable yet different directions coming up: 1) *Cognitive Sociolinguistics* (cf. the key volumes by Kristiansen/Dirven 2008; Geeraerts/Kristiansen/Peirsman 2010; Pütz/Robinson/Reif 2014), drawing on Labov's variationist sociolinguistics and fo-

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dominating European paradigm in the first half of the 20th century, interrupted any further development of (and interest in) the cognitive principles governing language. For a more comprehensive overview of the development of European *Sprachpsychologie* cf. Tacke (in print).

2 Again, it becomes obvious by these statements that general linguistics is developing quite independently from the above-mentioned post-Saussurean theoretical developments, particularly those that took place within European philologies. The notions of linguistic norm developed within the Prague School and in later frameworks, e.g. the one proposed by Hjelmslev (1942), cf. Bartsch (1982; 1987) and, for a more detailed study, the accounts given in previous chapters.

cusing mainly on varieties, variants and the study of corresponding language attitudes as their cognitive representation; 2) *Social Cognitive Linguistics* (cf., e.g., Croft 2009) studying how linguistic knowledge is shaped through interaction (for an overview of recent trends, cf. Divjak/Levshina/Klavan 2016).

3 Normativity and (Cognitive) Linguistics

For decades, linguistic normativity simply didn't constitute a proper object of study because "there was assumed to be a chasm between *ought* and *is*, such that science could only address questions of what *is*, while talk of what ought to be was unscientific" (Harder 2010, 278). In order to understand this reductionist conception of linguistics, it is necessary to define cognitive linguistics' most important concepts and its terminology against the background of their historical predecessors. In this sense, Chomsky's distinction between *competence* and *performance* and the emphasis put on the former is of utmost importance. The concept of performance being reduced to the sheer realization of the speaker's competence, deviation from competence is conceived in terms of "errors" and performance by itself merely as a possible source of errors. Linguistic competence, situated in the brains of ideal – homogenously conceived – speakers and listeners, thus constitutes the central object of study. Based on it, Chomsky (1957) introduced the notion of *grammaticality*. However, when linguistic interaction is only taken into account between an ideal speaker and an ideal listener, deviations or errors, that is, *agrammatical sentences*, can only occur when the homogenously conceived linguistic competence is not yet fully developed (as during language acquisition) or damaged (e.g., language disorders). Against this background, grammaticality judgments assess simply whether a linguistic utterance – the basic unit in generative studies being the sentence – conforms with the grammatical rules of a given language (*well-formedness*). As a consequence, grammaticality is more of an analytical concept, exempted from any social implication, aimed at the study of how "grammatical" sentences are generated. Grammaticality being originally limited to formal aspects, the gradient notion of *acceptability* was only introduced at a later point to describe judgments based on the – semantic (and pragmatic) – permissibility of an utterance (cf. Lyons 1968). However, no clear-cut distinction is made between judgments regarding particular languages and speech in general as can be seen in the case of Chomsky's famous example *Colorless green ideas sleep furiously* (Chomsky 1957, 15) used to prove the alleged independence of syntax from semantics. Yet, while the utterance applies correctly the grammatical rules of English, it does not conform to the requirements of speech in general, i.e. to be semantically and pragmatically *coherent*.[3]

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3 It is, however, not impossible to interpret the utterance in a meaningful sense (cf. Langacker 2008, 190). Cf. the discussion of these notions in Coseriu (2007 [1988], 49–55).

CL inherited the general idea that linguistics as a science had to be strictly descriptive and that questions of normativity did not constitute a proper concern of linguistic research. However, at least theoretically, the social dimension of language has been taken into account from the start by the distinction between *entrenchment* and *conventionality* (cf. section 4). While questions of normativity were of no immediate concern for cognitive semantics (see below), general cognitive linguistic theory and grammar models are based on the notion of *conventionality*. Following Langacker's (1987; 2008) comprehensive account, conventionality can be defined both in terms of a continuity and a break with the generative idea of *grammaticality*. On the one hand, it draws on grammaticality to the extent that linguistic expressions are assessed in terms of *well-formedness*. On the other hand, it breaks with the generative idea: instead of focusing on the "sentence" as the central unit of linguistic production and limiting it to aspects of form, the "degree of conventionality" is defined as a matter of speaker judgment about "how closely [an expression] conforms to linguistic convention, in all its aspects and dimensions" (1987, 66). Langacker therefore adopts the term *conventionality* in "preference to the standard term 'grammaticality' (which is both narrow and problematic)" (ib.), although he keeps mentioning the latter as a synonym and a reference term in later works (cf., e.g., Langacker 2008, *passim*).

The term *conventional* is quite common in linguistics and could thus be considered a natural choice.[4] Nevertheless, it also indicates the adherence of CL to the concepts of *conventional meaning* developed within the influential paradigm of ordinary language philosophy (cf., e.g., its definitions in the works of Strawson 1964 and Grice 1975). But above all, the concept draws on the definition given by David Lewis, for whom *convention* "is not a normative term" since it does not contain any "normative terms" (Lewis 2002 [1969], 97; cf. also Riesenfeld 2010; Peregrin 2012) such as *ought*, *should*, *good* and others. Hence, against the background of the reluctance of linguistics to deal with aspects of prescriptive normativity (cf., e.g., Pinker 2008 [1994], 371; ↗7), coupled with the fact that CL has developed its ideas and terminology primarily upon the concept of convention, this choice of words comes as no surprise.[5]

It is therefore through the concept of conventionality that aspects of normativity are, if not as a main research interest, at least theoretically taken into account even within the paradigm of cognitive semantics. In this sense, Geeraerts (2010b) refers to the fact that "the relevance of a sociocultural perspective becomes clear if we consider the role of convention in the constitution of lexical categories" which he

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4 Cf., e.g., the use of *conventional* and *conventionalized* in Bloomfield (1973 [1933]).

5 Note, however, that recent "social" accounts (see above) also include prescriptive normativity in their accounts. While Langacker seems to differentiate terminologically between *conventions* ("is") and *norms* ("ought"), the latter term is often used to designate the former in those frameworks (e.g. Harder 2003; 2010).

exemplifies by the culturally divergent extension of the category 'fruit'. While categories are semantically schematic abstractions that are cognitively grounded, the links that tie the category to certain social customs such as fruits being used as desserts (i.e., the frames evoked by the concept 'fruit') are socioculturally specific. Accordingly, Geeraerts (2010b, 253) points out that the cherry tomato is, by convention, considered a fruit in China. Yet, in CL, there's still no "theory of semantic norms and conventions" (ib., 258) in place. Nevertheless, referring to Putnam's rigid designation theory and Bartsch's comprehensive account of normativity, Geeraerts sees at least the potential for such a model. The most important contribution of Putnam's (1975) account of knowledge lies in its differentiation between "societal experts" and "laymen": not all members of a speech community have the same knowledge of things. In this perspective, speaking about objects only requires knowledge of the "stereotype" connected to the category in question. The meanings linguistic expressions evoke cognitively might only be homogeneous within a speech community insofar that there is "a common central reading [i.e., a prototype or a stereotype; F.T.] plus rules of semantic extension [e.g., metaphor, metonymy, blending, etc.; F.T.]". Anything beyond it is less evenly distributed depending "on the specific circumstances of the individual's linguistic history" (Geeraerts 2010b, 255; cf. also Schmid 2014; 2015; 2016).

Beyond the domain of socioculturally defined conventions about the meaning of expressions shared by the members of a speech community, Bartsch's theory of linguistic norms (1987) regards normativity from a communicative point of view putting discourse at the center of interest. Making the distinction between lower norms and the highest norm of communication, reminiscent of Grice's cooperative principle theory, Bartsch defines linguistic norms in terms of the ultimate communicative purpose of communication:

> "All specific linguistic norms are justified relative to the highest norm of communication, which is: 'Express yourself in such a way that what you say is recognizable and interpretable by your partner in agreement with what you intend him to understand'. And, correspondingly, for the hearer it is: 'Interpret such that the interpretation will be in agreement with what the speaker intends'" (Bartsch 1987, 212).

Obviously, the activity of speaking and interpreting – processes that are cognitive in nature – is "not arbitrary", but again, at least to a certain degree, "constrained by a shared agreement about the communicative value of the linguistic means of expression" (Geeraerts 2010b, 257). In this sense, "the hearer will only be able to reconstruct the speaker's intentions adequately if he is familiar with the value that the speaker attaches to the means of expression that he employs" (ib.), the latter, i.e. the meanings of individual words, pertaining to the "lower linguistic norms". Bartsch's conception of the relation between lower norms and the highest norm in terms of a hierarchy accounts for the possibility of infringements on lower norms. In the same way, Coseriu (2007 [1988], 121–127) describes the fact that norms pertain-

ing to the level of individual languages might be infringed upon in discourse as long as the hearer is able to interpret the overall utterance as "coherent".

4 Language, grammar and conventionality

General linguistics is oriented towards grammar models that tend to equate "language" and "grammar", the latter being the essence of the former. Linguistic theory is, first and foremost, the theory of grammar; understanding the grammar of a language is understanding how the language works. Among the most comprehensive theoretical frameworks associated with CL are those being called *Construction Grammar* (Fillmore/Kay/O'Connor 1988; Goldberg 1995 and 2006; Croft 2001; for an overview cf. Evans/Green 2006 and Croft 2007), and Talmy's *Cognitive Semantics* (2000), while the most influential theory today, both in terms of diffusion and comprehensiveness, is undoubtedly Langacker's *Cognitive Grammar* (1987; 2008) (CG). These theories are related in that they see grammar as a structured whole of meaningful expressions called *linguistic units* (CG) or *constructions* (construction grammar in general) which are conceived as form-meaning-pairs ranging from morphemes to complex syntactic schemas. The symbolic link that binds forms and meanings is thus not limited to the lexicon. In this nonmodular view, grammar is a mental inventory of linguistic units that "reside in patterns of neural activation" (Langacker 2008, 228). The gradient notion of *entrenchment* serves in this context to apprehend the status of linguistic expressions as established mental routines in order to assess the likeliness of their cognitive activation, i.e. their status as more or less fixed units that pertain to the linguistic knowledge of individual speakers (see Langacker 1987, 59s.; Geeraerts/Grondelaers/Bakema 1994; Schmid 2007). Abstracting away from the individual to the collective level, the equally gradient notion of *conventionality* refers to the status of linguistic expressions as intersubjectively established units, that is, within a speech community. In this sense, in order to be considered conventional, linguistic units "may be shared by an entire speech community" or "by a substantial subgroup (e.g. the speakers within a dialect area, or the members of a profession), or by a mere handful of people" (Langacker 1987, 62). Both entrenchment and conventionality are, in such a way, at the core of cognitive linguistics' theorizing:

> "The regularities that we reify and collectively refer to as 'a language' consist of conventional linguistic units. They are 'units' in the sense of being entrenched cognitive routines, and 'conventional' by virtue of representing established linguistic practice in a certain speech community. These conventional units embody the rules of a language and the restrictions imposed on its expressions" (Langacker 2008, 218).

Recently, within the above-mentioned development of *Social Cognitive Linguistics*, some authors, most notably Harder (2003; 2010; 2014) but also Geeraerts (2010a;

2016) and Schmid (2014; 2015; 2016), have revisited the question of linguistic norm(s) as part of the broader discussion about the dialectic relationship between the level of individual usage events (the speakers) and the collective level of the linguistic structure or "the system" (the speech community). To this end, Harder explicitly adopts Saussure's notion of *langue*, which he conceives as an "institutionalized object" (in the sense of Searle 1995) consisting "of myriad separate sub-norms with widely different degrees of latitude" (2003, 72). As a result, the notion of language proposed by Harder is, to a certain extent, dissociated from the idea that languages consist of both abstract functional entities in the structuralist sense and historical norms that restrict the possibilities of their instantiation: "If the language system is a feature of the sociocultural environment, it can be no more abstract than the actual mechanisms that are relevant in that environment" (Harder 2010, 271). It follows that "linguistic systems tend to have roughly that degree of abstraction which is functional for speakers" (ib.). In sum, social approaches like Harder's conceive language rather as a set of norms – what Coseriu (1952, 32) called "normal system" – that indicate "the boundaries within which variation is possible" (2003, 72; cf. also Geeraerts 2010a who further emphasizes on the internal social variation within the community), while the underlying system – Coseriu's "functional system" – has no special ontological status beyond these norms.

This section deals with the concept of conventionality. In this context, Langacker's seminal *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar* (1987) and his comprehensive synthesis (Langacker 2008) offer the most important contribution to the understanding of how conventionality can be defined in terms of cognitive processing. First, I will provide a sketch of Langacker's account of conventionality assessment (4.1). Secondly, I will describe its relation to the hardly theorized notion of "familiarity" (4.2). Finally, it will be shown in which way, at least in theory, the long neglected sociocultural dimension of prescriptive normativity can be integrated into that account (4.3).

4.1 Conventionality assessment

Conventionality is a matter of degree and its assessment a matter of speakers' and hearers' judgments. From the linguist's perspective, it is a matter of "describing the assessments speakers themselves supposedly make" (Langacker 2008, 227). Conventionality judgments are described in terms of categorization relationships: expressions are conceived and assessed in speakers' minds before being produced and ultimately seized and judged by hearers against the background of given conventional linguistic schemas. The degree of conventionality (or *well-formedness*) an expression exhibits is thus defined in terms of conformity to the conventional linguistic unit(s) invoked to sanction its usage (cf. Langacker 1987, 66 and below).

Technically, the assessment of conventionality concerns the speaker who assembles a symbolic expression in a given situation and context, which is called the
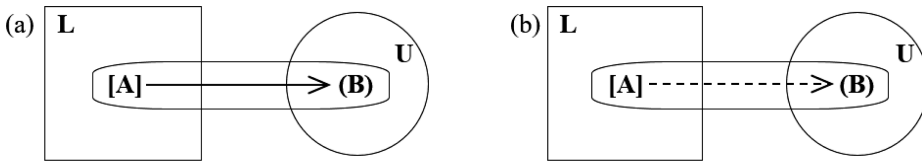
Fig. 1: The categorization relationships between a conventional unit [A] of a language (L) and a facet (B) of an utterance (U) (Langacker 2008, 223).

"target", from "a wealth of [conventional] symbolic resources to choose from in putting it together" (Langacker 1987, 66). Langacker refers to this process as a "problem-solving activity". Next, it regards the hearer who decodes and ultimately judges the utterance produced by the speaker. The question for both the speaker and the hearer is if, within a given usage event (U), the potential or actually uttered linguistic "target structure" constitutes an instantiation of an appropriate conventional symbolic structure (i.e. a unit) of that language (L) or if, and to what extent, it deviates from it.

Following Langacker, the symbolic resources invoked to sanction an expression's usage can comprise both, "(1) specified symbolic units (including morphemes, polymorphemic lexical items, and larger conventional expressions), and (2) established patterns, represented as schematic symbolic units for assembling complex symbolic structures out of simpler ones" (ib.). Figure 1 shows this in technical terms: the categorization relationship between a conventional[6] categorizing unit and a target structure is called one of *elaboration* (Figure 1a, solid arrow) if "the expression is perceived as conventional (*well-formed*) with respect to this particular facet of this structure" (Langacker 2008, 223). It is one of *extension* (Figure 1b, dashed arrow), when (B)'s manifestation of [A] is distorted and therefore "perceived as nonconventional (*ill-formed*) in this particular respect" (ib.).

Langacker's account allows to describe the assessment of conventionality in a detailed fashion because the above-mentioned conception of categorizing relationships reflects the fact that an expression can be fully conventional (called "full sanction" in Langacker 1987, 66) or conventional in all but a few specific structural aspects (also called "partial sanction"). In this context, Langacker conceives expressions as "structural descriptions" that may invoke numerous units, "representing elements of different sizes in the various dimensions of linguistic structure" (2008, 222). This means that the structural description of an expression subsumes, for instance, individual categorizing relationships with regard to its syntax, morphology,

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6 Strictly speaking, the categorizing unit is a linguistic unit that is *entrenched* while its conventionality is a matter of the speaker's knowledge about the conventions within a speech community. For a more consistent differentiation between individual *entrenchment* and collective *conventionality*, cf. Schmid (2015) and below.

phonology (including intonation), meaning and pragmatics, all of which can be perceived as conventional or nonconventional. Hence, even if certain properties of an expression are nonconventional in a given usage event, the expression as a whole, might, up to a certain degree of deviation, still be perceived as appropriate. As I mentioned before, appropriateness does not only entail the assessment of utterances in terms of their "correctness" regarding the use of conventional linguistic units, but also the level of discourse. Taking into account Bartsch's above-mentioned hierarchy of norms, the "appropriateness" of a chosen structure ultimately depends on its accordance with the highest norm of communication.

4.2 Conventionality and "familiarity"

Langacker's conception of conventionality accounts for the possibility of infringements:

> "Since we are always pushing the envelope in language use, stretching available resources to meet new linguistic challenges, a measure of nonconventionality is readily accepted if it is even noticed. Only the more blatant distortions are likely to attract attention and cause an expression to be judged 'ill-formed' or 'ungrammatical'" (Langacker 2008, 223).

As opposed to other frameworks, these two types of infringements – "minor" vs. "major deviances" – are rather intuitively differentiated. Cases of expressions judged blatantly nonconventional concern either those that don't pertain to the language at all, or, as an inheritance from formal generative linguistics, constructions that linguists – including Langacker – create for expository purposes to investigate the expressive possibilities and restrictions of a language.[7] Langacker (2008, 231), for instance, gives the example of *giraffe tall* as an instantiation of the English *ADJ+N* schema that allows a clear-cut nonconventionality judgment. More relevant from the perspective of linguistic normativity is, however, how CG deals with "border cases": expressions that are only nonconventional to some degree or that some speakers judge conventional and others nonconventional. In this context, it is important to note that there is no elaborate analytical distinction, in CG (or in construction grammar), between what Coseriu calls *system* and *norm* (↗3), that is, between (the structuralist conception of) the expressive possibilities provided by the language system on the one hand, and the conventionalized instantiations of these possibilities (patterns) that are "normally" or "traditionally" used within a speech

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7 Note, however, that Itkonen (2008, 302) argues against what he calls "the temptation to replace the (normative) 'correct vs. incorrect' distinction by the (non-normative) 'possible vs. impossible' distinction". Referring to a sentence judged "impossible" by Jackendoff (1994, 49s.), he states: "However, it is not only the case that this is a *possible* sentence of English. We see with our own eyes that it is also an *actual* sentence of English, namely *incorrect* English. It must be actual because (an exemplification of) it occurs in space and time".

community on the other hand. However, when illustrating cases of expressions that are nonconventional yet deliberately accepted by speakers as, for instance, novel expressions like *dollarless* (instantiating the English *N+less* schema) or of rarely used and thus widely unknown adjectives like *ireless*, Langacker not only describes them as nonconventional (though to a lesser degree) but also as "unfamiliar". Intuitively counting on this, the comedian Larry David humorously used the novel expression *dipless* in his opening monologue when hosting the popular show *Saturday Night Live* (NBC, 02/06/2016):

> "No one's ever even been to my house. If they did go, they'd find it extremely unpleasant. I don't put out snacks or dips. I can't remember the last time I had dip in my house. I have a *dipless* house".

Other typical examples that don't always allow for clear-cut speaker judgments concern irregular verbs as a diachronically dynamic field where conventionality, the general tendencies towards morphologic generalization, and the effect of codified and school-induced linguistic norms meet. Langacker (2008, 233) provides the example of *dived*, past tense of *dive*. It would be assessed as conventional if the assessing speaker invoked the regular pattern for past-tense marking as the categorizing unit, and nonconventional by speakers that invoke the less frequent (therefore "irregular") schema that demands *dove*. The past tense form *dove* is less frequently used than other irregular verb forms like *wrote*, *broke*, *drove*. Many speakers are unfamiliar with it and would thus be cautious about formulating a clear-cut non-conventionality judgment. In this sense, the concept of conventionality seems to be more inclined to describe the assessment of an expression's status with regard to the speech community, whereas (the barely defined concept of) familiarity emphasizes on the individual speaker's linguistic knowledge.

Linked to the notion of conventionality, "(un)familiarity" is, in such a way, introduced, yet not theorized, in order to account for four important facts:

a) natural languages exhibit more expressive options than those conventionally exploited within a speech community;

b) there is always the possibility of nonconventional instantiations of conventional patterns (like *dollarless* or *dipless*);[8]

c) the individual speakers' knowledge is not homogeneous and thus cannot be fully congruent – even in the case of learned speakers – with the set of conventional units that constitute a language on the community-level (like *ireless*);

d) language change is only conceivable in terms of extensions from both conventional and familiar usage patterns.

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8 Cf., in this sense, Croft (2001, 72) who notes with reference to Lewis (1969, 68–76) that "conventions are arbitrary to some degree, that is, there are alternatives to the convention adopted by the speech community".

	Saussure	Coseriu	CL
social / collective	*langue*	language system	language
		language norm	
individual	*parole*	speech	usage
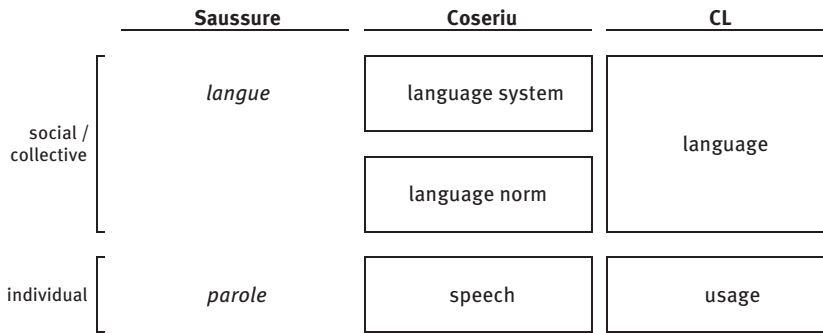
Fig. 2: Saussure's, Coseriu's, and CL's concepts of language according to their distinction between individual and social/collective facts.[9]

In sum, there is neither a systematic nor terminological distinction between a language system in the structuralist sense which is constituted by the expressive possibilities a language provides, and a concept of norm, situated on a lower level of abstraction, that subsumes the conventional ways of instantiating that system within a speech community. Figure 2 offers a necessarily simplistic comparison of CL's concept of language as a set of conventional units with the ones of Saussure and Coseriu (cf. section 2).

4.3 Conventionality and prescriptivism

While the notion of conventionality pertains to the conceptual core of CG (and CL in general), relatively little attention has been paid, in classical studies, to prescriptivism: the sociocultural category of linguistic "correctness" (or "exemplarity" in Coseriu's terminology) that relates expressions to a standard language or prestige variety, and its relevance to a speaker's conventionality assessment. Yet, the above-mentioned examples of irregular verbs show that school-induced prescriptive norms do in fact come into play within everyday language usage. Beyond their potential manifestation in explicit instruments of codification like those that have a long tradition in Romance languages (see the chapters of this book), they also "exist" in the form of cognitive representations of linguistic correctness (attitudes, ideologies). Furthermore, they are reflected, quite commonly, in uncertainty or *insecurity*[10] re-

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9 Note that Saussure's theory leaves it unclear where those (non-systematic or non-functional) linguistic facts that constitute the conventional patterns of speech within a community, i.e. the "normal realization" of the system (Coseriu's "language norm"), are to be situated in relation to the *lange/parole* dichotomy (cf. the broad discussion in Coseriu 1952). For this reason, the fields are left open with regard to one another.

10 The concept of *linguistic insecurity* goes back to the works of William Labov and has been theorized, most notably, within studies concerning French dialects since the 1970s (cf. the overview provided by Francard 1997).

garding the status of (competing) forms. In this sense, Langacker (2008, 233) gives an account of his own uncertainty:

> "I myself am uncertain about the past tense of *dive*: is it *dove* or *dived*? I know that both occur, and while I was taught the former in school, the latter seems more frequent. Although I accept both options, neither feels completely right, and if forced to produce the past-tense form of *dive* I might very well hesitate".

It is quite clear that the uncertainty of language users is caused by the existence of competing patterns and the dialectic relationship between conventionality based on actual usage and frequency of occurrence on the one hand (the "informal standard"[11]), and "correctness", i.e. an expression's sociolinguistic status (or what the speaker believes it to be) in relation to the respective (codified) standard variety on the other hand (the "formal standard").

Linguistic doubts resulting from the confrontation between forms that are frequent and those that are less frequent but taken to be "correct", are, of course, not limited to English. In German, irregular (once "correct") forms like *boll* (past-tense form of *bellen*) or *buk* (*backen*) have been or are being substituted by *bellte* and *backte*. Conversely, *frug* is considered by many speakers the older and thus "correct" form even though it only emerged in the 18th century as a hypercorrection, *fragte* being the historically "correct" inflection. The same is true for Romance languages. In Spanish, for example, past-tense forms like *⋆andé* and *⋆satisfació* (instead of *anduve* and *satisfizo*) or participles like *⋆deshacido* and *⋆posponido* (instead of *deshecho* and *pospuesto*) are becoming more frequent, even among educated speakers. Of course, doubts concern any kind of linguistic expressions that amount to the cognitive processes of categorization and schematization, not only verb patterns. In the domain of French phonology, for instance, the ever-declining use of *liaison* (articulation of a word-final consonant before a vowel-initial word) has been reevaluated in terms of a regularization-process towards *enchaînement* (resyllabification) (cf. Pierrehumbert 2001; Bybee 2001; 2005; 2007). Furthermore, within the same exemplar-based framework, Göhring (2017) has recently shed light on the equally complex phenomenon of *h aspiré* as another "vrai cas de doute linguistique" that is subject to variation and change.

Cases of competing phonological, morphological or syntactical patterns indicate an important point of confluence between CL and traditional prescriptive grammar. While the latter usually draws the attention of speakers to conventionally yet "incorrectly" built forms, the former is rather interested in studying the underlying cognitive processing at the speaker's level and the effects of frequency involved in language change at the speech community's level. In this sense, the traditional terms *regular* and *irregular* are based on the type frequency of verb patterns and are

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11 For the distinction between "informal" and "formal" standardization, see Stewart (1968 [1962], 534; cf. also ↗0).

addressed accordingly under the perspective of usage-based CL (cf., e.g., Bybee 2006). Yet, neither the cognitive reasoning nor the correlation of frequency and entrenchment are an invention thereof. Hermann Paul's *Principien der Sprachgeschichte* [*Principles of Language History*], first published in 1880, gives an account of language that resembles, in many ways, CL's idea of grammar as emerging through language use (cf. its recent recognition in Hopper 2015 and Divjak/Levshina/Klavan 2016). In the same sense, Hugo Schuchardt's perspective on sound change (Schuchardt 1885) is used as an inspiration by Bybee (2006, 714; cf. above, note 1).

Grammatical "doubts" (regarding the speaker's state of mind) and "confusions" (regarding the uttered forms) contribute to and are a result of these regularization processes. In prescriptive grammars, they are most commonly labeled as "errors" (irregular → regular schema) or "hypercorrections"[12] (regular → irregular schema) because they deviate from the codified inventory of forms pertaining to the usually conservative standard variety. Accordingly, these kinds of deviations also make up a large part of the language criticism and orientation provided by dictionaries of language difficulties and linguistic consulting services (such as the Spanish *Fundación del Español Urgente*; ↗12.4) (see the respective articles in this handbook). In addition, they also concern much of the criticism expressed by "experts" within columns on language (*chroniques de langage*) (cf. Pinker's 2008 [1994], 370–403, "language mavens"). Henri Frei's *Grammaire des fautes* (1929), dealing with the question of what linguistic "errors" are and how they emerge, is, in this sense, situated at the crossroads between linguistics – Frei's reasoning is often cognitively grounded! – and prescriptive grammar.

Conventionality is not to be confused with "correctness", a category that describes an expression's status in relation to the formal standard variety. An expression can be perfectly conventional within a certain social group or in situations of informal speech while being nonconventional – and considered as "incorrect" and "inappropriate" – in a context requiring formal speech. Despite not being at the center of his framework, Langacker (1987, 62s.) admits that aspects of (prescriptive) normative status, especially "the speaker's conception of their sociolinguistic status", should be "a proper concern of linguistic description". Although until recently studies in CL have never drawn – to my knowledge – on this idea, Langacker's (1987, 62s.) broad conception of the "linguistic value" of expressions thus potentially integrates normative aspects, i.e. knowledge concerning an expression's usage pattern and restrictions in terms of situational adequacy. For Langacker (2008, chap. 2), a linguistic unit's established semantic value is defined as the conventional path of access to a set of domains of knowledge. The domains evoked or activated in usage events therefore vary not only between speakers but are also dependent on context. This would also include cognitive domains evoking typical usage con-

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12 Describing language acquisition, Tomasello (2003, *passim*) uses the equivalent term "overgeneralization" and speaks of "overgeneralization errors".

texts of linguistic units and hence constraints on their use. The fuzzy notion of value is consequently open to integrate the sociolinguistic (or "diasystematic") status which, within semiotic theories of other frameworks, is often subsumed under the notion of "connotation".[13]

Obviously there are also important differences concerning the form of linguistic conventions on the one hand and the form of rules stated by prescriptive (school) grammar and generativism on the other. In Langacker's CG, conventionality is defined *positively*, i.e. expressions are assessed through categorization in terms of conformity with given models, and corresponds to what Bartsch (1982; 1987, chap. II) calls "norms of the product". In contrast to this, Generative Grammar is based on notions of "rules" and "filters" – Bartsch calls them methodological "norms of production" – that include the assumption of computational (generator or evaluator) modules which derive or generate outputs from inputs (cf. "phrase structure rules", "transformational rules", or "constraints" in Optimality Theory). As Langacker (2008, 219) emphasizes, the most important difference between both approaches lies in the fact that these "rules" and the expressions they serve to construct are "fundamentally different in nature":

> "In contrast to constructive rules (which *need not* resemble expressions) and filters (which by definition *cannot*), schemas *must* resemble the expressions they characterize. Schemas emerge from expressions through reinforcement of the commonalities they exhibit at some level of abstraction. Or to phrase it more accurately, they arise within expressions, as recurring aspects of the processing activity that constitutes them. They differ from the expressions they characterize only in level of specificity, representing the coarse-grained similarities revealed by abstracting away from fine-grained details" (Langacker 2008, 219; the highlighting pertains to the original).

Prescriptions like those figuring in school grammars and taught in schools might yet exhibit other forms. They can be stated positively, similar to CG's account of conventionality, in the form of sentence patterns that illustrate how something *should* be said. Moreover, they can also be stated in the form of constructive "rules" like those that are sometimes taught "in readily memorizable verse forms" (Bartsch 1982, 59). In this sense, since the 1980s, foreign language teaching vacillates between the traditional *rule-based approach* and cognitively grounded approaches that teach usage patterns in an inductive fashion by presenting so-called "chunks" (cf. the *lexical approach* proposed by Lewis 1993; 2000). Hence, Langacker (2008, 236) admits that beside his framework's "limitation to positive statements", speakers possibly "sometimes learn specific prohibitions as well". It seems only plausible to assume that when it comes to "metalinguistic awareness and normation" (Schmid 2015, 18) the assessment of conventionality might also include this kind of school-induced linguistic rules of production.

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13 Cf. Blank (1997, 62) and also his notion of "externe Wortvorstellung" [external word conception] (1997, 95). Cf., furthermore, Saussure's (1995 [1916], part 2, chap. IV) notion of *valeur*.

5 Semantics, discourse and "political correctness"

The emergence of cognitive semantics is central to the development of what is known today as cognitive linguistics in general. It emerged out of the shortcomings generativist theories had when it came to the study of semantics as secondary to grammar – not going much further, in this sense, than Bloomfield's structuralism which rejected the study of it as "the weak point in language-study" (Bloomfield 1973 [1933], 140). Ultimately, it was in conjunction with cognitive semantics that cognitivist grammar models developed as language theories which put semantics first and conceived grammar as meaningful. Within cognitive semantics, the most important contributions to the study of lexical meaning are unquestionably the prototype model of category structure, the conceptual metaphor theory and the wide field of frame theories (including so-called *scenes* and *idealized cognitive models*) (cf., e.g., Blank 1997, 76–96; Geeraerts 2010b, chap. 5). However, as was pointed out in section 3, theoretical debates in cognitive semantics barely went any further than the obvious fact that meaning is conventional, the term *conventional meaning* having already become common at least since Bloomfield.

More dynamic than the question of normativity – pertaining to the level of conventional lexical meaning – is the domain of how the mechanisms of semantics and the construction of meaning (*construal*) are used in discourse. As will be shown in this section, public debate since World War II as well as the tendencies towards a sociocultural rethinking of (Western) society, especially through the ongoing gender discourse, are continuously reshaping the conception of how to address topics "appropriately" or "adequately". The point of departure is the rethinking of language criticism (*Sprachkritik*) from a cognitive point of view. In this context, the single most important linguistic contribution in terms of *cognitive language criticism* is probably Lakoff's so-called *cognitive framing*. It aims at reshaping public discourse in order to give Democrats the upper hand in their struggle to keep up with the (alleged) Republican domination of political debates. In this sense, the theory of how language use influences the mental representation of (complex) facts is meant to show *how language ought to be used* in public discourse in order to impose one's set of beliefs and one's view of reality on others. Lakoff's highly politicized research teaches Democrats how to influence voters through efficient discourse.

In other contexts, the normative perspective on discourse underlying such proposals is perhaps best known under the notion of "political correctness" imposing a dichotomous distinction between how things *are (traditionally) said*, often labeled as discriminatory, and how things *ought to be said "correctly"*, i.e. in a non-discriminating way. While the imposition of rule-sets concerning discourse seems to only regard how and which linguistic means should be used in discourse, lately, it has become ever more obvious that the reshaping of public (and, at a slower pace, of private) discourse has considerable repercussions on the language itself in both form and meaning.

Theoretically, it is important to distinguish between the level of language, that is, the linguistic means of communication shared by a speech community and the level of discourse. While, from a linguistics point of view, "speaking correctly" regards the former, the normative criterium regarding discourse is "appropriateness" or "adequacy" (cf. the Latin notion of *aptum*; ↗1) and is determined by those factors that pertain to the study of pragmatics, not semantics. In this sense, what is commonly called *political correctness* means 'using language *appropriately*' with respect to certain topics and under the premises of changing social values (that are obviously not always shared by all members of a community, hence the polemic potential).

5.1 Cognitive Framing Theory

In CL no clear-cut distinctions are made between word knowledge and world knowledge as well as between semantics and pragmatics. Tending to a maximalist understanding of meaning, one of the most important contributions to semantics is that the meaning of words cannot be satisfactorily (or sufficiently) defined but by describing the domains of knowledge to which they are related. Based on Fillmore's frame theory (Fillmore 1975; 1982; 1985), today this idea pertains to the fundamental assumptions of CL in general (cf. Lakoff 2008, 248–252, 260–262). Even more important is the assumption that the symbolic link between words and ideas is one of mutual cognitive association, an idea that is emphasized by the title *Don't think of an elephant!* (Lakoff [1]2004; [2]2014): even if, from a perspective of logic, an idea might be negated, the words that represent it force the hearer to conceive a mental representation of what they stand for. Richard Nixon saying "I am not a crook" on national television inevitably evoked the image of a crook (cf. Lakoff [2]2014, 1; cf. also Donald J. Trump's persistent use of the collocation *crooked Hillary*). Hence, language – not only words but all kinds of symbolic structures – *evokes* mental images and the corresponding domains of knowledge. Nevertheless, the meaning of linguistic units does not only comprise a specific content or specific domains of knowledge, it also includes a specific way of accessing and construing this content. In other words, it imposes a perspective on the thing or situation being expressed. This has been shown not only in frame theory and in conceptual metaphor theory (Lakoff/Johnson 1980), but especially by Langacker (1987; 2008, chap. 3) who gives a comprehensive account of the different layers of what is called *construal* as opposed to *content*. The central idea is that the same *content* – a thing, situation or process – can be cognitively and linguistically *construed* in a myriad of different ways, each imposing another perspective on a situation and profiling (foregrounding) another participant. Within the study of grammar, this has been obvious for a long time comparing, for instance, active and passive constructions or describing the specific function of impersonal constructions. However, the innovation of recent cognitive theorizing lies in the extension of this idea to all kinds and levels of linguistic structure. In

this sense, Goldberg (1995, 45) compares the verbs *rob* and *steal* which are both defined in relation to a THEFT frame. While with *rob* THIEF and TARGET (the one who gets robbed) are foregrounded, *steal* profiles THIEF and GOODS (the things stolen).

Lakoff transposes the ideas of frame semantics, his own conceptual metaphor theory, and the concept of construal from the level of everyday language to the political level of public discourse. Based on the findings of neuroscience, i.e. "that each of the concepts we have – the long-term concepts that structure how we think – is instantiated in the synapses of our brains" (Lakoff [2]2014, 15), he has promoted his so-called *(cognitive) framing theory* over the last two decades (Lakoff 1996; [1]2004; 2006; 2008; [2]2014; Lakoff/Wehling 2012) within a program whose purpose is to "apply the discoveries in linguistics and cognitive science to politics" (2006, chap. 3). Rather than finding good political slogans, Lakoff's program tries to show how the *framing* (and *reframing*) of politically important issues like climate, inequality, immigration, healthcare, etc. works in a long-term perspective so that people's way of thinking about them change: "Framing is about getting language that fits your worldview. It is not just language. The ideas are primary – and the language carries those ideas, evokes those ideas" ([2]2014, 2; for a critical view on the presumed "inevitability" underlying the cognitive impact of frames, cf. Lebsanft 2018). Lakoff shows this by deconstructing the systematic framing of political issues used by Republicans, who, since the 1950s, have been founding magazines and investing billions of dollars into conservative think tanks. Subsequently, they have been putting out "books of language guidelines, which are used as training manuals for conservative candidates, as well as lawyers, judges and other public speakers" (Lakoff [2]2014, 20). In this sense, to give but one example, it was the "right's language man" Frank Luntz who

> "persuaded conservatives to stop talking about 'global warming' because it sounded too scary and suggested human agency. Instead, he brought 'climate change' into our public discourse on the grounds that 'climate' sounded kind of nice (think palm trees) and change just happens, with no human agency" (Lakoff [2]2014, 20).

When it comes to using language which "means the opposite of what it says" (Lakoff [2]2014, 19), like the laws that allowed for more air pollution and yet were called *Clear Skies Act* under the Bush administration, Lakoff calls it "Orwellian language". However, most of the language used in public discourse just results from and applies to different kinds of values, e.g. the word *freedom* has quite a different meaning for conservatives and progressives. Given that Republicans tend to see government, social services and regulation in general as something that threatens the "freedom" of citizens, taxes are seen as genuinely negative. Instead, they talk about the need for "tax relief" imposing a specific framing of the matter: "Since the 1970s, the concept of taxation has shifted from the source of needed, and often, revered public resources to the idea that taxation is a burden – an affliction in need of a 'tax relief'" (Lakoff [2]2014, 55). Lakoff ([2]2014) and Lakoff/Wehling (2012) want to

compensate for the advantage conservatives have in "framing the debate(s)" by showing how progressives should frame their political ideas and implement them through the use of appropriate language that has to be repeated constantly in public discourse. Ultimately, this leads to concrete usage rules and guidelines (that is, a political *bon usage*) such as "do not use the words (i.e. the framing) of your opponent" ("don't just negate the other person's claims; reframe", Lakoff [1]2004, 115). Based on cognitive language criticism, framing theory is the application of cognitive semantics within the realm of politics through efficiently conceived public discourse. In simple terms: cognitive semantics meets language criticism meets discourse analysis.

Of course, framing is not just limited to (American) political discourse. Framing is rather ubiquitous and can also be contemplated (though it is only rarely studied systematically) in the domains of language ideologies, language planning and cultivation. In this sense, the insistence of certain groups (including linguists) on calling Catalan a *minoritized language* instead of using the more general term *minority language* can be described in terms of framing (or construal). *Minoritized* as a past participle imposes the conception of a situation as the result of the wrongdoing of an unnamed agent (contextually: Spanish or the Spanish state) of which the language in question (here: Catalan) is the victim (cf., e.g., the use in Argemí/Ramon 1996 and Jiménez Salcedo [forthcoming]). In the same discursive context, the concept of bilingualism, which generally exhibits positive associations, is constantly framed in terms of a subordination relationship in which the "own" language (Catalan) is dominated by the language of "others" (Spanish). This creates a situation which allegedly would lead to language substitution – always referred to by death and intrusion metaphors (cf. Tacke 2017a; 2017b). In the same sense, the issues of "political correctness" and "gender-sensitive language" discussed in the next section are purposefully framed in specific ways when referred to by terms like *despotismo ético* 'ethical despotism' in Spanish or *Genderwahn(sinn)* 'gender madness' in German.

5.2 "Political correctness" and "gender-sensitive language"

One of the most important and dynamic issues of the ongoing standardization in modern (Western) language cultures both in terms of *how language is used* and of *how it ought to be used* concerns the debate about the appropriateness of language use with reference to people. During the past century and hand in hand with social transformation, particularly the rise of civil then feminist movements, not only has the place in society of certain groups been questioned and reevaluated, but (public) language use and the social rules that govern it have also been constantly adapted. In this context, cognitive language criticism is of utmost importance as it constitutes the fundamental reasoning of almost every (recent) proposal that aims at regulating the way the group in question should be represented linguistically. Cognitively, the

reasoning is simple: language reflects ideas, hence, in order to fight discrimination, i.e. thoughts and ideologies, language (use) has to change. Most notably, the way Afro- or African Americans[14] have been referred to throughout the 20th century paved the way for today's ongoing language debates. In this sense, the term *political correctness* has been in use since the 1980s meaning the avoidance of language and behavior judged as being discriminative, excluding and marginalizing (for a broader explanation, cf. R. T. Lakoff 2000).

Political correctness is therefore appropriateness regarding behavior, specifically linguistic behavior in terms of choice of words (or forms) in discourse. Still, discussions about appropriateness, especially throughout the debate about gender and the representation of women in public language based on equality (cf., for a first critique, R. T. Lakoff 1975; cf. also Cameron 1998), have gone way beyond proper terminology and the introduction of female forms of post and job titles. In this context, the reference to groups constitutes a problem, especially in Romance languages (but also other languages like German) where nouns tend to be classed by grammatical gender and the masculine form, called *generic masculine*, traditionally exhibits the function of referring to members of all sexes. In order to achieve "gender-neutral" language and "gender-sensitive" language (highlighting female referents), private and public institutions have been creating specific guides offering solutions and recommending "neutral" (in a political sense) and "feminine" forms of reference. In Spanish, public discourse has shifted quite systematically towards the preference of noun derivation. This is true, for example with words such as *alumnado*, *profesorado*, *clientela* where once only the (generic) masculine form (*alumno*) would have been expected, whereas in German public discourse the duplication (*Schülerinnen und Schüler*) has been established. The reasoning is cognitive and in many cases confirmed by psychological research: in most Romance language, nouns ending in *-o* (German: *-er*) evoke the mental image of a male referent whereas *-a* (German: *-erin*) evokes female referents. The often polemic debate on these issues continues. Most linguists tend to defend the concept of genericity and the traditional forms of reference of the respective language by explaining its structure both in terms of the system and in terms of its historical evolution. Furthermore, they insist on the fact that grammatical gender and biological sex are not to be confused while other social groups, folk linguists (and also some professional linguists) defend the necessity of changing discourse (which is often labelled as "patriarchal") in order to achieve a language that reflects the way society *should* ideally be, i.e. "gender-neutral" or "gender-sensitive". In some cases, this has led to the proposal of word forms that breach with the range of possibilities a given language system provides. Recently, to give but one example, a highly polemic proposal aimed at adding *-a* to nouns that do not provide the possibility of morphologi-

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14 These terms (currently) considered as "politically correct" refer to ancestry in order to avoid reference to skin color as did formerly common terms like *negros*, *colored* or *people of color*.

cal gender alternation such as *el/la portavoz* 'spokesperson' that are, by themselves, historically gender-neutral and reflect the referent's sex through article choice (*el* vs. *la*). Cases like the proposal of *portavoza* arouse much debate among all kinds of interested people even though other forms, that in turn emerged through usage, like *jueza* (< *juez*) or *infanta* (< *infante*), are well accepted today.[15]

Hence, while the motive for such proposals is the pursuit of societal change through language by imposing norms of discourse, these changes have had and continue to have considerable impact on these languages. In this sense, guidelines and style books and the normative judgements, solutions, and recommendations concerning the appropriate use of language in public discourse influence the ongoing codification and "modernization" processes of (Romance) languages (in the sense of Haugen 1983). Normative dictionaries are not only being updated regarding definitions but female job and post titles have been added for a long time. Furthermore, since the 1970s, newly established collective nouns and/or senses like *alumnado* and *la afición* 'fans/fan community' have been added to older existing terms like *profesorado* and *clientela* as part the codified lexicon. Most recently, even the opposite way of adding masculine forms to job titles traditionally practiced by women like *azafato* 'male flight attendant' have found their way into the dictionary (DLE, s. v.). The examples given above clearly show that the imposition of rules of appropriate language usage do not only concern the modernization of the codified lexicon but also touch semantics and grammar when the morphology of grammatical gender, i.e. its equation with biological sex, and the stigmatization of age-old generic forms is concerned.

Public debate is, in this respect, mostly initiated by interested societal groups but often taken up by the press, intellectuals and sometimes commented by language professionals. In the Romance-speaking world, official language institutions (academies) have a different standing within the debates and their position is mostly seen as conservative or patriarchal. This is especially obvious in the case of the Académie française who calls what is labelled *écriture inclusive* an "aberration" leading to "une langue désunie, disparate dans son expression, créant une confusion qui confine à l'illisibilité" (AF 2017). Meanwhile, the Real Academia Española, more sensitive to the adaptation of its language politics to social developments has opted for defending a more "reasonable" approach by accepting and adopting changes while defending, at the same time, the coherence of the language as a system (cf. Bosque 2012). Often openly participating in public discourse, it opposes proposals like *portavoza* for being considered a threat to the given system of word morphology. However, it favors the modernization of public discourse and the necessary adaptation of its codification that comes with it as long as the grammatical system is not significantly infringed upon.

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15 Cf., e.g., Pedro Álvarez de Miranda, *Feminismo y gramática*, El País, 03/11/2018, and Javier Marías, *¿Bendita sea la incoherencia?*, El País, 03/04/2018.

6 Conclusion

As a cognitive-functional approach, CL's premises are based on the assumption that language is a cognitive phenomenon grounded in social practice. Languages being defined as sets of conventional units, the notion of conventionality, most notably elaborated by Langacker (1987; 2008), is central within this framework. Yet, the fact that CL evolved historically as a competitor to the generative paradigm explains why its main focus was based on what is traditionally called *descriptive grammar*. Hence, the account of linguistic normativity given by CL has to be evaluated rather in terms of descriptive potential than in terms of its actual application when compared to the empirical findings and the theoretical development of other disciplines. In this sense, the most interesting contribution to the study of linguistic normativity in the field of grammar seems to be Langacker's cognitive account of conventionality assessment. It explains in a plausible and coherent manner how speakers produce and perceive utterances through categorization. Beyond the study of grammar and the evaluation of linguistic units, it is cognitive semantics that has proven to be of utmost importance not only to the analysis of meaning but also to the analysis of discourse. Here, cognitive language criticism (*Sprachkritik*) is most relevant when it comes to the evaluation of public discourse both in terms of how language should be used in order to achieve certain (political) goals and in terms of how it ought to be used under the societal premises of "political correctness". Given that the standardization of language is a process by which codified norms are constantly adapted to actual usage, that is, modernizing the expressive means of language to the communicative needs of the speakers and to the ongoing changes in society, the application of cognitive linguistics adds an interesting layer to the study of linguistic norms.

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Franz Lebsanft

7 Linguistic Norm in Discourse Linguistics

Abstract: This chapter explains discourse analytical and linguistic approach to the study of the linguistic norm. According to this theoretical viewpoint, the standard is seen as the factual linguistic result obtained by means of an evaluative discourse regarding language use. Discourse linguistics tries to uncover the hidden mechanisms of power and persuasion by which certain agents (persons, institutions) manage to impose their linguistic ideology on the speech community. Hence, there are many points of contact between discourse linguistics and sociolinguistics, language planning theory and the history of linguistic thought.

Keywords: attitude, discourse, discourse analysis, discourse linguistics, enunciation, folk-linguistics, linguistic ideology, metadiscourse, metalanguage, normative discourse

1 Introduction

Discourse linguistics approaches the object "linguistic norm" as a discursive construction, i.e. as the conceptual elaboration and linguistic enunciation of rules that set up an explicit, codified standard to which exemplary utterances must conform. In this sense, the normative discourses on language are evaluative discourses about discourses. It is quite obvious that this form of reasoning opens the door to the application of the Matryoshka Principle or "Russian nesting dolls", since the analytic discourses on normative discourses on language are discourses stacked on one another.

In general terms, discourse linguistics is based on the metalinguistic function. Therefore, we first focus on the notions of metalanguage and metadiscourse in section 2. In section 3, we discuss the multi-faceted concept of discourse followed by various traditions of discourse studies (section 4). For practical reasons, we take the useful model of "discourse linguistic multi-layered analysis" (Spitzmüller/Warnke 2011) as a heuristic instrument to structure the main topics of normative discourse analysis in section 5 and finally our conclusion (section 6) gives a general appreciation of normative discourse studies.

2 The normative discourses on language as metadiscourses

According to Jakobson (1960, 356; cf. Rey-Debove 1978, 4s.), the distinction between "object language" (as "speaking of objects") and "metalanguage" (as "speaking of

language") was first developed in modern logic (cf. Tarski 1935) and only later in modern linguistics. However, metalanguage is not only a scientific activity, Jakobson (1960, 356) explains, because it also plays

> "an important role in our everyday language. Like Moliere's Jourdain who used prose without knowing it, we practice metalanguage without realizing the metalingual character of our operations. Whenever the addresser and/or the addressee need to check up whether they use the same code, speech is focused on the CODE: it performs a METALINGUAL (i.e., glossing) function".

Although Jakobson (1960, 356) affirms that the metalingual function is present in "any process of language learning, in particular child acquisition of the mother tongue", his examples only show rather limited forms of metalingual operations. In fact, the practice of metalanguage goes far beyond a simple glossing function, which only uses "equational sentences" that "convey information merely about the lexical code" (Jakobson 1960, 356).

Rey-Debove (1978, 20), who develops a well-known linguistic theory of metalanguage (cf. also Franceschini 1994; Loureda Lamas 2009), also foresees the existence of a "metadiscourse", which she defines as follows:

> "Le système métalinguistique codé est une métalangue, par rapport à une langue donnée, et la réalisation de ce système en discours est un métadiscours, par rapport à un discours dans une langue donnée".

The explanation by Rey-Debove (1979, 95):

> "On peut considérer que le métalangage comprend une métalangue (le code), et un métadiscours (les messages) dont la somme serait la norme métalinguistique. Le métadiscours qui introduit des autonymes possède des règles morphosyntaxiques et prosodiques particulières".

confirms the assumption that the concept of *discourse* from this "linguistic study of the discourse on language" (cf. the subtitle of Rey-Debove 1978) remains within the limits of a Harrisean definition of the term (cf. below, section 3), and it is true that Harris (1959, 944) seems to be the first to use the concept *metadiscourse* in linguistics. Since then, the expression *metadiscourse*, which the *OED* (online, s. v.) defines as "any discourse which is concerned with or alludes to other discourses", has been enriched by newer conceptualizations of the term *discourse* and will be discussed in detail in sections 3 and 4. Roughly speaking, discourse analysis and discourse linguistics define discourse as "conventional ways of talking that both create and are created by conventional ways of thinking" or ideologies (defined as "sets of interrelated ideas"; Johnstone [2]2008 [2002], 3; cf. below, section 3.2). In this sense, the enunciation of a linguistic norm constitutes a type of metadiscourse, namely a normative discourse about practical discourses, since it talks about the models upon which certain ways of speaking should be based.

The normative discourses on language have been (and still are) the object of synchronic and diachronic sociolinguistics, especially in research on linguistic attitudes and in language planning theory. Baker (1992, 46) remembers that "attitudes are socially constructed particularly through language" and that "discourse is an important process in the way attitudes are learnt, modified and expressed". In this sense, attitudes are linked to ideologies (Baker 1992, 15) and some scholars argue, in this context, the use of "critical discourse analytic procedures" as "one approach within sociolinguistics" (Garrett 2010, 34s.). In language planning theory, which deals with "the activity of preparing a normative orthography, grammar and a dictionary for the guidance of writers and speakers in a non-homogeneous speech community" (Haugen 1987, 626), linguistic ideologies play an important role. Haugen (1987, 630), for example, mentions the fact that in the 19th century the Norwegian language reformer Ivar Aasen based his norm on the "least corrupted [dialects]". However, in contrary to discourse analysis and discourse linguistics, Haugen's approach does not focus on the detailed examination of the linguistic "corruption theory" and its defenders. This is, of course, the case in the history of linguistic thought (cf., e.g., Neis 2009). Consequently, and in the wake of Foucault (1966), historians of linguistics are more (Schlieben-Lange 1996) or less (Haßler/Neis 2009, 104–107) open to discourse-linguistic methods.

More generally speaking, Romance studies have paid attention to the normative discourse in terms of "linguistic evaluation of the canonical form", i.e. the standard of respective languages (Albrecht 2001, 527). These include French (Lerat 1990), Italian (Krefeld 1988), Portuguese (Metzeltin 1994) and Romanian (Windisch 1989).

3 The concept of discourse, from Harris to Foucault

Since Harris (1952, 1; cf. Lebsanft/Schrott 2015, 13–19), the term *discourse* has referred to "connected speech (or writing)" as units longer than a sentence and forming a genuine unit of analysis. Thus, discourse analysis deals with the "problem of continuing descriptive linguistics beyond the limits of a single sentence at a time". Found especially in German linguistics, this idea was at the basis of the development of text linguistics in the 1960s and 1970s. It was not by chance that Harris (1952) was translated into German by the term *Textanalyse* (Harris 1976). Some years earlier, French linguistics preferred the parallel translation *analyse du discours* (Harris 1969 [1952]; cf. below). For Harris, this kind of analysis not only included focus on linguistic context but also on the extra-linguistic situation in which the utterances are embedded (Harris 1952, 3):

> "[...] each connected discourse occurs within a particular situation – whether of a person speaking, or of a conversation, or of someone sitting down occasionally over a period of months to write a particular kind of book in a particular literary or scientific tradition".

In the 1950s, using the Saussurean framework, Benveniste (1966 [1956], 251) offered a more precise explanation of the notion of *discourse* defining it as "les actes discrets et chaque fois uniques par lesquels la langue est actualisée en parole par un locuteur". Following Bally (⁴1965 [1932], 35), the "actualization" of the *langue* is called *enunciation* (Benveniste 1966 [1959], 241s.). Taking a retrospective view on this subject, Benveniste (1974 [1970], 80) observes:

> "L'énonciation est cette mise en fonctionnement de la langue par un acte individuel d'utilisation".

> "Le discours, dira-t-on, qui est produit chaque fois qu'on parle, cette manifestation de l'énonciation, n'est-ce pas simplement 'la parole'? – Il faut prendre garde à la condition spécifique de l'énonciation: c'est l'acte même de produire un énoncé et non le texte de l'énoncé qui est notre objet. C'est le fait du locuteur qui mobilise la langue pour son compte".

In Romance linguistics, Coseriu (1955/1956, 31) labels *discurso* as the action of uttering and *texto* as the result of that which is uttered. Using Bühler's two-field theory (Bühler 1990 [1934]), Coseriu – one of the most original, though in the non-German or non-Spanish speaking scientific world, widely ignored theoretical linguist – develops a method of discourse and/or text analysis which systematically explores all the factors constituting the deictic and symbolic field of speech (Coseriu 1955/1956; cf. Coseriu ³1994 [1980]; Aschenberg 1999). A wide range of hierarchically organized data, starting with the deictic field and ending with the universe of discourse, are taken into account. For the interpretation of a particular discourse, the identification of the universe to which it belongs is of primary importance. The universe of discourse is defined as the "sistema universal de significaciones al que pertenece un discurso (o un enunciado) y que determina su validez y su sentido" (Coseriu 1955/1956, 51). It seems that Urban (2013 [1939], 198) is the source of this concept:

> "The term *universe of discourse* presupposes precisely what it says, namely, a universe of systematic context in which the propositions alone have meaning".

What is at stake is the fact that Urban and Coseriu's concept of discourse only makes sense within a framework of systematically organized and shared knowledge. Coseriu (1955/1956, 51) gives the following examples:

> "La literatura, la mitología, las ciencias, la matemática, el universo empírico, en cuanto 'temas' o 'mundos de referencia' del hablar, constituyen 'universos de discurso'. Una expresión como: *la reducción del objeto al sujeto* tiene sentido en filosofía, pero no tiene ningún sentido en la gramática; las frases como: *el viaje de Ulises* y *el viaje de Colón, según decía Parménides* y *según decía Hamlet*, pertenecen a distintos universos de discurso. El humorismo se basa a menudo en la confusión intencional de universos de discurso, en el mismo enunciado; cf., por ejemplo: *en el bosque dos jóvenes matemáticos extraían las raíces cuadradas de los árboles; por la ventana veo un hombre que está descendiendo del mono*".

Obviously, universes of discourse like mythology, sciences, mathematics or even the empirical universe are thought of as a minimal set of stable and given entities. From a Foucauldian point of view, this is not the case as can be shown from his remarks on the term *discourse* itself. In Foucault (1969, 141), the concept of discourse has a wide range of meanings, namely beginning with "un ensemble de performances verbales", "un ensemble d'actes de formulation", and "une série de phrases ou de propositions". However, the privileged sense is that of "ensemble de séquences de signes, en tant qu'elles sont des énoncés, c'est-à-dire en tant qu'on peut leur assigner des modalités d'existence particulières". Foucault (1969, 141) continues:

> "Et si je parviens à montrer [...] que la loi d'une pareille série, c'est précisément ce que j'ai appelé jusqu'ici une *formation discursive*, si je parviens à montrer que celle-ci est bien le principe de dispersion et de répartition, non des formulations, non des phrases, non des propositions, mais des énoncés (au sens que j'ai donné à ce mot), le terme de discours pourra être fixé: ensemble des énoncés qui relèvent d'un même système de formation; et c'est ainsi que je pourrai parler du discours clinique, du discours économique, du discours de l'histoire naturelle, du discours psychiatrique".

If one compares formulations such as *the universe of discourse "mathematics"* and *the mathematical discourse*, the different approaches become clear. Only the second perspective focuses on the dynamic and multi-faceted mechanisms of creating and developing a universe of discourse. However, it also becomes evident from Foucault's examples that his approach does not systematize the field of possible discourses, thus leading in Post-Foucauldean discourse analysis to an inflation of discourses (Lebsanft/Schrott 2015, 18).

Foucault makes the claim that the discourse is situated somewhere between "things" and "words" (cf. Foucault 1966; Lebsanft/Schrott 2015, 18s.). He states (Foucault 1969, 142):

> "On voit en particulier que l'analyse des énoncés ne prétend pas être une description totale, exhaustive du 'langage' ou de 'ce qui a été dit'. Dans toute l'épaisseur impliquée par les performances verbales, elle se situe à un niveau particulier qui doit être dégagé des autres, caractérisé par rapport à eux, et abstrait. En particulier, elle ne prend pas la place d'une analyse logique des propositions, d'une analyse grammaticale des phrases, d'une analyse psychologique ou contextuelle des formulations: elle constitue une autre manière d'attaquer les performances verbales, d'en dissocier la complexité, d'isoler les termes qui s'y entrecroisent et de repérer les diverses régularités auxquelles elles obéissent".

Foucault insists on the difference between his concept of discourse and that of linguists:

> "Ce qu'on décrit comme 'systèmes de formation' ne constitue pas l'étage terminal des discours, si par ce terme on entend les textes (ou les paroles) tels qu'ils se donnent avec leur vocabulaire, leur syntaxe, leur structure logique ou leur organisation rhétorique. L'analyse reste en deçà de ce niveau manifeste, qui est celui de la construction achevée: en définissant le principe de distribution des objets dans un discours, elle ne rend pas compte de toutes leurs con-

nexions, de leur structure fine, ni de leurs subdivisions internes; en cherchant la loi de disper-
sion des concepts, elle ne rend pas compte de tous les processus d'élaboration, ni de toutes
les chaînes déductives dans lesquelles ils peuvent figurer; si elle étudie les modalités d'énon-
ciation, elle ne met en question ni le style ni l'enchaînement des phrases; bref, elle laisse en
pointillé la mise en place finale du *texte*".

From a linguistic point of view, this sharp dichotomy between a "surface" and a
"deep" structure of text has often been criticized (Maingueneau 1984, 8). The French
analyse du discours tries to find a way out of this dilemma.

4 Discourse analysis and discourse linguistics

4.1 French discourse analysis

In France, Dubois/Sumpf (1969) dedicate a special number of the prestigious journal
Langages to the *analyse du* (or: *de*) *discours*, which publishes and presents Harris
(1969 [1952]) as the founding text of the discipline. Among the many thematic num-
bers of this journal dedicated to discourse analysis (e.g. Guespin et al. 1971; Pêcheux
1975; Danon-Boileau 1976; Guespin 1976; Désirat/Hordé 1977; Chauveau 1978;
Marandin 1979; Courtine 1981; Maldidier 1986; Maingueneau 1995; Cossutta 1995;
Garcia-Debanc 2001; Chiss/Desson 2005) there are only few contributions mention-
ing, not to say discussing the Foucauldean concept of discourse. However, Pêcheux –
the author of the heavily influential *Analyse automatique du discours* (Pêcheux 1969;
1978; cf. Hak/Helsloot 1995), which combines early corpus linguistics and Harris's
discourse analysis – integrates a reflection on Foucault's concept of discourse even
without naming the author of the *Archéologie du savoir*, whose name is less respect-
ed than that of the most ferocious Marxist thinkers. In effect, Pêcheux' Marxist cri-
tique of ideology completes the basic concept of *formation sociale* (Haroche/Henry/
Pêcheux 1971, 102):

> "elle se caractérise, à travers le mode de production qui la domine, par un état déterminé du
> rapport entre les classes qui la composent; ces rapports s'expriment à travers la hiérarchie des
> pratiques que ce mode de production nécessite, compte tenu des appareils à travers lesquels
> se réalisent ces pratiques"

with the concept of *formation idéologique* (ib.) –

> "un élément susceptible d'intervenir, comme une force confrontée à d'autres forces, dans la
> conjoncture idéologique caractéristique d'une formation sociale, en un moment donné; chaque
> formation idéologique constitue ainsi un ensemble complexe d'attitudes et de représentations
> qui ne sont ni 'individuelles' ni 'universelles', mais se rapportent plus ou moins directement
> à des *positions de classes* en conflit les unes par rapport aux autres".

– and the concept of *formation discursive* (ib.):

> "Nous avancerons, en nous appuyant sur un grand nombre de remarques contenues dans ce qu'on appelle 'les classiques du marxisme' que les formations idéologiques ainsi définies comportent nécessairement, comme une de leurs composantes, une ou plusieurs formations discursives interreliées, qui déterminent ce qui peut et doit être dit (articulé sous la forme d'une harangue, d'un sermon, d'un pamphlet, d'un exposé, d'un programme, etc.) à partir d'une position donnée dans une conjoncture donnée: le point essentiel ici est qu'il ne s'agit pas seulement de la nature des mots employés, mais aussi (et surtout) des constructions dans lesquelles ces mots se combinent, dans la mesure où elles déterminent la signification que prennent ces mots: comme nous l'indiquions en commençant, les mots changent de sens selon les positions tenues par ceux qui les emploient".

Since the 1980s, Maingueneau's theoretical perspectives on the *analyse du discours* have fully integrated Foucault's and Pécheux's concept of discursive formation (Maingueneau 1984, 10). In Maingueneau's view, discourses are made of "topical" and "non-topical" unities (Maingueneau 2014, 64; cf. Maingueneau 2013):

> "Une distinction s'impose tout naturellement entre deux types: les unités qu'on appellera *topiques* [...], qui sont en quelque sorte données, prédécoupées par les pratiques sociales, et celles, que l'on dira *non topiques*, qui sont construites par les chercheurs".

Whereas discursive/textual genres belong to the topical unities, the discursive formation is the prototypical non-topical unity (Maingueneau 2014, 81s.). Nonetheless, the discursive formation, which is a "système de contraintes invisibles, transversal aux unités topiques" (ib., 82), operates on the basis of discursive/textual genres (ib., 83, with reference to Haroche/Henry/Pêcheux 1971, 102, cited above). Thus, the role of the discursive formation is crucial, since it allows for the building of corpora, which include different kinds of discursive/textual genres (Maingueneau 2014, 84, 93). However, Maingueneau does not manage to contain the inflation of discourses (cf. above). Constructed by investigators around rather haphazard types of "identities" (e.g. the racist discourse) or "themes" (e.g. the euthanasia discourse), there does not seem to be any objective criterion to systematize the field of possible discourses.

4.2 From critical discourse analysis to German discourse linguistics

In the English speaking scientific world, Johnstone's ([2]2008 [2002], 2s.; cf. Maingueneau 2014, 17) excellent textbook makes the useful conceptual distinction between *discourse* as a mass noun, i.e. discourse as a "piece" of language in use and *discourse* as a count noun, i.e. discourses. In the former, Harrisean sense, the object of the analysis is the structure or grammar of discourse and in the latter discourses are described by Johnstone ([2]2008 [2002], 3) as follows:

> "They [i.e. discourses] are conventional ways of talking that both create and are created by conventional ways of thinking. These linked ways of talking and thinking constitute ideologies (sets of interrelated ideas) and serve to circulate power in society".

This description is, so to say, a simple and understandable explanation of the concept of *discursive formation*. Of course, the two aspects of discourse are "crucially connected" (Johnstone [2]2008 [2002], 3), since discourse in the first sense is always inscribed in a type of discourse to the second sense. Heavily influenced by French discourse analysis, scrutiny of ideologies underlying the production of discourses has been placed at the heart of the "critical discourse analysis" (= CDA; Johnstone [2]2008 [2002], 53). According to Fairclough (1995, 132s.), CDA

> "aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony".

The key concepts here are "power", "hegemony", "opacity" and the left-wing idea that discourse analysts unmask hidden forces – ideologies – that are responsible for the establishment of oppressive structures. In this context, CDA developed into a field of intensive international study and a bulk of different theoretical approaches. Reisigl (2014) distinguishes no less than six different schools of CDA "with theoretical similarities and research questions of a specific kind" (Wodak/Meyer [2]2009, 27 = Wodak/Meyer [3]2016, 22; here, CDA is relabeled "critical discourse studies", CDS). Though not actually embracing the theoretical framework of CDA (cf. Blommaert 2005, 31–38), Blommaert's interest in language ideologies (Blommaert 1999; [2]2006; cf. Woolard/Schieffelin 1994; Paffey 2012, 15–46) has led him to develop or at least reformulate analytic conceptual tools for understanding the creation of power in discourse, namely the term "voice" (Blommaert 2005, 4s.):

> "Voice stands for the way in which people manage to make themselves understood or fail to do so. In doing so, they have to draw upon and deploy discursive means which they have at their disposal, and they have to use them in contexts that are specified as to conditions of use. [...] Voice is the issue that defines linguistic inequality (hence, many other forms of inequality) in contemporary societies. An analysis of voice is an analysis of power effects – (not being understood in terms of the set of sociocultural rules and norms specified – as well as of conditions for power – what it takes to make oneself understood".

It is unquestionable that CDA's focus on the relation between discourse and power has opened a field of productive research. This is particularly true for German "discourse linguistics" which has developed a comprehensive model of "discourse linguistic multi-layered analysis". Spitzmüller/Warnke (2011, 201) propose a synthetic model where "agents" constitute the link between the "intra-" and the "transtextual" level of discourse analysis. On the basis of transtextual forms of knowledge (ide-

ologies, mentalities, etc.), agents produce discourses according to the power of their "voice", i.e. depending on the position they hold in mediatized communicative interaction. In this context, the evaluation of linguistic forms in terms of prestige has become a focus of interest (Spitzmüller/Warnke 2011, 98, 112). The factual elaboration and the modernization of linguistic standards (cf. Haugen 1987) are analyzed as the result of normative discourses.

5 The analysis of normative linguistic discourses

5.1 Overview

We use Spitzmüller/Warnke's trias of "transtextual level" – "agents of discourse" – "intratextual level" in order to structure the main topics regarding the analysis of normative linguistic discourses. We focus on the two aspects of "agents" and "transtextual level" and only give little information about the "intratextual level", which corresponds, more or less, to classical text analysis. Our examples stem mainly from French and Spanish sources.

5.2 Agents of normative discourses

The academic institutionalization of linguistics in the 19th century has led to a sharp distinction between scientific and non-scientific discourses on language. The epochal insights and discoveries of the historical-comparative method provided linguistics with the prestige and authority to distinguish between a "prescientific" (primarily ahistorical and normative) and a modern "scientific" (historical and descriptive) era of linguistic studies. The prescientific approach to language survived in everyday discourses on language as those of the practical schoolmasters who lacked, according to one of the founding fathers of historical linguistics, Grimm (1987 [1847], 42), any deeper awareness into the rules that govern language and its use:

> "In der sprache aber heiszt pedantisch, sich wie ein schulmeister auf die gelehrte, wie ein schulknabe auf die gelernte regel alles einbilden und vor lauter bäumen den wald nicht sehen".

> [But being pedantic about language means proudly holding on to one's own fixed views on everything, the way a schoolmaster does to the rules he teaches or a schoolboy to the rules he learns, and therefore not seeing the wood for the trees] (translation from Sauer/Glück ²1995, 77).

Since then, linguists have worked out a clear hierarchy of expert and non-expert discourses on language. More than hundred years after Grimm (1987 [1847]), Hall

(1950), a book heavily influenced by Bloomfield (1944), represents best the descriptive and anti-normative attitude of professional linguists. The following statement by Hall (1950, 5s.):

> "People who work in linguistics have been trying to make their science and its results better known, for nearly a hundred years. But every effort comes up against a wall of opposition, of entrenched opposition in folk beliefs and in schools. Result: so far, the benefits that might come from linguistic science have not been allowed to become known or available to the general public".

shows two characteristics of professional discourse, (i) the condescending attitude towards non-professionals ("folk beliefs"), and (ii) the disappointment with respect to little impact of professional insights on non-professional discourse. In post-structural linguistics, mocking disdain is gradually replaced by scientific curiosity for everyday knowledge, attitudes and prejudices about language. "Folk-linguistics", i.e. the linguistics of the laypersons, becomes a valuable object of interest and study (Hoenigswald 1966; Niedzielski/Preston 2000; Lebsanft 2017).

In Romance Linguistics, the study of folk linguistics has a long and well-established tradition, especially in German-speaking countries (cf. recently Hardy/Herling/Patzelt 2015; Polzin-Haumann/Schweickard 2015; Dahmen et al. 2017). Antos (1996) inspired Ernst et al. (2006) to include – for the first time in this kind of comprehensive manual – summarizing articles on folk-linguistics (cf. Fr. *linguistique des profanes*/*linguistique populaire*, Sp. *lingüística de los legos*/*lingüística popular*, It. *linguistica popolare*, etc.; Demel 2006; Kailuweit/Jaeckel 2006; Osthus 2006; Techtmeier 2006), which at least in part reformulate the more traditional sociolinguistic approach in terms of expert vs. non-expert normative discourses on language. Research on folk linguistics starts with the insight that ordinary users of language have deeply-rooted normative preoccupations that demand acknowledgment and discussion. In addition, the study of the agents of linguistic discourses shows that normative attitudes receive strong support from state, parastatal, and private institutions (the school system; language policy departments; language academies: Academia Română, Accademia della Crusca, Académie Française, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Real Academia Española and the corresponding academies in Spanish America; press, broadcast and tv media; cf. Brumme 2006; Darms 2006; Frau 2006; Iannàccaro 2006; Munteanu/Şuteu 2006; Polzin-Haumann 2006; Raffaelli 2006), which are normally dominated by non-linguists. In some cases, linguistic institutions are the meeting point of professional and non-professional agents; this is particularly true for the Real Academia Española (Lebsanft 1997, 109–184). As for the media, the figure of the "language maven" (Pinker 2007 [1994], 382–418), i.e. the *chroniqueur de langage*, which is present in all Romance language-speaking countries, has received continuous attention from the late 1970s on (Schwarze 1977; cf. Christmann 1983, 433; Osthus 2015; Patzelt 2015; Visser 2015). In all these cases, the social and cultural position of the linguistic experts – their "voice" – reaffirms the hierarchy of the different agents of normative discourses. However, there are

also cases of non-linguists who have managed to earn extraordinary authority through the individual quality of their work. The most spectacular case is, perhaps, the *grammairien* Maurice Grevisse whose *Bon usage* (Grevisse [1]1936; Grevisse/ Goosse [16]2016; cf. Lieber 1986) has become the French reference guide to normative usage for nearly a century.

5.3 Ideologies behind normative discourses

In discourse studies, especially in CDS, "ideology" is a covert category. The critical approach is based on the assumption that powerful agents of discourse often hide motives upon which they are acting. The analyst appears sometimes like an inquisitor who forces the text to reveal its concealed truth (cf. above, 4.2). The linguistic discourse about normative discourses on language normally keeps a certain distance from the traditional normative agent. The French standard, we are told for example (Riegel/Pellat/Rioul 1994, 11), is only one variety among many; but elevated to the status of an official language, the standard is heavily normed and controlled by institutions (ib.):

> "Ainsi entendu, la norme du français telle qu'elle est fixée par l'Académie française, enseignée dans les écoles et codifiée dans les manuels didactiques (grammaires et dictionnaires) ne fait que privilégier l'usage d'une région (Paris) et des milieux cultivés en général. Corollairement, les usages qui s'écartent de cette norme ont souvent été dépréciés, voire décrétés fautifs (cf. les jugements de valeur: 'mauvais français', 'ne se dit pas', 'incorrect', etc.). À cette conception rigide et mutilante d'*un* bon usage exclusif de tout autre – qui est encore celle de la plupart des grammaires prescriptives – s'oppose aujourd'hui celle, plus fonctionnelle, d'une norme variant selon les situations de communication".

One would be hard pressed to find a linguist who would not accept this seemingly well-pondered statement, which, on the one side, opposes the elitist French Academy, the school teachers and the applied linguists; and on the other side, the descriptive linguists. However, Berrendonner's (1982, 101–120) striking examples show that concrete normative practices of linguists do not profoundly differ from that of other agents (cf. also Siouffi/Steuckardt 2007, XII–XV). According to Berrendonner, a descriptive, "objective" discourse disguises its underlying prescriptivism. This is, of course, not only true for French but also for other Romance languages. In the case of Spanish (to give a second example), the actual normative discourse of the Academies presents the standard language as a variable of the description. Thus, the responsibility for the elaboration of prescriptive norm is delegated to certain socio-cultural milieus whose usage is only described by linguists (cf. Tacke 2011).

 The standardization of the most important Romance languages goes back to Early Modern Times (16th–18th centuries; Schmitt 2001; Haßler 2009a). Consequently, the ideology on which the respective standards are based belongs to the argumentative sphere of Renaissance and classical rhetoric. A long tradition of linguistic

"apologies" (Haßler 2009b) discusses the alleged qualities and defects of the respective languages (Haßler 2009d), which include key concepts like "clarity", "energy", "harmony" or "richness" (Haßler 2009d). To take just one example, the concept of "French clarity" is, at the beginning, the quality of certain discourses or texts, which, via a metonymic chain, is transferred to the French language and finally to the French themselves (Weinrich 1985 [1961]; Swiggers 2014 [1990], etc.). Thus, normative discourse helps to construct stereotypical national identities.

The prescientific ideological concept that best summarizes the idiosyncrasies of a language, is certainly that of the "genius of the language" (*génie de la langue*, 17th–18th centuries; cf. Haßler 2009c), which still survives in the normative discourses of the language mavens (e.g. Grijelmo 2004). The "genius" they defend is the classical *puritas sermonis*, "the idiomatically correct manner of expression" (Lausberg 1998, 220 = § 430). Today, however, the discourse of purism receives severe criticism from linguists, insofar as it focuses on the anomalies of the norm (Riegel/Pellat/Rioul 1994, 15):

> "Les puristes se reconnaissent souvent à leur goût immodéré pour les bizarreries de la langue qu'ils collectionnent, cultivent et défendent à la manière des entomologues".

In a narrower sense, linguistic purism is identified with (Thomas 1991, 2)

> "the manifestation of a desire on the part of the speech community (or some section of it) to preserve a language from, or rid it of, putative foreign elements held to be undesirable (including those originating in dialects, sociolects and styles of the same language)".

Generally speaking, the puristic rejection of borrowings (which may have xenophobic undertones) receives the same criticism from linguists. However, a positive discourse on purism has been developed among language planners who relate the issue to problems of identity and nation building (Neustupný 1989; cf. Lebsanft 1997, 59; Fishman 2006, 43). How emancipatory these discourses may seem, they ultimately refer to the problematic concept of autochthony (Lebsanft 2012, 27–29; Tacke 2015, 106–119). As for Romance languages, the agonistic discourses on "*català* heavy" and "*català* light", which mainly concern the rejection or acceptance of Spanish borrowings, receive some attention in this context (Kailuweit/Jaeckel 2006, 1550; Tacke 2017).

Of course, not all aspects of the normative discourses can be traced back to traditional rhetorical thinking. This even applies to the most important factor of actual normative discourse on Spanish, the problem of – monolithic or more flexible – "unity of the language" (*unidad del idioma*) and its corollary, the mono- or pluricentricity of the standard (Lebsanft/Mihatsch/Polzin-Haumann 2012). Notwithstanding, the preservation of the unity has been presented as a sort of ideological compensation at the very moment traditional purism was abandoned as an element of the standard. With reference to the motto of the Royal Spanish Academy ("limpia, fija y da splendor"), Dámaso Alonso (1956, 45; cf. Lebsanft 1997, 61, 88, 109) stated:

> "Lo que todos los hispanohablantes nombran y dicen de una sola manera, es limpio porque está purificado por esa misma unidad. No lo toquéis: creéis 'limpiar', y lo que inconscientemente hacéis es fomentar la fragmentación idiomática".

The discourse on the unity (and its counterpart, fragmentation) has come under heavy attack by ideology critics (Brumme 1992; 1993) and critical discourse analysts (Moré 2002; Del Valle 2002a; 2002b; Del Valle/Gabriel-Stheeman 2002; Süselbeck 2011; Paffey 2012, 80–114) who try to uncover, behind a linguistic discourse, partially hidden political and cultural motivations within a highly conflictive field of hegemonial vs. emancipatory thinking.

5.4 Discursive genres and normative discourse

At the intratextual level, the normative discourses are articulated according to various linguistic genres. These genres include various types of prescriptive dictionaries and grammars, but also critical essays, press articles or even letters to the editor (Lebsanft 1990) on punctual problems of the standard. It would lead us much too far to present or even discuss the variety of relevant material which is abundantly presented in Romance grammaticography (e.g. Swiggers 2001) and (meta-) lexicography (e.g. Mühlschlegel 2001). Note however, that this manual is organized according to some major types of prescriptive linguistic literature, namely manuals of orthography, normative grammars, normative dictionaries, and dictionaries of language difficulties. The minor genres – essays and articles – belong to the field of linguistic critique, which is situated at the crossroads of expert and non-expert discourses (Dahmen et al. 2017). The actual theorization of linguistic critique draws, at least in part, on CDA/CDS (in Romance studies cf., e.g., Ennis/Remysen/Schwarze 2015; for a case study cf. Funk 2017; in German studies Kilian/Niehr/Schiewe [2]2016).

Berrendonner's study of the normative discourse focuses on the analysis of an important intratextual aspect, specifically the "rhetoric of prescriptivism" (Berrendonner 1982, 21–46). Berrendonner analyzes an ample variety of directive speech acts, which convey – implicitly or explicitly – information about standard and nonstandard forms ("Ne dites pas ... mais dites", etc.). Berrendonner's approach has been the model for similar examinations of the enunciation of the Spanish (Schmitt 1989; 1990; Lebsanft 1997, 212–218; Schmitt 2001, 462; Tacke 2011, etc.) and Catalan (Costa Carreras 2016) standard.

6 Conclusion

In many aspects, the contribution of discourse linguistics to the study of standardization is a reformulation of insights that have been gained by a number of other paradigms ranging from classical discourse (text) analysis and history of linguistic

thought to sociolinguistics and pragmatics. It could not be otherwise, since discourse linguistics acknowledges its indebtedness to the previous study of "discourse" – linguistic agents, attitudes, ideologies, etc. – as well as the analysis of "discourses" (texts). What is new in discourse linguistics is the fact that (i) it develops a comprehensive method that takes into account all the aspects of normative text production; and (ii) it pretends to reveal a meaning of the text under scrutiny, which is not easily available to its readers or even to its author. Normally, discourse linguists apply the Matryoshka Principle only once, thus establishing a sort of anti-hermeneutical superiority with reference to the object of analysis. We invite research to go a step further and unnest the doll of linguistic discourse on normative discourses.

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Instruments and Reference Tools for Language Codification and Modernization

8 Romanian

Camelia Stan

8.1 Orthography and Orthoepy

Abstract: This article deals with the issues raised by the standardization of the writing and pronunciation of present-day Romanian. After a short historical-bibliographical survey, we present the current standardization instruments for orthography, orthoepy and punctuation: the latest official works edited by the Romanian Academy but also some individual works. We highlight the predominance of traditional approaches, the preference for instruments with a traditional format (printed books) and the present-day special tendency towards the modernization of the forms of codification by creating digital instruments.

Keywords: Romanian, Balkan Sprachbund, orthography, spelling, orthoepy, pronunciation, standardization, modernization, Romanian-Cyrillic alphabet, Romanian-Latin alphabet

1 Introduction

The standardization of writing and pronunciation, the creation of instruments/ means of codification and their present-day modernization have been enacted only in one of the historical dialects of Romanian under specific conditions in comparison with the other Romance languages.

Romanian belongs to the Balkan-Romance group (and it is the only language that emerged from Danubian Latin). Romanian has four historical dialects: a north-Danubian dialect, Daco-Romanian (approximately formed in the former Roman Dacia and in the territory occupied by the free Dacians) and three sub-Danubian dialects, Aromanian, Megleno-Romanian and Istro-Romanian.

Daco-Romanian is the only dialect of Romanian which developed a standard variety with supra-regional norms. Especially in its standard variety, Daco-Romanian is dubbed *the Romanian language* (in a restricted sense of this term). (Daco-) Romanian is currently employed as an official language in the two Romanian states, namely Romania and the Republic of Moldova. In these countries, (Daco-) Romanian is the mother tongue of the majority. In the Republic of Moldova (a Post-Soviet state), the (indigenous) Romanian population employs, in a Romanian-Russian bilingual setting, a sub-dialectal variety of Romanian which has features in common with the Moldavian sub-dialect spoken in Romania. In 1989 (before the Republic of Moldova became independent from the USSR), Romanian (replacing

Russian) was granted the status of a state language under the improper denomination "Moldovan language". This denomination is supported by some local linguists who adopt older Stalinist ideas (of the official Soviet linguistics) and erroneously consider that the "Moldovan language" is distinct from Romanian (ELR, 348–351). The denomination "Romanian language", adopted most recently in 2013, was once more replaced by the term "Moldovan language" in 2016. The term "Moldovan language" and the thesis on which it is based are official in the separatist Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic/Transnistria. The standardization of Romanian in the Republic of Moldova took place under specific conditions (see below, sections 2.1 and 2.3). (Daco-)Romanian is used as a minority language in a foreign-tongued environment in traditional communities from Ukraine, Bulgaria, former Yugoslavia, Hungary and in modern émigré communities, especially in the USA, Canada, Australia, Israel and Western Europe (cf. ELR, 154, 563; Gerner 2012, 413–417, 419–422, 424–426, 429, 431; Müller 2012, 399–400, 407–408; Wingender 2012, 286–288, 295). In the present article, the term *Romanian* denotes (in a restricted sense) Daco-Romanian.

Our main goal is the standardization of (Daco-)Romanian writing and pronunciation in Romania. We will also show how the (Daco-)Romanian model influenced the orthography/orthoepy of the Romanian variety from the Republic of Moldova and the writing of Aromanian (the only sub-Danubian variety which developed a cultivated/written literature; see also Wingender 2012, 286–287, 295). In the modern period, standard Daco-Romanian tends to acquire a general Romanian character, being adopted in the educated usage of native speakers of different Romanian dialects.

2 Orthography, punctuation, and orthoepy: some historical-bibliography notes

From a diachronic perspective, the writing system raises specific problems, which single out Romanian in Romance. The main particularity is the usage of two different writing systems: the Cyrillic alphabet and the Latin alphabet (both with their own punctuation system). The generalization of the Latin-based writing and the standardization of writing and pronunciation took place in the modern period.

2.1 Orthography

The history of Romanian orthography raises two fundamental problems: the alphabet and the writing principles (Onu 1989, 305–322; Munteanu/Şuteu 2006, 1429–1443; Stan 2015a [2012], 2–25, 27–28 and references therein; Stan 2015b [2012], 30–33).

Writing in Romanian was probably a late phenomenon. The oldest continuous texts, preserved to the present day, date back to the 16th century. Previously, the written language was mainly Old Church Slavonic, adopted in the Romanian provinces as an ecclesiastical language of the Orthodox rite and extended to other domains of social life (administration and law). Isolated Romanian words are attested before the 16th century in documents written in Slavonic, Latin or other languages.

The Cyrillic alphabet, taken over from Old Church Slavonic, was preponderantly used in the writing of Old Romanian (the 16th–18th century). The Romanians adapted the Cyrillic alphabet to the phonological particularities of Romanian (Vîrtosu 1968, 101–109). The variants of this Romanian-Cyrillic writing system – including the orthographic marks here, of which the hyphen (-) has been preserved – were used in all stylistic varieties of texts. In the pre-modern and modern period (the end of the 18th century and the 19th century), there were several attempts to simplify the traditional Cyrillic writing (Văcărescu 1787, 13–16, 95–104; Budai-Deleanu 1970 [[1]1815–1820a], ff. 12[v], 81[v]–82[r]; Budai-Deleanu 1970 [[1]1815–1820b], ff. 14[r]–20[v]; Heliade Rădulescu 1980 [1828], V–XIX, ff. 147–159), starting from the general observation that it was inappropriate for the writing of Romanian.

The Latin alphabet was sporadically employed in the writing of Old Romanian, following the Hungarian, Polish, Italian or German orthographic conventions. We owe the first important change to Micu/Şincai (1980 [[1]1780, [2]1805], 10–19, 118–127), who put forward and employed a Latin alphabet-based writing system for Romanian in a programmatic grammar of Romanian. In their system, the writing was based on the Latinizing etymologic principle. The Latinizing etymologic writing also influenced the Cyrillic writing of the time.

In the 19th century, as part of the complex process of modernization of the Romanian language, the orthography based on the Latin alphabet became official (1860–1862). The passage from the traditional writing, based on a Romanian-Cyrillic alphabet to the orthography based on the Latin alphabet, was gradual (in the period 1828–1859) through a series of mixed alphabets dubbed "transitional alphabets". They included both Cyrillic and Latin graphemes. The main creator of transitional alphabets was Ion Heliade Rădulescu. On the one hand, the 19th century modernization of the writing of Romanian proceeded through the adaptation of the Latin alphabet to the phonological particularities of Romanian. Different orthographic solutions were put forward for the notation of the sounds of Romanian absent from Latin. The notations which became established, also currently being used, are the following: <ă> [ə] (central close-mid vowel), <i> [i] (word-final post-consonantal glide, specific to Romanian), <î/â> [ɨ] (central close vowel); <j> [ʒ], <ş> [ʃ], <ţ> [ts] (affricate alveolar voiceless consonant; the letter <ţ> is specific to Romanian), <z> [z]; (on the model of Italian orthography) the digraphs <ce/ci> [tʃ] (affricate post alveolar voiceless consonant), <ge/gi> [dʒ] (affricate post alveolar voiced consonant); (also, following Italian orthography) the trigraphs <che/chi> [c] (plosive palatal voiceless consonant), <ghe/ghi> [ɟ] (plosive palatal voiced consonant). The frica-

tive glottal consonant [h] is written like in Latin, <h>. On the other hand, there were numerous attempts to standardize orthography; several orthographic systems, (to a great extent) divergent, were developed and applied. These systems were (exclusively or mostly) based on the etymologic or on the phonological principles. Some of the etymologically-oriented systems had a purist Latinizing orientation (putting forward artificial linguistic forms), others had an archaic orientation (suggesting forms close to those of Old Romanian), while still others had an Italian orientation. The orthographic systems based on the phonological principle had either a historical-popular orientation (invoking the traditional, popular pronunciation model) or an analogist orientation (stipulating the generalization of the phonological laws which initially acted upon the inherited Latin vocabulary, thus the adaptation of non-Latin words on the analogical model of the words inherited from Latin and the reflection in writing of this adaption).

The orthographic standardization through academic instruments took place after the foundation of the Romanian Academic Society (*Societatea Academică Română*) (1867), which later became the Romanian Academy (*Academia Română*) (1879). The first works of this type are a Romanian grammar (Cipariu 1867–1877) and a dictionary (Laurian/Massim 1871–1876), both of Latinizing orientation. The first official orthography of Romanian was adopted by the Academy in 1881 and was based on the phonological principle. Titu Maiorescu had a decisive contribution to the enforcement of this principle.

The modern orthographic terminology mostly contains neologisms: *apostrof* <'> 'apostrophe' (< Fr. *apostrophe*, Lat. APOSTROPHUS; DA, s. v.; DELR, vol. 1, s. v.); *cratimă* <-> 'hyphen' (< MGrk. *κράτημα*; DA, s. v.), etc. The terminology had already been established by the end of the 19th century.

Four orthographic reforms took place in the 20th century: in 1904, 1932, 1953 and 1993. The 1904 reform extended the application of the phonologic principle and simplified the orthography. Furthermore, the 1904 orthography was applied by Sextil Pușcariu in the Academy's *Dictionary* (DA). The 1932 reform consolidated the application of the phonological principle. The 1953 reform laid the groundwork for the modern Romanian orthography. Among the most important changes, we mention the following: the writing of the vowel [ɨ] with <î> in all situations (and the removal of the letter <â>, which had the same phonological value); the elimination of the (Latinizing) forms (cf. Chivu 2000, 102–103 and references therein) sg./pl. *sunt* '(I) am/(they) are', pl. *suntem* '(we) are', pl. *sunteţi* '(you) are' and their replacement by *sînt*, *sîntem*, *sînteţi*, in accordance with their popular pronunciation [ˈsɨnt], [ˈsɨntem], [ˈsɨntetsⁱ]; the introduction into orthography of the *morphologic* principle (which regulates certain orthographic solutions through morphologic criteria) and of the *syntactic* principle (which distinguishes the writing of compound words from that of homophonous syntactic phrases). Subsequently, in 1965, the letter <â> [ɨ] was reestablished in the lexical family of the ethnonym *român* 'Romanian (man)'. The orthographic norm established through the 1953 (1965) reform was taken over

in the Academy's official instruments (MDO; ÎO ¹1960–⁴1983; DOOM¹), as well as in many individual works. In the most recent orthographic reform (1993), the Romanian Academy imposed the writing of the vowel [ɨ] with the letter <î> at the beginning and the end of words, and with the letter *â* inside words; thus, the last reform limited the application of the phonological principle and introduced an exclusively distributional principle (the position of a sound inside a word). The usage of the graphic forms sg./pl. *sunt* '(I) am/(they) are', pl. *suntem* '(we) are', pl. *sunteţi* '(you) are' was also imposed. At the end of the 20th century, following a foreign (especially English) model, the sign dubbed *bară oblică* </> 'slash' (literally 'bar oblique') or even *slash* (like in English) was adopted (Avram 1979).

In the period 1924–1989, in the Republic of Moldova, the official alphabet used in the writing of Romanian was the Cyrillic one, in its modern Russian variant (cf. section one; see the discussion in Dahmen 2002, 228–230, and references therein). The differences from the writing of Russian are minimal and concern the phonological value of certain letters and the insertion of a special letter for the notation of the consonant [ʤ]. 1989 marks the official return to the traditional style of writing with the Latin alphabet (also temporarily used in the interwar period). The modern Russian alphabet is still used in Transnistria (ELR, 350, 512). The Moldovan official orthography is based on the 1953/1965 Romanian orthographic reform.

The oldest Aromanian texts preserved from the 18th century are written with a Greek alphabet, also subsequently used. The passage to the Latin alphabet marks the beginning of the modern period (the 19th century). There were attempts of orthographic unification on the basis of the Latin alphabet at the end of the 20th century (ELR, 60, 512).

2.2 Punctuation

The history of Romanian punctuation (Stan 2008, 341–351 and references therein) is tightly woven into the history of orthography.

The ancient Romanian-Cyrillic system of writing also included a punctuation system made up of the full stop/period, the comma, the colon, the semicolon and the question mark. The period was sometimes placed halfway up the line <·>, and the question mark had the form of a semicolon <;> on the model of Greek punctuation. The question mark with its current form <?>, the quotation marks, with the form established in Romanian <„ ">, and the round brackets or parentheses <( )> have been attested in the writing of Romanian since the 17th century. The association of the punctuation marks with certain syntagmatic functions was incoherent in the Romanian-Cyrillic writing: the marks were sometimes used in free variation or with different punctuation roles. However, certain functions have been attested since Old Romanian: the period at the end of declarative clauses, the isolation of the vocative or of other constituents by means of the comma, the placement of the colon before an explanation, etc.

The modern punctuation of Romanian was elaborated in the 19th century and has been used in the Latin orthography of Romanian ever since. In that period, the punctuation system – comparable with that of the modern European languages with respect to the inventory of markers, their form and functions – was set. There are very few elements of continuity between the old system of punctuation (based on the Romanian-Cyrillic alphabet) and the modern one.

The modern punctuation terminology includes neologisms (mainly Latino-Romanic loanwords) and compound words: *punctuație* 'punctuation' (< Fr. *ponctuation*, under the influence of Rom. *punct* 'period'; DLR, s. v.); *punct* 'period' (< Lat. PŪNCTUM, It. *punto*; DLR, s. v.); *virgulă* <,> 'comma' (< Fr. *virgule*, Lat. VIRGULA; DLR, s. v.); *două puncte* <:> 'colon' (literally 'two periods'); *punct și virgulă* <;> 'semicolon' (lit. 'period and comma'), etc. The new terms replaced the old Greek or Latin loan translations, the indirect loan translations (with a Slavonic go-between) and the ancient loanwords. The modern punctuation terminology was already established at the end of the 19th century, as is the case of orthography. The slash </> is still used as an orthographic (cf. above, 2.1) and as a punctuation marker.

After 1953, the punctuation norm is presented in special official works issued by the Academy (ÎP; ÎO ¹1960–⁴1983).

2.3 Orthoepy

The history of Romanian orthoepy (Stan 2015a [2012], 25–28 and references therein; Stan 2015b [2012], 33), the foundation of the pronunciation norms, is based on the fundamental process of supra-dialectal unification of literary pronunciation from the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. Orthography played an essential role in the unification of pronunciation. One consequence of the influence of orthography is the fact that the preeminence of the etymologic principle in orthography in the second half of the 19th century delayed the fixation of pronunciation norms. The phonetic unification was made possible by the selection of the phonological principle as the basis of official orthography (cf. above, 2.1).

In the 19th century, we may identify several tendencies in the process of pronunciation unification: archaization of pronunciation (closeness to the euphonic model of the old language; Șuteu 1976, 128); dismissal of regional pronunciation (as a consequence of the closeness to the Latin etymologic model or the Latino-Romanic model); avoidance of the forms which contain the non-Latin vowels [ə], [ɨ]; the literary pronunciation sg./pl. *sunt* ['sunt] '(I) am/(they) are', pl. *suntem* ['suntem] '(we) are', pl. *sunteți* ['suntetsⁱ] '(you) are' (after the elimination of the diacritic from the Latinizing orthography, with <û> – *sûnt, sûntem, sûnteți*; ELR, 404; Ivănescu 2000 [1980], 673, 694).

After 1953, the orthoepic norm is presented in the Academy's special official works (DO; ÎO ¹1960–⁴1983; DOOM¹). The present-day orthoepic model is given by the pronunciation of middle-aged intellectuals living in Bucharest. The orthoepic

norm is based on the Wallachian sub-dialect, also integrating some forms with large circulation from the Moldavian sub-dialect.

In the Republic of Moldova, the standardization of pronunciation aimed at eliminating regional pronunciations. A certain degree of tolerance manifested itself with respect to the forms employed in literary texts from Romanian; e.g. *pâne* ['pɨne] 'bread', standard Rom. *pâine* ['pɨi̯ne] (ELR, 350).

3 Current standardization instruments

The Romanian Academy is responsible for the standardization of Romanian orthography and orthoepy. On the basis of a 2001 law, the Academy is the sole body which establishes the orthographic norm in Romania. The norm is written down in special official works of the Academy. According to these works, punctuation is not considered a part of orthography (in the strict sense of this term), but rather it is included in the domain of proper writing, understood in a wider sense (DOOM², XXXVII). The punctuation norm is distinct but associated with the orthographic norm.

The most recent fundamental works of the Romanian Academy which present the orthographic, orthoepic and punctuation norms of present-day Romanian are: *Dicţionarul ortografic, ortoepic şi morfologic al limbii române* (DOOM², 2005), *Îndreptar ortografic, ortoepic şi de punctuaţie* (ÎO ⁵1995/2001), and *Gramatica limbii române* (GALR, 2008 [2005]).

3.1 Traditional instruments

Most normative reference works dealing with the orthography, orthoepy and punctuation of present-day Romanian are published in a traditional, printed book format. The fundamental normative works of the Romanian Academy – DOOM², ÎO (⁵1995/2001), and GALR – are published as printed books. To these, we may add some individual author works.

3.1.1 The *Dicţionarul ortografic, ortoepic şi morfologic al limbii române* (DOOM²)

In contrast to the first edition (DOOM¹, 1982, XL + 693 p.), the most recent edition of the *Dicţionarul ortografic, ortoepic şi morfologic al limbii române* (DOOM², 2005, CIV + 871 p.) contains a revised and supplemented form of the norms. The changes introduced in DOOM² were imposed by the 1993 orthographic reform but also by the dynamics of usage from the period after the publication of the first edition (DOOM¹, 1982). Being under the coordination of a different editor, who had a partially different point of view, DOOM² is, in some respects, a work independent from DOOM¹.

The body of the dictionary is preceded by an introductory section containing the principles on which the new edition is based (DOOM[2], XI–XVII) and a presentation of the main orthographic and orthoepic norms of present-day Romanian (DOOM[2], XXV–LXXXIX). The approach is traditional. The problems addressed are the following: inventory of the alphabet; correspondence between (groups of) letters and sound; usage of the orthographic marks; standard writing and pronunciation of vowels, semivowels, word-final post-consonantal glides, diphthongs, triphthongs, consonants; pronunciation of double letters; rules of the stress accent and of the graphic accent; writing and pronunciation of foreign proper names; writing with a capital letter; writing of derived or compound words, of idioms and of quasifixed phrases; syllabification and line-final hyphenation. The inventory of words in DOOM[2] is huge (extended in contrast to that of DOOM[1]) and contains over 62,000 entries. Approximately 2,500 new entries have been introduced (and marked by a conventional symbol). Largely, these words are recent loanwords (from American English, but also from other modern languages and Latin), present in dictionaries, in the mass-media, in online texts or in present-day standard speech. The goal of recording these units (some of which will never fully enter the language) is the unification of their current usages through an orthographic and orthoepic recommendation. Of the inventory of words normed in DOOM[1], units which belong to non-standard varieties have largely been eliminated; usage indications have been introduced for the preserved non-standard words.

The official character is explicitly mentioned only with reference to the orthographic norm but not to the orthoepic one. In general, the orthoepic norm of present-day Romanian is less strict than the orthographic one. Through the concession made to usage, the orthoepic norm of DOOM[2] is even more flexible and more permissive than the norm of DOOM[1]. For example, some words in which DOOM[1] recommended only the oxytone (closer to the etymological form of the word), DOOM[2] accepts free variation: e.g. Rom. *antic* 'antique' [anˈtik] (DOOM[1], s. v.; < Lat. ANTĪQUUS, It. *antico*, Fr. *antique*, cf. DELR, vol. 1, s. v.), [ˈantik/anˈtik] (DOOM[2], s. v.). The order in which the free variants are registered in DOOM[2] reflects their normative status: the first variant is the recommended one (in the particular case of Rom. *antic*, the paroxytone is recommended, preferred in current usage because it corresponds to the most frequent stress pattern of Romanian). The orthoepic indications concerning stress are more detailed in DOOM[2] than in DOOM[1]. One of the changes concerns the marking of main stress of compound words, including the situations in which this accent is placed on monosyllabic components (whose stress was not indicated in DOOM[1]): e.g. Rom. *câine-lup* 'Alsatian' is pronounced with secondary stress on the first component and with main stress on the second one, i.e. [ˌkȋi̯neˈlup] (DOOM[2], s. v.); contrast with [ˌkii̯nelup] (DOOM[1], s. v.). The marking of secondary stress was also introduced with words in the case of which frequent usage errors were noticed: e.g. Rom. *aeroplan* 'aeroplane' [ˌaeroˈplan] (DOOM[2] s. v.); contrast with [aeroˈplan] (DOOM[1], s. v.). The dynamics of usage has sometimes led to

changes of both the orthoepic and the orthographic norm. The present-day norm prefers to syllabify and implicitly hyphenate at the end of the line on the basis of phonological criteria: e.g. Rom. *despre* 'about' [des.pre] (DOOM[2], s. v.), according to the rule on the basis of which in a cluster of three intervocalic consonants, the first consonant is grouped with the first vowel in the preceding syllable and the other consonants belong to the next syllable. Syllabification on morphological criteria is also accepted; in this situation the edge of the syllable is aligned with the edge of the morpheme: e.g. *despre* (< *de* + *spre*; FC I, 225) [de.spre] (DOOM[2], s. v.). Morphological criteria have priority in DOOM[1] (XXXV).

Some changes of the norms follow from opposing usage tendencies. Thus, for loanwords or loan translations, which are already adapted to the orthographic system of Romanian – for example, words similar to Romanian merged compounds, whose components are not separated graphically – the current norm imposes separation by means of the hyphen <->, according to the international norms or to the norms adopted in the Romanian technical styles: e.g. Rom. *voltamper* 'volt-ampere' (DOOM[1], s. v.; < Fr. *voltampère*; cf. DLR, s. v.), *volt-amper* (DOOM[2], s. v.); Rom. *watt-oră* 'watt-hour' (DOOM[1], s. v.; cf. It. *wattora*, Fr. *watt-heure*; DLR, s. v.), *watt-oră* (DOOM[2], s. v.). For certain loans that are not orthographically adapted, in the case of which the lexical formatives and the enclitic inflectional endings were separated by a hyphen <->, the present-day norm imposes the writing without the hyphen, which is preferred in usage: e.g. Rom. sg. *week-end*, pl. *week-end-uri* (DOOM[1], s. v.), sg. *weekend*, pl. *weekenduri* (DOOM[2], s. v.). The words that have undergone normative changes are marked by conventional symbols in DOOM[2]. A special problem of orthoepic standardization is the phonetic adaptation of neologisms. For the recent ones (most of them being of English origin), DOOM[2] indicates a pronunciation norm as close as possible to the etymologic pronunciation: e.g. *wigwam* [wigwom], compare with American English [wigwɑ:m].

The current system of orthographic marks includes the hyphen <-> as the main symbol, with the most varied usages. The apostrophe <'>, a symbol which exclusively has orthographic functions, has a limited usage. A relatively restricted usage also characterizes the following (punctuation) markers, which have secondary orthographic functions: the full stop <.>, the dash <−> and the *slash* </>. The blank and the comma <,> are added to this inventory also present in DOOM[1] (XXXVI–XXXVIII). The situations discussed in DOOM[2] for the comma also illustrate usages as a punctuation marker.

3.1.2 The *Îndreptar ortografic, ortoepic și de punctuație* (ÎO [5]1995/2001)

The last edition of the *Îndreptar ortografic, ortoepic și de punctuație* (ÎO [5]1995, reprinted in 2001, 274 p.) introduces the changes brought about by the last (1993) orthographic reform (cf. above, 2.1).

The work includes an index of words (ÎO [5]1995, 97–265), which is relatively limited (under 8,000 entries), with orthographic and orthoepic indications. Also attached is a list of Greek-Latin names which have a traditional Romanian orthography; these names also have orthoepic indications. The index is preceded by a normative and corrective section in which the main orthographic, orthoepic and punctuation norms are briefly exposed; a few prohibitive rules that are frequently violated in usage are spelled out (ÎO [5]1995, 9–91). The approach is traditional. The issues surrounding the orthographic and orthoepic norm are subsequently detailed in DOOM[2] (cf. above, 3.1).

The chapter on punctuation also includes a few historical notes followed by the presentation of the current rules, illustrated with examples from 19th–20th century literature. The inventory of punctuation marks is the following: the period <.>, the question mark <?>, the exclamation mark <!>, the comma <,>, the semicolon <;>, the colon <:>, the quotation marks <„ ”> or <« »>, the dash <−>, the round brackets or parentheses <( )>, the square brackets <[ ]>, the dots <...> and the hyphen <->. The present-day Romanian punctuation norm is less strict than the orthographic norm. Punctuation is relatively free.

3.1.3 The *Gramatica limbii române* (GALR, 2008)

In the most recent official grammar of Romanian edited by the Romanian Academy *Gramatica limbii române* (GALR, 2008 [2005], vol. 2, 993–1002), the punctuation norm is approached from a modern perspective with a change of emphasis from description to questioning. The phonologic, syntagmatic, expressive and discursive functions of punctuation markers are discussed with reference to present-day Romanian.

3.1.4 Individual works

The orthography and orthoepy of present-day Romanian have been taken up in many individual works. Of these, special relevance for standardization of orthography have two works written by the editors of the DOOM dictionaries: Avram (1990) explicitly made some of the orthographic rules on which DOOM[1] is based; starting from the norm (DOOM[2]) Vintilă-Rădulescu (DIN 2009) also assumed a wider practical objective.

3.2 Digital instruments

In the last couple of years there have been constant attempts to create online instruments for the consultation of the Academy's works. Of the fundamental orthograph-

ic and orthoepic normative works, DOOM[2] can be accessed on the website: <https://dexonline.ro>.

4 Conclusion

The orthographic, orthoepic and punctuation standardization of present-day Romanian is still strongly dominated by tradition. This trait is visible in the theoretical conception of the Romanian Academy's works and in the preference for traditional forms of codification. The modernization of the framework and of the instruments/means of language codification and the creation of digital instruments are also a feature of the current standardization process.

Currently, a special problem of the language culture in Romania is the relation between norm and usage. This relation – generally obvious at the level of the language and particularly with respect to orthography – underwent changes after 1989, due to the political changes in Romania. The increase of social and individual/personal freedom also manifested itself through a relative increase of the liberties taken in the linguistic usage with respect to the norm. The coercive force of academic norms decreased. Thus, the changes imposed by the last orthographic reform of 1993 are still rejected by some publications or publishing houses in Romania. A tendency towards flexibility – receptivity towards the dynamics of usage – may be observed in the standardization of present-day Romanian orthography and orthoepy.

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Rodica Zafiu

8.2 Normative Grammars

Abstract: This article presents the relation between descriptivism and prescriptivism in the Romanian grammar books written from the middle of the 18th century onwards and the role these grammars played in the standardization process. The survey focuses on the normative tradition in order to explain the main characteristics of the present situation: the standardization of Romanian began relatively late and had to be negotiated between several implicit norms; it passed through a purist stage, it then went through a process of opening towards the spoken language and finally through a period of authoritarian and centralized language politics. During the first stages, grammarians clearly stated their intention to create a cultivated language by means of the unification of regional varieties and diastratic differentiation from the vernacular. However, their work came out predominantly descriptive and only implicitly normative (through the selection of language data). The section dedicated to the present-day standardization describes the most significant instruments which convey the consensually accepted corpus of rules to a larger audience. The purely prescriptive grammars are rather rare; even the syntheses assumed by the Romanian Academy only show a moderate degree of normativity despite their programmatic statements and their image in the public perception.

Keywords: Romanian, grammar, standardization, modernization, prescriptivism, descriptivism, usage, language ideologies, normative tradition, purism

1 Introduction

Implicit written norms were established between 16th and 18th century, especially through the circulation of religious and legal texts. The explicit codification (through grammars, dictionaries, orthographic systems) began in the second half of the 18th century and expanded in the 19th century in a crucial historical period of accelerate unification and modernization of the society. The historical circumstances (the constitution of a unitary national state, the acquiring of its independence and the orientation towards the Western Europe) then favored the emergence of new cultural institutions, which proved themselves essential to the creation and spreading of norms: the Romanian Academy and a larger education system. The ideological climate produced tensions between two opposite options regarding the national standard: a purist academic trend and a romantic preference for using the vernacular as a source of expressivity. The 20th century allowed more interference between oral usages and written norms, tolerating diatopic and diastratic language varieties (especially after the second act of the national union in 1918). The period

after World War II exhibited the strongest affirmation of normativity, corresponding to centralized and authoritarian politics, with nationalistic accents. At the beginning of the 21st century, grammatical norms are in general stabilized, but the prescriptive attitude seems to regress.

The written tradition of the 16th to the 18th century showed several regional implicit standards specific to the northern vs. southern varieties (Ivănescu 1947; Gheţie 1978; etc.) as well as diaphasic and diastratic varieties, different text types being more formal or closer to the spoken language (Zafiu 2009). It is generally assumed that the relatively late standardization of Romanian allowed for more variation and thus typical oral phenomena of redundancy (negative concord, clitic doubling, etc.) were able to extend and generalize. Diatopic variation chiefly concerned phonology and morphology, while diaphasic and diastratic variation involved syntax as well.

The first Romanian grammars have contributed to the standardization process through their symbolic value (as credentials attesting the existence of a cultivated, therefore "superior", language) more than through the choices and exclusions professed. Prefaces claimed normative intentions, but the texts were predominantly descriptive, presenting the essential structures of the language and considerably fewer details of variation susceptible to being evaluated. In addition, as the traditional label "grammar" often encompassed many other linguistic aspects (orthography, phonology and stylistics), grammar books were more prescriptive in their choice of orthographic systems than in purely grammatical issues. The tradition of the grammar books has reflected various linguistic models and ideological frames: standardization was guided by purist and rationalist premises in the 19th century, by a teleological model of the usage tendencies in the 20th century and nowadays by a more communicative approach and a corpus-based evaluation of the usage.

2 The normative tradition

2.1 The beginnings

The idea that Romanian lacked a cultivated language has been recurrently expressed by authors and translators starting in the 17th century, notably in their forewords or epilogues (Bulgăr 1976). Romanian was seen as incomplete, poor, unable to convey complex content, inferior to Latin and classical Greek; lamentations about the language were conceiving it as either too young or in a state of decay (Cipariu 1987 [1866], 5–6) because of the foreign influences that had "corrupted" Latin.

In this context, the first grammars had both practical and symbolic functions. On the one hand, they fulfilled practical purposes as textbooks for native speakers or for foreigners interested in learning Romanian. On the other hand, they were seen as filling in a gap (the main topos being "all the others have it, except us") and as credentials for a superior state of the language and therefore of the ethnic

community. The nationalistic value of a cultivated language that displayed its Latin origin was particularly important in Transylvania, where Romanians, as members of the Eastern Orthodox Church, had not been recognized as citizens with equal rights. The first grammars were unpublished manuscripts like the *Gramatica rumânească* by Eustatievici Braşoveanul (1757), written in Romanian by a Transylvanian teacher or a Latin textbook for Jesuit missionaries (*Institutiones linguae valachicae*, c. 1770, in Chivu 2001, 48–149). The first printed grammar, *Elementa linguae daco-romanae sive valachicae* (Vienna, 1780), was written in Latin by two representatives of the emergent movement of ethnic renewal eventually known as the "Transylvanian School": Samuil Micu (Klein) and Gheorghe Şincai, clerks of the Greek-Catholic Church (Micu/Şincai 1980 [[1]1780, [2]1805]). Their grammar became a symbolic milestone being used to mark the beginning of the modern stage of explicit standardization in many historical studies concerning the Romanian language (Gheţie 1978; Munteanu/Ţâra 1978; Gheţie 1997, etc.). The first printed grammar written in Romanian emerged soon after and was authored by an erudite Walachian aristocrat, Ianache Văcărescu (1982 [1787]). These first grammar books followed Latin, Greek, Italian and Slavonic models in order to describe Romanian. This fact inevitably led them to 'invent' forms (i.e. nominal cases or verbal tenses) that were not really grammaticalized in Romanian, simply by translating the models. The description of the main structures of Romanian gave little space for comments about variation and hence prescriptive statements were rather limited.

As time went on, grammar books became more numerous (see Ionaşcu 1914; Avram 1978; Seche/Seche 1978, 76). Those intended for a Romanian audience, especially for schools, played a more significant part in the normative process; in Walachia, some of the most influential texts were Heliade Rădulescu (1828), Golescu (1840), Codru Drăguşanu (1848); in Moldavia, Câmpeanu (1848), Măcărescu (1848); in Transylvania and Banat, Tempea (1797), Diaconovici Loga (1822), Bălăşescu (1848), etc. During the second half of the 19th century, some textbooks (with a stronger prescriptive character) were particularly popular and reprinted many times: Massim (1854), Cipariu (1855), Munteanu (1860–1861), Manliu (1874), etc. Changes from an edition to the successive one concern essentially orthography because orthography witnessed an extreme variety and instability at the time (↗8.1).

The grammar's authors emphasized the importance of their discipline as a basis and an instrument of culture: grammar was presented as the prerequisite for all studies ("gramatica este începutul tuturor învăţăturilor", Eustatievici Braşoveanul 1969 [1757], 7) and as the perfect tool for language stabilization. According to a rhetorical statement of Văcărescu (1982 [1787]), if Romanians had been endowed with grammar teachers, they would have still been speaking Latin or Italian. Intentions were clearly normative: to generate a grammatical and educated language ("limba cea grammaticească sau învăţată", Diaconovici Loga 1973 [1822], 135), which would be superior to the common everyday speech. Norms were supposed to produce an ornate, beautiful and regularized language similar to the envied models,

those languages benefitting from the richest cultural tradition ("întocma ca cele mai bogate limbi", Golescu 1840, 14). In practice, the first grammar books also offer justifications for usage variations, often by recourse to rhetorical intentions.

Many other textbooks are intended for foreigners and do not have a real effect on standardization: most of them are written in German (Molnar 1788), others in Latin (Alexi 1826) or French (Mircesco [Alecsandri] 1863).

In 1866 the Romanian Academy (*Societatea Literară Română*; *Academia Română* since 1879) was created as a cultural institution explicitly dedicated to publishing an authoritative grammar and a thesaurus dictionary. The program of the Academy, which was dominated by a purist ideology, was contested by many contemporary writers and was subsequently considered a failure (especially in the orthographic domain). But in fact, it exercised a notable influence on the standard language, specifically through the educational system. The first grammar assumed by the Academy, Cipariu (1992b [1869–1877]) was a complex and rich dissertation where historical information and data from Sud-Danubian Romance idioms were invoked in order to emphasize the Latin characteristics of the Romanian grammar; the general purist framework of the book was present chiefly in the Latinized orthography. Its prescriptivism was based on the rationalist ideology and on the preference for any form that was (or at least seemed to be) related to Latin.

At the end of the 19th century, two other important grammars illustrated two different relations between descriptivism and prescriptivism: the grammar of Tiktin (1893) was simultaneously more normative and less Latinist than any other previous textbook, while the grammar of Philippide (1897) expressed the rejection of prescriptivism and attempted to capture forms of the spoken Romanian, extracted from literary prose.

Grammar's authors sometimes exposed their principles and their criteria of variant selection. For Heliade Rădulescu, who acted not only as a standardizer through his grammar but also as a publisher and by participating to journalistic debates, the main criteria of codification were *dreptul cuvânt* (the reason), *armonia* (the harmony) and *energia* (the energy), i.e. regularity, euphony and brevity. These subjective and stylistic criteria led, for instance, to the rejection of the suffixes *-ălui* and *-isi* in verbal borrowings from Hungarian and Greek (Heliade Rădulescu 1943, 214). For Cipariu (1992b [1869–1877], 72), the most important principle was the etymological one (the fidelity to Latin forms and meanings), followed by that of the internal analogy and the analogy with other Romance languages.

2.2 Purism and modernization

The construction of a cultivated language variety implied a selection between the available linguistic data but also the addition of new lexical and grammatical structures, mainly based on imitation. In the formula of Cipariu (1987 [1866], 7), the dual purpose was language purification and reform ("curăţirea şi reformarea limbii").

The prevailing ideology of the 19th century promoted cultural synchronization with the Romance speaking Western world (France, Italy) and rejection of older Balkan influences; a process which has been called "Romance westernization", "re-Latinization", "re-romanization", etc. (Niculescu 1978). Romanian scholars from the 19th century elaborated a special mix of archaizing, reformist and selectively xenophobic purism (in the terminology of Thomas 1991). It led to reintroducing Latin forms and also borrowing words and grammatical patterns from modern Romance languages, while banning Slavic, Greek and Turkish elements.

The most striking principle of the Romanian reformist purism became effective in derivational morphology and made lexical borrowing and internal derivation fuse together. It consisted of the idea that analyzable loanwords derived from Latin roots and exhibiting an adapted form were perfectly acceptable to enrich Romanian vocabulary (↗8.3). This principle, which was exposed by Iorgovici (1799), had the advantage of motivating borrowings, relating them to the inherited vocabulary and rendering them acceptable even for purists. The method was adopted and recommended by influential grammarians like Diaconovici Loga (1822), and especially Heliade Rădulescu (1828). For example, for Diaconovici Loga (1973 [1822], 130–132), new words like *statuă, institut, constituire, destituire, substituţie, substanţia, superstiţia* (borrowed from modern Romance languages and shaped according to their Latin etymon) were perfect for modern Romanian because it was possible to associate them with the inherited verb *sta* (< STARE).

In morphology, purist attitudes determined the choice of the variant which was more similar to its Latin etymon. Tempea (2016 [1797]) rejected some morphophonological alternations in the Romanian verbal inflection because they altered the similarity with Latin: he recommended the reconstructed 1pl. present forms *portăm, jocăm* instead of the common *purtăm, jucăm* (where the etymons PORTARE, IOCARE were less visible). He preferred the regional form of the 1sg. present *văd* (analogically rebuilt), rejecting the variant *văz* (the normal result of phonological processes). The form he chose was closer to Lat. VIDEO and also had the advantage of participating in a more regulate paradigm (preserving the final consonant of the root). In his unpublished grammar, Budai-Deleanu (1812) favored the resurgence of the verbal infinitive with the final -*re*, lost for centuries in the general usage. Laurian (2002 [1840], 88) and several other contemporary grammars (Costinescu 1979, 68, 83) preferred the demonstratives *ăst* and *ăl* (closer to ISTE and ILLE, respectively); their successors chose to return to the forms validated by the written tradition (*acest, acel*, i.e. the present-day norm).

Moreover, Italian, which was seen as the most legitimate successor of Latin, was a model for the creation of artificial forms: Văcărescu (1982 [1787]) built a pluperfect *aveam avut* that imitated the Italian periphrastic tense form; Heliade Rădulescu (1841) established a parallelism between Romanian and Italian, declaring them to be dialects of the same language.

2.3 Diatopic unification and diastratic differentiation

Standardization presupposed, first of all, selection or rejection of dialectal variants and a consensus about supra-regional norms. The Romanian standard was based on the Walachian dialect (used by many important religious prints from the 16th to the 18th century and subsequently favored by the location of the capital), but the core inventory was enriched with features originating in other dialects (which had their own written tradition). The first grammars, particularly those published before 1859 (year of the first political union of Walachia and Moldavia) displayed a large number of regional variety, both in their metalanguage and in the examples. There were Walachian phonological forms in the grammars of Văcărescu (1787) and Golescu (1840), for instance variants *pă* and *dă* of the prepositions registered in earlier texts (and preserved in the present-day standard) as *pe* 'on' and *de* 'of'. The Moldavian Seulescu (1833) advocated the inclusion in the norm of several Moldavian variants. The Transylvanian Cipariu (1992a [1855], 45) condemned the Walachian morphological innovation consisting of the extension of the synchronism 3sg.=3pl. in the present of other verbs other than those in the first conjugation (where the synchronism was etymological): *oamenii zice*, and labelled as a serious error (*sminteală*) the Moldavian use of genitival article *al, a, ai, ale* in the invariant form *a* (Cipariu 1922a [1855], 6).

There were some debates and controversies in the cultural magazines concerning the regional forms to be chosen as the national standard: between the Walachian grammar author and writer Heliade Rădulescu and the Moldavians C. Negruzzi, in 1836 (see Heliade Rădulescu 1943, 213–244), and Seulescu, in 1839 (Zugun 1977, 48–87).

Fidelity to one's own dialect was often less important than the other principles of selection, i.e. similarity with the Latin forms or paradigmatic regularity. The Walachian Văcărescu (1982 [1787]) criticized some Walachian verbal forms such as the irregular 1sg. present *poci* 'I can', and preferred the variant used in all the other regions, *pot*; he appreciated the 1sg. present *lucru* ('I work'), used in Transylvania, instead of *lucrez* (with the inflexional augment *-ez*) of the other dialects.

Standardization favored diastratic and diaphasic differentiation. The most open claim about the necessity for a social and cultural distinction between vernaculars and the educated usage was expressed by the poet and philologist Budai-Deleanu in an unpublished dialogue about the Romanian language (c. 1815–1820): he stated that the "language of the muses" had to be different from the way in which country people spoke ("cum vorbeşte Oprea cu Bucur în pădure", Budai-Deleanu 2011b [c. 1815–1820], 646). In his equally unpublished grammar (Latin version, 1812), the philologist criticized previous grammarians, such as Văcărescu, for having used "lingvam vulgi" (2011a [1812], 537).

2.4 Rationalist approaches

From a rationalist perspective, the ideal language has to be regular, non-redundant and non-ambiguous. These properties are neither inherent nor necessary to the natural language which contains a large amount of irregularities, redundancies and sincretisms resolved by the context.

In Massim (1854), a textbook where Latinist principles and normativity were well represented, we find a criticism of the supposed irregular plurals (in fact, a particular type of plurals), like *purcele, floricele* (sg. *purcea* 'sow', *floricea* 'little flower'). Massim ([11]1870 [1854], 18) would have preferred new singular forms (*purcelă, floricelă*, etc.), only to fit the prototypical singular/plural marking (*-ă/-e*). The same author found that it was 'indecent' (*necuviincios*) to mix the feminine article *-a* with the masculine noun *tată* 'father'; in fact, the colloquial form *tata* (vs. the formal *tatăl*) pertains to a minor morphological class but is perfectly acceptable in modern Romanian.

An interesting case of controversies about standardization concerns clitic doubling. This phenomenon, well represented in 19th century Romanian, was not legitimized by Latin and contradicted the rationalist ideal of non-redundancy. Thus, it was rejected by radical purists like Budai-Deleanu: in his *Dascalul românesc* (ms., 1815–1820), it was said that repeating the complement by a pronoun was a big mistake even though its usage was general (Budai-Deleanu 2011b [c. 1815–1829], 647). Other grammarians too condemned the "pleonasm", motivating that it did not contribute new information (Massim [11]1870 [1854], 81). Meanwhile, clitic doubling was accepted by other grammar's authors as a stylistic device, aiming to add more emphasis (Diaconovici Loga 1973 [1822], 156; Heliade Rădulescu 1980 [1828], 77, etc.).

In the process of standardization, some old forms were preserved and some innovations were accepted by virtue of a principle of disambiguation and distinctness. Heliade Rădulescu (1980 [1828], 46) strove to have a Southern innovation imposed; this was the 3sg. form *a* of the composed past auxiliary, different from the 3pl. *au*. The written tradition knew only the syncretism 3sg.=3pl. *au*, but the *a/au* distinction was successful, becoming the new norm (Munteanu/Țâra 1978, 114; Costinescu 1979, 213–215). Another innovation (first emerged in the dialect from Banat) was selected and imposed by some grammars and became the general norm or standard Romanian: the desinence *-u* for the 3pl. imperfect, which differentiated it from the 3sg. (*cântau* vs. *cânta*), while the old written texts had only known the syncretism 3sg.=3pl. (*cânta*) (Gheție/Teodorescu 1965; Costinescu 1979, 206–207). The rationalist argumentation, along with tradition, led to the acceptance of the differential object marker *p(r)e*, which was appreciated as a means of disambiguating between the subject and the object (Diaconovici Loga 1973 [1822], 152).

2.5 Standardisation and anticipation of the "tendencies"

The first half of the 19th century displayed less concern for standardization (amongst the exceptions, Slavici 1914): a larger linguistic diversity produced by the political union from 1919 (of the Old Kingdom with Transylvania and Bessarabia) and the linguistic interest in the spoken language generated a more liberal attitude toward the standard language, and even the most educated Romanian speakers hesitated between several variants (Puşcariu 1936).

Amongst the main grammars of the time, Rosetti/Byck (1945) was less prescriptive though the preface of the book stated normative intentions; in fact, these were merely manifested through the attribution of stylistic labels as 'spoken language' (*limba vorbită*), 'vernacular' (*graiul popular*), 'affective language' (*limbajul afectiv*), etc. The demonstratives *ăsta* 'this', *ăla* 'that' and the invariable form of the relative pronoun *care* were considered colloquial facts (Rosetti/Byck 1945 [1943], 58, 146, 174). More normative was Iordan (1937); the author was an observer of the variation in the contemporary Romanian, who used the idea of Frei (1929), employing the term 'error' critically and figuratively (Iordan 1948 [1943]; ↗8.4, section 2). The rationalist image of the language, current in the 19th century, is the most stable heritage of the old prescriptivism, which has been preserved by the modern one.

2.6 Centralization and authoritarian norm

The period after World War II favored politics of intense standardization of Romanian (see Dahmen 2002). The soviet model of centralization and control, the ideology of social levelling and the aim of ensuring general availability to official propaganda required a unified and stable standard language. Besides that, it was easier to spread norms in a social system with hierarchical structure, strong censure and a totally unified educational system.

Following the French model, the Romanian linguistic codification did not separate the role of the (descriptive) linguist from that of the prescriptivist expert; the same person frequently plays both roles in a complementary manner. In the authoritarian regime, norms were formulated by authoritative linguists (Iorgu Iordan, Alexandru Graur, Mioara Avram, etc.). The Romanist Iordan played an important role in standardization, as author and co-author of academic textbooks, where we can find many of his previous ideas and observations about variation in contemporary Romanian: Iordan (1956 [1954]), Iordan/Guţu Romalo/Niculescu (1967), Iordan/Robu (1978). Graur (1968) described the "tendencies" of Romanian, anchoring them in a diachronic frame, aiming to anticipate future changes. The author was the most popular prescriptivist expert of his time, with its columnist activity and an elementary prescriptive grammar, Graur (1973).

The new language ideology (permeated by the political ideology of progress) invested standardization with teleological attributes: it rejected the principle of tradition, condemning the obsolete forms and was likely to accept innovations as long

as they were justified by the "natural tendencies" of the language ("tendinţele de dezvoltare ale limbii noastre potrivit legilor ei interne", Macrea 1961, 117).

Two versions of the official grammar patronized by the Romanian Academy and written as a collective work at the Institute of Linguistics from Bucharest were published in 1954 and 1963. The first (Macrea 1954) was more anchored in the political context, in comparison with the second (Graur 1963), which remained for decades the only authoritative grammar and the guide for school books not only in what concerned the correct usage but also for the grammatical metalanguage and the descriptive concepts.

The second version of the grammar of the Academy (Graur 1963) is prefaced by explicit statements about its normative purpose, conceived as a positive evaluation of the variants that represent the future and a condemnation of the old and regional peculiarities. In this context, the linguist's task seems to be the research of tendencies and the anticipation of change. Dialect levelling is considered ineluctable, and the authority of the educated speakers from the capital is not at all questioned: "unificarea limbii se produce pe baza limbii literare bucureştene" (Graur 1966, 8). The grammar describes the variation using stylistic labels and recommends, for more details, other prescriptive tools. Normativity is somehow contradicted by the corpus used for the examples since the "classical" literature from the 19th century contained a lot of linguistic variation.

Since the late 1960s, the academic curriculum has been dominated by structuralism; most of the linguists who worked in this research paradigm declared a total lack of interest for prescriptivism, whereas in fact they implicitly accepted the existing norms and only described the standard Romanian (Turculeţ 1989) through formal models. Therefore, structuralist grammars (like Coteanu 1985 [1974]) refuted the standardization function but contributed to the consolidation of the standard rules. In the same period, numerous school grammars (Hristea 1984 [1981]; Coteanu 1982; etc.) were chiefly oriented towards taxonomies and metalinguistic debates. Towards the end of the period, Avram (1986) was published, which represents the normative grammar *par excellence* and will be presented infra.

3 Normative grammars today

3.1 The *Gramatica pentru toţi*

The grammar authored by Mioara Avram, published in a new edition in 1997, contains a detailed traditional description of Romanian grammatical structures along with the most complete collection of data about variation and norm. Avram's attitude is openly normative without investing the norm with inherent truth or inevitability; explicit norms appear to be cultural traits of one linguistic variety amongst the others. The description of the standard is immediately followed by the many

"deviations" provided by the nonstandard usage. For instance, the Genitive inflexion offers the occasion for listing typical *errors* with respect to the standard norms: inappropriate endings, specific to each morphological class or even to each lexical entry (*casii* instead of *casei*, *liniştei* instead of *liniştii*, etc.), and extension of the masculine definite article to feminine nouns: *lui mama*. The identification of some forms and constructions as non-standard is not necessarily motivated, suggesting that the selection can be a simple convention or the result of the tradition; for instance, the relative connector *de* "nu este admis în exprimarea literară" (Avram 1997 [1986], 187). However, it is sometimes advised that the choice is motivated by the concern for clarity or by the rejection of redundancy. The non-standard use of the relative pronoun *care* as a direct object without the differential marker *pe* is considered a source of ambiguity (368–369), and the relative clause which is not placed immediately after its center is condemned for the same reason (429). The juxtaposition of more functionally equivalent prepositions or conjunctions is rejected as redundant and useless (*de a*, 370; *dar însă*, 279).

3.2 The *Gramatica limbii române*

The new grammar of the Romanian Academy, a collective work coordinated by the structuralist grammarian Valeria Guţu Romalo, used the same formula as most Romanian modern grammars: it is essentially descriptive, but labels register variation in an informative and more rarely stigmatizing manner (e.g. "limbajul familiar, neîngrijit", Guţu Romalo [2]2008 [2005], vol. 2, 126). Popular forms, such as the relative connector *de* (vol. 2, 215) or the hybrid construction of bound direct speech (vol. 2, 866–867), are included in the description; the authors said about the latter that it was "utilizat frecvent în vorbirea populară şi familiară, nerecomandat în limba literară" (vol. 2, 867). The colloquial syntax is only selectively present; for instance, not all the spoken constructions of the relatives are included in the description. Presentations and reviews produced by the authors or by other Romanian linguists (Pană Dindelegan 2006; Rădulescu Sala/Sala 2007, etc.) focused entirely on the new interpretations of the linguistic facts without paying much attention to continuity or change in the normative presuppositions of the book. The grammar did not modify important explicit prescriptions. However, it introduced various overtones and remarks based on the usage. The gradual admission of the change under the pressure of the spoken language can be illustrated by the treatment of the pronoun *dânsul* 'he' as a polite form. From one version of the academic grammar to another, tones change: in Macrea (1954, vol. 1, 199), the polite usage is attributed to a minority ("unii socotesc"); in Graur (1963, vol. 1, 148), users already represent a larger class ("pentru mulţi vorbitori"). In Guţu Romalo ([2]2008 [2005], vol. 1, 213), the innovation is completely accepted: "formele funcţionează curent în limba actuală ca pronume de politeţe".

The new grammar of the Academy is, to a certain extent, more normative than Graur (1963) simply because it does not use so many exemplifications from older

literary texts; a large amount of examples were built by the authors or came from mass media or the Internet.

If the relation between descriptivism and normativity is somehow unclear in these grammars (Winkelmann 2015, 135), the reason may be the linguist's prevailing skepticism with respect to prescriptivism. While the audience expect to receive clear normative rules, contemporary linguists are more interested in variation and plurality of forms and more inclined to accept communicative perspectives on the language usage.

3.3 The *Gramatica de bază a limbii române*

The synthesis coordinated by Pană Dindelegan (2010) was intended to facilitate the teaching of grammar in schools as a consequence of the changes in interpretation brought on by the new grammar of the Academy. The book proposed several different interpretative solutions with respect to Guţu Romalo (²2008 [2005]) along with a more systematic and clear-cut presence of the normative component. For instance, the description of the Romanian nominal inflexion is followed by several normative indications about the loss of agreement in the use of genitive markers *al, a, ai, ale*, their unjustified presence (due to analogy) in Dative constructions, the extension of the use of the masculine article (*lui Maria*), the analytic Dative built with the preposition *la* instead of the inflected form, etc. Normative information is not new but is extensively collected and detailed.

3.4 Other grammars

Another grammar which clearly adopts the prescriptive perspective, explaining the difficulties and justifying the normative solutions is Gruiţă (1994), a book addressed to a larger audience. In the fourth edition of this book (Gruiţă 2007), the author integrates the most recent normative instruments (Guţu Romalo ²2008 [2005] and DOOM²) and compares older and newer norms. Assuming that norms should be accepted as such, the author does not propose any changes but suggests possible future developments due to usage variation. Moreover, he provides evaluations of the existing normative solutions. For example, he agrees with the solution offered by Guţu Romalo (2005), one that is more tolerant than Graur (1963) with respect to verb agreement with subjects expressed through collective nouns or nominal quantifiers. Older Romanian grammars recommended the strictly formal agreement (in singular), while the newer authoritative grammar tends to accept the semantic agreement (in plural) as well: *majoritatea erau copii* [the majority *were* children] instead of *majoritatea era* [the majority *was*] (Gruiţă 2007 [1994], 46–49).

The overt normative book of Gruiţă (2007 [1994]) and the predominantly descriptive textbooks of Irimia (1997) and Dimitriu (1999–2002) reveal another interest-

ing aspect of the present-day standardization: they prove that there is a large consensus about the academic norms, regardless of the regional provenance of the authors (Transylvania for the former, Moldavia for the two others). Even though there are disputes between the local linguistic schools with respect to the descriptive models, linguists from various regions do not seem tempted to impose any regional norm.

4 Conclusion

With few exceptions, Romanian grammars – even those patronized by the Academy – have always been preponderantly descriptive and only secondarily normative. Their prescriptivism manifested itself mainly through omission (by ignoring spoken and dialectal traits) or by the assignment of stylistic and register labels. A certain tolerance towards variation can be explained mainly as a consequence of the late standardization and of the several local traditions manifested in the written texts. The 19th century prescriptivism failed to impose some of its purist norms but enjoyed significant success with many other rules (leading, for instance, to the adoption of some specific endings in the verbal inflexion). The rationalistic criteria for standardization (need of economy, regularity, specialization and disambiguation) represent the inheritance of the 19th century, still effective in the current standardization process. Beginning with the 20th century, the increasing permissiveness corresponds to the larger scientific interest in the spoken language and in usage variation. Present-day standardization is subject to reflection about the linguistic change and the idea that today's errors can become the norms of tomorrow is in general accepted by experts. There are also many gaps to be filled by the normative activity and by further research. On the one hand, the hierarchical distinctions between various deviations from the norm are not investigated, though they exist in the speaker's perception (some of the non-standard forms are less important, while others trigger stigmatization). On the other hand, there is still little research on the historical constitution of every particular norm and on the relation between norms on the one side and evaluation and ideology on the other.

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Rodica Zafiu

8.3 Normative Dictionaries

Abstract: This article presents the prescriptive intentions and practices manifested explicitly or implicitly by the most important Romanian dictionaries. The lexicographic codification entails the selection of headwords and variant reduction, through the diachronic, diatopic, diaphasic, and diastratic labelling, and less frequently, by the explicit rejection of stigmatized forms. An important parameter of standardization is attitude towards neologisms, especially towards borrowings. Some Romanian dictionaries of the 19th century illustrate the purist codification. Standardization is operated particularly by general-purpose dictionaries, by academic historical dictionaries and only recently by dedicated normative dictionaries; the last ones codify the orthographic, orthoepic and morphological aspect of words and much less their meanings. The last section presents the main prescriptive tools used nowadays (the "official" orthographic, orthoepic and morphological dictionary, the general-purpose dictionaries, etc.) and the new electronic resources.

Keywords: Romanian, lexicography, dictionaries, standardization, codification, modernization, language ideologies, loanword adaptation, stigmatization, pluricentricity

1 Introduction

The Romanian ideology of standardization has assigned an important role to dictionaries: along with grammar books, they have generally been seen as authoritative and even authoritarian tools for linguistic codification (Wells 1973). Various language ideologies have shaped the preference for the most selective or richest dictionary, with the desire to prove either the purity or the force of the national language. Purism acted primarily on the lexicon, and dictionaries were their preferred field of action. The dictionary reflects the most common image of the language as an inventory of words; for the ordinary audience, if a word or a meaning is not included in the dictionary, it does not exist in the language, and every semantic change in use can be perceived as a mistake.

The normativity of dictionaries varies according to their typology and destination. The first bilingual dictionaries, which aimed to support learning and translations, had an implicit normative component: the selection of words and meaning. On the contrary, present-day bilingual dictionaries no longer have a real prescriptive role. Prescriptivism is typically associated with monolingual dictionaries, specifically with general-purpose ones. Dictionaries of neologisms have a special role in the codification process by proposing practical solutions for loanword adaptation.

Dictionaries codify spelling, pronunciation, morphological variants and meanings. Romanian dictionaries have followed or anticipated the numerous changes in the orthographic systems (↗8.1); they had to choose between regional pronunciations and inflectional variants (plural forms, conjugation types, etc.).

In lexicography, normative tools include word selection, hierarchization of variants, register labelling, selection of examples and quotations, and explicit recommendations. The selection operates by excluding very old or recent words, extremely specialized scientific and technical terms, regionalisms, slang, taboo words, offensive stereotypes, etc. Selection and hierarchy of variants are very important for Romanian dictionaries because the delayed political unity and language standardization permitted several writing traditions to develop. As a consequence, there are many phonological and morphological variants of words. Throughout history, criteria for selection changed; the main criteria are etymology, tradition, analogy and even euphony (↗8.2). Explicit recommendations are rather rare in Romanian dictionaries.

2 The normative tradition

The standardization of the Romanian lexicon was connected to the lamentations regarding the lack of a language of culture from the very beginning. The authors of dictionaries assumed the task of enriching and modernizing the vocabulary and only secondarily of rejecting stigmatized forms. In Haugen's (1983) terms, the language problem identified was the limit imposed by an extremely conservative literary register, mainly religious and close to the vernacular, influenced by other East European non-Romance languages. First of all, the codification consisted of borrowing, adapting and creating a new vocabulary, viewed as a guarantee of a more prestigious status and a tool for cultural synchronization with Western societies.

The first dictionaries of neologisms and Latinist dictionaries played an important role in this process. Prescriptivism was part of the program of the Romanian Academy (*Academia Română*), which has been considered the legitimate source of the linguistic norms until the present day.

2.1 First glossaries and dictionaries

The first bilingual (Slavonic–Romanian) word lists and glossaries date back to the 16th and 17th centuries, being almost concomitant with the oldest Romanian preserved texts (Seche 1966–1969, vol. 1, 7); they are manuscripts, probably used as tools for religious translations from Old Church Slavonic. The forms selected by the bilingual glossaries indicate the implicit norms of the writing at the time. The first comprehensive text is the Slavonic-Romanian lexicon composed by the monk Mardarie

from Cozia in 1649 (the manuscript was edited by Creţu 1900). In Transylvania, the oldest bilingual dictionaries established equivalences between Romanian, Latin and Hungarian: the *Dictionarium Valachico–Latinum* (edited by Chivu 2008), known as *Anonymus Caransebesiensis*, is likely to have been written in the second half of the 17th century (1640–1660); the *Lexicon Marsilianum* (Tagliavini 1930), written with the Latin alphabet and Hungarian orthography, is a Latin–Romanian–Hungarian dictionary dated c. 1687–1701. The most extensive is the Latin–Romanian dictionary written by Teodor Corbea (2001) around 1700, which departs from an edition of Albert Molnár's Latin–Hungarian dictionary and is made up of 37,254 Latin headwords translated to Romanian (Gherman 2001). Corbea created new derivatives for translating the Latin words and introduced learned loanwords like *academie* 'academy', *comedie* 'comedy', *dictator* 'dictator', etc. In the 18th century, bilingual lexicography became richer and more diverse (Romanian–Greek, Italian, Russian, Turkish, French, etc.) (Seche 1966–1969, vol. 1, 15–21).

The members of the movement known as the "Transylvanian School" assumed that the dictionary was a symbolic document legitimizing the language of culture and contributing, along with the grammar (↗8.2) to the ethnic empowerment of Romanians. At that time, such a dictionary was announced in the preface of the grammar of Micu/Şincai (¹1780). After many attempts (among which a big Romanian–German dictionary composed by Ion Budai Deleanu), two important trilingual dictionaries (Romanian–Latin–Hungarian) appeared in Transylvania at the beginning of the 19th century: Bobb (1822–1823) and LB (1825). The former has been poorly received by the succeeding generations but is an interesting contribution from the point of view of its purist premises and normative character; the latter has been considered the first scientific dictionary of Romanian.

The so-called *Lexiconul de la Buda* (LB – *Lesicon românescu – lătinescu – ungurescu – nemţescu*) records roughly 10,000 words, not only numerous borrowings from Latin and modern Romance languages (*conversaţie* 'conversation', *credit* 'credit', *modă* 'fashion', *parlament* 'parliament', etc.) but also vernacular, even offensive and taboo words and Transylvanian regionalisms (*baie* 'mine', *hălăştău* 'lake', *modru* 'mode'). This dictionary provides systematic grammatical information and occasional register labelling. The headwords are spelled both in the Latin alphabet, using the etymological system, and in the Cyrillic alphabet, which was better adapted to represent the Romanian pronunciation. This double option proves that the Latinist etymological codification was strictly related to orthography, with no impact on the pronunciation.

At the beginning of the 19th century, the Walachian writer and grammarian Iordache Golescu composed a large dictionary, the *Condica limbii româneşti*: the first monolingual dictionary, whose manuscript has unfortunately remained unpublished (there are only a few fragments in Golescu 1990, 294–341). Golescu's dictionary includes a large number of loanwords from Greek and Turkish but also modern borrowings from Romance languages (*abonament* 'subscription', *abdica* 'abdicate',

abstracţie 'abstraction', *coincidenţă* 'coincidence', etc.; cf. Lupu 1999, 106–107). In addition, it is extremely abundant in meanings and idioms of the spoken language.

2.2 Loanword adaptation

The necessity of borrowing learned words with the purpose of creating a literary language is an old idea, expressed in the 17th century in many prefaces to various translations, e.g. in the first Romanian version of the New Testament (published in 1648 in the city of Alba Iulia). Romanian was perceived as an exclusively vernacular language, and borrowing from classical sources was recommended by scholars as the best way to enrich its vocabulary. At the beginning of the 18th century, the prince and man of letters Dimitrie Cantemir composed the first glossary of loanwords as an appendix to his allegoric novel *Istoria Ieroglifică*. This list mainly includes cultural words borrowed from Latin and Greek, some of which are morphologically unadapted (*activitas*, *praxis*, *siloghismos*, etc.) and others adapted (e.g. *simfonie* 'concord') (Cantemir 1973, 57–67). The glossary is explicitly presented more as a contribution to the refinement (*subţierea*) of the Romanian language and a stimulus for the general cultural improvement and less as an aid to the comprehension of the narrative text.

During the 19th century, Romanian borrowed massive amounts of both general and specialized terms of Latin origin, which other Romance languages have continuously borrowed from Latin as a language of the high culture, church and science. After a long isolation from the Latin lexical repertoire, learned people asserted that it was important to make up for lost time. The main pattern of modernization of the vocabulary was proposed by Iorgovici (1799) and had a great success. It consisted of providing new words by relating borrowings from Latin and the modern Romance languages to Latin roots preserved in the Romanian words inherited from Latin. Though the way of obtaining new words is presented by Iorgovici (1979 [1799], 59) as an internal derivation process, it is obvious that in fact, it is a solution for adapting the loanwords (cf. Munteanu/Ţâra 1978, 110), which became very similar to the old words and could be assimilated by the language easier. This way, words like *deveni* 'become', *conveni* 'agree', *proveni* 'emanate', etc. were introduced in Romanian on the basis of the inherited root *veni* (< Lat. VENIRE) (Iorgovici 1979 [1799], 165–169), but their modern meanings and collocations were drawn from the modern Romance languages. This method of assimilating loanwords was approved and made popular by Heliade Rădulescu in the middle of the 19th century. He illustrated it with examples of Latin borrowings in other Romance languages: not only the inherited word *lieu*, but also the Latinisms *localité* and *local* exist in French. Romanian is even more justified to derive words like *localitate* 'locality' and *local* 'local', given that it inherited the word *loc* 'place' (Heliade Rădulescu 1943, 208). In fact, the new words have been assimilated perfectly by the lexical families of the old words (Stanciu Istrate 2000; Moroianu 2013, 33–34, etc.). Often, the lexical form

is closer to Latin (as for the terminations: Lat. -ITAS, Rom. -*itate*; Lat. -TORIUS, Rom. -*tor*, Lat. -TIO, -TIONIS, Rom. -*ţie* or -*ţiune*), while the meanings follow those of the French or Italian words.

In the 19th century, the profound lexical change is reflected by a large number of glossaries and dictionaries of loanwords, which popularize the new forms; they are published in several editions, which proves the real need from an audience. Detailed presentations of these dictionaries can be found in Gheţie (1961), Seche (1966–1969, vol. 1, 88–98), Ursu/Ursu (2004–2011). The rhetoric strategies of these popular dictionaries are significant: they present themselves as containing new or foreign words as well as ancient words, resurfaced in the Romanian language ("*vorbele străbune repriimite … în limba română*", as in the title of Negulici 1848). Other dictionaries made a distinction between "reinserted" and "inserted" words (Protopopescu/Popescu 1862) or between "root" words (*radicale*, see Zafiu 2017) and foreign words (Steinberg 1886).

The massive borrowing of Latin and Romance words in the 19th century ("Romance westernization", "re-Romanization", Niculescu 1978) together with the low number of loan-translations (Close 1974, 237), have triggered terminological consequences, too. The new terms of cultural modernization – mostly learned words – were called *neologisme* (Puşcariu 1976 [1940]). This term has persisted in Romanian linguistics although it presents a semantic distortion compared with the international term *neologisms* (Clim 2012; Cuniţă/Lupu 2015). Learned words are considered *neologisms* even though they entered Romania two centuries ago, while for real new creations such as slang, the term *neologism* is generally avoided. In order to prevent confusions, the new loanwords and internal creations are labelled *recent words* (*cuvinte recente*).

In the second half of the 20th century, many versions of the most important *Dicţionar de neologisme* (Marcu/Maneca 1961) were compiled according to this special meaning of the word *neologism* so that they included a large amount of words which had been introduced in the Romanian vocabulary mostly from the 19th century.

2.3 Purist dictionaries

Purist lexicography definitely has a normative agenda: it operates a selection according to the idealized image of the language, sometimes isolating non-recommended words in special lists. It can also introduce new words to replace the stigmatized ones.

Two types of purism emerged in the Romanian culture: the most visible was the programmatic Latinist purism, illustrating a specific combination between the (selectively) xenophobic and reformist purism (Thomas 1991; ↗8.2). This was officially assumed by the Romanian Academy in the second half of the 19th century and was abandoned towards the end of the century. A different type of purism, generally

seen as a reaction to the former, was predominantly anti-neologistic, archaizing and ethnographic and manifested itself in the first half of the 20th century.

The Romanian academic purism of the 19th century stimulated the lexical borrowing in order to replace non-Latin words with Latin ones. The purist attitude was first represented by Bobb (1822–1823), a Romanian–Latin dictionary which partially inverted the Latin-Romanian text of Corbea's manuscript so that the Romanian lexical entries partly consisted of phrases explaining the Latin words. This dictionary included many Latin and Romance loanwords (*acord* 'accord, agreement', *actual* 'actual, present', *argumentaţie* 'argumentation') as well as vernacular and taboo words, provided they were of Latin origin. The purist character of the dictionary is proved by its final appendix (*Cuvinte streine ce au intrat în limba românească*), where non-Latin words are listed, especially words of Slavic and Turkish origin. They are considered "foreign words" and are glossed with the recommended equivalents, inherited from Latin: *blagoslovenie – binecuvântare* 'blessing', *slovă – literă* 'letter, character', *plug – aratru* 'plough', etc.

The method of the exclusion list was also practiced by Heliade Rădulescu, who published a *Vocabular de vorbe streine* (1847). Heliade replaced the excluded terms with borrowings from Italian. Future developments only partially confirmed his proposals: some non-Latin forms have been abandoned by the current usage in favor of new loanwords (*acaret* replaced by *proprietate* 'estate', *băjănie* by *emigraţie* 'emigration', *diată* by *testament* 'will'). Other forms have been preserved as (partial) synonyms (*vreme – timp* 'weather, tense', *glas – voce* 'voice', *gol – nud* 'empty, nude', *da – aşa* 'yes, O.K.'; but some proposals were totally unsuccessful; e.g. *botez* 'christening' has not been replaced by *battism* or *battesm*.

The first dictionary patronized by the Romanian Academy was *Dicţionariul limbei romane* (Laurian/Massim 1871/1876), a perfect illustration of the Latinist purism due to its orthography, the etymological explanations, the Latin loanwords and especially to the exclusion of all the words whose origin was presumably not Latin (*Glossariu care coprinde vorbele d'in limb'a romană straine prin originea sau form'a loru, cumu si celle de origine indouioasă*, 1871/1876). In the preface of the dictionary, the authors described the Romanian language as a plant invaded by parasites and stated that their unique criterion for the selection of words was their Romance character – "romanitatea cuvinteloru" (Laurian/Massim 1871/1876, VI), so that the "parasitic" foreignisms (*străinisme*) would be eliminated. Learned loanwords from Greek were not considered foreignisms, nor were the words borrowed from the Romance "sister languages", provided that they were of Latin origin. The etymological criterion prevailed over any other criterion such as membership to a certain register: Romanian "nu are vorbe nobili şi ignobili" (Laurian/Massim 1871/1876, XXI). The dictionary introduced a large number of new words borrowed from Latin and the Romance languages; specialized terms were admitted if they already existed in almost two Romance languages, i.e. Italian and French. The authors applied a system of differentiating the neologisms (words which had appeared after 1830) from the

other words by using an asterisk. In the Glossary, a lot of negative labels were employed – *forma de reprobatu*; *reu pronuntiata si reu scrisa*; *facutu in modu ineptu*; *inadmissibile*; *multilata*; *de reu gustu*; *forma si mai peccatosa*, etc.; generally, the banishment was accompanied by a positive recommendation (to use *amic*, instead of *prieten* 'friend'; *olivă*, instead of *măslină* 'olive', etc.).

The dictionary of Laurian/Massim (1871/1876) was ironized by many contemporary writers and criticized by the posterity for its purist excess. Nevertheless, it can be considered proof of the success of prescriptivism (Diaconescu 1974, 72–77). Most of the new words included in it (some of which were already employed by writers, scientists and journalists at the time) have been perfectly assimilated by present-day Romanian.

The other form of purism – i.e. the rejection of neologisms – would be assumed by the subsequent lexicographic projects of the Romanian Academy at the end of the 19th century and in the first half of the 20th.

2.4 Historical dictionaries

The emergence of large historical dictionaries was motivated purely by scientific interests including an ideology of the cultural legitimation through the lexical richness of the national language. Generally, historical dictionaries are rather indifferent to normativity, but they contribute to standardization by their lexical selection and by the preference for certain variants. The project of a big historical dictionary was assumed by the Romanian Academy after the relative failure of the dictionary by Laurian/Massim (1871/1876), criticized for its etymological orthography and its lexical segregation (in the Glossary). The new academic dictionary was intended to preserve old and regional words and meanings while recent borrowings were of no interest.

The project of a new dictionary of the Romanian Academy was subject to repeated failure. Bogdan Petriceicu Hasdeu provided large historical and ethnographical monographies for each word, but his dictionary (Hasdeu 1886–1898) only reached the beginning of letter B. Alexandru Philippide left the first part of his dictionary in manuscript form as a result of the conflict with the Academic Commission, which did not agree with his intention to include many neologisms in the dictionary (Pamfil 2008, 64–106).

In 1905, the task of writing the large dictionary was attributed to Sextil Puşcariu and his team formed by Transylvanian linguists. They published several volumes and fascicles of *Dicţionarul limbii române* (whose current abbreviation, DA, refers to the D[ictionary of the] A[cademy]), between 1913 and 1948: the letters A, B, C; F, G, I, J, D (partially) and L (partially). The DA was essentially a historical dictionary, which used a rich and varied corpus and provided extensive semantic and etymological explanations. In the introduction to the first volume, the coordinator stated that the DA was not intended to be a normative tool (Puşcariu 1913, XXII). However,

the refusal to accept new loanwords was clearly related to the conservative attitude of the Academy and corresponded to the king's message published at the beginning of the volume, where the purist formula *buruienile neologismului* was used (DA, I, VIII). After World War II, the instauration of a totalitarian regime determined the abandonment of the work. Eventually, the dictionary was continued under the patronage of the Academy, with the same title (this time, abbreviated as DLR) but with different coordinators and team. In this new form, the dictionary became more rigid and more elliptical, especially in its etymological section. At the same time, it was programmatically open to new borrowings, mainly scientific and technical words. In 2010, the DA/DLR was finished and published in an anastatic edition in 19 volumes.

2.5 General purpose dictionaries

Starting in the 1890s, the main normative function is assumed by the general-purpose monolingual dictionaries. There were also two bilingual dictionaries which qualified as such, by providing an extensive description of the Romanian lexicon. They were translated into two languages enjoying a special prestige at that time, French and German (Seche 1966–1969, vol. 2, 294): the Romanian-French dictionary of Damé (1893–1894) included many examples of spoken language; the Romanian–German dictionary of Tiktin (1903–1925) was precious for its historical information. Both were normative by variant selection and by the usage labelling. In his preface, Damé mentioned that he had selected the useful neologisms (i.e. loanwords) and had indicated old synonyms for those which were 'too useless' ("par trop inutiles"), i.e. "des regrettables introductions dans la langue" (8). For instance, he recommended the word *mlădios* as a substitute for *flexibil*. The dictionary validated phonological adaptations of the French words, e.g. *aport* (< Fr. *apport*), *apanaj* (< Fr. *apanage*), etc.

From the end of the 19th century until the mid-20th century, the most popular general-purpose dictionary was Şăineanu's (1896) *Dicţionar universal al limbei române*, which was constantly employed in schools. It was a well-balanced dictionary, user-oriented and respected the orthography imposed by the Romanian Academy by adapting itself to its subsequent changes in its no less than ten editions. In its preface, the author explained that he had preferred to eliminate regionalisms and archaisms (except for those present in the classical literature) and also the taboo words – "trivialităţile şi vorbele obscene" (Şăineanu [8]1930 [1896], VI). He gave preference to the modern vocabulary of the culture including the core scientific terminology. He indicated a very particular (but apparently uncontested) reference register: the spoken language of the cultivated people in the Capital ("viul grai, aşa cum el sună în Muntenia şi în special printre clasele culte din Bucureşti", Şăineanu [8]1930 [1896], VII). Recent borrowings have not been neglected; for instance, the 8th edition had a supplement for new words including terms like *browning*, *feminism*, *kimono*, *manicură* (< Fr. *manucure*), *şofer* (< Fr. *chauffeur*), etc.

Another important dictionary, which in fact was the linguistic section of a larger encyclopedia, was Candrea (1931). It consisted of a very detailed system of labelling the diastratic, diaphasic, diacronic, and diatopic variation. The large number or neologisms were marked with asterisks. Normativity was also manifested through a special symbol used to mark those forms which were not recommended because they were deformed by the lower classes: "pe care vulgul le-a stîlcit şi care, prin urmare, trebuie evitate" (Candrea 1931, XII). Interestingly enough, the author – who was a reputed philologist – chose to not apply the official orthography. Contrary to the academic norms, he generalized the spelling *î* for the phoneme [ɨ], regardless of its position in the word, except for the lexical family of the ethnic name *român*.

A very subjective and controversial dictionary was Scriban (1939). The author tried to impose his own spelling norms, the most striking of which was the systematic elimination of the ending *-l* of the determinative article in writing, e.g. using *stilu, gradu, modu*, etc., instead of *stilul, gradul, modul*. This ending is no longer pronounced in spoken Romanian, but is still used in the formal style. Definitions were politically biased. In fact, the author presented the dictionary as a nationalistic ideological tool ("armă de luptă", "armă de propaganda", Scriban 1939, 14, 16). Neologisms were marked by an asterisk and some forms were explicitly condemned, being considered deformations emerged in the speech of the lower classes, for instance in the case of the loanword *tramway* ("în Bucureşti mitocanii zic *traivan*").

The totalitarian regime installed in Romania after WWII forbade the circulation of the old dictionaries and replaced them with new dictionaries at the beginning of 1955. They generally followed the old models, except for a limited ideologization of the political key-terms and a tendency to introduce many technical terms in the word list. DLRLC was the most ideologically biased, as it was explicitly dedicated to the *literary* (i.e. standard) language and was presented in the preface as a normative tool, intended to contribute to the mass culturalization process, "învăţării unei limbi corecte şi unitare" (DLRLC, III). Some archaisms and regionalisms had to be eliminated from the word list, along with taboo expressions ("expresii triviale"), words with ethnical prejudice connotations, upper classes slang ("jargoanele de clasă"), and "corrupted forms" ("formele corupte"). Terms like *burghezie*, *capital*, *clasă* were ideologically defined; many other terms received the labels "în ţările capitaliste", "în societatea capitalistă", etc. (e.g. *bursă*, *cabaret*, *a concura*).

The subsequent general-purpose dictionaries – the DLRM (1958), then the DEX ([1]1975) –, displayed far fewer ideological intrusions and were standardized mainly by the variant selection. With its successive editions (see below), DEX has become a model for other dictionaries. In the second half of the 20th century, it was common for all dictionaries to include a very large number of scientific and technical terms, of strict specialty. The ideological prestige of science in the totalitarian regime probably was a reason for this. In Romania, there were few individual lexicographical attempts, such as Breban (1987), outside the Academy. In the Republic of Moldavia, the main general-purpose dictionary was the DELM (1977–1985), where, except for

the officially imposed glottonym *limbă moldovenească* and the use of the Cyrillic alphabet, there was no emphasis on differences; generally, the convergence with the official Romanian norm was dominant.

2.6 Spelling and pronunciation dictionaries

Spelling dictionaries were published shortly after every orthographic reform, beginning in 1904 (RO). Generally, they were associated with a reproduction or a compilation of the academic rules. After World War II, the first spelling dictionary was published in 1953 (MDO) and the first purely orthoepic one in 1956 (DO).

The first edition of the normative dictionary which covered orthography, pronunciation, and morphology (DOOM) appeared in 1982 (see infra). The dictionary was much larger than the previous ones because it reproduced the full word list of DEX. Normativity did not operate on semantics except for short indications related to morphological differentiation, e.g. for *nivel* 'level', with the plural *niveluri* vs. *nivelă/nivel* 'bubble level', with the plural *nivele*.

3 Normative dictionaries today

Numerous dictionaries have been published during the last decades; many of which have an explicit didactic purpose, emphasizing their role in spreading the standard norms. Generally, they do not propose alternatives to the official norms with respect to the variant selection, the spelling and the morphological traits. However, they accept the authority of the dictionary officially assumed by the Romanian Academy, the DOOM, adapting themselves to the changes that the latter operates from its first and second editions (DOOM¹ – DOOM²). Two new general-purpose dictionaries have emerged, the NDU and the DEXI, which have become serious competitors for the DEX. A part of the lexicographic production is assumed by publishing houses from the Republic of Moldavia that recognize the authority of the Academic norm of Romania, except for a few aspects of the orthographic rules.

The last decades have been marked by massive loans from English, which generally have been treated with great tolerance by dictionaries.

Following 1989 (the fall of the totalitarian regime), Romania shifted slighly towards pluricentrism, a gradual switch from an academy-governed style of codification to a free-enterprise one (according to the dichotomy proposed by Garvin 1993). Even though the Romanian Academy has continued the process of codification and elaboration of norms, their implementation is less effective. Orthographic norms and the selected lexical and grammatical varieties became mandatory for official documents and are taught in school. However, some prestigious publishing houses and cultural periodicals followed their own preferences, not accepting all the academic norms.

A special situation is that of the Romanian in the Republic of Moldavia: even if the official glottonym is *limba moldovenească* (the result of a compromise with the tradition of the Soviet politics, cf. Ciscel 2007; Zuliani 2014), this label functions as a perfect equivalent of Romanian. The dominant option of the linguistic policy deciders and of a majority of publishers and writers is to accept the authority of the Romanian Academy and to obey its norms. At least for the moment, the affirmation of distinct Moldavian norms (reflecting inherent differences in use, especially in the colloquial one but also in the standard, cf. Ştefănescu 2016) is politically stigmatized and generally avoided, since this would evoke the Soviet politics of assimilation and loss of independence.

3.1 The DOOM[2] and other dedicated normative dictionaries

The normative dictionary par excellence is the DOOM[2] and appeared in 2005 as a new version of the DOOM[1] (1982) (for a detailed description, ↗8.1). The dictionary preserved the word list of the DEX and the DOOM[1] even though the coordinator of the work (Vintilă-Rădulescu 2005) specified that there was a contradiction between the idea of standardization and the inventory of many old and regional words, for which it is meaningless to establish the best variant.

The DOOM[2] applied the orthographic changes from 1993 and modified some of the recommendations present in the first edition by eliminating variants no longer in use. Moreover, it introduced spoken language variants not accepted previously or changed the order of preference between two accepted variants. For example, the dictionary renounced to the old variant *despera* of the verb *dispera* 'despair', accepted a lexical variant *pieptăn* 'comb', a stress variant *tráfic* 'traffic', and even indicated them as preferred in relation to the unique forms mentioned in first edition, respectively *pieptene* and *trafíc*. The noun *mass-media* was accepted as a feminine singular (according to its form) and was no longer considered a neuter plural (according to its etymology). For some feminine nouns, the plural ending *-i* was accepted as a variant, preferred to *-e*: *cireşi*/*cireşe* 'cherries', *căpşuni*/*căpşune* 'strawberries', etc. The admission of forms previously considered "errors" has provoked very strong reactions, being perceived by a part of the public as a shameful concession to the use of uneducated speakers (Vintilă-Rădulescu 2005).

Moderate criticism concerned the acceptance of many recent Anglicisms, notably those morphologically adapted to the Romanian system of alternations (as *bodyguard*, with the plural form *bodyguarzi*). A type of change that did not cause negative reactions was the fact that the DOOM[2] restored the original form of some older Anglicisms, previously orthographically adapted by the DOOM[1]. Therefore, *cocteil*, *cocher*, etc. were replaced by *cocktail*, *cocker*. The authors of the DOOM[2] had the correct intuition that cultural, present-day tendencies of the speakers were to preserve the spelling of Anglicisms, and to adapt them only morphologically.

Ioana Vintilă-Rădulescu, the main editor of the DOOM[2], published her own version of the normative dictionary, the DIN in 2009. Compared to the official version, this book presents some minor differences and includes detailed comments about the conflict between norm and use.

There are many others normative dictionaries aimed to meet the students' needs. Many of them recycle the same lexicographic material and only apply and explain the norms provided by the dictionaries recognized by the Academy (DOOM, DEX). An example of didactic normativity is Comşulea/Şerban/Teiuş (2008), a dictionary which highlights the prescriptions of the DOOM[2] by indicating not only the recommended form but also the stigmatized one; *afrodiziac*, not *afrodisiac*; *administratoare*, not *administratoră*; 3sg., simple past of *agrea: agreă*, not *agreie*, etc.

3.2 General purpose dictionaries: DEX, NDU, DEXI

DEX is the main general-purpose dictionary of Romania and has become a generic term (with the meaning 'dictionary') through antonomasia. It is assumed by the Romanian Academy, whose name appears on the front page together with its subordinate Institute of Linguistics from Bucharest. In fact, researchers of the Institute are the authors of the dictionary. Its first edition (1975) was followed by a supplement (1988) and then by a second edition (including the supplement) in 1996. The new edition followed the orthographic reform of 1993 and tried to eliminate the ideological bias from definitions. The next reprints – in 1998, 2009, 2012, 2016 – have not been presented as new editions, but they brought some changes such as the adaptation to the norms established by DOOM[2] (in 2009) and notably the enrichment of the word list with recent loanwords (provided by the authors' personal knowledge but also by dictionaries of neologisms like DCR (see below). The more recent reprinting (2016) introduced many IT and Internet related Anglicisms, e.g. *like*, *selfie*, *zoom*; *updata* (< *update*), *upgrada* (< *upgrade*). DEX delimits the standard vocabulary by a moderate use of style labels (*popular*, *familiar*, *argotic*, etc.); however, it includes relatively few slang words and continues to exclude taboo words and meanings.

The other two general purpose dictionaries, the NDU and the DEXI, emerge after 2000. They were written as a private initiative by researchers of the Institute of Philology of Iassy and launched by publishing houses from the Republic of Moldavia. They benefit from the experience of their authors as collaborators to the DLR and correct the main deficit of the DEX, the absence of examples and quotations. The authors of the NDU (2006) present it as a continuation of Şăineanu's dictionary. Actually, they respect and follow two qualities of their model, first by proposing user-friendly definitions that avoid excess scientific details, and secondly by paying more attention to the current usage and completing the word list. It is a well-balanced dictionary, better reflecting the present-day usage. The DEXI (2007) tends to extend the word list by incorporating more scientific terminologies and defini-

tions with the inclusion of encyclopedic information. Both dictionaries are modern and rigorous in their presentation and substance. They also represent a form of emancipation from the coercive authority of the Romanian Academy and attempt to impose their own authority (and the normative convictions of their authors). Their first editions do not apply the spelling rules established in 1993 (considered arbitrary and useless by many linguists); the NDU has finally renounced orthographic independence in order to better enter schools.

3.3 The DLR, the MDA, and other dictionaries

The dictionary of the Romanian Academy, the DLR, has confirmed its status as a great repository of all the Romanian words and variants. It applied standardization only indirectly by producing hierarchies of variants, and it provided a large word list as a reference point for other dictionaries.

A dictionary based on the DLR is the MDA and has been conceived as an abridged form, even as a sort of index of DLR, summarizing not only the meanings of the great dictionary but eliminating all its quotations and multiplying the meanings by separating their components. Therefore, it was meant to serve mainly linguists rather than a wider audience. Compared to the DLR, the MDA has the particularity of recording more neologisms and admitting the presence of the taboo ("obscene") words.

Dictionaries of recent words do not have normative intentions; they only record new lexical creations and loanwords circulating mainly in mass-media. They are the basis for the selection of the words in general-purpose dictionaries. The most important of them is the DCR, which had three successive editions ([1]1982, [2]1997, and 2013) and is at the origin of many new entries in the successive versions of the DEX. So-called dictionaries of neologisms, more hybrid in nature, have a similar function, but they primarily target a large audience. Marcu ([10]2008) is representative for the incredibly numerous versions of this kind of dictionaries, one of the many editions of Marcu/Maneca (1961).

3.4 Electronic resources

The first general-purpose dictionary which appeared in electronic form (in CD-ROM) back in 2001 is the NODEX, a compilation integrally assumed by the publishing house and presented without the names of its authors.

The most successful project is *dexonline – Dicționare ale limbii române*, a platform that has been created and managed by volunteers since 2001 without the support of the normative official institutions. The participants of the project introduced a large number of older and newer, general and specialized Romanian dictionaries online. These include the DEX (in more editions), the DLRLC, DOOM[2], the NODEX,

a dictionary of slang, a dictionary of synonyms, etc. The platform explicitly assumes a role in spreading the existing norms; it also contains morphological and semantic explanations and comments. The platform is extremely popular, having become the first and often the only well-known lexicographic source. Consequently, many other sites and platforms have copied its contents. Among the old dictionaries, LB was digitized.

Other projects are still in progress or with limited access; for instance, the eDTLR, the digitized DLR. New digitization projects, including extensive lexicographic corpora, are presented by Ernst (2013), Tamba (2014), Clim (2015), and Haja/Tamba (2015).

4 Normative dictionaries of South-Danubian varieties

A special situation is that of South-Danubian Romance idioms – Aromanian, Megleno-Romanian and Istro-Romanian. Generally treated by the Romanian and Romance linguistics as historical dialects and descendants of Old (common) Romanian, they share major linguistic traits with Modern Romanian (or Daco-Romanian). Their separate evolution over the last centuries has led to a typical debate on their status: they are viewed either as Romanian dialects or as independent languages. Spoken by linguistic minorities in several countries (Greece, Albania, Bulgaria, Republic of Macedonia, Croatia, Serbia) and by groups which generally reject the status of minority in Romania, these idioms have developed many orthographic systems and have used different sources for their lexical enrichment. Hence, they illustrate the pluricentric standardization in progress (Kahl/Prifti 2016). Actually, the process of standardization occurring in Romanian cultural and linguistic space is somehow paradoxical since it assumes the status of dialects (which would imply accepting the Daco-Romanian standard), but acts in order to preserve their individuality, literary tradition and own norms.

Aromanian illustrates the most advanced and controversial processes of standardization, represented by several normative systems (influenced by Romanian, Greek, Albanian, Macedonian, respectively) which reject one another and do not show any sign of unification. Dictionaries published in Romania (and glossed in Romanian) use the Latin alphabet with some diacritics taken from standard Romanian or from the tradition of the Romanian dialectology (Papahagi 1974 [1963]; Caragiu-Marioțeanu 1997). An earlier dictionary (Dalametra 1906) has even preserved some Greek characters. The normative intention is explicitly rendered in Caragiu-Marioțeanu (1997, XVII–XXV), a dictionary which unfortunately has not been finished (only the first letters of the alphabet, A–C, were published). It is described in the subtitle as *comparativ (român literar-aromân), contextual, normativ, modern*.

This dictionary not only uses a unitary spelling but also creates and introduces modern terminology, especially internationalisms and adapted borrowings from Latin and Romance languages. What is particularly significant is the organization of the dictionary. It begins with the alphabetic inventory of standard Romanian (the list of the DEX) and offers Aromanian equivalents for its entries. Other contemporary systems of codification use Latin alphabet with non-Romanian diacritics (e.g. Cunia 2010; <www.dixionline.net>; more details are given in Kahl/Prifti 2016).

Apart from earlier dictionaries (Capidan 1935), Megleno-Romanian is treated in a new dictionary glossed in Romanian, whose first volume has recently been published: Saramandu (2013); for attempts of its standardization in the Republic of Macedonia, see Friedman (2001). Similarly, the Istro-Romanian lexical inventory is presented in the almost finished *Dicţionarul dialectului istroromân* (Neiescu 2011; 2015; 2016); some other projects are Internet-related (<www.istro-romanian.net>).

5 Conclusion

Romanian general-purpose dictionaries have always had a significant normative role, but the source of their authority was external, i.e. granted by the institution of the Romanian Academy. This fact was particularly obvious in the 19th century under the purist movement or in the second part of the 20th century under a totalitarian regime. Beyond that, the prescriptive action through lexicography was relatively moderate, tolerating the existence of many regional or old variants and easily accepting loanwords.

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Isabela Nedelcu

8.4 Dictionaries of Language Difficulties

Abstract: This article presents a series of recent studies on the mistakes and difficulties – leading to mistakes – that are manifested at every linguistic level: phonetic, morphologic, syntactic, lexical and semantic. Among the studies described here, there are dictionaries as well as other books written in a form resembling dictionaries to a greater or lesser extent, which discuss different aspects of standard language. The main section dedicated to these studies is preceded by a short overview presenting the preoccupations for the standardization of Romanian. The overview implicitly refers to aspects that facilitate understanding the relation between norm and deviation from the norm, language dynamics and the norm itself.

Keywords: Romanian, linguistic difficulty, linguistic insecurity, dictionaries of language difficulties, standardization, implementation, modernization, literary language, usage, norm

1 Introduction

Studies discussing language difficulties and mistakes are written out of the necessity to protect and disseminate the norms of the literary language: norms established through the consensus of a representative group that are entitled to make such decisions – enlisted in official works valid at a certain moment in time: grammars, dictionaries, and thesauri (↗8.1, ↗8.2, ↗8.3).

Proper use of language becomes difficult when speakers do not exactly know or understand the rule of using a certain word or construction and, therefore, do not apply it. This lack of knowledge or understanding of linguistic norms, as well as the absence of linguistic education and the influence of foreign languages (currently, the influence of English, whereas, in other periods, the influence of French, Italian or Russian, depending on historical factors) may be considered the main causes of such difficulties and, respectively, of speaking mistakes. Studies such as those aforementioned are written to help speakers with the correct use of the language by providing explanations on the correct application of the literary language norms.

Both official normative works and works dealing with language difficulties and mistakes are tools for the process of standardization. Works discussing language difficulties and mistakes have the role of disseminating and explaining norms with the goal of correcting mistakes. Furthermore, they highlight contemporary tendencies in use. What is considered a mistake or norm varies depending on the historic moment. Therefore, such works relate to normative works in effect at the time when

they are written. As the norm evolves, new normative works are written, and the relation between a mistake and correctness changes.

A comparison of works on language mistakes and difficulties from different periods reveals that some mistakes persist, others disappear, and some are new compared to the previous stage.

The works dealing with the correct use of Romanian described in this article regard the language spoken in Romania with an emphasis on the period after 1989, i.e. after the fall of the communist totalitarian regime, a period characterized by great linguistic changes. The exception is represented by two dictionaries of the variant of Romanian spoken in the Republic of Moldova (the Moldavian language). Some of the works presented in this article were written prior to 1989, but new editions were published after that year in order for them to correlate with the present-day norms. These works are still extensively used by speakers. Comparing editions can reveal both changes in use and changes in norm in the past decades.

Besides normative grammars, dictionaries and academic thesauri, there are numerous works which deal with mistakes and difficulties of the present-day language as part of a rich tradition.

2 The tradition of standardization

Language standardization has started to gain ground since the earliest grammars, in the second half of the 18th century (↗8.2, section 2.1). However, it is only later, in the 19th century that the concern for establishing and applying the norms of the literary language was answered by publishing academic works (↗8.1, ↗8.2, ↗8.3). In the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, many personalities of the Romanian culture (including Ion Heliade Rădulescu, Costache Negruzzi, Vasile Alecsandri, Alexandru Odobescu, Titu Maiorescu) were involved in the process of literary language development, paying special interest in ortographic rules and language standardization. The creation of the Romanian Academy in 1866 (bearing this name since 1879 as its initial name was *The Romanian Literary Society*, and between 1867 and 1879, *The Romanian Academic Society*) has been of crucial importance in this process, mainly responsible for the publishing of normative works (grammars and dictionaries) and establishing the orthographic rules. Thus, beginning with the first academic works – Cipariu (1867–1877) and Laurian/Massim (1871–1876) (↗8.1, section 2.1) – language standardization has been the main concern of grammars and dictionaries. Unfortunately, interest towards it diminished in the first part of the 20th century (↗8.2, section 2.5). Alongside grammars and dictionaries (↗8.2, ↗8.3), there are also one-author works which discuss certain mistakes and speaking difficulties and offer solutions for avoiding them. For example, *Știi românește? Câteva observări asupra limbii, cum se scrie în vremea de față* (Gorun 1911) [Do you know Romanian? Some notes on the language and nowadays writing norms] and

Cum vorbim, și cum ar trebui să vorbim românește? (Ardelenisme și alte -isme) (Banciu 1913) [How do we speak and how should we speak Romanian? (Transylvanian words and other *-isme*)] – published at the beginning of the 20th century – leading to discussions of mistakes made by speakers from Transylvania, which was not part of Romania before the 1918 Union (Gheorghe 2015 [2012], 381–383).

A significant moment for the standardization of the language is represented by the work *Limba română actuală. O gramatică a "greşelilor"* [Present-day Romanian. A grammar of "mistakes"] written by Iorgu Iordan in 1943 (reprinted in 1948), which opened a path of research that is still in the works today (see also ↗8.2, section 2.5). As the author himself mentions in his introduction, Henri Frei's work *La grammaire des fautes* (1929) inspired his choice of the subtitle of the book, among others. On the basis of rich material (collected from different sources in a ten-year period: scientific and literary works, newspaper articles, etc.), Iorgu Iordan discusses and analyzes mistakes and tendencies that manifest in six domains: phonetics, morphology, word formation, stylistics, syntax and lexicon. By writing the word *greşeli* 'mistakes' in the title between quotation marks, the author suggests that the border between a mistake and correctness is not always clear, that some language phenomena do not follow a rigid norm. As mentioned in the *Preface* to the first edition, the study has two aims: to describe and to explain the deviations from the "traditional use" characterizing that stage of the language, on the one hand, and to be a guide for the speakers that have difficulties and cannot decide on their own the grammatical form, expression or construction that is generally considered to be correct, on the other.

A great number of mistakes, which are discussed by the author, are still encountered today, for example, the wrong pronunciations *ultimile* instead of *ultimele* 'the last ones.F', *fetii* instead of *fetei* 'girl.G=D', the Genitive-Dative form marked by *lui* for feminine proper nouns ending in *-a* (*lui*.G=D *Maria* instead of *Mariei*.G=D) – a mistake that is subordinated to the more general tendency towards expanding the masculine case marker to feminine nouns –, the subjunctive form *să aibe* instead of *să aibă* 'have.SUBJ.3SG=PL', the wrong agreement in the collocation *în ceea ce priveşte*.PRES.3SG 'concerning' (*în ceea ce privesc*.PRES.3PL *copiii*.PL 'concerning the children'). Other forms such as *cari* 'which.M=F.PL', *carele* 'which.M.SG=F.PL', preserved from old Romanian and discussed as mistakes, were eliminated from the language at a later date so that the invariable form *care* 'which' has become general for Nominative-Accusative cases. The recommendations and explanations offered by the linguist are valid in most cases. In addition, the study is still current, mentioning that the issues discussed must be confronted with new regulations of the present-day normative works. The situations in which the author's recommendation does not correspond to the present-day norm arise from the further evolution of the norm. For example, Iordan rejects the agreeing form of the ordinal numeral *întâi* 'first' (*întâia*) with feminine nouns, while *Dicţionarul ortografic, ortoepic şi morfologic al limbii române* [The orthographic, orthoepic, and morphologic dictionary of Ro-

manian] (DOOM², 2005), the present-day official normative dictionary, accepts both forms: *clasa întâi/întâia* 'first class'. In the case of verbs such as *a concede* 'to concede', *a succeda* 'to follow', his recommendations go against overlapping the conjugations, a rule followed by DOOM² for *a concede* (3SG.IND *concede* 3rd conj. – 3SG.SUBJ *să conceadă* 3rd conj.), but not for *a succeda* (3SG.IND *succedă* 1st conj. – 3SG.SUBJ *să succeadă* 3rd conj.).

Analyzing linguistic facts that cause difficulties for speakers, capturing tendencies in language use and language dynamics and providing solutions for controversial issues are the main objectives of certain works of language standardization that followed the aforementioned ones.

Another stage in the evolution of the preoccupations for language standardization is marked by the publication of the *Îndreptar ortografic, ortoepic şi de punctuaţie* [The orthographic, orthoepic, and punctuation thesaurus] (ÎO) in 1960, with revised editions in 1965 and 1971 (↗8.1 for the five editions of ÎO). ÎO contains not only regulations in the fields enumerated by its title, but also morphological norms.

Among the reference works in the domain of language standardization of this period, Alexandru Graur's works should also be mentioned. Professor Graur's preoccupation for correct language use and the dynamics of Romanian materialized in a number of works like *Tendinţele actuale ale limbii române* [Present-day tendencies of the Romanian language] (1968), *"Capcanele" limbii române* ["The traps" of the Romanian language] (1976), *Dicţionar al greşelilor de limbă* [Dictionary of language mistakes] (2009 [1982]), *Puţină gramatică* [A bit of grammar] (1987), some with new editions in the past years (cf. below, 3.1, where one of his works is presented).

Graur's work *Tendinţele actuale ale limbii române* is significant for the description of language dynamics, for understanding the way in which language evolves and, implicitly, the relation between norm and deviation from norm. Graur starts from the idea that not only a synchronic, but also a diachronic study is necessary in order to identify the tendencies of present-day Romanian and the direction in which the language evolves (Graur 1968, 17). Moreover, the linguist considers that the necessities of the present-day language should be taken into account (Graur 1968, 18).

The chapters of this book: *Phonetics – Phonology*, *Morphology*, *Word formation*, *Vocabulary*, *Syntax* discuss a series of phenomena, presenting both their history and present-day situation. For instance, when discussing the competition between the endings *-e* and *-i* in feminine nouns, the author shows that *-i* usually wins the competition (the feminine plural forms that used to follow the old pattern with the ending *-e* like *strade* 'streets', *şcoale* 'schools', *boale* 'diseases' were in competition and were later replaced by *străzi*, *şcoli*, *boli*). However, Graur shows that the tendency of that period is to use the ending *-e*, perceived as belonging to the high register of the language and preferred over the ending *-i* – because it triggered less phonetic alternations: forms like *chitănţi* 'receipts', *ciocolăţi* 'chocolates', *făbrici* 'factories' are felt as belonging to popular speech (Graur 1968, 106–127). The general tenden-

cies formulated by the author are as follows: in phonetics and phonology, the decrease of certain morphophonological changes; in morphology, the tendency towards analyticity in nominal inflection, the expansion of the first conjugation of verbs (especially of the subclass with the suffix *-ez*); in word formation, the development of international prefixes and suffixes, especially of Latin origin and the growing use of compounding and back formation; in vocabulary, the spread of international loans, especially those of Latin origin; in syntax, the tendency towards analyticity (Graur 1968, 349–351). This study is still ongoing, giving an overview of the directions and strategies of the analysis of linguistic phenomena which, at a certain stage of the language, deviate from the norm or are difficult to frame into the linguistic system.

The volumes coordinated by Gabriela Pană Dindelegan: *Aspecte ale dinamicii limbii române actuale* [Aspects of the dynamics of present-day Romanian], vol. 1 (2002) and vol. 2 (2003), and *Dinamica limbii române actuale* [The dynamics of present-day Romanian] (2009) adopt the same perspective for the present-day stage of Romanian, offering a wide picture of the contemporary use of the language. These volumes contain articles on various topics, illustrating the dynamics of present-day Romanian as well as a series of difficulties and recurring mistakes registered in use.

3 Studies on difficulties and mistakes of present-day Romanian

Many studies regarding the correct use of Romanian are based on the rules formulated in academic works as a reference point: grammars, normative dictionaries and thesauri (↗8.1, ↗8.2, ↗8.3). These works present and explain phenomena of the current use that are analyzed as deviations from the norm and tendencies manifesting in the present-day language.

A series of studies contain articles discussing different problems of the correct use of the language, which have been written over a longer period of time. Among these, we can mention Mioara Avram, *Probleme ale exprimării corecte* [Problems of correct language use] (1987), Alexandru Graur, *Puțină gramatică* [A bit of grammar] (1987), Theodor Hristea, *Probleme de cultivare și de studiere a limbii române contemporane* [Problems of contemporary Romanian standardization and analysis] (1994). Other studies on language difficulties and mistakes – like those presented in sections 3.1 and 3.2 – present and discuss linguistic mistakes either in the form of a dictionary (alphabetically) or in a form that resembles that of a dictionary to a certain extent (language mistakes are grouped into long lists subordinated generally to certain criteria such as the grammatical or semantic domain or the causes leading to mistakes).

3.1 Dictionaries of language difficulties and mistakes

For Romanian, dictionaries of language difficulties and mistakes are found less often than other reference books, many of them similar to a dictionary, as they contain extensive lists of deviations from the norm (cf. below, 3.2).

We will refer to the following dictionaries of difficulties and mistakes further: Al. Graur, *Dicționar al greșelilor de limbă* [Dictionary of language mistakes] (2009 [1982]), Narcisa Forăscu/Mihaela Popescu, *Dicționar de cuvinte "buclucașe". Dificultăți de pronunțare și scriere* [Dictionary of "troublesome" words. Difficulties of pronunciation and spelling] (2005), Andrei Crijanovschi, *Dicționar de dificultăți ale limbii române* [Dictionary of difficulties of Romanian] (2000), and Valentin Guțu, *Dicționar al greșelilor de limbă* [Dictionary of language mistakes] (2014 [1998]), the last two regarding (especially) the variant of Romanian spoken in the Republic of Moldova.

The four dictionaries, written at considerably different times, are contrasting in terms of objectives, structure and the way in which the phenomena discussed are explained.

Graur's *Dicționar al greșelilor de limbă*, published in the same year as DOOM[1] (1982), is a tool that is still used today. It contains and explains language phenomena that especially regard the lexicon and semantics and, to a lesser extent, grammar. Different from DOOM[1], Graur also mentions the incorrect forms, which he compares to the correct ones (e.g. "*funicular*, see *funicular*" 'cableway', "(*a*) *ștrangula*, see (*a*) *strangula*" 'to strangle', "*strein*, see *străin*" 'stranger'). In the explanations given, the author refers to the etymology of the words, compares Romanian with Latin and with other languages, establishes relevant analogies with other words and expressions.

An important observation that the author makes in the *Introduction* (Graur 2009 [1982], 9) is the fact that not all the variants of words are mistakes: some can be regional pronunciations (which he does not include in the dictionary). Some of the proposed solutions are different from those in ÎO (1971), a normative work whose solutions were generally taken over by DOOM[1]. For example, Graur puts forth that *stampilă* 'stamp' and *ánost* 'boring' are the correct forms, with the following explanations: "(from Fr. *estampille*), not *ștampilă* (as in *Thesaurus*)" and "(according to the stress pattern of the Greek original), not *anóst* (*Thesaurus* admits both stress variants)", respectively. Other times, the form rejected by the dictionary as well as by DOOM[1], is accepted by DOOM[2]. This is, for example, the case of the form *a se pricopsi* 'to enrich' (accepted variant of *a se procopsi* in DOOM[2]), about which Graur mentions: "(*a se*) *procopsi* (from MGrk. *prokops*-), not (*a se*) *pricopsi* (as in the DEX): in Greek, the prefix *pri*- does not exist".

The dictionary offers solutions and explanations for many language issues with which speakers are now confronted. When consulting this dictionary, a parallel verification of recent normative works is necessary because it sometimes offers solutions that are different from other studies (see, besides the above-mentioned exam-

ples, the recommendation to spell some infinitive forms with -*isa*, explained by their French etymon, which in DOOM[1] and DOOM[2] have the form -*iza*: *a regiza* 'to direct', *a aplatiza* 'to flatten'). In 2009, a new edition of the dictionary appeared, edited by Liviu Groza, reproducing the text of this study and correlating and completing it with the explanations in DOOM[2] and, in the case of some words, with the meanings in DEX (1996).

Dicţionar de cuvinte "buclucaşe". Dificultăţi de pronunţare şi scriere by Narcisa Forăscu and Mihaela Popescu is, above all, a school dictionary (as mentioned on the cover). With the word *buclucaşe* 'troublesome', the authors refer to words that cause different problems for speakers (in pronunciation and spelling, in understanding their meaning and their context of use, words that lead to disputes and controversies, which are found in school exercises). The dictionary includes many current words, whose use can be problematic for speakers. Going beyond the limits announced by the title, the study also discusses mistakes in the use of grammatical elements: the genitive morpheme *al* (*a*, *ai*, *ale*), the conjunction *că* 'that', the relative pronoun *care* 'which', the preposition *de* 'of', etc. The difficulty in use of each "troublesome" word in the dictionary lies at one or more levels of analysis discussed by the authors: orthography, pronunciation, morphology, syntax, semantics, use. For example, in the case of the word *bunăvoinţă* 'goodwill', as to the orthography, the authors mention that it is written without a hyphen, differently from its antonym *rea-voinţă* 'bad will', and, morphologically, they show that the word does not have a plural and that the genitive-dative form is *bunăvoinţei*. As the authors (2005, 6) point out, one of the goals of this work is to draw attention to the recommendations of DOOM[2] – published in the same year – which, in many cases, brings changes to DOOM[1] (forms of some words, syllabification, stress). The concise explanations, the clear examples, the classification of problems according to the domain where they occur (the domain being specified at the beginning of the paragraph) and the use of the terminology of traditional grammar facilitate understanding for those interested in the correct use of the language.

For difficulties regarding the variant of Romanian spoken in the Republic of Moldova in particular (but not exclusively), two dictionaries can be consulted: Andrei Crijanovschi, *Dicţionar de dificultăţi ale limbii române* and Valentin Guţu, *Dicţionar al greşelilor de limbă*.

Published ten years after the replacement of the Cyrillic alphabet (in its modern Russian variant; ↗8.1, section 2.1) with the Latin alphabet, Andrei Crijanovschi's *Dicţionar de dificultăţi ale limbii române* (2000) includes, as mentioned in the *Introduction* (2000, V, VIII), basic terms as well as neologisms that cause spelling, pronunciation, grammatical or semantic difficulties. Based on DEX (1975) and DOOM[1], the dictionary registers, besides the correct, literary forms, non-literary, incorrect ones accompanied by indications such as *nu* 'not', *nelit.* 'unlit.', *greşit* 'incorrect', *scris greşit* 'written incorrectly', *acc. nelit.* 'unlit. stressed', *acc. greşit* 'incorrectly stressed', *pron. nelit.* 'unlit. pron.', *pron. greşit* 'incorrect pron.' Special attention is

given to problems occurring as a result of the Romanian-Russian contact, such as the change of nominal genders (e.g. "*limonadă* f.n., not *limonad* n.n." 'lemonade'; "*șansă* f.n., not *șans* n.n." 'chance'), the postposition of the relative pronoun *care* 'which' in the genitive (e.g. "*al căror copil* (preposed), unlit. *copilul cărora*" 'whose child') or the use of verbal negation within a sentence introduced by an indefinite pronoun/adverb like *oricine* 'whoever', *oricât* 'no matter how', *oriunde* 'wherever', etc. or by an equivalent relative pronoun/adverb like *cine* 'who', *cât* 'how much', *unde* 'where', etc. (e.g. "Oricât de ocupat *ar fi fost*, ne vizita în fiecare zi. Nu: Oricât de ocupat *n-ar fi fost* ..." 'No matter how busy he was, he visited us every day. Not: No matter how busy he was not ...'). In order to help the speakers of Romanian in the Republic of Moldova, the dictionary also lists a series of regionalisms used especially in Bessarabia, northern Bukovina and Transnistria. The annexes at the end of the dictionary include lists of toponyms and anthroponyms and the mistakes that occur in their use.

Valentin Guțu's recent *Dicționar al greșelilor de limbă* (2014 [1998]) contains numerous deviations from the norm (in spelling, pronunciation, punctuation, grammar, lexicon and semantics, appropriate stylistic register) found in the language of the Republic of Moldova as well as in Romania. The dictionary is based on its first edition (1998), which was addressed chiefly to Romanians in the Republic of Moldova. The words in the dictionary are arranged alphabetically in two columns: the left column contains the indication "incorrect (not recommendable)" and the right column – "correct (recommendable)". The incorrect use is exemplified with sentences constructed by the author, many times in the form of dialogues. Besides general deviations also registered by other normative works such as incorrect plural noun forms (*drapeluri* instead of *drapele* 'flags', a mistake reflecting the frequent oscillation between the neuter nominal endings *-uri* and *-e*), verbal forms with or without grammatical suffix (*el aderează* instead of *el aderă* 'he adheres', *el copie* instead of *el copiază* 'he copies'), the extremely frequent sequence *ca și* for denoting the status of a person (*ca și profesor* 'as a teacher' instead of *ca profesor* lit. 'as a teacher'), the use of the restrictive adverb *decât* 'only' in a positive context (*Am decât o dorință* instead of *N-am decât o dorință* 'I only have one wish'), wrong agreement (*Promovarea reformelor*.PL *economice sunt*.PL *sortite*.PL *la eșec* 'The promotion of economic reforms are meant to fail' instead of *Promovarea*.SG *reformelor economice este*.SG *sortită*.SG *la eșec* 'The promotion of economic reforms are meant to fail') or the deformation of some words/expressions (*repercursiune* instead of *repercusiune* 'repercussion'), the dictionary also includes many mistakes that are specific to the speakers of Romanian in the Republic of Moldova which can be explained as being dialectal or influenced by Russian. A few examples are nominal suffixes (*ficție* instead of *ficțiune* 'fiction') or wrong gender (*lexică* f.n. instead of *lexic* n.n.), plural forms like *magazinuri* instead of *magazine* 'stores', *milionuri* instead of *milioane* 'millions', the expression *ca și cum* or *ca cum* 'as if' used instead of *ca* 'like' to indicate a status or "a quality" (*Arată ca și cum un extraterestru* 'He looks like an alien',

Arată ca cum un ministru 'He looks like a minister'), constructions like *a impune* (*pe cineva*) *să facă* (*ceva*) 'to impose someone.ACC to do something' instead of *a sili / a obliga* (*pe cineva*) *să facă* (*ceva*) 'to force / to obligate someone to do something' / *a impune* (*cuiva ceva*) 'to compel someone to do something' or *autobuzul cursează* 'the bus races' instead *autobuzul circulă* 'the bus rides'.

An important feature of these four dictionaries is that they are organized alphabetically (therefore entries are easy to find), functioning as practical guides for readers that are willing to improve their language use.

The list of works described above can be enriched with other studies such as Gabriel Angelescu's *Dicționar de dificultăți ale limbii române* [Dictionary of Romanian language difficulties] (1993) – "the first work of this type", as the author himself mentions in the preface –, Rodica Lăzărescu's *Dicționar de capcane ale limbii române* [Dictionary of Romanian language traps] (2007 [2005]), Dan Dumitrescu's *Dicționar de dificultăți și greșeli ale limbii române* [Dictionary of the Romanian language difficulties and mistakes] (2008), Aura Brais' *Dicționar de dificultăți ale limbii române* [Dictionary of Romanian language difficulties] ([7]2018 [2005]), and, in the Republic of Moldavia, Alexei Palii's *Dicționar de dificultăți și surprize ale limbii române* [Dictionary of Romanian language difficulties and surprises] (2008).

3.2 Other works dealing with language difficulties and mistakes

This section presents a few very well-known works – used extensively in schools and universities but not exclusively – that present numerous problematic language phenomena and present-day tendencies in short articles or paragraphs (easy to find by consulting the index). Most of these works address multiple linguistic levels (grammar, phonetics, lexicon, semantics, stylistics).

A significant work in the domain of language standardization comes from Valeria Guțu Romalo, *Corectitudine și greșeală. Limba română de azi* [Correctness and mistake. Present-day Romanian], published in 1972, followed by a "new version" – as the author calls it – in 2000 and by the third edition, revised and expanded in 2008. The last two editions added new phenomena that entered the language after the year when the first edition was published and correlate the information with the most recent literary norms. Compared to the 1972 edition, the second edition, which is based on the analysis of a larger corpus (made up of newspaper articles, TV and radio shows, literary texts), contains a considerably richer chapter 5, *Limba română actuală* [Present-day Romanian]. The new edition also includes the chapter *Ortoepie* [Orthoepy], where, below the title *"Acordul" dintre scriere și pronunțare* ["The agreement" between writing and pronunciation], the author discusses certain orthoepic and orthographic aspects. In the last edition, besides the changes and additions made to update the data to the norms of the current DOOM[2] (see the footnotes), the chapter *Evoluția normei* [The evolution of the norm] is added.

The first chapter of the book called *Corectitudine și greșeală* [Correctness and mistake] presents and clarifies the concepts of norm and mistake, discusses the linguistic system and its rules, the evolution of the language with its significant moments, the dynamics of the language and of the norm. This chapter helps speakers understand the complexity of the relationship between norm and deviation and what the analysis of this relationship entails at a certain time in language evolution. The other chapters – *Gramatică* [Grammar], *Lexic* [Lexicon], *Ortoepie* [Orthoepy], *Limba română actuală* [Present-day Romanian] – enlist and explain numerous difficulties, mistakes and incorrect formulations occurring in speech, some of them older with a "long history" behind them, others contemporary. To illustrate each of the deviations that are discussed in short sections, many examples from the press are used. The deviations from the norm are explained in a clear manner, in terms that are accessible to non-specialists. Special attention is paid to problems that occur at the stylistic level. The relaxed style, linguistic clichés, erudite words, the excessive use of neologisms, slang and colloquial speech are aspects that the author discusses extensively, drawing attention to the problems caused by the stylistic inadequacy of the discourse to the context of communication. One term that the author introduces in this study is *cultism* 'overly erudite word', i.e. a neologism inadequately used, considered by speakers to be more "solemn or impressive", more "refined" or more "technical" instead of a more common word (Guțu Romalo [3]2008, 140–141). Such cult words are *a debuta* instead of *a începe* 'to start', *a staționa* instead of *a sta* 'to stay', *a viziona* instead of *vedea* 'to watch' (Guțu Romalo [3]2008, 140–158). The chapter *Limba română actuală* [Present-day Romanian] discusses the relationship between language and the history of the society (with special focus on the period after 1989, characterized by profound social changes that have consequences on a linguistic level). Some tendencies and morphological, syntactic, and lexical features of the present-day language are mentioned, which prefigure the evolution of language (the oscillation between the two plural nominal endings: *-e* and *-i* for feminine nouns, *-e* and *-uri* for neuter nouns, the confusion between the *-e* and *-ea* in verb conjugation classes, the productivity of the suffix *-itate* giving rise to abstract nouns, text discontinuity caused by the influence of the oral style on the written language, etc.). The final chapter of the third edition – *Evoluția normei* [The evolution of the norm] – emphasizes the novelties of DOOM[2] compared to DOOM[1]; in order to indicate the elements of continuity and discontinuity in respect to the language norm, the author also refers to the official rules prior to DOOM[1].

The index of concepts and words at the end of the book makes it easy for the reader to search for words and constructions. The study of Valeria Guțu Romalo is extremely useful and up to date, being a model for other works on the same topic. Therefore, it is recommended to both specialists and non-specialists that are interested in language standardization.

Mioara Avram had a special interest in problems of correct language use and her works have established her as an authority in the field. Besides other works

of language standardization (↗8.1, ↗8.2), Mioara Avram published *Cuvintele limbii române între corect și incorect* [Romanian words between correct and incorrect] (2001), a study that is formally similar to a dictionary. The language mistakes that are discussed (regarding the lexicon and semantics as well as spelling, pronunciation, grammar) are grouped by semantic fields: *House*, *Food*, *Clothing*, *Professions*, *Economy*, *Social life*, *Health* and others. There is a rich inventory of words and expressions that generate difficulties in use. For each language difficulty, the author points out the problem/problems it raises and its correct use. The list of words and expressions (containing entries in their correct forms) given in each chapter, ordered alphabetically, is preceded by a short introduction that describes each particular lexical-semantic field and announces the major problems that pertain to that lexical-semantic field. Some entries concern only one mistake (see, for instance, s. v. *altercație*), others – in a smaller number – more than one mistake (e.g., s. v. *simptom*). Since the study was published before DOOM^2, some of the recommendations do not correspond to the present-day norm. For example, the forms *sanda* 'sandal', *mesadă* 'fur lining' in the field of clothing are rejected (the author recommends *sandală*, *misadă*), while DOOM^2 recommends them as the only correct variant. For the ease of consultation, the book also includes an index of words.

Two other books, which complete each other and are recommendable as instruments for improving one's written and oral expression, are *101 greșeli de lexic și de semantică* [101 lexical and semantic mistakes] (2011) by Adina Dragomirescu and Alexandru Nicolae and *101 greșeli gramaticale* [101 grammatical mistakes] (2012) by Isabela Nedelcu, both published in the collection *Viața cuvintelor* [The life of words] (coordinated by Marius Sala). These books make use of the material resulting from TV and radio monitoring within a partnership between the Romanian Academy and the National Audiovisual Council (CNA) in the period 2007–2011 – monitoring was realized by a group of researchers (including the authors of the books) from the Institute of Linguistics in Bucharest – but they also use many very recent examples from the internet. Both books look at a series of very modern language problems, besides the mistakes and difficulties that are reported and discussed in previous works.

As expected, most innovations are those in the lexical-semantic field, where language dynamics manifests to the greatest extent. In *101 greșeli de lexic și semantică*, after presenting the history of lexical-semantic mistakes (in the chapter *Istoria greșelilor lexico-semantice* [The history of lexical-semantic mistakes]), the authors mention and comment on the types of mistakes in this field in present-day Romanian grouping them under the following chapter titles: *Romgleza noastră cea de toate zilele* [Our everyday Romglish], *"Calofilia semidoctă"* [Semidoct kalophily], *Pleonasmul și contradicția în adaos* [Pleonasms and contradictions by addition], *Atracția paronimică, etimologia populară, contaminația* [Paronymic attraction, folk etymology, contamination], *Clișee lingvistice* [Linguistic clichés], *Feminizarea numelor de profesii și a numelor etnice* [Feminization of names of professions and ethnonyms],

Cuvinte și expresii străine deformate sau greșit înțelese [Foreign words and expressions that are deformed or wrongly understood]. The authors discuss a series of present-day language phenomena with extreme caution, generally without labelling them as mistakes or recommending them. They are aware that time will decide what the language preserves and adopts and what disappears. The book has a suggestive subtitle: *Cuvinte și sensuri în mișcare* [Words and meanings on the move]. For example, in the case of the noun *expertiză* 'expertise' (Dragomirescu/Nicolae 2011, 52–53), the authors show that this word is borrowed from French with the meanings "research of a technical nature made by an expert [...]", "report made by an expert on a research that was made" and that the present-day language also copies the meanings of the English word *expertise* "expert advice or opinion", "competence or skill in a certain field", illustrating its current use with contexts taken over from the internet with no mention of its relation with the norm. This book – written in an attractive, sometimes playful style – reflects the language dynamics, suggesting that the norm can also change in time even if at a slower pace. For this reason, linguists must be cautious when tackling recent language phenomena. In discussing the language phenomena – some very recent (e.g. the clichés *automat* 'automatic', *practice* 'practical', the copy translation from English *a se focusa pe* 'to focus on', the feminine form of the noun *curricula* 'curriculum'), some others older, but that have been perpetuated (e.g. the pleonasm *a-și aduce aportul* 'to bring one's contribution', the contradiction *alocuțiune amplă* 'extensive short speech', the paronyms *familial* 'family related' – *familiar* 'familiar') –, the authors explain the concepts they use, referring to bibliographical sources for the theoretical introduction to each section, not to mention the discussion of the words and expressions listed in the study. They also make observations regarding etymology, register, stylistic (in)adequacy. At the end of the book there is a rich bibliography on the relevant works in the field and a word index.

Unlike the *101 greșeli de lexic și de semantică*, the book *101 greșeli gramaticale* is stricter in labelling certain forms as mistakes. Likewise, solutions that are given are usually based on rigorous analysis and less on preference of use (see, for example, why the comma is used for separating appositions, Nedelcu 2012, 63–64; or why the form *unei mătuși a mele* is correct, not *unei mătuși ale mele* or *unei mătuși a mea* 'of/to an aunt of mine', 158–159). The aim of this study is to illustrate the norm that is in effect. However, sometimes it follows a convention that is not justified by a rigid grammatical analysis (for many mistakes, the difference between DOOM[2] and the previous norm, present in DOOM[1], is mentioned) in order to help speakers which are often confronted with dilemmas about the correct language use. The largest section of the book analyzes and discusses the types of mistakes produced on a morphosyntactic level (that is, grammatical mistakes proper). Besides these, mistakes that occur at other linguistic levels are discussed (except for the lexicon-semantics level): mistakes in pronunciation, spelling, punctuation. The discussion of the types of mistakes, grouped in chapters by the linguistic domain to

which they belong, are preceded by the introductory chapter *Norma și uzul limbii* [Norm and language use] and explain the relation between norm and deviation, the meaning of language dynamics, the causes of mistakes and what must be taken into account when judging a certain form to be a mistake. However, also at grammatical level – stricter than the lexical and semantic levels – tendencies manifest, and the author discusses them cautiously. It is, for example, the case of the expression *din punct de vedere* 'from the point of view' followed by a genitive – for which the present-day norm recommends the use of the noun *punct* 'point' with a definite article (*din punctul de vedere al libertății presei* [from the point of view of the liberty of the press]) – or with an adjective – for which the norm recommends the use of the articleless form of *punct* 'point' (*din punct de vedere moral* [from a moral point of view]). The author shows that, although this expression is not as rigid as a proper collocation (as illustrated by the noun's selection possibilities), there is a tendency towards using this expression invariably (*din punct de vedere al ...* 'from the point of view of'; Nedelcu 2012, 129–130). Examples are numerous; they are commented and corrected generally using the terminology of traditional grammar that is explained and simplified. For some mistakes or tendencies, the author invokes the influence of another language (see, for example, the use of the preposition *pe* in contexts like *a rămâne pe telefon* 'to stay on the line', *a discuta pe ...* 'to discuss on', under the influence of English) and looks at old Romanian data or at the language of the 19th century modern Romanian in order to show how old some mistakes are and how the norm changes (for instance, in the case of the use of the relative pronoun *care* 'which' without the preposition *pe*: *întrebarea care am afişat-o* 'the question that I posted' or of the reflexive use of some verbs: *a se râde* 'to laugh', *a se risca* 'to risk'). The index at the end of the book lists the examples that are discussed (both words and constructions) and grouped according to the type of mistake. The bibliography is useful to those willing to study the domain of traditional grammar and language standardization thoroughly.

To the list of works presented above, several other studies elaborating on difficulties and mistakes can be added. They help speakers interested in the correct use of the language to express themselves correctly, in accordance with the norms of the current language. Among them, we mention Narcisa Forăscu's and Mihaela Popescu's *Dificultăți gramaticale ale limbii române* [Grammatical difficulties of the Romanian language] (2007 [2001]) – which is particular in conception in the sense that it does not replace grammars or dictionaries, but it is instead "an average" of these two; it contains not only alphabetically listed headwords representing concrete terms, such as *după* 'after' but also metalinguistic terms such as *temporal* 'temporal', *conjunctiv* 'subjunctive' (as mentioned in the Foreword, 3–4) –, Tatiana Slama-Cazacu's *Confuzii, greşeli, prostii și răutăți în limba română, azi* [Confusions, mistakes, nonsense, and malices in nowadays Romanian] (2010), and Ilie-Ștefan Rădulescu's *Agramatisme în limbajul cotidian. Cum vorbim şi scriem corect* [Agrammatical words in nowadays language. How to speak and write correctly] (2015).

In the present-day stage of Romanian, there is a large interest in the domain of language standardization which can be seen not only in the great numbers of works on this topic such as the dictionaries and one-author books on speaking difficulties and mistakes but also in the internet and mass-media (a lot of TV broadcasts, newspaper sections, and blogs are dedicated to language standardization).

3.3 Digital instruments

For digital instruments, we recommend the website <https://dexonline.ro>, where a number of dictionaries can be consulted. Along with DEX, DOOM² and other books with an electronic version, e-books *101 greşeli de lexic şi de semantică* and *101 greşeli gramaticale* can be consulted.

4 Conclusion

The change of the norm justifies publishing works that discuss language difficulties and mistakes. However, such works signal tendencies, i.e., deviations from the standard language that are susceptible of becoming part of the norm. These works reflect the dynamics of the language use. On the other hand, by comparing works written in different periods, grammars, dictionaries and the thesauri reflect the dynamics of the norm, which is much slower than language dynamics.

The works referring to present-day Romanian described in this article are part of a larger series of studies on language standardization, which they use extensively. These works represent a good tool for speakers who want to improve their language use.

One can notice that there is great interest in the standardization of Romanian, as proven by the many works in this field. The role of the works on language difficulties and mistakes is to contribute to understanding and establishing the literary norm through explanations and examples. Most of these works are in print, others can be also consulted online or in electronic form. Because they are addressed to a wide audience, their terminology is generally at the level of school grammars and even simplified. Some works adopt a more relaxed style to become attractive to their readers.

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9 Italian

Gerald Bernhard

9.1 Orthography and Orthoepy

Abstract: The model and literary variety of Tuscan has been a reference since the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance period. The use of Tuscan as Italian has provoked, even now, a long series of discussions about linguistic centralism (Florence and Rome) and polycentrism (outside the ideal regions of reference). The widespread oral use of Italian from the 20th century onward has created new dynamics in discussions about standard Italian and the acceptance of non-Tuscan/-Roman phonetic realizations, which can be found in most of present-day reference tools.

Keywords: Italian, Tuscan, orthography, spelling, orthoepy, pronunciation, standardization, modernization, Accademia della Crusca, pluricentricity

1 Introduction

The history of writing standards in Italy is far older than that of pronouncing standards, thus (*cum grano salis*) comparable to the evolution of standard language and spoken standard in Germany or in German speaking areas. However, in certain regards, it is different from the evolution of spoken and written language in modern funds. The glottonym *Italian*, referring generally to a language meant for an area of overall Italian culture, emerges in the 16th century and refers, first and foremost, to the exemplary variety for various purposes, namely the Florentine variety. It gains not only pan-Italian (in a geo-cultural sense) but European prestige through the outstanding literary works of Dante Alighieri, Francesco Petrarca and Giovanni Boccaccio. It is only during the nationalistic movements (*Risorgimento*) of the post-Napoleon area and mainly after the birth of the first Italian national state (*Regno d'Italia*) from 1861 onwards that the Italian model variety (until then predominantly used as a literary language) gradually adopts the status of an object of national identification within the newly established state. Due to the introduction of public education (*Legge Casati*, 1859), the acquisition of writing skills becomes at least, in theory, a part of the education given to all Italians. Moreover, the Tuscan variety begins to make its way from a literary variety to a prosaic or even every day rap text writing variety.

Tuscan is a primary dialect of spoken Latin, and in general has its place in daily communication – like all dialects. It covers mostly all communication situations of the speakers' necessities in various (smaller or bigger) areas of the Italian peninsula.

The spread of alphabetization and foremost the introduction of radio and television technologies (1923–1954), enabled the conversion of the national literary writing norms (established since the introduction of printing in the 15th century) into audible speech. Speakers, who usually used their dialect in lightly formal circumstances, began to adopt the national variety for formal speech.

Growing literacy and the introduction of television after World War II lays the foundations for the usage of spoken Italian (outside of Tuscany and Rome) in larger parts of the Italian population. Another factor promoting the national variety lies in the increasing mobility of many Italians more and more eager to replace their dialect communication with the usage of the national language, which is also a fact due to a lack of intercomprehension between many of the different dialects. This evolution, still existing today, results in the necessity of a nationwide pronunciation norm, while constantly facing strong influences from the variability of different dialectal phonetics, morphosyntax and lexicon. Therefore, the "ideal pronunciation" based on Florentine and Roman pronunciation is used only by professional speakers (radio or television actors and so on), whereas a great portion of Italian speakers use a regionally tinted pronunciation of Italian.

Writing traditions in Italy are based on the classical Latin alphabet with 21 letters (not counting <j> and <u>). From the middle ages onward, the writing antique alphabet has also included the Greek letters <k>, <y> and <z>. The *volgari*-speaking majority of the Italian population is generally not influenced by the Latin writing tradition that mostly follows the classical ideals of Quintilian, i.e. a one-to-one-relationship between sound and graphics sign. From the high middle ages onward, the *volgari* begin to occur in non-classical Latin scripts. Depending on the dialect origin (Campania, Sicily, Rome, Tuscany, Umbria, Venice or Lombardy), *volgare*-writings try to express the local original speaking-traditions with their new romance sounds such as [ʃ], [ʒ], [tʃ], [dʒ] mostly with the classical inventory. However, Greek <k> is often introduced to distinguish between palatal <c> [tʃ] and velar <c> [k] and both writing traditions influence one another. This situation is called double Latinity (*doppia latinità*). Regional orthographic rules, the *scriptae*, show variation in letter inventories in the use of Italo-Romance and Latin terms.

Above all is the spreading of printing offices after the invention of Gutenberg's printing technique that promote a standardized orthography in order to simplify the typesetters' work. This consequently leads to the economization of production, the diffusion of printed texts and satisfies growth demand.

The following sections give an outline and a historical overview of the orthographic and orthoepic developments from the Renaissance onward.

2 Historical overview

2.1 Orthography

While discussions about (ortho-)graphic realization of the *volgare*-text traditions are a substantial part of the so-called *Questione della lingua* (16th century), the history of discussions about *ortoepia*, *ortofonia* or *ortologia* as such is much younger (19th, 20th century); the exceptions being Leon Battista Alberti's *Grammatichetta* and Giangiorgio Trissino's reflections on the "pronunzia" (Biffi/Maraschio 2008, 2821, 2823).

We can assume a relatively widespread Italophony in late Middle Ages and early modern times around and throughout the Mediterranean (cf. Baglioni 2016). However, it was writing, and above all, printing that required norms for the numerous new offices from the 16th century onwards. This of course took place in Italy after the invention of Gutenberg's printing technique (1450–1454) from 1464 (Subiaco) onward; Rome 1467, Venice 1469. The medieval regional writing conventions of the various *scriptae* (e.g. *the koinè padana* or *Lombardo-veneta*; cf. Sanga 1990) show some homogeneity as far as the use of Latin characters is concerned. Variation regarding the reproduction of phonetic conditions of the regions or cities of literate or scriptural activities (e.g., Sicily, Rome, Tuscany, Umbria, Venice or Lombardy) is also effected. Thus, Sicilian writers or *scribae* of the *scuola siciliana*[1] oscillate between the use of <u> and <o> < VLat. [o] or <i> and <e> < VLat. [e].[2] The reproduction of the phonemes [tʃ], [ts] etc. is usually orientated on the Latin etyma and they are therefore represented by <c> in front of <a>, <o> and <u>. The new *volgare*-phone [k] in front of [e], [i] required adaptions, found in the use of the diagraph <ch> or the Greek letter <k>. An oscillation between etymological and phonological writing can be found in the presence or absence of <h>, e.g. in *(h)avere*, *(h)(u)omo*.

New discussions about 1:1 relationship between sound and letter arise during the age of Humanism (at first in Leon Battista Alberti's phonological principle in his *Grammatichetta*, cf. Serianni 2001, 519; Biffi/Maraschio 2008, 2821). The knowledge and appreciation of the classic languages Greek and Latin indulge, for example, Trissino to introduce two more Greek letters, namely <ε> for [ɛ] and <ω> for [o]. Thus, he tries to distinguish between open and closed phonemes represented by <e> and <o> having become the normative models following the Tuscan, the literary "exemplary variety".

Trissino's proposals,[3] however, were rejected because of the strong Latin writing tradition and the opinion about Italian (= Tuscan)[4] being the "legitimate" suc-

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1 The famous poets' school at the court of the Emperor Frederic II united poets from Sicily and other regions of Italy, e.g. Tuscany or Genoa.
2 Cf. Serianni (2001, 44–51), who exposes the close relationship between the use of *volgari* and Latin.
3 The role of economical printing and the required legibility are decisive in this context, cf. Serianni (2001, 517–519).
4 Not only Latin classicism, but also the Tuscan classical authors of the '300, were Pietro Bembo's stronghold of using only Latin characters (cf. Serianni 2001, 116–117).

cessor of Latin; the major protagonist of the "pure-Latin-Italian" argument was Claudio Tolomei (cf., e.g., Hartmann 1907, 202, 206s.; Migliorini 1950, 80; Cornagliotti 1988, 383s.; Biffi/Maraschio 2008, 2823).

An important impulse for a homogeneous writing-norm comes from the various printing presses established relatively soon after Gutenberg's invention in Strasbourg and Mainz, where fixed norms lead to a more economical production and dissemination of printed texts. The important role of Venice, and above all the humanist Aldo Manuzio,[5] first produce sensible solutions for a future orthographic norm. They respect and adopt some of the suggestions of Trissino, made between 1524 and 1529, e.g. the distinction between <u> and <v> for the phonemes [u] and [v],[6] or <i> for [i] and <j> (*i lunga*) for [j], but also for [iː] and double <ii> in words like *studio*, pl. *studii/studj* (nowadays *studi*). The latter is no longer in use in today's Italian (cf. Bertoni/Ugolini [7]1949, XXXVI) but sometimes found as <î> (*studî*).

Due to Bembo's writing activities and Manuzio's printings, Italian orthography makes relatively scarce use of graphic accents indicating phonic word accents. Bembo's *accenti*-tradition of Greek *prosodiai* (cf. Richardson 1996, 257) – mark oxytone words, excluding proparoxytona, (antepaenultima), *parole sdrucciole*, although the latter are quite frequently found in central and southern dialects of Italy. Further diacritical signs introduced by Aldo Manuzio, Pietro Bembo and Francesco Griffo (the engraver in Manuzio's printing workshop) are the apostrophe, still in use for elided vowels, e.g. *la arancia*, *l'arancia*; and the semicolon.

The foundation of the Accademia della Crusca (1582–1583) in Florence leads to the first codified guideline, the *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca* (1612).[7] Its secretary Lionardo Salviati prefers Bembo's model of the *volgare arcaizzante* of the 14th century and proposes e.g. <zia> for Latin <tia>, as in *grazia*. The *Vocabolario* also clarifies orthographic cases of doubt. It is the first defining dictionary and thereby a model for further lexicographical endeavors in Italy and in Europe.

A further source of the need for standardized graphic representation can be seen in early manuals for foreign language learners, first (15th century) from southern Germany and then from France and other European countries. The *Sprachmeister/maîtres de langue* Georg von Nürnberg (1424) and Adam von Rottweil (1477) were oriented on the Venetian variety, largely used by European merchants (cf. Gorini 1997, 29–30, 41, 49; Giustiniani 1987). Adam von Rottweil was a printer from the Swabian town of Rottweil (It. *Rodvila*), owned and ran a printing press in L'Aquila

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5 Aldo Manuzio and Pietro Bembo, the "fathers" of Italian grammar, largely discussed reforming orthographic standards between 1501 and 1533 (cf. Richardson 1996, 258–260).

6 Italian inscriptions, carved mostly in the classical roman capital letters, preserve <v> up to the 20th century; thus <v> stands for [u] and [v] as well as for the Roman '5' number (cf., e.g., Serianni 2001, 518).

7 The Academy itself was the first European institution concerning discussions around language codification, a prototype of other academies in Europe, e.g. the Académie française (1635) (cf. Serianni 2001, 122–129, 518).

(currently the capital of the region Abruzzo), where he probably died around 1474. Later works, however, such as Matthias Kramer's *Grammatica* ([3]1694) or *Le maître italien dans sa dernière perfection* (Vigneron [1]1699; cf. Gorini 1997) focus on the literary variety of Tuscan and Roman[8] Italian. They underline the homogeneity of its orthography: "L'Orthographe Italienne a cela de facile, qu'on écrit les mots de la même manière qu'on les prononce" (Vigneron [1]1699, 160).

The humanists discussed the use of classical, Latin and Greek, characters for the representation of the Italian sounds and fidelity of reproduction of pronunciation in writing. This led to a reduced inventory of printing characters compared to the previous edition of the *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca* (1612). Consequently, e.g. Rinaldo Corso proposes the substitution of the Greek letters <y>, <ph> and the Latin combination <-x-> by <ss>, <-ti-> by <z> in his *Fondamenti del parlar thoscano* (1549). However, there were tendencies to adopt Italian/Tuscan writing to regional pronunciation usages, for instance in the Ferrarese Daniello Bartoli (*Trattato dell'ortografia italiana del Padre Daniello Bartoli*, 1670) that formulates the first detachment of Cruscan and Florentine ideals or standards. Quintilian's principle regains force during the 19th century.[9] This is shown in the *Lessigrafia italiana, o sia maniera di scrivere le parole italiane proposta da Giovanni Gherardini en messa a confronto con quella insegnata dal vocabolario della Crusca* written by Giovanni Gherardini (1843). He was a Lombard scholar and anti-cruscan defender of moderate etymological graphic solutions and inclusion of variants from outside Tuscany. Endeavors of Gherardini and the Milanese patriot and philosopher Carlo Cattaneo stimulate academic discussion about the introduction of non-Latin letters such as (Greek) <y>, but do not influence literary uses of more conservative, Tuscany-centered, orthography (cf. Cornagliotti 1988, 387–388).

Almost 20 years before the political unification of Italy in a national state (kingdom) in 1861, Alessandro Manzoni's *I promessi sposi* (1827, 1835, 1840) is published. With its enormous success, the use of contemporary Florentine as a literary and "exemplary norm" (Coseriu [2]2007 [1988], 26, 143) starts to make its way into schools. This can be seen in Giorgini's and Broglio's *Novo vocabolario della lingua italiana secondo l'uso di Firenze* (1870–1897) and mainly the *Dizionario della lingua Italiana*, compiled by Niccolò Tommaseo and Bernardo Bellini (1861). This dictionary is primarily based on the model of the *Vocabolario della Crusca* and underlines the privilege of Tuscan writing and pronunciation: "Noi colla crusca facciamo gran conto del singolar privilegio per cui il nostro idioma conforma la scrittura alla pronuncia …" (Cornagliotti 1988, 388). Furthermore, it especially gives examples for the open and closed variants of the letters <e> and <o>:

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8 The Roman dialect (*Romanesco*) itself underwent a strong Tuscanization during the 15th and 16th centuries and thereby later assumed the role of a writing (and pronunciation) model (cf. Ernst 1970).

9 The definitive large-scale-diffusion of journals and newspapers begins around or shortly after the political unification (1861), e.g. *La Nazione* (Florence 1859), *Il Messaggero* (Rome 1878) or la *Gazzetta dello Sport* (Milan 1896) (cf. Cortelazzo 1988, 207).

"per esempio *bévere*, *cénere*, *féde* ecc. si pronuncia colla *e* stretta, perché nel latino hanno la *i*, mentre *bène*, *brève*, *cèrvo*, ecc. e tutti participj in *ènte*, *ardènte*, *brucènte commovènte*, ecc. si pronunciano colla *e* larga perché nella lingua madre [i.e. Latin] hanno la *e*" (Cornagliotti 1988, 388).

After the Napoleonic period and the congress of Vienna (1815), the new political ideas of primarily literate, cultivated, social groups favored the model of educated Florentine speech as a model for written texts. Giovanni Gherardini's activities, as well as Manzoni's *risciacquatura dei panni in Arno*,[10] contributed to a preference of *Florentino vivo e colto*. Both neglected the traditionally rooted ideas of etymological writing principles as defended by classical humanists, while these activities reestablished the primate of the Tuscan (Florentine and Senese) ideals. They discredited more "liberal" renaissance proposals as made by Trissino from Vicenza in northeastern Italy or by contemporary linguists such as Graziadio Isaia Ascoli from Gorizia/Görz. Trissino and, later, Ascoli favored a less centralistic model of the national idiom[11] usable by all Italians.

The flourishing period of linguistic, above all lexicographic enterprises after the foundation of the Italian national state – and under the dominion of the kingdom of Sardinia-Piedmont (Savoy) with its capital Turin[12] – is due to the new nation's growing need for linguistic education. Within the dialectal diversity of the *Italoromania*, regional dialects such as Piemontese or Lombard and Sicilian are barely inter-comprehensible. This gives way to the compilation of numerous dialectal dictionaries, which are expected to support linguistic education and the teachers involved in the new national school-system.[13] The given situation of linguistic heterogeneity and the political strains for social and linguistic *unità* stimulate the discussion about orthographical and orthophonical norms. This is reflected in various publications like *La unità ortografica della lingua italiana* (1885) by Giuseppe Rigutini, *Per l'unificazione dell'ortografia italiana in conformita della retta pronunzia: osservazioni e proposte del prof. B. Rinaldi* by Bartolomeo Rinaldi (1890), *Sul perfezionamento dell'ortografia nazionale* by Pier Gabriele Goidànich (1910), or the *Ortoepia e ortografia italiana moderna* ([2]1912), written by Giuseppe Malagoli, the founder of the Società ortografica italiana.

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10 Ascoli considered Lombardy a too provincial part of cultivated Italian with not enough connections to the classical models. This metaphor of 'rinsing the laundry [i.e. the linguistic material] in the river Arno' [i.e. metonymy for Florence and its language] can be seen as a certain kind of revival of the medieval postulates to respect the *usus* on one hand, and as an attempt of reestablishing the historical Tuscan traditions for all Italians on the other hand.

11 Despite the political fragmentation of (the geographic space) Italy and the widespread phenomenon of *campanilismo* (church-bell-ism) up to nowadays, there has always been a strong sense of cultural and historical cohesion among all inhabitants of the various Italian states.

12 In 1865, the government was transferred to Florence, and in 1870/1871 to Rome.

13 The system is at first based on the law of Casati, published in 1859 in the kingdom of Sardina-Piedmont, with a general elementary basic education of four years.

After the World War I, which sees Italy as a territorial and ideological winner – German, Slovenian, Ladinian and other minorities within the gained territories in the north are now part of the Italian Kingdom –, unification attempts receive a further impulse. At the same time, this impulse is reinforced and historically Tuscany-centered after the rise of fascism and Benito Mussolini between 1923 and 1943 ("il ventennio [fascista]"). The policy of Italianization of all regions and social classes of the fascist state, along with the introduction of radio broadcasting and the fascist propaganda, favors the Florentine and Roman models of orthography (and orthoepy) and negative attitudes towards the dialects.

Literary language has been transferred to orality in the schools since, or even shortly before (*Lex Casati*, 1859) the unification. It became the national identification moment during fascism, although some proposals to orthographic reforms were made during the *ventennio*. These concerns, for example, the introduction of <k>, <y> and <x> were reserved for the (written) use of non-Italian and non-romance words. Radio broadcasting added audible (and pronounceable) models to the use of written Italian: The introduction of the radio in 1923 led to a widespread use of this form of transmission and of political propaganda already in 1924/1925, thus adding audible correlates to scriptural experiences to mostly all Italian citizens. Regardless, it did not resolve ambiguities of orthographic variation, e.g. <arancia> 'orange' and <arancie> or <arance> 'oranges', or <taxi> vs. <tassì>, or the distinction of open or closed <e> and <o>. Such ambiguities persist up to contemporary writing (cf. Cornagliotti 1988, 390).

2.2 Orthoepy

The beginning of reflected orthoepic discussion can be seen within the complex, and pan-Italian, *Questione della lingua* from the 15th century onward. Orthoepy reflections go along with the need for relatively homogeneous printing norms as well as economical motivation and therefore orthographic regulations, the major arguments being four cardinal points:

Tab. 1: Florentinity vs. Italianity.

"Florentinity"	"Italianity"
phonological writing principle	etymological writing principle

Bembo's and the Cruscan solutions in favor of (a moderate) phonological Florentinity have a background of phonetic variation within (literate and educated) Italy, whereas from the political unification (1861) onward, pronunciation itself becomes relevant. First, regarding the skill of reading written texts, and second, since the

1920s, as a factor of modeling linguistic expression and properties in the national language itself. It has been replacing more and more traditional dialectal speech traditions, and thus limiting the use domains of the dialects to communicational settings (diaphasy) of *Nähe* ('immediacy') (Koch/Oesterreicher ²2011). The author of the first Tuscan grammar, the universal scholar Leon Battista Alberti, made precious phonetical observations in his so-called *Grammatichetta*,[14] conveying phenomena of Tuscan sound change in *statu nascendi* but did not make proposals in favor of the Tuscan prestige variety as an orthoepic model *in se*.

Hence, Claudio Tolomei's proposals (*Il Polito*, 1525) and further works such as *Della pronunzia toscana* (1568) by Orazio Lombardelli or *Degli elementi del parlar Toscano. Trattato di Giorgio Bartoli gentiluomo fiorentino* (1584 by Giorgio Bartoli) can be seen in a larger context of relations between Florentine writing and printing and oral realizations of the current Italian written language (cf. Biffi/Maraschio 2008, 2823–2824).

A special case of adopting one or the other way of pronouncing can be seen in the manuals of Italian for foreigners, e.g. the works of Adam von Rottweil or of John David Rhys (*Perutilis exteris nationibus de Italica pronunciatione, & orthographia libellus. Ioanne Dauide Rhoeso Lansaethlensi autore*, 1569), which oscillate between pragmatic utility (Adam von Rottweil) and literary ideal (Rhys).

As mentioned above, it is Italy's political unification (1861) that leads to a new vision of the role of pronunciation. At first, this role becomes important within the context of public schools and leads to reflections of pan-Italian models for spelling and reading the (new) national language for all citizens. The latter, as proposed by Alessandro Manzoni and Emilio Broglio, favored a Florence-centered model. At that time, it was still subject to a central monarchic political system. This model is represented in the fundamental book of Malagoli *Ortoepia e ortografia italiana moderna* (²1912), which can be considered the first attempt at emphasizing pronunciation in a "modern" society of national spoken interaction. Malagoli is aware of regional pronouncing traditions and tolerates them, also being aware of the fact that most Italians do not strictly adhere to cultivated Tuscan norms.

> "S'intende che quando diciamo uso fiorentino, vogliam riferirci no alla pronunzia dell'infimo popolo di Firenze, il quale, come si capisce facilmente, non può servir di modello, in tutto e per tutto, a una conversazione civile; ma alla pronunzia della parte migliore di esso popolo, che ha coretto e temperato certe sue primitive particolaritá, non gradite a' buoni orecchi" (Malagoli ²1912, 2s.).

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14 Born in Genoa in 1404 and died in Rome, Alberti realized numerous philosophic and artistic works (in Florence the façade of the church Santa Maria Novella, or the Tempio Malatestiano in Rimini) wrote his, descriptive, *Grammatichetta* in 1441 shortly before the diffusion of Gutenberg's printing technique and thus did not become part of the discussions of the *Questione della lingua*. Also Giambullari (16th century) and Buonmattei (17th century) reflected about pronunciation but did not succeed because of Bembo's primate of written, and writing, literary Tuscan (cf. Serianni 2001, 519).

Malagoli's compendium is science based and refers explicitly to research progresses made in *glottology* (historical linguistics) during the 19th and the early 20th centuries (cf. Malagoli ²1912, X–XI). The chapters of the work follow phonetic principles and treat single sounds as well as diacritic signs. His pleads in favor of the elimination of <j>, except for in proper names, remain valid up to nowadays when <j> begins to make its way into written Italian in foreign words, e.g. *jazz*, *jolly*.

Speaking Italian following orthoepic rules assumes a new and important political role during fascism and its centralistic language policy. With the rapid diffusion of radio broadcasting during the late 1930s, spoken (not only written and read) texts begin to function as a model for the possible interpretation of the national language in everyday communication to a, still slowly, growing disadvantage of the dialects (largely banned at schools). Along with the radio, cinema begins to make its way into the cultural life of many Italians, and therefore becomes a model of possible pragma-linguistic behavior. With Florence as a historical "status symbol" of Italian language and with Rome as the center of film (and visual news) production,[15] the discussion about the orthoepic standard moves between these two gravitation points of national, linguistic identity. This has its concrete output in the postulate of an also linguistic power-axis, the "asse Roma-Firenze" (cf. Bertoni/Ugolini 1939), an idea realized in 1939 by Giulio Bertoni and Francesco Ugolini on the initiative of Radio Italiana:[16] *Prontuario di pronunzia e di ortografia*. The manual continues to be published even after the end of fascism and World War II (⁷1949) as a guideline e.g. for radio speakers, professional readers and actors.

Preferring the ideal of "lingua toscana in bocca romana", the authors give a short outline of pronunciation differences between the two "capitals" of linguistic Italy preferring, in cases of doubt, Rome (Raffaelli 1997, 59), Roman [koˈlɔnna] vs. Florentine [koˈlonna], Roman *trènta* vs. Florentine *trénta*; furthermore they adapt Malagoli's <j>-less orthography by proposing the plural <studi> (*studio* sg.) instead of <studj> or <studii>. Problems of grapho-phonetic relationships of the *raddoppiamento (fono)sintattico* receive detailed discussion (paragraph IV) referring to univerbation as in <senonché> vs. <sennonché> 'yet', however, the latter being preferred nowadays. Likewise, problems of accentuation of e.g. <rubríca> vs. <rúbrica> 'list, schedule' (paragraph XIX), are still problematic in today's Italian, where preferences for proparoxytona in spoken Italian can be observed. The only strong opponent of Bertoni's Roman norm was Clemente Merlo, he himself already having contribut-

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15 *Cinecittà* 'cinema-city' is a vast complex of film studios on the Via Tuscolana, southeastern Rome. It was founded in 1937 under the fascist regime following the example of the big American studios. Cinecittà used to be the major irradiation center of varieties of spoken Italian in motion pictures, nowadays primarily commercial spots, but also synchronization of foreign movies (cf. Brütting 1997, 180–181).

16 The Italian radio broadcasting company changes its name to *Ente Italiano Audizioni Radiofoniche* (EIAR) in 1927 and to *Radio-Audizioni Italiane* (RAI) in 1944. In 1954, RAI is officially completed by Radiotelevisione italiana (cf. Cortelazzo 1988, 207).

ed to the compilation of Malagoli's work. After the war it was, among others, the great historical linguist Bruno Migliorini, who uttered a cautious possibility of the entrance of regional pronunciation in the once centralistic Italian radio institutions with "una propria inflessione di voce" (Migliorini 1945, 10, quoted in Raffaelli 1997, 63). A commentary by Bruno Migliorini (1949) on the *prontuario* was published four years after the end of World War II; in his article, Migliorini bases his arguments for a combination of (educated) speakers from Florence and Rome on an implicit compromise between historical traditions and contemporary variants of speech in either city (Migliorini 1949, 61). He also uses sociolinguistic arguments disallowing pronunciation habits like Roman *abbito* instead of *abito* or Florentine *la hasa* instead of *la casa* (*gorgia toscana*).

A further step towards the diffusion of Italian in Italian's every day repertoires can certainly be seen with the introduction of television in 1954. The new media, with new representations of Italian texts, e.g. series regarding everyday life or commercial spots in a new democracy, also offered new behavioral models for Italian speaking and dialectophone Italians, especially during the *miracolo economico* ('economic miracle') in the 1950s and 1960s. In addition to that, synchronization of foreign, often American or French, movie pictures had to occur in the national language. This "translation" of widespread standardized linguistic worlds into Italian, where the numerous dialects (not only the national language), was anchored in every day communication. These impulses from new cultural domains and media can be seen as a shift from prescriptive norm-orientated to empirical norm-based models for the use and realization of Italian. Therefore, the publishing of the *Dizionario d'ortografia e di pronunzia* (DOP, Migliorini/Tagliavini/Fiorelli 1969) should be seen from a different perspective than its predecessor, the *Prontuario*.

In 1952, the national Italian broadcasting society RAI, the ex-EINAR of the fascist period, charged a group of linguists and philologists with the elaboration of a "tipo di pronunzia italiana superiore alle varietà dialettali e agli usi individuali" (DOP, V). This attempt can be interpreted as a democratic concession to a polycentric (rather than pluricentric) concept of a standard language, motivated also by socio-political ideas: "La lingua nazionale non può essere più un patrimonio di minoranze, un monopolio di certe province o di certe classi" (DOP, V). Giulio Lepschy directed this argument in 1966 at Carlo Tagliavini, one of the authors of the DOP. Lepschy recognizes the fact that Italian also became a spoken language outside Tuscany and Rome:

> "Dovrebbe essere ormai evidente che l'italiano esiste oggi (diversamente da quanto avveniva per il passato), non solo come lingua parlata scritta, ma anche come lingua parlata; e che tale lingua parlata varia secondo i luoghi, e in particolare ha diverse pronunce locali" (Lepschy 1966, 61).

Despite these attitudes, Migliorini looks at phonetic guidance from a historical point of view, thus provoking contrary opinions that regard regional *consuetudines*, as

e.g. Amerindo Camilli (1951), who considers pronunciation facts from a statistical demographic as well as from a structural point of view:

> "Caso mai dovremmo discutere se dir *fuso* sempre con la sorda come nell'Italia centrale e meridionale, o sempre con la sonora come nell'Italia settentrionale. Ma siccome questa diversità non urta nessuno, è perfettamente inutile starne a fare una questione" (Camilli 1951, 25).

As a result, the DOP (still a work of reference) takes into consideration the debates about ideal and (statistically) normal pronunciations of the national language. The concept of an ideal pronunciation of Italian gives way to a more polycentric acceptance of pronouncing Italian (formerly Tuscan) words (DOP, XVI, XLI). The DOP remains a point of reference up until the end of 20th century, even when radio and tv-speakers from outside Rome or Tuscany begin to use regional pronunciation variants in regional and national transmissions. Examples can be seen in the de-affrication of [-tʃ] (as in [tʃiŋkweˈʃɛnto] '500') typical for Roman (and today for central and southern) speakers or in the generalized realization of <o>, <e> as [ɔ] and [ɛ] in speakers from the extreme south (Salento, southern Calabria, Sicily).

3 Today's reference instruments

3.1 Orthography

The DOP can be considered an important basis for numerous later works: for didactic as well as for linguistic issues since it addresses a certain diaphasic sector (style, register) within the Italian diasystem of the linguistic landscape of Italy, leaving (implicitly) room for numerous regional, social and diaphasic variants. The dictionary (which names orthography first, unlike the *Prontuario*) can be considered a guideline for educated speakers with a certain historical-etymological orientation, and it presents, letter by letter, the Italian alphabet including the "foreign" characters <j>, <k>, <w>, <y> and <x>. This fact might have been seen as an opening towards the increasing contacts with languages, Romance (French, Spanish) as well as Germanic (first of all English) and ancient Greek in learned words, during the post-war period. As for the use of <k> in Greek, the DOP often proposes the use ("meglio") of <ch>, e.g. *kerosene > cherosene*, whereas <k> is generally maintained in words of Germanic (*kermesse* 'carnival') or Slavic (R. *Kolchoz*, Slovenian place name *Kobarid*, It. *Caporetto*), Arabic (*Kaaba*) or exotic origins. The addition of numerous loan words and the massive presence of foreign proper names in Italian political and social life also increases the use of <j>, <w> and <x>.

The intra-Italian debate concentrates on the letters <o>, <e> and their four phonological correspondents, as well as on the *radoppiamento fonosintattico*, which is unknown to northern Italian speakers but not necessarily writers (subsumed under the respective letters). The lexemic inventory of about 100,000 entries in a strictly

alphabetic order, also contains proper names, Italian and foreign, with their orthographic and phonetic realizations. The transcription does not yet follow the conventions of the IPA and might create some confusion among today's consultants, e.g. <ʒ> for [dz], <ʃ> for [z].

Partially revised, science-based works on Italian pronunciation appear from the 1980s onwards in the works of Luciano Canepari, a Venetian phonetician and above all in the *Dizionario di pronuncia italiana* (DiPi). Orthography was consolidated in the meantime through literary and journalistic activities – with relatively few cases of doubt (see below), presented in the major grammars, such as Dardano/Trifone (³1995), Serianni (²2006 [1989]), Trifone/Palermo (³2014) or the leading dictionaries,[17] above all *Zingarelli* (appearing every year; ↗9.3).

Of course, grammars cannot refer to various pronunciations of single words, as dictionaries do. Nevertheless, they concede rather long chapters to etymological and phonological writing. The first scientific Italian grammar, written by Luca Serianni and first published in 1989 (²2006), treats the problems of the above-mentioned letters on a structural and linguistic base in the ample chapter I ("Fonologia e grafematica") as well as regional variants (33–36). The list of the Italian alphabet ("L'alfabeto italiano continua con poche differenze [e.g. <u> and <v>] quello latino …", 36), marks the five foreign letters with an asterisk. A short article (no. 110, p. 37) is dedicated to the variation between masculine and feminine gender of the letter-names (*il cappa*, <k>, *la cappa*). Dardano/Trifone's *Gammatica italiana* (³1995, 679) advises the reader that *la* <b> is more frequent than *il* <b>.

Current Italian orthography, with its relatively few problems, is referred to in chapter 17, including "lettere staniere" (17.6) and "pronunce regionali" (17.7). Since the work of Maurizio Dardano and Pietro Trifone also serves didactic purposes, the usual norms (*usus*) in Italy, have an equal position as the *exemplary norm* of traditional literary Italian, a fact that is equally underlined in the subtitle of Serianni's grammar: *Italiano commune e lingua letteraria*. That is why both reference works open towards the new reality of a vast diasystem of Italian (Berruto 1994) as an outcome of long discussions about orthography, and, to a lesser extent, orthoepy. Today's Italian writing problems are more and more concerned with textuality problems (cf. Palermo 2017, 124–127) than with mere spelling issues.[18]

3.2 Orthoepy

The normative outlines of previous works, such as the *Prontuario* or the DOP, are generally registered in the lemma of the most common dictionaries. The *Garzanti* or

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17 The Accademia della Crusca ceased its normative lexicographical activities after the uncompleted 5th edition of the *Vocabolario* (1863–1923) under the pressure of the fascist regime; cf. Accademia della Crusca (<www.accademiadellacrusca.it>); ↗9.3.
18 In fact, the massive use of, above all English, loanwords and foreign proper names has led to a kind of "orthographic creativity" among speakers of Italian. <k> for <c>, <ch> and <y> for <i>

the *Zingarelli* and the etymological DELI as well, mark word accents, [ɛ] and [ɔ] with <è> and <ò>, in addition to voiced or voiceless <ş> and <ẓ> (only the *Zingarelli*). They adhere to the traditional norm. Similarly, this also holds for bilingual dictionaries, e.g. Sansoni (Italian-German). Tullio de Mauro's monumental GRADIT (1999, XVIII–XX) refers to the educated Tusco-Roman pronunciation as far as the phonetic realizations of <e>, <o>, <s> and the accentuation are concerned. The dictionary uses IPA-transcription and gives, even within the Tosco-Roman model, non-exemplary realizations: e.g. <édile> and <edíle> 'referring to construction' or <gèrbera>, <gerbèra> (flower). Regional and stylistic lexical variants are marked after the lemmas. The GRADIT can be considered an attempt to include the reality of Italian *usus* (pl.) in its orthographic-orthoepic documentation. Along with the spreading use and growing complexity of the Italian diasystem, dialectological and sociolinguistic research have proven a rich panorama of regional, social and stylistic-diaphasic dynamics. Within these processes, the traditional pronunciation norm is losing ground. Even professional speakers, actors or announcers on TV or radio often tend to more "popular" ways of diction/pronunciation, leading, at least partially, to a "flattering" of the diaphasic range of registers. The diminishing influence of exemplary pronunciation ideals might be a reason for the often somewhat polemic, recent activities of, above all, Luciano Canepari, who complains about the flattering of registers in his numerous works, e.g. *Italiano standard e pronunce regionali*, the *Manuale di pronuncia*, the *Manuale di pronuncia italiana* (MaPi) and the *Dizionario di pronuncia italiana* (DiPi). Canepari finds fault with the little care that is taken on modern radio, television and in schools (cf. also De Blasi 1993, 421–423) because he believes we should offer a model for cultivated speech as well. The major task of these institutions should consist of an education for sensibility of the Italophonic society (already 85% of the population in 1999; cf. MaPi 1999, 19–21). He criticizes professional speakers as well as the strict DOP and proposes a neutral pronunciation standard ("pronuncia moderna") recommendable along with the traditional norm, but he does not support the use of obsolete forms. The DOP itself saw an interactive edition in 2007, and the preface (by the broadcasting society RAI; 1–6) added to the already defined aims of the dictionary the "educazione linguistica", not only of professionals but generally of persons interested in speech and in a "buona pronunzia".[19]

Canepari's DiPi, also published in an interactive version, is, in a certain way, more innovative, in so far as the author proposed a "ranking" of present day's Italian pronouncing norms between "moderna" and "tradizionale" (DiPi, 20). The "tra-

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are deliberately adopted in substandard varieties, e.g. in youth-language as group-identity-markers (cf. Dardano 1994, 409–411; Cortelazzo 1994, 313–315).

19 Cf. DOP, 1–6; Canepari shows that "buona pronunzia" not only refers to exemplary realization norms but also to the phonetic, included prosodic, realization of language itself and the phonetic structuration of texts.

ditional" pronunciation model refers to pronunciation variants of speakers inclined to show their personal linguistic culture. In doing so, Canepari involves diachronic, diastratic and diaphasic "parameters" but without mentioning them.

The rich inventory of foreign words and foreign proper names in the DiPi reveals another problem of modern Italian, as of modern languages in general: the heterogeneity of the grapheme-phoneme-relationship in the multiplicity of non-romance and 'exotic' words, having become a part of the Italian lexicon. Therefore, *Khazachistan* presents two graphic variants of [k]. <x> in *Xeres* 'Sherry' offers three possibilities of Italian realization: [ks], [ʃ] and [x], where [x] is considered recommendable (and corresponds to the Spanish pronunciation). <x> varies, in various lemmas taken from various languages, between [ks], [x],[20] [ʃ]. <w> is mostly aligned with [v] (*Westfalia*, *Watteau* [painter]), but proposes what, implicitly, might demonstrate sociolinguistic variation between cat-lovers and whisky-fans in Italy, [v] in *Whiskas* and [w] in *whisk(e)y*.

In contrast, internal <x> in Italian family names like *Bixio* ([z] in Genovese) is correlated to [ks]. The general central and southern realization of [tʃ] in intervocalic position, e.g. *cento dieci* '110' – [tʃ], *Centocelle* (Roman placename) [tʃ], is not taken into consideration as "modern" or "traditional".

4 Today's orthographic standards, correctness and phonetic realizations

Despite the relatively well-established grapho-phonetic relation of the Italian Alphabet based since the renaissance on the use of Latin characters, some problems concerning some relations (Palermo 2015, 31–33; Della Valle/Patota 2012) have remained unresolved for the last four centuries (since the edition of the norm giving *Vocabolario degli Accademici delle Crusca*). These problems consist in 1. the non-marking of the phonologic oppositions of [o] and [ɔ] and [e] and [ɛ]; 2. the non-marking of words accents in antepaenultima (*sdrucciole*) and antepaenultima (*bisdrucciole*).[21] Connected to the graphic accentuation is the distinction between <-ía> and <-ia> [a] as in <geografía> and <camícia> 'shirt', which causes, in few cases, semantic ambiguity, e.g. in plural forms like <camice> [kaˈmitʃe] 'shirts' vs. [ˈkamitʃe] 'overall'; 3. to a lesser extent, the orthographic 'gap' between <sci, sce> [ʃʃ] and <ci>, <ce> [tʃ] does not allow an orthographic representation of intervocalic [ʃ], as in Tuscan or

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20 [ks] is proposed for the personal name *Ximenes* instead of [ʃ] or, more "modern" [x].

21 The graphic accent can facilitate the apprehension of Italian as a foreign language, and/or Italians as far as lesser used nouns or proper names are concerned; the road-atlas of the *Touring Club Italiano* thus has *Napoli* and *Pescassèroli*. Verbal forms usually remain unmarked, for morphological reasons, even if *bisdrucciole* e.g. *telèfono* m. → *telefonàre* inf., *telèfonano* 3rd pl. pres.

Roman [baʃo] 'kiss'.[22] Some attempts to a moderate reform of orthography have recently been made by Luca Serianni, who, in 1999, proposed (cf. Adnkronos) the obligatory making of the word accent in proparoxytonic words (*parole sdrucciole*) or measures to avoid grapho-phonetic ambiguities as described above. These cases of doubt represent, though, a sort of compromise between phonological and etymological writing principles that matches the modern situation of contemporary use of the standard and historical language awareness. The latter has become a part of metalinguistic reflections since the Renaissance period.

Whereas regional phonetics variants of <o> and <e> tend to find acceptance,[23] as well as central and southern [ʃ] for standard [tʃ], neither phenomena are recommended by the DOP or the MaPi and the DiPi. The word accent, especially in place names and *voci dòtte* (learned words) can still be considered an issue of interest for speakers concerned with questions of correctness. Thus, "popular" tendencies of pronunciation like [ˈrubrika], [ˈɛdile] or [ˈbenako][24] can be acceptable from a "statistical" point of view (*tradizionale*, *moderno* in terms of DiPi and MaPi). The *Accademia della Crusca*, once a "fortress" of the traditional Tuscan model, tackles such questions on the internet (*Crusca per voi*; ↗9.2; ↗9.4). Equally, the grammar of Luca Serianni (member of the Crusca) compares etymological-historical "correctness" to usage in the modern Italian linguistic nation. Within the latter, perhaps "correctness" gives way to adequacy and choice of pronunciation models according to linguistic registers: an important step in teaching Italian in schools.

Regional phonetic realizations of Italian are in the meantime, largely accepted, and most Italians are aware of numerous non-Italophone speech communities within the state borders. Non-romance communities mostly adopt the regional varieties of their neighborhoods, e.g. Slovenians in Friuli, Germans (in the linguistic sense) in South-Tirol and Trentino or Arbëresh (Albanians immigrated in the Late Middle Ages) in the south. Similar conditions hold for Franco-Provençals in the Aosta Valley or Ladinians in the Dolomites.[25] A special case represents the Sardinian Italian,

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22 The Tuscan merger of VLat. *-sj-* > [ʃ] and Vlat. *ke*, *ki*, > [tʃe], [tʃi] > [ʃe], [ʃi], has been spreading since the late middle ages and led to a reformulation of a phonological rule with a certain exemplarity: even [ʃ] (not [ʃʃ] or [ttʃ], though) becomes [tʃ]. This rule produces the, etymologically "incorrect", standard forms like [batʃo] 'kiss' or [kaˈmitʃa] 'shirt', leaving a graphophonetical "gap" for the reproduction of [ʃ] with the graphemic inventory of modern Italian (cf. Loporcaro 2006).

23 This acceptance may be correlated to the common "saying" *vocale incerta, vocale aperta* which refers to the preference of [ɛ] and [ɔ] in foreign or learned words.

24 The etymologically correct forms would be [ruˈbrika], [ɛˈdile] and [beˈnako], the latter being a re-Latinization of the name of *Lago di Garda*, i.e. *Lacus Benácus*. The accentuation *Bénaco* could be explained as an analogy to other words and (place)names such as *Mònaco* 'Munich', 'monk' or *austrìaco* 'Austrian', or as a 'fashionable' trend towards pronouncing foreign, or "rare", words as *sdrucciole* (cf. Berruto 2011). The author of the DiPi and cultivator of pronunciation Luciano Canepari writes his last name Canepàri (DiPi 1999, title-page) with the IPA-transcription [kaneˈpari], knowing that many Italians especially tend to stress unknown words on the antepaenultima.

25 For detailed historical, socio-geographical and linguistic information, cf. Bruni (1994).

where the underlining Sardinian varieties lead to a unique, *staccato*-accented but mostly well-understandable Italian. A detailed description of standard Italian, as a traditional and Tusco-Roman-centered ideal for cultivated speech in higher registers and regional pronunciations as a *usus*-based reality (cf. D'Achille 2003, 92–95), is offered by Luciano Canepari's *Italiano standard e pronunce regionali* (^{3}1986 [1980]). This also includes prosodic characteristics of regional realizations of the national language.

The *Italiano parlato* has assumed dynamics that go beyond the traditional discussions about one exemplary norm. Notwithstanding, it faces new orders of linguistic classification attempts, e.g. *neostandard* (Berruto 1994) or "italiano dell'uso medio" (Sabatini 1985) in front of the numerous contributions that many regional and social *usus* have made to actual polycentrism of the Italian language.[26]

5 Conclusion: Italian as a pluricentric standard?

Although Italian is an official language only in Italy (Repubblica Italiana), the Vatican state and the Republic of San Marino (both situated within the Italian territory), and in Southern Switzerland (canton Ticino and Grisons), it can be considered a wide spread language (Europe, US, Central and Southern America, Australia). In its exemplary traditional and cultural standard, Italian is a language of worldwide cultural relevance and popularity (cf. Moretti/Grego Bolli/Cernetti Paolini ^{2}1994; Morgana 2009, 111–114; Turchetta 2005). Despite, or because of, these facts, it seems hard to speak of standard Italian as of a pluricentric standard with stately and *usus*-based divergent variants (cf. Berruto 1994). Nevertheless, standard Italian has made its way from a monocentric (Florence), or a bi-centric (Florence-Rome) to an at least polycentric standard based on the diffusion of a literary model through teaching and mediatic exemplification in the geographic-cultural space of the Apennine peninsula with its numerous primary dialects of spoken Latin. Outside Italy, especially among emigrates, the ideal of a "pure" Italian remains "grosso modo" an aim of mostly dialect speakers, a fact that can be considered as a sort of "colonial lag", where writing and speaking continue to be more closely related than in the Italian *patria*.

The dominance of written Italian has produced regional norms of realization and might lead to, in the nearer future, the evolution of secondary dialects. A first step in this direction may be seen as the tendency of phonic realizations following the written forms. Here, the *raddoppiamento fonosintattico* appears in graphically indicated forms (e.g. *soprattutto*, *sicché*) but more seldom in non-indicated forms such as *più tardi* (norm [pju tˈtardi] o *a Venezia* (norm [a vvenɛtˈtsja]).

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26 Pasolini's *Nuove questioni linguistiche* (1964) or Galli de' Paratesi's (1984) model of a new "ideal" norm localized in the economic power of Milan and the north demonstrate that this pluricentrism, quasi a modern koine, is one, but not *the* part of today's Italian linguistic uses that show, along with the traditional dialects, an openness towards a "polyphasic" standard.

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Elisa De Roberto

9.2 Normative Grammars

Abstract: This article investigates the various aspects of normative grammatical discourse in contemporary Italy. Following a brief discussion of the most important historical phases of Italian grammatical normation, the analysis addresses current orientations of scientific grammaticography and the redefinition of the concepts of rule, standard and error. Particular attention is devoted to the various channels through which ideas and opinions on the grammatical norm are propagated. The consideration given to grammatical normation within the political sphere, newspapers, popular speech and also on television and the Internet, demonstrate the vast regulatory needs of speakers belonging to the Italian language community and the difficult balance between grammar conservatism and openness to innovation.

Keywords: Italian, grammar, standardization, modernization, prescriptivism, descriptivism, language policy, normative agents, mass media, pluricentricity

1 Introduction

Since the second half of the 20th century, changes in the Italian sociolinguistic landscape have shaken the foundations of traditional grammaticography, prompting new issues and problems in normative discourse and throwing some key aspects from the past into crisis. Firstly, the leading role that literary language has had in modeling the Italian language has clearly waned (Coletti 1989, 11). The same concept of "language" dominates the attention of grammarians in a medley of different ways: the normative instructions no longer seem able to ignore the complex range of linguistic uses, the matter of linguistic change and parameters as communicative efficacy or congruence between discursive genres.

The Italian grammatical discourse, in its various forms, seems in conflict due to conceptions and orientations that are not always reconcilable. In an era of globalization, while many look with pessimism at the destiny of the Italian language – denouncing formal negligence, the "hybridity" determined by the influence of English and the "barbarization" of current language use – there is also a widespread counter need to adapt the Italian linguistic norm to the demands of an increasingly complex society, characterized by communicative practices that involve diversified social and professional groups.

In the current normative debate, grammars seem to have lost the role of linguistic *auctoritas* that they had only a few decades ago. Not only have there been no significant changes in the grammatical landscape of the last twenty years (see below, 3.1), but grammar books are characterized by a descriptive orientation. They are

often perceived as not very useful for the resolution of problems or doubts related to the linguistic norm. Since the debate around the grammatical standard has shifted from the specialized grammatical discourse to other areas, in this article – after a brief historical overview of Italian grammaticography (section 2) – we will compare the reflections of today's grammars on the concepts of norm and error with the attitude of the broader normative discourse[1] spread through schools and mass media (section 3). Our analysis will focus in particular on scientific grammaticography (3.1), school grammars (3.2), the relationship between linguistic policy and grammar (3.3), linguistic popularization (3.4) and on the normative discourse on the web (3.5).

2 Historical overview

The birth of a normative activity[2] coincides in Italian history with the rise and development of a vernacular grammaticography. The 16th century is unanimously recognized as "il secolo della norma" (Lubello 2004, 210), incidentally inaugurated by Fortunio's *Regole* (1516) and Bembo's *Prose della vulgar lingua* (1525), which, to varying degrees, imposes a linguistic model inspired by classicist criteria and based on 14th century Florentine language. The victory of the archaizing current on other trends, such as the courtesan, was also due to the difficulties of extracting rules from a living variety, as already observed by Giambattista Gelli in the essay *Sopra le difficultà di mettere in regole la nostra lingua* (1551).

Therefore, from the 16th to the 19th century, we witness the continuation of a phase of "monomia linguistica prenazionale" (Muljačić 1988, 290). Thanks in part to the modeling power of the literary tradition, supported by the legitimation of the grammaticographic canon which emerged between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries (Patota 1993; Poggi Salani 1988; Telve 2002–2003), the Florentine elaboration language is imposed as the model for Italian elaboration language.

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1 The term "normative discourse" refers to the set of metalinguistic representations that serve to convey and link a given speakers' use to moral or civic qualities. As shown by Berrendonner (1982), normative discourse contains an ideological orientation, even when it claims to be non-prescriptive. With normative discourse, we mean here both the specialist discourse, produced by grammarians and linguists, and the non-specialist discourse, produced by diversified professional and social groups. See also Meunier/Rosier (2014) about discursive construction of the norm.

2 On the concept of normation (*normazione*), e.g. "la creazione della norma, la scelta (selezione) della sua base e la sua (prima) codificazione", cf. Muljačić (1988, 286). The scholar incorporates the model proposed by Haugen (1972), in which the standardization process is defined in formal and functional level by four stages (selection, codification, acceptance, elaboration). About *norma*, cf. D'Achille (2011). A description of today's normative debate is in Schafroth (2000) and Ernst (2002, 110–113).

After the political unification, it is still the literary reflection that influences the normative debate. However, for the first time it is open to social discourse. The new political leadership adopts the linguistic solution developed by Manzoni in his historical novel (the Florentine spoken by educated people, emended by the most local features) and helps with circulation through targeted legislative actions. Even scholarly publishing fell into line with Manzoni's model although not always in a homogeneous way,[3] supporting the ideal of a written language inspired by the naturalness of speech and by a "parlato ordinato e sorvegliato come lo scritto" (Polimeni 2011, 180–185).

During the 20th century, the gradual rise of a generalized Italophony added to the emergence of sociolinguistic studies and the principles of linguistic democratization. It broke the normative uniqueness that until then had been safeguarded by a written and literary dimension of the Italian language. According to Muljačić (1988, 290 and 299–301), these features determine a phase of "polynomia". It is a slow and complex process, whose first signs emerge in the first half of the 20th century and can be seen in the vicissitudes of the grammar book (cf. the periodization proposed in Serianni 2006, 27–28). The phase of *idealismo crociano*, which saw an individual and creative experience in the language and limited the success of grammatical studies, is followed in the 1950s by a "grammaticalist" restoration. This restoration's most important product is the grammar of Battaglia/Pernicone (²1951), definitely pre-structuralist and clearly inspired by conservative normative criteria (that stigmatize, for example, left dislocations and those features legitimized by "Manzoni's reform").

In the late 60s and early 80s of the last century, the traditional grammar model is subjected to a radical critique. The sciences of language in Italy introduce new methods of analysis. They not only emphasize the concepts of linguistic variation and determine (also on the basis of a changed ideological frame) the aspiration for a linguistic democratization able to protect linguistic diversity but also the expressive wealth of the standard language. In recent years, there have been several interventions against the grammar prescriptivism: from Don Milani's *Lettera a una professoressa* (1967) to the *Dieci tesi per un'educazione linguistica democratica*, published in 1975 by GISCEL (Gruppo di Intervento e Studio nel Campo dell'Educazione Linguistica) in favor of an educational model based on the use and communicative adequacy, able to enhance the notions of "change" and "registry". The grammars of this period[4] encourage a descriptive approach conducted in the light of the most recent linguistic theories. Moreover, they aim to strengthen metalinguistic and meta-grammatical reflection and promote understanding of linguistic uses.

Since the early eighties onwards, the anti-grammar (and anti-normative) excesses have been overcome. Grammarians seem to want to combine tradition and inno-

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3 For the several linguistic oscillations in 19th century spelling books, cf. De Roberto (2011).
4 Cf. in particular Simone (1976).

vation, exploiting the innovative trends of linguistics (cf. Sabatini 1984), while recovering a normative dimension. Normally, *use*, *variety* and *text* are the phenomena and keywords that titles of (school and other) grammars most often allude to (see below, 3.1 and 3.2).

3 Linguistic culture and grammatical norms in Italy today

In the present linguistic culture[5] the reflection on the grammatical norm is characterized by various aspects:
–   the figure of the grammarian increasingly tends to coincide with that of the linguist or, particularly, the historian of language. In Italy during the twentieth century, this feature favored the emergence of a scientific grammaticography, whose main aspiration was to describe linguistic habits and structures and at the same time provide normative directions (3.1);
–   grammatical debate has expanded: not only have the places where grammatical issues are discussed increased (3.4 and 3.5), but more numerous now are the figures and personalities that can represent an authority on grammatical normation: grammarians, intellectuals and teachers are also joined by professional figures from the world of politics (3.3), journalism and publishing (3.4);
–   the central role of communication in today's society and the available opportunities for public writing via electronic communication and social networks have led to an increasing need for grammatical popularization in which specialists and amateur grammarians respond willingly through different channels (3.5).

The regulatory needs of the new millennium speakers go hand in hand with the rise of various clichés and stereotypes concerning the health of the Italian language that claim:
–   the national language is in a process of degradation, as the disappearance of some of its structures (e.g. subjunctive) would indicate;
–   the purity of Italian is being threatened by the interference of regional varieties as well as by the influence of English;
–   the elegance and beauty of the Italian language is being compromised by mass media (television and newspapers) and electronic communication (sms, email, Internet, social networks) that would spread careless and inappropriate texts.

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5 For "linguistic culture" we mean the "set of behaviors, assumptions, cultural forms, prejudices, folk belief, systems, attitudes, stereotypes, ways of thinking about language" people acquire (Schiffman 1996, 5).

Faced with these fears, scholars feel compelled to break with the many clichés about linguistic changes.[6] There are however – especially in many popular works – apocalyptic statements, often inspired by a type of puristic conservatism.

3.1 Scientific grammaticography and the linguistic debate about standard, norm and error

In recent years, the grammaticographic scene has not encountered many new features when compared with the survey outlined by Radtke (1991). The remaining cornerstones of Italian grammaticography are Serianni (1989) and Dardano/Trifone (²1997), now joined by Trifone/Palermo (²2007 [2000]) and directed mainly towards foreign learners, Prandi (2006), Patota (2006) and the grammar section of the *Enciclopedia dell'italiano* (Simone 2010–2011), where some normative aspects are also discussed.[7]

Descriptive explanatory guidance prevails in these works, which present non-standard phenomena (such as polyvalent *che* or overextension of the oblique pronoun *gli*), pointing out their markedness on a diatopic, diaphasic or diastratic level. The typical traits of *italiano dell'uso medio* (Sabatini 1985) are generally accepted and legitimized.

Normally, regulatory indications are not expressed by resorting to a simple right vs. wrong polarity; rather the grammarian tries to place each phenomenon in the most convenient register. For example, for the polyvalent *che* in relative sentences (non-temporal: *la valigia che ci ho messo i libri*) we find the following statements, all united by the fact of circumscribing the structure in the lower registers of the language:

"[costrutto] oggi marcato in senso fortemente popolare anche nell'italiano orale e da escludere senza attenuanti nello scritto formale" (Serianni 1989, 318)

the phenomenon is classified according to "scelte inadeguate che devono essere evitate in testi scritti di carattere formale" (Dardano/Trifone ²1997, 85)

"Incoerenze di questo tipo vanno assolutamente evitate, ricordando che, se il pronome relativo indica un complemento indiretto, la forma da usare è *cui*, non *che*" (Patota 2006, 208)

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6 Many interventions deny the alleged death of the subjunctive (cf. least Sabatini 2016, 194–198). Speaking of changes in the last century, Lepschy/Raponi (1989, 24) report "l'impressione di una continuità cronologica, di una evoluzione graduale, piuttosto che di rottura, nel corso di un secolo", observing that "le escursioni che colpiscono maggiormente sono quelle legate alla differenza di registro più che di epoca". More generally on the Italian health in today's society, cf. De Mauro (2004; 2014) and Renzi (2012). On the "questione della lingua" in contemporary Italy, cf. Marazzini (2013, chap. 22).

7 We do not cite Renzi/Salvi/Cardinaletti (²2001), Schwarze (2009), Ferrari/Zampese (2016), which have an exclusively descriptive approach, and Coletti (2015), a handbook that brings together the characters of an "introduction to Italian linguistics" and a dictionary of language difficulties.

"In italiano la costruzione appartiene a un registro substandard" (Prandi 2006, 157)

"con gli altri complementi indiretti, l'uso di *che* è riservato al registro trascurato" (Trifone/Palermo ²2007 [2000], 110)

The grammar texts mentioned above also contain paragraphs or entire chapters specifically devoted to mistakes or grammatical doubts where more explicit prescriptions occur. Generally, these sections offer a selection of phenomena mostly concerning the accents (*ìrrito* o *irrìto*?) and ortography (*taccuino* or *tacquino*?). Many observations affect verbal regencies: Trifone/Palermo (²2007 [2000], 292–321) and Patota (2006, 330–428) propose a list of the most common verbs and their construction. Normative indications concerning intra- and inter-sentence connections are in fewer numbers and not always present. In this area, commentary is limited mainly to the construction of relative clauses (and to the choice between *che*, *cui* and *il quale*), the hypothetical period (cf. Trifone/Palermo ²2007 [2000], 226), the use of the subjunctive in completive and circumstantial clauses and to the cumulative use of two adversative conjunctions (*ma però*, *ma bensì*, *ma piuttosto*, Serianni 1989, 631).

Aside from grammar books, it's necessary to pay attention to the scientific debate around the concepts of *standard*, *norm* and *error*, which in the last decade has been fierce. Regarding the concept of *standard*, sometimes opposing opinions emerge. Its unnaturalness (no speaker has the standard Italian as their mother tongue) and artificiality, which are inscribed in a definitional manner in the concept of standards (Berruto 2007), have led some to deny the possibility of identifying a standard Italian (Calamai 2008, 11–12). Others (Giovanardi 2010, 1) instead affirm the existence of a levelled, coded, superregional and monitored variety, which should characterize the average use or the high formal use.

The standard is established by linguistic norm: in this sense, a relevant question concerns the exact *identificatio* in the current landscape of the agents that stabilize the codification of the normative rules and that govern their changes.

Traditionally, in Italian linguistics, the term *norm* refers to the set of rules (related to different language levels) that define the prestige variety, i.e. the standard, and identifies the correct language use. In recent years, the traditional concept of norm has been placed in a dialectic relationship with the concept of norm developed by Coseriu, who, in an attempt to resolve Saussurian dichotomy *langue*/*parole*, identifies an abstract third level (the average of individual realizations). Coseriu's norm is not linked in the first instance to the problem of standardization or codification.[8] Various scholars, however, take their cue from Coseriu's norm to highlight

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8 "Non si tratta della norma nel senso corrente, stabilita o imposta secondo criteri di correttezza o di valutazione soggettiva di quel che viene espresso, bensì dalla norma obiettivamente constatabile in un lingua, la norma che seguiamo necessariamente se vogliamo esser membri di una comunità linguistica, e non quella secondo la quale si riconosce, nella stessa comunità, se 'parliamo bene' o in modo esemplare" (Coseriu 1971, 76). Introducing the concept of norm, Coseriu performs an

the complex relationship that can be established between the average of the uses of a linguistic community and normative prescriptions. Some scholars have formulated further distinctions between an implicit/descriptive norm (which includes the actual use of the language and speakers' linguistic behavior, as Coseriu's *norma*) and an explicit/prescriptive norm (codified through reference tools and the normative discourse of linguistic dissemination).[9]

The implicit norm has a complex structure, affected by discursive and sociolinguistic factors, but even the explicit norm is far from being homogeneous. This is due to the different composition of the normative agents and the contrasting ideological aspects that underlie the grammatical codification. Furthermore, the way in which linguistic traits are inferred and legitimized can be different: for a long time in the history of Italian, the standard traits were not necessarily popular in the social norm. Their normative legitimation was "a priori": in other words, grammarians' indications established which traits could be defined as standard or substandard. Today, the selection and legitimation of standard traits tend to be "a posteriori", that is, based on the observation of speakers' use (Galli de' Paratesi 1986, 9–10).

This process often reveals some incongruences. The social norm can appear as a field of tension traversed by the linguistic variation, so that the promotion to the standard of certain traits can be the object of normative dissents. Even though excellent results in the description and variational placement of individual phenomena were achieved throughout the scientific discourse,[10] this descriptive study has not always had consequences on the definition of the standard. Normally, conservative variants, already admitted by the prescriptive tradition, are suggested, while the eligibility of new uses meets more opposition (especially in written speech).

Similarly, scholars have revisited concepts of error and rule. As "forma di comportamento sociale e culturale, funzionale" and "sistema formale con basi biologicamente determinate" (Berruto 2015, 46), the language appears organized in families of different rules (Grandi 2015b, 19; Searle 1969 for the distinction between constitutive rules and governing rules):

1) competence rules (in the generative sense), i.e. the formal mechanisms that, together with the knowledge of vocabulary, allow the speaker to use the language;

2) social rules, which may coincide with the variants used by the majority of a linguistic community.

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epistemological operation, aimed at identifying the relationship among the oppositions that bind the structures of a language, while the rule of the grammarians obeys exogenous factors, reflecting the optics and the taste of its creators (Blasco Ferrer 1994, 195; Galli de' Paratesi 1986, 3–5).

9 Cf. Lepschy/Raponi (1989, 10), Blasco Ferrer (1994, 195), Tesi (2001, 7), Prandi (2006, 3), Berruto (2007). This distinction has been originally formulated by Aléong (1983).

10 Also see Italian linguists commitment in the *Sprachpflege* (Ernst 2002, 111–112) and improvement of public discourse (see below, 3.3).

The rules that define the prescriptive norm are of the latter type: they rank in a framework of covariation.

The infringement of the two types of rules involves different types of errors (Sgroi 2010 and the contributions in Grandi 2015a):

1) the execution (or *parole*) error (lapsus): it consists of a temporary diversion and unintended release of a rule that the speaker knows, but, who for various reasons, does not apply in the moment of execution; an autocorrection with this type of error often follows;

2) the learning error (or acquisition error): the speaker applies a rule that does not coincide with the one shared by their linguistic community. The application of a divergent rule may be due to intralinguistic interference or to the presence of more varieties or language levels within the diasystem (Grandi 2015b, 23).

Apart from execution errors, error and correct form are therefore equally admitted variants by the system, yet they are characterized by a different sociolinguistic status: the error is considered a marked option in the standard.

Scholars agree to censor marked uses that affect the communicative effectiveness of a text (and in particular its logical-semantic consistency). The positions regarding "formal" errors, which do not interfere with communication, are quite different. Sgroi (2010) reserves the label of "errors" to diastratically low uses, which are proper and exclusive to popular Italian (e.g. the subjunctive form *abbi* for *abbia*). These errors qualify the speaker as uneducated. Instead, the uses that are marked in diatopy, diamesy and diaphasy should rather be considered "improprieties" that do not affect the understanding of the text and can be present even in the use of educated speakers. In any case, because the mistakes of today could be the correct forms of tomorrow (Renzi 2012, 39), it seems interesting to observe how the reflections on the concepts of standard, mistake and norm affect normative treatment of certain phenomena, which today seem widespread.

An example is represented by the forms *accelerare/accellerare*. The second variant is generally marked as incorrect in grammars and dictionaries even though it responds to a typical Italian tendency to lengthen the consonant in immediately postonic position (as happened in CHOLERAM > *còllera* and ATOMUM > *attimo*). In the inflected forms of the verb, the lateral consonant lies precisely in this condition (*accèlera*) and therefore is subject to a "natural" lengthening. The phenomenon extends to the infinitive and by analogy to other corradical forms (*accellerare*, *accellerazione*). However, in an orthoepical plan, it is contrasted by etymological reasons and by grammatical and lexicographical norm.

On account of this, *accellerare* has a diachronic explanation: according to this aspect and to the attestations of the variant with the lengthened lateral in literary texts, Sgroi (2010, 252) believes that this form can be permitted into the standard. For Serianni, the promotion of *accellerare* from error to allowed variant would not be appropriate. This is because the definition of the error over the two parameters

of sociocultural subordination and communicative darkness must take into account regulatory attitudes of dictionaries and grammars as well as the reactivity of speakers, that is their "comune sentimento della lingua" (Serianni 2014, 239).[11] To that effect, *accellerare* even disturbs the linguistic feelings of speakers unlike other phonetic improprieties that are now perceived as quite normal (such as the retraction of the accent in inflected forms of *valutare* and its prefixed forms, so that *io vàluto* is today preferred over *io valùto*).

Also, using the criterion of "common sense of the language", the normative treatment of linguistic innovations would not be solved. As noted by Renzi (2012, 168), a speaker's reactivity is often the product of "un'ideologia della lingua, nel senso marxiano del termine, cioè una sua falsa coscienza", rather than a spontaneous inclination: the speaker "è convinto che si debba parlare in un certo modo e crede lui stesso di farlo. Invece in molti casi, mentre parla, infrange le sue stesse convinzioni". Moreover, "common sense" is very often not so prevalent because the speakers, even if educated, may have different perceptions of the same phenomenon, revealing normative disagreements. These different perceptions can depend on age variation (e.g. *salve* is almost generalized today, especially among young people, as a form of greeting that does not require the use of *you*) or by diatopic variation and by other variation parameters.

An example in this regard is the use of *piuttosto che* with disjunctive inclusive value (in the sense of 'or'). Grammars define *piuttosto che* as a correlative adversative conjunction: in the standard, it indicates an exclusion among connected members (*Prendo una tazza di tè piuttosto che un caffè* 'I take a cup of tea rather than a coffee'). As shown in various studies (cf. De Roberto 2014, 40–42), the inclusive use would seem particularly widespread among northern speakers, who use *piuttosto che* to carry out an "open list" of alternatives (so that often the conjunction appears accompanied by the hedging marker *non so* and with an ascending or suspended intonation): *da grande mi piacerebbe fare il calciatore piuttosto che l'astronauta piuttosto che non so il regista* 'I would like to be indifferently all these three things'. Although this use seems currently rampant, even among educated speakers (Renzi 2012, 66), it provokes outcries from grammarians, journalists and communicators (in 2013, a Facebook petition was organized to abolish inclusive *piuttosto che*). The innovation is generally ignored (many grammars don't report this inclusive *piuttosto che*) or rejected on the basis of communicative efficiency: the coexistence of the two uses may be confusing (even if polysemous connectives are not so rare). In all likelihood, this heated controversy can be attributed to other factors: in 2015 a song (circulated on Youtube by the *Fronte di Liberazione del "piuttosto che"*) expressed itself in these terms on adjunctive *piuttosto che*:

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[11] On this concept, based on the notion of the "common sense of decency" in legal field, cf. Serianni (2004). A critique of a comparison between linguistic norm and juridical norm is in Sgroi (2015, 170).

"Moda della lingua un po' settentrionale / che ci porta a violentare alcune parole. / *Piuttosto che* usato come *oppure* / con l'accento milanese e due o tre parole inglesi. [...] Lo devo ammettere che c'ho anche provato / a usarlo con il tono di un cumenda navigato / ma sono allergico non posso farci nulla [...] / alle labbra un po' a canotto, alle sfilate / a chi beve lo Spritz col vino bianco anche d'estate, / alla Milano che si beve che pippa e s'ubriaca / e che di quest'Italia è diventata prostituta".

The lyrics clearly linked adjunctive *piuttosto che* to a series of northern linguistic "trends", which are considered emblematic of a certain social environment: rampant and corrupt, more attracted to affluence and fashion than to culture.

The connotations associated with this *piuttosto che* hinder its promotion to a standard construction, even if some occurrences are already in Leopardi's or Manzoni's prose, or if this semantic shift fits into a well-established framework for studies on grammaticalization (cf. Giacalone Ramat 2015).

3.2 Scholastic grammars

Having begun in the seventies, criticism of normativism in school grammars now seems resolved in favor of a descriptive-normative attitude. Although it is difficult to find a common approach and notwithstanding the irreducible diversity of scholastic handbooks, it appears that while recognizing the concept of linguistic variability, today's grammars, especially when written by non-linguists, exploit it marginally and in moderation.[12] In some cases, the norm set out in school texts takes on its own character: it differs from the current cultured uses, and it is rather geared towards a certain conservatism. According to various scholars, many grammars frequently offer an autonomous linguistic model, the so-called *italiano scolastico medio* or *scolastichese* (De Mauro 2014, 155–157).

Surveys conducted on grammars for schools in the last two decades have shown that grammarians often propose entirely outdated prescriptions, inspired by a rigid logicism (it should say *pasta con il sugo* rather *pasta al sugo* or *macchina per scrivere*, not *macchina da scrivere*) (cf. Serianni 2011, 85–87). The features of neostandard Italian are not always welcomed (Sgroi et al. 1997; Bachis 2010–2011). We also note some hypertrophy in the materials selection, which, according to many, should (including Gualdo 2014, 127) be avoided in favor of a "light grammar". Sometimes phenomena related to the articulation of the informative units and to topicalization strategies are explained by the vaguest notion of "expressiveness" (a structure like *a me mi piace* is yet described in terms of expressive redundancy, while in text linguistics the contrastive value of this left dislocation is highlighted). A general

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12 According to Fiorentino (1997, 129), the primary task for scholastic grammars remains "la descrizione e prescrizione di una norma e non l'acquisizione di una più complessa e ampia competenza comunicativa". Cf. also Casapullo (2011).

tendency is also the censure of generic verbs in favor of specific or more formal verbs:

> "non *andare* (specie di persone importanti o di figure storiche) ma *recarsi*, non *dare* o *passare* un bicchiere, una posata ma *porgere* un bicchiere, una posata, non *faccia* [...] ma *viso* (anche *volto*), non *fare* i compiti ma *eseguire, svolgere* i compiti, non *passare* un giorno, un mese, un certo tempo, le vacanze ma *trascorrere*, non *portare* qualcuno al cinema ma *condurre*, non *rabbia* ma *indignazione* o *irritazione*, non *arrabbiarsi* ma *adirarsi* o *indignarsi*" (De Mauro 2014, 156).

The persistence in Italian teaching of anachronistic normative positions led Serianni to elaborate on the notion of "submerged norm" (Serianni/Benedetti 2009, 65), with reference to the regulatory teaching attitude, due to the individual internalization of normative grammar. The submerged norm is observable in the practice of correcting students' papers. Among the phenomena usually censored by teachers, we find lexical repetition: use of the impersonal second person, use of direct speech, but also viewed with suspicion are left dislocations and conjunctions used at the beginning of a period (Serianni/Benedetti 2009, 111–127).

3.3 Language policy and grammar

Although in the current landscape, linguistic policies in Italy are mainly aimed at promoting freedom and linguistic diversity (Raffaelli 2006, 1468–1469). There have also been attempts to "regularize" some grammatical forms. The areas that solicit political and legislative interventions are those that refer to the linguistic sexism (and the promotion of gender equality)[13] and the simplification of bureaucratic language and of texts produced by the public administration.[14]

A language policy against sexist linguistic uses was inaugurated in 1986 by the publication of *Raccomandazioni per un uso non sessista della lingua*, edited by Alma Sabatini and promoted by the Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri (Council Presidency) and the Commissione Nazionale per la Parità e le Pari Opportunità tra uomo e donna (Commission for Equality and Equal Opportunities between men and women). Although many proposals from the volume have not proved entirely adequate, the issues raised by the *Raccomandazioni* had the merit of stimulating scientific debate on semantic and grammar asymmetry of the Italian language with respect to gender. The grammatical phenomena involved in the debate were:

1) the use of the article before female surnames: *Thatcher* should be preferred to *la Thatcher*;

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13 Cf. Marcato (1988), Thornton (2012), Robustelli (2014) and the studies in Olita/Luraghi (2006) and Corbisiero/Maturi/Ruspini (2016).
14 Cf. the bibliography in Cortelazzo (2014) and Lubello (2017).

2) the grammatical agreement for multiple referents (gender-mixed): according to Sabatini (1986) the agreement should be female if the referents involved are feminine in greater numbers (*Luca, Maria e Paola sono andate al cinema*);

3) the use and formation of female agentive names (especially professional names: *la ministra*; *la preside*; *l'assessora*).

These claims were not accommodated unanimously: proposal (2) has raised several concerns on the part of linguists, which in fact consider the male agreement the best solution in the presence of gender-mixed referents. The debate about female agentive names (3) is still open: if the Accademia della Crusca is currently favorable towards the use of "new female names" and "gender motion", many people, even among women themselves when considering unmarked gender, prefer to use the masculine form, especially in reference to institutional roles.

The debate about the language of public administration has developed mainly since the 1990s and has been reflected in a series of style manuals and writing guides, such as the *Codice di stile* (1993), the *Manuale di stile* (1997) and the *Codice di comportamento delle pubbliche amministrazioni* (2000), later followed by the *Codice di comportamento dei dipendenti pubblici* (2013). In the case of administrative language, the normative model conforms to a need widely held by Western societies, i.e. the need to simplify the bureaucratic language by reducing the distance between State apparatus and its citizens, while respecting the principles of accuracy, consistency and economy that still have to characterize legislative and regulative texts (Cortelazzo 2014, 100–101). First, the guidelines suggest reducing false technical terms, but also affect morphosyntax and textuality. They recommend limiting an excessive use of passive, nominal forms of the verb (such as the present participle) or long and hypotactic periods, and treating the accuracy of anaphoric references in the text. Cooperation between linguists and institutions led to the drafting of normative instruments based on a communicative approach and on the close study of the mechanisms that regulate the bureaucratic and legal language.

More decisive interventions, which aim to take action on the definition of the grammar rules, have failed. In fact, the draft law 993 – introduced in 2001 by the senator Andrea Pastore with the technical and scientific contribution of Lucio D'Arcangelo – was not welcomed. The bill aimed to establish a Consiglio superiore della lingua italiana, composed of 6–8 members from the Accademia della Crusca, the Società Dante Alighieri and from the academic and political world. The Consiglio was to develop measures to protect, promote and spread the Italian language in Italy and abroad, while limiting the entry of foreign words into public discourse as well as encouraging the identification of a recognizable language model (Arcangeli 2004, 2).

The intervention practices also included the outlining of an "official" grammar book and a dictionary, able to promote the use of "good language" and to spread it between immigrants avoiding or reducing hybridization phenomena. Despite hints

at the enhancement of dialects and regional varieties, the monolithic idea of language foreshadowed by the bill and the excessive role of politicians in the Consiglio led to a failed initiative. The Italian scientific community unanimously rejected the idea of an "official grammar of the Republic" (De Mauro 2004; Savoia 2004). Unsurprisingly, in the draft law 354 of 2009 – also dedicated to the establishment of a Consiglio superiore della lingua Italiana (and also rejected) – there was no longer any reference to the drafting of a grammar book.

Moreover, even the Accademia della Crusca – officially founded in 1585 in Florence and presently a member of the European Federation of National Institutions for Language – has never produced a reference grammar, unlike other European institutions[15] despite tireless lexicographic activity that led to the well-known five editions of the *Vocabolario*. Although many academics are authors of grammars, nobody represents the overall position of the institution.

Today, the Accademia della Crusca leads very thorough reflections on grammatical rules and Italian structures. Aside from the publications by the Centro di Studi di Grammatica, it is worth recognizing its activity in linguistic dissemination that has become more acute with the work in *La Crusca per voi* (↗9.4).

3.4 Linguistic popularization: newspapers, radio and TV

Grammatical acknowledgement now finds a lot of space in bookstores and newspapers. Grammar handbooks, often consisting of a few volumes arranged with lists of errors or grammatical concerns, enjoy a great popularity among the general public. Amidst these are literary works written by specialists such as the *Salvalingua* (Della Valle/Patota 1995), *Viva la grammatica!* (Della Valle/Patota 2011), *Piuttosto che. Le cose da non dire, gli errori da non fare* (Della Valle/Patota 2013), and many others. For what concerns this production (dictionaries of grammatical doubts) we refer to the corresponding article (↗9.4): here we limit ourselves to highlighting how idiosyncratic attitudes towards the grammatical norm can emerge in texts written by non-specialists. For example, in De Benedetti's works (De Benedetti 2009; 2015), it may be that the wide tolerance for the writing *qual'è* (with apostrophe, instead of *qual è*; De Benedetti 2009, 152) and the defence of polyvalent *che* (De Benedetti 2009, 64–74) – which is widely considered alien to the standards and censured in formal written and oral texts – cohabit with perhaps an uncompromising attitude

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15 While the French academy's ambition to codify grammar ended after the first edition of its long-awaited *Grammaire de l'Académie française*, finally published in 1932, it was harshly criticized (see Brunot 1932; cf. also Baum 1986). The Spanish academy's *Gramática*, first published in 1771, has been reedited numerous times and has remained *the* defining reference grammar ever since.

towards the non-use of the subjunctive in a context like this (quite informal), where the indicative does not cause any effect on the semantic level:[16]

> "posso assicurare che se una donna, al momento di passare al dunque, mi avesse mai domandato 'Vuoi che mi tolgo il reggiseno?' [...] la magia del momento ne sarebbe risultata irrimediabilmente compromessa [...] magari è l'idea di togliersi il reggiseno con l'indicativo a sembrarmi poco romantica, nella misura in cui priva l'operazione di quel po' di mistero e imprevedibilità che solo il congiuntivo saprebbe garantirle" (De Benedetti 2015, 57).

A swaying between tolerant attitude and vehement sanctions was found by Sgroi (2010, 284–289) in Beppe Severgnini's booklets and in particular in *L'italiano. Lezioni semiserie* (2007), which Sgroi qualifies as a neopuristic text. Here, the metalinguistic reflection is more limited: the linguistic uses are presented as spies of the national vices and costumes. The myth of the "death of the subjunctive" is interpreted in these terms:

> "pochi oggi pensano, credono e ritengono; tutti sanno e affermano. L'assenza di dubbio è una caratteristica della nuova società italiana" (Severgnini 2007, 150).

Once again, the correct use of the subjunctive and indicative in completive clauses is reduced to a semantic hypothesis,[17] which is now completely outdated in scientific literature and in most grammars. For example, Serianni (1989, 476) notes that in subordinate clauses as objectives, subjectives, declaratives and interrogatives

> "il congiuntivo non è portatore di specifici significati rispetto all'indicativo, ma può essere preferito ad esso per ragioni stilistiche, in quanto proprio di un registro più sorvegliato, oppure perché è richiesto da particolari reggenze".

Furthermore, it is also pointed out that the erosion of the subjunctive by the indicative is generally overestimated with respect to the actual extent of the phenomenon (Serianni 1989, 476).[18]

For what concerns Severgnini's regulative attitude, it is based on the same criteria (logistics, etymological, subjective) that guide the grammatical consciousness of users of *La Crusca per voi* (↗9.4); commonplace is also the criticism of the so-called *plastismi*, i.e. linguistic and stylistic tics or trends introduced and disseminated by the mass media (Castellani Pollidori 1995).

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16 On the conviction that the subjunctive in completive subordination introduces a shade of doubt, cf. Sgroi (2010, 107–112), according to which the difference between the two moods in this context pertain to a stylistic and diaphasic parameter.

17 "Qualcuno penserà: allora l'affermazione *Penso che Luca è un somaro* è scorretta! No, è corretta. In questo caso, *io penso* equivale a *io so* (cui segue, ovviamente, l'indicativo). *Penso che Luca sia un somaro* lascia aperta la possibilità che Luca non lo sia" (Severgnini 2007, 150).

18 Similar observations are in the grammars mentioned above (3.1).

So far, several affinities with the works discussed offer treatment of the grammatical issues in the daily press.[19] The problem of the norm can be addressed by scholars, specialists in cultural dissemination (literary and linguistic) – whom often have regular columns (like Stephen Bartezzaghi) – or by non-specialists. The journalistic discourse on the norm is dominated by the opposition between catastrophists and non-catastrophists, with a certain prevalence of the formers. Alarms against decay, degradation and illiteracy, especially in titles, are quite common.

In mass media, the debate of Italian language centers on images and recurring metaphors:[20] the language "dies", is "in decline", "loses" its structures and becomes poorer, is "invaded" by foreign words and forms, is at "war" against the invaders (i.e. the English language); speakers, typically younger, resort to *facilese* (i.e. a simplified language) or even to an "GMO" (genetically modified) Italian.

A recent study (Aresti 2014) provides information about the grammatical topics mainly addressed in the two major national newspapers (Corriere della Sera and Repubblica) from 2009–2013. Several articles consider spelling issues, punctuation and the spread of *plastismi* or stereotypical phrases. Among morphological issues, the more controversial ones focus on gender motion in professional names, the vitality of the subjunctive in completive clauses and the hypothetical period of unreality with indicative, both in the protasis and in apodosis (*se lo sapevo, venivo*).

A recent article appeared in *Corriere della Sera* titled ("*Lo telefono tra un pò, fa, qual è": scopri se fai gli errori più comuni in italiano*, Corriere della Sera, 02/06/2017). The author, Antonella Degregorio, draws up, with the collaboration of the Accademia della Crusca, a list of the 16 most common errors: ten errors involve spelling and orthographic mistakes (including the use of an apostrophe in *qual è*, or the correct accent in *perché*), two errors concern the syntax of the verbal regencies (*lo hanno telefonato*, *gli hanno menato*), one of them the syntax of prepositions (the confusion between *a* or *in*), one the verbal morphology (*dassi* and *stassi* for *dessi* and *stessi*), one the nominal morphology (plural of compounds such as *capostazione*), and one the anomalous construction of the word *precludere*, whose meaning is obscure to many people.

Generally, the journalistic discourse and public opinion fixed their attention on very small areas of grammar or otherwise on phenomena that pertain to style rather than grammatical rules. In this way, they continue to perpetuate a very partial idea of grammar by the general public and non-specialists, limited to local features and reduced to a dichotomic conception based on right vs. wrong opposition. In part, the rise of such a vision is the product of conceptual simplification, due to the spatial constraints as well as the search for sensationalism that sometimes characteriz-

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19 According to Rossi (2015, 177), compared to past decades, the papers seem to have "consegnato ad altri media la funzione di intervenire, in modo un po' più approfondito, sulle questioni linguistiche".

20 Cf. Santulli (2015) and Schwarze (2017) about rhetoric of articles about language related topics.

es the journalistic style. However, as stated by Santulli (2015, 71), the non-specialist reader is:

> "coinvolto nella diffusione di una cultura linguistica fondamentalmente nostalgica, accanita su antiche questioni, ma priva di una visione articolata degli usi delle lingue e delle varietà in un contesto – come è quello attuale – di intensa interazione interlinguistica".

The daily press can also be the scene of open disagreements between specialists and non-specialists. The latter accuse the former of excessive laxity, as if scholars had abdicated the role of regulative agents. Recently, six hundred university professors made an appeal to the President of the Republic: they denounced the poor language skills of university students.[21] In an interview released to the Corriere della Sera, one of the signatories of this appeal, Lucio Russo (professor of physics), claimed:

> "È vero che la lingua evolve ma non è giusto arrendersi alle sgrammaticature, rinunciare al congiuntivo, come ha detto di recente la Crusca. Forse sbaglio, ma io continuo a pensare che la lingua italiana debba più a Dante che al suo fruttivendolo" (Orsola Riva, *Studenti ignoranti? L'italiano deve più a Dante che al suo fruttivendolo*, Corriere della Sera, 02/08/2017).

The allusion to Accademia della Crusca in all likelihood refers to the repeated calls from its honorary president, Francesco Sabatini, not to over dramatize the fate of the subjunctive, where alternation with the indicative in hypothetical period or completive clauses is a phenomenon already observed in the 14th century and accepted in informal usage and in oral speech. In 2010, Sabatini's observations had already given rise to a *Elogio del congiuntivo* published by Giorgio De Rienzo in the Corriere della Sera. Then as is now, the journalistic discourse on the norm appears discordant in conceiving linguistic habits of a community as manifold and unwilling to admit the possibility that competitor constructions may legitimately cohabit in different registers.

Moving on to other media, radio and television also play a role as a regulatory agent, although in a more or less conscious way. Very often the programs for families (*Mattino in famiglia*, *Kilimanjaro* and so on) welcome regular features, where professional linguists respond to the questions put by the televiewers (similar to those featured in newspaper readers). The programs entirely dedicated to language are rare on popular television,[22] although they do occur on specific channels like the multichannel RaiCultura (which broadcast courses of Italian as a second or foreign language). Particularly focused on regulatory issues is the *ABC: l'ha detto la TV*

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21 The appeal, which attributed much of the responsibility in school education, was followed a few days later with a letter signed by 250 linguists, who expressed their partial disagreement with the criticism of the Italian teaching in primary school.

22 But see programs as *Parola mia* (1985–1988, 2002–2003), *Lemma. Navigare nelle parole* (1998–1999) or *Verba volant* (2005–2008), especially based on lexicon, also diachronically (cf. Losi 2005).

(aired in 2001, with the scientific support of Luca Serianni). Beginning with the mistakes made by teachers, writers, journalist and TV moderators, this program proposed a reflection on the uses and changes of Italian over the course of twenty episodes. A radio program called *La lingua batte* – broadcast on Radio 3 and presented by Giuseppe Antonelli – features segments that focus on linguistic actuality, discussion and thematic analysis.

Finally, an indirect regulatory model is offered by television game shows, whose questions repeatedly focus on spelling, conjugation of verbs (especially in the past tense) and on meta-grammatical competence.

3.5 Grammar and norm in the age of the Internet

In recent years, the grammatical debate has been conditioned by the generalization of communication mediated by electronic devices (CMT).[23] The easier and extended access to forms of public communication (alike by users whose interactions in times gone by would be limited to the private sphere, Fresu 2016, 93–95) leads to a greater visibility of informal and lower diastratically varieties. As observed by Prada (2015, 13), this new

> "confidenza con il mezzo scritto non è priva di ricadute linguistiche di ordine più generale, che si possono riassumere a) nella deproblematizzazione dell'atto scrittorio; b) nella modificazione del rapporto tra lo scrivente e la norma; c) nella diffusione contaminante di usi grafici e consuetudini linguistiche".

The CMT appears unavoidably subjected to the conditioning of diaphasic, diastratic and discursive parameters. In this sense, a deterministic view of the influence of the medium appears clearly outdated (cf. the studies collected in Cerruti/Corino/Onesti 2011). Although, on equal terms, electronic communication seems to initiate a lowering of the formal degree when compared with traditional media (Fiorentino 2011a).[24]

The same Internet users clearly perceive a difference between traditional writing and digital writing. The most obvious divergences concern the graphic dimension, but also morphosyntactic structures, the lexicon and textuality are conditioned by the digital medium. In general, Internet Italian coincides with the highly interactional and (almost) synchronous uses found in the language of social net-

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23 On other different denominations cf. Prada (2015, 15–16), who uses the term *comunicazione mediata tecnicamente* (CMT) to indicate a new form of digital interaction realized by the help of various devices. For a panorama of studies on digital communication, cf. Pistolesi (2014).

24 With respect to the status of the different uses of Italian on the Internet, opinions are divided. According to some scholars, such uses could be considered a specific variety: *e-taliano* (Antonelli 2016, 15), *italiano del web* (Tavosanis 2011) or *cyberitaliano* (Prada 2015, 151–153). Fiorentino (2013) instead considers Internet Italian a registry rather than a variety.

works and Twitter.[25] The "democratization" and desecration of writing in today's society has helped to strengthen the impression that it is spreading a wild language.[26] It would radiate from the Internet to other communicative contexts, even the most formal and would lead to a general linguistic decay.

Beyond the linguistic realizations solicited by new media, we can observe the existence of a strong normative susceptibility in Internet users. Their interest for normative grammar seems demonstrated by at least two factors. First noted should be the success of those blogs dedicated to the Italian language and to grammar instruction, be they promoted by newspapers and cultural organizations or by individual personalities. Among the most successful blogs (in addition to the previously mentioned online counselling service of Accademia della Crusca), we can mention *Il linguista risponde* by Repubblica.it, coordinated by Massimo Arcangeli and oriented to a "participatory grammar" (cf. Arcangeli 2014, 141–142), but also "private" initiatives, such as the blog "lo sciacqualingua", edited by the journalist Fausto Raso.

Secondly, the user's sensibility to grammatical norms is demonstrated by the proliferation of pages and social groups geared towards the exposure of "grammatical misdeeds". The products of this practice appear rather diversified. Often web users and forum administrators explicitly ask to respect traditional Italian handwriting. They ban "sms language" (and therefore abbreviations and tachigraphies), an excessive use of emphatic punctuation or suspension points, the multiplication of graphemes for expressive purposes (*nooooo*) (cf. Antonelli 2011, 40; Fiorentino 2013, 69). All these features are considered typical of teenage writing. The reaction to these uses is actually a symptom of a larger polemic against those digital natives, which are supposed to be constantly connected, hypertechnological, poorly educated and interested exclusively in fashion and consumerism.

Sometimes requests for formal and orthographic care result in rather aggressive interventions, as noticed by Prada (2015, 34), who reports the following comment read in a forum:

> "perche' non ti ammazzi? perche' non provi quantomeno la stessa sofferenza che imponi alla lingua italiana violentandola ad ogni post?"[27]

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25 Some language specificities shared by specific interactional practices are considered typical of Internet Italian as a whole: presence of phenomena "di allegro scrittorio", i.e. "fenomeni di riduzione dell'attenzione o della qualità di scrittura dovuti alla velocità di produzione dei testi" (Fiorentino 2016, 56); greater informality and dialogicity; higher frequency of substandard phenomena, due to the presence of users on Internet belonging to the less educated classes; presence of slang and jargon, typical of youth languages (young(er) people are the most prominent users of the Internet); increasing, on a subconscious level, of normative tolerance (hence the spread of a "norma liquida"; Fiorentino 2011b; 2014, 185–200).

26 The idea that new media disseminate incorrect language models is also common to other countries: see the discussion in Fiorentino (2014, 182–185). On journalistic cliché relating to the Internet Italian, cf. Fiorentino (2015).

27 Resorting to the semantics of violence towards the language and to grammatical abuse is quite widespread, as demonstrated by the Facebook page *Antistupri grammaticali*.

In these cases, grammar sensibility degenerates into an attitude we can call "grammar shaming".[28] We can also find the expression *grammar nazi*, used with reference to those people who uncover and condemn others' grammatical errors, simple typing mistakes (*typo*, i.e. *lapsus* in the written execution; Tavosanis 2011, 75) or the use of colloquial forms and constructions. Although the nickname *grammar nazi* was originally derogative, many people now use it almost proudly: the Facebook page *Grammar nazi Italia* is followed by 5,032 people (August 2019). See the disclaimer of the Ludomedia page *Qual è si scrive senza apostrofo*:

> "Gruppo riservati [sic] ai prescelti, agli eletti, a tutti coloro che, dopo un duro addestramento e anni di allenamento mentale, sono riusciti ad imparare a scrivere 'qual è' senza il dannatissimo apostrofo. Sono ammessi anche i generici nazi grammar [sic]".

4 Conclusion

Through the ages, the vehicles of grammatical standards have changed their physiognomy. The role of normative grammar seems secondary: to dispel their linguistic doubts, Italian speakers do not appeal just to grammar books but draw on other channels, often becoming promoters of the grammatical debate themselves. The normative uncertainty is the product of several factors:

- today, the speakers are exposed to different varieties and registers but also to diverse communicative practices,
- professional linguists promote diversified ideas of linguistic uses,
- journalistic and political discourse, as well as editorial products for the general public pursue a language more focused on sparking expressiveness than on content and consistency of form.

To a greater flexibility in the linguistic use and to the openness to phenomena once limited to the conversational dimension, a less tolerant linguistic ideology corresponds nevertheless. It is often marked by a strong conservatism, an attitude that is inscribed in the natural tendency of speakers to counteract linguistic change (Renzi 2012, 39), and which partly reveals the attachment of Italian speakers to their own language, perceived as a cultural heritage and identity. However, as we have tried to illustrate, grammar conservatism also conceals the uncomfortable feelings towards some aspects of Italian society that are today viewed with concern: the

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28 The expression, which follows other similar expressions like *body shaming*, *food shaming* etc., indicates the practice of harshly criticizing someone for their grammatical mistakes. Absent (for now) by the Italian public speech, the expression is widespread in English public discourse. See Meunier/Rosier (2012) for a study of verbal violence legitimized by linguistic errors in facebook groups.

education of the younger generation, the difficulty of controlling an increasingly fast and imposing mass communication, the evolution of forms of sociability and the fear against globalization of customs and habits.

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Luca Lorenzetti

9.3 Normative Dictionaries

Abstract: tradition of normative dictionaries started well before the first edition in 1612 of the *Vocabolario della Crusca*, the first great monolingual dictionary of European national lexicographies. The framework in which that tradition developed itself was of course in line with the history of Italian: a literary language, used for half a millennium only by a few people and only as a written language, in a country that only late and through heavy difficulties has succeeded in achieving full literacy. This article describes the relationships of this linguistic history both with the prescriptive grammar norm and with the common usage norm, as far as these norms have been reflected in the more influential dictionaries of Italian language, from the early rise to their web-based evolutions in present-day Italian.

Keywords: Italian, Florentine, lexicography, dictionaries, standardization, codification, modernization, grapholect, literary language, literacy

1 Introduction

In order to describe the development, structure and main features of Italian normative dictionaries, some peculiarities of Italian history, Italian language history and Italian lexicon should be preliminarily recalled.

An approximate periodization of the Italian language will be useful. We divide it into the following phases:

1) the late medieval fortune of the vulgar of Florence as used by the great authors of the 14th century, Dante, Petrarca, Boccaccio;
2) the triumph of the Old Florentine language model inside the literate community, due to the work of Pietro Bembo after 1525;
3) the first experience of Italian as the language of a united country, promoted by Alessandro Manzoni in the second half of the 19th century;
4) the slow spreading of spoken Italian as a second language and the parallel withdrawal of primary Italo-Romance dialects through the whole body of Italian society. This was a process of language convergence triggered by the new historical conditions which rose after the political unification of 1861: urbanism, industrialization, internal migrations and emigration, compulsory elementary education and national military conscription, unified bureaucracy (↗9.4);
5) finally, the full nativization of Italian, which started after the 20th century and which in a sense is still being achieved today, under the form of a restandardization process changing the inventory and structural relationships of standard Italian features (see Cerruti 2013 for a résumé).

It is only since the last two phases – indeed, since the end of the 19th century – that Italian has begun to develop a full dialectic between system, norm and usage in a Coserian sense: as De Mauro (1963, 30) wrote first,

> "i processi di individuazione funzionale delle forme grammaticali e lessicali e le innovazioni semantiche, per cui l'*humus* può essere solamente un uso largo e spontaneo dei sistemi linguistici, nemmeno potevano verificarsi in una lingua la cui tradizione attraverso il tempo era affidata a una minoranza di addottrinati, che la usavano solo nelle scritture".

This long-standing status as a mere literary grapholect had important consequences on the structure of Italian lexicon. Some parts of it, up to the end of the 19th century, have developed and preserved a high degree of polymorphy, overabundance and variation, strictly related with the high frequency of cultivated Latinisms in written texts. Other vast semantic areas, nearer to everyday experience (natural environment, traditional crafts and customs, domestic life), lacked a shared Tuscan-based lexicon and could be expressed only through dialects. Furthermore, and more interesting here, this status also had consequences on the typology of dictionaries:

> "la conservazione d'una forma, o l'accoglimento di qualche inevitabile neologismo, fenomeni altrove legati al consenso spontaneo della collettività di parlanti, nella tradizione linguistica italiana potevano essere risolti soltanto per via dottrinale, commisurandoli a ragioni di filologica (o pseudofilologica) conformità a questo o quell'ideale modello" (De Mauro 1963, 32).

As we will see in section 2, the whole history of normative dictionaries reflects this state of affairs to some extent. In Italy more than elsewhere, explicit norm about lexicon gets the better of the implicit norm, so that for centuries practically no dictionary existed that could be defined as non-normative. The history of dictionaries could be seen as a centuries-old dialectic between rejection vs. official acceptance and recording of words and expressions used in writing but not yet included in the alleged canon of literary language. The canon (it is appropriate to repeat it) was not primarily shaped by the actual use of a large community of speakers or writers but rather by the choices and preferences of the compilers of the various dictionaries about the adequacy of their source. Inside this perimeter, the canonical variants were selected from a set of variables scattered upon all the axes of linguistic variation: diachronic, diatopic, diaphasic, diastratic, diamesic. So, from time to time, it could be authors' vs. laymen's words, 14th vs. 16th century, Florentine vs. non-Florentine, technical and scientific vs. literary, popular vs. cultivated, every-day nomenclatures, non-Tuscan regional or dialectal, borrowed vs. patrimonial words and so forth. In some notable cases, the literary bias of Italian dictionaries continues to the 20th century: as we will see in further detail in section 3, the *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana* (GDLI, 1961–2002), started in the 1960s as a dictionary of literary language and markedly changed its selection criteria – that is, its reference norm – in order to include other relevant areas of the Italian vocabulary.

On the other hand, with very few exceptions before the 20th century, there was no dictionary that could be committed to recording and cataloguing the words of

spoken Italian (not to speak of native Italian). Perhaps no modern scholar has said this more effectively than Nicolò Tommaseo did, in a much-quoted passage of his *Dizionario* (Tommaseo/Bellini, s. v. *italiano*):

> "Lingua italiana, quella che è o vuolsi che sia comune a tutta la nazione. La lingua italiana non è che scritta: le lingue d'Italia, e i linguaggi, sono parecchi".

The lexical norm of everyday Italian is recorded rather which another kind of instrument, the so-called "dizionari dell'uso", a textual genre which roots in the first half of the 20th century but then fully develops only in the last decades.

2 History and guidelines of normative dictionaries

As for chronological coordinates, the scholars mostly follow a rough subdivision for centuries which, although arbitrary, is nonetheless legitimate and useful.[1] Reference here will mainly be made to the major lexicographic works of Italian language history, above all the editions of the *Vocabolario della Crusca* (actually just four completed editions: [1]1612, [2]1623, [3]1691, [4]1729–1738; the fifth edition did not go beyond the first volume, published in 1863). The lexicographic work by the Accademia della Crusca is absolutely central in the Italian normative tradition. The model of lexicography inaugurated by the *Vocabolario* was a successful one even outside Italy. If we do not take into account the *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* by Sebastián de Covarrubias (1611), characterized by a different structure and mainly etymological purposes, the *Vocabolario della Crusca* was the first great monolingual dictionary in European national lexicography. Morevover, it influenced similar enterprises in other countries, as it was explicitly recognized for example in the so-called *Diccionario de autoridades* of the Real Academia Española (1726–1739). Of course, criticisms against that model were certainly not lacking. Nonetheless, with adhesions and oppositions to it, the diversions from its main path and all the positions that have occurred in the history of Italian language norm should be evaluated against the landmark of the *Accademia* and of its *Vocabolario*.[2]

2.1 Author's words

Putting aside the older bilingual or multilingual glossaries, whose reference language was Latin, and the fifteenth-century handwritten wordlists by authors such

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1 For a detailed review of the history of Italian dictionaries the reader should refer to Zolli (1988), Della Valle (1993; 2005), Marazzini (2009) and Schweickard (2016), on all of which the discussion in this section relies.

2 On the *Vocabolario* and the other activities of the Accademia della Crusca the book of Vitale (1986) is crucial; more recently, Tomasin (2013) gathers many insightful papers on the topic.

as Luigi Pulci (ante 1484) or Leonardo da Vinci (about 1500), we will begin our discussion from the moment when the position stated by Pietro Bembo in his *Prose della volgar lingua* (1525) became an effective pattern in Italian written norm. Since then, in the history of Italian lexicography, one of the leading criteria to include a word in a dictionary has been the presence of the word itself in the writings of the great Florentine authors of the 14th century: Dante Alighieri (whose language was not refined enough to be assumed as a model in Bembo's eyes), Francesco Petrarca, Giovanni Boccaccio. The Bembian pattern would rapidly impose, as it is reflected in some lexical collections published in the years immediately following. Some of them also had talking titles in this regard, as for example the *Tre fontane* by Niccolò Liburnio (1526), who was also the first author to use the term *vocabolario* for the lexical lists in his book, also highlighting as a novelty the alphabetical ordering of those lists.

The more successful among the re-elaborations of the model of Bembo was the one by Lionardo Salviati. It was adopted as a standard rule in the first edition of the *Vocabolario della Crusca*: the principal source for the wordlist remained the writings of the "Tre corone", but other Florentine authors of the 14th century were also accepted. The motivations for the choice can be summarized with the words of Marazzini (2009, 129):

> "Da Salviati venne agli accademici la caratteristica impostazione, di fatto profondamente anti-bembiana, secondo la quale gli autori minori e minimi erano giudicati degni, per meriti di lingua, di stare a fianco dei grandi della letteratura [...] i problemi del contenuto e della qualità letteraria si collocavano su di un piano diverso da quello della forma; i meriti linguistici potevano accoppiarsi a una sostanziale modestia di sostanza".

The wordlist should have been gathered from two distinct sources, clearly defined in the title and subtitle of the book: "Vocabolario [...] raccolto dall'uso e dagli scrittor fiorentini". The two sources, however, were not in a symmetrical relationship with one another but rather had a different rank:

> "Gli schedatori, più che esibire l'apporto della lingua viva, avevano cercato di evidenziare la continuità tra la lingua toscana contemporanea e l'antica, trecentesca [...]. Le parole del fiorentino vivo, insomma, erano documentate di preferenza attraverso gli autori antichi" (Marazzini 2009, 134).

What the "Cruscanti" were more interested in was continuity: were a contemporary common word not attested in the works of the "Tre corone", it could however be included in the Vocabolario, provided that it was found in the writings of some Florentine author of the 14th century. Nonetheless, it was also allowed – but rarely – to record current words which were not attested in texts from the "buon secolo", possibly supported by attestations in contemporary writers:

> "oltre alle voci ritrovate negli autori di quel buon secolo ne abbiamo nell'uso moltissime altre, delle quali forse non venne in taglio [there was no opportunity] a quegli scrittor di servir-

si, però parendoci bene darne notizia, per non impoverirne la nostra lingua, n'abbiam registrate alcune, e, per loro confermazione, abbiam tal'ora usato l'esempio d'alcuni autori moderni, tenuti da noi per migliori" (*Vocabolario della Crusca* 1612, *Introduzione*).

When some authors of dictionaries seem to oppose this pattern, they do that in order to expand or modify the canon, not to reject the need for a canon. The first example of such attitude appeared as early as 1536 in Naples. In his *Vocabolario di cinquemila vocabuli Toschi*. Fabricio Luna gathered not only words attested in the works of the "Tre corone" but also words coming from different sources, contemporary authors as Ariosto, Poliziano, Pulci and Sannazaro. He proposed a language model far enough from the strictly Florentinist one of Bembo, but nonetheless firmly based upon the *exempla* of literary authors. Even after the first edition of the *Vocabolario della Crusca* (1612), the most heated criticisms focused on the exclusion of this or that author, so implicitly accepting that the norm could only derive from the fact that a certain word had already been used by a previous author. The underlying assumption is what we may call "constancy of tradition". It was quite an obvious attitude for purists in the history of Italian linguistic culture, which can be detected both in normative dictionaries and also in a few grammars and grammar dictionaries (↗9.4). For example, the limitation to the great writers from 14th century Florence was strongly criticised by Paolo Beni in his *Anticrusca* (1612). This treatise was completed in the same year as its polemic target, on the basis of the conviction, gained by reading Boccaccio's prose, that the language of Florence was itself, on the contrary, rough and uneducated. According to Beni, however, the solution would have included modern and non-Florentine authors, especially Torquato Tasso.

The importance of literary attestations can hardly be overestimated in the history of normative dictionaries. To find dictionaries where composition of the wordlist is based no longer on the authority of the writers but on the living everyday usage, we must get down to the 19th century; first with the so-called "dizionari metodici" and then, starting with the *Novo vocabolario della lingua italiana* of Giorgini and Broglio (1870–1897), to the dictionaries of current usage (cf. below, 2.5).

2.2 Florence words

The geographical variety to be taken as a model is another central aspect in Italian lexicography. To Fabricio Luna (1536) or Paolo Beni (1612), who questioned Florentine as a unique language source, many other authors can be joined. Alessandro Tassoni proposed replacing the unjustified primacy of the Florentine standard with that of the Roman court. Nonetheless, this diatopic primacy has never really been in danger of serious competition over the centuries until the modern era of dictionaries in the late 19th century. Perhaps the most important passage for the selection of a geographical variety was the contrast between the Florentine model, strictly

localised, and the courtesan one, the "lingua cortegiana". This model was based on the cultivated use of the Italian courts, above all in northern Italy (see Giovanardi 1998 for a detailed analysis). As we saw above, as far as literary Italian is concerned, the Accademia della Crusca has imposed the Florentine model since its first edition in 1612, advocated by Pietro Bembo and re-elaborated by Lionardo Salviati. Even if the re-elaboration opened a limited way to a few forms from 16th century Florentine, there was no acceptance for diatopic varieties other than that of Florence. Other criticisms remained confined to a sort of lexicographical *esprit de clocher*: for example, the claim against Florentine dominance expressed by authors from Siena in the *Dittionario toscano* (Politi 1614) and the *Vocabolario cateriniano* (Gigli 1714), the latter advocating the inclusion in the norm of many words used by St. Caterina da Siena.

Challenges to the primacy of the Florentine also came from later authors. Alessandro Verri, alleged uncle of Alessandro Manzoni and a renowned thinker of Milanese Enlightenment, wrote a letter in the journal *Il Caffè* in 1764, entitled *Rinunzia avanti notaio degli autori del presente foglio periodico al Vocabolario della Crusca*, where their "solenne rinunzia alla pretesa purezza della *toscana favella*" was claimed. Since "nessuna legge ci obbliga a venerare gli oracoli della Crusca, ed a scrivere o parlare soltanto con quelle parole che si stimò bene di racchiudervi", Verri announced there the willingness to use "ne' fogli nostri di quella lingua che s'intende dagli uomini colti da Reggio di Calabria sino alle Alpi [...] con ampia facoltà di volar talora di là dal mare e dai monti a prendere il buono in ogni dove" (*Il Caffè*, 4 1764 [recte 1765], 19–21). The Accademia della Crusca was polemically targeted at that time not only about Florentinism but also and especially for the cultural sterility of its language norm proposals: in 1783, Pietro Leopoldo di Toscana soppressed it, merging it formally with the Accademia fiorentina.

The dispute between the supporters of Florentine – e.g. Alessandro Manzoni – and those of a generic "Tuscan" as a basis for unitary Italian is also interesting. Among the latter, one could find the compilers of the fifth edition of the *Vocabolario della Crusca*, or the lexicographer Pietro Fanfani, author of a *Vocabolario dell'uso toscano* (Fanfani 1863) based on the "uso proprio toscano" and on the "lingua parlata dei varj popoli di Toscana". In 1868 Manzoni wrote a "Lettera intorno al vocabolario" (that is, about the ongoing dictionary by Giorgini and Broglio; cf. 2.5) in which he argued for the inexistence of a "common Tuscan" as far as the words of everyday use were concerned and the consequent need to base the new dictionary on the common usage of Florence:

> "Prendiamo un esempio. Quello che a Firenze si dice *Grappolo* d'uva, si dice a Pistoia *Ciocca* d'uva, a Siena *Zocca* d'uva, a Pisa e in altre città *Pigna* d'uva. Cosa si fa in un caso simile?" (Manzoni 1990, 693; cf. also Vitale 1986, 625–626 and note 16).

Another relevant historical passage to the controversy against the prevalence of Florentine voices imposed by the Crusca came with the 19th century purism. The

most renowned among Italian purists, abbott Antonio Cesari, published the so-called *Crusca veronese* in the years 1806–1811, a reworking of the fourth *Vocabolario della Crusca* which was, if possible, more dependent on 14th century Florentine texts than its original Tuscan model. As the Venetian Bembo, also the Veronese Cesari claimed himself, not a native from Florence, nonetheless fully legitimated in compiling a Florentine-based vocabulary:

> "non l'essere Fiorentino, ma l'aver molto studiato ne' Fiorentini Scrittori suol dare la intelligenza del valor delle voci: e […] nella fine, la lingua de' libri si apprende dai libri" (Cesari 1806–1811, XI).

At that time, such a purist enterprise aimed at exerting in some way, at least on a linguistic level, a reaction to the heavy cultural French influence that Italy was undergoing. That is, the primary target of the purists' reaction were not the words used by Italian non-Florentine authors. On the contrary, they were the words, phrases and sentences that were felt as more or less dependent on the French model. The dialectic then came to be that between Italian vs. foreign words.

2.3 Borrowed vs. patrimonial words

The treatment of foreign words took different aspects in different periods of Italian history; in general, their lexicographical rejection progressively increased alongside the decline of Italian cultural centrality after the Renaissance.

A first important phase has been identified (cf. Della Valle 2005, 30–31; Marazzini 2009, 222–225) in the reaction by some Italian scientists to the obstacle that the standard sources established by the Crusca, based solely on literary texts, constituted for the progress of scientific culture in Italy. Antonio Vallisneri (1661–1730) was a physical scientist, a naturalist and one of the first Italian scientists to leave aside the Aristotelian theories in favor of the Galileian experimental method. In his *Saggio d'istoria medica, e naturale, colla spiegazione de' nomi, alla medesima spettanti, posti per alfabeto* (1733) Vallisneri based himself on the definitions of the *Vocabolario della Crusca* in the few possible cases. However, he completed and improved them as far as the scientific exactness was concerned. Besides, he recorded many regional variations from Florentine-Tuscan standard, as well as different names of animals and plants of exotic provenance, of course absent from the Crusca, such as *ananas*, *cobra* or *cuntur* 'condor'. The purpose of Vallisneri was very different from that of the compilers of the Crusca: as he wrote in his *Prefazione*, he was not interested in

> "insegnare la Medica, o Naturale Storia, ma le parole, che per buone accettare si debbono, e nel loro pulitissimo idioma da valersene" (1733, 365).

On the contrary, Vallisneri as a modern scientist claimed as follows:

> "La mia idea dunque è diversa, dovendo io osservare più le dottrine, che le parole, nulla importando, se dette, o non dette da' Classici Autori di lingua. [...] Paremi dunque lecito, senza scrupolo di fare un gran peccato in Gramatica [...], addimesticare alla nostra lingua parole straniere, o inventate di nuovo, e alquanto, per dir così, dirozzate" (1733, 364s.).

Apart from scientific and technical words (cf. 2.4), the foreign influence on Italian and the recording of its lexical reflexes in the dictionaries continued to be criticised. A second phase in which this discussion was central to the definition of the lexical norm was that of 19th and 20th century purism. As Marazzini (2009, 256–257) highlights, the aforementioned dictionary by Antonio Cesari contains, in the dedication (1806), the wish that the Italian language

> "sia per deporre lo scoglio del bastardume che l'insucida e sforma, e riprendere le natie forme della sua antica bellezza, e risorgere al suo primo splendore".

The purist reaction against 18th century "gallomania" perhaps had more effect than the scientific and cultural importance of the purists themselves could possibly justify:

> "Il successo del Purismo si deve al particolare clima culturale del tempo, al desiderio di vendicare attraverso la riscoperta e rivalutazione delle pure origini italiane lo strapotere del francese [...]. I francesismi, in particolare, costituiscono secondo tutti i puristi la fonte di imbarbarimento della lingua italiana; al francese veniva insomma attribuita l'azione negativa che oggi alcuni ritengono abbia l'inglese: la funzione corruttrice viene assegnata di volta in volta alla lingua egemone a livello internazionale" (Marazzini 2009, 256, 309).

The purist lexicography produced many repertoires in the 19th century, aimed at prohibiting above all – but not only – the words of French origin.[3] The first one was the *Elenco di alcune parole, oggidí frequentemente in uso: le quali non sono ne' vocabolarj italiani* (Bernardoni 1812). The author was a high official in the Ministry of the Interior and his intent was functional rather than ideological. He adopted a system of asterisks, crosses and graphic markers to tag the words that for some reason, although discouraged, could still be accepted: "Di alcuni [...] non si può far senza nelle segreterie allorché si ragiona delle leggi e dei decreti, ove sono inseriti" (Bernardoni 1812, VII). Also well known are the *Dizionario de' francesismi e degli altri vocaboli e modi nuovi e guasti introdotti nella nostra lingua italiana* (Puoti 1845) and the *Lessico dell'infima e corrotta italianità* (Fanfani/Arlìa 1877).

The purist vogue continued to some relevant extent into the 20th century, first with the *Dizionario moderno* by Alfredo Panzini (1905) and then, in the Fascist era, with a series of proscriptive repertoires which culminated in the *Vocabolario della lingua italiana* by the Accademia d'Italia (1941).

The dictionary of Panzini was a huge editorial success, with ten editions and numerous reprints. Although his conception of norm was somewhat naive (↗9.4),

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3 On Italian purism in grammar and lexicon, see Vitale (1986).

the *Dizionario moderno* was an important model for 20th century lexicography, due to the acceptance of neologisms taken up by subsequent repertoires. This openness was already expressed in the subtitle of the *Dizionario*: "Supplemento ai dizionari italiani [...] neologismi e parole straniere entrate nell'uso". Panzini can be counted among "moderate" purists. He personally avoided strict prescriptive comments, referring to them as "the Purists" in a typical indirect pattern: "i puristi riprovano tale uso [...] voce ripudiata dai puristi [...] modo ripreso dai puristi come gallicismo". He opposed the use of French loanwords, especially unadapted ones, when the use contributed to the detriment of the clarity of the meaning and instead yielded to the linguistic fashion of the time. Be that as it may, he was convinced that it would be useless

> "opporsi all'accettazione tanto dei così detti *barbarismi* e *gallicismi* come delle nude voci straniere, giacché la loro forza è maggiore. E né meno penso che per questo soltanto la lingua italiana vada in rovina" (Panzini 1905, XXVIII).

The last lexicographical manifestation of Italian purism belongs to the last phase of the linguistic politics of Fascism, marked by a more direct intervention in the matters of language norm and strongly oriented against dialectal and foreign influences on Italian.

In 1934, Guglielmo Marconi, the president of the Accademia d'Italia (the highest cultural institution of Fascism, which had incorporated the ancient and illustrious Accademia dei Lincei during the regime), directly received the task of compiling a *Vocabolario della lingua italiana* from Mussolini. Carlo Bertoni was in charge of the direction of the work. In that same year, *La grammatica degli italiani* was published. The new grammar book by Ciro Trabalza and Ettore Allodoli (1934) became the official grammar of the remaining years of Fascism, the book upon which the reintroduction of an explicit grammar study and practice in the school was based (cf. Schirru 2012, 81–83). So, the reference books needed for the new Fascist language policy were either ready or authoritatively requested.

As for the acceptance of foreign words, the new dictionary was more open than the standards adopted at that time. The fact was noted in various reviews of the book, possibly with some polemical tone (cf. Klein 1986, 137–138). Nonetheless, the *Vocabolario* was too tied to the regime to survive it. The Accademia d'Italia was suppressed in 1944, and the dictionary did not expand beyond the first volume (letters A–C, 1941).

2.4 Technical and scientific vs. literary words

The path opened by Vallisneri was followed by other authors, who claimed their autonomy from the authority of the Crusca in turn for the gradual acceptance of scientific and technical words in the lexical norm. Particularly relevant under this

profile was the *Dizionario universale critico, enciclopedico della lingua italiana* published in Lucca between 1797 and 1805 by Francesco D'Alberti di Villanuova (so in the title page; elsewhere also *Alberti di Villanova*). As Della Valle (2005, 31) summarised, the dictionary of D'Alberti "alla fine del secolo, segnerà più di ogni altra una svolta rispetto all'impostazione e ai princìpi ispiratori della Crusca". The wordlist of entries was mostly based upon that of Crusca:

> "il primo fonte, a cui ho attinto e che ho interamente esausto per arricchirne il mio Dizionario, è il vocabolario della Crusca, in guisa che per tutte le voci, e modi in niuna guisa particolarmente contrassegnati, sempre intender si debbe, ch'essi sono di assoluta sua proprietà" (D'Alberti 1797, vol. 1, XIV).

Alongside the entries belonging to the traditional norm, D'Alberti also advocated for the insertion of the terms needed by specialists to cope suitably with specific subjects (ibid.):

> "Ha la Giurisprudenza, ha il Commercio, la Marinerìa, hanno l'Arti tutte un linguaggio proprio, da cui altri non si può scostare, trattando di tali materie, senza dare nell'improprio, ed anche per avventura nell'equivoco, o inintelligibile. [...] Gli Artefici nel ragionare dell'arti loro, con vocaboli non comuni a tutta gente, non favellano Toscano? Non conoscono forse costoro più a fondo, che gli Scrittori, la natura delle cose spettanti all'Arte loro, per attribuire ad esse nomi più acconci ad individuarle?"

Many of the mentioned topics will be taken up again in the following decades by critics of the purism. The need for communication from science and technical workers was different from those of the literature but no less urgent; it was the right of the specialists to choose, shape and renew the words of their own disciplines, a right prevailing over the presumed authority of vocabularies; it was the rejection of linguistic censorships. Finally, there was an important need to improve Italian not by predetermining its lexical composition but rather by using it in all areas of human activity, to broaden and deepen the practice of culture. Therefore, the best policy to enhance Italian seems to pass through the growth of the culture that Italian expresses: a position that sounds interestingly consonant with the one that Graziadio Ascoli (1873) would have opposed, three-quarters of a century later, to Manzoni's language planning program.

Also important not only for the acceptance of technicisms in the wordlist but overall for the structure of the single technical-scientific entries was the *Vocabolario universale italiano* by the Neapolitan publisher Tramater (1829–1840). In its seven volumes, the terms of natural sciences were systematically given a proper classificatory definition. See for example the entries *ape* 'bee' or *balena* 'whale':

> "APE. [Sf. Insetto appartenente all'ordine degl'imenotteri, che ha le mascelle dentate, quattro zanne, e la lingua fessa, incurvata, e posta tra due guaine fornite di due valvole; le antenne sono tronche, e le ali piane] –, Apa, Pecchia [...]".

"BALÈNA, s. f. *Balæna*. Pesce di smisurata grandezza, il primo del genere de' Cetacei. Egli ha nella mascella superiore alcune lamine cornee, che diconsi Ossa di balena, che servono a varj usi nell'arti, come stecche per busti, asticciuole da ombrelli ec.".

The novelty is far from irrelevant: indeed, it is part of a long-standing controversy. The approach to the special vocabularies kept by the Crusca has been quite constant through the centuries: "Perché i termini, e strumenti delle professioni e dell'arti, non sono del comune uso, e solamente noti a' lor professori, non ci siamo obbligati a cavargli tutti" (*Vocabolario della Crusca* 1612, *Introduzione*). The words of technical-scientific meaning never entered the *Vocabolario* systematically. In the first editions of the Crusca, the words that designated living beings were often tagged with "animale noto", "albero noto". In the definition under *ape* 'bee' in Crusca (1612) one only reads the Tuscan synonym "pecchia", under *balena* 'whale' the short note "spezie di pesce" and so on. Additionally, the subsequent improvements of the Crusca did not go beyond the addition of a few distinctive elements, even after the "encyclopedic turn" had given a beneficial shock to European culture (cf. Beltrami/ Fornara 2004, 361).

At the turn of the 19th century, opposition by purists against the lexical choices of scientists was still frequent. The *Lessico dell'infima e corrotta italianità* by Fanfani and Arlìa (1877) states s. v. *falbanda*:[4]

"Sai, Lettore, nel linguaggio barbaro scientifico che si intende per *Falbanda*? Niente altro che la *Commessura!* [i.e. the 'commissure'] E perché i signori scienziati moderni fanno a usare coteste vociacce e non parlare da cristiani? tu dimanderai. E noi: Vattelapesca. Diremo solo che, generalmente parlando, gli scienziati italiani *sono ignoranti* degli studj di lingua e di lettere; ed essi piuttosto che vergognarsi e studiare, almeno quanto basta per non scrivere da barbari, sai che fanno? mostrano alto disprezzo de' buoni studj, e scrivono come cavalli".

Of course, it would be simplistic to look at the treatment of scientific words in Italian dictionaries as if it were a mere linguistic matter. For example, let us point out the opposite reaction to Darwinism by two compilers of Italian dictionaries, albeit of very different importance. In 1875, Michele Lessona, director of the zoological museum in Turin and early Italian translator of Darwin's *Descent of Man* (1871 both English and Italian edition), published a *Dizionario universale di scienze, lettere ed arti* (Lessona 1875), whose importance can also be measured by counting the large number of technical-scientific words for which it still holds as the earliest lexicographic record. Conversely, Niccolò Tommaseo was the more important lexicographer of the 19th century, whose *opus magnum* was not extraneous to the lexical needs of the scientific progress (see the discussion in Marazzini 2009, 294–298; Zolli 1988, 788). Tommaseo hurled himself at Darwin in a pamphlet titled *L'uomo e la scimmia*, also

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4 Incidentally, the ghostword *falbanda* does exist in Italian only in that dictionary page and in its direct source, Bechi (1874), where it probably popped up due to a trivial spelling error for *salbanda* 'layers of rock that separate a strand'; see Lorenzetti (2018).

containing a *Discorso sugli urli bestiali datici per origine delle lingue*, where he blames evolutionism as a "scienza fetente" based on "gli avanzi de' fossili", the only possible data-source for the "paleografi delle scimmie". This is, of course, not the appropriate place to discuss the split between the "two cultures" and the history of scientific vs. humanistic knowledge in Italy. Nevertheless, that split was a matter of fact, although in a complex way. The obstacles in bringing together literary, humanistic and scientific content in the same lexical repertoire should not be underestimated.

2.5 Literary vs. common words, written vs. spoken words, the school, and the dictionaries of common usage

The dictionaries of common usage appeared in Italy immediately after the political unification (1861–1871). These kinds of instruments displayed a series of innovative features with respect to the tradition. For the first time in Italian linguistic history, an editorial work was the output of an explicit linguistic policy in the modern narrow sense, aimed not only at the restricted class of literary authors, writers and intellectuals but potentially at all the citizens of the newborn Italian nation. The program was contained in the *Relazione dell'unità della lingua e dei mezzi per diffonderla* (1868, see Manzoni 1990). Manzoni's proposal, as pointed out recently by Morgana/Polimeni (2013, 107ss.), ascribed a central role to the achievement of a common vocabulary and implied the idea of a compulsory adoption of a dictionary in the schools of the kingdom. The dictionary in question should have been the *Novo vocabolario* of Giorgini/Broglio (1870–1897), based on the model of the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*. The concept of the book was also innovative: the entries and definitions were no longer supported by examples from authors and references to the literary tradition but rather by the competence of the lexicographers, who were native speakers of the (Florentine variety of) Italian they intended to propose as a national standard.

The diffusion of the *Novo Vocabolario* by Giorgini/Broglio remained an unrealised project and the work itself did not get any success. This probably has more to do with the poor initiative of its publishers (Lanfranchi 2014, 236) than with the severe criticism Graziadio Ascoli gave about it in the *Proemio* of the *Archivio Glottologico Italiano* (Ascoli 1873). However, the model of a dictionary based on everyday use of the language was carried out at the same time by two other works, the *Vocabolario italiano della lingua parlata* (Rigutini/Fanfani 1875) and the *Nòvo dizionario universale della lingua italiana* of Policarpo Petrocchi (1887). The latter is also noteworthy for two innovations in the editorial concept. The first is the "phonetic" spelling of the headwords, a useful tool for readers who did not know the pronunciation of Italian (that is, of course, of the Italian spoken in Florence). The second one is the collocation of the current entries in different parts of the page from the literary, scientific or obsolete ones, as announced on the front cover, under the main title: "In ogni pàgina

la parte superiore comprènde la lingua d'uʃo; la parte inferiore la lingua fuori d'uʃo, scientifica, ecc." (<ʃ> stays for [z] in Petrocchi's spelling). The author also elaborated an adaptation for the school (Petrocchi 1892) based on the same principles of the *Nòvo Dizionario* and which saw some success.

As for the size (a single volume of 1201 pages), the expected audience and the editorial settings (broad orthoepic script, etymological and grammar notes), the dictionary by Petrocchi can be seen as a forerunner, if not a direct historical antecedent of the similar present-day instruments (see section 3). In any case, we can say that the single-volume common usage dictionary was born at that time, maybe as an answer to the crisis of the major enterprises of normative dictionaries in the same period (see Lanfranchi 2014, 237–238, for the industrial and commercial aspects of the phenomenon).

The *Dizionario della lingua italiana* by Tommaseo and Bellini, realized between 1859 (with the preparation of the first fascicles) and 1879, was also the last dictionary of the 19th century that succeeded in completing its publication. It has been the historical dictionary of reference for Italian for more than a century and the only available source of information on the whole lexicon of Italian (its direct successor, the *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana* by Salvatore Battaglia, only completed its publication in 2002). After or around that time, the fifth edition of the *Vocabolario della Crusca* started in 1869 only to end unfinished in 1923 (with the 11th volume and the entry *Ozono*). It was blocked by the inability to manage the normative selection inside the new linguistic scenarios (the need for neologisms of modern scientific lexicon, foreign words, the age-old subjection to French language and culture, not to mention the strong, if insufficient, progress in the social spreading of the literacy, more than doubled in the period) through the worn-out tools of belletristic Florentine purism.

We already saw that the work that was supposed to replace the last Crusca, the *Vocabolario* of the Accademia d'Italia, did not go beyond the first volume in 1941. As Giovanni Nencioni (1981) wrote, it was interrupted due to the demand of the new universitary culture, both in the sense of new academic linguistics and of the new role that science and technology was stably gaining in the cultivated linguistic consciousness. So in a sense, the Zingarelli and the Palazzi, well-known dictionaries of common usage, gave a possible answer to a veritable gap in lexical norm in the first decades of the 20th century.

3 Present day dictionaries (20th and 21st century)

Describing the "dictionaries crisis" of the late 19th and early 20th century in terms of the different ways the authors choose to deal with the problem of the lexical norm might perhaps lead to underestimate a crucial, if trivial fact: languages, and language norm with them usually do not stay still under the lexicographer's eye

(not as much as the lexicographer would probably wish). The vocabulary of Italian, although it has notoriously remained much closer to its medieval roots than has been the case for other European languages, has nevertheless undergone critical changes over the last two centuries. A historiographical approach favoring the subjective differences between the various analyses could fail to grasp the important innovations that occurred in the object of analysis itself, that is in the contemporary lexicon. Indeed, the innovations themselves sometimes need new descriptive devices that the lexicographical tradition does not always provide. That means increasing the need for reviewing and renewing the descriptive structure of dictionaries to some extent.

In this section we will give some examples of this structural renewal of the lexicon. We will see how it has changed the very concept of lexical norm; we will describe, *per exempla*, the most relevant kinds of dictionary of the period; finally, we will give a few words on the possibilities and limits of the recent transferring of dictionaries on electronic media and on the web.

3.1 The changes in Italian lexicon between the 19th and 20th century

Among the many possible indicators of the lexical dynamics in contemporary Italian, we will look at a particularly interesting one, consisting of the changes in the quantity and percentage of complex words contained in the lexicon. We have already seen that a central node to be solved for the lexical norm and a very debated one between purist instances and claims for innovation, has been the acceptance or rejection of neologisms, specially in the technical and scientific lexicon. As Tullio De Mauro writes in his *Postfazione* to the *Grande dizionario italiano dell'uso* (GRADIT, now in De Mauro 2005, 165), there is a huge statistical difference between the Tommaseo/Bellini on the one side and the *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana* ("il Battaglia") or the GRADIT on the other side, and this difference

> "riflette un fatto oggettivo, non dizionaristico ma linguistico. Se si ha pazienza di campionare le voci del glorioso *Dizionario* del Tommaseo [...] si vedrà che in esso assai più dell'80% dei lemmi appartiene a un vocabolario non connotato scientificamente né tecnicamente, e meno del 20% appartiene a vocaboli intaccati da accezioni tecnico-naturalistiche [...]. Un sondaggio statistico sui primissimi volumi del Battaglia, radicati *e parte obiecti* e, anche, *e parte subiecti*, nella cultura e lingua di metà Novecento, dà già un quadro più variato [...]: i termini tecnici e specialistici cominciano ad apparire e giungono al 30%, domina la medicina, ma appaiono termini del diritto, della zoologia e della fisica. Lo scarto non è imputabile solo al diverso modo lessicografico di Tommaseo, del primo Battaglia e (*si parva licet*) del *Grande Dizionario Italiano dell'Uso*. C'è anche questo, certamente, ma c'è anche un mutamento *in re*: lo spostamento avvenuto nel giro d'un secolo è enorme e ci dice che c'è, dunque, qualcosa di nuovo nel lessico italiano. Qualcosa che ha cominciato a maturare già sul finire dell'Ottocento e si è pienamente affermato nella seconda metà del Novecento: la effettiva adozione nel lessico circolante in Italia di estesi blocchi di terminologie specialistiche e scientifiche [...] l'italiano, e

in particolare il suo vocabolario di base e comune, nel giro di un secolo è stato sviluppato e messo in grado di parlare di argomenti di natura tecnica e scientifica con appropriatezza, alla pari con le altre maggiori lingue del mondo moderno" (De Mauro 2005, 167).

This quantitatively "enormous" change in lexical inventory has had comparatively similar qualitative effects on the overall morphological structure of the lexicon. Technical and scientific neologisms mostly display some kind of morphological structure. They are either derivatives or compounds, products of word-formation rules which are active in Italian (*alcol-ico*, *bati-sfera*) or in the languages from which Italian borrowed (*album-ina*, der. of *albume* and *-ina* on the model of French *albumine*). As shown in Lorenzetti (2010, 784), out of a very large wordlist such as that of the GRADIT (about 260,000 headwords) complex lexemes make up about 50%. Among these, more than 90,000 (73%) are made up of derivatives and about 35,000 (27%) from compounds. Of the vast majority of these words, that is, according to the same database, about 70% of the derivatives and even 96% of the compounds have been formed in Italian, often under foreign influence, precisely between the 19th and 20th centuries. Moreover, the percentage of complex lexemes entering the basic lexicon increases along time. In the 20th century, we count 88% of complex neologisms (as *s-congelare* or *tergi-cristallo*) against 12% of simple ones (*collant*, *goal* or *pigiama*). As a matter of fact, if a present-day Italian neologism were morphologically simple, then it would almost certainly be a loanword from a foreign language. However, these loanwords are much rarer than the endogenous neologisms, formed through lexical morphology rules.

Summing up, since the second half of the 19th century and even more dramatically in the whole 20th century, the lexicon of Italian has progressively increased its internal regularity. For the first time in the history of Italian the actual usage, and not the literary canon, has begun to forge the norm of the language. This innovation was first grasped and managed by the "new" dictionaries of common usage, which gave, in a sense, a possible answer to the veritable gap in lexical norm in the first decades of the 20th century. See what Nicola Zingarelli wrote in the *Prefazione* to the second edition (the first in volume) of his *Vocabolario della lingua italiana* (Zingarelli 1922, VI):

"È sempre avvenuto che le scienze mediche, fisiche e chimiche abbiano creato nuove parole o dato nuovo significato alle vecchie; ed è ben naturale che negli odierni mutamenti e progressi di esse, e della biologia, tutta una massa di parole nuove siasi aggiunta e altrettanta ne sia invecchiata e oscurata. Se in questi mutamenti e progressi l'Italia ha pur la sua onorevole parte, maggiore, naturalmente, l'hanno tutt'insieme le altre nazioni civili. Persino i giuochi e i divertimenti risentono di questa rinnovazione, e superfluo è parlare delle fogge e della moda. Dolersi di una specie d'inondazione di cosiddetti neologismi, che parole straniere siano così penetrate facilmente nella nostra lingua, sarebbe come dolersi che il nostro grande paese partecipi a quel che fa il mondo per viver meglio, conoscer di più e cooperare a un comune benessere. C'è un vero e proprio vocabolario internazionale dei popoli civili. Solo bisogna augurarsi che la nostra virtù creatrice e rielaboratrice abbia sempre maggior vigore".

On the other hand, it is probably not by chance that the 5th edition of the *Vocabolario della Crusca* fell into crisis precisely in correspondence with these (and other) innovations of the Italian lexicon (while the same argument does not fully hold for the similar failure of the Vocabolario dell'Accademia d'Italia). Too strictly bound to the traditional ideology of the vocabulary as a *natura naturata* shaped by the canonical authors in their texts, the compilers of the last Crusca could not fully cope with the new, more normal notion of the vocabulary as a *natura naturans*, whose elements any common speaker should be able to use and modify.

The answer to the new descriptive and normative needs comes from different kinds of lexicographic tools. The first one is the *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana* of Battaglia, which substantially reworks the Tommaseo/Bellini, replacing it in the function of historical vocabulary of Italian. The second one consists of the encyclopedic dictionaries of the Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana ("la Treccani"). The third pattern includes the dictionaries of common usage, either the more extended and comprehensive ones such as the GRADIT, or the single volume dictionaries like the Zingarelli and many others.

3.2 The *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana* (GDLI) by Salvatore Battaglia

As Marazzini (2009, 389ss.) points out, there is a strong symbolic value in the continuity between the GDLI and its direct antecedent, the Tommaseo/Bellini:

> "il Tommaseo era nato contemporaneamente all'unità politica italiana, diventandone quasi il simbolo nel terreno della lessicografia; il Battaglia iniziò a uscire in coincidenza con il centenario dell'Unità: la sua nascita si caricò dunque di un valore simbolico, riallacciandosi a un glorioso passato editoriale e nazionale".

Nonetheless, significant differences can be identified between the original project, worked out by Battaglia in the 1950s, the goals claimed by Battaglia himself in the short *Presentazione* to the first volume of the work, and the actual results delivered to the more than 23,000 pages of the GDLI, directed for the most part not by Battaglia (who died in 1971) but by his collaborator and successor Giorgio Bàrberi Squarotti.[5]

In the intentions of Battaglia, the GDLI aimed chiefly at describing contemporary Italian inside the frame of the historical documentation of texts: "Il nostro Dizionario ambisce ad avere e a esplicare una struttura storica [...], ma è rivolto principalmente a documentare l'attuale esperienza linguistica, come fede nella vitalità e

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5 For further information, cf. Bruni (1992; 2005), Beltrami/Fornara (2004), De Mauro (2005), Della Valle (1993) and Marazzini (2009). Here, we will examine only some of the aspects most closely related to the role of the GDLI as a model for lexical norm.

creatività del nostro tempo" (Battaglia, *Presentazione* to GDLI I, 1961, VI). With the same intentions, the work should not have been bigger than Tommaseo/Bellini: no more than eight volumes provided for, against the twenty-one actually completed.

Why the compilation tripled its original size is a difficult question to answer. Many linguists agree on the theoretical weakness of the structure and the definitions of the GDLI, a dictionary that grew up "senza mai esibire una complicata o ambiziosa teoria lessicografica [...] sul terreno concreto del lavoro quotidiano [...] senza dichiarazioni programmatiche, silenziosamente" (Marazzini 2009, 392), and whose co-director Giorgio Bàrberi Squarotti proudly claimed the primacy of literary on linguistic *côté* in the overall elaboration of the work (Marazzini 2009, 391). This approach led to a multiplication of the subsenses for the single polysemous lexemes. As the work went on, the gathering of author's quotations almost became one of the main goals of the whole enterprise. The (once) primary goal to reassert the lexical norm of Italian, updated to the new needs of the 20th century, has shifted somehow into the background (on this change, see also Beltrami/Fornara 2004, 371). The wordlist remained firmly based on the literary model, of course changing to some extent over the decades (cf. De Mauro 2005, 231, for some quantitative estimates). But as Marazzini (2009, 393s.) rightly observes, the average reader is probably not leafing through the pages of GDLI in order to learn the current meaning of technical, scientifical or everyday words. The *pièce de résistance* of this great historical dictionary remains the illustration of the words of the literary tradition through an unparalleled richness of author's quotations.

3.3 The dictionaries of the Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana

The "Istituto Treccani", later "Istituto dell'Enciclopedia italiana", had as its company's mission, the realisation of the first Italian general encyclopedia, *vulgo* "la Treccani" (↗9.4, section 3.1.2). As De Mauro (2005, 227, note 6) shortly resumes, the great encyclopedia constituted an excellent base on which a whole series of high-level language dictionaries has been built in the following years. The *Vocabolario della lingua italiana* (VOLIT) directed by Aldo Duro (1986–1994) depended on a reference work for its wordlist and overall structure, the *Dizionario enciclopedico italiano* (DEI, 1955–1961). It was the output of a selective projection of the indexes of the *Enciclopedia Treccani* (35 volumes, 1929–1937) into a more agile encyclopedic dictionary with a properly relevant lexicographic section directed by Bruno Migliorini. The elimination of the encyclopedic entries of the DEI and a more distinctly linguistic cut lead to the confection of the 4 volumes of the VOLIT. In the 1990s and 2000s, the same dataset was elaborated by a team of linguists under the direction of Raffaele Simone to build single volume instruments (the first one was iconically called *Il Conciso*, 1998). A continuous reworking has led to more recent releases, also as an ebook version.

In the VOLIT, Aldo Duro definitely put aside the previously used criteria for the selection of the wordlist. Marazzini (2009, 401–402) rightly underlines an important passage in the Introduction to the VOLIT: the cultural and linguistic reference framework for Italian lexicon has critically changed. The lexicographer has no more the authors, nor the Tuscan pedigree, nor the structural considerations about the well-formedness of the neologisms as a compass to guide the selection. The only valid criterion is now the actual need for a single word, either in everyday or in technical and specialistic communication. The attention of the compiler would rather be addressed by the actual functionality of a single word inside the general norm or inside a particular and more restricted norm. On the other side, one should carefully observe the signs of ephemerality in a word to avoid recording entries that will not stand the test of time.

New solutions bring about new problems. The traditional criteria, although arbitrary, had a certain amount of objectivity on their part. They were somewhat based on a sort of rough corpus analysis, without which the identification of "the norm" became an entirely subjective matter, left to the sensibility of the lexicographer and to their syntony with the linguistic behavior of the time. However, syntony and sensibility could – and should – change over time, or from an author to another. Therefore, it is not surprising that different dictionaries of the Istituto Treccani treat the same variable in different ways.

Along this path, the contemporary dictionaries lose a bit of their normative function while gaining a share of importance on the explanatory plan. They record all the words that are deemed necessary without taking a position on their adherence to a norm that has evidently lost its grip on the effective linguistic behavior of Italians.

3.4 The *Grande dizionario italiano dell'uso* by Tullio De Mauro (1999)

The *Grande dizionario italiano dell'uso* (GRADIT) directed by Tullio De Mauro was published in six volumes in 1999. With its wordlist of more than 260,000 entries, it is the richest Italian dictionary available today, the GDLI still being the more extended.

De Mauro has applied a strictly linguistic notion of language norm to the selection of the wordlist and to the structure of the entries, quite far from the literary and puristic principles that instead oriented the previous lexicography. The most relevant feature of the GRADIT is probably the system of the so-called "marche d'uso", a list of 11 synthetic markers of the sociolinguistic level of any lexeme: *fondamentale*, *di alto uso*, *di alta disponibilità*, *comune*, *tecnico-specialistico*, *letterario*, *regionale*, *dialettale*, *esotismo*, *di basso uso*, *obsoleto*. As the tags show well, the level is mainly defined through the quantitative analysis of the frequency of usage of the lexemes in written and oral texts (so providing for the statistical corpus-based

support we cited above, 3.4), joined with qualitative considerations of their structure and usage. So for example:

"FO: fondamentale; tra i lemmi principali, sono così marcati 2049 vocaboli di altissima frequenza, le cui occorrenze costituiscono circa il 90% delle occorrenze lessicali nell'insieme di tutti i testi scritti o discorsi parlati [...]

TS: legati a un uso marcatamente o esclusivamente tecnico-specialistico; sono così marcati 107.194 vocaboli usati e noti in gran parte soprattutto in rapporto a particolari attività, tecnologie, scienze [...]

ES: esotismo: sono così marcati 6.938 vocaboli avvertiti come stranieri, esotismi fonologicamente non adattati e non inseriti nella morfologia italiana" (De Mauro, *Introduzione* to GRADIT, vol. 1, XX–XXI).

This stratigraphic partition of the lexicon should give a more realistic representation of the complexity of the Italian vocabulary and implement De Mauro's notion of language norm as a sort of "liberalismo linguistico":

"A queste decine di milioni di persone che in gran parte all'italiano si sono accostate solo da una generazione non possiamo e non vogliamo offrire legacci e rigidi binari che pretendano di vincolare l'uso. E nemmeno abbiamo voluto censurare col silenzio novità che soggettivamente possono non piacerci, ma che vengono avanti impetuosamente e diffusamente. Abbiamo scelto piuttosto una via conseguente a quel che diciamo liberalismo linguistico: offrire una descrizione circostanziata delle possibilità e modalità degli usi nella loro varia ed eterogenea funzionalità comunicativa" (ibid., X).

Under this perspective, the core difference between this notion of lexical norm and the one currently adopted by other instruments does not lay in the mere acceptance of innovative words but rather in their classification, which would allow the reader to find the right use for any word within Italian "linguistic space". Take for example what Marazzini (2009, 405) observes about the treatment of *redarre*, one of the preferred polemical targets for academic and non-academic purists (↗9.4). According to Marazzini, the GRADIT "registra *redarre* per 'redigere' senza alcun avviso di cautela, salvo l'indicazione che si tratta di verbo adoperato solo all'infinito", differently from other dictionaries which explicitly mark *redarre* as an "error" or a "wrong form". Marazzini suggests that the acceptance of such "innovazioni-bandiera" may carry a symbolic meaning which fits in well with the pattern of "liberalismo linguistico" *à la* De Mauro. At the same time, it makes that pattern a sort of unguided liberalism, potentially disturbing for the common reader, who is perhaps looking for more sharply defined normative hints.

If well founded, Marazzini's remark is not entirely exact. The GRADIT does not record *redarre* without any alert, but rather marks it as a BU, a word "di basso uso", whereas *redigere*, a common word, is marked CO. This information, together with the difference in the dates of first attestation (1942 *redarre* vs. 1812 *redigere*, shaped on French *rédiger*), could give the reader what they need to evaluate the different functional ranges of usage of the two words: the former innovative and less used vs.

the latter more traditional and common, without necessarily adopting a prescriptive approach. In this case, it would be quite circular: you should not use *redarre* because it is wrong, it is wrong because you should use *redigere*, you should use *redigere* because that is tradition (incidentally, a quite short tradition: the first lexicographic record of *redigere* is Bernardoni 1812, a repertoire of censored words, which in its turn wrote "REDIGERE v. REDARE", and "REDARE per *compilare*, *comporre*, *raccogliere*": so, no old Florentine arms on either side of this coin).

Not that De Mauro's approach is entirely satisfactory, but its flaws are possibly to be found elsewhere: the lack of an appropriate "marca d'uso" (the BU words are in a recessive category, while the back-formation *redarre* is instead an innovation), the questionable definition of *redarre* as a single-form, defective lexeme instead of a mere word-form (a "cell mate" of present infinitive *redigere* inside an overabundant paradigm). All in all, the goal of a "liberal" lexical norm is much less part of an ideological project than a need for appropriate linguistic description. It remains scientifically sounded and validly supported – in our opinion – by the GRADIT's system of "marche d'uso".

Another example of this openness of the GRADIT to non-standard norms can be found in the phonological transcriptions. As Gerald Bernhard (↗9.1) remarks, the GRADIT "refers to educated Tosco-Roman pronunciation as far as the phonetic realizations of <e>, <o>, <s> and the accentuation are concerned". The diatopic variants are taken from the main sources of Italian orthoepy and orthography: the *Dizionario d'ortografia e di pronunzia* (DOP) of Migliorini/Tagliavini/Fiorelli (²1981 [1969]) and the superb *Pronuncia e grafia dell'italiano* by Amerindo Camilli (³1965).

As for all innovations, the results are perfectible. The record is regular but incomplete, for practical reasons. The phonetic variants are always recorded when they coincide with the citation form, which is the rule for nouns and adjectives (Tuscan /araˈgosta/ vs. Roman /araˈgɔsta/ *aragosta*, /alˈlegro/ vs. /alˈlɛgro/ *allegro*) but not always for verbs. So for the verb *affogare*, only the 1st.SG standard form /afˈfogo/ is reported, but not the Roman variant /afˈfɔgo/. Marked with an asterisk, the five initial consonants /ʃ λ ɲ ts dz/ mandatorily display long phonetic realizations between vowels (*sciarpa* /*ˈʃarpa/ but *la sciarpa* [laʃˈʃarpa]). This is also excellent information, especially to foreign readers. However, classifying forms as /*ˈʃɛna/ *scena* or /*ˈɲɔkko/ *gnocco* as instances of *Raddoppiamento fonosintattico* (cf. De Mauro, *Introduzione* to GRADIT, vol. 1, XIX) sounds odd, and somewhat confusing. Furthermore, representing a polarized standard of pronunciation between the Tuscan and the Roman model at the end of the 20th century may perhaps look questionable because it does not consider the growing attraction of the Milanese Italian model since the 1980s (cf. Galli de' Paratesi 1984).

The best possible dictionary is mostly made by copying previous dictionaries. Innovating such a system against the weight of tradition is a hazard whose consequences on the whole work cannot always be entirely foreseen. De Mauro has not been afraid to venture, innovating the descriptive apparatus of his GRADIT. The

reward the reader gets thanks to these innovations remains very high compared to the imperfections that are inevitable for a work of such dimensions.

3.5 From the great dictionaries to the "family dictionaries" of common usage

"Dizionari familiari e scolastici": under this category Giovanni Nencioni (1989) gathers the first-reference dictionaries. In his critical opinion, their intent would be to absolve the normative role that the more extended and descriptively oriented tools could not fully play. In spite of our limitations of space, Nencioni's opinion is worth reading in full:

> "A me sembra che la moderna e modernissima lessicografia abbia esaltato – per esprimermi rudemente – la dimensione quantitativa della lingua, eclissandone quella qualitativa. I vecchi dizionari presentavano, con una scelta e un taglio fortemente interpretativi ma individuanti, una lingua a loro modo certa; nei nuovi, nonostante gli affinamenti e i rigori filologici, metodologici e tecnici, per cui la lessicografia è diventata un ramo della linguistica applicata, l'oggetto di essa, la lingua, si è fatto confuso, problematico. *Che, in omaggio al principio 'più scienza, più dubbi', il grande dizionario, il dizionario maggiore debba rinunciare ad una funzione interpretativa e limitarsi ad essere un archivio, un catasto a disposizione di interpreti non lessicografi, lasciando quella funzione ai dizionari familiari e scolastici, che non dispongono del suo apparato e del suo rigore?* [...] L'augurio da fare ad una lessicografia rinnovata è che essa torni ad assolvere l'antico compito, non solo culturale ma politico, di formare e mantenere la coscienza linguistica nazionale; compito che mi pare tuttora proprio di un vero dizionario" (Nencioni 1989, 455–456, our italics).

We will not even attempt answering the general questions by Nencioni, nor judge the actual up-to-dateness of his wish for a renewed civil and politic role of language dictionaries. Rather, we will focus on the hypothesis that a normative function in the strict sense ("funzione interpretativa" in the words of Nencioni) is being loaded on single-volume dictionaries of common usage, whereas the major dictionaries are progressively being converted to repertories of refined information available to the specialists from the shelves of public libraries.

To evaluate this hypothesis, we need to consider a series of elements of a different nature: from the structure and the normative scope of the single-volume dictionaries to their actual diffusion in the Italian families, classrooms and libraries.

3.5.1 School dictionaries and normative discourse

To begin with, let us define the books we are talking about as "school dictionaries", for two reasons:
1) this kind of dictionary was born together with the political unification of Italy (cf. 2.3) in order to spread the use of Italian among a mostly monolingual dialec-

tophone population through the adoption of a newly shaped Italian dictionary in all the schools of the kingdom;

2) with no relevant exceptions, the only reason since the 1960s for Italian families to buy single-volume dictionaries has been the school needs of their kids.

As many scholars have highlighted, school dictionaries have brought a share of innovation into lexicographic practice by no means smaller than that of their "older brothers". On the contrary, if we compare school dictionaries with the multi-volume instruments, we can see that many innovative features of the latter have been developed in the realization of the former. The systematic dating of words' first attestation was used for the first time by the Palazzi/Folena (1992), before becoming a characteristic feature of the GRADIT and then being adopted by practically all the following works. Also new was the marking of the syntactic valency of the verbs (that is, in a post-Tesnière formulation, the indication of the argument structure of the verbal predicates). Started with the DISC of Sabatini/Coletti, it was adopted by other instruments as the last Garzanti (2004 and following editions) directed by Giuseppe Patota. At least since the 1990s, the differences between one dictionary and another have become a relevant part of the marketing. The authors have been under pressure perhaps more to chase each other's innovations (sometimes merely by copying them) than to broaden their theoretical reflection.

Not all the descriptive innovations are directly connected with the normative discourse. For school dictionaries, the component most closely related to the definition and dissemination of the lexical norm is the updating of the wordlist and in particular the acceptance of neologisms. Since 1993, the inclusion of neologisms has led to the "annualization" of the dictionaries: the 12th edition of the Zingarelli, titled "Zingarelli 1994", was the first of an ongoing series of a new edition every year (the Zingarelli 2019 having been released in 2018 and so on). This model has been followed by other dictionaries (cf. Devoto/Oli 2004ss.; Garzanti 2004ss.) but is far from suitable from scientific point of view. As Calvo Rigual (2007) has shown, both the Zingarelli and its "followers" tend to include all possible lexical innovations in their wordlist, along with fully ephemeral words (*blobbabile*, *carrambata*), without cleaning up the list from disused neologisms that had been recorded in previous editions, thus running the risk of becoming "un cimitero di neologismi effimeri".

As far as the treatment of ongoing evolutions in the norm is concerned, present-day school dictionaries may diverge from one another to a large extent. A useful comparison, again by Calvo Rigual (2011), shows that 6 single-volume dictionaries deal with a representative list of features of the so-called "italiano dell'uso medio" (Sabatini 1985) or "neostandard" (Berruto 1987) in an entirely different way that is of present-day Italian (cf. Lorenzetti 2002 for a résumé). Take for example the extension of 3sg.ms pronoun *gli* to plural and feminine antecedents. As for plurals (*gli stringo la mano* for *stringo loro la mano* [I shake their hand]), the Dizionario Treccani

and the Devoto/Oli just record the progressive extension without other diaphasic or diamesic considerations. The Zingarelli and the De Mauro classify the innovation as a characteristic of spoken Italian, whereas the DISC and the Garzanti, more correctly, find it used both in speech and writing. Finally, the Zingarelli and the De Mauro also mark the use as "colloquial". For the extension to the feminine (*gli stringo la mano* for *le stringo la mano* [I shake her hand]) the contrast between the dictionaries is even stronger. Treccani and DISC do not distinguish between feminine and plural *gli*, whereas only fem. *gli* is (a) a full innovation with regard to the history of Italian pronouns, (b) still substandard and (c) much more censored, in the current use and in the classroom practice, than plur. *gli*. Zingarelli and Devoto/Oli mark fem. *gli* as familiar or popular. De Mauro and Garzanti add to the diaphasic collocation ("colloquiale", "familiare") a diatopic (unspecified) one, "regionale". Finally, Zingarelli takes on an openly normative attitude suggesting the use of fem. *gli* be avoided.

This point is particularly relevant and deserves perhaps some more attention. Nencioni (1989) talked of a possible "funzione interpretativa" for school dictionaries, a function that the greater dictionaries in his opinion do not absolve anymore. Through the slightly reticent terminology of Nencioni, the proposal of developing an explicitly prescriptive attitude for school dictionaries emerges. How could the synthetic entries of school dictionaries exercise their normative function if not by explicitly indicating the choices to be made in case of doubtful variables and ultimately by reintroducing the category of "error" into the descriptive metalanguage? Indeed, many school dictionaries, though not all of them, use this prescriptive notion.

For example, the Zingarelli (2018) provides many markers when suggesting which lexical or grammatical variants would be better to avoid to the reader: *evit.are*, *evit.ato*, *impropr.io*, *impropr.iamente* etc. The alerts can cover all the levels, from phonetics and spelling to grammar or style, among which the reader could find the "best hits" of present-day grammar doubts (↗9.4): it is "da evitare":
- the pronunciation /kolˈlant/ vs. /kolˈlan/ of the French loanword *collant* /kɔˈlɑ̃/;
- the forms *dissuàdere*, *persuàdere* vs. *dissuadére*, *persuadére*;
- the backformation *redàrre* for the traditional latinism *redìgere*;

and it is "improprio":
- the use (quite widespread indeed) of the word *allarme* in the sense "sveglia di un orologio o di un apparecchio elettronico", just because it is a semantic loan from English *alarm*;
- the use of *piuttosto che* in the sense of inclusive 'oppure'; etc.

Interestingly enough, some censored deviations from the norm look authorized if supported by author's examples: s. v. *acerrimo* the following "Nota bene" is added:

> "L'aggettivo 'acerrimo' è un superlativo, ma è talora percepito come aggettivo di grado positivo. Perciò la forma 'più acerrimo' è spesso usata: *il suo più acerrimo rivale*; *Non è forse sua moglie la sua più acerrima nemica?* (L. Pirandello)".

The application of a sort of "mitigation" strategy is also interesting, through the use of periphrases or litotes to avoid the explicit mention of the words "errore", "sbagliato", "sconsigliabile": so the spelling *grugnamo* for *grugniamo* is "non corretto"; the form *bàule* for *baùle* "boot, trunk" "non è consigliabile"; etc. The negative connotation of the traditional prescriptive grammar, extended to the notion of linguistic "error" and to its whole terminological family, has fossilized (mostly acritically) in the didactic discourse and then in the public discourse on language facts. Consequently, the compilers of lexical and grammatical repertoires (↗9.4) try not to mention it.

3.5.2 Teaching lexical norm: the school and the fortunes of school dictionaries in the last 20 years

In a recent paper, Enrico Lanfranchi (2014) proposes a periodization of the production of school dictionaries of Italian after the Second World War. Lanfranchi singles out three phases. A first one covers the first twenty years after the war (1945–1963) and is marked by a slow recovery of lexicographical (as well as other editorial) activities to reach pre-war levels. The second phase is historically bound to the economic "boom" of the 60s and to the establishment of the unified middle school (1963): it is characterized by the publication of the new Garzanti (1965), the 9th edition of the Zingarelli (1966) and the first edition of the Devoto/Oli ([1]1966), which would have had some commercial fortune in the following years.

The third period (1994–2014) has experienced a strong peak of growth followed by the beginning of a crisis. In 2008, a very informed and insightful review by Giuseppe Patota rightly called the immediately preceding decade a "golden season" for Italian lexicography. The innovative drive brought into the sector by the work of the 1990s, the VOLIT and GRADIT on the one side and the family dictionaries Palazzi/Folena and DISC on the other determined a sort of chain reaction which resulted in a lively growth in the production of new dictionaries. Moreover, there was the substantial updating of previous works under the direction of renowned linguists: the *Dizionario della Lingua Italiana* by Giacomo Devoto and Gian Carlo Oli, which has been edited since 2004 under the direction of Luca Serianni and Maurizio Trifone, or the Garzanti that has also been published since 2004 under the direction of Patota himself.

But this positive trend was about to reverse. As Lanfranchi (2014) documented well, in the decade 2004–2014, the market of school dictionaries experienced a dramatic reduction both in sells and in the variety of the editorial offer. A strong investment in digital conversion and in the promotion of CD-ROM dictionaries caused a sharp drop in sales for the paper versions, shifting the competition from the booksellers to the newsstands market. Within a few years, the Garzanti and then the Devoto/Oli gave up in attempting to follow the Zingarelli in the "annualization" sys-

tem. In 2011, a decree by the Ministry of Education set strict spending limits for school books. In turn, this contributed to hinder the purchase of new dictionaries and the replacement of old ones on the shelves of the students' home libraries. Finally, also because of the renewed ministerial indications, the dictionary has lost any chance of being a tool for studying and acquiring lexical skills in actual school practice and it has instead been reduced to a mere tool for consultation and resolution of language doubts. It should be highlighted that these difficulties are displayed at a phase in which, for the first time in history, Italy is starting to become a country of stable immigration, with significant new needs for the teaching of Italian, which is, in fact, an L2 for a non-irrelevant and evergrowing share of schoolchildren.

In such a framework, we can now better review the chances of Nencioni's prophecy coming true. If Nencioni's "funzione interpretativa" intention was a growing displacement of the dictionary to the role of a mere source of solutions to occasional language doubts, then Nencioni was undoubtedly right – but the goal perhaps is not so desirable. On the contrary, if we think of the role of the school dictionaries in developing and spreading a generally shared linguistic norm, then we should consider that a school dictionary can act as a pivot of attraction and diffusion of the norm only when it is appropriately used in its elective environment, that is in the classroom. This is unfortunately not the rule today in Italy.

3.6 Digital, web and smart dictionaries

In his review about Italian dictionaries on CD-ROM, Claudio Iacobini (2003) has established a rough chronology for the passage of dictionaries from paper to computer. If we leave out some previous and temptative experiments, the process began in the 1990s with the publication of the first CD-ROM release of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED). The first dictionary of Italian to develop a CD-ROM version was Devoto/Oli (1994), followed by DISC (1997) and Gabrielli (1997), then by GRADIT (1999) and its by-product De Mauro (2000). In the 2000s, there was the further transition to the web and smart devices, a transition that nevertheless has had a common denominator: for all dictionaries, with no exception, it has been a change of support much more than a change of concept. That is: a digital transfer of the same contents already present on paper versions.

Digital dictionaries are a powerful tool. At the same time, it is evident that their use and scope are different, sometimes very different from those of their paper parents. Iacobini (2003), Marazzini (2009) and Lanfranchi (2014), reflecting on the same reality at different times of the last decade, agree on a general evaluation: the major innovations in the field of digital lexicography are very useful to specialists but do not serve much (and in any case do not interest much) to the general public.

The ease of consultation is a significant advantage of the digital dictionary but not the most significant one. More important is the possibility to obtain synthetic

contents through single queries starting from the primary analytical data, which are identical to those of the paper dictionary. Take for example the discussion of the general change in the morphological structure of the Italian lexicon (cf. above, 3.2). It occurred between the late 19th and early 20th century because of the explosion of technical-scientific terminology. The whole argument is based on data obtained by crossing a series of queries on the CD-ROM of GRADIT. Of course, the same synthesis would also have been possible – linguistics was a grown-up discipline many years before computers were born – but only at the cost of weeks of manual checks and chronological reordering of the data available in the six volumes of the GRADIT.

It is also evident that these kinds of queries can only be interesting for specialists, either scholars or teachers, much less for common readers looking for a solution to a doubt in pronunciation, grammar or meaning. A caveat is in order: consulting a digital dictionary should be done in a conscious way, distinguishing a priori what the dictionary contains from what one's research wants to achieve. The quality of the synthetic response depends on the lexicographic treatment of analytical data. Iacobini (2003) gives some clear examples of the problems possibly connected with a naive consultation. Any Italian native speaker judges a word like *inutile* as shaped from *utile* via word-formation, even if a strict etymological analysis should refer *inutile* to its direct Latin antecedent. Indeed, the DISC does not include *inutile* among Italian derivatives of *utile*:

> "Si può immaginare che il motivo dipenda dal fatto che *inutile* discende da una formazione già latina, ma sarebbe stato necessario segnalare che le parole prefissate e suffissate già in latino non sono considerate tra i derivati, anche qualora siano analizzabili in sincronia secondo regole di formazione delle parole produttive in italiano (cfr. *incontrollabile*, *indesiderato*, *inedificabile*, *inesploso*, *informale*, *insicuro*, *invivibile*, alcune fra le numerose formazioni novecentesche). La scelta che da utenti avremmo preferito sarebbe stata quella di trovare comunque *inutile* e casi simili tra i derivati delle rispettive basi, magari indicati in modo da distinguerli dai derivati di formazione italiana. [...] Per l'utilizzo a fini scientifici dei cd-rom non ci si può limitare all'apprendimento del corretto impiego delle procedure di interrogazione, è invece necessaria una più attenta lettura dei criteri di redazione dei dizionari".

Another problem that current Italian lexicography shares with the general progress of digital and web tools is obsolescence. The feverish updating of the contents of the dictionaries (focus on neologisms, year by year updates etc.) has been at the center of the commercial competition between publishers in recent decades. Nonetheless, it is now giving way to the need to combat the obsolescence of search engines and digital interfaces. At present, these tools age much earlier than the contents itself causing severe difficulties in the interoperability and transferability of contents from one digital generation to another. It is a fact, for example, that the various electronic editions of GRADIT can only be consulted with great difficulty on computers (of a more recent date). Publishers and authors of Italian electronic dictionaries have not assigned the weight to this problem that it deserves.

4 Conclusion

The diverging interests of the two possible commercial targets of digital dictionaries, specialists vs. laymen, are perhaps the most important factor that future development will have to take into account. The economic dimension has always been absolutely central in lexicographical publishing, and will probably remain so in the future. As the above cited Lanfranchi (2014, 244) highlights, the digital lexicography in Italy has experimented a change from the growing sales of paper dictionaries in the last years, typical of emerging economies, to the collapse of traditional sales systems due to the technological development, an evolution already observed for different languages and countries. To tackle this problem, some publishers are trying to transfer their lexicographic contents on the web. This is the way the Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana ("Treccani") chose to do it, which has made most of its dictionaries available for free consultation on the web (under <www.treccani.it/vocabolario>), evidently aiming for an economic return from advertising sales. However, a model of web based and smart-app based dictionaries of this kind – notes Lanfranchi (2014) – risks favoring the use of immediate, sporadic and occasional consultation of the vocabulary, subtracting further space to school vocabularies and to their didactic use in the classroom work.

The future of normative dictionaries in Italy, as in any other developed country, will have to balance between the abundance of contents necessary for specialists and desirable as a basis for the school work, the speed of consultation required by the general public and the economic sustainability of production. With respect to this dialectic, Italy has not yet found a balance today.

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Luca Lorenzetti
9.4 Dictionaries of Language Difficulties

Abstract: As a textual and editorial genre, dictionaries of language difficulties appeared in Italy considerably later than in France or in other European countries. The delay was mainly due to the heavy gap in Italian levels of literacy during the first decades after the political unification of 1861, a gap which made the number of users of the common language in 19th century much less significant than elsewhere. Moreover, the solution of language difficulties has been entrusted not only to dictionaries *stricto sensu* but also to a vast production of books or booklets written at a more or less popular level either by linguists or, much more frequently, by journalists, opinionists and similar sort of professional writers. This article gives a brief historical sketch of both kinds of language instruments and their development, from their rise to their web-based evolutions in recent years and outlines their shared characteristics as well as the differences between academic and amatorial works.

Keywords: Italian, linguistic difficulty, linguistic insecurity, dictionaries of language difficulties, standardization, implementation, modernization, literacy, normative discourse, pluricentricity

1 Introduction

The production of repertoires of grammar doubts and language difficulties originated in France as early as the 16th century and became particularly rich in the following two centuries. However, a tradition of dictionaries of language difficulties in the narrow sense only began in the 19th century (↗10.4), as an attempt to answer the question posed by the frequent mixing of grammatical and lexical doubts which had come to characterize the grammars of the time. Since most grammarians did not sharply distinguish inside their works between morphological, syntactic and lexical-semantics questions, an alphabetical reordering of the topics would solve many problems of hierarchy and classification, with considerable advantages for the common reader (Bruneau 1948, 497). It was only many decades later that this kind of instruments also began to appear in other Romance traditions (↗8.4; ↗11.4; ↗12.4; ↗13.4), either as a result of the spreading of the French model or, more frequently, following the paths of language and cultural history of the different countries.

The latter was the case with Italy. The level of literacy in Italy at the day of political unification was very critic: illiterates amounted for 78% of the population in the 1871 census. One century later, the situation albeit greatly improved, was still far from that of other more developed European countries; the rate of illiteracy being 8,3% in 1961 and 5,2% in 1971 (De Mauro 1970 [¹1963]; Istat 2012, 352). This

overall limitation made the diffusion of a common national model of written language markedly slower in Italy than elsewhere in Europe. Moreover, the major conditions for the spreading of a full knowledge of spoken Italian (urbanism, industrialization, internal migrations and emigration, compulsory elementary education and national military conscription, unified bureaucracy) started indeed with the political unification. In the 20th century, a great mass of Italians, although using some local or social variety of common Italian, still had a local dialect as their native language. A full or at least predominant nativization of the Italian language does not take place before the first half of the 20th century (Lorenzetti 2002).

Because of this centuries-long history as a non-native and almost only literary grapholect (↗9.3), Italian only developed as a common language at a very later stage. The codification (in the sense of Haugen 1966) of modern unitary Italian took a different path compared to that of other European national languages. There has been no "graphization" of an already existing spoken common language, but rather an "oralization" of a (not so) common written language. There was no diffusion of an oral standard (consisting of a spoken late 19th century Florentine, which, according to Manzoni's program, should have been spread by Florentine native teachers sent over to the Italian schools), but on the contrary, as advocated by Graziadio Isaia Ascoli (1873) in open controversy with Manzoni himself, a slow process of education through the convergent action of language planners *sans le savoir*:

> "a instaurare l'italiano come lingua ufficiale e percepita come (almeno potenzialmente) comune a tutta la popolazione fu una schiera di pianificatori meno conosciuti, amministratori, giornalisti, scrittori impegnati [...], maestrine dalla penna rossa, gerarchie militari: costoro agirono tuttavia nella maggioranza dei casi autonomamente, o meglio reintepretando autonomamente le direttive statali" (Dell'Aquila/Iannàccaro 2004, 65).

So, the usual selection through which the linguistic norm establishes itself, works and renews over time did not fully apply to Italian for the more significant part of its history. This was a result of severe limitations in language use on the diaphasic, diastratic and diamesic axes and of the absence of intergenerational transmission of Italian varieties between native speakers. As a consequence of that, a full-fledged mechanism of language norm (in a Coserian sense) developed very late for Italian. Similarly, late was the growth of a mass demand for an explicit language norm of the common spoken language, whereas the written standard has prescriptively been defined through dictionaries and grammars at least since the 16th century (↗9.2; ↗9.3 for historical sketches on normative grammars and dictionaries). Even later, finally, was the start of a widespread demand for the solution of linguistic and grammatical doubts in commonly used language. This demand has mostly been answered by the grammarians referring the readers to an overall "constancy of the tradition", almost justified *per se*. In this regard, the dictionaries of language difficulties have not played any significant role in Italy in promoting policies of language modernization, in the sense of Ferguson (1968) and Haugen (1983, 273) who

subsumes it under the label of "elaboration", i.e. "the continued implementation of a norm to meet the functions of a modern world". Therefore, it is perhaps not surprising that recent and well-informed surveys, as e.g. Marazzini (2009) and Schweickard (2016), do not identify the dictionaries of grammatical doubts as a distinct category inside historical and contemporary Italian lexicography.

In section 2, we will deal with the historical formation and development of the Italian dictionaries of grammar doubts, focusing on the historical aspects (2.1) and on the theoretical matters related to the kind of norm, answers and questions proposed by the various instruments (2.2). In section 3, the most important works will be treated, divided into popular (3.1) and academic books (3.2).

2 Origins and historical development

2.1 Historical sources, forerunners and present day instruments

Two of the most influential scholars of Italian language history, Tullio De Mauro (2014) and Luca Serianni (2004; 2006), converge in dating the rise of modern dictionaries of language difficulties between the 1950s and 1960s. These sorts of instruments had distinct sources. The first one was the 19th century vogue of "dictionaries of errors". It stemmed from traditional purism and was devoted to the gathering, proscription and substitution of lexical censured forms and in particular of neologisms: books titled, for example, *Elenco di alcune parole oggidì frequentemente in uso: le quali non sono ne' vocabolarj italiani* (Bernardoni 1812), *Lessico dell'infima e corrotta italianità* (Fanfani/Arlìa 1877) or *I neologismi buoni e cattivi più frequenti nell'uso odierno* (Rigutini 1886). The vogue was still alive in the first decades of the 20th century and received a new impulse by the language policies of the Fascist era, fiercely contrasting both foreign influences and dialectal contaminations. The trend slowed down after World War II and then reemerged in the Sixties. It had a clear relationship – here is the second important source – to the growing mass of speakers who were approaching the use of the common language (De Mauro 2014, 139, note 21) in those years.

As forerunners or pioneers of this editorial typology, various works can be cited. A preliminary caveat is in order: with very few exceptions, we will restrict ourselves to books that follow the grammatical dictionary model, based on the alphabetical ordering of the matter; on the other hand, we will not take in account too much of the typology of the entries, which can vary to a great extent. The first book worth mentioning here is the *Dizionario moderno* of Alfredo Panzini (first edition 1905). It is often cited as an innovative work since it recorded entries so far absent from all vocabularies. Its repeated updates (up to the posthumous 8th edition of 1942, edited by two renowned linguists: Bruno Migliorini and Alfredo Schiaffini) testify to the modification and renewal of Italian vocabulary for forty years (Della Valle 2005, 42).

As for what concerns our specific matter, Panzini (1905) is also the first example of an influential dictionary including entries on grammatical topics and doubts. Under "*A*" a detailed report can be found about the prepositional pattern *gelato alla crema*, *uova al burro*, *pasta al sugo*, borrowed from French, vs. the traditional *gelato con la crema* etc.; under "*Avere ed Essere*", a discussion on the variation in auxiliary selection; under "*Congiuntivo*", notices and hints on some regional and non-standard uses of subjunctive. Entries of this kind increased in later editions, setting up, in a sense, for a more grammar-oriented book by the same author, the *Guida alla grammatica italiana. Con un prontuario delle incertezze* (Panzini 1932). This latter work is divided in two parts: a grammar sketch dealing with "le règole principali del discorso […] ridotte a brevità, e facilità anche di espressione", and an alphabetical repertoire which "risolve, o mira a risòlvere, alcune di quelle dubbiezze che spesso si presèntano a chi scrive" (Panzini 1932, 3). Examples of entries in this second part are "*H nel verbo avere?*", on the spelling of *ho hai hanno* vs. the old pattern *ò ài ànno*; or "*Sono potuto andare* oppure *ho potuto andare?*", about auxiliary selection with modal verbs; or again the long entry about "*Accenti*", with a remarkable list of words, mainly scientific and cultivated terms, possibly problematic as to the correct identification of the main-stressed syllable.

Albeit noteworthy for its chronological primacy, the *Guida* of Panzini was not a linguist's book. Of course, it was not intended to be, nor was it a particularly insightful or well-constructed book. As Antonio Gramsci pointed out in his *Note per una introduzione allo studio della grammatica* (1935), Panzini did not ask himself what the cause would be for the rise of the "errors" – i.e., the innovations – he was censoring. He did not raise questions about their geographical and socio-historical center of irradiation (Florence, Rome, Milan?). Therefore, his work remains "uncertain, contradictory, oscillating" (Gramsci 1935, 2344). More significantly, Panzini did not distinguish at all between "grammar" as *langue* or language competence and "grammar" as an explicit language norm. This latter being in Gramsci's opinion the only kind of grammar that Panzini himself recognized as possible. Even with this point of view, Panzini's grammar constituted – maybe unfortunately – an influential model for subsequent works, as we will see below in some detail.

Although some other titles of the kind may well be cited for the same time span, it was only after the 1950s that the fortune of this editorial genre received new input. A significant role in that process was played by Gabrielli's *Dizionario linguistico moderno* (Gabrielli 1956), whose formulaic subtitle *Guida pratica per scrivere e parlar bene*, would have often been repeated in subsequent works (see Gabrielli 1960; 1969; 1986). The book follows a division, already seen in Panzini's (1932) grammar, into a first part treating "Tutte le principali regole di grammatica in ordine alfabetico", alongside with "Costrutti grammaticali difficili, o irregolari, o errati, e regole per risolverli o evitarli" (Gabrielli 1956, inner cover); and a second part containing a veritable dictionary of spelling, pronunciation and grammar, with very concise entries as e.g. "ʃgocciolàre, (ʃgócciolo). tr. Cóme intr. vuòle l'aus. *avére* quando si

parla del recipiènte ('Il baríle ha ʃgocciolàto l'intèra notte'); l'aus. *èssere* quando si parla del líquido ('Il vino è tutto ʃgocciolato dal baríle')" (N.B.: <ʃ> stays for IPA [z]). The *Dizionario linguistico moderno* was the first of a long series of similar books by Gabrielli and many other authors. Gabrielli himself was one of the most prolific authors in the field. Not known for being an academic author, he was nonetheless an authoritative one (being a safe investment for his publishers, who continued to put his name on books that were actually written and edited by his late coworkers many years after his death in 1978). Another book by Gabrielli (1969), *Si dice o non si dice?*, is a selection of answers to grammar and language questions asked by the readers of various magazines of the time. It is cited here as the first example of an editorial type (and, once again, of a titling pattern) destined to some success, as well as an indication of social interest for grammatical norms destined to grow widespread in the following decades.

As already mentioned, the success of this kind of books also found a partial reason for the long-standing lack of a descriptive grammar of Italian based upon robust linguistic grounds. The gap began to be filled in the 1980s, first by the grammar of Dardano/Trifone (1983), then in 1988 when the grammars of Renzi (1988), Schwarze (1988), Serianni (1988) made Italian "in un colpo solo, la lingua meglio descritta al mondo" (Stammerjohann 1989). However, the sudden abundance of scientific instruments did not stop the proliferation of popular handbooks, which indeed knew a renewed fortune in the last twenty years. Moreover, it showed (at least in the introductory claims of their authors) a persistent "bisogno di norma" by readers who perhaps did not feel fully satisfied with traditional and academic grammarbooks, and who seemed to display "un'esigenza di normazione linguistica che i linguisti professionali e anche la scuola dei due decenni precedenti avevano o espressamente sdegnato (i primi) o almeno accantonato (la seconda)" (Serianni 2004, 92).

Starting in the 1990s, this demand was faced by the aforementioned popular manuals, by more structured academic anthologies (notably the two volumes of Crusca: 1995; 2013) and in more recent years, by true grammatical dictionaries (the *Grammatica* of the Enciclopedia Treccani: 2012; 2015). We will come back to all the three types of instruments in section 3.

2.2 Normative models, authors and readers, questions and answers

We owe Serianni (2004) an in-depth reflection on the kind of grammatical norm that can be inferred from the indications of the repertoires, either those intended for the general public or the more professional ones (the latter including the peculiar perspective of the drafting manuals studied by Palermo 1995), and, even more significantly, from the readers' own questions to grammar experts. A strongly traditionalist perspective underlies most answers and hints, proscribing even very wide-

spread forms and constructions. Furthermore, the aspiration is clear to establish a norm despite the arbitrariness of the assumptions (as when a handbook proposes to distinguish between *famigliare* as a noun and *familiare* as an adjective, without any real historical or functional motivation), and the frequent recourse to the reasons of grammatical logicism or etymology as the ultimate proof for the soundness of grammar hints. Therefore, it would be wrong to say *più alternative* 'more alternatives' because an *alternativa* is just one by definition. One should not correctly speak of a *pugno chiuso* 'closed fist', because, as everybody knows, how could a fist not be closed?

As for the readers' point of view, the questions to the consulting service of the Accademia della Crusca often display a hyper-rational attitude according to Serianni. They were selected in two volumes (Crusca 1995; 2013) and are available at <*accademiadellacrusca.it*> (under "Consulenza-linguistica"). The readers seem to trust in the real possibility that the grammarian can always trace the boundary between right and wrong. Secondly, they *a priori* reject redundancy and tautology: why *piccoli furtarelli*, with the adjective *piccoli* and the suffix *-arelli* both expressing the same diminutive value? Why *arrivederci a presto*, if the preposition *a* is already prefixed in *arrivederci*? Finally, many questions reveal the wrong belief in a necessary link between the etymological motivation of words and their current meaning. The word *pedofilo* – a reader argues – should not be used with reference to people who sexually abuse a child, since it is formed with Grk. *phílos* 'friend': "Mothers, fathers, grandparents, uncles: all pedophiles?".

All the attitudes and prejudices of the readers point to the same conclusion: who poses linguistic questions is often moved by a strong loyalty to the language, which manifests itself in an instinctive aversion to grammatical and lexical innovations. This framework finds its obvious correspondence in a sort of general conservative attitude assumed by the experts that could be well exemplified as follows. In Crusca (2013, 132), Serianni himself is answering the prepositional alternation *al cellulare* vs. *sul cellulare*, where the second variant, still slightly less frequent but tending to increase, is clearly dependent on English ... *on the phone*. In this case, according to Serianni, the grammarian cannot but recommend the traditional construct. In other words, other factors being equal and apart from all exceptions, the unmarked choice for the grammarian should be that of justifying the "constancy of the tradition":

> "il richiamo alla norma, alla tradizione, è un momento fondamentale della dialettica linguistica: nel mutamento di una lingua, per quanto tumultuoso esso sia o possa sembrare ai parlanti, ciò che rimane – e che deve rimanere – integro per consentire la comunicazione tra generazioni diverse, è sempre di più, quantitativamente e qualitativamente, di quello che cambia" (Serianni 2004, 102–103).

Serianni aligns himself here with the opinion of another Italian linguist, Arrigo Castellani, in expressing a view that is shared in the lexicographical practice by most of the works we will examine in the following sections. However, a theoretical as-

sumption of this type, if applied mechanically, risks being limiting precisely for those who, like the authors of the grammar dictionaries, are convinced of the legitimacy of action of control and orientation on the current linguistic evolution. Let us take a model like that of Bruno Migliorini's "glottotecnica" or "neopurismo" (Migliorini 1957). It was aimed at evaluating the possible loan translations, integrations or substitutions of foreign borrowings entering Italian during the Fascist era with structural arguments. It was basically the kind of language corpus planning that Ferguson (1968) and Haugen (1983) would have called "modernization" some thirty years later. As we will show, the grammar dictionaries of Italian often neglect or leave apart the evaluation and structural explanation of their hints and prefer instead to base their choices on tradition or, even worse, on the personal stylistic tastes of the authors.

Therefore, in most cases, the question is no longer about grammar doubts in the strict sense, whose solution aims at improving the quality of linguistic communication, but rather about the request of experts' opinion on language norm and stylistic choices in order to avoid breaking social conventions in a censurable manner. It is not by chance that an example of a good popular grammar handbook, as Della Valle/Patota (1995), whose title is *Salvalingua*, opens an entire series of similar titles among which a *Salvastile* (Della Valle/Patota 1997) stands out. Since linguistic behavior is understood as an important part of social behavior here, the very concept of language norm *à la* Coseriu loses its proper structural features and ends up fading in a sort of social norm, nearly a generic search for linguistic respectability.

Many of the indications contained in our consultation tools refer – or may refer – to the above mentioned "norm-as-respectability demand". For example, the Grammatica Treccani (2012, XIII) lists among its most frequent entries the ones about the position of stressed syllable (*edìle* or *èdile*?), the spelling of diacritic <i> (*accecare* or *acciecare*?) and of geminate consonants (*accelerare* or *accellerare*?), or the use of other diacritics as graphic accents or apostrophes (*fa*, *fa'* or *fà*? *qual è* or *qual'è*?), the conjugation of verbs with overabundant paradigms (*nutro* or *nutrisco*?) and the everlasting problem of auxiliary selection with intransitive verbs (*ho inciampato* or *sono inciampato*?). Among these, one could find notions that any common grammar or dictionary actually explains quite well, e.g. spelling norms like the one referred to in the Grammatica Treccani ([2]2015, 4):

> "*abitazione* o *abitazzione*? La grafia corretta è *abitazione*, con la *z* semplice, come succede in tutte le parole che terminano con il gruppo *-zione* preceduto da vocale".

The social value of spelling and orthography skills and competences is obvious and well known. The impression is that such entries are addressed to a public lacking a prompt access to any kind of grammar. They may need an agile and easily consultable tool, eventually equipped with good research indexes, capable of giving the readers the short-cut and definitive answers they are looking for even when the answers are not accompanied by clear-cut and scientifically shared arguments but

rather founded on the judgment of cultivated native speakers, who sometimes happen to be (more or less) expert linguists.

Alongside the latter, however, one can also find notions in our tools that common grammar books do not entirely deal with. They frequently correspond to actual *cruces* in the grammatical description, that is, to grammar facts that are undergoing variation or evolution processes and would then require complex and well-argued responses, rather than short and apodictic ones. Not surprisingly, such questions are mostly asked by school students and teachers, or adult language users with a good educational qualification. An example of this kind of users may be taken from Crusca (1995, 65–67). A school teacher from Bologna presumably turns to the experts a question from her pupils which she herself had not been able to answer, so complaining: "Nessuna grammatica chiarisce se si debba dire *uno delle cinque dita* o *una delle cinque dita*, *uno delle due paia* o *una delle due paia*". The agreement of adjectives and determiners with the plural of the nouns belonging to the inflectional class of *uovo* m.sg. ~ *uova* f.pl. is a long debated topic. It continues to attract attention from scholars (cf., e.g., Acquaviva 2008; Lorenzetti 2011 for a résumé) and surely should not be solved in a line. Indeed Giovanni Nencioni, whom the question has been forwarded to, devotes two extended pages, rich in historical and structural arguments, with a very detailed answer.

Even with the obviously huge variation between single authors, it is possible to identify a limited number of criteria the indications of our grammatical tools are based on. They are present to some extent – although often only implicitly – from the first examples we cited above. So in a sense, they can be defined as "traditional". The Grammatica Treccani ([2]2015, XIII–XV) lists them as follows:

a) etymology (in a broad sense, including also words and grammar history);
b) analogy;
c) economy and distinction principles;
d) language functions and varieties (i.e. sociolinguistic factors);
e) quantitative considerations, based upon the relative frequency of variants involved, "even if in some cases the proposed solution is in contrast with contemporary use" ([2]2015, XIII).

Of course, the selection, the hierarchy and the use of these criteria may vary greatly from author to author and from book to book. For the sake of simplicity, we will maintain a general – if arbitrary – distinction between academic and popular tools in the following sections. The quantitative imbalance between the sections reflects the different dimensions of the respective editorial productions.

3 Contemporary dictionaries of language difficulties

3.1 Popular instruments

As we said above, the quantity of informative manuals aimed at resolving linguistic doubts is quite high: this kind of book has not lost appeal over the years. Following the most recent books of the already mentioned Gabrielli (1986; 1999; Gabrielli/ Pivetti 2013), others have been published in the last 25 years. We will cite here, just by way of example, Satta (1988; 1994), the long and successful series by Della Valle/ Patota (1995; 1997; 2011; 2012; 2013; 2014; 2016), De Benedetti (2009), De Rienzo (2011, itself a collection of answers to grammatical questions coming from newspaper readers), Patota (2013), Novelli (2014). For reasons of space, we will limit our discussion to a choice of books written by professional linguists and lexicographers. On the other hand, we will not distinguish between alphabetically ordered vs. thematically ordered books. Despite our main topic, the sorting of the entries is of secondary importance, both in the intentions of the authors and in the reception of the readers. There are also texts (e.g., De Rienzo 2011) which adopt a mixed criterion: thematic sections (spelling, grammar, vocabulary), each of which alphabetically arranges its own entries. Therefore, we will report it if necessary, without excluding a priori the texts whose entries are sorted by topic.

The popular books we are talking about have a series of roughly shared attitudes and assumptions in common. First of all, most of their introductions claim to follow a descriptive rather than a prescriptive model of language norm:

"In questo libro ci siamo proposti di raccontare 'Che lingua fa'. È un'espressione insolita, perché normalmente si sente dire 'Che tempo fa', non 'Che lingua fa'. Eppure, il mestiere del grammatico non è molto diverso da quello del meteorologo: questo informa sulle condizioni del tempo, quello informa (o dovrebbe informare) sulle condizioni della lingua, senza imporre niente dall'alto. Per secoli, invece, chi ha insegnato l'italiano ne ha tenuto a freno la mobilità, sostituendo alla sua grande e innata varietà la falsa unità di una lingua imbalsamata e sempre uguale a se stessa [...]. Perciò raramente, in questo libro, troverete divieti. Troverete piuttosto consigli" (Della Valle/Patota 1995, VII).

"Il punto è che la grammatica scientifica non si preoccupa tanto di prescrivere quanto di descrivere, analizza cioè come i parlanti si comportano nei fatti, non come dovrebbero comportarsi. Ne consegue che il compito del linguista non è quello di irreggimentare la lingua ma solo di capire come funziona e di darne una rappresentazione. Dunque la prima domanda che gli si deve fare non è 'si può dire questo?' o 'è giusto quest'altro?', ma solo 'come funziona?' e 'perché funziona così?'. Poi, sulla base di questo, può anche fare il consulente di etichetta (si fa, non si fa), ma non è quello il suo ruolo primario" (De Benedetti 2009, 11s.).

"La cosa dovrebbe risultare sufficientemente chiara, ma non manca di generare qualche confusione. In particolare, i paladini del buon parlare e del buono scrivere sono vittime di diversi malintesi: confondono la *sgrammaticatura* con l'*agrammaticalità*, sovrappongono il concetto di 'bello' all'idea di 'corretto', [...] considerano soltanto la dimensione *normativa* della gram-

matica, trascurando colpevolmente quella *descrittiva*, che è come se pretendessimo [...] di illustrare a qualcuno le regole del calcio senza avergli preliminarmente spiegato che si gioca con un pallone" (De Benedetti 2009, 12).

"[...] E allora ci siamo detti: perché non scrivere una grammatica diversa da quella tradizionale, una grammatica divertente, che sappia raccontare e spiegare, attraverso esempi insoliti e curiosi, il perché e il percome delle regole? A proposito: la parola *regola*, se applicata a una lingua, ha due significati fondamentali: da una parte 'precetto, indicazione utile per parlare o scrivere bene'; dall'altra 'descrizione di come funziona la lingua'. Raccogliere e illustrare le regole del primo tipo è proprio della grammatica normativa, mentre raccogliere e illustrare le regole del secondo tipo è proprio della grammatica descrittiva. Noi, come abbiamo dimostrato nei libri precedenti, e come potranno constatare i nuovi lettori, preferiamo le regole del secondo tipo: non quelle che prescrivono, ma quelle che descrivono come è fatta e come funziona la nostra lingua" (Della Valle/Patota 2011, 6).

These declarations of intent possibly hide a confusing overlap. The description of language norm and the normative suggestions about correct language uses are quite different cultural operations, both of course fully legitimate, each on their own, but responding to different needs. While language description is a part of science (and as such it can be disseminated through specific informative works), grammar teaching, norm prescription and standardization are components of cultural and language policies, i.e. part of political practice. We could repeat with updated terms what Gramsci (1935, 2344) affirmed criticizing Panzini's approach to grammar:

"La grammatica normativa scritta è quindi sempre una 'scelta', un indirizzo culturale, è cioè sempre un atto di politica culturale-nazionale. Potrà discutersi sul modo migliore di presentare la 'scelta' e l'"indirizzo' per farli accettare volentieri, cioè potrà discutersi dei mezzi più opportuni per ottenere il fine; non può esserci dubbio che ci sia un fine da raggiungere che ha bisogno di mezzi idonei e conformi, cioè che si tratti di un atto politico".

A book of grammar doubts, like any similar grammar tool, can only adopt a mainly normative attitude since its main purpose is not to describe but rather to tell the best alternative within a linguistic variable. Moreover, the normative action based on good and up-to-date language descriptions is no less normative than the one based on more traditional approaches, albeit more oriented towards a "simple" problem-solving practice. So, it is not surprising that the programmatic claims had not been systematically followed in the actual writing of the single entries. A good example of a normative prescription accompanied by a concise historical explanation is that of the couple *redigere* vs. *redarre*, both meaning 'redact'; the first form is the traditional cultivated Latinism, the second a recent back-formation (quite similar, by incident, to Eng. *redact*):

"Vi avvertiamo subito che quest'ultima forma [scil. *redarre*] è decisamente sbagliata, e quindi non va usata. L'infinito *redarre* si è diffuso sul modello di *trarre*, per l'analogia esistente fra i participi passati *tratto* e *redatto*, ma questa somiglianza non autorizza l'uso di una forma inesistente. Se nel passato vi è scappato qualche *redarre*, siete avvisati: d'ora in poi potrete solo *redigere*" (Della Valle/Patota 1995, 151).

Alongside the historical framing of the explanatory section, the silent, implicit and highly effective presence of the "constancy of tradition" clearly emerges in the prescriptive part of the text: were *redarre* really "inesistente", the question of course would not have been posed. Other authors (or perhaps just more recent books) look more open to a possible future affirmation of the innovation, while discouraging it in the present:

> "Forse un giorno questa spinta livellatrice imporrà l'uso di *redarre*, in luogo di *redigere*. [...] Per ora atteniamoci alla norma" (Novelli 2014, 214).

A similar pattern, actually inclining more towards prescription than towards description, can be found in other entries as well. Let us compare the treatment of irregular superlatives by some of our authors. As is well known, Italian adjectives *acre*, *aspro*, *cèlebre*, *ìntegro*, *mìsero* e *salùbre* take the traditional superlative suffix *-èrrimo* rather than *-ìssimo*, according to their Latin source. Della Valle/Patota (1995, 85) just give the list of exceptions, without any motivation:

> "Cinque aggettivi: *acre*, *celebre*, *integro*, *misero*, *salùbre* hanno il superlativo non in *-issimo* ma in *-errimo*: *acèrrimo*, *celebèrrimo*, *integèrrimo*, *misèrrimo*, *salubèrrimo*".

Furthermore, Della Valle/Patota (2011, 38) give the bare list in a summary table with the possible variants: *acerrimo celeberrimo integerrimo* are the unique possible forms, while *asperrimo* may alternate with *asprissimo*, *miserrimo / miserissimo*, *saluberrimo/salubrissimo*. Likewise, Patota (2013, 112) lists the traditional forms alongside the analogical ones, where the latter are present, adding the case of *aspro*, previously omitted:

> "Il superlativo di *acre*, *celebre*, *integro*, *misero* e *salùbre* è *acèrrimo*, *celebèrrimo*, *integèrrimo*, *misèrrimo* e *salubèrrimo* (ma *misero* e *salùbre* hanno anche i superlativi *miserissimo* e *salubrissimo*; un caso simile è dato da *aspro*, che ha sia *aspèrrimo* sia *asprissimo*)".

On the same note the short voice in De Rienzo (2011):

> "Fanno eccezione *acre*, *aspro*, *celebre*, *integro*, *misero* e *salubre* che all' *-issimo* sostituiscono *-errimo*. *Acerrimo*, *asperrimo* (ma anche *asprissimo*), *celeberrimo*, *integerrimo*, *miserrimo* (o *miserissimo*) e *saluberrimo* (oppure *salubrissimo*)".

To find some descriptive information about the topic – not an exciting one, that's true – the reader has to turn to richer tools, as for example the Grammatica Treccani (2012; [2]2015), which we will discuss extensively in the next section. There, s. v. *-errimo, superlativi in*, we learn what follows:

> "Nell'uso comune molte di queste forme del superlativo assoluto sono percepite come antiquate e adatte soltanto a contesti formali. [...] Alcuni aggettivi, peraltro, ammettono da secoli anche la forma regolare in *-issimo*
>
> *aspro > asperrimo* o *asprissimo*

misero > miserrimo o *miserissimo*

integro ('onesto') > *integerrimo* o *integrissimo*

Oggi accade spesso che forme come *acerrimo* e *integerrimo* non siano più percepite come superlativi e vengano usate a loro volta per costruire un superlativo relativo o un comparativo: *Anche i più acerrimi nemici della modernità* [...] *nel ruolo del più integerrimo tra i cacciatori di nazisti*".

Here, we find good, if short, information about the archaic and antiquated connotation of the superlatives in *-errimo*, the absence of which impoverishes the aforementioned entries. Nonetheless, not even the last entry of the Grammatica Treccani seems entirely adequate on a descriptive level. It is quite clear from the entry itself that the *-errimo* forms are fully lexicalized nowadays. They can take a periphrastic modifier (*più acerrimo*); where the variation is possible the *-errimo* variant covers only an extended meaning, while the *-issimo* variant covers the basic one: *acrissimo* 'di sapore molto agro, di odore molto pungente' vs. *acerrimo* 'fierissimo, molto accanito' ("difficilmente si direbbe *C'era nell'aria un odore acerrimo*": Grammatica Treccani 2012, s. v. *acre, superlativo di*); *integerrimo* 'quite honest' vs. *integrissimo* 'quite intact'; finally, where an etymological doublet is available in the lexicon, only the [+latinate] variant can receive the *-errimo* suffix (*acre → acerrimo* vs. *agro → agrissimo*; *integro → integerrimo* vs. *intero → interissimo*). A description not biased by the "constancy of tradition" assumption would better record this state of affairs, assigning to the forms in *-errimo* their proper value of items totally stored in the lexicon and no long derivable through word formation rules (on the whole topic see now Thornton [forthcoming]).

A second widely shared assumption is the one about graduality of grammar rules. According to Serianni (2004, 86), a "grey zone" between agrammaticality on the one side and free variation on the other side exists, an intermediate area more extended in Italian than in other European languages. This is due to the peculiar linguistic history of Italy: late affirmation of a common language, greatest importance of literary tradition for the establishment of the grammatical codification. All the books under scrutiny adopt this point of view to some degree. Sometimes the need to graduate the force of the hints given in the entries is declared among the basic principles. For example, Novelli (2014), distinguishes *passim* his *Si dice?* between those to which a neat and definite yes/no answer is possible and those which should be correctly answered "it depends". Among the first, Novelli includes the selection of auxiliaries with meteorological verbs:

"Posso usare indifferentemente l'ausiliare *essere* e l'ausiliare *avere* con i verbi meteorologici? Magari, se sbaglio, verranno sette anni di pioggia, neve e tempesta, come dopo che si è rotto uno specchio. Invece, sono lieto di comunicarvi che si può usare sia il verbo *essere*, come indica la tradizione normativa, sia il verbo *avere*, come suggerisce la norma rinvigoritasi con l'uso – un uso, peraltro, non recente. Se la faccenda vi sta a cuore, capirete come in questo caso sia la prima dimensione – governata dalla grammatica del *sì* – a far valere le proprie ragioni".

Using an example of a mandatory "no" answer, the author brings what he calls "la deriva del *piuttosto che*", i.e. the recent use of the complex conjunction *piuttosto che* with an inclusive value rather than with the traditional exclusive value:

> "[...] prolifera l'uso di *piuttosto che* nel senso di *o*, *oppure* disgiuntivi: 'Ma bellezza è anche gustare il vero risotto con l'ossobuco alla milanese (il migliore, nel miglior posto), piuttosto che il culatello di Zibello, o il gelato al gianduia di Saluzzo'. [...] Come dire, questo o quello sono la stessa cosa, vanno bene l'uno o l'altro o l'altro ancora (risotto, culatello, gelato). La norma dice l'esatto contrario: *piuttosto che* ha valore avversativo oppositivo, significa 'invece di', 'anziché', 'pur di non'".

This kind of doubt, Novelli claims, falls under the rules of the "grammatica del *no*". The third dimension is ruled by the "grammatica del *dipende*": forms or expressions whose acceptability is linked to sociolinguistic variables, above all diamesic and diaphasic. Let us take for example a long-standing fatal error for the younger students, the double adversative *ma però*.

> "Dove dobbiamo collocarci, allora, se il 90% degli italiani si corazza nella dimensione del *no*, mentre il 10% dice che 'ormai lo usano tutti' e quindi si apre alla dimensione del *sì*? Sarà possibile osservare il fenomeno da un'altra angolazione, secondo un'altra prospettiva? In questo libro si sostiene che è possibile, anzi, necessario. Bisogna adottare la prospettiva del *dipende*".

Accordingly, we should avoid *ma però* in formal expressive contexts, e.g. in a high school assignment, but we should feel free to use it in informal contexts, in everyday speech or writing. The book of Novelli (2014) also adopts a useful system of iconic marks to separate different domains inside the spoken vs. written uses of the language: "written language, formal written language, informal written language; spoken language, formal spoken language, spontaneous spoken language; school Italian". The icon chosen by Novelli to mark "informal written language" looks quite interesting: a small smartphone. Obviously, he is referring to the huge galaxy of online writing, a semiotic universe which, as Naomi Baron pointed out some years ago, "enables participants to interact in a less constrained way than when face-to-face" (Baron 1998, 174).

The popular manuals are instead more different to one another with regard to the structure of their entries. Here the various targets and, even more, the different tastes and sensibility of the authors result into textual forms possibly quite distinguished. They range from the synthetic format of De Rienzo (2011) to the relaxed and sometimes amused discourse of most of the books by Della Valle/Patota, Novelli (2014), or of De Benedetti (2009: not quite easy to use as a proper handbook, unfortunately). Note that no book among the aforementioned follows the alphabetical order, a notable exception being the recent handbook of Patota (2013). Somewhat intermediate between a fully popular and a fully academic tool, this "app grammaticale su carta" (as the author himself describes it) is made of entries of different levels. All the entries are listed alphabetically. The single forms involved

in dubious variables receive *sub voce* an immediate and short answer, with the possible reference to more complex entries containing articulated explanations. For example, an orthographic doubt is treated both under the respective entry and the linked and more general framework entry, a cross-reference pattern that makes this book a very useful and effective tool:

> "*cosciente*, *coscienza*/*coscente*, *coscenza*: *cosciente*, *coscienza* → ORTOGRAFIA"

> "ORTOGRAFIA Ci sono alcuni termini che spesso non sappiamo come scrivere: *scienza* o *scenza*? *registrazione* o *registrazzione*? *igene* o *igiene*? Sembra che non ci sia una regola e che, per non sbagliare, ci si debba affidare soltanto alla memoria, ma non è così. I dubbi ortografici non riguardano tutte le parole, ma solo quelle che non si scrivono come si pronunciano. Nessuno è incerto su come scrivere parole come *casa*, *mano*, *gara*, perché in esse a ogni suono corrisponde una lettera distinta. Le difficoltà riguardano altri tipi di parole, come per esempio *scienza*, *registrazione* o *igiene*, nelle quali non c'è una perfetta corrispondenza fra grafia e pronuncia: nel parlato la *i* di *scienza* e di *igiene* non si fa sentire, e l'unica *z* di *registrazione* si pronuncia come se fosse doppia [...]. In alcuni casi, poi, gli errori ortografici derivano dall'influenza della pronuncia dialettale. Per esempio, nell'Italia centromeridionale la *g* palatale di *giro*, se si trova tra due vocali, viene pronunciata doppia: si dice (e, per errore, si scrive) *traggico*, *aggile*, *aggente*, mentre queste parole in italiano vanno scritte – e pronunciate – con una sola *g*. Al contrario, nell'Italia settentrionale tutte le consonanti doppie poste tra due vocali vengono pronunciate come se fossero una sola: un italiano del Veneto tenderà a pronunciare *belo*, *atento*, *colegamento* anziché *bello*, *attento*, *collegamento*, e questa pronuncia potrà influenzare il modo di scrivere. Quali sono, dunque, le parole che suscitano dubbi ortografici? Possiamo distinguerle in sei gruppi [...]".

Sometimes a micro-diachronic perspective is warranted as well. Della Valle/Patota (2016) open their introduction to the book highlighting the correctness of their 1995 prognosis about when to expect the acceptance in the norm for the classical school errors *a me mi piace* and *ma però*:

> "Nell'introduzione al primo *Salvalingua* [Della Valle/Patota 1995] citavamo 'a me mi piace' e prevedevamo che di lì a qualche anno questa espressione non sarebbe più stata considerata un errore grave. Allo stesso modo, scrivevamo che 'ma però' non ha in sé niente di tremendo. Le grammatiche più recenti e aggiornate si sono dichiarate d'accordo, e la filastrocca 'ma però dir non si può' appartiene ormai al passato. Mancava, invece, in quel primo libro, la segnalazione di 'piuttosto che' usato erroneamente in funzione disgiuntiva al posto di 'o' che negli anni Novanta del secolo scorso non era ancora diventato l'errore di moda che ci ha spinto a dedicargli, nel 2013, un libro intero".

In our opinion, the notion of "trendy error" looks particularly noteworthy, since it is liable to be understood in two directions: an error (i.e. a linguistic innovation) is trendy when it is performed with growing frequency in everyday language but is also trendy when detecting and censoring the error becomes a socially positive action. We are thus brought back to that sort of normative effect we already spoke about, consisting in aggregating a social group around the opinion of experts who are intended to give scientific dignity to the criticism of language deviance by the

public but actually do not offer any technically founded description or explanation of the phenomena: just their mere native speakers' judgement about them.

The case of *piuttosto che* is well representative in this regard and deserves perhaps a few lines (for arguments and the following examples, cf. Mauri/Giacalone Ramat 2015; on the topic, see also Bazzanella/Cristofoli 1998; Brucale 2010). The connective *piuttosto che* has only a comparative function in standard Italian: *preferiscono mangiare piuttosto che essere mangiati* 'they prefer to eat than to be eaten'. Since the late 90s, it has developed two new values.

The first one is that of "exemplifying disjunction": *tu pensi che questa sensibilità si possa riuscire a convogliare su delle iniziative di solidarietà che sono diverse come quelle di cui abbiamo parlato prima, i conti correnti per la popolazione dell'Iraq piuttosto che per i profughi* '[...] solidarity initiatives [...] current accounts for Iraqi or for refugees [...]'.

The second one is that of "general extender", restricted to the final position in the sentence and so displaying the prosodic contour and the syntactic collocation of It. *eccetera*: *Spesso c'è il problema di dire "dove si va", magari per un giro pomeridiano, piuttosto che.* '[...] maybe for an afternoon tour or something. [...]'.

While the latter construction and, more crucially, its common perception are still not so frequent, the former has undergone heavy censorships in the last years. An anthology is found in the introduction to Della Valle/Patota (2013), entitled precisely *Piuttosto che*:

> "Se stilassimo una classifica delle parole, espressioni e modi di dire – il più delle volte errati – che suscitano maggiore fastidio nelle persone dotate di una certa sensibilità linguistica, *piuttosto che* usato in funzione disgiuntiva al posto di *o* sarebbe al primo posto o quantomeno nella zona alta della classifica. [...] decine di siti e pagine web in cui si manifesta insofferenza per l'uso di cui qui si tratta; su Facebook un gruppo intitolato Aboliamo l'uso improprio del 'piuttosto che' piace a un cospicuo numero di naviganti; di Carlotta, che nell'ottobre del 2011 ha lanciato su YouTube una videocrociata contro il *piuttosto che* disgiuntivo, hanno parlato, e bene, radio, televisioni e giornali; il nostro collega Giuseppe Antonelli e Cristina Faloci, conduttore e curatrice del programma *La lingua batte* di Rai Radio3, ci segnalano che fra gli ascoltatori l'insofferenza nei confronti del *piuttosto che* è altissima".

The catalogue goes on with quotations from renowned novelists, writers and intellectuals, all of them proud adversaries of the "tossina grammaticale" (ib.) under scrutiny. The construction, first attested in the 1980s and probably stemming from Milanese Italian, is to be rejected "without appeal", for the following "good reasons":

> "Il primo motivo è che quest'uso è in contrasto con la tradizione grammaticale della nostra lingua.
>
> Il secondo motivo è che il *piuttosto che* abusivamente equiparato a *o* crea ambiguità nella comunicazione. *Mangerò carne piuttosto che pesce*: da che italiano è italiano, una frase di questo genere ha indicato una scelta; una *o* travestita da *piuttosto che* indica l'esatto contrario di una scelta, e cioè la possibilità di un'alternativa.

> Il terzo motivo è che [...] non ne possiamo più, così di questa come di altre sciatterie lingui-stiche" (Della Valle/Patota 2016).

The grammarians give their readers what they want here: tradition, authoritative protection against "abusive" ambiguity and the welcome to the restricted club of people gifted with a fine linguistic taste.

Now, as the above cited studies have shown, it is not actually a question of "fashion" that is of a purely sociolinguistic variable having as its sole cause the origin from a variety of prestige (here, northern Italian). On the contrary, the innovative use of *piuttosto che* is going to modify the system of Italian conjunctions in a structurally consistent way. Apart from language prognosis, whose predictions are typically uncertain and random (so far, the vitality of the innovation does not seem to have been affected by the strong censorship), the only scientific argument invoked by the authors to motivate their refusal is the complaint about the ambiguity between old and new uses of *piuttosto che*. It is a good argument, but it is also obviously quite part of the problem and not of the solution: we should rather ask ourselves *why* does innovation succeed *despite* creating ambiguity.

As to the other two "good reasons", conservative continuity with grammatical tradition is not new, and it has already been discussed; personal taste, again, represents the judgment of cultivated native speakers and has little weight as a linguistic argument, even when – as is the case – it reflects the opinion of very authoritative experts in the field. Similar topics and the connected dictionary entries could have been dealt with in a more neutral and less biased discourse, perhaps with no less profit for the readers.

In conclusion, the books examined in this section are well-constructed works, written by the best specialists and sometimes abundant in useful information. However, they are part of a tradition, existing since the grammar of Panzini (1932) and continuing throughout the years, which despite the programmatic statements and with many laudable exceptions has always aimed at resolving linguistic variables by choosing a variant, often discarding as a secondary task that of informing the readers about the reasons for the choice itself.

3.2 Academic instruments

In this section, we briefly describe and compare the current examples of academic grammatical dictionaries for Italian. All things considered, the printed works are actually four: we will take in account the two volumes by Accademia della Crusca (1995; 2013) and the two editions of the *Grammatica* by the lexicographic team of the Istituto dell'Enciclopedia italiana (Grammatica Treccani 2012; ²2015).

3.2.1 *La Crusca per voi*

The books of Crusca (1995; 2013) were born from a noteworthy situation. In 1988 and 1989, the publicly funded Accademia della Crusca suffered a severe crisis that forced it to reduce its scientific activities, thus putting it in risk of closure. The crisis was overcome thanks to a public subscription launched by a newspaper. The Accademia sought to correspond in some way with the solidarity it received by many citizens: in the words of Giovanni Nencioni, who was then its president, the Accademia

> "decise di uscire dal chiuso della ricerca scientifica nel campo aperto dell'azione sociale fondando un foglio periodico che colloquiasse col pubblico in modo chiaro e semplice e cercasse soprattutto di far sentire i valori di identità individuale e nazionale della lingua rinunciabili solo a prezzo di alienazione e di sradicamento. [...] Il carattere del foglio, benché esso abbia diffusione nelle scuole, e come lettori e consultatori abbia molti insegnanti, non è scolastico, essendo ristretto ad argomenti linguistici e scritto in modo, nelle risposte, da adeguarsi alla diversa cultura di chi pone i quesiti" (Nencioni, *Presentazione* a Crusca 1995, 5–6).

The new journal's title was *La Crusca per voi*; the book from 1995 gathered all the answers contained in the first nine issues (1990–1995) of the journal, while Crusca (2013) was made up from questions and answers selected from journal issues 10 to 31 (1995–2005). In 2002, the Accademia provided itself with a website, and the language consulting service has of course benefited from this innovation. Today the reader can look in the FAQ-section "Consulenza linguistica", currently containing more than 700 topics (728 on May 2018, when these lines were written), where a double search engine, full text plus keywords search, overcomes the problem of the alphabetical order and the need for indexation, making the consultation of the materials easier than that of any printed grammar dictionary. In 2017, the Accademia started a new magazine, *Italiano digitale*, the broader section of which is dedicated to short papers of "Consulenze linguistiche". Finally, the Twitter account of the Accademia della Crusca, started 2012, also seemed lively enough, with about 8000 tweets, 75,000 followers (May 2018) and regularly updated links to the answers on the website. Nonetheless, it is very far from reaching the numbers of other similar European institutions, as for example that of Real Academia Española (169,000 tweets, plus more than 1 million followers). The more common typology of questions and answers has been discussed above. Here we will only give some brief additional notice. The books under scrutiny are amongst the best examples of scientific divulgation relative to the linguistics of Italian. The single topics are explained both with high competence and with a language as simple and clear as possible. Moreover, the evaluation criteria that we mentioned above (2.2) are always used in a well-balanced manner. Most of the entries sharply distinguish the descriptive and historical sections from that of the normative hint, and the latter is often given rather as a free choice, possibly resulting from the information given, than as a prestige preference indicated *ex auctoritate*. It would be idle here to select one ex-

ample or another: let us take what Stefano Telve says about the use of definite article with the English loanword *internet* (Crusca 2013, 99–100), where the frequency in specialist discourse is the crucial criterion:

> "La soluzione che prevede l'uso dell'articolo [...] davanti a *Internet*, se non sbagliata, è certamente rara (soprattutto tra gli specialisti). Né può essere di conforto a praticare questa soluzione riscontrarne la presenza in lingue come il tedesco e l'inglese, che nell'uso dell'articolo hanno regole molto diverse rispetto a quelle dell'italiano";

or take Serianni (Crusca 2013, 66) on the choice between the traditional correlative conjunction *sia ... sia* (*puoi studiare sia a casa sia in biblioteca*) and the innovative *sia ... che*, where the criterion is needed to avoid ambiguities:

> "In ogni modo, *sia ... che* è ormai diffusissimo, e può essere sconsigliato solo in periodi sintatticamente complessi, dove una parola così polifunzionale come *che* potrebbe ingenerare confusione".

Very rare are the cases in which the hints by the Crusca's experts are less than exhaustive, possibly leaving some unsolved curiosity. An example is the pronunciation and spelling of acronyms (Crusca 2013, 223–226). Here, a very complete and deep entry by Raffaella Setti perhaps would have been touched, alongside the interesting description of the pronunciation "all'inglese" of *Bci* 'Banca commerciale italiana', read [bisiˈaį], also the developing distinction between Rome and Florence in the pronunciation of acronyms composed by alphabetical letters, a relevant variable between two of the main geographical varieties of contemporary Italian, as Piero Fiorelli (in Camilli [3]1965, 149, note 233) already highlighted:

> "Altre parole che a Roma hanno l'iniziale sempre rafforzata, indipendentemente dal contesto, sono [...] tutti i nomi delle lettere dell'alfabeto che cominciano per consonante (es. *ci*, *cu*, *di*)".

True minutiae, as everyone can see, which confirm by contrast the high level of the volumes by Crusca, whose answers are

> "ispirate a ricognizioni puntuali ed esaurienti delle tendenze che emergono dagli usi linguistici effettivi, sono cioè attente alla norma nel corretto senso del termine (effettiva realizzazione, gradita o no che sia, delle ben più ricche potenzialità del sistema linguistico) piuttosto che a quel ritaglio forzato e restrittivo della norma teorica che è la norma di puristi e di molti autori di grammatiche scolastiche" (De Mauro 2014, note 104).

3.2.2 The grammar of the Istituto dell'Enciclopedia italiana

The Istituto dell'Enciclopedia italiana is an illustrious publishing house, founded by Giovanni Treccani in 1925. It has been renowned to the great public for publishing the greatest Italian encyclopedia of science, literature and arts since 1939, called

by antonomasia "la Treccani". The link between encyclopedic and lexicographic activity has characterized the whole history of the Istituto, resulting in reference works as the *Dizionario enciclopedico italiano* (1955–1961) or the *Lessico universale italiano* (1968–1981). Also, for what concerns lexicography in a strict sense, the Istituto dell'Enciclopedia italiana has published true cornerstones, for example the *Vocabolario della lingua italiana* (VOLIT, 1986–1994). The volumes we are considering (and the web consulting service in which the answers may be found, at <http://www.treccani.it/magazine/lingua_italiana>) are therefore part of a tradition of the highest level, as stated from the authors since the very *Presentazione* of the book (Grammatica Treccani 2012, XIII):

> "Prodotta dalla più prestigiosa istituzione lessicografica italiana, questa *Grammatica* è stata ideata e realizzata come un innovativo dizionario grammaticale. A differenza di una grammatica tradizionalmente intesa, infatti, è organizzata alfabeticamente per voci: pensata, dunque, per un tipo di fruizione occasionale e mirato, molto simile a quello di un dizionario".

The normative aim of the Grammatica Treccani is also explicitly claimed, alongside the goal of maintaining a balanced but non-neutral attitude, giving answers as clear-cut as possible accompanied by the respective motivation:

> "La gran parte delle voci intende rispondere direttamente alla domanda 'come si dice (o si scrive)?' e lo fa cercando di dare indicazioni chiare sull'uso linguistico migliore e sulle scelte da prendere di volta in volta. Lo sforzo è stato quello di mantenere un atteggiamento equilibrato, ma non neutrale. Pur nella consapevolezza della zona grigia che spesso si trova fra la norma e l'errore e sempre nel rispetto della varietà dei registri, un'opera del genere richiede – infatti – risposte il più possibile nette. Risposte, ovviamente motivate: non ci si può limitare a segnalare la soluzione o le soluzioni considerate preferibili: bisogna cercare di spiegare di volta in volta il perché di quelle scelte".

The entries are structured into four levels of increasing specificity: the "general" ones, devoted to wider topics, e.g. "pronouns"; the "theoretical" ones, in which more homogeneous subjects are treated in a systematic way, e.g. "personal pronouns"; the "simple" ones, entries of faster reference in which the main grammar doubts are solved, e.g. the variable *egli*/*lui* as subject pronouns; finally the raw entries, containing only cross-references to other ones, e.g. "*glielo*, *glieli* vedi *personali*, *pronomi*". Even from these few lines, the Grammatica Treccani displays various interesting convergences with the production that we have defined as "popular": for example, the problematic notion of "error" assumed *tout court* as an operative basis, or the perception of the dynamic variables that constitute the implicit linguistic norm as a "gray area" to be possibly delimited through the yes/no grid of the explicit norm. Indications of this convergence between academic and popular tools also emerge in other general components of the Grammatica Treccani. We will mention only a few, which seem to be of some importance to us.

To begin with, it is worth noting the relationships between the different levels of the entries, especially for what concerns the frequent inclusion of elementary

indications among the headwords. We already noted above that general spelling rules as the choice between, say, *abitazione* vs. *abitazzione are listed in any school grammar and common dictionary, so that including them in a specific tool like a grammar dictionary might extend its potential readership. However, it is difficult to imagine the luxurious and expensive Grammatica Treccani entering the library of a reader who persists in elementary doubts about spelling.

In this regard, it is also important to underline the difference between doubts on single forms and doubts about general rules. For example, in the Grammatica Treccani (²2015), the spelling rule of plurals as *ciliege* vs. *ciliegie*, *facce* vs. *faccie* etc. is stated in a heavily redundant way: a general entry "-*cia*, -*gia*, -*scia*, plurale dei nomi in", where the general rule is given:

> "Nei plurali dei sostantivi femminili terminanti con le sillabe -*cia* o -*gia* non accentate, la grafia segue di solito una regola pratica: si conserva la *i* quando la *c* e la *g* sono precedute da vocale: *acacia > acacie*, *ciliegia > ciliegie*; si elimina la *i* quando *c* e *g* sono precedute da consonante: *goccia > gocce, spiaggia > spiagge*";

a few dozen of specific entries where the following pattern is constantly repeated:

> "*Acacie* o *acace*? La grafia corretta del plurale di *acacia* è *acacie*. [example] Come in altri casi simili, in virtù del fatto che la *i* del gruppo -*cie* è superflua, nel senso che non solo non si pronuncia, ma non ha neanche la funzione di determinare la corretta pronuncia della lettera o dei gruppi di lettere precedenti, la grafia -*ce* tende a escludere o a confinare la grafia -*cie* negli usi popolari o scarsamente sorvegliati";

and a small group of exceptions, as *ciliege* or *province*, are treated separately. (The copy-and-paste procedure can possibly lead to oversights, such as when the explanation valid for the words ending in -*cia* is improperly extended to the entry "*frange* o *frangie*?"). A similar multiplicative pattern is also applied to other spelling doubts: *opposizione* or *opposizzione*? *democrazia* or *democrazzia*? *delizia* or *delizzia*? The first edition (2012) did not follow the same schema but merely gave the general rule and the singular exceptions. Consequently, authors seem to have progressively preferred an extensional rather than an intensional lexicographic model. That is, they prefer to increase the wordlist with many entries, rather than enrich the entries of historical and structural details all equal to one another: a feature that could indeed be found as well in several popular books.

A second point of convergence, itself a consequence of the above cited declaration of intents about non-neutrality and sharpness of the answers, is the frequent decision to solve any doubt, even when a not-so-neutral and not-so-clear-cut answer could not actually be justified. Look for example s. v. *media*:

> "La pronuncia corretta del sostantivo *media* (o *mass media*), con il quale si indicano i mezzi di informazione (giornali, televisione, internet), è *mèdia*, perché la parola deriva dal latino *mèdia* (plurale di *medium* 'mezzo'). Sconsigliabile, anche se molto frequente, è la pronuncia *mìdia*, derivata da quella inglese".

The structure of the argument can be found in several of the above treated popular books: cf., e.g., Novelli (2014, s. v. *Dal "medium" ai "media"*):

> "[...] molti altri parlanti e scriventi non tengono conto del fatto che è latina la parola arrivataci dall'inglese nel senso di 'mezzi di comunicazione e informazione' [...] La pronuncia? *Medium* e *media* così come sono scritti".

The argument and the resulting conclusions are arbitrary: as for etymology and word history, Italian *media, mass media* are of course English loanwords, not Latin-isms. As for frequency and register of use, the pronunciation [midja] is indeed widespread ("molto frequente") and sociolinguistically unmarked, so that the reason to tag it as "sconsigliabile" is not explicit. As for normative indications, several dictionaries record both pronunciations, e.g. Garzanti, GRADIT, Zingarelli, ss.vv.

Compare now how similar considerations are exposed (by Vera Gheno) in a detailed entry for the Crusca service (Crusca 2013, 230–232), with the due references to Italian and English vocabularies. Gheno finally reaches the following point:

> "Quale pronuncia è, dunque, la più corretta? I termini arrivano in italiano, sì, dal latino, ma attraverso la mediazione di altre lingue. La pronuncia 'all'inglese' è quindi più aderente alla lingua dalla quale i termini, con questi particolari significati, provengono in italiano [...]; d'altro canto, la matrice latina [...] è innegabile. Nessuna delle due pronunce, quindi, è definibile errata [...]. In conclusione, l'importante, forse, è essere coerenti: utilizzare o un tipo o l'altro di pronuncia [...], o anche scegliere quella più adatta al contesto (o a chi ci si rivolge), rimanendo sempre consapevoli della storia che tali termini hanno avuto".

We leave it to the readers to judge whether the clarity and brevity in the entry from the Grammatica Treccani is worth the loss in correctness and completeness of the information.

Finally, in two brief annotations, we will show that the two editions of the Grammatica Treccani are unfortunately not flawless. For example, the indications about which forms of articles are to be used with English loanword like *whisky* or *webmaster* are curiously divergent for definite and indefinite article and are quite far from real use:

> "[indefinite articles *un/uno*] Con le parole straniere che iniziano per *w*, l'articolo viene selezionato in base alla pronuncia: se la *w* viene pronunciata come *u* semiconsonante (come la *u* di *uovo*), l'articolo è *uno*: *uno whiskey* [sic], *uno webmaster*";

> "[definite article *il/lo*] Se la *w* viene pronunciata come *u* semiconsonante (come la *u* di *uovo*), l'articolo è *lo*, *gli*: *lo whisky*, *gli whisky*; ma dal momento che la *w* è percepita come consonante a pieno titolo, è molto frequente anche l'uso di *il*, *i* davanti a *w* semiconsonantica: *il whisky*, *i whisky*".

The discrepancy has no actual reflexes in language use, and reference grammars and dictionaries consistently give a different indication:

> "*Il* è molto frequente anche nel primo caso [scil. con <u> = [w]], invece della forma elisa *l'* che ci aspetteremmo: 'il week-end' [...] 'i wargames'. [...] Con l'indeterminativo si ha la normale forma apocopata: *un whisky, un western*" (Serianni 1988, § IV.8).

Moving to morphosyntax, let us see how the *vexata quaestio* of the oblique pronoun *te* used with subject function (as *tu*) is dealt with, s. v. *tu* o *te?*:

> "Il pronome personale *tu* si usa sempre con funzione di soggetto [...] In certi casi può essere usato con questa funzione anche il pronome obliquo *te* [...] – con un participio assoluto: *senti di aver deluso tutti, te compresa*".

The choice to provide at least one concrete example (and not only *exempla ficta*) for each entry is very good, but it implies the need for control: the pronoun *te* in the above cited sentence is a standard object and not a non-standard subject (as it would be e.g. in a sentence like *mi avete deluso tutti, te compresa*).

Compared to Crusca's volumes and consulting services, the Grammatica Treccani is characterized by the will to keep the entries short and to assume the responsibility for a clear indication whenever it is possible. We have tried to show that this assumption of responsibility, although legitimate, is not always justified and well founded on the scientific level. It remains nonetheless a useful and complete bibliographic tool.

4 Conclusion

All things considered, the Italian dictionaries of language difficulties, either the "popular" or the more academic ones, share an averagely good quality – provided of course that the authors are professional linguists, a condition not always met in contemporary production. At a basic level, these instruments are perfectly suited as tools for rapid consultation and solutions to linguistic and grammatical doubts. More generally, however, they are affected by the excessive weight they assign to the "constancy of tradition" principle, which is sometimes reflected in a prescriptive rather than descriptive attitude. This results in a relatively low relevance of this type of dictionaries within the domain of Italian standardization processes, especially regarding the "modernization" of today language. In this regard, the dictionaries of language difficulties display only a limited role in disseminating linguistic and grammatical awareness to non-specialist readers, or more generally in promoting policies of acceptance of language modernization.

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10 French

Bernhard Pöll
10.1 Orthography and Orthoepy

Abstract: Following an overview of language cultivation from Old French to the 19th century in regard to spelling and pronunciation, this article describes the present state of French orthographic and orthoepic codification. Since French remains monocentric with respect to codified spelling and pronunciation norms, works published in French-speaking Europe, mainly in France, play a major role.

Keywords: French, orthography, spelling, orthoepy, pronunciation, standardization, modernization, *français de référence*, France, Quebec

1 Introduction

The emergence of linguistic norms in a language community is a process by which a hierarchy is established with respect to the language resources speakers have at their disposal. Following the French research tradition, three types of norms can be distinguished (cf. Moreau 1997): "objective norms" (*normes objectives*), that is, a regular practice when speakers communicate with each other, "subjective" or "evaluative norms" (*normes subjectives/évaluatives*), a term that refers to what speakers believe to be exemplary, prestigious, correct and/or beautiful in their language, and "prescriptive norms" (*normes prescriptives*), meaning a set of linguistic structures, words, forms etc. presented by an authority as the (only) correct ones. In general, prescriptive norms reflect to a great extent the objective and subjective norms of a part of the speech community. In the case of present-day French, educated speakers coming from the northern part of France, especially Paris and the Île-de-France region, have traditionally represented the model for prescriptive norms. Establishing a set of prescriptions the way it has been done in the French-speaking world leads to at least three types of tensions. First, there is a wide gap between an elitist codification and the actual usage of the majority. Second, the model speakers' usage may diverge form the normative codex as well, and third, in a huge language community as is the French-speaking world, it is not unlikely that the traditional Paris-based, monocentric codification is questioned at the "periphery". All three scenarios have actually been observed and will be taken into account to some extent in this article when presenting and analyzing prescriptive works focusing on orthoepy and orthography.

The article is structured as follows: section 2 gives a concise overview of French language cultivation since the Middle Ages (with a special focus on orthography and orthoepy). Section 3 analyzes contemporary reference instruments for orthography and orthoepy. In a subsection, the problems of orthoepic codification outside France (essentially in Quebec) are also dealt with. Section 4 will provide a summary.

2 Orthography and orthoepy from Old to Modern French

2.1 The Old and Middle French period

French, as a historical language, emancipated from Vulgar Latin (or Proto-Romance) in the 9th century; the year 813, when the Council of Tours decided that priests should use the "rustica(m) Romana(m) lingua(m)" (Werminghoff 1906, 288) for their sermons, is standardly given the *terminus post quem*. Rather than representing a clearly delimitable and homogeneous stage of the language, *Old French* (approx. 800–1350) is an umbrella term for a bundle of typologically related dialects spoken in the Northern parts of the Galloromania.

Many of these dialects developed their own spelling conventions, meaning that more or less stable "rules" for writing the respective dialect arose. Termed *scriptae*, these writing systems of the early ages (11th–13th century) combined phonographic with etymological or quasi-etymological tendencies (cf. Beinke/Rogge 1990, 474). In the following centuries, however, fundamental changes occurred: not only did the central dialect (called *francien* by 19th-century philologists) and its scripta increasingly influence the other dialects/scriptae, but more and more people (clerks, administrative and juridical personnel) used what was then (Middle) French as a written language. As a result, variation increased considerably between the 13th and the 15th century and the tendency towards etymological spellings became more intense (cf. Lodge 1997, 219), with etymological or pseudo-etymological consonants being inserted in numerous words (for instance *sepmaine* 'semaine' < Lat. SEPTIMĀNA; *debte* 'dette' < VLat. F. sg. DEBITA < CLat. N. pl. DĒBITUM; *allaicter* < Lat. ALLACTĀRE; but: *descripre* 'décrire' < Lat. DESCRIBERE; *dompter* < Lat. DOMITĀRE; *sçavoir* < VLat. SAPĒRE < CLat. SAPĔRE, the word was incorrectly interpreted as stemming from Lat. SCIRE; examples from Catach 1995). At the end of the 15th century, French spelling was highly complicated and "alourdie de lettres non prononcées" (Clerico 1999, 195).

As far as orthoepy is concerned, unfortunately we do not know anything about the prestigious way of pronouncing French during the time span of interest. Nonetheless, several testimonies from poets of the 12th and 13th century suggest that "France" (referring exclusively to the Île-de-France region at that time) and Paris were the *loci* of the best French: in 1180, Conon de Béthune, a *trouvère* from Artois, complains about being criticized by the king (Philippe II) and his mother (Adèle de

Champagne) for his language; Guernes de Pont Sainte-Maxence, the author of a biography of Thomas Beckett (ca. 1175), stated that his language was good because he was born in France, and Jean de Meung (ca. 1240–1305, second author of the *Roman de la Rose*, approximately 1275–1280) apologized for his unrefined and rude language, alleging precisely that he was *not* born in France. As convincing as these statements may seem at first sight, they stand in marked contrast to the fact that the actual influence of the spelling conventions prevailing in the Île-de-France region – the central *scripta* – became noticeable at best from the end of the 13th century onwards (cf. Glessgen 2017, who discusses this and related issues in detail).

2.2 The 16th century

The 16th century can properly be termed "century of orthography", since regulating the so-called "orthographe ancienne"[1] was one of the major concerns at a period when French was expanded in both form and function. Reaching the status of an official language in the judicial domain in 1539, according to the *Ordonnance de Villers-Cotterêts* (Académie 1983), it began to dispute more and more domains of usage previously held by Latin. The possibility of large-scale production of books due to the invention of the printing press fostered reflection about language issues and raised the question of variation and how to deal with it. As a matter of fact, numerous proposals were made to reform French orthography. Basically, grammarians and philologists of that time were divided into two camps: on the one hand were those who advocated more or less vigorously for a phonographic orthography, that is, spelling based on actual pronunciation, for instance Louis Meigret (ca. 1500–after 1558), Jacques Peletier du Mans (1517–1582) ou Pierre de la Ramée (1515–1572), on the other hand, *literati* and scholars such as Geoffroy Tory (1480–1533), Clément Marot (1496–1544) or Jacques Dubois (1478–1555) gravitated towards more moderate solutions, nevertheless paving the way for important innovations, for example the distinction between <i>/<j> and <u>/<v> as well as the use of diacritics and accents. In any case, a coherent solution was not reached, and eventually, it was the "etymologist" current that prevailed. The position adopted and the activities realized by Robert Estienne (1503–1559), Royal printer and founding father of French lexicography, were to a large extent responsible for this evolution (cf. Clerico 1999, 203; for a more profound analysis of the debates on orthography in the 16th century see Catach 1968).

There are mainly three factors that blocked a substantial reform of French spelling according to phonographic principles: First, the proposals differed considerably from author to author; second, printers adopted a conservative attitude (cf. Lodge 1997, 219) towards proposals that must have seemed bold to them, and lastly, stan-

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1 The term was commonly used as early as the 16th century, for instance by Montaigne (cf. Catach 1968, 287; 1995, IX; 2001).

dardizing orthography based on phonetic realization required a widely accepted standard of pronunciation. Although it was clear for all grammarians that "le bon français" was spoken in Paris and its region (including Touraine), there were no fixed norms for pronouncing French (for an in-depth analysis of the relationship between 16th-century pronunciation and the proposals for reforming orthography, cf. Morin 2011).

2.3 The 17th and 18th centuries

Whereas the grammarians of the 16th century were not unanimous as to which social group used the best French – apart from the educated people in general, the *Cour* (the king and his entourage), as well as the *Palais* and the *Parlement* (the jurists), were possible candidates. The 17th century was marked by the final decision as to the *social locus* of Standard French. A growing tendency towards political and cultural centralization was accompanied by the foundation of a powerful institution whose role was to establish clear rules and to make French pure so that it could serve as a means for treating the arts and sciences: the Académie française (1635). Its first director, Claude Favre de Vaugelas (1585–1650) provided the doctrinal principles for language cultivation in the 17th century in his *Remarques sur la langue françoise* (2009 [1647]). According to his definition, the "bon usage" of the French language is represented first and foremost by the elite inside the Royal court and secondly by the usage of the best contemporary authors. In the case of differences between these instances, it should be up to experts (like himself ...) to decide (cf. Vaugelas 2009, 68–70).

Interestingly, the first edition of the Academy's dictionary took 59 years to be published. As far as spelling is concerned, it did not bring forth major changes in regards to the shape of a system based on historical and etymological considerations, although an orientation towards a more phonetic orthography would have been possible in the late 17th century.[2] During the 18th century, two tendencies can be observed (cf. Seguin 1999, 338), especially in the 3rd edition (1740) of the Academy's dictionary. On the one hand, there was a powerful conservativism impeding, for instance, the complete abolition of double consonants (which were considered to be superfluous by independent lexicographers and even by members of the Academy with words like *allaiter* or *accommoder*). On the other hand, there was a shift towards the elimination of (pseudo-)etymological consonants (e.g. *sçavoir → savoir* etc.).

The 18th century also saw profound changes regarding Vaugelas' conception of "bon usage": not only was its inherently dynamic component eliminated in that the authors of the 17th century were turned into the sacrosanct model of good French, but the hierarchy was inverted as well, making the literary language of the 17th (and

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2 Regarding orthographic codification in the 17th century and its long-time consequences for modern French orthography cf. Biedermann-Pasques (1992).

later the 18th) century the exclusive gauge of how to use the language properly. By the end of the 18th century, mastery of the orthography became an important value, a real sign of distinction (and it remains so to this day). One of the consequences was that the spoken language was partly remodeled on the basis of its written form. This explains for instance why the standard pronunciation of *il* is [il], and not [i], or that *table* is now pronounced [tablə] in Standard French and not [tab] as it was at the beginning of the 18th century (cf. Gadet 1989, 101). Finally, the social basis changed as well, with philosophers, writers and intellectuals of bourgeois extraction replacing the high nobility in their role as model users of the French language.

2.4 The 19th century and the first half of the 20th century

The transition on the political level due to the French Revolution, from an absolute monarchy to a republic, was not accompanied by parallel or analogous changes in the field of normativity in language, at least not as far as the ideology of prescriptivism is concerned. Saint-Gérand states for the 19th century that "[l]a correctivité du langage, exclusivement fondée […] sur la révération des modèles littéraires, s'est rapidement imposée comme l'objectif ultime de la scolarisation et de la vulgarisation de la langue française" (Saint-Gérand 1999, 418).

Spreading the French language and pushing the numerous *patois* and other languages spoken on French territory into the background had become a major concern for the revolutionists. Although efforts to build up a functioning school system were not really successful before Jules Ferry's reforms (1881/1882) – who created a free, obligatory and laicist school system "pour tous les petits Français" –, a growing part of the population came into contact with French more frequently as a means of communication during the 19th century. There must have been a vast gulf separating the highly complex literary norm with its unjustifiable complexities and intricacies and the actual usage of the average speaker, especially in the most remote parts of the country. This was the case not only for the grammar, but also for spelling as well as for pronunciation. It comes as no surprise that the 19th century is particularly rich in grammar books, dictionaries and also guidelines for correct pronunciation, for instance Jean-Baptiste Reynier's *Correction raisonnée des fautes de langage et de prononciation qui se commettent au sein même de la bonne société dans la Provence et quelques autres provinces du midi* (1829), the *Traité de prononciation ou Nouvelle prosodie française* (1836) by Sophie Dupuis or Adrien Féline's *Dictionnaire de la prononciation de la langue française* (1851).

As far as spelling is concerned, the 6th edition of the Academy's dictionary (1835) was an important milestone: First, it replaced <oi> in words such as *Anglois, (il) feroit* ou *apparoître* etc. by <ai>. The pronunciation of <oi> had always been a controversial issue, and the Academy confirmed the decay of [wɛ], which had been part of the "bon usage" according to Vaugelas (Vaugelas 2009, 277–280; *Remarques* 98–101). The disappearance of the Ancien Régime marked the end of [wɛ] instead

of [ɛ] (or [wa], in words like *roi* ou *soit*) because it had lost all of its prestige. Second, with the smaller changes that previous editions of the dictionary had introduced – for instance the replacement of Greek-style spellings (*hemorrhagie* → *hémorragie*; *phantôme* → *fantôme*, among others; 1762 edition) – and abstracting away from minor amendments in the course of the 19th and 20th century, the 1835 edition of the Academy's dictionary represents the French orthography as it was used at least until the end of the 20th century. None of the numerous proposals for reforming the French spelling system in the 19th century were adopted, and the attempts made between the end of the 19th century and the 1960s met the same fate, the only exception being so-called *Tolérances*. These regulations emanating from the Ministry of Education allowed for teachers not to penalize pupils in particularly tricky cases. Still, they are largely unknown and have never actually been applied (cf. Blanche-Benveniste 2003, 354, as well as Keller 1999 for an overview of failed reforms in the 20th century).

3 Reference instruments for orthography and orthoepy today

3.1 Orthography

3.1.1 Orthographic codification today

In the French-speaking world, and in France in particular, achieving a full command of proper spelling (*orthographe lexicale*) and spelling in relation to morphology/grammar (*orthographe grammaticale*) is an important value in society and a means of distinction. Although public competitions such as the "Championnat de France d'orthographe"/"Championnat du monde d'orthographe" (France, 1985–2005), the "Dictée des Amériques" (Quebec, 1994–2009) or the "Championnats d'orthographe de Belgique" (annually) seem to have lost some popularity in recent years, they are a clear sign of how important the mastery of spelling in the French-speaking world is. Furthermore, a huge supply of manuals, guides or handbooks of different sizes and scopes on the book market proves that speakers/writers feel the necessity to be specially equipped with reference tools and didactic material for individual training.[3]

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3 Apart from printed resources, there is also a lot to be found on the Internet, for instance *Orthonet* (run by the *Conseil International de la langue française*), the correction service by Larousse (*Correcteur Larousse*) or *Correcteur Reverso*, to mention but a few. (The respective Internet addresses can be found in the References section.)

Despite the fact that the Académie française holds the official mandate to give "des règles certaines à notre langue" (art. 24 of its regulations; cf. Académie française), the demand for reference works is traditionally satisfied by several well-established private publishing houses, for instance Hachette, Larousse and Le Robert. Their catalogues comprise not only authoritative monolingual dictionaries, which contribute to the codification of orthography, but also specific titles for those interested in improving their spelling skills. Widely used reference books of those kinds include the classic *Dictionnaire d'orthographe et d'expression écrite* (1993, several reeditions since then) by André Jouette or the smaller-scaled *Vérifiez votre orthographe* (2016), both published by Le Robert, as well as *Orthographe* of the "Les indispensables Larousse" collection. In addition, the Belgian publishing house De-Boeck/Duculot serves this sector of the market, with a recent *Manuel d'orthographe* (³2014) by Jean-Jacques Didier and Michel Seron. The name of this publishing company is also linked to a grammar book of paramount importance in the French-speaking world, which also has a comprehensive chapter dedicated to orthography: *Le bon usage* (¹⁶2016) by Maurice Grevisse and André Goosse.

3.1.2 The *Rectifications de l'orthographe de 1990* and their late impact

As pointed out in section 2.4, none of the reform proposals put forward in the 19th and the first half of the 20th century were implemented. The late 20th century, however, saw an official reform that was endorsed by the relevant authorities, in particular the Académie française and the Conseil international de la langue française. Despite institutional backing, the *Rectifications de l'orthographe de 1990* did not have the expected impact. The French Ministry of Education made them an obligatory reference in several steps between 2007 and 2015 (cf. Ministère 2007; 2008; 2015) and their delayed implementation is not only a prime example of the clash between subjective norms and modifications concerning prescriptive norms but also of how not to deal publicly with issues of language cultivation or language politics (cf. Pöll 2005, 285s.). In 1989, then French Prime Minister Michel Rocard created the Conseil supérieur de la langue française and encouraged this new institution to deliver its opinion on some of the tricky aspects of French spelling:

(1) use of the hyphen: *micro-ordinateur* vs. *microordinateur*;
(2) plural of compounds: *un/des sèche-cheveux* vs. *un sèche-cheveu/des sèche-cheveux*;
(3) use of accent circonflexe (when it has no discriminatory function): *paraître* vs. *paraitre*;
(4) spelling anomalies inside word families: *soufflé* 'blown' – *boursouflé* 'bloated, puffy' (*bour-* is an unproductive intensifying prefix);
(5) past participle agreement with reflexive verbs: *elle s'est laissée aller* (traditional rule: gender/number agreement between subject and participle if the matrix subject is also the logical subject of the infinitive) – *elle s'est laissé aller*).

Only several months later, a committee of experts proposed changes and simplifications that were unanimously accepted by the Académie française, and the innova-

tions in (1) through (5) – as well as some others – were all included.[4] Presented to the public in June 1990 and published in December 1990 in the State Gazette (*Journal officiel*; cf. *Rectifications 1990*), the proposal provoked a highly aggressive and derisive media campaign, referred to as "la guerre du nénufar" ("water lily war"). As a matter of fact, *nénufar* (traditional spelling: *nénuphar*) was one out of a handful of words that were cited over and over again for the purpose of illustrating to what extent this reform disfigured the language. Apart from such irrational criticism – on average no more than one or two words per page would be concerned –, it is noteworthy that there was a complete misunderstanding regarding the nature of this reform. No obligation whatsoever was intended by its proponents to apply the reform, but the fact that it was published in the State Gazette created the erroneous impression that the *Rectifications* were compulsory and had legal force.

Interestingly, whereas in France this media campaign seemed to have put the nail in the coffin of the *Rectifications*, outside the "Hexagone", the reform was received much better and benefitted from institutional support from very early on, especially in Belgium. In French-speaking Switzerland, the reform was also seen as legitimate, and in Quebec the Office québécois de la langue française stated in 2004 that neither the traditional nor the amended spellings should be considered wrong (cf. Pöll 2005, 288 and Pöll 2017 for further references).

It is most likely this favorable attitude towards the *Rectifications*, as well as the growing tendency of dictionaries and other reference works to integrate at least part of them, that influenced France to breathe new life into the *Rectifications*. As a matter of fact, one of the most popular dictionaries in France, the *Petit Robert*, had integrated 66% of them by 2009, and its counterpart from the Larousse publishing company, the *Petit Larousse illustré* took full account of them in 2012 (cf. BDL). Also, the common spell-checking software integrates the amended spellings to a large extent nowadays.

3.2 Orthoepy

Whereas the orthographic system has not undergone substantial changes since 1835, the sound system of Modern French has remained very stable for an even longer period, basically since around 1600. Changes have mainly affected phonetics/pronunciation and, of course, the way pronunciations are valued by the speech community. The transition from [wɛ]/[ɛ] to [wa]/[ɛ] (as the new prestigious variants) that occurred between the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century has already been mentioned. Another important change was the abandonment of

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4 We must not hide that the innovation in (2) is highly problematic from a morphologist's point of view since it suggests that the plural morpheme of a constituent inside an exocentric compound is the plural morpheme of the compound as a whole.

l mouillé, that is, the pronunciation of <ll> as a palatal fricative and not as [ʎ]. Although subject to a lot of variation since the 16th century, it was still given as the correct pronunciation in reference works of the 19th century, including in Littré's dictionary. However, at the beginning of the 20th century, the palatal lateral could no long be considered standard. On the other hand, some pronunciations have been surprisingly stable, e.g. regarding the phoneme /r/, which was already pronounced as a uvular sound in the late 17th century at the Parisian court; this pronunciation spread all over France (cf. Brunot/Bruneau ³1949, 52), contributing to the provincial flavour that *r roulé* (= [r]) is associated with nowadays.

Contrary to orthographic norms, which need not and usually do not make reference to actual usage, orthoepic rules are to a high degree descriptions of the way a particular group of people pronounces the language. In other words, reference works for orthoepy are usage-based. Those who propose a description of correct pronunciation are obliged to set diastratic and diaphasic parameters and to take into account different age groups as well. Two other factors complicate matters: the correct or situationally acceptable pronunciation is not only a social construct (i.e. the outcome of arrangements at the societal level), but it is also negotiated *ad hoc* between the interlocutors. Unless the description aims at a variety confined to special purposes such as stage language with a fossilized pronunciation, all of this makes it difficult to draw a clear distinction between standard and non-standard/ colloquial, prestigious and stigmatized, monitored and casual etc. Hence, authors of treatises or dictionaries of pronunciation have to face the fact that "la norme de référence de l'oral reste (...) floue, composite et très difficile à cerner" (Laks 2002, 7).

As pointed out in the introduction section, educated speakers from the northern parts of France, in particular Paris and its region, have traditionally been considered to be the group of speakers that best incarnates spoken Standard French. Many works on correct pronunciation published in the 20th century in France or Belgium allude to it in some way or another, some emphasizing that geographical mobility (cf. Martinet/Walter 1973; cf. also next section) or professions that imply the public use of speech (Malécot 1977) play an important role (cf. Lyche 2010, 144).

In the next section we will give an overview of some of the most important and widely used works on French orthoepy published in the 20th century. We will examine to what extent they take into account that "français de référence" (a term competing more and more with "français standard" in the scholarly literature since the late 1990s) in its spoken form has frayed edges.[5] As a matter of fact, it is not only subject to interpersonal variation (e.g. professional speakers vs. non-professional speakers who nevertheless speak publicly), but consists of different "diachronic lay-

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5 Works oriented mainly towards declamatory art/recitation ("diction") or stage speech such as Le Roy (1912, latest reedition in 2016), Roty/Rigot (⁷1969 [1949]), Peyrollaz/Bara de Tovar (1954) or Kammans (³1970 [1962]) will not be considered since they focus on a variety that is conservative by nature.

ers". The latter point refers to the fact that some speakers of the standard variant are more conservative, while others have adopted phonetic innovations. For instance, the replacement of [œ̃] by [ɛ̃] (for instance *brun vs.*/= *brin*),[6] the neutralisation of /a/ and /ɑ/ (e.g. *patte vs.*/= *pâte*), the tendency towards a closed or middle *e* sound in open syllables (*je chanterais* pronounced exactly like *je chanterai*), phenomena of vowel harmony (for example *aujourd'hui*: [oʒuʁdɥi] → [oʒoʁdɥi]) or the forward shift of [o] and [ɔ] (for example, *mobilisation* [mɔbilizasjõ] → [mœbilizasjõ]) are good examples of innovations that are no more felt to be colloquial, to belong to "français ordinaire" (in the sense of Gadet 1989) or to be otherwise sociolinguistically marked (cf. Lyche 2010, 150s.; Detey/Le Gac 2010, 176).

3.2.1 Orthoepic codification in France/French-speaking Europe

Orthoepic codification in the 20th century is partly concomitant with the advent of phonetics as a linguistic discipline. In some cases, this allows for greater accuracy due to the use of phonetic alphabets like IPA/API or the Rousselot-Gilliéron system and similar ones.

Although it is precise in its descriptions, one of the most influential works on Standard French pronunciation, Philippe Martinon's *Comment on prononce le français* (1913, several reeditions in the following decades) refrains from using a phonetic alphabet on the grounds that this could repel readers. His model is of course the pronunciation of Paris, "mais à condition qu'elle ne soit pas *exclusivement* parisienne" (Martinon 1943, VII; emphasis in the original). Focusing on the "bonne société parisienne" as the social *locus* of the model pronunciation of French, his programme is "constater simplement ce qui est" (Martinon 1943, IX). In reality, however, the "Vaugelas-style", subjective valuation he offers is sometimes a complex casuistry, for instance, in regard to the neutralization of /e/ and /ɛ/ in open final syllables: a typical trait of Paris in some cases, in others simply incorrect, but admissible in word pairs like *aimerai/aimerais*.

Coeval with Martinon's work was Maurice Grammont's *Traité pratique de prononciation française* (1914, several reeditions/reprints until at least 1972, facsimile of the 9th edition from 1938 published in 1984). His descriptions are also based on "la bonne société parisienne", whose representatives are the "vieilles familles bourgeoises" (Grammont 1966, 1); the target readers are non-natives as well as "provinciaux". The Rousselot-Gilliéron system is not used throughout, and this is done on purpose, for the same reasons as in Martinon. On the whole, Grammont is slightly more puristic than the former. For example, the possible phonetic identity of the

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6 Our concern being pronunciation, we use mainly phonetic transcriptions, although this phenomenon (as well as other changes) affects of course the phonological system of French.

future and the conditional endings (*aimerai* = *aimerais*) are not part of his description of the distribution of open and closed *e*.

The *Traité de prononciation française* (²1959 [1956]) by Pierre Fouché is probably the most widely known work on Standard French pronunciation, both among native speakers and L2 learners of French. The fact that its latest reprint dates back to 2000 shows that there is still a demand for this book. Fouché's *Traité* aims at describing the pronunciation that can be heard in a "conversation 'soignée' chez les Parisiens cultivés" (Fouché ²1959 [1956], 11), and the model speakers he has in mind were born at the end of the 19ᵗʰ century. His indications are rather conservative, since the distinction between *je parlerai* and *je parlerais* is still part of the "langue soignée" according to him, whereas the non-distinction characterizes the "langue courante" (Fouché ²1959 [1956], 50). The same conservative point of view is shown with respect to the opposition of /a/ vs. /ɑ/ as well as the existence of four nasal vowels.

Only a few years after Fouché's treatise, Léon Warnant's *Dictionnaire de la prononciation française* (1962; 4ᵗʰ edition 1987 under the title *Dictionnaire de la prononciation française dans sa norme actuelle*) was published at Duculot publishing house. This Belgian linguist states that his dictionary is "complet", in the sense that it takes into account not only "la prononciation en usage dans le parler de la conversation soignée et dans la lecture et le discours de ton soutenu", but also "la prononciation qui se pratique dans le parler de la conversation courante ainsi que dans la diction des vers réguliers" (Warnant 1962, VII). As a consequence, sometimes there are several transcriptions for one word, for instance in the case of *mairie*: the transcription as [mɛʀi] has the label "*sout.*" (= soutenu), whereas the variant [meʀi] is marked as "*cour.*" (= courant).[7] As for the replacement of [œ̃] by [ɛ̃], Warnant considers it to be "populaire" and "loin d'être générale dans les milieux parisiens cultivés" (Warnant 1962, IX). The distinction between /a/ and /ɑ/ is also maintained and recommended, as is the different pronunciation of *passé simple*/future and imperfect/conditional endings ([e] vs. [ɛ]). As far as the most recent edition (⁴1987) is concerned, Warnant refers in its introductory chapter to dictionaries of pronunciation published in the meantime (in particular Martinet/Walter 1973 and Lerond 1980, see below). However, the authors' fundamental positions did not change: although [ɛ̃] instead of [œ̃] is no longer considered to be "populaire", it is still presented as a variant that deviates from the "bon usage" (Warnant ⁴1987, LXXVIII). The same holds true for the other two features mentioned above. In the case of pronunciations with or without diaeresis (for example, *pallier*: [pali.e] vs.

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7 The former pronunciation preserves the base noun's vowel height, whereas the latter is to be explained by vowel harmony. Interestingly, vowel harmony is not generally accepted: the 4ᵗʰ edition contains a list where typical pronunciations of the Parisian region are opposed to the respective *bon usage* solutions. This list contains *aujourd'hui* [oʒɔʀdɥi] (vs. *bon usage* [oʒuʀdɥi]; with vowel laxing [u] → [ɔ] due to word-initial [o]).

[pal.je]), however, the author pays more attention to actual usage, but it is impossible to determine if this is really due to the influence of André Martinet and Henriette Walter's work, as Morin (2000, 124) suggests. The most recent reference work by Warnant, *Orthographe et prononciation en français* (²2006 [1996]), is basically driven by the same (conservative) spirit as Warnant (⁴1987).

Pierre Léon, who is responsible for a whole series of descriptive and normative works on French pronunciation, is the author of *Prononciation du français standard* (1966, ⁴1978; several reprints until 1992), specifically oriented towards non-native learners of French. His aim is to give "*la prononciation standard admise officiellement*",[8] but also to show "les latitudes auxquelles on peut s'attendre de la part des francophones, sans qu'il y ait faute linguistique" (Léon ⁴1978, 5; emphasis in the original). According to this aim, he does not condemn the neutralization of the two *e* sounds or the two *a* sounds, nor the growing tendency to replace [œ̃] by [ɛ̃] or phenomena of vowel harmony (for instance, *bêtise* pronounced as [betiz]), noting that it is avoided when it comes to declaiming verses (cf. Léon ⁴1978, 51). Léon et al. (2009), which is in some way a revised version of Léon (³1976), is in the same overall spirit. This holds true also for Léon/Léon (1997).

The *Dictionnaire de la prononciation française dans son usage réel* (1973) by André Martinet et Henriette Walter represents a milestone in the field of orthoepic codification for two reasons: First, it rejects explicitly the idea of one correct pronunciation ("l'unité de prononciation française était une vue de l'esprit", Martinet/Walter 1973, 9) and second, it illustrates this claim empirically on the basis of the pronunciations of 17 persons who correspond to the following profile: "[…] adultes des deux sexes, d'âge compris entre vingt et soixante-et-onze ans, choisis parmi les gens cultivées, de résidence normale parisienne, mais d'une assez grande mobilité géographique" (Martinet/Walter 1973, 9). According to the authors, such speakers would represent the ideal French pronunciation, which is completely neutral in the sense that nothing distracts the hearer from concentrating on the message. This conception leads to a dictionary where there are sometimes up to seven (slightly) different pronunciations for one word, and each pronunciation can be traced back to the respective (anonymized) informants. The range of variation at the level of standard pronunciation is thus much broader in Martinet/Walter's dictionary than in the works of their predecessors.

As far as efforts to take into account the actual variation of standard pronunciations are concerned, Alain Lerond's *Dictionnaire de la prononciation* (1980) is similar to Martinet/Walter (1973). However, his work also diverges in some crucial points from them: First, in his view, being Parisian is not a guarantee for representing "français neutre". This variety is of course based on the pronunciation of Paris, but there is also a Parisian accent which cannot be presented as a model. The neutral

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8 The use of "officiellement" suggests that there is a Standard pronunciation backed by a competent public authority. Note that this is not the case in the French-speaking world.

way of pronouncing French must therefore eliminate features such as [ɛ̃] for [œ̃], the opposition between /a/ and /ɑ/ as well as the forward shift of /o/ and /ɔ/. In his view these traits are part of an "accent parisien". Second, although his description of the present-day French pronunciation has some kind of empirical basis, the reader does not get to know where the data come from. For instance, when a pronunciation is labelled "parfois", the reader learns that the alternative (i.e. the more common) pronunciation is at least twice as frequent as the one following this label. It is not clear how the author gathered these data. Lerond further introduces other labels, for instance *sout.* (soutenu), *fam.* (familier) and *pop.* (populaire). The label *sout.* refers to pronunciations slightly above the "élocution naturelle" (Lerond 1980, XXI), whereas *fam.* is below this level. Interestingly, pronunciations with simplified, consonant clusters in final position such as [fnɛt] for *fenêtre* or [kapab] for *capable* also belong to this unmarked level according to Lerond (1980, XVIII), although he does not list them systematically.[9]

3.2.2 Orthoepic codification outside France: Quebec

Codification of orthoepy based on the cultivated Parisian usage of French has never really been overtly questioned in the other French-speaking European countries. On the contrary, authors from Belgium such as Léon Warnant (see above), Joseph Hanse or Albert Doppagne have contributed to the traditionally monocentric codification of French with their work.

In French-speaking Africa, including the Maghreb countries, Parisian/Hexagonal French enjoys an almost mystical prestige and any effort to set norms diverging from this idealized model would provoke fierce resistance among the local elites and those responsible for educational policy (cf. Pöll 2017).

It was only in Quebec that linguists tried to codify what they considered to be the province's "normes endogènes" of French. In the 1960s, Quebeckers became aware of the danger that the ever-increasing contact with English as the predominant language brought in its train. As a matter of fact, the disappearance of French was visible on the horizon. At the beginning, the official authorities responsible for language planning (Office de la langue française) aimed at raising the level of French by requiring that French used in official contexts be as close as possible to the one used in "Paris, [...] Genève, Bruxelles, Dakar et [...] dans toutes les grandes villes d'expression française" (Office 1965, 6). For pronunciation, this puristic attitude is mirrored for example in Jean-Denis Gendron's *Phonétique orthophonique à l'usage des Canadiens français* (1965; reprint of the 1968 edition in 1984), a manual

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9 For a more detailed comparison of Martinet/Walter (1973), Lerond (1980) and Warnant (⁴1987), see Remacle (1994), who confronts these authors' descriptions/prescriptions with his own data (recordings of French politicians and people working in the media).

intended to help readers completely avoid a Canadian French/Québécois accent by contrasting the *rules* of pronunciation of "français normal" with the *errors* of pronunciation characterizing "français canadien". A closer look at Gendron's vision of "français normal" reveals that it corresponds to the "older layer" of cultivated Parisian pronunciation (four nasal vowels, distinction between /a/ and /ɑ/). The 1970s and 1980s saw a shift in Quebec French language planning, with a focus being set on terminological normalization in various areas of economy, science and industry. The alignment of Quebec French with "français international" was supposed to happen by itself, and that it did to some degree. However, Quebec French has developed strong objective norms of its own, and they correspond – at least partly – to evaluative norms.[10] This situation made linguists and lexicographers in the 1970s and 1980s undertake projects with the aim of making the "normes endogènes" explicit. The outcome was two highly controversial dictionaries: *Dictionnaire du français plus* (DFP, 1988) and *Dictionnaire québécois d'aujourd'hui* (DQA, 1992).[11] Both were modified versions of French dictionaries and had phonetic transcriptions, so it would have been possible to give the pronunciations that were considered standard in Quebec. If one adopts a usage-based definition of standard, these would include the assibilation of [t] and [d] preceding high front vowels, the different pronunciation of nasal vowels (/ɛ̃/ → [ẽ], /ɑ̃/ → [ã]/[æ̃]) and certainly also vowel laxing (/i/ → [ɪ], /y/ → [ʏ], /u/ → [ʊ]). As a matter of fact, all these features can be heard regularly in cultivated Quebeckers when they speak publicly, that is to say, in formal situations. Hence, these features are most likely part of what the *Association québécoise des professeurs de français* termed "français standard d'ici" in 1977. But the authors of both the DFP (1988) and the DQA (1992) limited themselves to changes that are hardly noticeable and did not take into account those pronunciation features that make "français standard d'ici" really different from the traditional Parisian orthoepic norm. The same holds true for the most recent complete Quebec French dictionary: *Usito*. The authors of this dictionary, which is based on a huge corpus of texts and available exclusively on-line, refrained from giving typical Quebec pronunciations as well (cf. Dumas 2006 and Pöll 2017 for details).

In sum, although spoken standard Quebec French diverges in some significant points from standard European French, there is no reliable codification whatsoever of this variety.

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10 Nevertheless, the Parisian French pronunciation, as represented by the 1987 edition of Warnant's *Dictionnaire de la prononciation française*, was still proposed as a (highly theoretical) model for television announcers and news reporters in the mid-2000s (cf. Bigot/Papen 2013).

11 For a detailed analysis of these dictionaries cf. Pöll (2005, 194–205).

4 Conclusion

In regard to present-day codifications for spelling and pronunciation, French is still strikingly monocentric. French orthography – as used and described in contemporary dictionaries, manuals etc. – depends on the codifying work of the Académie française, in particular the 1835 edition of its dictionary, which fixed a spelling system traditionally oriented towards etymology. A reform proposed in 1990 by the relevant authorities in France and targeting some of the intricacies of French spelling was stifled by a public debate with sometimes cheap polemics. In the other French-speaking countries, however, these so-called *Rectifications de l'orthographe* were well received. Probably due to a growing tendency of codifying works to take them into account both in France and outside France, the French Ministry of Education eventually implemented this reform in a piecemeal fashion from around the mid-2000s onwards.

Codifying works for pronunciation have traditionally taken educated Parisian French as their basis. Since this variety is by no means homogeneous, authors of dictionaries or manuals of pronunciation are obliged to position themselves with respect to phonetic innovations and the evaluation of features that are felt by some speakers as belonging to colloquial French. As a consequence, treatises and dictionaries codifying orthoepy do not always agree on the standard pronunciation(s).

Although there are prestigious pronunciations in the Francophone world that diverge from the above-mentioned Paris-based orthoepic model, to date there is no codification for these ways of pronouncing French, not even in Quebec, where all criteria for a specific spoken standard are met according to a usage-based definition of the concept of *standard variety*.

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Sybille Große

10.2 Normative Grammars

Abstract: This article examines the characteristics and the development of normative grammars in France since the 17th century. These grammars generally took a diachronic perspective and were often very heterogeneous in terms of normative structure, although they did show a degree of continuity (e.g. in references to *bon usage*). This article also analyzes the construction of normative discourse and questions the authority of the Académie française on issues related to grammatical standardization. Furthermore, parallel texts on grammatical standardization, such as the *Remarques* or modern online platforms, are also included in the analysis.

Keywords: French, grammar, standardization, modernization, prescriptivism, descriptivism, standard variety, *bon usage*, normative discourse, pluricentricity

1 Introduction

French grammaticography has been relatively well described with encyclopedic thoroughness (Chevalier 1985; 1994; Swiggers 1990; 2015; Wilmet 1995; 2000; Bierbach/Pellat 2003; Piron 2008a ss.; Dufter 2010). In the past decades, groundbreaking monographs (Chervel 1977; Chevalier 1994; Dominicy 1984; Lieber 1986; Lauwers 2004; Fournier 2013; Ayres-Bennett/Seijido 2011) and anthologies (Huot 1991; Fournier/Raby 2012) have also been published on selected individual aspects of the field. Nevertheless, these publications have either omitted specific questions or only partially answered them. For example, what is the relationship between normative grammars and grammars that are defined as descriptive or prescriptive considering that the latter always involves the formulation of norms with an exclusive claim to validity? How can we describe the relationship between normative grammars and pedagogical or standard reference grammars? What role do different varieties of a language play in French normative grammars?

There have also been many theoretical debates on questions related to norms, normalization, and standardization. Within this context, I would like to name the works of Gloy (1998; 2004) on the definition of linguistic norms, Settekorn (1988) on the synoptic description of the development of norms in France, Koch (1988) on the historicity of prescriptive norms, Schmitt (2001) on the relativity of linguistic norms, Lebsanft (2002) on the French norm "dilemma" and Lodge (2006) and Winkelmann (1990) on the process of standardizing the French language.

On principle, normative grammars cannot be described without taking historiographic reflections into consideration. The composition of these grammars is based on, or rather is influenced by different requirements, for example, the need to inte-

grate or implement linguistic insights into grammar books, the development of a "national language" or didactic guidelines or premises prescribed for language acquisition (cf. Swiggers 1990).

The guiding idea behind the *grammatisation* (Auroux 1992) of a language, which always involves a reduction of existing linguistic material, also applies to the conception of normative grammars. The role of these grammars is to formulate the norms that are present in the linguistic awareness of individual speakers; norms, which were shaped by the sociocultural community and are represented in the use of language. Furthermore, normative grammars describe to what extent they consider these norms to be binding, which differs depending on the grammar and, in some cases, evaluate them. In other cases, the publication of normative grammars also establishes norms that are not otherwise present in language use (cf. Trudeau 1992, 74, and Armstrong/Mackenzie 2013 for the notion of rules as grammatical viruses).

The structure of the following article is oriented by the analysis of the tradition of normative discourse and normative liability represented in different kinds of grammatical normative texts; for instance, grammars and *remarques*. This article also investigates the relevance of normative grammars in the establishment of a standard variety in France.

1.1 Normative grammars and their diversity

1.1.1 Definition of 'normative grammar': Characteristics of normative grammars

The heterogeneity of existing normative grammars makes it difficult to establish a universally valid definition. For this reason, I will restrict my analysis to the presentation of individual defining parameters. First, normative grammars formulate linguistic norms (cf. Gloy 2004, 394), which are usually based on the language used in the media and in conceptually written language. As social norms, the linguistic norms presented in normative grammars, are subject to a degree of relativity (Aléong 1983; Schmitt 2001, 435s., 442), while at the same time being the result of decision-making, selection processes (Gloy 2004, 396) and generalizations (Perrenoud 1988).

Normative grammars present both linguistic (i.e. internal linguistic) and linguistic-communicative norms that teach readers about the linguistically correct or socially suitable (pragmatic orientation) use of language. The description of linguistic norms in normative grammars is traditionally based on documenting syntagmas of differing complexity as well as grammatical or partially lexical morphemes with morphological or syntactical implications and their possible combinations (cf. Soutet 2001, 903). In part, the existing normative grammars of the French language also include phonological and orthographical observations.

Instruction can have a strong prescriptive character in normative grammars, or it can be formulated as a less emphatic recommendation. Normative grammars,

therefore, cannot be reduced to the formulation of a binding supralocal standard that is presented in the form of instructions with comprehensive validity and connected with linguistic sanctions (Schmitt 2001, 435). Instead, they often have a more descriptive character. Furthermore, they do not have to include the standard variety and may stand out by emphasizing that speakers can choose between different linguistic structures. In addition, some normative grammars contain a well-founded theoretical or didactic reflection, whereas others have a stronger focus on the communicative aspect of language (cf. Swiggers 2015 on the typology of French grammars). For this reason, I will not reduce normative grammars to "grammatical instruction manuals", to use Mattheier's phrase (2000, 1086), which "describe normative language use and formulate it as linguistic prescription" (cf. the definition of normative grammar in the *Oxford Dictionary* and Besson/Lipp/Nussbaum 1988, 171). Nevertheless, todays normative grammars are by no means solely descriptive in nature, as was, for example, the detailed scientific grammar of Damourette and Pichon (1911–1940) (cf. Rey-Debove 2003, 8).

1.1.2 Normative grammars as instruments for establishing a standard variety

In France, *norm* and *standard* are often used synonymously in linguistic discourse by laymen and at times by linguists (cf. Müller 1975, 232; 1985, 281; Erfurt 2008, 14, 20). Consequently, a great deal of significance is attached to normative grammars as well as normative dictionaries for the codification of standard varieties. The process of standardization usually involves methods that rely on written language; in some cases on literary writing alone, on certain types of texts and the language use of a limited social group that is as diffusing as possible for the selection, description and assessment of individual linguistic structures in normative grammars (cf. Gadet 2007, 28, 114; Erfurt 2008, 30). The identification of a group of speakers is carried out by observation and, at times, by using corpus linguistics to establish a group of "model speakers/writers" (Takahashi 2008, 177). This method neutralizes the individual characteristics of model speakers or writers (e.g. areal allocation – cf. Armstrong/Mackenzie 2013, 21) and favors the use of language in specific communicative situations across different linguistic areas. These restrictions, and in some cases idealizations, are what make it possible to transform a variety into standard language (cf. Takahashi 2008, 173; Gadet 2007, 28). In recent years, a speaker's or a writer's social position has become less important for French than differences in register and diaphasic variation (Gadet 2007, 92, 148, 161; Armstrong/Mackenzie 2013, 221).

Linguistic variation is less likely to be accepted in the field of grammar than in lexicology and phonology. As a result, grammars often label linguistic variations as "errors" (Gadet 2007, 114). This circumstance is reflected in the publication of normative grammars and the normative discourse that influence them. Normative

grammars do not always mention whether the standard variety itself or other varieties were the basis for recording normative data, whereas the basis for normative observation has clearly been defined, e.g. by Hawkins/Towell (1996, XII–XIII).

When determining normative usage for a standard variety, both the terms *standard norm* and *prescriptive norm* are used. Both of these terms are similar in their theoretical modeling and allocation of prestige. However, they should not be equated with one another. In contrast to a "standard norm", a "prescriptive norm" is characterized by a certain degree of ahistoricity, which is attributed to it during the process of consolidation (Koch 1988, 341). Ahistoricity, however, should not be identified as retrospectiveness, which is a fundamental part of every formulation of norms.

Prescriptive descriptions of standard French in France were recorded relatively early on as an ideal form of the language (e.g. Lebsanft 2002, 64) (cf. 2.1). For centuries, however, the fact that they were only valid for a limited period of time was not adequately taken into account. Since the 18th century, language users have thus noted a "gulf" between the prescribed standard norm and everyday linguistic use (Baum 1983, 398). The dissociation of the standard norm from linguistic development and the corresponding ahistoric conceptualization of norms have resulted in norm conflicts and in discussions on the linguistic downfall of French fueled by linguistic purism (Rey-Debove 2003, 4; Koch 1988, 344; Gadet 2007, 30; Boyer 2013, 185). The majority of efforts to maintain and develop this standard norm, which is particularly deep-rooted and increasingly distant from reality, have created a dilemma in language planning (Lebsanft 2002, 64).

1.1.3 Normative grammars as instruments for spreading normative knowledge

Normative grammars only address facets or single components of the norms that exist in a linguistic diasystem. They primarily demonstrate clear differences in the illustration of morphology, syntax, phonology or orthography from a diachronic perspective. For example, 16th-century grammars primarily focused on morphological aspects and barely examined the formulation of syntactical rules beyond the problematic nature of the accord (cf. Piron 2008a).

Normative knowledge is generally a part of the meta- or epilinguistic knowledge of a speaker/writer (cf. Große 2009; 2017; Seiler 2012). This knowledge is gained through social as well as consensual communication in communities. In addition, speakers/writers acquire normative knowledge through observation or an explicit learning process and then apply it in linguistic interactions (cf. Rey-Debove 2003, 3; Schöni 1988, 24; Gadet 2007, 90). The acquisition of normative knowledge, and reflections on it, are significantly regulated or promoted by normative grammars, which describe numerous rules that are relevant for language use and interpret them as behavior patterns (cf. Koch 1988, 338). Norms usually manifest themselves in the epilinguistic discourses of the speakers (Seiler 2012, 111).

1.2 Normative grammars and normative discourse

The assertions made by normative grammars are supported by a normative discourse that is also evident in metanormative discourse (cf. Berrendonner 1982, 30; 1988, 43s.; Settekorn 1979). Discourses on normative language are heterogeneous. Often, they are understood on a continuum between description, generalization, evaluation and prescription and associated with the norm in explicit language (cf. Berrendonner 1982; Glatigny 1998; Große 2009; 2017; Seiler 2012, 114; Daryai-Hansen 2003, 213s.). In modern normative grammars, individual linguistic structures are usually evaluated without an emotional association. Normative discourse, with its different levels of content, is generally supported by the use of individual linguistic structures that are based on tradition. These structures, and normative judgments in particular, can establish themselves as formulas for standard use over a period of time (cf. Schmitt 2001, 455). I have established that the following five aspects of normative discourse are addressed in normative grammars:

1) Normative grammars are often explicitly used to identify the regular use of a grammatical construct and thus classify it as a "rule" (cf. Ayres-Bennett/Seijido 2011, 77). Taking the "24-hour rule" for differentiating the use of *passé simple* and *passé composé* as an example, Fournier (2004) illustrates the consequences that introducing a "rule" can have on grammaticography and the perception of linguistic development. In addition, the normative discourse of grammars classifies linguistic structures as "errors", "wrong", "incorrect", or as "ungrammatical" (for the concept of "grammaticality" cf. Armstrong/Mackenzie 2013, 29–35). In the majority of cases, the grammatical forms that are thus categorized are diatopic, diaphasic or diastratic variations of a language (Berrendonner 1988, 51–56); in other cases (e.g. learner's varieties), they are structures that contradict the corresponding linguistic system.

2) Normative discourse is often legitimized with references to relevant linguistic authorities (authors, languages academies, etc.) (cf. Berrendonner 1982, 39–42; Schmitt 2001, 460; Große 2017, 311–320; Lieber 1986 for Grevisse; Ayres-Bennett/Seijido 2011, 233–235, for the *remarqueurs* of the 17th century), although these forms of legitimation are declining in modern normative grammars. In addition, linguistic corpora and quantitative studies are now common sources for legitimation.

3) Moreover, rhetoric or logical categories, as well as some traditional or even aesthetic or moral qualifications, are important elements for supporting the argumentation of normative discourse. These qualifications are attributed to language in general or to texts, sentences or other statements. They are also considered requirements (cf. Berrendonner 1982, 38; Schmitt 2001, 459s.; Greive 2001), e.g. "clarity", "purity", "brevity", "*genie de la langue*", "naturalness" etc. Furthermore, categorizations such as *anglicisme*, *néologisme* (cf. Daryai-Hansen 2003, 235) or more judgmental categorizations, which clearly indicate deviations from the standard, such as *vulgarisme*, *barbarisme* or *solécisme* (cf. Ayres-Bennett/Seijido 2011, 77), are used as points of reference.

4) Normative discourse is frequently enriched by expressions of frequency that are generally unspecific and often adverbial, such as *en général*, (*presque*) *toujours*, *rarement*. These expressions can barely be quantitatively differentiated. The authors of normative grammars tend to base these classifications on their own intuitive linguistic observation (Willems 1986, 59; Schmitt 2001, 442s.; Funk 2017, 108–111).

5) The choice of verbs (*il faut*, *devoir*, *éviter*, *observer*, *remarquer*, *recommander*, etc.) and their tense and mood (imperative, conditional, future) as well as different forms of negation, can give normative discourse a clear direction toward a more descriptive or prescriptive focus (cf. Berrendonner 1982, 23; Ayres-Bennett/Seijido 2011, 77; Daryai-Hansen 2003, 243–247).

Individual prototypical structures in French normative discourse, such as *ne dites pas* or *bon usage*, have gained such a degree of relevance over time that speakers allow the existence of these formulaic structures in normative discourse to greatly influence their concept of the norm.

2 Normative traditions and French normative grammars

2.1 The guidelines of *bon usage*

In the 17th century, the "Golden Age" of standardization, the concept of *bon usage* (good usage), which was introduced by the *académicien* Claude Favre de Vaugelas, evolved into a point of reference for normative evaluation (cf. Trudeau 1992 for the conceptual basis of the term). Vaugelas defined the social dimension of *bon usage* in two ways: first, as the manner of speaking for a select few of the royal court, and second, as the language of contemporary writers. However, only "la plus saine partie", i.e. the cultivated speakers or authors, were taken into consideration (Vaugelas 1647, *préface*; cf. Marzys 1998, 42; Schöni 1988, 27; Wolf 1983). In this fashion, Vaugelas quickly restricted *bon usage* to include only a relatively small community of speakers, or a "sociolect of the elite" (Müller 1975, 235; Baum 1983, 371; Trudeau 1992, 170), and thus distanced it from general language use (*usage commun*) (Schmitt 2001, 456; Müller 1975, 33). Consequently, *bon usage* is often understood as a prescriptive norm in normative evaluations (Polzin-Haumann 2003, 99) and developed into a concept that was labeled "*ne varietur* concept" (Schmitt 2001, 456; Schöni 1988, 29) over the following centuries. In contrast to Arnauld/Lancelot's concept of grammar in the *Grammaire generale et raisonnée* (1676 [1660]), *bon usage* does not always follow "reason" (*raison*) (Ayres-Bennett/Seijido 2011, 72s.). Arnault/Lancelot, who were familiar with Vaugelas, oriented their concept of norm to a usage that is based more on logical thinking (*pensée*) (Ludwig/Schwarze 2012, 103; Piron 2008b).

In the 19th and 20th century, the concept of *bon usage* gradually changed, taking the language of good writers as its exclusive social point of reference. This orientation reached its height in Grevisse's grammatical concept of *bon usage* (Wilmet 1995, 965; Lieber 1986, 25; Müller 1975, 30, 242). Associating grammatical normative observations with the authority of *bon usage* was scarcely questioned until the second half of the 20th century, and therefore it continued to be perpetuated (cf. Lebsanft 2002, 65; Schöni 1988, 40).

Only since the 1970s have various attempts at democratization, which took place outside of the Académie française, resulted in a clear departure from Vaugelas' ideal of the norm (Baum 1983, 396; Lieber 1986, 68). In normative grammars themselves, the term *bon usage* is still used today, although not always in the same sense (Grevisse/Goosse [16]2016) and is sometimes used to refer to "standard" (Trudeau 1992, 199). However, the criteria for evaluation of this *bon usage* generally remain elusive (Rey-Debove 2003, 8).

2.2 *Remarques* and *chroniques de langue* as a forum for discussing grammatical norms

In his writing, Vaugelas avoids using the conceptual framework of a grammar (Ayres-Bennett 2015, 178) and chooses instead short *remarques* for his normative observations, which deal with more than just grammar or syntax and primarily discuss lexis. He published 549 of these *remarques* in a loose sequence without any recognizable logical structure (cf. Ayres-Bennett/Seijido 2011, 42–54). Vaugelas' *Remarques* are undoubtedly normative in nature (cf. Schöni 1988, 25, 39). Although he did not deny the existence of linguistic variations in usage, he did demand their explicit identification in the written standard, e.g. with markers such as *dit-il* (Ayres-Bennett 2015, 179). In a sense, the *Remarques* are a supplement to normative grammars, only a few of which were published in the 17th century because they assumed the function of normative annotation, while also employing the linguistic structures of prescription (Ayres-Bennett 2015, 180, 194; Ayres-Bennett/Seijido 2011, 97; Ayres-Bennett 2016). Vaugelas' influence on normative grammars, and other normative publications, is evident in the grammars written by his contemporaries, e.g. Chiflet (1668 [1659]) or Irson (1662 [1656]) and even in the *Grammaire generale et raisonnée* (Ayres-Bennett/Seijido 2011, 60–62, 276s.; Große 2017, 181, 183).

In the 17th and 18th century, numerous *remarqueurs* followed Vaugelas' example (Gilles Ménage, Dominique Bouhours, Nicolas Andry de Boisregard, Thomas Corneille, Olivier Patru, Éléazar de Mauvillon, Abbé d'Olivet and even the Académie française itself). However, their interpretations differed from Vaugelas' model in various aspects; Bouhours, for example, took a purist point of view (cf. Ayres-Bennett/Seijido 2011, 25). The *remarqueurs* not only copied the description of *bon usage* (Ayres-Bennett/Seijido 2011, 271s.), but they also worked towards establishing or stabilizing linguistic rules (e.g. the use of the *auxiliaire* for verbs of motion or the

accord of the *participe passé*) and thus took up a task that is generally ascribed to normative grammars. The *Remarques*, however, were not always prescriptive (Ayres-Bennett/Seijido 2011, 273), which is why they could be attributed with having a modern concept of norms. As a result, their discussions and observations – despite structural differences – are similar to current normative grammars.

A variety of subsequent linguistic texts, which examined the use of language and standardization, were borrowed from the *Remarques*, for example, the *Dictionnaire grammatical* (1761), the *Dictionnaire critique de la langue française* (1787) by the abbé Jean-Francois Féraud (1761), or Louis Philipon de la Madelaine's *Choix de remarques* (1802) (cf. Ayres-Bennett/Seijido 2011, 256s., 260). Later, the influence of the *remarqueurs* themselves once again became evident in grammars, most notably in the *Grammaire des grammaires* by Girault-Duvivier (Baum 1983, 377; Ayres-Bennett/Seijido 2011, 261). In his work *Remarques sur la langue française du dix-neuvième siècle, sur le style et la composition littéraire* (1845), which is comprised of more than one thousand pages, Francis Wey finally paved the way for a new form of public interest in grammatical and normative observation, the *chroniques de langue* ('language chronicles') (Ayres-Bennett/Seijido 2011, 263).

The similarities in text type of the *Remarques* and the successful language chronicles of the 20th century clearly reflect their filiation (Baum 1983, 377; Lieber 1986, 65–70; Ayres-Bennett/Seijido 2011, 264s.). The publication of the language chronicles in French daily newspapers like *Le Monde* (Albert Dauzat, Jacques Cellard, Robert Le Bidois), *Le Figaro* (Bernard Leconte), *Le Figaro Littéraire* (Charles Bruneau), the *Humanité* (Marcel Cohen), *Libération – Le magazine* (Henriette Walter) was motivated by concerns about the language and its current development. And like the *Remarques*, the language chronicles were not necessarily written for an audience versed in linguistics. In France, the public interest in linguistic issues diminished after 1968, although it did not completely disappear and continued to be the topic of discussion from time to time (Daryai-Hansen 2003, 34; Ayres-Bennett/Seijido 2011, 264–266; Quemada 1970; 1972). In Québec, on the other hand, where identity and language are also closely connected with one another, language chronicles continued to be very popular after the turn of the millennium and are increasingly descriptive in focus (cf. Patzelt 2015, 201s.).

2.3 The Académie française and its role in the history of grammatical standardization

The Académie française was founded in 1635. In its statutes of February 22, 1635 (art. 24 and 26), the Académie française was explicitly assigned an extraordinary role in the long-standing process of codifying a standard language (Mattheier 2000, 1105), thereby laying the cornerstone for its normative authority and function as "arbitre des cas de consience linguistiques de la bonne société" (arbiter for cases of linguistic consciousness in good society) (Trudeau 1992, 166). The academy's self-

proclaimed responsibilities, as laid out in its statutes, included the publication of a grammar. This task was not completed until 1932 with the publication of the *Grammaire de l'Académie française* (GAF), which enjoyed only moderate success (cf. Baum 1986). In the interim of almost three hundred years, the Académie française influenced the process of grammatical standardization in another fashion: with comments on Vaugelas' *Remarques* written by academy member Paul Tallemant (1698) and the publication of the *Observations de l'Académie françoise sur les Remarques de Vaugel*as (1704) by Thomas Corneille (Ayres-Bennett 2015, 175; Ayres-Bennett/Seijido 2011, 254). Tallemant's brief comments are particularly normative in nature (cf. Ayres-Bennett/Seijido 2011, 97); he saw both Vaugelas and the academy as normative authorities. Finally, a total of 1,535 entries, published in the extensive *Observations de l'Académie* (1704), confirm, relativize or dismiss Vaugelas' rules evaluations, and observations.

In terms of content, the GAF clearly states its focus in its introduction: to observe, criticize and formulate rules. The point of reference continues to be *bon usage*, although in an updated form as the "*bon usage actuel*" (GAF 1932, 1s.). In some places, the GAF refers to the acceptance of certain grammatical forms on the grounds of common language use, for example in the use of the feminine form *doctoresse* (GAF 1932, 19) or in the dismissal of the *passé simple* in oral language but not without lamenting the decline in its use (GAF 1932, 170). The characterization of linguistic structures is often imprecise or incorrect, for instance referring to the *passé composé* as the recent past (GAF 1932, 170), and there is no discernible incorporation of a stronger linguistic theory. In response to the overall inadequacy of the Académie française's grammar, Ferdinand Brunot (1932) wrote an extremely critical review the year of its publication. As a result, the grammar was deemed untenable in academic circles and consequently, from that point on, largely ignored. For instance, Brunot clearly questions some of the rules postulated in the GAF, stating that they are either too absolute or false. He also criticizes the insufficient precision of the theories presented (for example, the use of *en général* or *sens général*, 1932, 40, 42; *toujours les sous-entendus*, 1932, 62) as well as the existence of erroneous examples. Finally, he mentions other superior publications or authors for individual aspects (e.g. Noël/Chapsal 1845 [1823]; see Brunot 1932, 42).

For some queries, the Académie française addressed individual issues of standardization, including grammatical issues, in its [*Communiqués de*] *mises en garde*, a bulletin that has been in publication since 1964.

To some degree, the foundation of the Conseil International de la Langue Française (CILF) in 1967, which in contrast to the Académie française, has numerous linguists among its members, relieved the academy of its responsibility of standardizing the French language as stipulated in the statutes (Baum 1983, 390). However, the Académie française continues to be committed to a purist ideology of linguistic issues, as is reflected, among other publications, in the *Discours sur l'état de la langue*, which by 1999, had been published by Maurice Druon 15 times (Druon 1999).

2.4 The normative grammars between standardization and the acquisition of written language: 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries

Since the 18th, or by the latest of the 19th century, one of the central characteristics of normative grammar has been to emphasize its application in language education. Its purpose is to support the acquisition of written language for native speakers and to serve as the basis for additional foreign language acquisition, primarily Latin (Ludwig/Schwarze 2012, 124; Piron 2008c). The acquisition of written language played an increasingly important role from the 18th century onward, which is evident in extensive ongoing negotiations on orthography, such as the inclusion of homonymy in normative grammars, e.g. in Restaut's grammar (1730, 265–269) (Piron 2008c; 2009a). Language description in Restaut's detailed grammar (1730) clearly had educational purposes in mind. Based on a dialogical structure, Restaut presents linguistic "principles" that are fundamental for the acquisition of written language and establishes rules that he incorporates into a question-and-answer model, using numerous examples and a variety of different pictures to explain and illustrate them. Nevertheless, Restaut still considers *bon usage* to be his requisite reference (Restaut 1730, 90). On the other hand, the didactic focus of Lhomond's (1780) grammar is apparent in its clear structure of rules, exceptions and illustrations and the use of an extremely simple metalanguage (*il y a ..., on distingue*). In accordance with tradition, his *Éléments* were reduced to a minimum and were not designed to be a complete grammar for advanced learners. In addition to their minimalist form, these pedagogical grammars also contain new content. Lhomond, for example, does not use Latin to explain case, differentiate between *syntaxe d'accord* and *syntaxe de régime* or introduce the category of *régime*, direct or indirect (Lhomond 1780, 11, 46) (for the modernization of syntactic observations in the grammars of the 18th century, see Piron 2009a).

In the 18th century, the systematic reference to errors was increasingly incorporated into grammars. For instance, Restaut rejects the oral use of left dislocation, which was not uncommon in the 18th century, or the use of the *subjonctif* borrowed from Latin (Restaut 1730, 80s., 90). A shift toward "a paradigm of linguistic norms" (Ludwig/Schwarze 2012, 122) that is exclusively oriented on literary writing was thus complete.

Girault-Duvivier's exceptionally popular *Grammaire des grammaires* of 1811 was also designed for use in educational institutions (Levitt 1968, 22), but containing almost 1,300 pages (Girault-Duvivier 1814 [1811]), it is hardly comparable to the earlier pedagogical grammars of Restaut or Lhomond. Girault-Duvivier's grammar shaped the practical, and to a lesser extent, the theoretical writing of grammars in the 19th century. Its different editions and revisions are testimony to increasing morphological standardization and rulemaking (e.g. the first edition still contains the conjugated forms: *je vais*, *je vas*, and not until the fourth edition did he settle

on *je vais*; Levitt 1968, 103). For his illustration and discussion of language use and development, Girault-Duvivier relies on the "great authors" (i.e. Pascal, Corneille, Voltaire, Rousseau, etc.) as an authority on standardization; his grammar contains over 3,500 quotes, all of which were taken from these authors (Levitt 1968, 270; Girault-Duvivier 1859, XII). His priority is on documenting the current form of the French language after it had been the object of a variety of discussions among grammarians and writers (Girault-Duvivier 1859, X, XI). Despite this focus, he does mention earlier forms of the language (e.g. individual norms in the development of gender; Girault-Duvivier 1859, 95). His work and the later revision by Pierre-Auguste Lemaire (cf. Christmann 1971) were influenced by the grammars and the *Remarques* of Vaugelas, Thomas Corneille, Arnauld/Lancelot, Dumarais, Girard, as well as the *Opuscules sur la langue française par divers Académiciens*, the Académie française dictionaries and contemporary grammars (Girault-Duvivier 1859, XII; Levitt 1968, 246). The *grammaires philosophes* are the highest authority for Girault-Duvivier (Levitt 1968, 281). In some parts, his explanations, *remarques*, and series of quotes are so extensive that, from a didactical perspective, they seldom provide an easy understanding of an issue. Contrary to his own account, he takes a decisively prescriptive position in many aspects and labels some structures as "erreur" (e.g. Girault-Duvivier 1814 [1811], 257) or uses formulations "pour écrire purement" (ib., 337) that are similarly binding from a normative perspective. His grammar is an expression of the new orientation of grammars in the 19th century, which, as Chevalier (1994, 107) remarks, were no longer studied but rather consulted.

The *Nouvelle Grammaire Française*, published by Noël and Chapsal in 1823, was no less popular in the 19th century than the grammars of Lhomond and Girault-Duvivier (Levitt 1968, 22). Chervel (1977, 101) correctly credits Chapsal with successfully transferring the syntactic knowledge of the *Idéologues* to a pedagogical grammar (cf. Chevalier 1994, 91–93 for the grammatical doctrine of Urbain Domergue). However, Noël/Chapsal's grammar was published in two volumes, the second of which was designed exclusively as an exercise book containing lists of example sentences (exercises) (cf. Noël/Chapsal 1856b). Therefore, their work reinforces the use of grammar exercises as a pedagogical method. The authors took a traditional approach when selecting example sentences and focused on the *bons auteurs* (good authors) (Noël/Chapsal 1845 [1823], XIII). In later editions (Noël/Chapsal 1856a), the grammar was extended to include one question for each grammatical section. The didactic concept of grammar is visible on a micro- and macrostructural level: simple metalinguistic expressions are usually subdivided into a description of the rule, justification of exceptions and *remarques*, and the grammar is clearly divided into two sections. The second of these deals with syntax; it examines the practical application of example sentences in combination with explanations and includes a logical (*modèles d'analyse logique*) as well as a grammatical analysis (Noël/Chapsal 1845 [1823]). An essential element of this analysis is the classification of individual elements of a sentence into word categories that are followed by a functional description of the parts of the sentence (cf. Piron 2009c; 2009d).

The elevation of syntactic description is substantiated by the prescriptive character of pedagogical grammar in the 19th century (cf. Piron 2009b; 2009c; 2009d; 2010a; 2010b). Bescherelle/Bescherelle (1852), who did not dedicate an entire section of their national grammar to syntax alone, although they did address syntactic aspects by looking at individual parts of speech, developed rules based on the numerous examples they selected. In doing so, they departed in some respects from the omnipresent authority of literary writers and referred to the usage instead (e.g. ib., 345; Levitt 1968, 281), while also rejecting normative decisions made by other grammarians, e.g. Noël/Chapsal (Bescherelle/Bescherelle 1852, 218, 223, 752) or Girault-Duvivier (ib., 285, 369). Once again, the controversy surrounding the usage as a point of reference became heated.

The grammaticography of the second half of the 19th century was, on one hand, increasingly oriented towards history (Swiggers 1990, 855s.). On the other hand, some of the grammars mentioned above, e.g. Noël/Chapsal's (Bierbach/Pellat 2003, 238; Chevalier 1994, 104s., 113), were being republished. Meanwhile, the issue of grammatical standardization was frequently accompanied by public debates calling for a simplification of the rules. In the case of syntax, the discussion finally culminated in a governmental order (cf. Chervel/Leygue 1995; Chervel 2006): *Arrêté du 26 février 1901 relatif à la simplification de l'enseignement de la syntaxe française.*

3 Standardization and grammatical discourse in the 20th and 21st centuries

3.1 Current normative grammars

3.1.1 Omnipresence of Grevisse's *Bon usage*

Maurice Grevisse's extensive *Bon usage*, first published in 1936 and subsequently by André Goosse (as of the 12th edition in 1986), is still, unquestionably, the reference grammar for French language today (Lebsanft 2002, 65; Swiggers 2015, 543). Published in 2016, the most recent edition reconfirmed its normative orientation (Grevisse/Goosse [16]2016, 24). However, Goosse has developed the grammar further, and it now has a more descriptive character (cf., e.g., Lieber 1990, 55). After the first publication, it continued to be extended in length to approximately 1,000 pages by 2016, although the *remarques* have been shortened and restructured since the 14th edition (2007).

Initially, Grevisse's publication was not necessarily intended to be didactic and was even partially fragmented in its presentation. In addition to a brief definition and introductory discussion, the grammar is based on extensive literary examples, numerous *remarques* (on the discussion of norms or, for example, on the use of

technical terminology), historical supplements and *nota bene*. Grevisse considers the authors he cites, and not rules, to be the normative authority (Swiggers 1986, 66; Schöni 1988, 38; Lieber 1986, 24, 25, 50). Many readers were likely surprised by the mitigation of the general normative validity that is usually connected with the concept of rules (relativizing, distancing, objectifying; Lieber 1990) and the demonstration of a relatively wide range of uses (Willems 1986, 59). Willems (1986) explains the multilayered concept of the term "rule" used in *Bon usage*, which is divided into *regle générale* and *règles particulières* (connecting rule and usage while also taking an aesthetic or logical and formal acceptance into consideration).

Further development of the grammar to include more recent linguistic works or linguistic changes, as well as the normative focus that first Grevisse and then Goosse took, was frequently the subject of discussions (Lieber 1986; 1990; Willems 1986; Mok 1986; Trousson 1988; Wilmet 2000, 899). Although the *Bon usage* still focuses on *français soutenu* and the written language, Goosse and even Grevisse clearly emphasized the importance of an appropriate assessment of the situation for a normative evaluation (Grevisse [6]1955, 249; Grevisse/Goosse [16]2016, 24). Swiggers' (1986) criticism of the morphological focus of the grammar in its analysis of syntax still largely applies today.

3.1.2 The *Grammaire Larousse du français contemporain* (GLFC)

The *Grammaire Larousse du français contemporain* (GLFC) (1964) is the successor of the *Grammaire Larousse du XXe siècle*, which was first published in 1936. The GLFC can certainly be described as innovative: within the relatively strict framework of a pedagogical, if university-level, grammar, it attempted to draw attention to a grammatical analysis of various complex syntactic structures instead of adopting rules. In addition, the GLFC, in contrast to *Bon usage*, contains an extensive discussion of contemporary linguistic theory and, in some parts, terminology. It also examines aspects that were not or seldom addressed by other grammars, such as segmentation (GLFC 1964, 100–106). The focus of the GLCF is descriptive. In addition to written and oral language use, it also takes colloquial language into consideration (GLFC 1964, 5). In some sections of the GLCF, prescriptive or even purist perspectives of traditional grammars are also discussed (e.g. GLFC 1964, 113). A fundamental element of its grammatical description is a continual attempt to establish an awareness for possible variations and a change in perspective that can only be achieved by the speakers or writers of the language. The GLFC received positive reviews, although Wilmet (2000, 899) found it too disparate in some areas.

3.1.3 The *Grammaire méthodique du français* (GMF)

The authors of the GMF (published in 1994 and revised in 2009) correctly refer to it as the fundamental or "global" grammar of contemporary French (GMF 2009 [1994],

XV), which is embedded in a linguistic description inspired by a variety of linguistic approaches (e.g. grammar systems, generative grammar, referential semantics, etc.) (Pellat/Riegel 2012, 17). In contrast to *Bon usage* and the GLFC, the GMF establishes the clear semantic dependency or foundation of syntax (ib., 15). The GMF addresses the problem of standardization and identifies it as an attribute of variation (GMF 2009 [1994], XV) without going into individual dimensions of variation, e.g. diatopic or diastratic, in more detail. For this reason, the GMF discusses only a few of the grammatical peculiarities of *français familier* (Pellat/Riegel 2012, 22). As a descriptive grammar, the publication's goal is not to reject the specific use of individual varieties (GMF 2009 [1994], 25s.). In some sections, the GMF also takes spoken French into account, and the conceptual difference between spoken/written language is explicitly discussed (ib., 51–71). The GMF is thus a complete, modern linguistic grammar and neither prescriptive nor purist in focus (Wilmet 2000, 900).

3.1.4 The *Grande Grammaire du français* (GGF)

As opposed to Spanish or Italian, there are still no comprehensive modern grammar books for the French language – primarily for French syntax – that are linguistically well-founded and sufficiently consider the interfaces of grammatical description. A grammar book that presents the non-standard as well as the standard norm, and has a primarily descriptive focus, has been planned since 2004. Of the 20 articles in the GGF, which were written in close cooperation with about 50 authors, only four are dedicated to grammatical interfaces (*ordre des mots*, *énoncé et discours*, *syntaxe et prosodie*, *les codes de l'écrit*) and five emphasize semantics (*détermination*, *quantification*, *négation*, *temps*, *aspect and modalité*, *proformes*, *comparatives and consécutives*, *ajouts circonstanciels*) (Abeillé/Godard 2012, 47s., 62). The GGF generally uses corpora to select its examples, although it also permits constructed examples (Abeillé/Godard 2012, 58–60). The GGF is not intended as an absolute presentation of the standard norm as it recognizes that the norm is interrelated with the way a language is used (*usage*). Consequently, it is subject to change. Issues regarding regional standards will also be more strongly incorporated into this decision (ib., 59). The GGF does not limit its scope to France and therefore also takes other regional standards into account. While enough data exists for Canada, Belgium and Switzerland, *francophonie* in Africa, Asia and Oceania has not yet been sufficiently documented (ib., 60).

3.2 Digital media and the processes of French standardization

There is now an extensive network of Internet portals that aid with the acquisition of the French language (as a foreign language) (e.g. *Bonjour de France*, <http://www.bonjourdefrance.com>; *Espace Français*, <http://www.espacefrancais.com/

grammaire/>; *Cordial*, <http://grammaire.cordial-enligne.fr/grammaire/GTM_0.htm>), forums for discussions on language difficulties (e.g. <https://www.etudes-litteraires.com/forum/>, *Langue Française*) and services for correction and language assistance (e.g. <http://www.larousse.fr/correcteur>; <http://www.languefrancaise. cfwb.be/> under "Outils", "Aide linguistique"). However, they usually do not provide a deeper theoretical or linguistic discussion. I have selected a few examples from this heterogeneous field, which either follow a tradition of normative grammar or appeal to a wider audience.

3.2.1 The *Bon usage en ligne*

Since 2007, the *Bon usage* has offered an online subscription. The advantage of the online version, like online editions of dictionaries, is the personalized start page (with the headings history, favorites, and comments) and differentiated search options, which can be useful for scientific analysis in a variety of ways (e.g. normative discourse). Personal comments can also be shared with other users; however, as of November 2017, this function has not yet been used. The search syntax and visual implementation make it easier to access individual grammatical discussions than in the print version; content, on the other hand, appears to be unchanged.

3.2.2 Audio-visual media and the distribution of normative knowledge: *Merci Professeur*

Around the turn of the millennium, linguist Bernard Cerquiglini realized the idea of creating an audio-visual chronicle on TV5. This chronicle responds to viewer's questions as well as discusses its own topics, especially lexical richness and its regional variation and grammar. The discussions address questions on hexagonal French, among others, and also take a pluricentric perspective. There are now over 750 individual chronicles (*émissions*) (Cerquiglini 2016). To differing degrees, the popular chronicles have a descriptive, (e.g. the explanation for *avant qu'il ne soit trop tard* or *si l'on veut*) prescriptive, or as Cerquiglini himself emphasizes, even purist focus (ib.). Some examples employ decidedly judgmental terminology such as "bad", "forbidden" or even "incorrect", e.g. the local use of *sur* or the *accord* of the *participe passé* after *en*. *Merci professeur* is incorporated into the website of TV5's *Langue française*, which provides learners of all levels access to interactive exercises and explanations, including grammatical clarifications.

3.2.3 The *Immortels* are speaking: *Dire, ne pas dire*

Since the website of the Académie française went online on December 3, 1998, public awareness of issues with linguistic and grammatical standardization has

increased (<http://www.academie-francaise.fr> under "L'institution", "L'histoire"). Three of the subsections on the current website provide a normative or critical linguistic discussion: 1) *Questions de langue*, 2) *Terminologie* & *néologie* and 3) *Dire, ne pas dire*. The *Service du Dictionnaire de l'Académie* is responsible for answering questions on language use (first subsection), 91 of which are currently accessible. Typical topics include questions on orthography, the various applications of the *accord*, or lexical and semantic innovations (*courriel*) and sporadically, morphosyntactic questions (*temps surcomposés*, the use of mood in relative clauses, etc.). The normative stance of the answers varies; at times they are descriptive, and at others they are clearly prescriptive, rejecting certain varieties, text types or communication situations (familiar language, journalistic language use) that are in fact quite frequently used. Normative authority is thus allocated to Académie française publications, literary writers, Grevisse's *Bon usage*, and, in some cases, an unspecified *usage*.

The subsection *Dire, ne pas dire*, which has existed since 2011, has been so successful that the Académie française has published some of the discussions in a total of four print editions (Académie française 2014; 2015; 2016; 2017). The normative discourse on the site is clearly prescriptive in focus. Quite a few of the questions are categorized as *emplois fautifs* (incorrect usage), a section that currently has over 250 entries (as of November 2017). In addition to numerous lexical and semantic aspects, individual grammatical questions are also addressed; this began unsurprisingly in 2011 when the use of the indicative after *après que* or of a negation using only *pas* was expressly rejected. The Académie française thus sees itself as a defender of the *bon usage*. In various entries, the compulsory nature of a statement is underlined with the ritual dichotomous phrase *on dit, on ne dit pas*. The Académie française Twitter account (@academie_fr), which also links to the *Dire, ne pas dire* entries on the other hand, has few followers with the exception of some individual messages such as the *mise en garde* post on *écriture dite inclusive* on October 26, 2017, that received more attention.

3.2.4 *Termium Plus*

The Government of Canada has developed a wide-ranging information portal on linguistic questions and translation problems, called *Termium Plus*. Two sections on this website are of particular interest in this context and are equipped with a databank search engine: *Outils d'aide à la rédaction* (assistance for writing texts), which comprises, among other resources, the *Clefs du français pratique* (CFP) and the *Chroniques de langue* (CL), which address language problems. The CFP focuses on lexis, semantics and morphology. However, it also explains certain syntactic problems. First, the structures or problems are described in general and then solutions are presented for various cases. Some of these solutions can then be practiced in exercises (*jeux*), e.g. *anacoluthe* or *solécisme*. The recommendations are based on

language use and reject prescriptive terminology, e.g. *après que + subjonctif*. The CL, written by a total of 86 authors and published since the 1960s in the *L'Actualité terminologique*, only touch on grammatical aspects, i.e. differences in the use of *ce* or *le + noun* or *concordance des temps*, and have a very heterogeneous structure and normative approach.

3.2.5 *Banque de dépannage linguistique*

The Office québécois de la langue française has published a databank with answers to linguistic questions since 2002. It now contains 3,059 entries (as of August 2019) on various topics including numerous entries on grammar and syntax. Overall, the broad range of content has resulted in a comprehensive linguistic collection that has a stronger descriptive focus and aims to include an adequate proportion of modern grammatical terminology. The best term to describe this resource is an online handbook.

4 Conclusion

French grammar has been well documented from a historical perspective. The normative grammar books in France underwent a clear transition in the 18th and especially in the 19th century, increasingly becoming pedagogical grammars that began to focus more strongly on the acquisition of written French and were reduced to include the most important rules needed for writing "correct" sentences. However, the following aspects characterized the grammar books of the 20th and 21st centuries:

1) There is a descriptive focus and more emphasis on the modern linguistic justification of grammars and linguistic analysis, while the mere discussion of rules becomes less important. These changes are accompanied by a modified normative discourse. Moreover, some works continue to view the *bon usage* or the Académie française as authorities on correct language use.

2) The majority of grammars document a gradual acceptance of the pluricentricity of French. This is also clearly visible in Internet services that are available today, which, however, usually still assume the existence of a single standard variety, although they do mention other normative centers (e.g. Québec, Belgium, or France). Even now, specific grammatical information portals are scarce for the growing regional standards in francophone Africa.

3) When it comes to language advice and the instruction of grammatical norms and stances, the Internet is frequently used to spread information by various institutions, i.e. by the Office québécois de la langue française, TV5, or the Académie française, who not only take a stance on terminology but also against

Anglicisms. For grammatical language advice, questions regarding the *accord* or the use of mood are prominent among the topics discussed, thus correlating with issues presented in the normative French grammars since at least the 18th century for the grammatical codification of the written language.

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Luca Melchior
10.3 Normative Dictionaries

Abstract: This article presents an overview of the reference dictionaries of French and discusses their normative function. The first section briefly delineates the relationship between normativity and dictionaries; the second section offers an historical overview of French normative dictionaries. In the third part, some of the most important works of the modern French-speaking lexicography are presented by country: France, Switzerland, Belgium, Quebec, Africa as well as dictionaries of the whole *francophonie*. In the last section there are some conclusive remarks.

Keywords: French, lexicography, dictionaries, standardization, codification, modernization, implementation, *français de référence*, *français standard*, pluricentricity

1 Introduction

As Zgusta (1989, 70) notes, one can differentiate four main types of dictionaries with respect to their approach to the standard: "standard-creating dictionaries", "modernizing dictionaries", "antiquating (or archaizing) dictionaries" and "standard descriptive dictionaries".

Only the fourth type has purely descriptive aims, whereas the first three types explicitly or implicitly have prescriptive goals and therefore claim, to different extents, normativity, i.e. an activity that aims at establishing and implementing a reference standard norm (which corresponds to the phases 2 "Codification" and 3 "Implementation" of Haugen's model for language planning; cf. Haugen 1987, 627; ↗0), and at modernizing the lexicon (Haugen's phase 4 "Elaboration"). Most of the dictionaries are, however, of a mixed type (cf. Zgusta 1989, 70), and even those that are descriptive can show some normative aspects (e.g. by using glosses to mark elements which are not supposed to belong to the targeted standard).

Malkiel (1989, 63) sees normative dictionaries as a secondarily developed type of dictionary that has typically emerged during the last centuries; on the contrary, Püschel (²2006, 2463) claims that in the history of lexicography, explicitly normative dictionaries come first, whereas explicitly descriptive monolingual dictionaries follow later. Whatever the case, dictionaries are one of the most important instruments for language cultivation, and they are often perceived by the users as reference works *par excellence* for "good" and "correct" language use. Therefore, descriptive dictionaries can certainly have (perceived) normative force (on normativity and dictionaries cf. Hausmann 1989, 21; Ripfel 1989; Wiegand 1986, 99–101; Zgusta 1971, 291).

As Rey (1983, 543) notes, normativity finds its expression in the *exclusion* of elements that are perceived as non-standard (cf. also Boulanger 1986) or by using

glosses such as *colloquial*, *(very) informal*, *obscene*, *vulgar*, *offensive* etc. and other commentaries within single entries. Another indirect way to suggest what *good language* is involves the use of literary examples. A diametrically opposed strategy is used in dictionaries of (common) errors and in dictionaries of difficulties, which are similar to and not clearly distinguishable from the latter (↗10.4). The first – like the *Appendix Probi* – lists elements which are supposed to be incorrect, and offers a correction. In the second type, supposed difficulties – usually cases where two or more alternatives are in use (e.g. in terms orthography, semantics, valence) – are listed and the correct one – or often the assumed better alternative – is indicated.

After an historical overview of French normative dictionaries in section 2, section 3 presents by country, as well as dictionaries of the entire *francophonie* as a whole, some of the most important normative dictionaries, descriptive dictionaries with normative aspects and modernizing dictionaries. Finally, there are some conclusive remarks (section 4).

2 Brief historical overview

The French dictionary landscape is extremely rich (cf. Lebsanft 2002, 65s.) and its history very long (exhaustive or partial historical overviews in Matoré 1968; Bray 1990; Lindemann 1994; Quemada 1967; 1990; 1998; Rey 1990; Pruvost 2002a; Bierbach/Pellat 2003, 229–234; Gouvert/Heidemeier 2015). Boulanger (1989, 47s.) stresses the intense involvement of the state power in French lexicography, in its attempt to standardize the language. Early (bilingual, "semi-bilingual" – "semi-bilingues", Quemada 1967, 52 – or even multilingual) dictionaries did not have normative or prescriptive intent. However, they often "influenced the French norm [...] decisively" (Winkelmann 1990, 338). The 17th century was of utmost importance for the standardization of French, and the most important dictionary of this time, the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie françoise* (DA, 1694), clearly had normative aims. The DA used glosses for elements which do not belong to the *bel usage*, and it opened the successful tradition of *exclusion* of elements such as neologisms, archaisms, technical and dirty words (cf. i.a. Quemada 1967, 206–209). In its several new editions, the DA ([2]1718, [3]1740, [4]1762, [5]1798, [6]1835, [7]1878, [8]1932–1935), which adopted an alphabetical order, showed growing consideration for the *bon usage* (since the 4th edition, the reference norm is the classical French literature, cf. Quemada 1985, 79) and displayed a strong normative force for the French orthography and vocabulary (cf. Quemada 1990, 875s.).

In the 18th century "le genre du dictionnaire de langue [...] apparaît bien négligé" (Bray 1990, 1801); nonetheless, in the first half of the century there were some explicit normative dictionaries like the *Dictionnaire de Trévoux* (1704; cf. Quemada 1967, 202s.). The most important French dictionary in the 19th century is Littré's *Dictionnaire de la langue française* (1863–1872, supp. vol. 1877, several new editions,

also in the compact version *Petit Littré*, Beaujean 1874/1959), recording literary language from the 17th to the 19th century. In contrast to the DA, Littré includes numerous quotations from classic French writers. It "had a style-forming role and shaped French people's awareness of the linguistic norm" (Winkelmann 1990, 346).[1] Littré's dictionary is the model that Paul Robert also refers to in the 20th century. The *Nouveau dictionnaire de la langue française* (Larousse 1856), which excluded dirty words and tabooed elements, had pedagogical – and therefore (implicit) normative – aims, as did the *Petit Larousse illustré* (Augé 1905). Its successor, the *Nouveau Petit Larousse illustré* (Augé 1924), preserved the pedagogical orientation, but it became quite open for borrowings and some technical jargon in further editions. The *Grand Dictionnaire universel du XIXe siècle* of Pierre Larousse (1864–1876), with quotations from literary and pedagogical works, provided a model for the later encyclopaedic dictionaries.

3 Modern normative lexicography

This article presents some of the most important works of the modern French-speaking lexicography of France, Switzerland, Belgium, Quebec and Africa, as well as dictionaries of the whole *francophonie*, with special attention paid to the respectively underlying norm considered in the dictionaries, as "français de référence" or as a pluricentric norm.[2] For each country – if possible – normative dictionaries, descriptive dictionaries with normative aspects and modernizing dictionaries, are presented.

3.1 France

3.1.1 Normative general dictionaries

In France, dictionaries still have "high social value" (Schafroth 2014, 165) and the lexicographic landscape is quite developed, where, although others are also active in the field, three "big players" (the publishers *Hachette*, *Robert*,[3] and *Larousse*[4]) dominate the market (cf. Gouvert/Heidemeier 2015, 563s.). Modern French general lexicography has seldom explicitly normative aims. Nevertheless, it still plays a great role in normative questions. The still ongoing ninth edition of the DA plays a

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1 On the digitization of the DA and of Littré's dictionary cf. Trotter (2013, 666).
2 On some of the most important works concerning non-hexagonal French cf. the collected papers in Bavoux (2008).
3 On the publisher Robert cf. Galarneau (2002).
4 Since 2004 a subsidiary of *Hachette livre*. On the history of Larousse, cf. Pruvost (2002b).

central, even though symbolic, role in the normalization of French as the most important explicitly normative dictionary (Gouvert/Heidemeier 2015, 558). The *Académie* explicitly lays claim to the role of its *Dictionnaire*[5] as a language model (for the whole *francophonie*); even more, that it "has made [...] a step towards linguistic purism" (Schafroth 2014, 125): the *Dictionnaire* is relatively open to technical terms used in everyday language but not to borrowings or to regional or non-hexagonal elements. Moreover, it introduces "de place en place des remarques normatives, bien visibles, qui proscrivent les expressions, constructions ou utilisations les plus agressivement fautives et dont on peut craindre qu'elles ne s'installent dans le mauvais usage" (DA 1992–, VI). The Académie does not implement the new spelling reform in its dictionary. In the foreword of each new fascicle, it underlines that the new spelling recommendations should be "soumises à l'épreuve du temps" (JORF 9/2012, [s.p.]). Only the symbol ◊ placed after each word with a new official spelling points it out. The 9th edition of the dictionary contains nearly 10,000 words more than the 8th edition (cf. Schafroth 2014, 166) and contributes to the modernization of the lexicon. The new lemmas are marked with an asterisk and embrace specialized and technical terminology, as well as – with restrictions – more or less adapted loanwords (especially Anglicisms), loan translations and semantic loans, but also argot words and neologisms. Normative remarks have a different form, as a suggestion ("on dit, mieux, ...", "on dit plus couramment ...") or as a ban ("on ne dira pas ...") like in the following examples:

> "**RÉALISER** [...] Par ext. Admettre comme réel en esprit. *Il ne réalise pas encore pleinement sa perte*. Si cet emploi, attesté chez d'excellents auteurs, de Charles Baudelaire à André Gide et François Mauriac, ne saurait être considéré comme fautif, l'utilisation abusive du verbe *réaliser* au sens affaibli de 'se rendre compte' est en revanche un anglicisme à éviter. Ainsi, on ne dira pas : *Il a réalisé qu'il devait partir*, mais, par exemple : *Il s'est aperçu, il a compris qu'il devait partir*" (JORF 9/2012, s. v., 42; emphasis in the original).

> "***RAJOUT** n. m. XIXe siècle. Déverbal de *rajouter*.
> Ce qui est rajouté à une œuvre, à un ouvrage. *Les manuscrits de Balzac, de Proust, de Tolstoï et de bien d'autres comportent en marge des repentirs et des rajouts. Le rajout d'un auvent sur une façade, d'un câble à une installation électrique. Maçonnerie de rajout*. (On dit plus couramment *Ajout*.)" (JORF 9/2012, s. v., 5).

> "***MARINA** n. f. XXe siècle. Mot de l'anglais des États-Unis, de même sens.
> Port de plaisance (on dit, mieux, *Marine*)" (DA 1992–, vol 3, 2011. s. v., 8).

3.1.2 Descriptive dictionaries with normative aspects

In the 20th and 21st century, probably the most important explanatory dictionary of French is the *Dictionnaire alphabétique et analogique de la langue française* (Robert

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5 Cf. the foreword to the 9th edition (DA 1992–, I).

1953–1964, supplementary volume 1970), known under the title *Le Grand Robert* since the release of the second edition (GR, Robert/Rey ²1985; Rey/Morvan 2001, also online and as download at cost). The GR is strongly influenced by the literature-based approach of *Littré* (cf. Pruvost 2002a, 69), but also because of a modern literature conception, it is quite open for authentic language use and for style, register and sociolect variation. One of the most well-known and widely-used explanatory French dictionaries is the single-volume dictionary *Le Petit Robert* (PR, first edition 1967, since 1993 under the title *Le Nouveau Petit Robert*, since 2002 yearly editions), an abridgment of the GR. Besides these (and the other) *Robert* dictionaries, the different (encyclopaedic) dictionaries of the publisher *Hachette*,[6] and the encyclopaedic dictionaries of the house *Larousse*, such as the *Grand Larousse*[7] and the *Petit Larousse* (cf. Schafroth 2014, 175–178), dominate the French lexicography landscape.

Despite their descriptive approach, all these dictionaries show some normative elements in the selection of the entries, in the reference pronunciation and by using glosses such as *emploi critiqué*, *fautif* or *recommandation officielle* (cf. Schafroth 2014, 129s.). The marking of entries with these kinds of glosses is apparently growing: Schafroth (ib., 129) registers 481 entries marked with the gloss *recommandation officielle* in the PR 2011, and 521 in the PR 2014.[8] In the online version of the PR 2016, one can find 533 results,[9] mainly borrowings or calques from (British and/ or American) English, for which the official recommendations of the terminology commissions and of the *Académie française* are proposed. The number of entries glossed with "emploi critiqué" grew from 59 in the PR 2011 to 63 in the PR 2014 (Schafroth 2014, 129): the same number as in the PR 2016. These are mainly stylistic or syntactic recommendations. More seldom is the use of the gloss "fautif", even if the "incorrect" use is widely attested. In the GR online, which corresponds to the 2013 edition (<http://gr.bvdep.com/aidegr1/Aide.htm>), 69 entries are marked with the gloss "emploi critiqué", mostly concerning the use of some lexeme with a specific (and partially technical) meaning, but also the non-use of feminine (job) titles. Non-standard usage is often marked as "fautif":

> "3 **Absolt, abusivt. CRISTAUX**: carbonate de soude en cristaux. *Faire dissoudre des cristaux dans de l'eau pour y faire* tremper *la lessive. Eau de cristaux.* − **Pop.** (fautif). *Acheter du cristaux* (pour: *des cristaux*)" (<http://gr.bvdep.com/login_.asp>).

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6 Some dictionaries of this publisher are also available as an app, at cost.

7 The dictionaries of this publisher can also be bought as an app; since 2009, *Larousse* offers an online dictionary free of charge at <www.larousse.fr/dictionnaires/français-monolingue>, which is based on the *Grand Larousse en 5 volumes* (GL5) but has many important differences to this publication (cf. Schafroth 2014, 177s.).

8 Since the 2009 edition, the PR shows a less restrictive approach to orthographic norms. Where more than one spelling is admitted, the newer editions of the PR first list the more common one, and they waive evaluative glosses like "On écrirait mieux …".

9 As Schafroth (2014, 129) correctly remarks, this number should be reduced by about half because the gloss is used both in the recommended and in the criticized entry.

Furthermore, in the GR online, there are 168 entries marked with glosses about the officially recommendation for use,[10] one of which concerns the use of feminine job titles in Quebec French. The GR online tries to take into consideration the pluricentric situation: not only are the "recommendations" of the French terminology commissions taken into account but also those of the Canadian commission. On the other hand, these and other glosses like "critiqué" may be seen only as additional information and not as a normative indication.

Normativity can also derive from the typology of the examples. In the case of the most important project of the French lexicography in the 20th century, the *Trésor de la langue française* (since 2011 freely available on the web; first online version: 1998), just like in the case of Littré's and Paul's dictionaries, the massive prevalence of examples from literary and philosophical texts (around 90%, cf. Schafroth 2014, 184), often from ancient centuries, could offer a little differentiated image of French and can be interpreted as latently normative, despite the intentions of the authors.[11]

As noted above, normativity can proceed from exclusion of elements supposedly non-standard: among them, sociolectal, stylistic or geographic elements and elements of non-hexagonal varieties such as Belgian, Quebec or African French (cf. Rey 1978, 12s.; 1983, 550–559; Schafroth 1996). Such elements are completely missing or only have a reduced place in the dictionaries.[12] Nonetheless, the GR opened for non-hexagonal elements, especially for Belgian lexemes since the second edition, and the *Petit Larousse* since the revised edition of 1989 (cf. Klinkenberg 2008). Newer editions are more open, but such elements are still under-represented. Also, electronic and online dictionaries often do not take into consideration words or meanings from non-hexagonal varieties of French. In this sense, *Le dictionnaire multifonctions* from (international!) French broadcaster TV5 Monde lists neither the Belgian meaning 'attache de ruban' of the word *lichette* nor the Quebec meaning 'unité de masse valante 16 onces' of the word *ligne* (registered, but glossed in the *Petit Robert*; cf. Schmitt 1986, 165) and shows a strong France-oriented approach. Exclusion can also apply to neologisms. In this case, one must distinguish between an understandable hesitation of the lexicographer to the recording of new elements that may only have an ephemeral use and a stronger aversion toward neologisms, which are modernizing elements of the lexicon. Some dictionaries like the *Diction-*

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10 In eight cases as "recommandation officielle", in the others as "recomm. off.".

11 This prevalence is due to the philological orientation of the dictionary: no example is invented, but they are all taken from the literary corpus *Frantext*. Nevertheless, the vast majority of the entries in the dictionary belong to the unmarked register of French in the 19th and 20th centuries (cf. Schafroth 2012, 375s.). The authors of the TLF are well aware of the normative character of examples (cf. Imbs 1971, XXXIX–XLI).

12 The perceived peripheral status of these varieties, sometimes manifested in their definition: *Lexis* (2009, VIII), indicates them together with regional hexagonal French as "français 'marginal'", in other cases dictionaries define them as "français régionaux".

naire Hachette (edition 2011) list new lexical elements in a peculiar outer text ("Les mots nouveaux du français vivant").[13]

In descriptive dictionaries, one can find glosses such as "pop.", "fam.", "rég.", whose use sometimes seem inconsistent or even unfounded (cf. Rey 1983, 553–554; Schmitt 1986, 164s.), or in part only diachronically motivated, like "non stand.", for elements of technical language (cf. Schmitt 1986, 149–151). (Pseudo-) etymological glosses such as *anglicisme* or (more rarely) *américanisme* can be used with connotative function to mark elements supposedly non-standard (cf. Höfler 1976; Schmitt 1986, 155).

The choice of the reference pronunciation, for the phonetic/phonological information within the entries, can be considered as a normative element. The *Lexis* (2009, first edition 1975) adapts itself to the pronunciation "qui paraît la plus courante dans le cadre de l'usage parisien cultivé" (*Lexis* 2009, X), as do (with some exceptions) the GR and the PR.

Publishers of general dictionaries accepted the new orthographic reform (1990) but not at the same time nor in the same way: *Hachette* and *Garnier* (which published *Le nouveau Littré*, Blum [2]2005 [2004]) adopted it earlier and integrally (and sometimes explicated it in the dictionary's outer texts), whereas *Robert* and *Larousse* did it gradually.

3.1.3 Modernizing dictionaries

With the *Décret n° 96–602 du 3 juillet 1996 relatif à l'enrichissement de la langue française* (modified 2015) a "Commission d'enrichissement de la langue française" was created. The commission is allocated directly under the president of the republic and aims to modernize technical, legal, scientific and economic terminology by proposing and promoting French terms for new concepts. Nineteen experts' colleges in different ministries are also concerned with "official" terminological innovations. These are often (*compulsory* or only *recommended*) substitutes for English loan words or feminine job titles (cf. Lebsanft 2002, 70). The colleges submit their proposals to the commission. These should be approved by the Académie française and are published in glossaries of general or specialized neologisms just like in the *Arrêtés* (cf. Braselmann 1999, 60–67), which can be found on the net, e.g. at the addresses <http://www.culture.fr/franceterme> and <http://www.culture.fr/Ressources/FranceTerme/Ressources-terminologiques>. A good example of such dictionaries is the *Dictionnaire des néologismes officiels* (DNO 1984, later *Dictionnaire des termes officiels de la langue française*, cf. Braselmann 1999, 57–60). Many newer specialized glossaries are available on the net as free, downloadable PDFs. The field of dictionaries of feminization in France is less developed than in other French-speaking

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13 The *Petit Larousse illustré* is, on the contrary, quite open to neologisms and to elements of non-hexagonal French.

countries. The handbook *Femme, j'écris ton nom ... Guide d'aide à la féminisation des noms de métiers, titres, grades et fonctions* (Becquer et al. 1999) should be mentioned here. It contains a little glossary of feminine job titles. Braselmann (1999, 121–123) tests the acceptance of the official terminological decrees in the 1993 edition of the PR: she finds out that the authors of the dictionary prefer to act in accordance to the language use rather than to the decrees. They also often include Anglicisms without official equivalent. This is confirmed by an analysis of some "reccomandations d'usage" concerning Anglicisms (*beach volley*, *coach*, *gender*, *live*, *pitch*, *podcasting*, *street*). Most of them are included in the PR 2017 without any remark; only within the article to the lemma *pitch* is there a reference to the official recommendation.

3.2 Dictionaries of non-hexagonal French

The dictionary landscape of non-hexagonal French is quite underdeveloped.[14] The most significant problem is: which linguistic norm should be considered? Is there a *français de référence* which should be conceived as "the right one," whereas all other elements should be viewed as "particularisms"? In addition, how should it be conceived? As a particular norm? As "une *construction* qui peut être tantôt une 'moyenne' [...], tantôt un super-système réunissant l'ensemble des traits de variation attestés ou potentiellement présents" (Francard 2001, 226) or as a dynamic system? The definition of such a reference norm is fundamental for differential lexicography (cf. Rézeau 2000). However, its notion is not always clear but sometimes ambiguous and ambivalent (cf. Latin 2000).[15] To what extent should the lexicographers take into account that there are pluricentric norms of French and consider the different elements as belonging to different, endogenous norms in each French-speaking country (cf. Pöll 1998; 2005)? As mentioned above, the reference norm in French dictionaries is the hexagonal one, and non-hexagonal elements are still rare (cf. Schafroth 2014, 130) and glossed as regionally marked.[16] The criteria that underlie

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14 For an overview cf. Hausmann (1986; 1990).

15 Some definitions somehow seem tautological in lexicography, cf. for instance Poirier (2000, 150s.): "Par *français de référence*, nous entendons la variété française constituée par l'ensemble des emplois répertoriés dans les grands dictionnaires du français (*Trésor de la langue française*, *Le Grand Robert de la langue française*, *le Grand Larousse de la langue française*, *le Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*) et dans les dictionnaires usuels (*le Lexis*, *Le Petit Robert*, *Le Dictionnaire Hachette encyclopédique*, *le Petit Larousse*, etc.); font également partie du corpus du français de référence les grammaires qui font autorité, par exemple *Le bon usage*. Cette variété est considérée ici comme un *corpus* d'emplois, et non pas comme un *modèle normatif*" [emphasis in the original].

16 On this topic cf. the essays in Bavoux (2008). Gueunier (2001, 26) claims that general modern dictionaries of French show a tendency to "inclure dans leur nomenclature des mots de la francophonie régionale ou périphérique, en indiquant certes leur origine, mais sans les affubler de la désignation de 'particularisme'". She considers that as a sign toward a future common project of an open and dynamic "français de référence".

the choice of the "regional" entries are often inconsistent: so, e.g., entries from non-hexagonal European varieties are listed in GR (from the second edition onwards) only if they are widely diffused in the French speaking territories of Switzerland and Belgium respectively (whereas the GR lists many "regionalismes de France"; cf. Rey 1985, XXIII); African French lexemes are only considered if they are used in at least four or five African French national varieties. In the PR, the inclusion of (a few) non-hexagonal entries (or meanings) was first justified by the need to show that there are many "bon usages" (Rey-Debove/Rey 2004 [1993, XIV]), whereas from the 2007 edition onwards, a larger awareness for diasystemic variation and pluricentricity can be observed. There are only few integral dictionaries of non-hexagonal French – in particular of Quebec French. Much more developed is the tradition of differential dictionaries that list "deviating" elements with the corresponding hexagonal French "translation". It corresponds to the type of "dictionnaire différentiel de la variété dominée" (Pöll 2005, 194; cf. also Hausmann 1986, 5s.), just like most of differential dictionaries of French.

3.2.1 Dictionaries of Swiss French

Swiss French lexicography was at first concerned with dialectal and local glossaries, among which the most important are the *Dictionnaire historique du parler neuchâtelois et suisse romand* (Pierrehumbert 1926) and the monumental *Glossaire des patois de la Suisse romande* (Gauchat et al. 1924–; at present 7 volumes available, the eighth volume [letter G] is appearing). The latter also registers some *romandismes*, i.e. Swiss regionalisms. Nowadays, probably the most important (differential) dictionary of Swiss French is the *Dictionnaire suisse romand* (Thibault/Knecht ²2004 [1997]), which targets a specialized audience (cf. Thibault 2008, 89). Despite its limited macrostructure (around 1,000 Swiss elements already registered in general French dictionaries and lexemes which refer to Swiss Realia), the single articles have a quite exhaustive microstructure and offer a multi-differential perspective (cf. Schafroth 2014, 195–197). The reduced pocketbook version *Petit dictionnaire Suisse romand* (Thibault 2000) targets a broader audience.

The most important modernizing terminological work on Swiss French is probably the *TERMDAT*-database (<https://www.termdat.ch/>). It makes available the official Swiss terminology of the administrative, legal and other public sectors in the four official Swiss languages as well as in English. Among modernizing dictionaries, the works edited by the Bureau de l'égalité des droits entre homme et femme (1990) and of Moreau (1991; 1999), which offer specific solutions for feminine job titles, must also be mentioned.

3.2.2 Dictionaries of Belgian French

The lexicography tradition of Belgian French begins in the second half of the 19th century with dialect glossaries. The 20th century is initially characterized by strongly corrective and by no means exhaustive dictionaries such as Hanse/ Doppagne/Bourgeois-Gielen (1971; 1974) and Doppagne (1979) that aim at correcting Belgian French speakers by adopting and supporting the hexagonal (prescriptive) French norm. Differential dictionaries of Belgian French by Bal et al. (1994) and Lebouc (1998; 2006) show methodological weakness (e.g. in the criteria underlying the choice of the entries) and have a (explicitly) descriptive approach. More exhaustive are Massion (1987), Delcourt (1998–1999) (both are no longer on the market) and the newer Francard et al. (2010; second augmented edition 2015). Massion's two volume *Dictionnaire de belgicismes* describes (spoken and written) Belgian French based on a heterogeneous corpus and contains about 1,150 entries. The reference norm is clearly the hexagonal one, and the dictionary presents only the peculiar elements of Belgian French. In the microstructure, one can find information about pronunciation, parts of speech, syntactic behavior and examples and some consideration from a multi-differential perspective, which helps to set the entry against the background of some French varieties (cf. Thibault 1989). Delcourt's *Dictionnaire du français de Belgique* (in two volumes) presents data collected from literary and journalistic databases. Although it has a differential perspective, the dictionary presents the whole Belgian French norm, giving very rich information about the different uses of lexemes though it lacks systematic character. The recent *Dictionnaire de belgicismes* (Francard et al. 2010) contains about 1,400 entries and about 2,000 "belgicismes" (both linguistic and those referring to specific Belgian Realia). It gives important sociolinguistic information about the entries such as the vitality of the word (cf. Poirier 2012, 580s.) and carries a multi-differential perspective. It targets a broad audience and registers lexemes attested in some neighboring French regions (status Belgicisms) and also in other non-hexagonal varieties.

The Service de la langue française of the Fédération Wallonie-Bruxelles offers the modernizing terminological database (BelTerm). Besides that, the feminization guide *Mettre au féminin, guide de féminisation des noms de métier, fonction, grade et titre* (Lenoble-Pinson [3]2014 [1994]) should be mentioned.

3.2.3 Dictionaries of Quebec French

The history of Canadian French lexicography[17] begins in the 17th century with repertoires of particularisms. In the 19th century and first half of the 20th century most of

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17 Dictionaries of other North-American French varieties have a dialectological approach or merely aim to document this variety. Therefore, they are not taken into consideration.

the dictionaries were corrective, intending to impose the hexagonal norm.[18] Since the second half of the 20th century many differential and some integral dictionaries have appeared, which have more descriptive aims or try to implement the Quebec norm.[19]

The dictionary of Quebec French *Dictionnaire CEC jeunesse* (Boulanger 1982; [6]2014) can be considered as a "réussite" (Hausmann 1990, 1500), where many typical elements of Quebec French were recorded and elements of hexagonal French not known in Quebec were eradicated. The *Dictionnaire québécois d'aujourd'hui* (Boulanger [2]1993 [1992]) and the *Dictionnaire du français plus à l'usage des francophones d'Amérique* (Poirier 1988) have been strongly criticized and rejected in Canada because of their open approach to norm, to Anglicisms, to dirty words and to Quebec entries. Boulanger ([2]1993 [1992]) used diatopic glosses only (not always consistently) for "genuine" hexagonal entries and not for the Quebec elements. Both dictionaries, according to Schafroth (2014, 201) "are […] no longer relevant in Quebec". A strong normative approach is displayed by the *Multidictionnaire de la langue française* (de Villers [6]2015 [1988]; also as an app and online; the fifth edition from 2012 is available as software), the slogan of which is "La description la plus fidèle du bon usage contemporain du français au Québec" (<http://www.multidictionnaire.com/>). The normative approach of this work is evident (and unhidden, cf. the analysis in Schafroth 2014, 12): in the microstructure of the single entries it lists *formes fautives*, mostly calques or borrowings from (Canadian) English and provides the "correct" alternative. In the online version, there is a supplementary macrostructural index of the *formes fautives* (2,151 entries).

The online (multifunctional) dictionary *Usito* (available since 2013, liable to costs) also has a normative approach – the dictionary's advertising claims "Plus de 2000 remarques normatives" (<https://www.usito.com/>). On the one hand, this project, which also uses data from the *Trésor de la langue française au Québec* (TLFQ), seeks to describe the "français standard en usage au Québec", while on the other hand, it tries to "situer l'usage nord-américain par rapport aux autres usages géographiques du français" (<https://www.usito.com/caracteristiques.html>, 03/29/2016) by using diatopic glosses (cf. Schafroth 2014, 197–201). The normative approach becomes evident in the handling of Anglicisms, often glossed as "critiqué comme synonyme non standard" in the microstructure and with the symbol ⊗ in the macrostructure (about *Usito*, cf. also Labelle 2015).

Another important differential dictionary of Canadian French is the very rich, diachronically oriented *Dictionnaire historique du français québécois* (Poirier 1998),

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18 Still, the *Glossaire du parler français au Canada* (GPFC) – published 1930 – doesn't have corrective aims.

19 The *Dictionnaire général de la langue française* (Bélisle 1954–1957, 4th edition 1979 as *Dictionnaire nord-américain de la langue française*) can be considered the first integral dictionary of Quebec French. On the role of the Quebec dictionaries in the development of national language awareness cf. Boulanger (1996).

also based on the materials of the TLFQ.[20] There are also numerous online differential dictionaries – generally not extensive and often products of lay lexicography like the *Dictionnaire Québécois* (<http://www.dictionnaire-quebecois.com/index.html>), the participative dictionary *Wikébec* (<http://www.wikebec.org/>) and many others.

The Office québéquois de la langue française has been publishing (printed or digital) modernizing specialized bi- or trilingual glossaries for many years (cf. <http://www.oqlf.gouv.qc.ca/ressources/publications/index.html>). Its most important lexicographic product is the database *Grand dictionnaire terminologique* (GDT), which is concerned with problems of specialized French and English terminology in Quebec. As modernizing dictionaries, the (more or less comprehensive) glossaries attached to the diverse guides for feminization (of job titles) from Biron (1991) to the newer Larivière (2005) and Vachon-L'Heureux/Guénette (2006) must be considered.

3.2.4 African French

The lexicographic landscape of French in Africa in comparison to other areas described above is even scarcer. Some differential dictionaries of African varieties of French[21] like the *Dictionnaire des gabonismes* (Bounguendza 2008) deal with norm only in the sense that they partially try to register the real use against an (external) official norm and then aim to implement an autonomous variety.[22] In other cases like *Le français au Burundi* (Frey 1996), the normative approach is explicitly denied, but the possibility of codifying a local norm is still suggested. The learner's dictionary *Dictionnaire du français fondamental pour l'Afrique* (David 1974) was an attempt to register basic French vocabulary for non-native speakers in Africa in an integral perspective (although the specifically African vocabulary was marked as such). Other differential inventories of lexical characteristics of the French spoken in African countries such as Morocco (Benzakour/Gaadi/Queffélec 2000), Mauritania (Ould Zein/Queffélec 1998), Congo (Massoumou/Queffélec 2007) and Algeria (Queffélec 2002) were compiled within the project of the *Base de donnés lexicographiques panfrancophone* (see below) in the series *Actualité linguistiques francophones* and in similar projects (cf. Boucher/Lafage 2000 for Gabon and Équipe IFA-

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20 An outline history of Quebec French lexicography can be found in Cormier/Francœur (2002), a good bibliography in Farina (2001, 233–317).

21 More complicated is the status of non-hexagonal French varieties (not Creole languages) spoken in territories which belong to France such as Réunion, French Guyana or New Caledonia. Although they differ considerably from standard hexagonal French, they should be considered as regional varieties of the French of France (cf., e.g., Beniamino 1996 on the status of Réunion-French, Pauleau 2016 on New Caledonia-French).

22 The most repertoires of *particularités* of the different African French varieties are not concerned with questions of norm.

Sénégal 2006 for Senegal) and explicitly do not have normative aims. The *Inventaire des particularités lexicales du Français en Afrique noire* (Équipe IFA [2]1988 [1983]), which gathers many inventories of Black African French varieties, has an explicitly descriptive purpose; as a pedagogical dictionary it nonetheless intends to "favoriser une meilleure perception des normes locales du français en situation multilingue [...]" (Beutler 1983, XI) and also uses normative glosses (cf. Hausmann 1990, 1502). The *Dictionnaire universel d'Afrique* (Guillou/Moingeon 1995) is an attempt to offer a French encyclopaedic and pedagogical dictionary tailored to the needs of a Black African public. Although it presents several linguistic Africanisms, this special "African touch" is more evident in the encyclopaedic part.

3.2.5 Dictionaries of the *francophonie*

The first attempt to produce a dictionary of all French varieties is the encyclopaedic *Dictionnaire universel francophone* (Guillou/Moingeon 1997). It is actually hexagonal-French-based, but takes into consideration other French varieties even from countries where French is only the second or vehicular language. A collection of differential dictionaries of twenty non-hexagonal varieties of French (relative to the French standard norm) is the *Base de données lexicographiques panfrancophone* (<http://www.bdlp.org/>), online since 2004 and constantly expanding. *Le vocabulaire de la Francophonie* (Blum 2008) gives an overview of French in the whole *francophonie* with a multi-differential perspective.

4 Conclusion

Dictionaries play a very important role in the definition, implementation and modernization of a language, and lexicography of French was and still is a significant factor for the normalization of the language. Nevertheless, most dictionaries have no explicit normative, i.e. prescriptive, aims but only descriptive ones. An exception is the DA in France, which has a more symbolic than real impact, and sometimes – for instance in the case of the new spelling – has a wait-and-see attitude. Additionally, there is the *Usito* in Canada, which has a prescriptive approach towards Anglicisms. However, the choice of a reference norm, the *français de référence*, often identified with hexagonal French, surely has normative character. Differential dictionaries of non-hexagonal varieties also comply with the hexagonal norm; they take more and more pluricentric norms into account. Modernizing dictionaries implement terminological innovations; these do not always correspond to the real use. Therefore, they are often not accepted in general dictionaries, which, on the other hand, contribute to the modernization of the lexicon by including the terms in use.

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10.4 Dictionaries of Language Difficulties

Abstract: Starting from the hypothesis that the primary task of dictionaries of language difficulties is to deal with normative violations, the following contribution offers a definition of the latter as well as a historical overview of the emergence of an elitist standard and the notion of "*bon usage*". Both influence the selections made and the decisions taken by official dictionaries, as well as by dictionaries of language difficulties, which, therefore, still maintain a monocentric and prescriptive perspective on language use.

Keywords: French, linguistic difficulty, linguistic insecurity, dictionaries of language difficulties, style books, standardization, implementation, modernization, *bon usage*, pluricentricity

1 Introduction

> *Aucune langue n'échappe*
> *à ceux qui l'utilisent.* (Alain Rey)

As it is impossible to define conclusively what a language difficulty is (Kleineidam 1989, 302), speakers tend to consider any linguistic form that seems to violate a given prescriptive norm to be an error. Thus, it seems necessary to define what kind of error dictionaries of language difficulties consider to be a linguistic challenge for any speaker.

Dieter Cherubim has already pointed out that there is great uncertainty among linguists about what an error is (Cherubim 1980, 1). One reason for this seems to be due to the conceptions of an "ideal language" and an "ideal speaker" – notions that have a long but also controversial tradition in linguistic debates about speakers' abilities to use language correctly (cf. Schneider 2005; Hennig 2012). Often, the term "ability" is used synonymously with the term "competence" (Carroll 1979, 15ss.), which reflects the idea that all speakers of a speech community attain the same level of language competence, the so-called "speaker-hearer's knowledge of his language" (Chomsky 1965, 4). Note that this is an idealization of the speaker-listener pretending that the speaker is living in a totally homogeneous speech community without being affected by working memory limitations, distractions, interest or even errors. Consequently, errors occur only in "performance", which means in "the actual use of language in concrete situations" (Chomsky 1965, 4). Interestingly, in Chomsky's theory of language, speech acts are judged by the criterion of "acceptability", whereas grammaticalness is an aspect of competence. Therefore, grammaticalness is only one factor that determines acceptability, which is a result of the

interaction of many factors including stylistic or iconic choices (cf. Chomsky 1965, 11s.). This implies that there are several ways to perform the same utterance, which is only differentiated by its degree of acceptance in the speech community.

Following the idea of a dualistic language-system, one needs to define precisely what is meant by error and what is meant by violation of acceptance. Errors concerning grammatical violations – those which are considered to be errors by every member of the speech community under any circumstance – can only be errors of the language system, because variation of style or register in the speech community is not covered by the notion of "competence" but by the notion of "performance". At this point, it should be noted that the distinction between competence and performance and the focus on competence have often been criticized for neglecting the fact that language and speech are determined by social and cultural factors, which certainly influence acceptability judgements (cf. for a detailed discussion Krämer 2001; Schneider 2005). As Schneider points out, the advantage of such a "two-world-model" (Schneider 2005, 3) is that it allows us to model the structural dimension of language on the one hand and the normative one on the other (ib., 3s.). This dimensional distinction allows us in turn to distinguish clearly between errors as systemic violations that are always considered to be errors, and errors that are only seen as a violation of the communicative rules established by contextual factors (Eisenberg 2007, 212). The latter are defined here as normative errors, stylistic variants that seem to be inappropriate in certain contexts and are thus sanctioned by the speech community.

Related to this is a further important distinction within the conception of language: language as a result of historical processes covering every variety of its diasystem and its whole range of norms, that is its descriptive dimension, and language as a result of standardization processes, its prescriptive dimension.[1] With regard to this distinction, speech acts that fall into the category of performance can be judged only against the backdrop of the standardized dimension of language, which is the social norm valid in a speech community providing its speakers with linguistic rules that can be summarized as the prescriptive norm.

Reference tools that aim at dealing with language difficulties have to cover both dimensions: systemic errors as well as normative ones. Whereas the guidelines for describing and outlining the former are easy to identify – normally utterances that correspond to what is possible in a given linguistic system serve as norms universally accepted by the speech community – the latter are more complex. Concerning French, decisions on normative errors are mainly grounded in a cultivated high

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1 Cf. for a detailed description of the diasystem Koch/Oesterreicher (²2011). For a description of the two dimensions within the concept of language mentioned above cf. Koch (1988). Koch makes a crucial differentiation between a "Sprached(eskriptiv)" [*language-d(escriptive)*] and a "Sprachep(räskriptiv)" [*language-p(rescriptive)*] (ib., 328); the latter can be considered synonymous with the actual norm valid in a specific speech community and at a given point in time (cf. ib., 329).

standard that is used as a model for correct and high-quality language use – the prescriptive norm defined above. Since French is still associated with the idea of homogeneity, conservatism and elitism, it is necessary to trace the socio-historical and cultural processes that led to a very stable discursive tradition of concepts that strongly influence the prescriptive norm for today's language usage: the *bon usage* and the model of the cultivated Parisian standard.

2 History of dictionaries of language difficulties

French has a long and rich tradition of dictionaries of language difficulties that can be traced back to the 16th century (Lebsanft 2002, 66; Matoré 1968, 169). Questions dealing with language difficulties, for example, correct pronunciation, plebeian malformations concerning vocabulary, or so-called provincialisms were already dealt with by Robert Estienne, Mathurin Cordier or Jean Nicot (Grevisse 1973, 1). In the 17th century, the courtly society and culture in France developed in such a way that the French court and its culture assumed the function of a European role model (cf. Baum [2]2000). This development led to a change within the debates about linguistic norms and normalization, relocating these debates from the urban bourgeoisie to the Royal Court in order to ensure that linguistic norm control would henceforth be able to serve as a control mechanism of social and cultural distinction (Settekorn 1988, 46–49). The beginnings of this process are marked by the works of François de Malherbe (1555–1628), who strove for puristic regulation, mainly with regard to vocabulary (Settekorn 1988, 50).

Therefore, it is not surprising that the first repertoire of language difficulties which roughly corresponds to today's conception of a dictionary of language difficulties – in the widest sense – falls within this period: the famous œuvre of Claude Favre de Vaugelas (1585–1650), *Remarques sur la langue françoise* (1647) (Colin 1990, 1212). It is in the preface that Vaugelas defines what is in accordance with the linguistic norm of his epoch, thus prescribing a linguistic conception of an ideal norm that would be used from then on as a means of social distinction, as well as a reference, for what is correct and well-cultivated language use. He very clearly distinguishes between "Loix" et "Bon Usage" (Vaugelas 2009 [1647], 65) and describes exactly what is meant by this differentiation. His aim is not to exemplify the grammatical rules that he expects everyone to know but to illustrate what should be the guidelines for every speech act in the case of linguistic doubts:

> "Mon dessein n'est pas de reformer nostre langue, ny d'abolir des mots, ny d'en faire, mais seulement de monstrer le bon usage de ceux qui sont faits, et s'il est douteux ou inconnu, de l'esclaircir, et de le faire connoistre" (Vaugelas 2009 [1647], 65).

As Alain Rey (1972, 7) pointed out, Vaugelas is offering a system of preconceived values, which seem to reflect the general usage but in fact mirror the elitist values

of a certain social group. Vaugelas is referring to the "façon de parler de la plus saine partie de la cour" as well as to the language use of contemporary and recognized authors (Vaugelas 2009 [1647], 68). Even if there may no longer be (explicit) discussions about evaluating the worth of human beings by using criteria of social hierarchy today, the *bon usage* is still related to the varieties of the elites who claim a monopoly when it comes to defining what culture is and, in particular, what an appropriate usage of language is (Rey 1972, 20; cf. for a critical discussion Lebsanft 2002; Hennig 2012).

By choosing the term *bon usage*, Vaugelas effectively manages to reduce the possible variants of language use and thus provides a socio-cultural reference for normative debates, which will be a dominant influence in further debates about *usage*. Doing so, Vaugelas creates a kind of *éthique linguistique*, which is still valid today – at least with regard to French.[2]

Vaugelas' *Remarques* are followed in the 18th century by a number of different works, e.g. Pierre de La Touche's *Art de bien parler François* (1710), which more closely resembles a grammar but also integrated, in the second volume, "un Extrait de toutes les observations de nos meilleurs Auteurs sur les façons de parler douteuses" (La Touche 1973 [1696], s.p.). A similar project was intended by Louis Augustin Alemand (*Dictionnaire général et critique de tous les mots, de toutes les phrases ou façons de parler et de toutes les règles de notre langue qui ont souffert quelque contestation jusqu'à present*) but was never realized. Another work that deserves to be mentioned is the *Dictionnaire critique de la langue française* (3 vol., 1787/1788) by Jean-François Féraud, which also deals with specific linguistic doubts and difficulties. As Alain Rey indicates, Féraud marks a new step towards systematicity and completeness in a dictionary of language difficulties (Rey 1986). Nonetheless, Féraud's work is still in line with its predecessors in questions regarding *usage* and norm: These works are all a direct expression of the fact that French has the leading position in debates about cultural and linguistic hegemony in Europe. This aspiration is precisely clarified in the prefaces of the works, where, for example, La Touche writes:

> "La Langue Françoise seule a tous les avantages de ces Langues, sans en avoir les imperfections. Elle est tout ensemble douce & forte; exacte & abondante; simple & majestueuse; mâle & delicate. Elle est propre à toutes sortes de matières [...] & on s'étonnera moins encore de ce qu'elle est si digne de la preeminence qu'on lui donne sur toutes les Langues vivantes [...]" (La Touche 1973 [1696], s.p.).

This attitude is at the heart of all descriptions of language usage and quasi-synonymous with the *bon usage* – an attitude reaching its peak with the *Discours sur l'uni-*

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2 Note that this kind of normative discourse is institutionalized by the foundation of the Académie française in 1635. From then on, there exists a corrective authority, and authors of any work dealing with linguistic phenomena have to state their position on the Academy's regulatory standards.

versalité de la langue française of Antoine de Rivarol in 1784. This creates a stable discourse formation, which even today still influences every debate about what can be considered "good" and "elegant" French.

Despite the prolific production of dictionaries of language difficulties in the 17th century, it is only in 19th century that one can find such a dictionary which really fulfils the requirements of this type of dictionary in a narrower sense (Colin 1990, 1212). In 1818, Jean-Charles Laveaux publishes his *Dictionnaire raisonné des difficultés grammaticales et littéraires de la langue française*. Interestingly, his work coincides with a change within the normative debate. Laveaux underlines the legitimacy of his work by using two main arguments: 1) the dynamic nature of languages and its consequence, language change, and 2) the disagreement between authorities of the normative discourse, namely between the Académie française and Antoine Furetière. As a result of this disagreement, the *bon usage* was finally fixed as a supreme measure for gauging the value of dictionaries as linguistic models, which were thenceforth illustrated by the language use of excellent authors (Settekorn 1988, 84–86). From then on, exemplary language use is verified by quotations from these canonical authors and is no longer left to the decision of the Académie française. Consequently, quotations form an integral component of glossary entries (ib., 86). The exemplary quotations of recognized authors cement the importance of a high register on the one hand and simultaneously legitimize this choice on the other. As such, the *bon usage* is separated from the courtly society and open to new groups, the so-called sophisticated (urban) society. As a result, a more neutral yet still very formal style (*style moyen*) evolves, transmitting a normative idea of language usage which offers broader possibilities for self-identification (ib., 85).

Laveaux, who himself criticized the dictionary of the Academy for its lack of a solid grammatical base and a usable codification, offers a standardized terminology and substantiates his critical remarks by explaining the grammatical rules as well as the stylistic ones. In his preface, he also develops the idea of an essential difference between violations of grammatical rules and violations of context-ruled norms, thus formulating quasi *ante litteram* the difference between grammaticalness and acceptability as measurement criteria for speech acts:

> "Mais les règles de la grammaire qui n'enseignent qu'à écrire correctement, n'offrent qu'un secours faible et souvent incertain à ceux qui veulent écrire avec élégance, et donner au discours le ton, la tournure, les couleurs et les nuances convenables, selon la nature des sujets, le caractère des idées et le besoin des circonstances. Souvent les règles grammaticales sont obligées de céder aux règles ou aux inspirations du goût, et de grandes beautés brillent quelquefois dans des expressions et des tours où ces règles sont, sinon évidemment violées, du moins élégamment éludées.
>
> Il nous a donc paru nécessaire de joindre aux règles grammaticales proprement dites, les règles du style dans chaque genre de littérature, et de montrer par des exemples comment la perfection résulte de la combinaison des unes avec les autres, de la modification des unes par les autres.

[...] nous l'avons intitulé [= the dictionary; J.W.]: *Dictionnaires des difficultés de la langue française*, parce qu'à ces règles, destinées elle-mêmes à éclaircir des difficultés, nous avons joint des questions qui, ne pouvant être immédiatement décidées par des règles, offrent d'autres difficultés d'autant plus embarrassantes qu'elles ne peuvent être éclaircies que par la discussion, ou tranchées que par des autorités imposantes et reconnues" (Laveaux ²1822, IX–XI).

Laveaux very clearly describes the fundamental difference between a prescriptive grammar and a dictionary of language difficulties: whereas grammars need to explain language usage against the backdrop of competence and the language system, dictionaries of language difficulties need to take into account the register required by and adapted to the individual situation. The objective of his work is also set out: in cases of linguistic uncertainty, the user is guided by the established norms, as well as by the prevailing *goût*, which affects the elegance and conventionality of style and register. From that moment on, this type of dictionary provides

"[...] une synthèse plus étroite entre les deux ordres d'information. Il associera, en une présentation construite, le point délicat où la faute contre la langue est possible et les explications correspondantes. Il voudra exposer les difficultés de la langue, éclairer les points douteux, par les exemples et le raisonnement: faire concourir à ce résultat la mémoire qui retient les faits, l'analogie qui les groupe, et la réflexion qui déduit les règles" (Quemada 1967, 246).

Thus, in the 19th century, the *bon usage* was finally fixed in its basic structures, which can be traced back to Vaugelas (cf. Quemada 1967, 210–237). It forms a solid component in the bourgeois class's conception of language awareness and awareness of linguistic norms representing an ideal language use. Having a well-defined communicative norm[3] that guarantees the (diaphasic) adequacy of every speech act in every situation, this class utilized it as an instrument of social advancement. Furthermore, as a result of the French Revolution, this norm was widely implemented as the given standard that had to be taught obligatorily in school and prescribed in grammars or dictionaries – a tradition still valid today. Note that this standard is almost identical with the *bon usage*, which is "preached via the norm whilst other varieties are often dismissed as 'faulty' or 'vulgar', and their speakers looked down upon" (Gadet 2005, 1787).

These are the reasons why dictionaries of language difficulties really took off in the 19th century, even though there were important developmental conditions (defining the *bon usage*) in the 18th century (Colin 1990, 1213). In the 19th century, the conception of this kind of dictionary takes on its final shape and scope of application.

In the 20th century, the main elements concerning content-related and formal aspects remained constant. Challenges were related to the problem of to what extent the *bon usage* as a model for language standard and norm could still set an authen-

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3 The *Grammaire nationale* of Louis-Nicolas Bescherelle, first published in 1834, can be seen as a similar symbol of the implementation of the bon usage as a guideline for cultivated language use.

tic and credible example.[4] The catchword "language crisis" (*crise du français*[5]) emerges due to the fact that the gap between the conception of a high and literate standard of language usage and the reality developed in such a way that the maintenance of the *bon usage* as a standard could no longer be perpetuated (Winkelmann 1990, 336). The preservation of the conservative norm became an objective of language policy dealing with the balance between the dimension of purism and an open-minded approach and taking into account linguistic innovations as well as allowing creativity to become a part of linguistic identity.

3 Description and types of dictionaries of language difficulties

3.1 Definition

As several authors have already accentuated, dictionaries of language difficulties should do more than correct only systemic errors (Quemada 1967, 245; Kleineidam 1989, 302; Colin 1990, 1210; Lebsanft 2002, 66). Quemada highlights the fact that dictionaries of language difficulties should be clearly distinguished from corrective dictionaries or dictionaries of language errors (*dictionnaires de fautes*). There is an important difference in the methodical approach and linguistic claim between both forms: dictionaries of language difficulties offer a theoretical foundation of their explications concerning the given problem whereas corrective dictionaries and dictionaries of language errors satisfy their users by providing mere equivalence lists (Quemada 1967, 245).[6] Even if they offer their users information about how to express themselves correctly and how to adapt to a high standard like corrective dictionaries do, they are quite different in their manner of instructing: instead of solely listing alternatives like corrective dictionaries, dictionaries of language difficulties try to explain the theoretical background behind their choices concerning dos and

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4 This process already began in the second half of the 19th century. The obvious discrepancy between a standard, based on the *bon usage* and postulated by the Academy, and the language reality of the major part of the French population is due to social changes like industrialization, technological progress etc. – processes that have, for example, effects on the dictionaries published by Émile Littré (*Le Littré*, 1863) and Pierre Larousse (*Le Larousse*, 1867), both focusing on technical and economic terminology.

5 The notion of this crisis is introduced and described in detail in the book of Charles Bally in which he has summarized his academic lectures given in 1930 concerning these issues under the title *La crise du français* (cf. Bally 1931).

6 As an example of such a corrective dictionary, Quemada cites the *Petit vocabulaire comparatif du bon et du mauvais langage*, written by Boinvilliers in 1829. It seems that this kind of dictionary had its peak in the beginning of the nineteenth century and that they should be considered as a kind of curiosity rather than a separate category (Quemada 1967, 242–244).

don'ts of language usage (Quemada 1967, 245–247; Colin 1990, 1210). Therefore, a dictionary of language difficulties can be rather described as a kind of didactical guidebook that tries to explain in a casuistic manner language difficulties in different linguistic domains such as pronunciation, orthography, grammar and vocabulary.

As a special (= specialized) dictionary, the dictionary of language difficulties, is one of the dianormative tools of language cultivation, helping its users, whose motivations for consulting such a dictionary cover the widest variety of issues, to find a solution to their linguistic problem that meets the high-level standard of written French. The need to seek such a dictionary's advice may often result from a feeling of linguistic inferiority. The latter means that the speaker perceives his own speech style as being of poor quality. Furthermore, there is a gap between the way he expresses himself and the prestigious linguistic norm that should be used – a feeling that Labov (1972) described with the concept of linguistic insecurity.[7]

Against this background, it seems to be even more important that a dictionary of language difficulties offers not only an irrefutable correction, but in its propositions – specific rectifications of the problem in question – encompassing a semi-theoretical explanation of its decisions and thus incorporating an instructive and didactical dimension (Quemada 1967, 245; Colin 1990, 1210s.). Because of this dimension, the main feature of this dictionary's particular profile is its pragmatic perspective on language use, certainly guided in most cases by a very formal norm that is in itself oriented towards the *bon usage* and especially, the practical value of the *bon usage*. The selection of items in this dictionary is not as complete as that in a grammar or a dictionary since a dictionary of language difficulties has to select its items in accordance with their importance concerning the presumed needs of its users. This selection also depends on the relation the author has with language cultivation, language modernization and language adaption and therefore always implies a certain degree of subjectivity (Colin 1990, 1210). Normally, the items are listed in alphabetical order to guarantee clarity and to enable users to easily find the information needed. The objective of the dictionary is to inform its target group in a clear and precise way, providing them with helpful background information, using understandable language. The target group is often described in the preface and covers a wide range of users, from the cultivated speaker to learners of French as a foreign language.

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7 For an overview on this concept, cf. Francard (1997).

3.2 Different types of dictionaries of language difficulties

As has been pointed out, there exists a wide range of different types of dictionaries of language difficulties.[8] In the following sections, three key categories (classical, pluricentric, digital) within the broad spectrum of this kind of dictionary will be introduced through exemplary representatives of each category. In particular, the prefaces will be analysed since these reveal a lot about the dictionaries' positions – and related to this their influence as dianormative tools in language adaption processes towards norm and standard.

3.2.1 Classical dictionaries

Among the so-called classics,[9] probably the best-known dictionary of language difficulties is Joseph Hanse's *Dictionnaire des difficultés grammaticales et lexicologiques*, published in 1949. In 1983, this version is followed by the *Nouveau Dictionnaire des difficultés du français moderne*, which is now in its 6th edition (Hanse/Blampain 2012); the 5th edition of the *Dictionnaire* is accompanied by a CD-Rom. The ordering principle of the macrostructure is the alphabetical order, every lemma is followed by morphological information. Depending on possible errors that may occur, phonetic, orthographic, stylistic and grammatical information is given in the internal structure of the entries. For example, the entry "aiguiser" only offers the following details:

> "**Aiguiser**, v.tr.dir., et ses dérivés. On prononce *ui* comme dans *lui* ou, beaucoup plus souvent (Martinet, Warnant), *g + i* comme dans *guitare*".

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8 Colin (1990, 1215–1217) enumerates the most important ones, and the number is still increasing. The large number of and the solid demand for dictionaries of language difficulties seems to be anchored in the French tradition of language cultivation, which is still related to a normative discourse with its roots in the persistence of the elitist Parisian model that is still valid today despite the discussion of French as a pluricentric language and the growing open-mindedness of the dianormative discourse (Rothe 2001, 80–82; Gadet 2005, 1787s.). As Rothe proves by comparing English and French dictionaries of language difficulties, the French model for normative decisions in language difficulties is embedded in a more literate and puristic standard, which favors a conservative language use and shows a general hesitation towards linguistic innovations. She explains her results with the strong historical and cultural entanglement of the concept of *bon usage* with the concepts of "standard" and "norm" (Rothe 2001, 83s.).

9 The selection presented here has been chosen for two main reasons: first, the importance attained by the chosen dictionaries concerning the research of standardization processes (e.g. reviews, explicit references in articles etc.) and second, their rankings and sales figures on online selling platforms like *amazon.fr* or *fnac.com*. All of them show a stable ranking and surpass other dictionaries with similar content. According to the sales figures given by the *fnac*, the dictionaries of Hanse/Blampain, Bordas and Larousse are the three that are most often sold.

Meanings are only explained in rare cases, for example with outdated lexemes or loan words. Entries that deviate from the standard and that are diasystematically marked are put in square brackets.

Already in the first edition, Hanse positions his project in the areas described above: he outlines his attitude towards the Academy – he is critical of its grammar but considers its dictionary a suitable reflection of current French, even if the dictionaries of well-known publishers like *Le Larousse* or *Le Littré* are the superior ones (Hanse 1949). He also takes an adequately differentiated view of the conflict area of laxism and purism and characterizes the dianormative categories that guide his decisions. He very clearly postulates a moderate modernization: e.g., he requires that the synchronic functional utility of the corrected version also has to be taken into account and that its current significance always has to be asked for (ib., 13). The *Dictionnaire* is perfectly aligned with the French tradition of language defense and language cultivation. It relates the standard to the notion of *bon usage* and thus sets a relatively high requirement vis-à-vis the norm of language usage – but apart from the defense "contre ceux qui le défigurent par leurs confusions" (ib., 12), French also needs to be protected "contre les puristes […] et les censeurs mal informés" (ib.). As an authority concerning the definition of his concept of *bon usage*, Hanse (ib., 14) cites various instances where users may find a supreme model which are not surprising at all:

> "[…] le français parlé par l'homme instruit et cultivé, le français écrit par les bons auteurs modernes, j'entends par ceux qui ont prouvé leur connaissance de la langue et de ses finesses, mais aussi leur amour de la clarté et leur conscience de la valeur sociale du langage, et enfin le français défini et interprété par les meilleurs grammairiens, par l'Office de la langue française et par les bons dictionnaires".

In newer editions, Hanse remains faithful to the guidelines described above, but they are certainly adapted to the dynamics of language. Accordingly, the revised versions of 1983, 1987, 1994 (since then Daniel Blampain has been directing the editorial process), 2000 and 2012 outline the process of socio-cultural changes within the notion of a guiding prescriptive norm. From that time on, the dictionary has been highlighting the fact that this norm is partially losing its strong connection to the cultivated Parisian usage, the traditional *bon usage*, although this usage remains incontestably the crucial foundation of any decision concerning normative errors.

A second influential work is the *Pièges et difficultés de la langue française*, written by Jean Girodet and first published in 1981 by Bordas Publishers, thus often shortened to *Le Dictionnaire Bordas*. Like Hanse/Blampain's dictionary, it is organized by the alphabetical principle but in contrast to the above mentioned, the entries give clear advice where a possible problem may arise:

> "**aiguiser** v.t. Se prononce aujourd'hui [egize], comme dans *guitare*, et non plus [egɥize] comme dans *aiguille*. De même pour les dérivés *aiguiseur, aiguisoir, aiguisage*".

In 2007, a completely revised version was published, and in the preface Girodet makes clear what the objective of his work is, namely to maintain purism and an elegant style of language use. Interestingly, he rejects recognized authors as role-models for good language use; instead, he puts grammarians first:

> "Aux écrivains les plus illustres de notre temps nous avons préféré, comme guides, les meilleurs grammairiens contemporains. Nous avons fait la synthèse de leurs recommandations, en laissant de côté celles qui se réfèrent à un usage suranné.

> Ainsi, refusant le laxisme, l'archaïsme, la soumission à un corpus littéraire sans autorité, nous avons adopté pour norme la langue écrite surveillée, claire et pure, celle par exemple qu'on est en droit d'exiger pour une dissertation de qualité ou un rapport bien fait, celle qui est l'essence même d'une prose élégante" (Girodet 2007, 6).

He also clearly refuses to take a descriptive perspective on language use – as he points out, this is not the function of a dictionary of language difficulties and its users would even expect to find prescriptive statements proposing a high standard usage "d'une langue soignée" (Girodet 2007, 5). A specific characteristic of Girodet's dictionary is its extensive appendix, a kind of practical grammar guide containing tables of verb conjugation or rules of punctuation. In comparison to Hanse/Blampain's, Girodet's dictionary is more strictly related to the notion of *bon usage* being more puristic and conservative in prescribing what reflects correct usage and what does not.

The third example is a more open-minded dictionary: Jean Colin's *Le Robert des difficultés*, first published in 1994. It can be considered a follower of Colin's *Nouveau Dictionnaire des Difficultés du Français*, first published in 1970, by Hachette Publishing. Its structure follows the alphabetical order, concerning the microstructure, every entry contains a hint of what could be a possible error source for users – information that is not given in the dictionary of Hanse/Blampain. In exchange, there is no reference to any morphological information:

> **Aiguiser, prononc**. On doit prononcer [egɥize], comme dans **aiguille** et les mots dérivés, mais la prononciation [egize] gagne de plus en plus de terrain et ne peut être condamnée".

In 2007, Colin publishes a revised version and already in his preface, his non-puristic approach clearly comes to light when he notes:

> "Faute d'une norme classique de plus en plus lointaine et discutée, y compris par les plus ardents défenseurs du passé, qui n'en prennent exactement que ce qui leur convient, nous nous sommes fondé, pour éclairer et conduire le lecteur, sur les travaux les plus récents de la linguistique française, qui permettent de dégager les grandes tendances de la langue, de mieux comprendre ses transformations lentes, mais constantes, et par là même de trouver des critères d'estimation et de jugement plus solides que ceux de l'impression et des tendances personnelles" (Colin 2007, 4).

He tries to balance language modernization with language defense and attempts to define a more moderate conception of language norm although he still seems to

adhere to the idea of a high standard as a role model for prescriptive norms. His attitude towards the orthographic rules, reformed by the *Rectifications de l'orthographe* in 1990 (CSLF 1990),[10] is an indicator of a still relatively conservative standpoint: he strictly refuses their validity even if they are recommended by the official institution of language cultivation, the Academy. Very similar to Colin's dictionary is its counterpart the *Grand dictionnaire des difficultés et pièges de la langue française*, published by Larousse (Péchoin/Dauphin 2014). The latest edition, published in 2007 by Daniel Péchoin and Daniel Dauphin, a more exhaustive successor to Adolphe Thomas' *Dictionnaire des difficultés de la langue française*, reveals a moderate perspective towards a prescriptive norm based categorically on the *bon usage*:

> "On voit qu'en l'espace d'une génération seulement le sentiment que nous avons de ce qui peut ou non se dire ou s'écrire s'est modifié: les langues, comme les espèces animales, évoluent. C'est une des conditions de leur survie. Mesuré à l'aune de la 'correction' le français n'est à tout prendre qu'une immense faute de latin. [...]"[11]

> Pour autant, il n'était pas question de nous dérober aux attentes de nos lecteurs [...]. Aussi le point de vue que nous avons adopté est celui des registres, ou des circonstances de communication: chaque fois qu'il nous a paru nécessaire, la distinction a été faite entre ce qui est admis dans l'usage non surveillé ou courant, et ce qui est préférable dans l'expression soignée ou le registre soutenu" (Péchoin/Dauphin 2007, 3s.).

Generally, the so-called classical dictionaries of language difficulties can be located in the discursive tradition related to a high standard and the socio-cultural notion of the *bon usage*, neglecting very often the fact that French can no longer be seen as a monocentric language – even if most authors of this kind of dictionaries pretend that it is one. Rarely is the pluricentric dimension ever mentioned: of the three examples, Colin is the only one to consider the circumstance that there do exist different francophone identities, each of them related to a specific language use.[12] Hanse/Blampain pretend to have created a conception of linguistic norm that is usable for all francophone users. But in fact, one does not find frequent *quebecisms* in their dictionary, such as *brunante*, *francophoniser* or *courriel*. Lemmas from francophone countries other than France and lacking the status of official acceptance are presented in square brackets, for example *cloppe* or *clopper*, coming from Belgian French and with etymological roots in Dutch KLOPPEN. In a similar way, the plural form of *courrerie* – *courreries* is marked as a belgicism and put in square brackets. In these cases, a substitution is recommended in order to avoid any Angli-

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10 Colin refers to the *Rectifications* in 1990. For detailed information on their influence on standardization processes see Pöll (↗10.1, section 3.1.2).
11 Note that this is an allusion to Victor Hugo, who claims a less prescriptive and more openminded attitude towards language cultivation and language use in the 19th century.
12 For a very detailed and rich illustration of French as a pluricentric language see Pöll (2005). For a short overview of the problematic nature of this issue and the stereotypical view of French by many see Gadet (2005).

cism or words of foreign origin and to ensure that a word complying with a cultivated norm provided by highly educated French speakers is chosen. In cases of expressions being accepted by reference dictionaries like the *Littré* or the *Nouveau Petit Robert*, as integrated parts of the French standard, users are only informed about the different meaning, for example in the case of *praline* or *accise*.[13] Interestingly, concerning the latter, Hanse/Blampain mention only that it is used in Belgian French and do not allude to its use in Canadian French.

Another hot topic, the feminization of professional or academic titles, is hardly dealt with: neither *l'ingénieure* nor *la professeure* are mentioned – the latter in the case of neither job title nor academic title. It seems that the dictionaries try to avoid discussions concerning this conflictual battleground, relegating the problem to the competent country in question. For this reason, users do not really find answers to questions and problems dealing with different varieties of the francophone reality of French. Therefore, they need to consult another group of dianormative tools, defined here as dictionaries reflecting the francophone identity of French as a language that includes the diversity of its cultural heritage and the associated different linguistic influences, variations and changes as a whole.

3.3 Dictionaries mirroring French as a pluricentric language

First of all, one must admit that there are not many dictionaries which indeed reflect or mirror language variation in the francophone world. As a matter of fact, the *Multidictionnaire de la langue française* can solely be considered an attempt to conceptualize such a dictionary. The *Multidictionnaire*, published in 1988 by Marie-Éva de Villers, tries to offer speakers of Canadian French an instrument illustrating the specific difficulties of pluricentric language societies. In 2015, the 6th version was published, including an electronic platform. It is organized in alphabetical order (the print as well as the digital version) and each entry offers the complete information about morphological, grammatical, semantic and stylistic features. Possible linguistic pitfalls and incorrect uses are also listed. For example, in the microstructure of the entry "aiguiser", one can find the following information as part of the internal structure:

> " * aiguiser un crayon. Impropriété pour tailler un crayon.
> [ex.:] On aiguise le métal, mais on taille le bois".

It offers a true portrayal of the *Français du Canada*, but it has not integrated a broader range of linguistic francophone language identities. Obviously, one can find words like *brunante* or *courriel*, well defined and furnished with explications of their

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13 See for a detailed list of such accepted lemmas and expressions concerning Canadian French Reutner (2007).

specific usage in France or in Quebec, Canada. The user also finds explanations of the feminine forms of professional or academic titles. Here, for example, the *Multi-dictionnaire* offers both: one form adapted to the usage proposed by the classical dictionaries – the majority still uses the masculine form like *professeur* – and a second form illustrating the feminization, i.e. with a supplementary grammatical morpheme expressing the feminine form like *professeur-e*. Nevertheless, it does not really contain entries regarding typical differences concerning other francophone varieties, for example frequent belgicisms like *septante*, *à tantôt* or *dringuelle*, the latter even being allowed and confirmed by Hanse/Blampain. Thus, its conception is clearly tailored to the language usage in Canada.

Camil Chouinard conceptualized his dictionary, *1300 pièges du français parlé et écrit* (Chouinard [2]2003), in a similar way. It addresses the Canadian varieties of French in particular. This dictionary is also organized in alphabetical order. It does not offer any information about the morphological or syntactical categorization, only the possible source of error is given. Subsequently, the entry for "aiguiser" only refers to a contextual use as a part of specific constructions – the user finds the same devices as in the *Multidictionnaire* that also only refers to contexts where the use of *aiguiser* is correct or incorrect:

> "**aiguiser un crayon, aiguise-crayon**
> Lorsqu'il s'agit de crayons le verbe aiguiser est un régionalisme à éviter. Il faut dire TAILLER un crayon. On aiguise un couteau, mais on TAILLE un crayon. Aussi, il faut dire un TAILLE-CRAYON, et non pas un aiguise-crayon".

As a matter of fact, if one wants to be informed about the specific language usage concerning different varieties of French, one must rely on other sources of information. Only varieties of Canadian French seem to have a specific status that merits discussion but always against the background of a norm still based on educated Parisian French.

3.3.1 Digital dianormative tools regarding language difficulties

As Daniel Blampain emphasizes in his preface, the world of communication has changed, and more than ever digital sources of information have become the most important platform for any question dealing with correct language use:

> "Les courriers électroniques, les forums sur Internet, les SMS ou textos ont assoupli la relation à la norme" (Hanse/Blampain [6]2012, 5).

Two current, but quite different tendencies can be detected within this third category of dianormative tools:[14] so-called lay or folk linguistics on the one hand, and the

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14 Note that there is an important difference between the kind of dianormative tools presented in this paper and platforms offering a linguistic consultation. Whereas the latter really wants to im-

platforms directed by official institutions like the Academy on the other. Whereas the former bases its decisions on actual language use that can be found e.g. in journals or that are based on personal experiences, the latter still use traditional instruments as reference tools. It is impossible to give a structured overview of these platforms because of the immense variety of problems the users confront them with. Instead, we provide a list of such platforms, indicating in each case whether it is an official or a lay linguistic one:

Official sites:[15]
- *Académie française*: the academy offers two platforms: a collection of frequent language difficulties based on users' requests, and the possibility of direct contact where users can address their inquiries to staff members of the Academy:
    - <http://www.academie-francaise.fr/questions-de-langue>
    - <http://www.academie-francaise.fr/node/8753>
      [Answers are clearly based on the cultivated standard.]
- *Banque de dépannage linguistique*, provided by the *Office Québécois de la langue française*. The BDL offers the possibility of keyword-based research with different linguistic categories like grammar, spelling, pronunciation or vocabulary. The target group is not clearly defined:

    "La BDL s'adresse à toutes les personnes soucieuses de la qualité de leur langue et de leurs communications. Étudiants, enseignants, travailleurs, rédacteurs, réviseurs et journalistes y trouveront des renseignements leur permettant d'améliorer leurs écrits. Tous ceux qui s'intéressent à la langue pourront y satisfaire leur curiosité".

Users cannot contact the BDL directly.
- <http://www.oqlf.gouv.qc.ca/ressources/bdl.html>

Non-official sites:
- *Langue-fr.net* offers a broad range of different subjects concerning language difficulties. It is strongly oriented towards the cultivated standard, thus evoking the notion of *bon usage*. With regard to the classical dictionaries, it has a clear preference for the *Dictionnaire Bordas* and positions itself in a puristic tradition of language cultivation. Users can contact the platform directly, but one can also find FAQs and specific categories.
    - <http://www.langue-fr.net/>

prove the rhetoric style of their clients by teaching and advising the users in several interactive sessions, the cited platforms just propose solutions for specific linguistic questions that can be discussed but do not offer training units etc.

15 The site *Lexilogos* offers a detailed overview of all kinds of dictionaries as well as a list of websites dedicated to language difficulties. The platforms presented here are based on the information on this website. The website *Orthonet* is not included because it only offers a correction service but cannot be seen as a reference guide in a narrower sense.

– The platforms of online dictionaries such as *Le Dico du Net* or *Leo*. Even though these platforms clearly focus on vocabulary, users can also find discussions about translations, expressions and the correct use of certain forms that are associated with the lemma in question. They define themselves as *dictionnaires collaboratifs* that require the participation of their users, who can propose new entries or definitions. These are approved by so-called experts, but it is not clear what kind of experts check the correctness of the received propositions. There are also differences between the definitions, e.g. concerning the lemma *courriel*, the *Dico du Net* proposes the following definition and explains its recognized status as an unmarked lemma:

> "Le terme 'courriel' a été adopté et publié par la Commission générale de terminologie et de néologie au Journal officiel de la République française du 20 juin 2003. Cette publication rend l'emploi du terme 'courriel' obligatoire dans l'administration française" (*Dico du Net*, 12/20/2016).

In contrast, the platform *Leo* offers a broad discussion which often reveals that a subjective perception serves as a guideline for the users – but note that in this case, the user LAPINOU is corrected by another user, GALA, who cites the *Dico du Net* as a reliable source, as well as by the user VAHI265,[16] who refers to the media as a reliable source:

> "Non, courriel ne s'est pas du tout imposé en France, contrairement au Canada. Tout le monde continue d'employer le terme mail ou e-mail ou adresse mail. En fait la faute en revient à nos Académiciens qui se sont arc-boutés pendant des années sur leur trouvaille 'géniale' (lol), le mèl, et ont laissé passé le train. Pendant ce temps les Canadiens ont adopté le terme 'courriel' et les Français ont continué d'utiliser 'mail' – et chez nous quand les habitudes sont prises" (LAPINOU, 01/19/2007)

> "c'est faux, 'courriel' apparaît de plus en plus dans les textes administratifs" (GALA, 01/19/2007)

> "le terme courriel est régulièrement employé par l'Express notamment pour indiquer la provenance du courrier des lecteurs. Courrier simple: M. Untel, Villefranche E-mail: M. Untel, Villefranche, courriel" (VAHI265, 01/19/2007) (*Leo*, 12/20/2016).

Note that these platforms often address learners of *FLE* (*Français Langue Étrangère*/ French as Foreign Language).

4 Conclusion

From the above outline of the different approaches that guide dictionaries of language difficulties in their decisions about correct language use, it has become clear

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16 VAHI265 can be identified as an L1 speaker of French, GALA's profile does not reveal his/her linguistic identity, and LAPINOU is not a registered member.

that the guiding norm for French is still a highly cultivated standard, related to a traditional conception of *bon usage* and to a monocentric perspective on language variation. In general, dictionaries of language difficulties still maintain a prescriptive norm strictly oriented towards an elitist standard influenced by this concept.

Although language change and the dynamic of language norms, as well as the fact that the French-speaking community is in need of an instrument offering a pluricentric perspective on language, are mentioned in most prefaces, the dictionaries do not give way to a more innovative and less restrictive norm. They still transport a stereotypical view of their language as

> "a kind of living heritage which must be defended against all existing 'threats', whether they be internal (carelessness in speech or vulgarisms) or external (the invasion of foreign words)" (Gadet 2005, 1789).

As long as this view persists, dictionaries of language difficulties aim to remain guardians of a discursive tradition of language defense and language cultivation. They hardly take into account the strong will of the French-speaking community to break away from the constraints imposed by a prestigious and outdated conception of *bon usage*, which still serves as vehicle for deep-seated values (cf. Gadet 2005, 1790). Nevertheless, slight concessions give rise to the hope that these dictionaries are slowly realizing their responsibility and essential role of being able to influence creative innovation processes in language adaption. If they realize that this challenge is also a chance to shape and to control the dynamic of variation and modernization within French varieties, they will become a usable tool to stabilize a francophone identity – at least at a linguistic level.

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11 Catalan

David Paloma

11.1 Orthography and Orthoepy

Abstract: This article presents the 19th century orthographical reform of the Catalan language and its impact on orthoepy in the context of standardization. It thus highlights the orthographic and orthoepic foundations from which the reference model of the Catalan language arose. The progress of this language is explained with the linguistic corpus planning – historically tied to the status planning with examples that illustrate the role of the magazine *L'Avenç*, the linguist Pompeu Fabra and the Institut d'Estudis Catalans. The article considers the current language of media to help define the distance between norms and standards. Finally, the aim of this article is to demonstrate that the new Catalan orthography is dynamic. Moreover, it lends itself to the whole language community (including, for example, the Valencian tradition of accentuating some words), and the orthoepy adapts itself to a growing polymorphism.

Keywords: Catalan, orthography, spelling, orthoepy, pronunciation, standardization, modernization, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Pompeu Fabra, media

1 Introduction: the basis of orthography and orthoepy

There is a stereotype that places orthography at the center of an expansive reflection: orthography has great symbolic value and, as such, is a major factor in the agglutination of the speaking community (Badia i Margarit 1994; Pla 2010). Historically, the orthography of the Catalan language has not escaped this stereotype. On the contrary, social and cultural events have contributed to it. Once the forms where established from a graphical point of view, there was and has been a lot of reluctance to review it. A certain *written form*, established in the best of cases after some agreements, quickly transforms into orthography 'correct written form'. Regardless of any new proposal, the aim of surpassing the established one must overcome the attachment to the symbols and, at the same time, the attachment to the community. In this context, it is easy to understand that there are written forms that become emblems for communities. The letter <ç> and the digraph <l·l> in the case of Catalan language.

Two examples illustrate the stereotype. The first affects the letter <h>. In March 1892, the magazine *L'Avenç* put forth a proposal to delete, amongst others, the ety-

mological <h> in Catalan (one would have to write *aver*, *ome*, *totom* … instead of *haver*, *home*, *tothom*, etc.). However, the proposal was not successful due to "les ires de molts escriptors i gramàtics refractaris a tota reforma que contrariés l'etimologia i la tradició" (Segarra 1985a, 40). To write without the etymological <h> meant breaking a symbol. It is worth noting that in Catalan the intravocalic <h> ended up being deleted (*diuen* is no longer written *dihuen*) as well as the final <h> (*bec* and not *bech*), the medieval <h> (*raó* and not *rahó*) and the <h> of the originally Greek group <ph>, <th>, <rh> and <ch> (*Catalunya* and not *Cathalunya*). The etymological <h> survived the reforms of the 19th century, as well as those of the early 20th century, despite its lack of phonetic correspondence. The letter <h> is a "totalment inútil" orthography (Segarra 1985a, 37), acquiring an intense relevance by showing us how the language works.

The second example has to do with the cohesion of the community. Mas (2008) has already shown how the secessionist language model, the particularist language model, the convergent model and the integrationist model defined by Lacreu (2002) for the Valencian language make use of form. What's more, Mas has proposed forms that either reinforce the agglutination of the Valencian community with the Catalan-Valencian speaking community or reinforce the agglutination of the Valencian community to their own community, differentiating them from the Catalan-speaking ones. The orthography also has an additional value: depending on whether one writes *jua* or *juga*, *vullc* or *vull*, *vore* or *veure*, etc., one defines himself as belonging to one society or the other.

There is a second stereotype that centers around orthography: those who know orthography know language. Orthography is the most visible part of the normativity of language (only lexicon can compare); hence, morphological and syntactic issues are relegated to a less popular level. "La gent no es preocupa gaire d'aclarir si una determinada estructura sintàctica és adient o no al sistema de la llengua; en canvi, volen saber com s'ha d'escriure un mot, si tal paraula s'escriu o no amb hac, si cal posar aquell o aquell altre accent, etc." (Llompart 1991, 56). To continue with this stereotype, orthography is the main indicator of linguistic knowledge in written texts: to write with scandalous orthography (writing *abiat* instead of *aviat*) sets off the *hypersensitivity* of readers in the same way a scandalous lexical use would (writing *busson* instead of *bústia*). Nevertheless it is very different from using a non-normative synctactic structure (writing *el tema del que et parlo* instead of *el tema de què et parlo* does not generate hypersensitivity). The case of orthography is the easiest to prove – maybe grammar does not solve all doubts, but dictionaries always solve all orthographic doubts.

The concept of *hypersensitivity*, defined by Labov (1972) and reused by Costa (2010), has to do with the subjective reaction of the speaker or the speakers compared with that of other speakers in regards to a certain linguistic form. Costa himself establishes a link between this reaction and orthographic mistakes. Maybe the hypersensitivity is a symptom of the *syndrome of the initiated* which consists of

transferring (in a direct or indirect way) the difficulty of learning something new: in this case, the orthography of a concrete language to people not initiated (Pla 2010). Furthermore, the orthographies of Romance languages are "profundament irregulars" (Saragossà 2002, 54) – having to do with the relationship between Romance languages and the Latin alphabet – and therefore the difficulty in learning tends to be high. In the case of Catalan, even Coseriu (1980–1981) saw the inconsistencies between phonemes and orthographies as well as in the internal reasoning of the written system. The slow gestation of orthography, at least in Romance languages, leaves an immediate legacy in the form of "fòssils gràfics" that diverge from birth from "l'estat aleshores actual dels sons de la llengua" (Badia i Margarit 1994, 12).

With more of less orthographic fossils, all languages have specific oral uses for registers considered correct. These uses transform themselves into a referential model, changing with time. As there are correct and incorrect orthographies, there are also correct and incorrect pronunciations. The Iberian tradition indistinctly uses two terms, *orthoepy* and *orthology* when refering to the "correct pronunciation of a certain language". There are authors, however, who distinguish the meaning: orthoepy has to do specifically with the prescription of oral use, orthology focuses on the mediatization of those uses within the process of standardization (Pradilla 2001; Julià-Muné 2005). In this last case, media play a key role in the spreading of a referential model of spoken language.

As Rossich (2006) stated, the indications of good pronunciation historically start with the rise of solemn occasions, for example in the realm of religion, which demand a good use of spoken language as well as of spoken Catalan, seeing as Castilian and Latin have retained this field of use for centuries. It is worth noting that Catalan followed the traditional orthoepic model of cultivated people based on academic Catalan. This model consisted of reading exactly what was written (if a word was spelled with an <a>, one had to say an [a]; if a word had an <e>, one had to pronounce that [e] ...) and not forget the word's orthography (if it was written with a final <r>, one had to pronounce the [r]). The goal was to follow, in part, the Western Catalan diatopic variety. Further on, we will see that when the academic written Catalan was questioned, the model of spoken academic Catalan was altered as well.

In what follows, we will discuss the orthographic reform of the 19th century and its repercussions on orthoepy (section 2) before outlining the process of their codification in the 20th century (section 3) guiding to today's more dynamic model (section 4).

2 The orthographic reform and orthoepic repercussions in the 19th century

More than a century before Haugen (1966) introduced the term *linguistic planning* as an interventional process in language structure, Catalan was living with a major

linguistic concern: orthography, both from the standpoint of accepting or rejecting certain orthographies, as well as knowing in which context one had to write these orthographies because the uses were not uniform (Segarra 1985b).

In fact, from "anys trenta del segle XIX i fins ben endins del segle XX" (Ginebra/ Solà 2007), the grammar and the lexicon of the language were not objects of discussion by cultivated people. On the other hand, orthography was widely discussed because it facilitated the learning of Castilian and of Latin. Secondly, it encompassed the stereotypes previously mentioned. Contrary to what some were saying at that time, Catalan was practically declared a dead language and, as a "local dialect", it could not express universal thinking. Only a fixed orthography could demonstrate that the linguistic chaos was not as great as some had diagnosed it. We are using "chaos" in the sense that the languages taught were Castilian and Latin but not Catalan (forbidden by the "Moyano law" of 1857 [*Ley de Instrucción Pública de 9 de setiembre de 1857*], cf. the historical analysis by Pellicer i Borràs 2003). Thus, outside poetry, popular theatre and official documents were written in Castilian and not in Catalan. The internalization of diglossic principles in the use of language led written Catalan culture to follow different models throughout the 19th century (Ferrando/Nicolás 2005).

Data reveals that the scholars of the Catalan speaking community of the 19th century had great interest in fixing Catalan orthography. Ginebra/Solà (2007, 46–48) mention the seven most influential orthographic systems till 1913: the *Diccionario catalán-castellano-latino* (1803–1805) by Joaquim Esteve, Josep Bellvitges and Antoni Juglà, the *Gramatica y apología de la llengua cathalana* by Josep Pau Ballot (1813), the *Diccionari de la llengua catalana ab la correspondencia castellana y llatina* by Pere Labèrnia (1839–1840), the *Ensayo de un diccionario valenciano-castellano* by Lluís Lamarca (1839), the *Ensaïg de ortografía catalana* by Manuel Milà i Fontanals (1863), the *Estudios, sistema gramatical y crestomatía de la lengua catalana* by Antoni de Bofarull (1864) and the Acadèmia de Bones Lletres' *Ortografía de la lengua catalana* (1884), which was written by Josep Balari. It is clear that less influential systems were also published. For example, Llorenç Pahissa wrote the *Compendi de gramática catalana acomodada al llenguatgè del dia* (1873) and Ignasi Ferrer wrote the *Ortografía de la lengua catalana* (1879). These works reveal the growing concern with the codification of language.

As influential as they were, the seven systems mentioned presented no common solutions. The solutions alternated in the plurals <-es>, in the intervocal <h>, in the <v>, in the <ll>, in the apostrophe, in the accents, etc. All this gave the impression of an orthographical chaos. However, in the written language, the so-called academic Catalan prevailed. For some, it was based on modern tradition (grammarians like Josep Ballot, Manuel Milà i Fontanals and Antoni de Bofarull agree on this point), and for others it was based on old tradition (the linguist Marià Aguiló and the writter Jacint Verdaguer prefered the plurals in <-es> and also the <ç>). The non-uniformity of the solutions and the popularity of the "Catalan that is now spoken" –

based on non-traditional orthography yet opposing the academic Catalan – have extended the idea that, at that time, there was an orthographic chaos. However, it was rarely said that "les diverses posicions en matèria d'ortografia, al segle xix, no són simples desacords sobre la representació visual de la llengua, sinó propostes gràfiques amb transcendència fonètica" (Rossich 2011, 121). We will discuss the following two points in regard to the orthographic reform: the campaign launched by the magazine *L'Avenç* in 1890 and the article by Manuel Milà i Fontanals, published in the newspaper *La Renaixensa* on October 15, 1874, entitled *Quatre mots sobre ortografía catalana*.

2.1 The reform of *L'Avenç*

Between July 1890 and September 1892, the magazine *L'Avenç* led a campaign renewing orthography and language, which shook the use of Catalan academic orthography. Here are three examples: *L'Avenç* proposed not one, not two but three accents (the acute, the grave – which already distinguish open vocals – and the circumflex), it restricted the use of the apostrophe in some elision vowels and proposed to remove every <h> – the only ones spared were some initial <h>.

In any case, there were numerous orthographic aspects that had to be united. In addition to the cases already discussed, one has to add the representation of the occlusive consonants at the end of words, the orthographies corresponding to palatal sounds like the ones in *metge* and *mig*, the representation of the lateral palatal, the regulation of the final <r>, the orthography of the palatal sound in words such as *peix* and *baixar* as well as the composed sounds of words like *fixar* i *exèrcit*, and the orthography of vowels <a>-<e> and <o>-<u>. Along those same lines, *L'Avenç* proposed two more uses that were already unified in academic Catalan. However, the magazine wanted to change them as a sign of modernity – to distance the language from Castilian (the conjunction <i> instead of <y>) as well as to be closer to spoken language (the preposition *amb* instead of *ab*).

The revolutionary system of *L'Avenç* was especially groundbreaking concerning the closeness with spoken language. The reform was thus situated in the same discourse as the Catalan spoken today. Nonetheless, unlike those who wanted to reach the public without lexical nor orthographic complications – which generally meant, an lack of concern for the orthography and linguistic quality of the Catalan language – the reformists of *L'Avenç* took on the task of removing the Castilian influences on spoken Catalan. By the same token, they wanted to revise the orthography in agreement with the idea that the new correct pronunciation of the language did not have to originate from Western Catalan but from Eastern Catalan, more specifically central Catalan from Barcelona. Joaquim Casas-Carbó famously said at the conference entitled *Quin ha de ser el modern català literari*, which took place at the Centre Excursionista de Catalunya on November 24, 1891: "Y com que el català oriental és el més parlat y el més català de tots, creyem qu'és obra patriòtica l'erigir-

lo en llengua literària". This was where the real closeness took place in regards to spoken language: the only modern Catalan, in the eyes of the *L'Avenç* reformers, was the Barcelonian Catalan.

"No va ser possible en tot el segle [XIX] arribar a confeccionar un sistema ortogràfic únic que fos acceptat per tothom: pràcticament no hi havia dos escriptors, dues publicacions ni dos gramàtics que estiguessin d'acord en tot" (Ginebra/Solà 2007, 45–46). Despite the proposals of the *L'Avenç*, the acceptance of a single system did not happen until the approval of the 1913 rules. Oddly enough, it took two decades before the population complied with the single system.

2.2 The repercussions on/of the orthoepy

Prior to the reform of *L'Avenç*, Rossich described Manuel Milà i Fontanals as the "gegant de la filologia" (2011, 120). We will look at the influential content of his article *Quatre mots sobre ortografia catalana* (1874).

By analyzing some orthographic cases, Milà makes clear that central Catalan – a Catalan dialect – adheres to traditional academic pronunciation in which pronunciation followed orthography. In good academic pronunciation, there was no confusion between the unstressed [e] and the unstressed [a] (one would write <e> and pronounce [e]; write <a> and pronounce [a]); there was no confusion between the unstressed [o] and the unstressed [u] (one would write <o>, and pronounce [o]; write <u>, and pronounce [u]); one would write a final <r> and pronounce it; if one wrote a final <t> one would also pronounce it; etc. Orthoepic norms date back to medieval Catalan and had the Western accent as referent. Accordingly, Mila i Fontanals wrote "la forma moderna de la llengua era ja la tradicional y per tots admesa" (1874, 5).

At the end of the 19th century, the revision of orthography also included a revision of the orthoepic model – stepping closer to spoken language. The reform that triumphed opened the doors to a different pronunciation: the unstressed [e] and the unstressed [a] could be confused (both the written <e> and <a> were pronounced [ə]); the unstressed [o] and the unstressed [u] could be confused (both the written <o> and <u> were pronounced [u]); if one wrote a final <r>, it was not pronounced; if one wrote a final <t>, it was not pronounced. The orthoepic model of medieval Catalan entered a crisis at the same time as the orthographic reform. Mila i Fontanals advised that "qualsevol sia lo sistema ortográfich que s'accepte, á ell se deu acomodar la pronunciació" (1874, 7).

The change of the orthoepic model was nevertheless questioned by Ignacio Ferrer y Carrió, whose work we mentioned had not been successful. Ferrer y Carrió (1891, 451) wrote:

"[Pompeu Fabra y Joaquim Casas-Carbó] dicen que estudian y presentan el catalán moderno, esto es, el 'català tal com se parla', y al concretar su pensamiento no han visto que, en esta forma, tan moderno es el catalán hablado por los occidentales como el hablado por los orienta-

les, y no han advertido además que no están en la tradición catalana, en la verdadera tradición, esto es, aquella en que hay plena correspondencia entre la fonología y la ortografía".

3 The road to standardization

In the early 20th century, the standardization of Catalan advanced as a result of progress in its linguistic planning. On the one hand, orthographic interventions on the linguistic code culminated with the approval of the *Normes ortogràfiques* of 1913, the publication of the *Diccionari ortogràfic* in 1917 (Fabra 1917), with the later editions of 1923, 1931 and 1937 and the agreement of the *Normes de Castelló* of 1932. In the same period, grammatical and lexical interventions were also made: in 1912 Pompeu Fabra published his *Gramática de la lengua catalana* and in 1918, his *Gramàtica catalana*. Interestingly, it was re-edited seven times till 1933. This has been the reference grammar for almost a century (↗11.2), from 1918 till the end of 2016 with the presentation of the new grammar: the *Gramàtica de la llengua catalana* (Institut d'Estudis Catalans 2016). In 1932, Pompeu Fabra also published his *Diccionari general de la llengua catalana* (DGLC), which was official till 1995 – the year in which the Institut d'Estudis Catalans published an updated version (↗11.3).

On the other hand, status planning saw highs and lows throughout the twentieth century. At the beginning of the century, the Institut d'Estudis Catalans (1907) was founded followed by the Secció Filològica (1911) – a corporation of academic high culture as well as the language of the academy – giving political shelter to the use and functions of the Catalan language. Soon enough, the Spanish dictatorships of Primo de Rivera (1923–1930) and of Francisco Franco (1939–1975) stopped the evolution of Catalan in Catalan-speaking territories with language prohibitions and repressions. In 1976, with the return of democracy, official recognition was granted to the Institut d'Estudis Catalans and its Secció Filològica, which would be in charge "del estudio de la lengua catalana en todos sus aspectos" (art. 3 of the *Real Decreto 3118/1976 de 26 de noviembre*). The Catalan parliament, for example, recognized that the Institut d'Estudis Catalans was the institution in charge of establishing and updating the linguistic norms of the Catalan language (*Llei 8/1991, de 3 de maig*). Consequently, article 2 indicates that all public administration must respect the norms established by the Institute and article 3 requires public and private schools, as well as the publicly owned media, to respect these regulations. Finally, a legal framework and policies to encourage the use of Catalan language were not developed until the end of the twentieth century. Outside Catalonia in 1998, the Valencian government created the Acadèmia Valenciana de la Llengua. Its regulations indicated a few years later that the Acadèmia had the role of determining and elaborating the linguistic rules of the Valencian language and of "vetlar pel seu ús normal" (*Decret 158/2002*, art. 1).

3.1 Orthographic codification

Three underlining factors lead to the the reform of *L'Avenç that* started in 1890 just before the Spanish Civil War; the individual, represented by the talent of the linguist Pompeu Fabra; the social, represented by repercussions of the *L'Avenç* campaign and the political, which accompanied the growing use of the Catalan language and allowed the creation of a high academic authority able to shelter the foundations of a Catalan language of reference – the Institut d'Estudis Catalans.

The success manifests itself, on the one hand, in the celebration of the First International Congress of the Catalan Language in 1906, which dealt with questions of orthography, and especially with the approval of the *Normes ortogràfiques* of 1913. It can be said that at that time, due to the twenty-four laws consented, a stable and functional othography was shaped in the context of a national language (Marí 2013). Accordingly, reactions against the laws went on for two decades and used various arguments. But in the end, orthographic unity was achieved with the approval of the already mentioned *Normes de Castelló*, signed in Castelló de la Plana (Valencia).

Contrarily, the success can also be explained in the compositional concretization of standard Catalan orthography. In the previous section we pointed to the importance of central Catalan in the initial configuration of the standard Catalan reform despite orthography advancing on roads of dialectic compositionality. These four examples show how western pronunciation determined the referential orthography: the distinction between the <b> and the <v>, the final <-r> in many words, the digraph <ix>, and the <t> and the <p> behind a nasal or a lateral consonant. We could also add the way of writing the unstressed vocals [a]/[e] – including the plurals finishing in <es> and [o]/[u] that were resolved "d'acord amb la fonètica occidental, perquè era la que distingia en cada cas entre les dues vocals en joc" (Badia i Margarit 1994, 28). However, it is true that when it came to varieties "ha prevalgut la norma de Barcelona (més que la del català oriental general, que no sempre està d'acord amb el barceloní)" (ib.). In that regard, the accent on the *e* in the words *cafè*, *anglès*, *comprèn*, *merèixer*, *convèncer* ... has its counterpoint in the acute accent on the *e* of the same words prescribed by the Acadèmia Valenciana de la Llengua. This institution aims at developing the rules of the Valencian language based on the *Normes de Castelló* and, as mentioned above, competes with the functions entrusted to the Secció Filològica of the Institut d'Estudis Catalans.

The orthographic standardization of the Catalan language was reviewed and completed at different times during the twentieth century. After the publication of the dictionary in 1932, there were changes made in the fourth edition of the *Diccionari ortogràfic* (1937) along with the second edition of the *Diccionari general de la llengua catalana* (1954). Moreover, there were changes made in the sixth (1974) and seventeenth edition (1983). Apart from the addition and deletion of words, these were small changes in orthography. It is worth noting that this dictionary underwent thirty-two editions before the new normative dictionary was published in 1995. Censorship by the Franco dictatorship had an influence on its content, with the

modification and deletion of political, religious and linguistic terms. Nevertheless, it did not influence orthography. In this work, some of the criteria that were taken into account were "la pronúncia dels dialectes i el testimoni de textos antics, [and also] l'ús arrelat en la tradició ortogràfica, quan es tracta de mots amb freqüència d'ús" (Veny 2007, 56).

In any case, at the end of the last century, the Secció Filològica approved four documents that revealed the main orthographic issues reviewed. These are the titles and the years in which they were approved: the *Noves normes ortogràfiques sobre els noms en "-es"* (1984), *Sobre la grafia dels mots compostos i prefixats que contenen formants amb una essa inicial etimològica seguida de consonant* (1992, reviewed in 1996), *L'ús del guionet en l'escriptura dels mots formats per composició o per prefixació* (1993) and *Els signes d'interrogació i d'admiració* (1995).

Based on Llach/Cicres/Mola (2015), below are the four orthographic issues that have generated debate in recent years. We will discuss if Catalan media follow these normative instructions: 1) The agreement of 1984 of writing Greek and Latin words in *-es* originally finishing in *-as* (*àlies*, *atles*, *bòrees*, etc.) was not accepted by Hellenists nor Latinists yet the media subscribe to it. 2) The media also follow the agreement of 1992 of maintaining the prosthetic *e* in certain compound words and prefixes (*macroestat*, *poliesportiu*, etc., but *telescopi*). Notwithstanding, the media debate this criteria since it requires the learning of words with and without epenthesis by heart. 3) The rules on hyphens in compound words have caused much stir: the media did not follow the rules in the first years and only partially follow them nowadays. Linguists like Josep Ruaix (2014) have put forth the inconveniences that come with such a rule. 4) The advice of the use of question and exclamation marks only at the end of a sentence is discussed by treaties and by users. Media prefer to follow, in general, the system of modern Castilian: writing these punctuation marks both at the front and back of the sentence.

The discussion on concrete aspects of Catalan orthography takes place between academics and a group of experts on issues of language (the majority are correctors that are also working in the media) that "tenen arguments per debatre les decisions de la institució normativa" (Llach/Cicres/Mola 2015, 127). These are not debates with social repercussions but technical debates by specialists. Perhaps that is why it has already reached its peak. In other words, maybe it has already achieved what the preface of the same rules in 1913 was asking: "Posem-nos tots a escriure el català amb la mateixa ortografia i haurem augmentat en una mida gairebé incommensurable l'escassa facilitat que avui té el poble per a apropiar-se'n la seva expressió literària" (Mir/Solà 2008, 192).

3.2 Orthoepic codification

We mentioned the change in the orthoepic model promoted by *L'Avenç* in a more or less direct way at the end of the 19th century. Nevertheless, the awareness of a refer-

ential spoken language only appeared with the birth of leading radio stations in the 1920s (Ràdio Barcelona in 1924 and Ràdio Associació de Catalunya in 1930). The urgencies of written Catalan – to achieve an unified orthography being one of them – opened the door to the concern for orthoepy. Pompeu Fabra, in one of his *Converses filològiques*, wrote the following on July 10th, 1923:

> "Tots sabem com, durant la renaixença literària, ens han preocupat les qüestions ortogràfiques. En canvi, poca ha estat l'atenció que havem prestat a les qüestions ortoèpiques. I ha estat, potser, una sort, puix que, sense una ortografia fixada, no hauríem fet sinó provocar la naixença d'una munió de pronúncies errònies".

He later explains that having already fixed the orthography, it is time to "començar ja a ocupar-nos d'ortoèpia" (Mir/Solà 2010, 466).

Fabra's work stressed a set of orthoepy traits that teachers and speakers had to take into account for good pronunciation (Castellanos 1990; Julià-Muné 2005). These traits can be found in the *Converses filològiques*, the *Curset de fonètica*, the *Curs superior de català 1934–1935* and the *Qüestions sobre ortografia catalana*. We can only include an example of what the Barcelonian linguist mentions in his *Converses filològiques* we just referenced: the restoration of the sounds [v] and [ʤ] (*viatjar*), [bbl] *(poble)*, [ggl] *(regla)*, [mt] *(redemptor)*, [ll] (*intel·ligent*); the phonetic correction of the silent and sonorous <s> (to not say *ca[s]a* but *ca[z]a*, not *abade[z]a* but *abade[s]a*); also the phonetic correction in liaisons (a distinction had to be made between *el[z] astres* and *el [s]astres*). Castellanos (ib.) claims that Fabra was trying to balance two seemingly contradictory criteria: the adequacy of the orthography to the pronunciation especially in hereditary words and the adequacy of the pronunciation to the orthography in cult words especially. In that case, we find words such as *canvi*, *gener*, *flor*, etc., the pronunciation of which in some Catalan dialects reveals how the words should be written and in the second case, we discover words such as *abadessa*, *etcètera*, *improvisar*, etc., the orthography of which reveals how words should be pronounced in all dialects of the language.

Years later, after the work of Pompeu Fabra, four authors contributed the codification of the Catalan spoken language: Joan Coromines (1971), Lluís López del Castillo (1976), Francesc Vallverdú (1986) and Josep Lacreu (1990). All four contributed to laying the groundwork for a language model located between colloquial and literary register; neat and convenient yet flexible and natural. The practice of emerging audiovisual media in Catalan led the Institut d'Estudis Catalans to publish a regulation that would help, "davant el pes creixent de la dimensió oral en la vida de les llengües dins la societat actual, la realització de la llengua estàndard oral" (1990, 7). This legislation became more concrete with two documents focused on the oral standard. One was dedicated to phonetics (Institut d'Estudis Catalans 1990) and the other dedicated to morphology (Institut d'Estudis Catalans 1992). The objectives of the regulations were the following (Julià-Muné 2005): to continue the task of codification by the Institut d'Estudis Catalans, focusing on the case of orthoepy; to re-

spect the normative orthography and grammar put in place, although the orthoepy was free to develop in different ways than those marked by orthography (for example: to be able to say *l'universitat* and have to write *la universitat*); to recover and dignify a series of pronunciations interrupted for decades and, finally, to become a reference of spoken language, directly related to media, through teaching and public use.

The two documents on the spoken standard were based on a "caràcter flexible" (Institut d'Estudis Catalans 1990, 11; 1992, 8) through which they promoted traditional features and with different characteristics. The majority were shared between two or three dialects of the language, but none were exclusive to just one dialect – always prestigious; some were adequate to only formal registers and others that were adequate to informal ones. Therefore, the criteria of the orthoepy regulations rested in the geographical area and in the register but also in the degree of correction-adjustment, given that the legislation considered some features *belonging* to the standard (recommendable, fully adequate in the standard), *admissible* (tolerable within the standard) and *not recommendable* (inadmissible in the standard). The only limitation to the standard spoken language was the non-admission of the features mixed dialectally in a determined modality of the standard. Meaning, "un bon parlant (locutor, polític, professor, etc.) s'ha de mantenir en el marc d'una determinada modalitat de l'estàndard" (Julià-Muné 2005, 362). These indications, revised by daily practice, were generally followed by the public media. Furthermore, over the years, the media has sought to give a voice to other accents of the language other than the central accent – the most predominant. It is worth noting that a quantitative balance of accents does not exist and there is an interest in not hiding any. The theoretical intention is to reach a certain balance in accents from a qualitative point of view (Paloma 2016).

Finally, let us note two features of orthoepy that Catalan media does not follow despite the indications of the *Proposta*: the pronunciation of the geminated <l> (<l·l>, [ll]) and some combinations of vowels in contact, as in the words *gràcia* and *acció*. In the first case, although the indication rule states that one has to say two <l> in words like *col·legi*, the indications on this point made by the Corporació Catalana de Mitjans Audiovisuals are exactly the opposite: "Com a norma general pronunciarem la ela geminada com si fos una ela simple, tal com es fa espontàniament" (ésAdir 2016). In the second case, the monosyllabic pronunciation in the combinations <-cia> and <-ció> is admissible in informal registers, agreement with the rules, but real practice by the media makes it present in all registers (Paloma 2014).

4 Conclusion: Towards a dynamic orthography and a polymorphic orthoepy

The new orthography of the Institut d'Estudis Catalans (2017), separated from the normative grammar, has four objectives: national unity (an orthography that is at the service of a whole linguistic community); enhancing the etymologic criteria in many learned words and dubious orthography; the observation of loan words coming from other Romance languages, and finally reducing the complexity of certain rules (Institut d'Estudis Catalans 2017). These objectives have facilitated some occasional corrections and ultimately have continued to try to simplify the orthography. An example is the use of hyphenated words in the writing of words formed by the composition or by prefixation, as well as the significant reduction in the use of the diacritical accent. Thus, the Secció Filològica has adopted the epenthetic [e] in compound words and in words with prefixes (e.g., *preestablir*, *poliesportiu*) with some exceptions, and has collected only 15 words with diacritical accent among more than the 150 that the *Diccionari de la llengua catalana* contains. Future orthography will continue to set new proposals, more or less minor ones and more or less justified, for example in the domain of abbreviations and diaeresis (Gomà 2015; Salvanyà 2009). However, in any case, the level of understanding regarding orthography between the two academies of the language – the Institut d'Estudis Catalans and the Acadèmia Valenciana de la Llengua – shows the convergence or not of criteria, starting with national unity. The new orthography has decided to collect, in this regard, the acute accent that embodies the Valencian tradition with words that have a close *e* in the western dialects (e.g., *café*, *comprén*, *francés*).

In regard to orthoepy, the evolution of the media, which had to adapt to the dynamics of the language (Institut d'Estudis Catalans 1990), has led to an overview that emphasizes the increasing subaccents and the blurring of restricted areas. Firstly, the *Guia fonètica per a les televisions locals* (Paloma et al. 2009) presents twelve accents. Furthermore, other works put forth other accents of which some features are also relevant in the standard language such as the dialects from Ribagorça and Pallars (Julià-Muné/Romero/Creus 2004) as well as from Sóller, Fornalutx, Lloseta and Formentera (Alomar/Melià 1999). In the context of different dialects participating in the standard language, this fact means an increasingly polymorphic orthoepy. The interferences of the Spanish language are continuing and even increasing. If the linguistic reforms of the late nineteenth century had language purification at the center of their drive for change, the early twenty-first century lives on orthoepy. In 1971, Joan Coromines, one of the great romanists of Catalan culture, said: "Ha de ser una pronunciació intransigentment catalana" (Coromines 1971, 96). Academia and the media continue to say this, yet disregard the adverb *intransigentment*.

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Jenny Brumme
11.2 Normative Grammars

Abstract: This article presents the development of Catalan grammar codification by highlighting its diatopic and diaphasic variation and how this is considered in the two official normative grammars (1918/1933 and 2016). The shift from a monocentric approach to a pluricentric one is also demonstrated by means of other parallel attempts at codification that have contributed to constructing Catalan's so-called polymorphism. Two divergent or secessionist attempts at standardization are taken into account in order to demonstrate the centrifugal as well as centripetal tendencies. The Catalan article system (definite, personal and neuter articles) is a useful example for examining the approach of each of the grammar books with regard to the distribution of the diatopic and diaphasic variation. It remains to be seen whether the pluricentric standardization and a balanced polymorphism will prevail in the future.

Keywords: Catalan, grammar, standardization, modernization, prescriptivism, descriptivism, polymorphism, definite article, personal article, pluricentricity

1 Introduction: Unity in diversity

The process of standardizing Catalan crystallized in the first third of the 20th century in the work of Pompeu Fabra (cf. below, 3.1) as well as in the related codification activities of the Institut d'Estudis Catalans (IEC), the Catalan academy of Language and Sciences, founded in 1907 in Barcelona. Since Catalan is spoken in four countries (Spain, France, Andorra and Italy) and in Spain in four autonomous regions (Catalonia, the Community of Valencia, the Balearic Islands and Aragon), linguistic and cultural unity has always determined the normative discourse on language. Another topic of normative discourse is determining which features of Catalan are the most appropriate to mark the linguistic distance (*Ausbausprache*; Haugen 1966; 1983; Kloss 1976; [2]1978, 22–37; ↗0) from its Romance neighbours (Italian, Sardinian, Occitan, Spanish; cf. Wheeler/Yates/Dols 1999, IX) and in particular from Spanish, since the latter is the (co-)official language in the Catalan-speaking territories belonging to Spain. The pressure of Spanish on the different areas of use has caused a certain purist attitude among some of the codification agents and institutions, although language users have protested against this on various occasions throughout history. The debate on the reconstruction of literary language in the 1860s and 1870s can be cited as an example. It confronted two main groups: on the one hand, those writers who defended an updating of Catalan on the basis of spoken language ("el català que ara es parla") and, on the other, those who wanted to elaborate the

new Catalan ("català acadèmic") on the basis of the classical language from the previous centuries or even medieval Catalan (Segarra 2001). Another debate, which took place between 1982 and 1992, disputed whether Catalan codification should be conserved ("català heavy") or updated ("català light"; cf. Casals 2001; Ferrando/Nicolàs 2005, 327–331, 336–339, 515–520).

Nevertheless, the specific cultural, socio-historical, political and geographic situation of the Catalan language has given rise to an original codification framework (cf. below, 3.4) based on theoretical foundations in Catalan sociolinguistics and language planning (both status and corpus planning; cf. Lamuela/Murgades 1984; Boix/Vila 1998; Montoya 2006). However, the standardization process that started and progresses on the basis of the codification proposals by the IEC is counteracted when other attempts at standardization are undertaken, mainly for political and language policy reasons (cf. below, 4.1.2 and 4.2.4).

According to Martines/Montoya (2011), the normative approach, adopted by the Philological Section of the IEC and created in 1911, has changed over the years "from a *unitarist* one in the early times to a *compositional* one in the late 20th century, accepting a great number of phonetic, spelling, lexical and grammar variants" (Martines/Montoya 2011, 186)[1] from the entire Catalan-speaking territory, also called *polymorphism*. So, the normative discourse has changed from a generally monocentric perspective on geographic variation and its contribution to standardization into a decidedly pluricentric perspective (Amorós-Negre 2014, 162–171). While the unitarist approach attached priority to the unity of language and established a codification based on Central Catalan (specifically the Barcelona area),[2] the pluricentric one recognizes the diversity of forms within the standard ("compositional standardization" in terms of Amorós-Negre 2014, 164). Therefore, convergent regional standards are expressly welcomed in order to foster the identification of speakers with their

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1 The understanding of what 'compositional' means is not always clear. Argenter distinguishes between an earlier understanding of compositionality and a later one: in the first period, this strategy meant to gather information from different dialects in order to establish a common reference variety or standard. So, compositionality denotes: "la contribució diacrítica dels diversos dialectes a la construcció de la imatge de la llengua comuna" (Argenter 2009, 38). In the second period, compositionality meant not only selecting a form, but also incorporating different dialectal forms into the body of normative regulations (Argenter 2009, 39). In this sense, the *Guia d'usos lingüístics* explains the compositionality of the standard: "els trets comuns de l'estàndard intenten recollir aportacions d'aquestes grans varietats [basically from central Catalan, Valencian Catalan and Balearic Catalan] i no sols d'una, la central, com es tendeix a pensar" (2002, 18–19).

2 Cf. Wheeler/Yates/Dols (1999, XIII): "Though there are significant dialect differences in Catalan, the dialects are to a very high degree mutually intelligible. They are conventionally divided into two groups, on the basis of differences in phonology as well as in some features of verb morphology; there are some interesting lexical differences, too. The eastern group covers North Catalan (including *rossellonès* in French Catalonia), Central Catalan (in the eastern part of Catalonia), Balearic, and *alguerès* (in Alghero). The western group consists of North Western (NW) Catalan (western and southern Catalonia and eastern Aragon) and Valencian".

own language. Furthermore, among the eastern dialects, the one spoken in Alguero (Sardinia, Italy) has its own standard model (Institut d'Estudis Catalans 2003). In 1986, Beltran ([2]1988 [1986]) published a proposal for the variety spoken in the area of Tortosa, generally belonging to the western dialects and the so-called Western in Transition. Later, this first description culminated in the language textbook *Cruïlla* ('crossroads', Beltran/Panisello 2002), which teaches the referential geographic variety of the area of Tortosa.

Despite efforts to build a modern, flexible codification framework for the entire speech community of Catalan, there have been several attempts at initiating a separation process by declaring the regional variety to be significantly different from standard Catalan and therefore another language (cf. below, 4.1.2 and 4.2.4). These movements do not always openly acknowledge a secessionist intention, but the final result would be fragmentation.

This article aims to give a general overview of grammar standardization in the Catalan-speaking territory by highlighting the main achievements in this field, but also by presenting offshoots which might not flourish in the future. The standardization of Catalan as a pluricentric language is still continuing. It should be clear that until now, there have been only two official normative grammars: those published in 1918 by Pompeu Fabra (3.1) and by the IEC in 2016 (3.4).

After the introductory considerations in section 1, section 2 explains the three patterns against which the selected grammars are checked. These patterns comprise the different forms of the definite and personal articles in accordance to the diatopic variation of Catalan. Section 3 examines the two normative grammars and the outstanding contributions to a modern approach by Badia i Margarit (3.2) and Solà (3.3). In section 4, the contributions to the standardization of the Balearic and Valencian varieties are examined in detail. As in the preceding section 3, the classification of each of the grammars is made according to the specific patterns of the definite and personal articles. Section 5 gives an overview of the results obtained by checking the selected grammars and adds some remarks on future prospects. With regard to the references (section 6), I do not study every aspect in depth but refer to detailed studies whenever they are available. In the first place, if there is a study in English, I give it preference. Secondly, I cite studies carried out in Catalan, and lastly, I refer to studies in other languages.

2 An example: the definite and personal articles

In order to evaluate the normative grammars taken into account, I would like to have a look at the presentation of the Catalan article system, particularly the definite and personal articles, as an example of the specific interface between standardized language and diatopic and diaphasic variation. Among the different patterns

that the article system presents, I would like to check the following three: 1) General standard article, 2) *Article salat*, 3) Personal article.

Pattern 1 represents the general standard forms of the definite article (cf. Wheeler/Yates/Dols 1999, 43):

Tab. 1: General standard forms of the definite article.

	singular		plural
	before consonant	before vowel or *h-*	
masculine	*el*	*l'*	*els*
feminine	*la*	*l'*	*les*

Pattern 2 represents the so-called *article salat*, which is the most commonly used definite article in the Balearic Islands: "Its use there is typical of the spoken language [...]; it is not used in very formal speech" (Wheeler/Yates/Dols 1999, 45).

Tab. 2: The forms of the *article salat*.

	singular		plural
	before consonant	before vowel or *h-*	
masculine	*es*	*s'*	*es*
feminine	*sa*	*s'*	*ses*

Pattern 3 represents the system of the personal article that often introduces personal names, although in modern times the standard definite article has taken over from the personal article, which, in normative discourse, is often presented as a unique feature of Catalan worthy of preservation and cultivation. "The personal article is not used at all in Valencia and southern Catalonia" (Wheeler/Yates/Dols 1999, 67).

Tab. 3: The personal article.

	singular	
	before consonant	before vowel
masculine	*en (el)*	*n' (l')*
feminine	*na (la)*	*n' (l')*

According to these short explanations, the three patterns should answer the main questions concerning the normative attitudes that the analyzed grammar books

show towards regional and register variation, that is to say, towards a convergent or divergent approach to Catalan standard. I am aware that polymorphism is often present in verb paradigms across the different Catalan varieties (cf. Segarra [2]1987, 95–145; Rogge/Beinke 1991, 206–207). In addition, pluricentrism often regards the lexical variation or the presence of geosynonyms[3] such as *noi* (Central Catalan), *xic* (Valencian), *al·lot* (Balearic), *xicot* (North-Western Catalan), *minyó* (Northern Catalan) for 'boy'.

3 Normative grammars for the entire Catalan-speaking area

3.1 Pompeu Fabra's normative grammar

It is generally accepted that Pompeu Fabra (1868–1948) is the most important figure in the process of codifying Catalan and paved the way to recovering language usage. Since 2013, his works on language have been compiled in a nine-volume edition prepared under the supervision of Jordi Mir and Joan Solà. It includes detailed studies by the best-known experts in the field. Of special interest to us are: volume 1, gathering the grammars from 1891, 1898 and 1912 (Fabra 2005); volume 2, including *Gramàtica catalana. Curs mitjà* from 1918 (Fabra 2006); and volume 6 including the grammars from 1918/1933, 1956 and 1946 (Fabra 2009a). In addition, volume 4 comprises, among other manuals addressed to a non-specialist public, the manual *Les principals faltes de gramàtica (manera d'evitar-les)* (1925), which complements several questions that Fabra presented in other studies on grammar (Rico 2008, 693). By the edition of Costa (2009) Fabra's main ideas on language and grammar, codification are available for the first time in English. Among these extensive contributions to the description and codification of Catalan, there is only one grammar, which, strictly speaking, presents a normative objective: the *Gramàtica catalana* (1918). This grammar went through seven editions, continuously revised by Fabra up to 1933. It gave the official normative model between 1918 and 2016, the year when the IEC published its new grammar (cf. below, 3.4).

As has been stated by many researchers, Fabra saw what he called *redreçament* or the purification of language as a prerequisite for its social recovery, known among Catalan sociolinguists as normalization (Boix/Vila 1998, 314–325). Fabra's term *redreçament* fits perfectly with the well-known stages of corpus planning (Hau-

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3 Geosynonyms can be defined as: "[...] els mots que provenen d'arrels diferents i que s'estenen per àmbits geogràfics diferenciats però que estan associats a una mateixa unitat semàntica" (Colón 2009, 23). According to Colón (2009, 31), standardization implies impoverishment as it reduces the dialectal variability by selecting a form among several geosynonyms.

gen 1983; Boix/Vila 1998, 297; Costa 2009, 41) as it comprises in a broad sense the four following stages: selection, codification, implementation of the selected forms in society and modernization or elaboration (Montoya 2006, 26–29; Costa 2009, 58). Regarding the basis of the normative standard, Fabra's preference for the vernacular of Barcelona has repeatedly been emphasized. It is understandable due to Fabra's origin and also to the central role of the capital in many respects. This initially monocentric conception of the standard suits Fabra's view of Barcelona as the future capital of the entire Catalan-speaking territory, where the differences between the dialects would blend together, accompanied by a rigorous purification of the spoken language (Costa 2009, 38). In addition, it must be acknowledged that "Fabra evolves from an early defence (1892) of the language of Barcelona as almost the exclusive basis, for reforming Catalan, through to an invitation to Valencians and Majorcans (1918) to purify their own variants as a way to construct the literary language" (Costa 2009, 70; cf. below, 4.2.1).

Another aspect is that Fabra always saw his prescriptive framework as a proposal in which the new forms or structures would need a certain time to take root. Accordingly, there is a period when concurrent forms alternate until one prevails: "[...] the assay process, after four or five years of positive outcome, should result in a strict rule. Then we ought to be able to say that whoever does not do such and such a thing or whoever does not do something in this way or that, is quite simply committing a grammatical error" (Fabra 2009b, 192). In the same interview "A Conversation with Pompeu Fabra" from May 1926, Fabra asserts that "[t]he grammarian [...] has no individual authority to lay down the law *a priori*", but "his duty is to attenuate any friction, looking to resolve conflict [between normative principles and colloquial usage] if this is necessary" (Fabra 2009b, 191). This principle elevates the descriptive task above the prescriptive one and stresses a dynamic perspective on language codification.

With regard to the Catalan article system, Fabra's proposals and the later developments can be checked against the three patterns I propose. In his grammar from 1918/1933, chapter 1 gives a synopsis on the usage of the definite article (Fabra 2009a, 161–162). As can be seen from the reference to the masculine article form *lo*, attention is paid to the language spoken in Barcelona: "[Una altra forma de l'article masculí és *lo* (plural *los*), que el llenguatge de Barcelona no usa sinó en alguna frase feta [...]" (2009a, 161). In the grammar from 1956, the explanations on the Catalan article system are considerably more detailed (including, this time, the indefinite article; Fabra 2009a, 549–551). However, it is interesting to observe that the former explanation of the article *lo* now also refers to other spoken varieties different from that of Barcelona: "Una altra forma de l'article masculí és *lo* (plural *los*) usat encara en molts parlars catalans. A Barcelona no s'usa sinó en alguna frase estereotipada [...]" (2009a, 547). There follow some remarks on the personal article centered on usage in the eastern dialects (2009a, 549). In addition, this grammar also comprises a brief account of the neuter article and its correct, preferred or

incorrect usages (2009a, 561). However, the most detailed and systematic presentation of the neuter article is to be found in the manual *Les principals faltes de gramàtica (manera d'evitar-les)* (cf. Rico 2008, 697).

It should be mentioned that some of Fabra's proposals to amend language usage have taken effect, which can be shown by the example of the neuter article. In this regard, Marí states in 2015: "[…] en els inicis de la normativa fabriana, prescindir del *lo* abstractiu en el català literari va ser una proposta, però ara ja és una norma implantada socialment en l'estàndard formal, almenys de forma prou sòlida perquè qualsevol escrit formal que decidís transgredir-la acabés sent percebut com a inadequat" (Marí 2015, 145).

Finally, I must emphasize the continuing exegesis of Fabra's works, which, particularly during Franco's dictatorship (1939–1975), "had the effect of turning his works into a strict, unalterable orthodoxy" (Costa/Yates 2009, 22). Both in this period and the following years until the publication of the GIEC (cf. below, 3.4), the writing of grammar books with more or less prescriptive intentions never stopped, as can be demonstrated through the contributions by Jeroni Marvà (i.e. 1968), pseudonym of Artur Martorell (1874–1967) and Emili Vallès (1878–1950), Albert Jané (1973), and Josep Ruaix (1989).

3.2 Badia i Margarit's *Gramàtica de la llengua catalana*

In 1994, Antoni M. Badia i Margarit (1920–2014) published a grammar that he presented as both descriptive and normative according to its title, *Gramàtica de la llengua catalana. Descriptiva, normativa, diatòpica, diastràtica.* Among the reasons that led him to write this grammar, he mentions three: a) the progress of grammar studies in general and particularly on Catalan, b) the evolution of the Catalan language since its standardization by Fabra in 1918, and c) the changes in how spoken language was considered (Badia i Margarit 1994, 9–10). In contrast to the former normative approach based on the written language, Badia i Margarit highlights the importance of the oral mode because of the influence of audio-visual media (1994, 10). However, he sees himself in the tradition of Pompeu Fabra (Badia i Margarit 1994, 31) who invited contributions from the Valencian and Majorcan areas to construct the standard for the entire linguistic territory of Catalan. This was then applied by Moll (4.1.1) and Sanchis Guarner (4.2.1). Hence, Badia i Margarit also takes into account the geographic (diatopic) varieties of Catalan, distinguishing between the two extensive areas of eastern and western Catalan, on the one hand, and the Balearic, Valencian and Central Catalan (including Barcelonan) speech varieties, on the other. Another innovative approach consists in the consideration of three speech levels or registers that are: N1 high register, N2 the most commonly used language, and N3 colloquial language (Badia i Margarit 1994, 43). For these reasons, the title of the grammar also includes the terms diatopic and diastratic.

With regard to the Catalan article system, Badia i Margarit's explanations include both the general and the Balearic forms explaining this difference from the etymologic point of view (1994, 441–456). When describing the personal article (Badia i Margarit 1994, 446–447), he also offers a diatopic approach, distinguishing between the Balearic, Catalan and Valencian areas. In his elucidations of the uses of articles (Badia i Margarit 1994, 447–451), he adopts a Romance and normative perspective. Finally, the clarifications on the neutral article are decidedly prescriptive emphasizing the correct and incorrect uses. This procedure makes the grammar highly complex. In addition and in contrast to the attention paid to the everyday language (Badia i Margarit 1994, 32), Badia i Margarit consciously wrote his grammar in a high and very polished register (Badia i Margarit 1994, 42) that often seems archaic.

3.3 Joan Solà and the normative syntax

One of the most outstanding linguists after Fabra was Joan Solà i Cortassa (1940–2010). He contributed to giving an accurate picture of contemporary Catalan usage by directing the descriptive grammar, *Gramàtica del català contemporani* (2002; 3 volumes). Among the varied range of linguistic topics he examined, Joan Solà dedicated several works to syntactic problems and the urgent need to resolve them. In his treatise on *Sintaxi normativa: estat de la qüestió* (1994) he argued that it is necessary to regulate these problems: "perquè la llengua no se'ns desfaci. De fet, avui la sintaxi catalana ja es troba enormement acostada a la castellana" (Solà ²1994, 301). Since he was aware that the codification of Catalan mainly concentrated on orthography and lexicon, he focused on some tricky syntactic problems such as the neuter article (²1994, 27–38, 309–316), which he explained in terms of abstraction, intensification and idiomatic expressions. As well as the topics he explores, the study contains a long list of unsolved codification issues in syntax ("Llista parcial de construccions pendents de dictamen normatiu", Solà ²1994, 267–295). According to Solà, the revision of codification should be based on an in-depth knowledge of actual use (²1985 [1977]); ²1994, 14). Proposals should be elaborated through the collaboration of dialectologists, general linguists and experts in other Romance languages (²1994, 16–17). In his lecture *Com es fa una sintaxi normativa. Criteris i exemples*, Solà mentioned among the possible criteria for establishing the syntactic rules: a) to discern between the inherent resources of the language and structures borrowed from other languages, b) to integrate the most widely-spoken dialects, c) to use the accumulated information to create norms, d) to be realistic about usage, e) to codify the language for future generations and f) to disregard personal preferences (Solà 2010, 15).

3.4 The new grammar by the Institut d'Estudis Catalans

In Autumn 2016, nearly one hundred years after the publication of Fabra's grammar (1918; cf. above, 3.1), the Institut d'Estudis Catalans launched the *Gramàtica de la llengua catalana* (GIEC) aiming at being the normative reference grammar of the 21st century. In contrast to Fabra's grammar, mainly the work of one author, the new grammar is the result of collaboration and was ratified by the IEC on 29 September 2016. Started in Autumn 1995, the grammar has been composed by a committee of experts (cf. "Equip de treball", GIEC, XXXVI–XXXVIII) under the supervision of Gemma Rigau and Manuel Pérez Saldanya, who took over this responsibility after the death of Joan Solà (cf. above, 3.3). But the collaborative aspect goes further: on 23 June 2015, the IEC presented the project "L'Acadèmia Oberta". This aims to establish a platform for exchanging information between the IEC and the language professionals of the entire Catalan-speaking area, particularly, journalists, teachers, writers, translators and correctors. These groups are considered to be a reliable source of information on language usage, on the one hand, and the key element in dissemination of the norm, on the other.

It is important to stress that the GIEC introduces itself as both descriptive and normative (GIEC, XX–XXII). Until recent times, Catalan had no extensive or in-depth studies on language usage (GIEC, XXI), so normative decisions are argued on the basis of usage description. These descriptions come out of the numerous studies published in the last third of 20th century and in particular the *Gramàtica del català contemporani* (Solà 2002; cf. above, 3.3). Examples are drawn from the DIEC (*Diccionari de la llengua catalana*; ↗11.3) and the *Corpus Textual Informatitzat de la Llengua Catalana* (CTILC; GIEC, XXXV). The GIEC pays great attention to syntax with 23 out of 35 chapters devoted to this topic. Of the remaining twelve, five focus on phonetics and phonology and seven on morphology.

The GIEC fosters a more pluricentric approach in grammar codification because it takes into account linguistic variation centering the selection of standard forms on the general language (previously also known as "literary language") and the formal registers (GIEC, XXII). The two guiding principles of description are therefore the geographic variation (diatopic or geolectal) and the functional variation (diaphasic or register). In a third and complementary term, the description and decision making process consider the evolution of language. All the information gathered is processed on the basis of one criterion, that is, the adequacy of the selected form in the communicative situation (GIEC, XXIII).

Among the different geographic varieties, the GIEC considers the more representative ones of each of the Catalan vernaculars that have acquired prestige throughout the entire Catalan-speaking territory. Thus, the six dialects are represented by a selection of subdialects, but all the areas are represented: from the eastern group dialects there are *alguerès* (in Alghero), Northern Catalan, Central Catalan and Balearic; from the western group, North Western Catalan and Valencian (cf. GIEC, XXIV).

Register representation distinguishes between three degrees of formality: highly formal, formal and less formal (GIEC, XXIV). The latter gives rise to reflection on the colloquial register since spontaneity is added as a parameter. It is important to note that the spoken and written modality of language is always considered. Grammar and normative grammar in particular are not reduced to the written modality. The spoken utterance is also subject to standardization, described in the chapters on phonetics and phonology. As orthography only belongs to the written modality of language, this traditional part of grammar is not displayed in the GIEC (GIEC, XXVI; ↗11.1).

From the above, it follows that the descriptive and normative approach makes it difficult to discern between the preferred standard forms and other forms that are "not possible" or "not recommendable" (GIEC, XXIII). Therefore, M. Teresa Cabré comments that the GIEC requires certain interpretative skills (GIEC, XV), and in the public debate on this approach, it has been emphasized that the GIEC leaves it up to the reader to determine which solutions are the preferred ones. However, in January 2019 the IEC launched an abridged version for non-experts, the *Gramàtica essencial de la llengua catalana* (GEIEC 2019), which is expected to be completed by the *Gramàtica bàsica i d'ús de la llengua catalana* (GBU) at the end of 2019.[4]

The Catalan article system is set out among the 23 chapters on syntaxes (GIEC, 471–1314). It is described specifically in chapter 16 "Els determinants" (GIEC, 569–618) and includes articles, demonstratives and possessives. A first approach to the article is given in the introduction to this chapter and focuses on the information that the definite and indefinite article supplies (GIEC, 573–577). On the subsequent 22 pages the definite article (GIEC, 578–594), the indefinite article (GIEC, 594–598) and the lack of an article (GIEC, 598–600) are described. In the main section where the definite article is presented, the standard form is clearly indicated as *el, la, els, les*, for the syllabic form and *l'* for the asyllabic form (GIEC, 578; pattern 1). There follows a subsection where the variants of the definite article are briefly indicated (GIEC, 580–581). These are the traditional form of the definite masculine article (*lo, los*) and the *article salat* (pattern 2). The GIEC mentions particularly that the traditional article is preserved: "[e]n alguns parlars nord-occidentals, en el parlar del Camp de Tarragona, en tortosí, en alguerès i en algunes comarques valencianes [...]" (GIEC, 580). According to GIEC (581), the *article salat* coexists in the Balearic Islands with the standard article and belongs to the less formal register of spoken language published.

The personal article (pattern 3) is presented as appropriate before personal names since these are "inherently definite" (GIEC, 581). The two different forms – *en, na, n'*, on the one hand, and *el, la, l'*, on the other – appear to be treated equally (GIEC, 581). The previous forms are attributed to the Balearic Island and the latter to most of the Catalan vernaculars. Explicitly, it is mentioned that the Valencian

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4 In 2017, Ginebra i Serrabou published a "practical guide" to the new normative regulations.

vernaculars and *tortosí* do not usually use the article before personal names (GIEC, 582).

The largest part of this subsection is dedicated to the usage of the definite article (GIEC, 583–587) and the values, which the definite article can take on (GIEC, 587–594). These values for expressing individualization and admiration take on certain functions of the neutral article, explicitly mentioned as the traditional denomination of these two values (GIEC, 587). It is highlighted that: "A més de l'article *el*, en la parla hi trobem la forma col·loquial *lo* com a article amb valor individualitzador: *Sempre em diu lo que he de fer*" (GIEC, 588). For the formal registers, other forms are indicated as more appropriate by a handful of alternative constructions. The same occurs to the value of admiring where the usage of *lo* is indicated as "influència forana", typical for the informal registers, followed by recommendations of suitable Catalan alternatives (GIEC, 594).

To sum up with regard to the Catalan article system, the GIEC demonstrates a balanced proposal on the basis of geographic variation. Be that as it may, for an ordinary user, it would be difficult to detect the precise function of an element and therefore get the rules for register appropriateness.

4 Normative grammars for specific geographic standards

4.1 Balearic normative grammars

4.1.1 Francesc de B. Moll

In 1937, Francesc de B. Moll (1903–1991) published an essential normative grammar for the use of the Balearic community (Moll 1962, 7) known as *Rudiments de gramàtica normativa. Per a ús dels escriptors baleàrics*. He sees the knowledge offered in this grammar as a preliminary stage for the deeper study of the Catalan standard variety conceived by Pompeu Fabra (Moll 1962, 7). Despite envisaging the grammar for the Balearic Islands, Moll supports the unity of Catalan-speaking areas and highlights the differences between language and dialect (Moll 1962, 10). He draws a distinction between spoken language, which is diverse, and literary language, which tends towards unity and represents, according to him, the abstract spirit of the language (Moll 1962, 11). When creating the literary language, all of the diatopic variants need to cooperate because every dialect has good qualities, while others have some deficiencies (Moll 1962, 12). In Moll's view in the construction of the literary language, no dialect should prevail (Moll 1962, 12). In this regard, he disagrees with the standardization of Catalan on the basis of Barcelonan speech. However, the significant changes in the title of the following edition(s), *Gramàtica Cata-*

lana referida especialment a les Illes Balears (1968), leaves no room for doubt that the Balearic dialect belongs to the Catalan language (cf. Bonet 2000, 73–111).[5]

With respect to the Catalan article system, Moll's explanation is not so different from other grammarians as he presents the general article and afterwards the Balearic article, predominantly used in the spoken mode (Moll 1962, 217). To him, the adoption of the general article for the written mode seems like a contribution to comprehension between Balearic writers and the continental readership (Moll 1962, 217) as well as "en benefici de la unitat idiomàtica" (Moll 1962, 218). Although Moll justifies the diatopic variation of Catalan by presenting a normative grammar of the Balearic variety, his normative discourse relies on the arguments that emphasize the need for linguistic unity and the rejection of particularism. This purist line is reflected in the rules, which Moll gives in order to avoid the neutral article, considered a possible influence from Spanish (Moll 1962, 219–221).

4.1.2 Other attempts at standardization

Among the private institutions, which foster a different and particular standardization, the Acadèmi de sa Llengo Baleà should be mentioned. In 2005, this institution published a highly controversial grammar of Balearic, *Gramàtica (Normativa) d'es Baléà* (GNB). It aims to bridge the gap between the spoken language of the Balearic Islands ("sa llengo que xèrra y ralla es pobble baléà", GNB, 5) and the "imposition" of standard Catalan at school (GNB, 5) from the 1990s onwards. The normative discourse adopted by this grammar clearly refers to the motto of the Real Academia Española since it aims to: "fitsà, polí y donà lluantó a sa llengo" (GNB, 5), this is to say, "Limpia, fija y da esplendor" (↗12.2). In addition, it rejects not only the Catalan standard but also the intervention of normative decisions other than those taken by the people: "Sa màcsima autoridat d'una Llengo, la té esclusivament es Pobble que la xèrra" (GNB, 259). In this context, it is not surprising that only the Balearic forms of the article are presented (GNB, 117–120) without mentioning the general forms of the Catalan article.

4.2 Valencian normative grammars

4.2.1 Manuel Sanchis Guarner

Manuel Sanchis Guarner's (1911–1981) grammar, *Gramàtica valenciana* (1950), is undoubtedly the first systematic and rigorous description of Valencian varieties con-

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5 Among the recent approaches to the Balearic variety, it is worth noting that the attempt for a normative grammar by Seguí Trobat (2014) contains an extensive chapter on article use (2014, 33–47).

ceived with a normative purpose. Following the example of Moll's grammar (cf. above, 4.1.1), Sanchis Guarner implements the *Normes de Castelló* (1932) (↗11.1) in order to offer a normative framework to the Valencian writers according to Fabra's proposal. Sanchis Guarner favors genuine forms from the actual language, even if they differ from those preferred by Fabra, while other forms from the classical language coincide with Fabra's solutions but have lost their vitality in Valencian. In line with purist discourse, a third group of forms, those borrowed from Spanish, is directly rejected (Ferrando 1993, XVIII–XX). In this sense, the motto of the grammar, a well-known quotation from Fabra's *Converses Filològiques*, is significant (I cite it in English following Costa 2009, 147):

> "We Catalans would wish only that you and your colleagues might undertake a concerted purification of the language that you use, without worrying in the least about coming nearer to how we speak it in Catalonia. The aim would be to rid Valencian of Castilian influences, to set it back on its own feet and to enrich it, restoring it to a proper relationship with the language of your great medieval writers" (cf. Sanchis Guarner 1950, 23).

Written for a specialized readership, Sanchis Guarner starts with an in-depth consideration of the relationship between standard language, geographic variety and vernaculars (Sanchis Guarner 1950, 27–34) and some reflexions on the creation of other literary languages (*literalització*; Sanchis Guarner 1950, 31), for instance, Italian and German. He makes clear that speaking is always vague and inapprehensible (Sanchis Guarner 1950, 27), whereas the written and standard language, because of its fixedness, lags behind the spoken language (Sanchis Guarner 1950, 29). He considers four registers: a) high register suitable for written communication, b) medium register suitable for spoken and written communication on the regional level, c) the local dialect and d) the vulgar or ordinary speech (Ferrando 1993, XXIII). According to Sanchis Guarner, the standard would coincide with register b), while c) and d) are not appropriate for a polished way of speaking. Therefore, grounded in historical-cultural and aesthetical criteria, the aim of the grammar is to show which are the idiomatically correct uses (Sanchis Guarner 1950, 29). The task of the grammarian is: "El gramàtic trau les formes idiomàtiques de l'àmbit concret del parlar, les aïlla i les sistematitza, i després d'ordenar-les, raonar-les i construir-les segons la Història lingüística, les torna a l'espai, al temps, a la Societat" (Sanchis Guarner 1950, 27).

A more detailed analysis of Sanchis' normative approach can be found in Bonet (2000, 13–35), where two other influential Valencian grammar books are also examined, *Lliçons de Gramàtica Valenciana amb exercicis pràctics* (1951) by Carles Salvador (1897–1955; cf. Bonet 2000, 37–72), and *Curs mitjà de gramàtica catalana referida especialment al País Valencià* (1977) by Enric Valor (1911–2000; cf. Bonet 2000, 113–145).

4.2.2 *Guia d'usos linguistics*

In 2002, the Institut Interuniversitari de Filologia Valenciana (IIFV) published a guide to standard Valencian usage, *Guia d'usos lingüístics*. The IIFV was created in 1987 and aims to enhance "the linguistic and literary study of the Valencian language, within the general framework of the Catalan language and its literature" (IIFV). The target readership is specified as being any person interested in the formal usage of Valencian and specifically the (future) teachers within the Valencian education system (2002, 20). In a very didactic way, the guide explains the main controversial points of Catalan codification. This is also the case of the three patterns of the Catalan article system, which are in the tradition of other former Valencian grammars (cf. above, 4.2.1).

I would highlight that the introduction to the *Guia d'usos lingüístics* includes some well-explained notions on language variation, standard and linguistic correctness (2002, 15–22) before expounding the elements of grammar (2002, 23–154). We can find a definition of standard there, which largely coincides with the Prague school conception (↗2):

> "L'estàndard és una varietat lingüística no espontània: es basa en un model lingüístic proposat per una autoritat lingüística reconeguda i es fixa a partir de l'ús formal, en especial el de persones que tenen una projecció d'abast ampli, com escriptors, polítics, periodistes, etc. Es tracta d'un model de referència que serveix a tots els membres d'una comunitat lingüística per a comunicar-se en els àmbits formals" (2002, 17).

4.2.3 *Gramàtica Normativa Valenciana*

In 2006, the Acadèmia Valenciana de la Llengua (AVL) published a normative grammar, *Gramàtica Normativa Valenciana*, also known by the acronym GNV. The AVL is an institution created in 1998 (*Llei 7/1998*) by the Generalitat Valenciana, the Valencian regional government. It became the only body allowed to establish and implement the official standard for Valencian after the reform of the *Estatut d'Autonomia de la Comunitat Valenciana* (1982) in 2006. The AVL's standard was defined as binding for the whole public administration (art. 41) and therefore it was essential to have a normative grammar. Regarding the glossonym, the GNV opts for the traditional name *valencià* (Valencian) according to the *Dictamen sobre els principis i criteris per a la defensa de la denominació i l'entitat del valencià* (2005) and with respect to orthography, it respects the *Normes de Castelló* (1932) (↗11.1). More specifically, this means that Valencian is seen as part of the Catalan-speaking territory (*Dictamen* 2005, 20–21) and any attempts at fragmentation are rejected in support of a convergent but pluricentric codification (*Dictamen* 2005, 24–25).

The GNV starts by explaining the aims of grammar codification: "[...] una gramàtica normativa té com a finalitat determinar amb claredat quines són les formes

més idònies per als diversos àmbits d'ús de la llengua, és a dir, ha de ser prescripti-va i orientativa alhora" (13). This idea is explained when elucidating the three main criteria that maintain the normative decisions. The first criterion refers to the pre-scriptive, as well as descriptive character of the GNV, which revisits some crucial notions expressed in the *Guia d'usos lingüístics* (cf. above, 4.2.2). Through the pre-scriptive perspective, the grammar aims to orient the learner about which forms are recommended for formal registers or standard language. One of the most distinctive qualities of the GNV is to clear designate the difference between formal and general forms, on the one hand, and less formal or restrictive forms, on the other (16–17). In contrast, the descriptive perspective, though never exhaustive, is adopted for explaining the normative decisions to the general readership (15–16). The second criterion gives priority to Valencian forms: "les formes genuïnes de la llengua parla-da i de més prestigi literari, partint de les preferències del valencià general" (16). The third and last criterion highlights the cohesion of the different geographic varie-ties (16).

Chapter 15 deals with the article system (123–130) and focuses on Valencian, but also includes mentions of other varieties such as the Balearic article (124). With respect to the personal article, the GNV asserts the absence of this type of article in Valencian. It explains that the personal article is still used in the Balearic vernacu-lars, whereas the north-western and central dialects tend to use the definite article, in particular, in the case of the feminine (126). In the case of the neuter article *lo*, which is not accepted by most grammars as normative, the GNV does admit this element as it is common in spoken language: "En l'expressió oral espontània, la forma *lo* s'utilitza actualment de manera general amb valor neutre, amb una distri-bució d'usos semblant a la que es fa en castellà" (127). The description of its func-tions (127–130) follows Solà's proposal by distinguishing between abstraction, inten-sification and idiomatic expressions (cf. above, 3.3). Here the normative discourse includes recommendations on avoiding forms created by Spanish influence.

4.2.4 Other attempts at standardization

One of the institutions that always fostered an independent standard based on the secessionist orthography of *Normes del Puig* (1981) (↗11.1) is the Real Acadèmia de Cultura Valenciana (RACV) and has its origin in the Centre de Cultura Valenciana founded in 1915 (cf. Lledó 2011). On the occasion of its centenary this institution published a new grammar, *Nova Gramàtica de la Llengua Valenciana* (NGLV [2]2016 [2015]). This grammar was also prepared to commemorate the publication of the *Gramática elemental de la llengua valenciana* (1915) by Lluís Fullana Mira (1872–1948). In his preface the director of the Department for Valencian Language and Literature, Voro López Verdejo censures the on-going disfigurement of Valencian under the influence of Spanish, on the one side, and Catalan, on the other ([2]2016,

7–8). This latter influence is repeatedly presented in terms of idiomatic annexation (López Verdejo [2]2016, 8 and 17). In line with the secessionist ideology of RACV, López Verdejo argues that Valencian should be categorized within the larger linguistic area called Occitan-Valencian or Occitan-Romance ([2]2016, 9) instead of presenting it simply as belonging to the Catalan dialect continuum: "que inclou, ademés del valencià i del català, unes atres llengües que presenten afinitat estructural entre sí, com el mallorquí, el llenguadocià, el provençal, el gascó o el llemosí" (López Verdejo [2]2016, 9). Since Catalan and Valencian differ in verbal and nominal morphology and have a distinctive syntactic behavior, the final objective of the grammar is to establish an independent standard for Valencian (López Verdejo [2]2016, 17). It is interesting that the concept of *Ausbausprache*, introduced by Heinz Kloss (cf., among others, Kloss 1976; ↗0), is used to justify the independent standardization (López Verdejo [2]2016, 17). The model of Catalan standard language initially conceived by Fabra and later developed by the IEC is rejected by the RACV for being homogenizing. They imply that Catalan standardization leads to Valencian being swallowed up: "orientat a suplantar el lèxic i les formes patrimonials valencianes per les catalanes" (López Verdejo [2]2016, 27). According to this perspective, the RACV presents its own prescriptive grammar, which reflects the actual spoken Valencian vernaculars (López Verdejo [2]2016, 9, 28).

The Valencian article system is presented and by means of footnotes differences in other Catalan dialects such as Balearic are mentioned (NGLV [2]2016 [2015], 218). It is worth emphasizing that the inventory of article forms (218) includes the neuter article *lo* and is completely accepted as normative (237–243). The invariable neuter article is clearly distinguished from the classical forms *lo/los* of definite masculine article that are no longer used in general language except in some northern regions (216–219). With regard to the personal article, which is fully alive in other regions of the Catalan-speaking community, the NGLV preserves it as a respectful address form in current speech (e.g. *en/n*a) and requires the capital letters for writing (243–244). The representation of the article system therefore demonstrates a restricted view of the linguistic area, highlighting Valencian's particularities.

It should be mentioned that there were other previous attempts at independent codification; some of them proposing a particular model within the linguistic unity (Barberà et al. 1980) and others breaking links with the wider community (Guinot i Galán 1987; Fontelles/Lanuza/Garcia [2]1996 [1987]).

5 Conclusion and future prospects

The following figure allows to sum up the different approaches of the selected grammars, though in a very schematic way. Nevertheless, the main differences can be highlighted by the geographic focus (in bold) of each of the grammars. The principal shift can be seen between the two official normative grammars, that is to say,

Tab. 4: General standard forms of the definite article.

	Eastern group				Western group	
	Northern Catalan	Central Catalan	Balearic	*alguerès* (in Alghero)	North Western Catalan	Valencian
3.1 Fabra (1918/1933)		X				
3.2 Badia i Margarit (1994)		X	X			X
3.4 GIEC (2016)	X	X	X	X	X	X
4.1.1 Moll (1937/1968)		X	X			X
4.1.2 *Gramàtica (Normativa) d'es Baléà* (2005)			X			
4.2.1 Sanchis Guarner (1950)		X	X			X
4.2.2 *Guia d'usos linguistics* (2002)		X				X
4.2.3 GNV (2006)		X	X			X
4.2.4 NGLV (2015)						X

the shift from a monocentric approach in Fabra (1918/1933) to a pluricentric one in the GIEC (2016). A significant change occurred in the consideration of the Valencian variety and Community of Valencia, which emerged as a semi-center of standardization, while the diatopic variations of other territories (e.g. Balearic) still need to be considered "predominantly exonormative centres" (Amorós-Negre 2014, 170).

The table also shows the divergent or secessionist codifications undertaken in *Gramàtica (Normativa) d'es Baléà* (2005) and NGLV (2015). The remaining four grammars can be classified as convergent in order to complete the fixation of a normative standard for the entire Catalan-speaking territory.

However, the pluricentric codification does not necessarily imply a balanced functioning of the polymorphic standard. In the prologue of *Cruïlla* (2002; cf. section 1), Pradilla describes the ideal Catalan standard model as follows: "l'ideal seria un model únic polimòrfic on l'usuari pogués triar entre una diversitat d'opcions no jerarquitzades" (in Beltran/Panisello 2002, 8). This conception seems to present certain similarity to what Marcellesi in 1983 called polynomic language: "Une langue polynomique est une langue à l'unité abstraite, à laquelle les utilisateurs reconnaissent plusieurs modalités d'existence, toutes également tolérées sans qu'il y ait entre elles hiérarchisation ou spécialisation de fonction" (2003, 173–174). Nevertheless, it seems to us that this kind of abstract linguistic projection does not work among the

language users – at least until now. It is difficult to predict whether centrifugal or centripetal tendencies will prevail in the age of globalization and digitalization.

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Elisenda Bernal
11.3 Normative Dictionaries

Abstract: This article 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 article ends with a consideration of the challenges that Catalan lexicography has yet to face.

Keywords: Catalan, lexicography, dictionaries, standardization, codification, modernization, Pompeu Fabra, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Acadèmia Valenciana de la Llengua, pluricentricity

1 Introduction: a language in a context of adversity

In the 19th century, languages like Italian, French and 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 18th century when Spanish was introduced as the only official language. Moreover, 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). They abolished the old constitutional organization of the countries that formed the Crown of Aragon (sometimes also referred to as *Catalan-Aragonese Confederation*)[1] 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 linguistic variety of reference and intercommunication as well as the designated language

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1 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 IEC (2018) for more details.

used in formal contexts. Therefore, other languages were restricted to everyday and folk context and it hindered their chance to develop a standard language model.[2] 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, the maximum expression of individual and collective origins, and as an element linked to the idea of a mother land.

In this context, the claim in Catalonia for Catalan to be used in literature took shape in the movement called *Renaixença* (literally 'rebirth'). 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. Furthermore, 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 16th to the 18th century, represented by Antoni de Bofarull (1821–1892). On the other, there were those who defended the "català que ara es parla" (literally '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 was not subordinated to Spanish until the 1890s with the emergence of Modernism. This new aim required Catalan to become a useful and valid language for all communicative situations. Not to mention, it also prescribed 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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2 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

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

The standardization in Catalan is inescapably linked to Pompeu Fabra (1868–1948) who has often been called the "seny ordenador de la llengua catalana" (literally '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. 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, were part of the Secció from the first moment. They undertook 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[3] 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, 18 November 1919, "Per la puresa de la llengua. Els castellanismes", according to Mir/Solà 2010).[4]

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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".

3 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/Solà (2007, chap. 4).

4 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* '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 results of this task materialized in the *Normes ortogràfiques* of 1913 (IEC 1913) and later on in the *Diccionari ortogràfic* of 1917 (Fabra 1917) (↗11.1). 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* (DLL). This project 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 were printed – from *a* to *alabarda* – and two more stayed as proofs – from *alabarda* to *aquedar-se*). Be that as it may, 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 that Fabra 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. Nevertheless, it was designed as a selective inventory of the common language mainly based on the dialect of Barcelona. It 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 to establish 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 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

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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', *bírria* 'piece of junk') or not (*bolso* for *bossa* 'handbag', *bronca* for *esbroncada* 'scolding, quarrel'), etc.

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. 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 Darmesteter and Hatzfeld (1890–1900), and by Webster (Mir 2016).[5]

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. Additionally, 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, §5.47ss., and Colón' 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;
- 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;

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5 There is no unanimity among the authors who have tried to determine which edition of the Webster dictionary Fabra consulted: Colón/Soberanas (1985), Rico/Solà (1995) and Bargalló/Garriga (2000) mention *Webster's International Dictionary* (1892); Colón (2007) opts for a later edition (1911), *Webster's New International Dictionary*; and Ginebra/Solà (2007) and Feliu/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 he used the 13th (1899), 14th (1914) and 15th (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 made 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 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 (from German: *blocaus* 'blockhouse', *edelweiss* 'edelweiss'; from English: *crol* 'crawl', *snob* 'snob'; from 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 other than the traditional labels of *verb* 'verb', *transitiu* 'transitive', *pronominal* 'pronominal', etc. Moreover, the 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. Still, 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. First, 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). Conversely, 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.[6]

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 meanings appear first.[7] In relation to this, the lack of numbering of the senses hinders the chance to see the relationship that is shared by the meanings. This is a situation that worsens the longer the entry becomes even though Fabra resorts to the use of single and double backlashes, semicolons and periods followed by new paragraphs

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6 Rafel (2012) observes that in the second edition of the *Diccionari de la llengua catalana* of the IEC (DIEC2), the decision that was made to number the senses entailed an internal restructuration of many articles.

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

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 *cancan* 'cancan', defined as a 'French dance that involves a range of unseemly and extravagant moves', *dinamiter* 'dynamiter', according to the DGLC, it 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 (IEC) published the first normative academic dictionary in 1995, the *Diccionari de la llengua catalana* (DIEC1). It was a long-awaited dictionary, 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. Interestingly, the senses were numbered, the metalinguistic definitions were revised and the nomenclature was corrected and expanded. The second edition of the dictionary (DIEC2) came out in 2007, twelve 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, the 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 geographical 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.

The DIEC2 represents an improvement in the way information is presented with respect to the 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 the DIEC1 and it expands its nomenclature, subentries, senses and examples, as can be observed in Table 1, obtained from Ginebra (2007, 36):

Tab. 1: Comparison among the DGLC, the DIEC1 and the DIEC2.

	DGLC	DIEC1	DIEC2[8]	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

Besides the increase in the number of entries, subentries, senses and examples, the 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) 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 the DIEC1;
g) the grammatical categorization of verbs was partially improved.

These improvements were 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 marked as *popular* 'popular' or *vulgar* 'vulgar', remains a weak spot with frequent inconsistencies (Esteve 2010).

Thus, the inclusion of geosynonyms (Central Catalan, Balearic Catalan, North-Western Catalan, Valencian), which were already present in the DIEC1, leads to the multiplication of entries that reference one another (see, for example, *nus*, *nuc* and *nu* 'naked'; *motlle*, *motle*, *motllo* and *motlo* 'mould'). This multiplicity is added to

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8 These data reflect the status of the DIEC2 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>.

the list of pairings that were already included in the DGLC (*cargol* and *caragol* 'snail', *arrel* and *rel* 'root', *tisores* and *estisores* 'scissors', *cuir* and *cuiro* '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'). More entries come from the admissions of forms that are usual in 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 was already 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. For this reason, 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 the DIEC2, there are only 42 entries labeled as vulgar which do not cover the 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 IEC and approved its statutes via *Real Decreto 3118/1976* (ratified by the *Llei 8/1991*, from the Catalan Parliament), which states that its jurisdiction extends to all Catalan-speaking areas (art. 2). In this sense, the IEC published different institutional declarations in favor of the unity of the language (IEC 1978; 1996). However, due to different political circumstances, the Generalitat Valenciana created the Acadèmia Valenciana de la Llengua via the *Llei 7/1998*. Although it has never been stated that Valencian is a different language than Catalan, the Acadèmia Valenciana de la Llengua is a recognized legal authority. That means 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 IEC, seeks a compositional model that recognizes diversity without putting any Catalan dialect before the others. In this sense, it is quite similar to the recent trend in neighboring language cultures of recognizing and seeking to codify a 'pluricentric norm' (see Mas 2012 and Edelmann 2015 for further details). Thus, the new grammar edited by the IEC (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 IEC 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). Dictionaries are never supposed to be completely exhaustive and comprehensive repositories of all the words in a language, as it is stated in the introduction to the 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 the 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 printed edition. The DNV contains close to 93,000 entries, 23,000 more than the 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 the 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, blow-fly', *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 IEC (which rejects these words in favor of *prémer*, *afectuós -osa*, *acomiadar*, *borinot*, *mida* and *llis -a*, respectively). Given these differences 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.[9]

In regards to its microstructure, the DNV shares some features with the 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 the 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 Conclusion: 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). Lastly, 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 need to reflect colloquial language (called *mediatized colloquial language*) in their texts. This fictive

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9 In fact, Badia i Margarit (1995, XXXVI) makes a specific mention of eight words that were rejected for inclusion in the DIEC1: *alfombra* 'carpet', *calentador* 'heater', *camilla* 'stretcher', *carpa* 'marquee', *fiambrera* '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 the DNV. Concerning *carpa*, the IEC finally admitted it as an independent entry in the DIEC2 in the amendments of July 2015.

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 IEC 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 language. 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 that 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 IEC 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 IEC regarding both orthography (IEC 2017) and grammar (IEC 2016) seem to envisage an approach to language that allows for more flexibility than it had up to this point. They present the norm based on an updated description of Catalan and its functional uses and varieties.

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Òscar Bladas Martí
11.4 Dictionaries of Language Difficulties

Abstract: Dictionaries of language difficulties provide an interesting insight into the implementation of linguistic models. In the case of Catalan, dictionaries of language difficulties show the challenges faced by the standardization process of this minority language. This article examines the role of dictionaries of language difficulties in the standardization process of Catalan since the early 1980s. First, some historical background is provided. Second, a number of dictionaries of language difficulties are analyzed in relation to Haugen's (1983; 1987) linguistic management model. Finally, the impact of Information and Communication Technologies on this type of publication is explored.

Keywords: Catalan, linguistic difficulty, linguistic insecurity, dictionaries of language difficulties, style books, standardization, implementation, modernization, purism, pluricentricity

1 Introduction: "Is this word correct?"

A good way to describe the role of dictionaries of language difficulties in the Catalan-speaking context is by looking at how Catalan speakers reflect on the language itself. The following dialogue is an excerpt from a colloquial conversation, which took place in Barcelona in the 1990s. Participants are members of the same family, and they are talking about how well the mother (MMM) slept the night before. PPP is the father, and CME is the daughter. For our purposes here, the most interesting segment is lines 4–11 in which participants discuss the correctness of the word *lirona* (which literally refers to a type of rodent but metaphorically means 'stupid').

1   PPP: Si dormies com una lirona! [...]
2   MMM: (LAUGH) Dormies com una lirona! Sí!
3   Perquè m'he posat a dormir però t'he …
4   PPP: Està bé aquesta paraula?
5   CME: Eh?
6   PPP: Si està ben dit, això de lirona?
7   MMM: És igual!
8   CME: No sé ni què vol dir
9   PPP: No? Mira-ho al diccionari.
10 MMM: No saps què vol dir lirona?
11   Que és … (LAUGH) una miqueta fluixa!
12 PPP: No! Jo no volia pas dir això!
(adapted from Payrató/Alturo 2002, conversation 07)

Conversations about the correctness of a word were frequent among speakers back in the 1990s and still today. As a minority language, Catalan is under pressure from the dominant language (Spanish), particularly in terms of linguistic interference (Payrató 1984; 1985). This has an impact on speakers' confidence in the use of the language in private and public settings (cf. Solà 1994a; 1994b; Wright 1999; Costa 2010; Newman/Trenchs-Parera 2015). As a result of this linguistic insecurity (Labov 1972; Preston 2013), questions such as *Està bé això de ...?* and *Està ben dit això?* are relatively frequent in speakers' conversations. To some extent, this situation also explains the need for linguistic resources including dictionaries of language difficulties among specialists (e.g. educators, policymakers, language advisors, editors) and the general public.

This article examines the role played by dictionaries of language difficulties in the Catalan-speaking context since the re-establishment of democracy in Spain in the late 1970s. To do so, section 2 presents the historical context in which many dictionaries of language difficulties have been published. Section 3 analyzes their role in the standardization of Catalan within Haugen's (1983; 1987) linguistic planning model (↗0; ↗4). Finally, section 4 explores the impact of information and communication technologies on this type of dictionary. Importantly, the term *dictionary of language difficulties* is used here with a broad meaning in order to include a variety of publications that were not originally conceived as dictionaries of language difficulties (e.g. *diccionaris de barbarismes*, bilingual dictionaries, media style books) but which, in practice, are used as such by either specialists in Catalan linguistics or the general public.

2 Historical context

Modern standard Catalan was created during the first three decades of the 20th century. Supported by the scientific academy Institut d'Estudis Catalans (IEC), a group of linguists led by Pompeu Fabra initiated the development of a grammar (*Gramàtica catalana*), a prescriptive dictionary (*Diccionari general de la llengua catalana*) and a number of didactic materials to disseminate the new standard model (e.g. *Gramàtica catalana. Curs mitjà*) (cf. Costa 2009). All this fruitful work in the area of standardization was truncated by the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939) and General Franco's dictatorship (1939–1975).

However, during this harsh period the standardization process did not stop in literary and academic environments. Decisive contributions in the field were made by linguists such as Francesc de B. Moll, Joan Coromines, Manuel Sanchis Guarner, Antoni Maria Badia i Margarit, Joan Solà, Joan Veny, Albert Jané and Josep Ruaix, among many others, until the re-establishment of the Generalitat de Catalunya (Catalan government) in the early 1980s. Their continuous work reinforced and further developed – from different perspectives – the modern standard model promoted by Pompeu Fabra and the IEC. For full accounts of the process of standardization of

Catalan during this period, see Solà (1977; 1990), Segarra (1985a; 1985b; 2008), Ferrando/Nicolás (2005), Branchadell (2006), Esteve (2003), Rico (1995), Veny (2001; 2009) (↗11.2; ↗11.3).

2.1 Early 1980s

After the Generalitat de Catalunya was re-established in the early 1980s, an intensive campaign known as *Normalització Lingüística* was launched to promote Catalan in key areas such as education, mass media and public administration (Boix/Vila 1998; DiGiacomo 2001; Wright ²2016 [2004]; Montoya 2006; Strubell/Boix 2011). Yet the country had changed dramatically during Franco's dictatorship. During this period, Catalan was banned from formal settings (including public administration, education and mass media). Hence, when democracy was re-established, cohorts of Catalan speakers were unfamiliar with the formal varieties (both spoken and written) of the language. In addition, most Catalan-speaking areas received thousands of migrants from other areas in Spain due to the economic development in the 1960s and 1970s. Most migrants had Spanish as their first language, which changed the sociolinguistic landscape of the Catalan-speaking areas completely (Atkinson 2000; Pujolar 2010).

This is the historical context in which many dictionaries of language difficulties need be examined. Suddenly, in the early 1980s, language policymakers and educators had to deal with, first, a diglossic situation in which a population of native speakers was unable to use the language in formal contexts (and hence they used Spanish), and second, a new sociolinguistic situation where a newly arrived population had no knowledge of the language. The implementation of new linguistic policies (e.g. recruitment and training of Catalan teachers) was urgent (Webber/Strubell 1991; Arnau 2013).

The need for up-to-date resources was also apparent in the area of lexicography. The prefaces of dictionaries published in the early 1980s emphasized this lack of resources and continuously expressed their willingness to contribute to the modernization of the language. See as an example the following excerpt from *Nou diccionari de la llengua catalana* (Xuriguera ³1980), where the author highlights the necessity of providing *all* speakers with a useful tool for the everyday use of the language.

> "Ens sentirem ben satisfets que la present obra resulti correcta i pugui ésser un bon auxiliar per al coneixement de la llengua catalana, que pugui servir-se'n amb confiança el lector més exigent i que faci possible que cada català, estudiant, obrer, de professió liberal, escriptor o corrector, comerciant o periodista, la trobi útil i, si hi cap, li esdevingui indispensable" (Xuriguera ³1980, IX).

> "Essent el caràcter del *Nou diccionari de la llengua catalana* essencialment popular, [...] posem a les mans del lector una obra acurada, fàcil i completa, d'una presentació moderna, sense regatejar esforços per a presentar el Diccionari que Catalunya necessitava" (Xuriguera ³1980, IX).

Similar needs were identified and extensively discussed in the area of grammar. Most linguists agreed that the grammar developed by Pompeu Fabra with the IEC's support needed to be revised and adapted to modern Catalan (Solà 1987; 1994b). However, no renewed model emerged until the 21st century with the publication of *Gramàtica de la llengua catalana* by the IEC.

Despite these challenges, the re-establishment of democracy facilitated the development of new lexicographic resources to help users of the language deal with their most immediate linguistic doubts. Most notably, the publication of *Diccionari de la llengua catalana* (Enciclopèdia Catalana 1982) provided speakers with an up-to-date alternative to the prescriptive *Diccionari general de la llengua catalana* (DGLC), published in 1932 by the IEC under the supervision of Pompeu Fabra (↗11.2; ↗11.3). Enciclopèdia Catalana also published a number of other lexicographic resources (see below, 2.2), which became invaluable tools not only for the general public but also for specialists.

2.2 The 1980s–1990s

As a result of this exciting but complex sociolinguistic situation, a number of dictionaries of language difficulties were published or revised during the 1980s and 1990s. The need for modernizing lexicography and the use of Catalan in new settings (e.g. mainstream education) created new gaps in the publishing market, which publishing companies such as Enciclopèdia Catalana, Edicions 62, Vox, Teide and Claret soon filled (Cabré 2015).

Some dictionaries dealt with loanwords from other languages. This type of dictionary, the so-called *diccionaris de barbarismes* ('dictionaries of barbarisms' or 'loanwords') (e.g. *Vocabulari d'incorreccions*, Caralt 1972; *Diccionari general de barbarismes i altres incorreccions*, Miravitlles 1982; *Diccionari de barbarismes*, Paloma 1997), consisted essentially of lists of words to be avoided as they were regarded as unnecessary loanwords from other languages (mainly from Spanish and to a lesser extent from French and English) in a purist approach to the language. The most genuine word in Catalan was then provided as the alternative. For instance, a word such as *barco* was regarded as an unnecessary loanword from Spanish, and the Catalan counterpart (*vaixell*) was presented (generally with a short explanation and some examples). It is worth noting that this type of dictionary was not at all new either in the Catalan linguistic tradition (e.g. Careta 1886; 1901) (see Solà 1977; Payrató 1984; 1985; Tacke 2017) or in other linguistic traditions (e.g. Boucher-Belleville 1855; Franquelo 1910; Alzugaray 1985). Certainly, they played a key role in the Catalan-speaking context throughout the 20th century and they still do today to some extent (see also below, 3.3).

Some dictionaries of synonyms were also published or re-edited during that same period (e.g. *Diccionari de sinònims*, Franquesa 1970 [re-edited in 1998 as *Diccionari de sinònims Franquesa*]; *Diccionari català de sinònims*, Jané 1972). They were

designed as a complement to general dictionaries, and they consisted of lists of words with their correspondent synonyms. For example, in *Diccionari català de si-nònims*, the entry for the verb *enfadar-se* contained 15 verbs with similar meanings, including *enutjar-se*, *enfurismar-se*, and *emprenyar-se*. However, no examples or information about registers were provided (cf. that *enfadar-se* is neutral whereas *em-prenyar-se* is colloquial). Moreover, the continual revisions of *Diccionari de sinò-nims, idees afins i antònims: amb vocabulari de barbarismes* (Pey 1970) combined synonyms with a list of *barbarismes*.

A good deal of dictionaries published during that period were bilingual (e.g. *Diccionari català-francès, francès-català*, Castellanos 1979; *Diccionari alemany-cata-là*, Batlle 1981; *Diccionari anglès-català*, Oliva 1983). Of particular relevance was the publication of the Spanish-Catalan dictionary by Enciclopèdia Catalana (*Diccionari castellà-català*, 1985), which, since then, has been extensively used by the general public (including native and non-native speakers) and specialists. As Lacreu (1987) points out, this dictionary provided readers with a greater variety of translations for each word (e.g. the Spanish *suponer* is not translated just as *suposar* but also as *representar*, *implicar* and *significar*, among other forms), and includes a number of colloquial expressions (e.g. *para el carro!* within the fourth edition).

Furthermore, in 1985, the lexicographic center TERMCAT was created by the Catalan government to adapt new terminology to the language. In 1987, TERMCAT published its first dictionary (*Vocabulari de perruqueria i bellesa*), and since then it has provided users with over 500 dictionaries containing terminology from a wide range of disciplines (e.g. *Diccionari d'anatomia*, 1993; *Diccionari de comptabilitat*, 1994; *Diccionari de bombers*, 1995). The recipients of these dictionaries are professionals with no specialized knowledge of the language (e.g. doctors, engineers) but who need updated vocabularies for their everyday professional practice. Of symbolic significance in the early 1990s was the publication of a series of dictionaries devoted to sport (*Diccionari general dels esports olímpics*, 1992) in order to provide professionals (e.g. journalists) with up-to-date terminology in preparation for the Barcelona Olympic Games (1992).

Finally, although the campaign *Normalització Lingüística* had contributed decisively to improving the knowledge of the language, the general public still showed a lack of confidence in the implementation of the standard at all levels (including phonetics, vocabulary and grammar) (see Treballs de Sociolingüística Catalana 25). Possibly the best evidence of this has been the publication of a variety of dictionaries of language difficulties and similar grammar books since the late 1990s – and later in the 2000s – which is aimed at the general public (see below, 3.3). A series of grammar books by Josep Ruaix, popular since the early 1980s (e.g. *Català fàcil: curs bàsic per a catalanoparlants*, 1993), is a well-known example of this type of publication during this period. But many of these books were not structured as dictionaries but rather as grammar books, and they required some linguistic background.

Among dictionaries of language difficulties, it is worth mentioning the following dictionaries devoted to orthography and pronunciation (e.g. *Diccionari ortogràfic i de pronúncia*, Bruguera 1990; *Diccionari pràctic d'ortografia catalana*, Abril 1999); grammar and loans (e.g. *Diccionari auxiliar*, Ruaix 1996; *Diccionari pràctic de qüestions gramaticals*, Abril 1997; *Diccionari de dubtes del català*, Paloma/Rico 1998; *Diccionari de dubtes i dificultats del català*, Bruguera 2000; *Resolguem dubtes*, Badia/Casellas/Marquet 1998), and idiomatic expressions (e.g. *Diccionari de locucions i de frases fetes*, Raspall/Martí 1984) (see below, 3.3).

3 Reinforcing the knowledge of the standard

To some extent, dictionaries of language difficulties reveal speakers' main challenges in the knowledge and usage of the standard. In order to understand the role of this type of publication in the standardization of modern Catalan, this section examines dictionaries of language difficulties regarding the classic language management model by Haugen (1983; 1987). A variety of dictionaries of language difficulties will be analyzed in relation to the processes involved in this model, namely, norm selection, codification, implementation and elaboration (Lamuela 1994; Vila 2014).

3.1 Norm selection

It is generally accepted that modern standard Catalan was created following a compositional (or pluricentric), rather than a unitary (or monocentric), model (Martines/Montoya 2011; Darder 2015). The aim was to build a standard variety which could be comfortably recognized and embraced by all speakers, irrespective of their geographic and social varieties. Yet, in practice, the Central variety (the variety spoken in the area of Barcelona) has historically had a predominant role for social, political and economic reasons (Veny 2001).

Although the standard variety has widely been accepted and used throughout the Catalan-speaking community, the co-existence of different approaches to the model has caused some confusion among some speakers of the language. This is, for example, the case of the Valencian-speaking context. As Josep Lacreu notes in his influential *Manual d'ús de l'estàndard oral*, the use of Valencian in the education system, the contact with other geographic varieties (e.g. Central Catalan) through mass media, and the increase of production of literature in Valencian have notably changed the Valencian spoken by younger generations:

> "Per a bé i per a mal, tot s'ha de dir. S'han bandejat molts castellanismes, és cert; però també s'ha produït un maremàgnum en els referents dels parlants que ha fet que se substituïsquen formes plenament genuïnes per cultimes o altres variants pròpies d'altres territoris del domini lingüístic. En gran part, molts d'aquests canvis estan motivats per la inseguretat que sent el

parlant respecte al seu propi bagatge espontani, i això ha fet que en el seu parlar alterne expressions col·loquials amb arcaismes i barbarismes de nou encuny. El resultat sovint es caòtic, però probablement inevitabe ... El parlant no és un filòleg primmirat. Ni té per què ser-ho, evidentment" (Lacreu [10]2012 [1990], 23).

This lack of clear references becomes apparent with the variety of dictionaries of language difficulties published in the Valencian-speaking context in the last decades (Pitarch 2012). Lacreu himself has participated in the publication of a number of these types of dictionaries, including the *Diccionari escolar castellà-valencià, valencià-castellà* (2005), which targets students in primary and post-primary education, and the *Diccionari pràctic d'ús del valencià* (1999), the *Diccionari bàsic d'ús del valencià* (2000), and *Els verbs valencians* (1995), which are aimed at a more general public. In addition, as mentioned above, Josep Lacreu is the author of *Manual d'ús de l'estàndard oral* that has repeatedly been re-edited since 1990 and is widely used not only by specialists from Valencia but also from other Catalan-speaking areas.

3.2 Codification

Codification of standard Catalan is widely discussed in previous sections in this volume (↗11.2; ↗11.3) and elsewhere (Veny 2001; Costa 2009). Thus far, it is worth highlighting that linguistic codification is an open-ended process as languages are constantly adapting to new sociolinguistic circumstances. In the case of Catalan, one of the major challenges for the language, in terms of codification, was the eruption of Catalan in the mass media in the early 1980s. For the first time in many years, Catalan was no longer confined to literary contexts. It was used, for example, to broadcast Barça football matches, sit-coms, and dubbed films (e.g. films in which John Wayne "spoke" for the first time in Catalan, not in Spanish). Furthermore, it was used in all sorts of local and national publications.

The standard variety of the language was still too rigid (i.e. still based on literary models) for such a wide range of registers. The need for a more flexible standard created a paradox which challenged – and still does to some extent – experts in the field. On the one hand, modern Catalan borrows, often unnecessarily, a great deal of words from Spanish. On the other hand, given the status of minority language of Catalan, its standard was often expected to provide speakers with a linguistic model based upon genuine forms. As a result, specialists had the difficult task of finding a fine balance between forms sounding natural but at the same time were not excessively influenced by Spanish. For instance, the affective vocative *carinyo*, borrowed from Spanish, is frequently used in colloquial conversation instead of the traditional *rei/reina*, *amor*, *estimat/estimada*, *vida*. Hence, using *carinyo*, for example, in a sit-com, may sound more natural than *estimat/estimada* or *amor*, but then it replaces genuine forms otherwise not represented in the standard model (Mir 2003; Matamala 2008).

Needless to say, any decision in this area proves controversial. During the late 1980s and 1990s, a number of public discussions emerged about the type of Catalan to be employed in mass communication. The best known example is the debate between specialists advocating a model closer to spoken, informal Catalan (hence more influenced by Spanish) and specialists supporting a more literary, conservative model. The former model was known as *Català "light"* and the latter as *Català "heavy"*. Interestingly, the adjectives to describe both positions were borrowed from English (Kailuweit 2002).

In addition, the usage of Catalan in the mass media exposed the general public to new registers and to new ways of reflecting on the language itself. TV spectators and radio listeners became *analysts* of the new standard, and in some cases they were very active discussants in the public arena. For example, newspapers regularly published letters to the editor expressing concerns about the forms (usually vocabulary) used on TV. See as an example (a), in which the sender complains about the loanwords used in a TV debate; and (b), in which some expressions (including traditional colloquial Catalan expressions) are found inappropriate for TV broadcasting.

> (a) "Excepto el filólogo, sin embargo, todos los demás participantes cayeron en el error de incluir en sus respectivas alocuciones un barbarismo cual 'vehiculizar', un galicismo como 'amateur' y un extranjerismo, en fin, cual 'mass media'. Si, como se dijo, todos hemos de cuidar de depurar el idioma, lo primero que hemos de hacer es erradicar rotunda y definitivamente de nuestro lenguaje, sea verbal o escrito, no tan sólo el castellano sino barbarismos y extranjerismos que empobrecen el idioma" (*La Vanguardia*, 06/14/1987).

> (b) "Pero sí hay una cosa que me preocupa: ¿qué catalán? ¿El catalán culto y agradable que hablan mis amigos de la antigua escuela Blanquerna o el lenguaje pobre, soez, blasfemo y riquísimo en tacos que oímos en los telefilmes y películas en TV3 y en Canal 33? Lo triste es que este último es el catalán que habla, por mimetismo, la juventud de ahora. Como muestra un botón. Del inglés 'al diablo' se traduce en 'a la merda', 'lo pone en su sitio', resulta ser 'se lo pasa por los c ...' Creo que la Conselleria de Cultura tiene mucho por hacer" (*La Vanguardia*, 10/05/1990).

To sum up, the eruption of Catalan in the mass media highlighted the effects of interference (especially Spanish interference) on the construction of a linguistic model suitable for mass communication. Interference not only posed challenges to specialists in terms of codification, but it also caused confusion among the general public. It is no surprise that, as seen above (section 2), many dictionaries of language difficulties published during this period (e.g. *diccionaris de barbarismes*) dealt particularly with interference.

However, the speakers of the language were increasingly provided with new types of dictionaries of language difficulties. In contrast with previous monographs, these dictionaries showed a more descriptive – rather than prescriptive – approach to the language. They dealt with colloquial and argotic vocabulary (e.g. the *Diccionari del català popular i d'argot*, Pomares 1997), idiomatic expressions (e.g. the re-edited *Diccionari de locucions i de frases fetes*, Raspall/Martí ²1996 [1984]), syntax

(*Diccionari d'ús dels verbs catalans: règim verbal i canvi i caiguda de preposicions*, Ginebra/Montserrat 1999), general vocabulary (*Diccionari complementari del català normatiu*, López del Castillo 1998) and interjections (*Diccionari d'onomatopeies i mots de creació expressiva*, Riera-Eures/Sanjaume 2002). Instead of focusing on the effects of interference, these dictionaries paid greater attention to the variation of the language, which includes loanwords from Spanish (e.g. *birlar*, *virgueria*, see the *Diccionari complementari del català normatiu*) but also many traditional, often expressive, forms (e.g. *Déu em perdoni*, *Déu t'escolti*, see Raspall/Martí [2]1996 [1984]).

Most of these new dictionaries were published by the publishing company Edicions 62, which, in 2000, also launched the *Gran diccionari 62 de la llengua catalana*, by López del Castillo/Cormand. This is a comprehensive descriptive dictionary including a number of forms borrowed from other languages (e.g. *vivenda*, *bronca*, *tàper*) but commonly used in informal Catalan. The publication of this dictionary was particularly significant as it took place just a few years after the publication of the prescriptive *Diccionari de la llengua catalana* (DIEC, 1995) by the IEC, and hence offered readers an excellent complement to this and other general dictionaries.

3.3 Implementation

Dictionaries of language difficulties have also played a crucial role in the implementation of the standard, particularly in the area of education. As mentioned above (section 2), since Catalan became the language of instruction in mainstream education (mainly in primary schools), teachers, students and parents were in urgent need of resources to improve their language skills. Hence, a number of dictionaries have been published since the early 1980s to help learners reinforce their knowledge of the standard, e.g. the *Diccionari escolar de la llengua catalana* (Vox 1980), the *Diccionari Barcanova de la llengua* (Barcanova 1985), the *DIDAC: diccionari de català* (Enciclopèdia Catalana 1995), the *Nou diccionari escolar de la llengua catalana* (Grup Promotor Santillana 2004), the *Diccionari escolar: dubtes, incorreccions i barbarismes* (Badia 2000).

Most of these dictionaries deal with lexical, orthographic and grammatical topics discussed in mainstream classes. A typical example to mention is unstressed pronouns (the so-called *pronoms febles*). There is the common opinion among the general public that unstressed, Catalan pronouns are particularly difficult to learn (both for native and foreign learners) as there is a significant gap between the formal and informal usages of these particles. Therefore, alongside textbooks and school curricula, dictionaries of language difficulties have regularly paid attention to unstressed pronouns to help learners reinforce the knowledge of this area of Catalan morphology. Recent research suggests (Perea 2015) that the effect of implementation in this particular area is irregular due to a) analogy and b) interference from Spanish (Hawkey 2014; Casas-Deseures/Comajoan 2015; Ginebra 2015).

More than that, the constant publication of new dictionaries of language difficulties from the early 2000s to the present indicates that the implementation of the standard still faces some challenges. Publications such as the *Diccionari de pronunciació en català* (Paloma/Rico 2000), the *No et confonguis!: diccionari de mots que es confonen* (Paloma/Rico 2005), the *Diccionari de dubtes i barbarismes* (Paloma/Rico 2008), *Tinc un dubte* (Ortega 2008), *Tinc més dubtes* (Ortega 2010), *Tots els dubtes* (Ortega 2014), the *Nou diccionari auxiliar* (Ruaix 2011b), and the *Diccionari de barbarismes* (Ruaix 2011a) clearly show that some grammatical structures have not been fully acquired by learners, including native speakers. This is the case of some syntactic rules which are not shared with Spanish and have become symbolic structures of Catalan syntax. Take, for instance, the so-called *caiguda de preposició*, i.e. the tendency in Catalan to drop subcategorized prepositions (e.g. the preposition *de* in *adonar-se de X*) before the completive *que* (cf. *no m'he adonat que plovia*/**no m'he adonat de que plovia*). Recently published dictionaries of language difficulties still put a great emphasis on this symbolic syntactic rule, as the following example shows.

> "*adonar-se de que* (adonar-se'n que)
> Un altre problema que es planteja amb l'ús del verb adonar-se sorgeix quan el complement que ve a continuació està precedit de la conjunció *que*: *Els seus germans s'adonaven que la situació era incòmoda* [...] Aleshores, com veiem en les frases anteriors, la preposició *de* 'cau', desapareix. Hem d'evitar, doncs, frases com: **Els seus germans s'adonaven de que la situació era incòmoda*" (Paloma/Rico 2008, 15).

The same dictionary also provides clear examples of the confusion among the general public regarding some aspects of standard grammar. The following example shows a frequent hypercorrection among speakers trying to avoid the Spanish neutral pronoun *lo*, which does not exist in formal Catalan. Some speakers use *allò* (neutral demonstrative) without being aware that the resulting utterance does not sound natural. Hypercorrections like these suggest that using standard (or "correct") Catalan is sometimes perceived merely as a matter of replacing Spanish forms with forms regarded as "more Catalan".

> "*allò* + adjectiu
> Sovint, per evitar construccions amb un *lo* neutre, que sabem que són incorrectes, se substitueix el *lo* per un *allò*. Doncs bé, això no es pot fer quan la paraula que va a continuació és un adjectiu. Si ho tenim en compte, frases com: [...] **Allò difícil és aprovar el càlcul a la primera*. Haurem de posar: ***Allò que resulta difícil** es aprovar el càlcul a la primera*" (Paloma/Rico 2008, 17).

Interestingly, some of the dictionaries of language difficulties published more recently target young learners, e.g. *Proudubtes.cat* (Fité 2014), *Catanyol* (Vidal 2012) and *Digital.cat* (Villalonga 2013), to reinforce topics seen in mainstream classes (typically *canvi i caiguda de preposició* or relative pronouns) or to deal with words and expressions borrowed from Spanish or English (with exercises included). For example, in *Catanyol* (Vidal 2012, 80s.), it is recommended that expressions such as *amb*

la que cau or *per finalitzar* (borrowed from Spanish) are avoided and replaced with more genuine forms (i.e. *amb aquest xàfec*, *per acabar*) (register information is also provided), and in *Digital.cat* extensive vocabulary coming from information and communication technologies is presented alongside lexical recommendations (e.g. to use *giny* instead of the English *widget*).

Finally, it is worth noting that dictionaries of languages difficulties also provide an interesting insight into the implementation of standard Catalan in a constantly changing society. Until the late 1990s language policymakers had to deal mainly with native speakers of Catalan (most of them bilingual speakers of Catalan and Spanish) and non-native speakers with Spanish as their first language. Important immigration movements since the 1990s have completely changed the sociolinguistic reality of Catalan-speaking areas (see Comajoan 1998; Vila/Salvat 2013). Learners came from more diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds, which posed new challenges for policymakers and educators in particular. As a result the bilingual dictionaries which have been published since the late 1990s include a wider range of languages such as Chinese (*Diccionari català-xinès, xinès-català*, Zhou/Le/Carillo 1999), modern standard Arabic (*Diccionari àrab-català: àrab estàndard modern*, Castells 2007), Tagalog (*Diccionari català-filipí, filipí-català*, Habal Pernecita 2003) and Amazigh (*Diccionari català-amazic, amazic-català*, Múrcia/Zenia 2015).

3.4 Elaboration

Standards are constantly being adapted to new registers. In the Catalan-speaking context, IEC has played a central role in the elaboration of the written, formal standard of the language, but its contribution to the spoken (both formal and informal) standard has been limited. The academy has published several prescriptive documents to elaborate the spoken standard in terms of phonetics and morphology (the *Proposta per a un estàndard oral de la llengua catalana*, vol. 1: *Fonètica*, 1990, and the *Proposta per a un estàndard oral de la llengua catalana*, vol. 2: *Morfologia*, 1992), but these proposals have had a limited scope as they are mainly addressed to specialists.

As seen above (3.2), mass media have probably made a more significant contribution to the elaboration of the spoken standard (Vallverdú 2000; Casals/Faura 2010). However, it is worth noting that the different linguistic models used in the media are based *only* partially on the model prescribed by the IEC, as each broadcaster adapts it to their own specific context and audience. A typical example to mention is the agreement between the existential verb *haver-hi* and its complement (e.g. *hi han molts cotxes*), which is regularly used by some broadcasters (e.g. El 9 Nou/9 TV) (Nogué 2008) but only admitted in informal registers by the IEC (cf. *hi ha molts cotxes*) (see section 4).

In order to account for their linguistic models, many broadcasters have published style books – following the tradition of prestigious international broadcast-

ers, e.g. BBC, or Spanish newspapers, e.g. El País –, which in practice have become dictionaries of language difficulties. Although journalists are usually their target audience, many of these manuals are also used by specialists (e.g. language advisors from other broadcasters) or even by members of the general public. For example, Televisió de Catalunya published *El Català a TV3: llibre d'estil* in 1995, and was immediately used as a complement to general dictionaries such as the DIEC. Some years later, this style book became the basis for the popular online linguistic resource *ésAdir* (see 4.2). Other broadcasters, among those who have published style books, are the local broadcaster El 9 TV (Coromina 2008), Barcelona TV (Ferré 2008), Agència Catalana de Notícies (Ferré/Nogué 2010), and COMRàdio (Ortega/ Brunat 2009).

Most of these style books are structured – and effectively used – similarly to dictionaries of language difficulties. After the initial chapters in which the broadcaster's guidelines are presented, most style books comprise a number of chapters devoted to frequent linguistic uncertainties (including orthography, phonetics, grammar, and vocabulary). A similar structure is found in style books from the written media such as the Diari de Barcelona (1987), Avui (1997), El 9 Nou (Coromina 1991), and El Periódico de Catalunya (2003).

An interesting example of a style book structured as a dictionary of language difficulties is the *Diccionari del català col·loquial: dubtes davant del micròfon*, published by the radio broadcaster Grup Flaix in 2009 (Salvanyà 2009). This broadcaster specializes in popular music, and its audience is generally comprised of teenagers and young adults. Hence, its broadcasting style needs to be both standard and informal at the same time. The book is organized as a dictionary where each entry provides information about a particular word in terms of register appropriateness. If a word is not regarded as appropriate (usually because it is regarded as an unnecessary loanword from Spanish), an alternative is provided. For example, the Spanish suffixes *-illo* / *-illa*, frequently used in colloquial Catalan for expressive effects (e.g. *mercadillo*) are not admitted, and then more "genuine" forms are provided (cf. *mercat ambulant*). Although some of the alternatives may be debatable (as they sometimes loose the expressiveness of the word borrowed from Spanish), this dictionary is a good attempt to provide readers, including DJs, journalists and general public, with a spoken and at the same time informal standard model of the language (Bladas 2009).

A number of style books have also been published in other areas, including public administration (e.g. *Llibre d'estil de l'Ajuntament de Barcelona*, Solà 1995; *Llibre d'estil de la Diputació de Barcelona*, Tena 2016; *Llibre d'estil de la Diputació de Girona*, Solà 2011; *Manual de llenguatge administratiu*, Duarte 1992) and academic institutions (e.g. *Llibre d'estil del Col·legi d'Enginyers Tècnics Industrials de Barcelona*, Col·legi d'Enginyers Tècnics Industrials de Barcelona 2001; *Llibre d'estil de la Universitat Pompeu Fabra*, Servitje 1996; *Criteris de la Universitat de Barcelona*, Universitat de Barcelona [online resource]). For reasons of space, it is not possible to

analyze these publications here, but most of them include sections devoted to frequent linguistic doubts.

Finally, a variety of manuals and style books have also been published in the area of edition and linguistic consultancy (e.g. the *Ortotipografia*, Pujol/Solà 1995; and the influential *Manual d'estil: la redacció i l'edició de textos*, Mestres et al. 1995) to assist specialists in their everyday tasks (Tacke 2017).

4 The digital era

The way of dealing with linguistic queries changed dramatically in the mid- 2000s, when online resources became available to specialists and the general public. Suddenly, most queries could be answered with a quick search on the web. At present, the spread of smart phones has made this process even faster. When in any conversation someone has a linguistic query, the most frequent suggestion is not *mira-ho al diccionari* anymore (section 1), but *mira-ho al mòbil.* Speakers no longer need to refer to a dictionary or a specialist to answer their question. They only need to type some words into their smart phones.

To the author's knowledge, there are no studies on how the general public uses digital technology to answer linguistic queries. Although there is a large variety of online resources available (e.g. the phone app *Aplica't*, developed by the Catalan government to help the general public solve frequent linguistic doubts), most linguistic uncertainties might be solved using popular web search engines (typically Google) and looking for an answer among the resulting websites. Any quick search on Google shows that language users can easily access a variety of resources to answer their linguistic doubts. For example, if we search the causal form *degut a*, we find a number of linguistic resources censuring this form if used as a causal connective (e.g. *La lliura esterlina cau degut al Brexit*) but not if used as a participle (cf. *La caiguda de la lliure esterlina és deguda al Brexit*).[1] The first ten results include seven linguistic resources from different organizations (including the Catalan and Andorran governments, the Parlament de Catalunya, the Universitat de Barcelona, and the Corporació Catalana de Mitjans Audiovisuals), one article from a cultural online magazine, and two articles from two linguistic blogs.

Interestingly, information and communication technologies have also facilitated access to greater amounts of information about any linguistic topic. With only a few clicks, language users can find not only a number of resources but also an abundance of information regarding any linguistic issue including the process of standardization itself. For instance, any debate among specialists on any linguistic topic is now more accessible to the general public than a few decades ago. The

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1 Google search, 11/01/2016.

Google search on *degut a* provides a typical example of this type of discussions. The search results include an article by a language advisor in which solid arguments are given to accept *degut a* as a causal connective:

> "Joan Solà, al seu *Plantem cara*, parla del seu equivalent en anglès: *due to*. Les velles gramàtiques prescriptives també condemnaven l'ús del *due to* a '*Due to the rain, the match was cancelled*' i instaven a fer servir *because of*, però les modernes, descriptives, ja l'accepten" (Pla 2012).

> "L'anglès se sent prou fort i segur perquè la norma no la dicti una elit d'erudits sinó un ampli consens dels seus usuaris. I és per això que els seus gramàtics no dubten a beneir una forma quan ha esdevingut '*common in educated usage*'" (Pla 2012).

Online articles like these show that the process of Catalan standardization is an open, on-going process in which different actors are getting increasingly involved. Information and communication technologies not only facilitate the debate among specialists in the public arena, but also provides the general public with the opportunity to follow this debate and to actively participate in it (see, for instance, the abundant comments on linguistic blogs). Surely this may cause confusion to some language users (particularly to learners of the language). However, it also democratizes the whole standardization process.

There is no room in this article to give a detailed account of the online resources available to language users to address their linguistic doubts. Most institutions' websites (e.g. governmental and university websites) have links to online linguistic resources or they have developed their own linguistic resources. The following sections focus on two linguistic resources that have become commonplace among specialist and the general public. The first is *Optimot*, developed by the Catalan government (4.1), and the second is *ésAdir*, created by the Corporació Catalana de Mitjans Audiovisuals (CCMA) (4.2).

4.1 *Optimot*

Optimot was created in 2007 by the Catalan government in collaboration with the IEC and TERMCAT to merge different linguistic services available to the general public and private companies. Organized as a search engine, this online linguistic service deals with any linguistic query by searching in a lexicographic dataset, including the DIEC, the *Diccionari castellà-català* (Enciclopèdia Catalana) and the dictionaries from TERMCAT. The search results are presented by means of a file with linguistic information to answer the question and a list of related links to provide further information. For example, when searching for *degut a*, Optimot provides the following query and answer (based on the guidelines by the recently published *Gramàtica de la llengua catalana*):

> "Fitxa 38/6: És correcte *degut a* en català?
> Resposta: L'expressió *degut a* es pot utilitzar com a locució causal, equivalent a *a causa de* o

Tab. 1: Queries on *Optimot*.

Category	% from total queries
Verbs	32.7
Orthography and accentuation	25.1
Loanwords from Spanish	15.1
Lexis	7.7
Conjunctions	4.7
Prepositions	4.5
Pronouns	1.5
Adverbials	1
Adjectives	1.1
Gender and number	1
Typographic conventions	0.8
Other	4.7

perquè, seguida d'un sintagma nominal o d'una oració encapçalada per *el fet que*. Per exemple: *La festa es va suspendre degut a la pluja*. [...] Altres locucions amb el mateix significat són *a causa de*, *gràcies a*, *per culpa de*, *per raó de*, *perquè* o *ja que*. Per exemple: *La festa es va suspendre per culpa de la pluja* o *a causa de la pluja* o *per raó de la pluja*. [...] A banda d'aquesta expressió, el mot *degut*, *deguda*, com a participi del verb *deure*, també pot expressar causa. [...] Per exemple: *El vessament del combustible va ser degut al xoc*" (<www.gencat.cat/optimot>).

If the question cannot be answered satisfactorily online, users can contact the specialist team by filling out an online form or by phoning.

This linguistic resource has been very successful since its implementation. According to Ferret (2014), *Optimot* received nearly 10 million queries in 2011 and over 11 million queries in 2012 and 2013, indicating that the general public makes frequent use of this resource. Ferret (2014) also provides an interesting insight into the types of queries made by *Optimot* users (see table 1). If the 500 most frequently searched words (from 2012 to 2013) are considered, the results show that over 30% of queries are related to verbs (e.g. how to conjugate *conèixer*), over 25% are related to orthography (e.g. how to write the polysemic word *compte*), and over 15% are related to Spanish loanwords (e.g. *apretar*). As table 1 indicates, other queries are concerned with vocabulary (7.7%) (e.g. with differences between *nombre* and *número*) and cohesive forms (e.g. the connective *perquè*, or the prepositions *per* and *per a*). According to Ferret (2014, 70), the most frequent queries can be easily answered by *Optimot* as they are "prou resoltes per la normativa".

Finally, Ferret (2014) points out that the two information sources most frequently used by *Optimot* are the DIEC and the *Diccionari castellà-català* (Enciclopèdia Catalana). This is because a) the DIEC allows users not only to know the meaning of a word but also its spelling, and b) the *Diccionari castellà-català*, which deals with many problematic Spanish loanwords, can only be accessed online through *Optimot*.

Overall, these data suggest that the linguistic uncertainties expressed by the general public using these resources tend to relate to verbal morphology, orthography and vocabulary borrowed from Spanish rather than, for example, syntax (e.g. *caiguda de preposició*) or phonetics. The same data also seem to indicate that after decades of intensive implementation, some areas remain a challenge for the general public (e.g. Spanish loans).

4.2 *ésAdir*

In contrast with *Optimot*, the linguistic resource *ésAdir* does not target the general public but CCMA workers, that is, mass media professionals who need to solve linguistic uncertainties in their workplace. Since its launch in 2006, *ésAdir* has become an invaluable tool for a wider range of professionals, including journalists and language advisors from other broadcasters, educators and advanced learners interested in the usage (rather than in the norm) of the language. Recent data indicate that in 2015, *ésAdir* received 507,000 queries (35% more than in 2014) (see Gutiérrez 2016; Oliver 2016).

ésAdir is also organized as a search engine, which draws information from a dataset containing in this case all the linguistic material published by the CCMA to present (e.g. *El català a TV3: llibre d'estil*) and other complementary materials. The website is constantly updated according to the communicative needs of the corporation, which also plays a key role in the translation and dubbing of films and documentaries. At present, the *ésAdir* database contains over 33,000 files to answer specific queries (20,000 from more than 10 years ago).

It is important to note that the answers provided by *ésAdir* are based on the CCMA's model of language. This linguistic model is firmly built upon the standard as prescribed by the IEC but at the same time is flexible enough to adapt to a variety of registers. For instance, *ésAdir* includes a number of words that are not accepted by the second edition of the DIEC (= DIEC2) but are regarded as appropriate for some registers by CCMA's language advisors. See as an example the verb *disfrutar* in the following example. This verb, borrowed from Spanish, is frequently used in colloquial language instead of more traditional (but possibly less expressive) verbs such as *gaudir* and *passar-s'ho bé*. As the file shows, this verb is not admitted by the IEC ("No recollit al DIEC") but it is accepted by *ésAdir* in colloquial registers ("Ús informal") (e.g. casual conversations in sitcoms). In more formal registers (e.g. the news) *gaudir* or *passar-s'ho bé* are preferred:

"**Disfrutar:** Ús informal, no recollit al DIEC.

Lleng. col·loquial: *Sortiu i disfruteu / Disfrutar un menjar / Disfrutar amb un llibre / Disfrutar de la vida*

Sovint s'abusa d'expressions no tradicionals com ara: *Disfruta de vacances a l'agost, Disfruta una renda important*. Equivalents (segons el context): *gaudir* (d'una bona companyia), *tenir* (tenir vacances, tenir una renda, tenir un privilegi, etc.); *divertir-se*, *passar-se-la bé* o *passar-s'ho bé*, *xalar*, *esbargir-se*, *aprofitar* (*aprofita bé les vacances*); *assaborir*, *paladejar* (un menjar o una beguda); *delectar-se*, *recrear-se* (escoltant música, contemplant una obra d'art o un paisatge); *fer gresca*, *fer barrila*, *fer tabola*; *tenir bona salut*, *tenir una bona posició*, *disposar de* (disposar de xofer); *beneficiar-se de*, etc., segons el context" (<http://esadir.cat/>).

5 Conclusion

This article has examined the role of dictionaries of language difficulties (understood in a broad sense) in the standardization of Catalan from the restoration of the Catalan government (early 1980s) to the present. As seen throughout the article, a great variety of these types of dictionaries has been published or revised during this period of time, which can only be explained by the challenges faced by Catalan throughout its history. The prohibition of using the language in formal settings (particularly in education) for most part of the 20th century, alongside continuous immigration movements, have negatively affected the speakers' knowledge of the standard variety. Hence, the aim of most dictionaries of language difficulties published in the last decades has been, and still is, to fill this gap.

Dictionaries of language difficulties have made a significant contribution to the implementation and elaboration – as defined by Haugen (1983; 1987; ↗0) – of the standard model. As for the implementation, dictionaries of language difficulties have been, and still are, key to improving the knowledge of the standard variety among the general public, notably in the area of vocabulary. However, their impact on other areas (e.g. grammar and phonetics) seems to be more limited. In terms of elaboration, dictionaries of language difficulties have played a significant role in enriching the functional variation of the language, particularly in more informal registers (e.g. phraseological dictionaries).

The spread of information and communication technologies has dramatically changed the way in which users of the language deal with their linguistic uncertainties. Firstly, users now have a more direct access to linguistic resources, which reduces the time spent with any query considerably. Secondly, a wider variety of resources (both prescriptive and descriptive) and sources of information (e.g. linguistic blogs or chats) are available. This, no doubt, provides users with more elements to reflect on the language itself, but it may cause some confusion if the "norm" is not well established.

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12 Spanish

Felix Tacke

12.1 Orthography and Orthoepy

Abstract: Orthography and orthoepy are traditionally closely related within the tradition of Spanish language cultivation. While orthography is explicitly standardized through dictionaries and orthographic treatises as a symbol of unity, Spanish orthoepy lacks dedicated reference instruments. Along with an outline of the present state of codification, this article will provide an overview of the main orthographic issues and their relationship to pronunciation. Besides traditional reference instruments, more recent and dynamic forms of standardization and normative orientation through the internet will also be taken into account.

Keywords: Spanish, orthography, spelling, orthoepy, pronunciation, standardization, modernization, phonology, spelling pronunciation, panhispanic standard, pluricentricity

1 Introduction

Within the standardization of Spanish, the domains of orthography and orthoepy have always been closely related. However, while orthography was and is still considered an object of codification in its own right, orthoepy (mostly called *ortología*) lacks official reference instruments. Significantly, Spanish dictionaries do not include phonetic transcriptions since Spanish spelling tradition and orthography are fundamentally, i.e. to a high degree, phonemic in nature. Spelling is thus supposed to indicate (correct) pronunciation. On the one hand, there are important deviations from the phonemic principle based on conservative spelling (usage, etymology) the existence of which is explained by what Julio Casares (1941) and Ángel Rosenblat (1971) call *fetichismo (de la letra)*. On the other hand, today's orthography does not reflect learned pronunciation in general but only the idealized pronunciation of educated Castilian speakers. Nevertheless, the overall validity of the orthographic standard is rarely called into question in Spain or Hispanic America. On the contrary, orthography is of especially high symbolic value within the Spanish-speaking countries. Therefore, whereas pronunciation is subject to what could be called pluricentric self-regulation, orthography plays a crucial role within the Real Academia Española's (RAE) and the Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española's (ASALE) jointly pursued *política lingüística panhispánica* since it represents its ultimate goal, the *unidad del idioma* (↗12.2; ↗12.3). This article will provide an over-

view of the standardization of Spanish orthography and its relationship to pronunciation within the correspondent reference instruments. More recent and dynamic forms of standardization through the internet and social media will also be taken into account.

2 Historical overview

The current orthographic norm is the result of a centuries-old continuous practice of Spanish as a written vernacular going back to the Middle Ages and a long tradition of orthographic theory and reform beginning at the end of the 15th century. These traditions were taken up by the RAE in the 18th century and provide the basis for today's orthographic standard. Orthoepy, for one thing, has developed not as a stand-alone object of standardization but rather as a subordinate domain of orthography. Research reflects this image: while there are numerous studies about the history of Spanish orthography (e.g. the seminal studies of Rosenblat 1951 and Esteve Serrano 1982; cf. also Schmid 1992; Weißkopf 1994; Gómez Asencio 2006–2011; Battaner 2009; Martínez Alcalde 2010; Llamas Pombo 2012), the history of Spanish orthoepy is a rather neglected field of study (see Alonso 1955/1967 and, recently, Echenique Elizondo/Satorre Grau 2013; Quijada Van den Berghe 2014). The following sections provide a short overview of the history of both orthography and orthoepy.

2.1 Orthography

The starting point of the first orthographic debates in the early modern period was a more or less consolidated writing system that had been in use since the 12th and 13th century and closely associated with the reign of King Alfonso X (1252–1282). Menéndez Pidal (⁶1968 [1920], 70) famously called it the "precisa y sencilla ortografía alfonsí, tan admirablemente fonética", even though this so-called orthography, emerging since the 12th century, never constituted a codified and invariable set of spelling rules (cf. Sánchez-Prieto Borja 1996). In fact, when Antonio de Nebrija published the first systematic orthographic theory within his *Gramática de la lengua castellana* (1492), the common writing system had partially lost its phonological character (cf. Lapesa ⁹1981, 367s.; Marcos Marín 1979, 99–105). Against this background, Nebrija (1989 [1492]; 1517) was the first to propose a standardized spelling system (cf. Braselmann 1991, chap. 5; García Santos 2006) that was based on the ideal of an unambiguous phonemic spelling system known as the *principio de Quintiliano*.[1] More radical and consistent proposals aimed at a one-to-one relationship

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1 Although this principle was to dominate the orthographic theory for centuries to come, Quintilian's (1996, book 1, VI–VII) ideas about the restrictions imposed by usage (*consuetudo*) were never

between phonemes and graphemes during the 17th century, in particular the one put forward by Gonzalo Correas in his *Ortografia Kastellana Nueva i Perfeta* (1630), resulted in debates sometimes marked by a sharp polemic between reformists and those advocating for the prevalence of a more etymological, i.e. morpho-semantic, spelling system (e.g. Juan de Robles 1992 [1631] and Gonzalo Bravo Grajera 1634). In retrospect, López de Velasco's *Orthographia y pronunciacion castellana* of 1582 constituted a compromise since it favored neither extreme but argued for a spelling system based on the established usage and considered in equal measures (learned) pronunciation, usage and etymology.[2]

Founded in 1713/1714, the Real Academia Española began codifying the spelling system starting with the *Discurso proemial de la orthographía de la lengua castellana* which was included within its first dictionary, the so-called *Diccionario de Autoridades* (DA 1726). Despite favoring the principle of etymology (and usage) in this first treatise on orthography, the Academy's subsequent codification was increasingly based on learned pronunciation. In 1741, the *Orthographía española* was published as the Academy's first stand-alone treatise and was followed by eight editions (under the title *Ortografía de la lengua castellana*) until 1820. By the eighth edition of 1815, the shape of today's orthographic system was almost completely attained. Since then, modifications regard only minor rules but do not affect the sound-letter correspondences themselves.

Only shortly after its foundation, the RAE was widely considered an authority in matters of language. Nevertheless, as Rosenblat (1951, LXXXI) points out, up until the middle of the 19th century, the Academy was open to reform proposals coming from the "público ilustrado, que es el que admite o no las innovaciones", which means that its orthography was not yet "concebida como un dogma al que hay que someterse". It was not until 1844, when the Academy's orthography was declared compulsory in school education by Isabel II, that its normative discourse gained an unambiguously prescriptive character. Since then, no reform proposal aiming at the simplification of the spelling system has been accepted.[3] While the orthographic set of rules – together with learned pronunciation – was implemented in education through the *Prontuario de ortografía de la lengua castellana* (RAE 1844) and the *Prontuario de ortografía de la lengua castellana en preguntas y respuestas* (RAE 1870), the orthographic standard was modernized on a regular basis through a dedi-

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taken into account. Instead, his writings were reduced to the ideal of a one-to-one sound-letter relationship (cf. Neis 2009b, 1734s.).

2 As Esteve Serrano (1982) shows, López de Velasco's configuration would later be fundamental for the orthographic standardization implemented by the Real Academia Española from 1741 on.

3 This includes proposals coming from the outside like Andrés Bello's and Juan García del Río's *Indicaciones sobre la conveniencia de simplificar i uniformar la ortografía en América* (1823) as well as those put forward during the Congresos de Academias de la Lengua Española by members of the language academies since 1951 (cf. Rosenblat 1951).

cated chapter within the RAE's grammar (GRAE) from 1870 onwards. Since 1969 the *Ortografía* (ORAE) has been appearing as a stand-alone publication again.

Today, the academic orthography constitutes the only valid spelling system in the Spanish-speaking world.[4] The standardization by the RAE/ASALE is generally not called into question though recent changes of letters names and modifications to the system of graphic accentuation and the use of upper case letters through the *Ortografía de la lengua española* (OLE 2010) have been accompanied by sharp controversy.[5]

2.2 Orthoepy

In Spanish, the term *ortoepía* is barely used. The codification of the "correct" or "good" pronunciation is commonly called *ortología* which, as will be shown, is mostly treated within orthography or, since the 18th century, within grammars under the designation *prosodia*. The standardization of pronunciation is historically related to the practice of reading. Until the 20th century, *ortología* therefore meant "reading" or "spelling pronunciation", which in turn is seen as an overall model of learned pronunciation (*pronunciación culta*) and vice-versa. The close link between pronunciation and writing and the dialectic relationship evolving from it ever since, originated in the application of the *principio de Quintiliano*. After Nebrija (1989 [1492], 128) paraphrased it as "assí tenemos de escrivir como pronunciamos, τ pronunciar como escrivimos; por que en otra manera en vano fueron halladas las letras", it was often interpreted as "se escriua como se habla, o pronuncia, o como se deue pronunciar y hablar" (López de Velasco 1582, 10). Accordingly, orthography became an "arte [...] muy necesaria, no sólo para escrebir con rectitud, mas para sauer pronunciar" (Giménez Patón 1965 [1614], 19). The role of orthography as a model for pronunciation is also evident in the belief that there is a "true pronunciation of letters" (*verdadera pronunciación de las letras*) already present in Nebrija's distinction between *oficio proprio* and *oficio prestado* as well as in subsequent treatises (e.g. López de Velasco 1582), including the ORAE (1741, 95), "pues por lo escrito sabemos como hemos de pronunciar".[6] For this reason, regarding orthoepy, it must

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4 Beside the Academy's norm, a simplified standard was temporally implemented in Chile and some other American countries, during part of the 19th century and until 1927.

5 Regarding accentuation, the controversy concerned the elimination of the graphic accent in the case of words like *guión* and *truhán* and, most notably, in *sólo* as well as the demonstrative paradigm. While the ORAE 1999 reduced the usage of the graphic accent in these words to cases of ambiguity, the OLE (2010, 269s.) states that "a partir de ahora se podrá prescindir de la tilde en estas formas incluso en casos de doble interpretación". For a summary of the public debate, cf. Pano Alamán (2014) and Carrasco Escobar (2014).

6 At that time, the term *letra* was also used as an abstract notion. Nebrija used the word to designate a twofold entity composed of a written representation (*figura*, *traço*) and a pronounced one (*boz, pronunciación*) (cf. Braselmann 1991, 367–385; Neis 2009a).

be differentiated, as Satorre Grau (2013, 388–390) points out, between the *pronunciación común* and a supposed ideal but not necessarily practiced *pronunciación ortológicamente correcta*. The reintroduction of numerous learned consonant groups (see section 4.3.1) during Humanism can be explained by the orientation towards a supposedly "true" or "correct" pronunciation.

By standardizing orthography, the RAE thus contributed decisively to the emergence of an orthoepy based on spelling pronunciation. In this sense, the academic orthography has always been considered a guideline for pronunciation (cf. Martínez Alcalde 2013, 314; Satorre Grau/Viejo Sánchez 2013, 353–355), as can be seen in numerous treatises that, in cases of doubt, refer their readers to the DRAE. This might seem remarkable considering that, at the end of the 18th century, the RAE justified the lack of a "Prosodia" in its grammar "por no haber fixado todavía la Academia las reglas de la verdadera pronunciacion de las voces castellanas" (GRAE 41796, 2). Neither the plan first to publish under its insignia and then to adapt Andrés Bello's highly acclaimed *Principios de la ortología y métrica de la lengua castellana y otros escritos* of 1835 (Bello 1955 [1835]),[7] nor the subsequent idea to create a new one from scratch was eventually put into practice (cf. Gili Gaya 1955, XX–XXV). Instead, from 1870 on, the GRAE integrated a very short (21 pages) and rudimentary chapter called "Prosodia", mostly limited to an outline of a "ortología alfabética". The codification of orthoepy has, in such a way, remained a neglected field within the continued work of the RAE (cf. Millán 1997/1998, 140–144; Lebsanft 2007). Only recently, in 2018, did the RAE deliver a chapter on the matter within its *Libro de estilo de la lengua española según la norma panhispánica* (LELE; cf. below, 3.2; ↗12.4).

In the absence of a genuine academic treatise, the most important works in this domain were published by individual scholars. Three publications stand out particularly: the *Lecciones elementales de ortología y prosodia* by Mariano José Sicilia published in Paris in 1827, Bello's influential *Ortolojía y métrica* (1835) mentioned above, and the successful *Manual de pronunciación española* by Tomás Navarro Tomás which, since 1918, has been published in 28 editions and reprints (the last in 2004). The latter, within his work, also expressed the view that the model for the upcoming audio-visual mass media (cinema, broadcasting) of the whole Spanish-speaking world should only be the most refined form of pronunciation, "las formas de dicción consideradas por la tradición y por el sentir general [...] como las más cultas, elegantes y correctas" (1931, 15), i.e. the Castilian stage pronunciation (*dicción teatral*) (cf. Tacke 2015). Traditional Castilian stage pronunciation, also used until then by theater companies in Latin America as Navarro Tomás (1931, 12) affirms, follows up on the tradition of an articulate literary spelling pronunciation (cf. the notion of *fonología literaria* in Quilis 1984) and did not only constitute the model of the upcoming Spanish broadcasting in the 1920s (cf. Lebsanft 2006, 1298)

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7 Originally, the title was spelled *Principios de la ortolojía y métrica de la lengua castellana*.

but does obviously shape the *dicción oral* of many professional (voice-over) speakers in certain radio and TV-emissions until today. In this sense, stage pronunciation – and subsequent differentiations into radio, TV and even 'sport event' pronunciation (cf., e.g., Rojas Torrijos/Cuenca Villarín 2013) – continues to be cultivated by corresponding institutions. These range from the Real Escuela Superior de Arte Dramático with chairs dedicated to oral expression, to drama schools (e.g., courses for "técnica vocal y locución de radio" in the Escuela de Arte dramático y Cine de Almería) and broadcasting institutions (e.g., Instituto rtve).

Ultimately, in light of the emergence of more diversified forms of broadcasting that are no longer constrained to formal speech registers, written language has lost some of its significance as a model of pronunciation. While in fact national and regional media are still propagating pronunciation norms based on a relatively homogeneous model of school-induced learned pronunciation, these do not – in most emissions – represent traditional Castilian stage or spelling pronunciation anymore. On their most formal level, typically represented by news anchors, they differ most notably in their respective phonological configuration (*seseo*, *yeísmo*) and tolerance of certain allophonic features (implosive /-s/, *rehilamiento*) (cf. the seminal study and classification by Ávila 2003).

3 Today's reference instruments

3.1 Orthography

The current orthographic norm is officially codified by the *Ortografía de la lengua española* (OLE; formerly ORAE) published in 2010 and the 23rd edition of the *Diccionario de la lengua española* (DLE; formerly DRAE) of 2014. Within the framework of the so-called *política lingüística panhispánica* (↗12.2; ↗12.3), these reference instruments, as well as the other instruments since the *Diccionario panhispánico de dudas* (DPD 2005), are now published under the names of both the RAE and ASALE. However, cooperation in terms of orthographic standardization goes back to the so-called *Nuevas normas de prosodia y ortografía* (RAE 1952). These were initiated by Julio Casares (1951; 1952) prior to being ratified – after a consultation process of the "Academias Correspondientes" – by all members of the ASALE in 1956 during the II Congreso de Academias de la Lengua Española and subsequently declared valid from 1959 on (Casares 1958; RAE 1958 and 1959; ORAE 1969). In continuation of this process of institutional coordination and inclusion, the ORAE 1999 had already been called "panhispánica" in public discourse, although being elaborated by the RAE and only "revisada por las Academias de la Lengua Española" (subtitle).

Due to the fact that the detailed exposition of the current OLE 2010 exceeds 740 pages and is therefore less accessible to the common language user than previous editions (the ORAE 1999 counted 162 pages), the academies have published two

reduced versions of it within their so-called *línea divulgativa*: the *Ortografía básica* (RAE/ASALE 2012; 228 pages) and the *Ortografía escolar* (RAE/ASALE 2013a; 63 pages). Besides the academic reference instruments, countless other expositions have been published by linguists and other professionals and contribute to the propagation of the orthographic standard set by the academies (cf., e.g., Martínez de Sousa [3]2014).

3.2 Orthoepy

Until 2018, there was no official orthoepical reference instrument, which is why, until then, Tomás Navarro Tomás' above-mentioned *Manual de pronunciación española* (1918) and other minor publications including the *Compendio de ortología española para la enseñanza de la pronunciación normal en relación con las diferencias dialectales* (1927) and the *Guía de pronunciación española, escrita a solicitud de la Comisión Permanente de la Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española* (1956) could still be considered the most important reference works (cf. Satorre Grau/Viejo Sánchez 2013, 371–374). However, Navarro Tomás kept defining the "pronunciación correcta española" as

> "[la] norma general de buena pronunciación, la que se usa corrientemente en Castilla en la conversación de las personas ilustradas, por ser la que más se aproxima a la escritura; su uso, sin embargo, no se reduce a esta sola región, sino que, recomendada por las personas doctas, difundida por las escuelas y cultivada artísticamente en la escena, en la tribuna y en la cátedra, se extiende más o menos por las demás regiones de lengua española. Siendo fundamentalmente castellana, la pronunciación correcta rechaza todo vulgarismo provinciano y toda forma local madrileña, burgalesa, toledana, etc.; y siendo culta, rechaza asimismo los escrúpulos de aquellas personas que, influídas por prejuicios etimológicos y ortográficos, se esfuerzan en depurar su dicción con rectificaciones más o menos pedantes" (Navarro Tomás 1918, 6s. [§4]).

Considering the emergence of differentiated pronunciation norms characterized by features (cf. Ávila 2003) that Navarro Tomás (1956) still dismissed as "vulgares" o "rústicas", the underlying monocentric conception of Spanish orthoepy is no longer compatible with the current development of a pluricentric language culture (cf., however, what Canellada/Kuhlmann Madsen 1987 propose as "castellano *standard*"). Yet, despite ongoing calls for an explicitly codified pronunciation standard since Bello,[8] the academies refused to codify (panhispanic) pronunciation norms

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8 Already Bello (1955 [1835], 6) justified his *Ortología* by calling orthoepy an "arte tan esencial [que] ha estado hasta ahora encomendado exclusivamente a los padres y maestros de escuela, que careciendo, por la mayor parte, de reglas precisas, antes vician con su ejemplo la pronunciación de los niños". In the same sense, Navarro Tomás (1918, 8 [§6]) deplored that "[a] los maestros […] ni se les prepara convenientemente para esta enseñanza, ni siquiera se les pide la corrección de sus propios dialectalismos". See also Hernández (1996) and, more recently, Salvador Rosa (2015).

precisely by affirming that "los cánones de la pronunciación culta pueden variar en ciertos aspectos – y, de hecho, varían – de un área geográfica a otra" (OLE 2010, 10). In this sense, pronunciation matters continued to be treated only sporadically within the above-mentioned orthographical instruments, i.e. whenever the phonemic principle does not apply unambiguously. Instead of a reference instrument *sui generis*, the academies published a *Fonética y fonología* in 2011 as part of its description-driven *Nueva gramática de la lengua española* (NGLE) that documents norms, usage and variation in the Spanish-speaking world (cf. Tacke 2015). As part of its recently published LELE (cf. above, 2.2), the RAE has – for the first time since its passage to a pluricentric language culture – presented a normatively oriented treatment of the matter. The chapter titled "Pronunciación y elocución" is divided into two parts: part 1 provides an exposition of what can be considered a pluricentric "ortología alfabética" based on written language (i.e., letters and combination of letters); part 2 is a guide to good elocution ("conseguir 'una buena manera de hablar'", p. 223), which is particularly aimed at the professional speakers of broadcasting media ("medios orales de comunicación"). The latter consists of recommendations on how to articulate adequately (*velocidad del habla*, *pausas*, *intensidad*, *acento*, *ritmo*, *entonación*) depending on the communicative genre (*informativos*, *entrevistas y debates*, *retransmisiones y conexiones en directo*). The most striking differences in pronunciation (cf. below, 4.3) are treated according to the institution's pluricentric orientation: the norms of good elocution are, as is to be expected, rather general in nature and thus homogeneous. With this kind of prudent codification, the RAE thus affirms the implicit norms followed and set by broadcasting media throughout the Spanish-speaking world,[9] and finally follows up on the tradition of cultivating public speech mentioned above (2.2).

3.3 Correctness and variation

Compared to other domains subject to normative judgements, the concept of correctness underlying orthography is not open to variation. Except for some specific domains such as the use of proper names, the use of foreign words and conscious infringements (*heterografía*), deviations from the orthographic norm are simply considered "faltas de ortografía" (Martínez de Sousa [3]2014, 41–44). Orthoepy, contrarily, exhibits less explicit judgement criteria. The pronunciation of the educated speakers is not homogeneous but subject to phonologic differences as well as phonetic variation (cf. below, 4.2). Regarding pronunciation, Lara (2000, 16) points out that there

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9 The internal norms set by broadcasting stations are of course adjusted to their respective communicative range and regulate, most notably, the language use of professional speakers in newscasts (on the importance of mass media, cf. recently Greußlich 2015). In most cases, these internal *libros de estilo* are not publicly available. For some insight, cf. Medina Guerra (2005).

is another type of normativity at work, "de carácter simbólico-social, que interviene adjudicando valores sociales a los fenómenos de la pronunciación (generalmente interpretándolos en relación con dialectos prestigiosos o desprestigiados, tanto geográficos como sociales)". The criteria of orthoepical judgements haven't changed since the 17th century: deviations from what is (at a given time and place) considered "good" pronunciation are defined in terms of adequacy as either *vulgarismos* or *afectaciones* (sometimes even as *extravagancias*). This is reflected by the academic reference instruments that codify orthography and orthoepy, i.e. most notably the DRAE/DLE and the ORAE/OLE, as well as the above-mentioned chapter of the LELE.

Traditionally, the academic dictionary is the first instrument at hand in case of (orthographic) doubt. Here, normative judgements are made implicitly through lemmatization. The lemma itself shows the correct spelling of the word in question. However, numerous words exhibit more than one accepted spelling, reflecting – in most cases – more than one accepted pronunciation (e.g. [sus-] and [subs-] in the case of *sustancia*/*substancia* or prosodic variants like *fútbol*/*futbol* and *video*/*vídeo*). These forms are hierarchically arranged by the DLE. The (bigger-sized) lemma represents the preferred variant, while the other variant (or variants) is presented as the first information within the brackets following it, introduced by "T[am]b[ién]" (see the variants *séptimo*/*sétimo* and *oscuro*/*obscuro* in section 4.3.1).[10] If not alphabetically contiguous, the secondary variants are separately lemmatized but only to refer to the entry of the preferred spelling (which includes the definition). It is worth noting that this innovation, introduced by the DLE [23]2014, always includes information about secondary variants within the main entry, since it clearly reflects the growing interest in exhibiting variation within the academic reference instruments in general (↗12.2).

Traditionally, the ORAE has the sole purpose of outlining and explaining the set of orthographic rules, yet the OLE 2010 also integrates a detailed casuistry regarding "palabras o expresiones que plantean dificultades específicas" (OLE 2010, XLIII). In this sense, the numerous "Advertencias" include, among other information, normative judgements. These judgements are consistent with the kind of description-driven normative discourse that prevails the academies' reference instruments since the DPD (2005) and, in particular, the NGLE (2009/2011; cf. Tacke 2011; Bajo Pérez 2011; Amorós-Negre 2012; Méndez-Gª de Paredes 2014; López Serena 2015; Tacke 2015; ↗12.2). Therefore, clear prohibitions marked by the "bolaspa"-symbol[11] (a circled cross, ⊗; ↗12.4) are rare in comparison to evaluations and recommendations based on documented usage and frequency. Although the OLE (2010, XLV) explicitly notes that orthoepical questions are not treated, the text contains, in fact, sporadic indica-

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10 The entries of the online version of the DLE contain the same information but in vertical arrangement.

11 The DPD (2005) introduced the "bolaspa" (< *bolo* + *aspa*, see DLE [23]2014, s. v.) to mark "formas y usos incorrectos o desaconsejados" (OLE 2010, XLVI).

tions referring to concrete pronunciation rules.[12] The LELE's section on pronunciation complements the OLE (2010).

4 Today's orthographic standard and its relationship to pronunciation

As of today, spelling and pronunciation issues mostly concern those aspects and cases where the Spanish orthography deviates from the phonemic principle.[13]

4.1 General characteristics

As well as the other Romance languages' alphabets, the Spanish *abecedario* is based on the Latin alphabet. Complemented by the letter <ñ>, it is composed of 27 letters. The digraphs <ch> and <ll>, representing the phonemes /tʃ/ and /ʎ/, are no longer considered *letras* since the OLE (2010) (a use already implemented by the DRAE ²²2001). Interestingly and in contradiction to what is said in the same book regarding orthoepy (see above), the OLE (2010, 35) acknowledges the existence of a supra-regional standard pronunciation when it comes to the standardization of orthography: "ha de tomarse siempre como referencia la pronunciación culta estándar, aquella que representa el ideal de máxima corrección para los hablantes de todas las áreas" (ib.). Deviations from the phonemic principle are mainly based on two subordinate principles: usage (*uso constante*) and etymology (*origen*). Furthermore, secondary criteria adding some morphosemantic depth like analogy and homonym differentiation are to be mentioned, although their importance is not comparable – by far – to "deeper" orthographies like those of Portuguese and especially French (cf. the excellent analyses in Meisenburg 1996). To these the OLE (2010) explicitly adds the *unidad del idioma* as another guiding principle of orthographic standardization (cf. Süselbeck 2011).

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12 Consider, for example, the case of word-initial <x->: "La pronunciación de la *x* inicial como /k + s/, en lugar de como simple /s/, resulta afectada y debe evitarse: ⊗[ksenofóbia]" (ib., 154; cf. also LELE, 214). Interestingly, the reduced *Ortografía básica* (RAE/ASALE 2012, 28) translates this into a clear-cut correctness judgement: "Es incorrecta la pronunciación de la *x* inicial como /k + s/ en lugar de /s/: ⊗[ksenofóbia]".

13 The most compelling example of spelling pronunciation might be the erroneous but still widespread belief that the letters <b> and <v> represent different sounds. Referring to this, the current OLE (2010, 92) states that the labiodental articulation of <v> as [v] "no es propia del español" and marks it as "un error que cometen algunas personas por un equivocado prurito de corrección, basado en recomendaciones del pasado". The only exception of this judgement is its use in the bilingual Catalan-speaking areas of Spain which is not considered an error but a phonetic regionalism (cf. also LELE, 213).

Traditionally, any deviation from the phonemic principle is considered problematic, be it for didactic, aesthetic or other reasons. It is the representation of the consonant system that exhibits most problems. This regards, on the one hand, the existence of different phonologic (sub-)systems (*seseo, yeísmo*; see below, 4.2). On the other hand, the spelling system has evolved maintaining a multitude of ambiguous sound-letter correspondences which, as Lara (2000, 18) puts it, "requieren enseñanza en cada generación de hablantes debido a su carácter modificador del principio fonológico, o sea a su carácter supra-sistemático". Most notably, these concern the presence of multiple spellings in the case of /b/, /k/, /g/, /θ/, /x/, /r/ and multiple sound values for the letters <b/v>, <c>, <g>, <x>, <r> or even none at all, as in the case of <h>. As Meisenburg (1996, 266–269) shows in a systematic way, these ambiguous correspondences are due to three major causes: 1) context-sensitive rules that evolved through sound change in the case of /k/, /g/, /θ/; 2) historical-etymological spellings in the case of the graphic representation of /b/ and /x/ as well as the sound correspondences of <x> and the status of <h>; 3) the spellings of phonological neutralizations in the case of /n/ and /r/. Unsurprisingly, most of the reform proposals since the 15th century have aimed at eliminating those inconsistencies that cannot be explained by purely context-sensitive rules.

4.2 *Seseo* and *yeísmo*

Despite orthographic unity throughout the Spanish-speaking world, Spanish phonology exhibits important differences between regions and speakers. Spanish orthography reflects a historically idealized Castilian standard pronunciation based on a phonological system that includes the distinctions between /θ/ and /s/ and /ʎ/ and /j/ (cf. above, 3.2). However, the preceding sound changes that led to /θ/, i.e. the readjustment of the medieval sibilants, only affected northern Spain; in southern parts (and subsequently in America), the result was /s/. The latter, being historically misinterpreted as the loss of a distinction and thus a deviation,[14] received the label *seseo*. The phenomenon called *yeísmo*, which is the neutralization of the distinction between /ʎ/ and /j/, has also been documented since the end of the Middle Ages but concerns all regions and continues to spread. As a consequence, Spanish phonology is not uniform but is described today as being composed of coexisting phonologic subsystems: the *subsistemas seseante y yeísta*, used by the vast majority of speakers, and the *subsistemas distinguidores* that pertain to a minority. However, during the standardization of orthography, the graphic distinction between <c^(e, i)/z> and <s> on the one hand and <ll> and <y> on the other hand, has never been called into question, neither by the RAE nor by most of those who pro-

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14 Curiously, the idea of a loss is still present in the OLE (2010, 57), while the NGLE (vol. 3, §5.2c) describes the different historical developments in detail.

posed reforms.[15] Today, the OLE (2010, 40) argues that for the sake of unity, "el sistema ortográfico debe reflejar todos los fonemas efectivamente existentes en cualquiera de sus variedades, aunque algunos de ellos solo se realicen en la pronunciación de determinadas áreas o hablantes".[16]

From an orthoepical point of view, the normative stigmatization of the non-distinction of these phonemes pertains to the past. While Bello (1955 [1835], 22) still considered the *seseo* as a "hábito más universalmente arraigado en los americanos y más difícil de corregir" and Navarro Tomás called it a "dialectalismo culto" ([13]1967, §124) in later editions of his *Manual de pronunciación*, today, all academic reference instruments that propose phonological definitions highlight the fact that both *seseo* and *yeísmo* are to be considered standard variants to the same extent as the traditional Castilian *subsistema distinguidor* (cf. Tacke 2015).

4.3 Specific issues

4.3.1 Learned consonant groups

Learned consonant groups (*grupos consonánticos cultos*) constitute a steady case of doubts not only regarding orthography but also orthoepy. Those consonant groups, common in Latin, tend to be simplified following Spanish phonotactics (preference for open syllables). As a result, most of them had already disappeared from pronunciation during Old Spanish times, only to be reintroduced from the 16th and 17th century onwards under the influence of Humanism both in native words and by new borrowings from Latin and Greek (cf. Menéndez Pidal [20]1989 [1904], 11; Catalán 1971; Alarcos Llorach [4]1986).[17] In fact, in the history of learned words, the dialectic relationship between orthography and orthoepy reveals to be most palpable: the visual word forms encouraged the emergence of a new model of learned pronunciation and vice versa. In this sense, through its orthographies and dictionaries, the RAE codified these learned spellings beginning with its *Discurso proemial* (DA 1726) ultimately allowing the corresponding spelling pronunciation to consolidate and further expand (cf. Catalán 1971, 82s.; Satorre Grau 2013).

Today, the orthographic word forms represent a high-register pronunciation (*pronunciación cuidada*), while consonants in coda position still tend to be simpli-

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15 The most prominent exception is the orthography proposed by Domingo Faustino Sarmiento (1843) who even criticized Bello's proposal for calling the *seseo americano* a bad habit (cf. Rosenblat 1951, CVIII).

16 Berschin/Fernández-Sevilla/Felixberger ([4]2012, 136) would call this the Castilian "Maximalsystem" [maximal system] whereas, by comparison, all other varieties "lack" certain phonemes.

17 Historically, the Spanish syllable maintained only the liquids /r/, /l/, nasals /m/, /n/ and fricatives /s/, /θ/ in coda position.

fied in lower registers (regardless of the speaker's education).[18] Some learned word forms and pronunciations, however, never became fully generalized in usage resulting in the existence of (graphic) variants. Regarding the consonant group <bs> (e.g. *obstáculo* [obs.ˈta.ku.lo]), for example, the current norm thus prefers the reduced variants (and pronunciations) in words like *oscuro, suscribir, sustancia, sustantivo*. In the same sense, the prefix *trans-*, containing the group <ns>, might also be reduced in nearly all contexts to *tras-*, while the reduced prefix *pos-* is even recommended vis-à-vis *post-*. Graphic variants are only accepted when sanctioned by the pronunciation of the educated speakers. In these cases, the DLE's lemmatization and microstructure indicate the variant preferred by the academies (and supposedly the educated speakers) (cf. above, 3.3). Compare, for example, *séptimo* and *oscuro* (DLE [23]2014, ss.vv.):

> **séptimo, ma.** (Tb. **sétimo.** ♦ Del lat. *septĭmus*) adj. […]
>
> **oscuro, ra.** (Tb. **obscuro.** ♦ Del lat. *obscūrus*) adj. […]

There is, after all, one important exception to the phonemic principle underlying the existence of orthographic variants, namely the word-initial consonant groups <cn->, <gn->, <pn->, <ps-> and <pt->. Besides words grounded in general language like *salmo* (< Late Lat. PSALMUS) that have been reduced both phonetically and in spelling, most learned words exhibiting those consonant groups are not reduced in spelling regardless of their pronunciation. It is, in these cases, the preference for constant spellings in contexts of technical discourse that justifies their maintenance in orthography (cf. OLE 2010, 180s.).

4.3.2 Integration of foreign words

The integration of foreign and loan words (*extranjerismos* or *préstamos*) is a challenging topic as it represents a particularly dynamic aspect of (orthographic) standardization much more subject to variation than other domains.[19] Whereas the day-to-day integration of foreign words is a matter traditionally dealt with in instruments dedicated to the mass media (see section 5; ↗12.4), the latest OLE (2010, 598), reasoning that "la proliferación indiscriminada de extranjerismos crudos o semiadaptados en textos españoles puede resultar un factor desestabilizador de nuestro sistema ortográfico", grants special attention to the issue, not only in nu-

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18 Besides the normative pronunciation [per.ˈfek.to] for *perfecto*, the NGLE (vol. 3, §8.7s) documents the following variants: [per.ˈfeɣ.to], [per.ˈfeθ.to], [per.ˈfex.to], [per.ˈfeh.to], [per.ˈfe.to]. Through the recently published LELE, the RAE tries to maintain a proper articulation of consonants in coda position and recommends, in the case of *k* + consonant, "pronunciar un sonido intermedio entre una /k/ y una /g/, es decir, una /k/ muy relajada" (ib., 221).

19 For a study of the mechanisms of graphic and phonic integration, cf. Meisenburg (1993).

merous references but also in a dedicated chapter, in order to standardize the basic adaptation principles.

Following a well-established usage, unadapted foreign words are to be marked typographically (preferably in italics) (cf. Lebsanft 2007). The mark fulfills an important orthographic, as well as orthoepical function, because it indicates that the word in question "es ajeno a nuestra lengua y que, debido a ello, no tiene por qué atenerse a las convenciones ortográficas españolas ni pronunciarse como correspondería en español a esa grafía" (OLE 2010, 601).[20] Orthographic integration is more complex, in particular when exhibiting letters and sounds that are not genuinely Spanish. In this context, the OLE 2010 shows a new tendency of accepting adaptations that include the letters <w> and <k>.[21] In the case of the English word *whisky*, for example, the academies seem to abandon the transliterated spelling *güisqui* that was introduced by the DRAE ([20]1984), acknowledging that "la grafía con *gü-* provoca rechazo en muchos hablantes", and now propose *wiski*, "aunque [la *w* y la *k*] sigan siendo, en cierto modo, letras foráneas" (OLE 2010, 86).[22] Regarding orthoepy, the letter <w> is ambiguous, exhibiting different sound values: /b/ in some cases (mostly Visigothic and German loan words) and /u/ (being realized regularly as [w] or [gw]) in most cases, in particular Anglicisms.[23]

5 Dynamic forms of standardization

Besides the codification of orthography through the OLE and DLE, orthographical and orthoepical matters are also treated in other contexts, notably manuals dedicated to common speakers (*diccionarios de dudas*) and press and broadcasting stylebooks (*libros de estilo*) (↗12.4). So far, the RAE/ASALE have two printed publications that take up this line of user-oriented normative orientation: the *Diccionario*

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20 Since the OLE 2010, Latinisms are to be treated as any other kind of foreign words. Some of them can henceforward exhibit two variants, as in the case of *quorum*, an adapted one, *cuórum*, which, according to Spanish orthography, gets a stress mark and is not to be put in italics, and a "crude" one, *quorum*, without a stress mark but in italics.

21 Both letters form part of the Spanish alphabet but are not considered Spanish to the same degree as the other letters directly inherited from Latin. The letter <w> was added to the alphabet by the ORAE (1969) and the DRAE ([19]1970), whereas <k> had temporally been eliminated from it between 1815 and 1870.

22 This can be regarded as a shibboleth-case of foreign word integration (cf. Lebsanft 1997, 157, 159, 161). Curiously, the DLE ([23]2014) still lemmatizes *güisqui* as the only integrated spelling. Compare also the contradictory recommendations given by the RAE through its social media channels (see below).

23 Therefore, the OLE (2010, 86) recommends "usar en exclusiva la grafía que mantiene la *w* etimológica, que es, además, la que mejor refleja la pronunciación mayoritaria hoy entre los hispanohablantes".

panhispánico de dudas (DPD) and *El buen uso del español* (RAE/ASALE 2013b). There is no doubt, however, that the internet represents the most important medium for language advisory services today. In this sense, the RAE offers most of its publications – including the DLE, DPD and the OLE – as online resources and offers advice through its Departamento de Español al día. Furthermore, since 2012, Twitter has been used to communicate with users in a more immediate way (@RAEinforma, under #RAEconsultas). Apart from the academies' efforts and countless websites, blogs and channels dedicated to linguistic correctness, the advisory services offered by the Fundación del Español Urgente de la Fundéu/BBVA are particularly important within the Spanish language culture. Its online services (<www.fundeu.es>) include a search engine ("buscador urgente de dudas") to a catalogue of linguistic problems that, among other categories, currently counts 613 entries on orthographic doubts. New entries are constantly added and distributed via Twitter (@Fundeu) since 2010. Besides recommendations regarding current doubts (e.g. "*posverdad*, mejor que *post-verdad*", 11/17/2016; "*Acuerdo de París*, en mayúscula", 11/02/2016), recently, users are also called to participate in online surveys in order to evaluate options for the integration of foreign words (e.g. *youtuber*, @Fundeu, 11/24/2016).

6 Conclusion

Today's orthography is the result of what Rosenblat (1951) called *reformismo ortográfico*, the ongoing process started by Nebrija in 1492 of evaluating the current writing system and applying adjustments to it. Considering sound-letter correspondences as the core aspect of alphabetic writing systems, the RAE actively participated in adjusting spelling to (learned) pronunciation and in reducing deviations from the phonemic principle until 1815. During the past 200 years, however, the orthographic standard has scarcely changed. While the RAE (and with it the ASALE) maintains its orthographic conservatism (*fetichismo de la letra*), reformists keep insisting on the didactic needs and usefulness of simplifications (e.g. Mosterín 1981; Martínez de Sousa 1991; 1999; 2011; cf. Martín Zorraquino 1985). In this sense, studies underline the correlation between ambiguous sound-letter relationships (<b/v>, <c/z/s>, <g$^{e, i}$> vs. <j$^{e, i}$>, etc.), orthographic doubts and errors (e.g. Ávila 1992; 2009). Consequently, the orthographic standard is quite static. Modernization activities are mostly limited to secondary elements like accentuation and letter case and the domain of integrating foreign words. Nevertheless, within the recent general tendency towards a description-driven standardization, there has been a change of normative attitude that has also affected the domain of orthography and seems to follow the approach suggested by Lara (2000). At the same time, dynamic forms of standardization and normative orientation through the internet and social media become increasingly relevant and effectively complement traditional codification instruments.

Conversely, orthoepy has only recently been subject to standardization by the academies. Beyond its implicit codification through orthography as a model of spelling pronunciation, the academies conceive this domain as a part of language "[que] se presta menos a aprehender lo que en cada caso puede ser recomendado como norma de buen decir dentro de las variedades regionales, sociales y hasta individuales" (Gili Gaya 1955, XXI). Predictably, national and regional radio and TV broadcasting stations have assumed the role of codifying and propagating pronunciation norms based on their specific communicative needs.

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12.2 Normative Grammars

Abstract: Linguistics cannot obviate the fact that, according to a vast majority of the population not well versed in linguistic issues, normativity constitutes the key aspect both of languages and of language. The high number of daily consultations regarding language registered by the Español al día Service of the Real Academia Española serves as an example of the great importance that popular metalinguistics confers upon *speaking well*. No wonder. The linguistic norm is a changing one and linguistic tradition provides valuable evidence that today's mistakes can become tomorrow's norm. It is no easy task though to identify these good usage models and the way in which they are established. Furthermore, it is difficult to establish how the so-called normative or prescriptive grammars – inevitably linked to the tasks performed by the Academias de la Lengua Española – reconcile the variation that is inherent to every linguistic system with the codification of the standard variety or varieties mainly used in the formal, administrative, institutional and academic contexts of communicative distance.

Keywords: Spanish, grammar, standardization, elaboration, prescriptivism, descriptivism, norm, language academies, panhispanism, pluricentricity

1 Introduction

It is a well-known fact that speakers assign a normative nature to language (Lara 1976) which underlies the attitudes and judgment values that they express about the surrounding linguistic reality. It is us, the speakers, who actually correct our interlocutors, criticise and amend both our own and other people's linguistic behaviours. Privileges are thus granted to preferred linguistic options, and consequently to their respective speakers, according to usually extralinguistic factors (e.g. economic level, social status, physical appearance, etc.). Therefore, linguistic prescription does not appear as the attitude that characterizes a scientist but rather as a universal sociolinguistic behaviour, innate in human condition itself, in the linguistic reflection and awareness of all individuals in their capacity as speakers (Joseph 1987, 3s.), "an activity as old as human history" (Neustupný 1974). Nevertheless, it must be made clear that, among the diverse linguistic cultures, different prescriptivist traditions exist, i.e, "conscious and explicit efforts to regulate the language of others that carry institutional authority" (Curzan 2014, 17; cf. Costa Carreras 2018).

Thus, there is a need to adopt a modern and renewed conception of prescription (Greenbaum 1988), according to which we should become aware of the fact that normativity in language is a social practice. As a result, the establishment of linguis-

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tic norms constitute a necessary and legitimate mission of human sciences without forgetting that the concept of correctness is permanently subject to redefinition because of its actual nature, not grounded on intrinsically linguistic characteristics but on social ones. Hence, why it is up to us, social scientists, who struggle with such diffuse phenomena and prevent "ignorant enthusiasts and incompetent pedants" (Haas 1982, 3) from controlling idiomatic guidance tasks. In this respect, it becomes necessary to take into account that artificiality and spontaneity have been present to a greater or lesser extent in the creation and cultivation of standards (cf. the Spanish Renaissance tradition of the term *cultivo y cultura del idioma*; cf. Lebsanft 1997, 84). These *cultivated languages* (Moreno Cabrera 2013) need to achieve support and acceptance amongst the speakers themselves so that they can arise as such. In other words, they must form part of a community's historical tradition and be culturally transmitted (cf. Gallardo 1978; Wright 2004; Amorós-Negre 2008). Consequently, standard varieties "deben corresponderse con el modo de ser habitual de una lengua y deben integrar la variación" (Méndez-Gª de Paredes/López Serena 2011, 22) in order to accommodate the discursive models which are typical of communicative distance.

This article aims at providing an overview of the Spanish prescriptive tradition reflected in the elaboration of grammars, a key instrument in Spanish language policy and planning. Firstly, I will focus on the delimitation of concepts such as *exemplarity, correctness*, *norm* and *standard*. Secondly, I will provide a short grammaticographical account of the descriptive-prescriptive continuum in Spanish normative grammars. Finally, I will concentrate on today's academic official grammar, the *Nueva gramática de la lengua española* and the nature of its codification.

2 Key Concepts

2.1 The foundations of correctness

Concerning the nature of a standard variety, a need exists to stress the fact that even though it is the norms of such a standard that are sanctioned and coded in spelling manuals, dictionaries and grammars, this does not prevent us from recognizing that all linguistic varieties have their own norms (for Coseriu's distinction between correctness and exemplarity, cf. below, 2.2). They are adapted to the possibilities offered by the internal organization of the language system (*grammaticality*; ↗6), which may not actually coincide with the fixed and coded rules of standard varieties. The property of *correctness*, as also highlighted by the linguist and academic Bosque (1998, 35s.), arises as a social concept relatively external to the principles which serve as the basis to articulate the linguistic system. This is very often exclusively associated with these norms of the standard.

For that reason, the presence of analogical -*s* in the second person of Spanish *pretérito indefinido* (past tense) (*cantastes*) and constructions with a combination of

unstressed pronouns such as *me se ha caído*, or the use of the adjective *mayor* preceded by the adverb *más* in a comparative structure with a second term of comparison like *Ana es la más mayor del colegio*, amongst others, does not seem illogical at all, nor does anything that contravenes the structuring principles of Spanish. These forms are proscribed and incorrect exclusively according to the norms of the explicitly codified standard (Bartsch 1987, 269). The aforementioned cases exemplify variants belonging to the popular level or to colloquial manifestations of the spoken context, some of which carry a strong stigmatization. On other occasions though, these are phenomena often found amongst educated speakers living in some regions of the Spanish-speaking world which even fall into the field of communicative distance. This is what happens with the regularization of the verb *andar* (*andé* for *anduve*), the pluralization of the verb *haber* in agreement with the plural direct object (*habían muchas personas* for *había muchas personas*) or structures such as *se los dije a mis padres* instead of *se lo dije a mis padres*, with the consequent transfer of the indirect object mark to the direct object pronoun. In these last circumstances where the variants have prestige and are highly valued in some regions but not in others, it becomes even more difficult to establish that ideal norm which, in the case of Spanish, aspires to achieve a *panhispanic* scope and a *pluricentric* nature.

Most linguists are aware of the fact that the correct criterion cannot be applied to the language as a system. Moreover, linguistic uses are always correct in their geographical location according to their specific way of speaking (Coseriu 1990, 69s.). Nevertheless, laymen express the popular belief that the natural state of languages is homogeneity and invariability. Closely linked to this approach stands the increasingly widespread idea that only one correct form of language exists, the prescriptive norm – which the population legitimately wishes to know since it has *linguistic capital* (Bourdieu 1991).

In this context, it should not be forgotten either that correctness can be understood in a broader sense that goes beyond merely following the precepts dictated by normative treatises, i.e. as a proximity to the good usage models within a specific linguistic community. In this sense, the use of certain patterns might exceed compliance with the linguistic code, since they resort to pragmatic-discursive principles seeking to guarantee communicative correctness and adequacy. These aspects become equally crucial in the definition of the controversial standards of languages, traditionally neglected in linguistic normativization tasks, which have had sentence grammar as their limit (cf. Amorós-Negre/Prieto de los Mozos 2013). In fact, as pointed out by linguist and academic Borrego Nieto (2016, 34), the norms concerning discursive construction are "un terreno en que la Academia, pese a sus propósitos al respecto, no ha llegado apenas".

2.2 The *polyphony* of the norm

When the standard identifies with the *coded* or *prescriptive norm* (as opposed to what is sometimes called "empirical standard"; Joseph 1987; Eberenz 1995), it seems logical to think that nobody can concentrate on all the features considered standard or, conversely, get rid of all the linguistic variants belonging to their native variety. An *absolute* concept of standard is being adopted in this case (cf. Joseph 1987; Amorós-Negre 2008), the explicitly sanctioned variety in the works of a normative nature, an idealized mental construct (Borrego Nieto 2001) to which some speakers come closer than others but which nobody fulfils accurately and the knowledge of which requires explicit teaching (cf. Zimmermann 2010; Moreno Cabrera 2011).

However, as is well known, in addition to this *traditional* meaning of norm as a law or precept – within the prescriptive sphere – *norm* also refers to habit, common use, usual in a specific community, closer to the objective and descriptive vision of the linguistic fact. This is a *Coserian* sense of norm (↗3), the descriptive norms (Koch 1988), the customary and sociolinguistic ones (Rona 1973) which shape the different linguistic varieties in the diasystem that the speaker resorts to in various communicative situations. It needs to be remembered in this respect that the standard variety constitutes a descriptive norm in itself (Oesterreicher 2002). It acquires a prescriptive dimension too when it becomes the reference parameter around which linguistic variation materializes and the status of the different linguistic phenomena is assessed.

Both meanings of norm appear inextricably joined, though. Exactly in the same way a linguistic fact, which is normal and usual in a given linguistic community can become exemplary (cf. Coseriu 1990) and subsequently coded, norms understood as precepts may arise from the observed linguistic regularities and habits (cf. Lara 1976): "This is, so to speak, a two-way street, a retroactive phenomenon: from usage to grammar and from grammar to usage" (Méndez-Gª de Paredes 1999, 117). Therefore, an effort needs to be made in order to find the balance between the descriptive and prescriptive task, away from extreme stances which identify what is normative and what is unscientific and which can hardly contribute to the development of linguistic science research (Amorós-Negre 2014, 86). The fact that the boundaries between descriptive norm (*Ist-Norm*) and prescriptive norm (*Soll-Norm*) are blurred becomes evident in the potential exemplary nature (*Soll-Qualität*) of the objective norm (Schlieben-Lange 1990). This represents the actual foundation of the linguistic pluricentricity theory, with many of its standards constituting idiomatic models despite having undergone an informal normativization (*empirical standards*) (cf. Joseph 1987, 162s.; Torrent-Lenzen 2006, 13; Amorós-Negre 2012).

3 The legacy of the *gramáticas académicas*: the descriptive-prescriptive continuum

Exactly as it happened with the other vulgar languages, which were placed *debaxo de arte* throughout the Renaissance period, the normativization of Castilian closely followed the Greco-Latin pattern (Lázaro Carreter 1985 [1949], 133). Thus, it comes as no surprise that the Spanish language also inherited the prescriptive conception of grammar as the *ars bene/recte loquendi et scribendi* – characteristic of the whole western traditional grammar. Worthy of mention in this respect is the fact that, when the earliest grammarians of antiquity such as Pānini or Dionysius Thrax undertook the coding of Sanskrit and Greek respectively, they already offered a detailed linguistic description based on the usage of the "best" writers, seeking to fix an ideal of language which could remain unscathed from generation to generation (cf. Gutiérrez Ordóñez 2008). This is consequently what happened with the first *Gramática de la lengua castellana* by Elio Antonio de Nebrija (2000 [1492]), for whom idiomatic authority also had to be sought in the usage of the "muy enseñados varones de la Corte" (Quilis 1980, 67). The prescriptive ideology and linguistic criticism against the "degenerate" and "contaminated" use made by the masses was present throughout the 16th and 17th centuries, a period in which the Spanish Empire, as well as Spanish letters, reached its maximum splendour. Examples of the impressionistic judgments and the linguistic prejudice of the time can be found in the actual rejection raised by the Andalusian origin of Antonio de Nebrija. Juan de Valdés (*Diálogo de la Lengua*, 1535), amongst others, not only opposed Nebrija's position arguing in favour of using common speech ("escrivo como hablo") as a principle of grammatical authority (Gauger 1996) but also doubted that an Andalusian was able to propose a suitable model of codification for the Castilian language.

An essential role for the process of standardization of Castilian or Spanish, which gradually gained ground in communicative distance contexts during the Enlightenment period, was undoubtedly the creation of a body modelled after the Académie française, the Real Academia Española (RAE), established in 1713 precisely under the motto *limpia, fija y da esplendor* (Zamora Vicente 1999, 26; cf. González Ollé 2014), which would contribute to the iconicity of Spanish as a national symbol (Amorós-Negre 2016, 31):

> "Evidentemente, los valores que daban justificación a la Academia eran, más que la comunicación y entendimiento, la identidad de la lengua y la celebración de su grandeza. Pero a la vez, con ayuda de la sanción real, la rae [sic] se instituía como el primer agente claramente normativo y hasta prescriptivo de la lengua española" (Lara 2011, 320).

In this respect, the grammatical conception, which inspired the first academic grammar of 1771, was precisely Quintilian's *consensus eruditorum* (Lebsanft 1997, 69, 285), the *Sprachgebrauch der Gebildeten* (Brumme 1992, 386). It had different formulations (*los buenos autores*, *los que hablan bien*, *los autores clásicos*, etc.) in the fol-

lowing 37 editions or reprintings of the *princeps Gramática de la lengua castellana* (GRAE 1771) (Brumme 2006, 1497). Not in vain do continuity of the theoretical discussions and disagreements among grammarians explain why the production of GRAEs is conceived as an age-old project, corporate, ongoing, recurrent and unfinished in subsequent editions (Gómez Asencio 2000).

In this sense, the grammatical pattern followed by the 1771 edition of the GRAE "descansa, como en Nebrija, en la reflexión que de la lengua y su uso hace el gramático. Esto es, al menos, lo que puede desprenderse de una gramática en que prácticamente no hay citas de autoridad" (Méndez-Gª de Paredes 1999, 129). The weight of Graeco-Latin tradition is, likewise, a constant in academic grammars until the *Esbozo* (Lázaro Carreter 1985 [1949], 183; Sarmiento González 2000, 863), and it is also reflected in the different proposals concerning the number of parts of speech. The RAE acknowledged the number nine until 1870, ten from 1870 to 1917, and nine again after 1917 (González Calvo 1982, 59). However, as noted by Gómez Asencio (1981, 38) in his exploration of Spanish grammar tradition (1771–1847), only the RAE's major masterpiece embraces a two-part division of grammar, far more innovative and closer to its current form – Analogy and Syntax –, leaving Spelling and Prosody outside. The majority position within the Academy would be, however, the inclusion of these two latter aspects, thus establishing the parts of grammar as four (Rojo 2001, 37–42; Sarmiento González 2000, 867).

> "La Gramática es arte de hablar bien. Divídese en dos partes; la primera trata del número, propiedad y oficio de las palabras; la segunda del orden y concierto que deben tener entre si, para expresar con claridad los pensamientos" (GRAE 1771, 1s.).

There is yet another constant in academic works that is already clear since the first grammar was produced, namely, the tension between the tendency towards seeking correlation between logical and linguistic categories that characterizes the creation of rationalist, speculative and general grammars, and the current that advocates the specification of the language's rules of usage when preparing particular grammars (cf. Sarmiento González 1983).

Stagnation in grammatical reforms has been a constant ever since the second half of the 18th century and continuing throughout the 19th century (Lázaro Carreter 1972, 101; Senz 2011, 104). A standstill of the institution was aggravated further by the turbulence of the time and was especially noticeable after the production of grammars by distinguished grammarians: the *Gramática de la lengua castellana según ahora se habla*, by Vicente Salvá (1835), and the *Gramática de la lengua castellana destinada al uso de los americanos*, by Andrés Bello (1978 [1847]) (Gómez Asencio 2002, 200).

From the 19th century onwards, awareness rose about the inadequacy of many grammatical rules. They had been prescribed simply by analogy with the Greco-Latin structural model (cf. Moreno Cabrera 2011, 202; Amorós-Negre 2014, 60), a practice which resulted in the stigmatization of numerous phenomena that lacked correspondence with the canonical structures of classical languages.

In this context, it deserves to be highlighted that the rigid prescriptivist ideology of the academic institution gradually weakened during the Romantic period. As a matter of fact, the prologues to the successive editions of academic grammars show a progressive movement away from the exclusively normative intention that this body had had in its early times. Ensuring the purity of Spanish and taking care of it (avoiding barbarisms, solecisms, etc.) thus became secondary objectives to the description and reflection of the use of the language, evidence of which was provided by the grammatical reform of 1917 and was extremely innovative in its contribution to syntactic reasoning (Fries 1989, 111s.; García de la Concha 2014, 264):

> "El gran cambio que realiza la Academia en la edición de su Gramática en 1917 es, precisamente, el de convertir la oración en un concepto realmente operativo y, en consecuencia, utilizar de modo no demasiado distinto a como se hace en la actualidad las nociones de sujeto, complemento, etc." (Rojo 2001, 121).

As for Hispanic America, important American figures were also members of the RAE during the period that preceded Independence. Andrés Bello himself was appointed honorary member, but the political rupture between Spain and America that would lead to the foundation of associated Academies throughout the 19th and 20th centuries equally meant the end of the entry of Latin Americans into the RAE well into the past century.

From a linguistic point of view, even after reaching independence, Creole educated elites in Latin America submitted to peninsular dictates (Lara 2011, 323), which is why Latin American varieties continued to be regarded as peripheral and deficient. Emphasis on the New Continent was placed in order to keep the purity of (Castilian) Spanish, denouncing and banishing corruptions of mother language in the American territory (cf. Guitarte/Torres Quintero 1968; Guitarte 1991). This explains why a highly normativist type of education inspired by the peninsular model was promoted across the Atlantic.

Additionally, attention must be paid to the fact that Andrés Bello defends the legitimacy of cultured and educated Americans' usage to form part of the exemplary language. However, many of the linguistic features criticized by the grammarian in his great *Gramática de la lengua castellana destinada al uso de los americanos* (1847) merely appear as disturbing deviations from a single standard, the central-northern peninsular one, since Bello sees the Castilian variety as embodying linguistic perfection, too (Moré 2004, 75). The *American-Spanish Syntax* of Charles Kany ([2]1951 [1945]), a highly valuable work written nearly one century later, still focuses on highlighting the constructions, which diverge from the peninsular model (Lara 1991; Lope Blanch 1992).

Consequently, only academic grammars enjoyed power and an official status in linguistic terms across the different Hispanic territories throughout the 19th century and well into the 20th century, since Charles III of Spain decreed their compulsory utilization in teaching in 1780 (Lázaro Carreter 1949, 189). Official education only

considered peninsular Spanish norms legitimate despite enthusiasm of the publication of important grammatical treatises other than academic ones – such as *La oración y sus partes* by Lenz (1944 [1920]), the *Gramática castellana* by Alonso/Henríquez Ureña (1971 [1938]), the *Gramática española* by Fernández Ramírez (1986 [1951]), or the *Gramática española* by Alcina/Blecua (1998 [1975]) – also raised in America until the last third of the 20th century. Even though the RAE "saw its exclusivity threatened" (Garrido Vílchez 2008, 31) in the years prior to the 1917 reform, it maintained the monopoly in educational institutions until about 1970, in accordance with the validity period of the Moyano Law (Fries 1989, 68). Likewise, it should be noted that the respective school versions of the GRAEs that emerged in the 19th century, the *Epítome* (RAE 1857a) and the *Compendio de la Gramática de la lengua castellana* (RAE 1857b), whose economic relevance was decisive to boost the Spanish institution (Fries 1989, 86; Gómez Asencio 2004, 1319), were the only ones used by public education throughout Spain for language teaching at the primary and secondary levels. There were 82 editions of the *Epítome* and 45 of the *Compendio* (cf. Encinas Manterola 2015).

The recognition of Spanish as one of the United Nations languages and as an official language of UNESCO (Fernández Vítores 2014), together with Spain's entry into the European Community in 1986, paved the way for the internationalization of Spanish. This was important for the necessity of demographic help provided by Latin America to act as a supranational communication vehicle. Academies of the Spanish Language were interested in praising the sentiment of *unidad en la diversidad* and highlighting the substantial advantages brought on by a common language that embraced a diversity of idiomatic exemplarities. This is precisely reflected in the updated statutes of the Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española (ASALE) (2007) and the adoption of a new academic motto *unifica, limpia y fija*, since the publication of the *Ortografía de la lengua Española* (ORAE) in 1999 (↗12.1):

> "La Real Academia Española ha elevado a la categoría de objetivo prioritario en los estatutos vigentes el de 'velar porque los cambios que experimente la lengua española en su constante adaptación a las necesidades de sus hablantes no quiebren la esencial unidad que mantiene en todo el ámbito hispánico'. Quiere esto decir que nuestro viejo lema fundacional, 'limpia, fija y da esplendor', ha de leerse ahora, más cabalmente, como 'unifica, limpia y fija' y que esa tarea la compartimos, en mutua colaboración, con las veintiuna Academias de la Lengua Española restantes, las de todos los países donde se habla español como lengua propia" (ORAE 1999, XV).

As will be explained below, the unity of Spanish is also presented as the ultimate goal of the academic work in the *Nueva gramática de la lengua española* (2009) (Tacke 2011, 147), a clear example of RAE and ASALE's panhispanic language policy (ASALE 2004).

4 Today's official grammar: tradition and innovation in the *Nueva gramática de la lengua española*

Parakrama (1995, 3) states that "description as such can never be a neutral activity; description is always a weak form of prescription". Indeed, the actual selection of the variety to be described implies not only a value judgment but also privileging certain linguistic variants over others. In addition to the proximity between the different conceptions of the term *norm* mentioned above, it is worth highlighting the prescriptive point of view that every speaker adopts when approaching a grammar or a dictionary in search of guidance about idiomatic matters (↗12.3), regardless of whether such treatises have a more descriptive or prescriptive nature. Despite the fact that the division between descriptive and prescriptive works is far from being a clear-cut one, the main purpose of descriptive grammars consists in carrying out an empirical and aseptic analysis as well as keeping a record of the facts identified in a language. On the other hand, the main aim of prescriptive grammars is to perform a guiding task and to propose specific rules of language usage. Very few of these last grammatical works that declare themselves as explicitly prescriptive or normative – other than academic works – exist in the Spanish-speaking world. A good example can be found in *Hablar y escribir correctamente. Gramática normativa del español actual* (Gómez Torrego 2006).

Our study will now focus on the most outstanding aspects related to the normative conception of today's prescriptive Spanish language grammars published by the RAE and the ASALE, that is, the *Nueva gramática de la lengua española* (RAE/ASALE 2009) and its respective abridged versions, the *Nueva gramática de la lengua Española. Manual* (2010) and the *Nueva gramática básica de la lengua española* (2011). Special attention will be paid to the evolution and updating of grammatical doctrine with respect to previous grammatical treatises, both academic ones and those written by specific grammarians.

The expectations surrounding the appearance of the *Nueva gramática de la lengua española* (hereinafter NGLE) in 2009 were enormous. It is worth noting that it represented a brand new grammatical work which had not been composed on the basis of any other previous academic grammar and on which consensus had been reached for the first time ever by all the Academies – 22 for the time being. Until then, the last academic grammar to which prescriptive validity was granted was in 1931 (reprinted in 1959 and 1961), the 34th edition of the grammar published by the academic institutions. However, they did not include novelties with regard to that of 1920 which, except for some slight modifications – a chapter devoted to the word formation processes of derivation and compounding – reproduced the reformist edition of 1917. From 1924 onwards, the academic grammatical treatises will use the name "española" instead of "castellana" in the titles.

In this respect, it is worth highlighting that the *Esbozo* of 1973 ended up becoming a simple propaedeutic work for the preparation of a new treatise which took over 25 years to arrive with a structure and contents completely different from those included in the aforementioned grammatical outline.

The NGLE (2009) undoubtedly offers a thorough, detailed description about the morphology, syntax of Spanish in 48 long chapters dealing with issues not usually analysed in depth in grammatical treatises, such as interjections, informative functions, or negation (Bajo Pérez 2011, 534). As was expected, the NGLE (2009) shows a clear influx of the most important contemporary linguistics trends (pragmatics, cognitive linguistics, etc.) (cf. Bosque 2013). The third volume, devoted to phonetics and phonology, appeared in 2011. It contains ten chapters, the last three dedicated to suprasegmental features (syllable, accent and intonation), and a DVD, *Las voces del español. Tiempo y espacio*, which, among other contents, includes samples of recorded educated speech of men and women from the different Spanish varieties. A suggestion is consequently made to arrange the structure and complexity of the Spanish language all over its vast territory, following the guidelines laid down by the *Nueva política lingüística panhispánica* (ASALE 2004), declared official by academic institutions to work jointly, not for the maintenance of purity but at the service of unity and panhispanism.

4.1 The grammatical canon: from the language of *varones doctos* to the *norma culta*

As has already been pointed out, from the 19th century, but especially in the 20th, as linguistics became consolidated as a scientific discipline, linguistic prescriptions and proscriptions needed to find greater support and justification. In this sense, the NGLE inevitably resorts to the educated speaker for the determination of uses which are regarded as exemplary in the Hispanic world in its description of the ideal panhispanic norm. However, for the first time the grammar recognizes that the exemplary linguistic variants do not stem from a single focus, Castile. A variety of normative irradiation centres exist in the Spanish-speaking world instead, which is why the assessment and status of numerous linguistic phenomena and constructions may not coincide in different linguistic areas (cf. NGLE 2009, XLII)

It seems interesting to know who those learned men are according to the Academies. *Siglo de Oro* writers (Fries 1989, 192), and especially the figure of Cervantes (Schmitt 2001, 461), largely stood out in the grammatical canon until the publication of the *Esbozo de una nueva gramática de la lengua española* (RAE 1973). In any case, grammatical doctrine, either the academic type or that of specific grammarians, was essentially based – well into the 20th century – on the literary language of peninsular writers, especially the classics (Cervantes, Clarín, Fray Luis de León, Lope de Vega, Quevedo, Garcilaso, Mateo Alemán, Valera, etc.) but also contemporary

20th century ones: Ortega y Gasset, Miró, Unamuno, Cela, Aldecoa, Blasco Ibáñez, etc.). This was mentioned by Salvador Fernández Ramírez in his *Gramática española* (1986 [1951]): "No debe perderse de vista que mi objetivo es el español común, el español cuidado que hablan las gentes cultas y universitarias de Madrid. Y entre ese español hablado y el literario no existe, sobre todo en nuestros días, una distancia considerable" (Fernández Ramírez 1986 [1951], 306).

These words uttered by the illustrious grammarian reflect a recurrent mythical idea in the western tradition as a whole but more specifically in the Spanish one, which still remains valid today: namely the belief that no big difference exists between written and oral expressions (Menéndez Pidal 1918; Salvador 1992, etc.). The prestige and admiration the written language enjoyed since the Alexandrine period resulted in western grammatical studies being almost exclusively based on the period well into the 20th century. There are mainly two reasons: on the one hand, many theoreticians believed speech samples did not constitute the study object of linguistics, focused on describing the *langue*, the linguistic system; and, on the other hand, obvious methodological differences arose when analysing the *parole*.

This scriptist bias (López Serena 2007) in grammatical studies is clearly reflected on the fact that many oral sequences which move away from the canonical structure of written discourse are considered agrammatical (*) (cf. Moreno Cabrera 2011). What is more, oftentimes constructions that were controversial or branded as incorrect were simply omitted despite their unquestionable vitality in spoken language (topicalizations, focalizations, hesitations, tautologies, subordinate clauses separated from the main clause, etc.). It deserves to be highlighted in this regard that the NGLE insists on the need to draw a distinction between grammaticality and correctness. It does not constitute the general trend. Thus, by way of example, the *Manual* (Real Academia Española/Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española 2010, 5) literally reads as follows: "Se explicará a lo largo de esta gramática la naturaleza de la anomalía que caracterice las construcciones que se consideren incorrectas, pero no se marcarán esas secuencias con ningún signo tipográfico". The *Diccionario panhispánico de dudas* (DPD 2005) drifts apart in this sense with its *bolaspa* sign that carries with it an explicit criticism of linguistic uses and has ultimately been abandoned in favor of a higher gradation in the normative considerations and ascriptions (↗12.1; ↗12.4).

The identification between *standard* and *literary language* – another commonplace in traditional Spanish grammaticography – follows from the aforementioned words of Fernández Ramírez as well. This was decisively favored by the Prague Circle's theory of the standard language, which arose in relation to Czech literary language (↗2). Nevertheless, even if literature has always represented an example of educated language belonging to the communicative distance which nourishes the standard, literary language can afford licences and host uses regarded as anomalous, in addition to showing a higher degree of dialectal variability and heterogeneity than the variety which acquires the exemplary status.

The inclusion of language used in the mass media as another way to fix the standard – along with scientific language – constitutes one of the wisest moves made in the latest and new academic grammar (RAE/ASALE 2009). The same is true for descriptive and prescriptive grammars published in the late 20th century and at the beginning of this century: cf. the *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española* (GDLE) by Bosque/Demonte 1999, the *Manual de gramática del español* by Di Tullio 1997, etc. Thousands of journalistic examples are included in order to facilitate the understanding of the grammatical explanation and to attest, as well as recommend, certain linguistic uses and phenomena (or not), an aspect which has significantly contributed to bringing the described and prescribed model closer to its addressees: the speakers. In this context, a large proportion of contemporary Spanish language grammars – regardless of whether or not they explain how the language is spoken and/or how it must be spoken – still privilege Spain's Spanish, the peninsular Castilian norm as well, though, both are affected when it comes to selecting the examples and regarding authorities in the grammatical canon (cf. Gili Gaya 1990 [1943]; Marcos Marín/Satorre Grau/Viejo Sánchez 1998 [1980]; Hernández Alonso 1996 [1984]; Seco 1990 [1930]; Seco 1991 [1989]).

As for the presence of America in the canon, the renewal and the approach to overseas varieties can be observed since the publication of the *Esbozo*, where the number of examples from American and Filipino authors has increased considerably in the coding task performed by Academies of the Language. The same prologue (RAE 1973, 6) highlights the following:

> "Las autoridades literarias no se terminan, como ocurría en las ediciones anteriores de la Gramática, en el siglo XIX, sino que incluyen a gran cantidad de escritores del nuestro, muchos de ellos vivos, y no solo españoles, sino también de los restantes países hispánicos".

Examples were thus taken from highly representative works and authors such as García Márquez, additionally incorporating citations from the press, more precisely from the newspapers *Abc* in Madrid and *El Mundo* of Puerto Rico (Méndez-Gª de Paredes 1999, 130).

Nevertheless, it is the NGLE which undoubtedly represents a significant step ahead towards a fairer treatment of the different Spanish language varieties by RAE and ASALE. It includes around 40,000 citations and examples from 3767 works (Bosque 2016, 99) "procedentes de todas las modalidades diatópicas del español" (Bajo Pérez 2011, 544).

In effect, the NGLE was prepared bearing in mind Spanish-speaking America, following the instruction set by RAE's work under the direction of Fernando Lázaro Carreter (1992–1998) and especially, of Víctor García de la Concha (1998–2010). The authors from whom textual examples and citations are taken do not appear exactly as *auctores imitandi*, but "como representantes de las variedades del español que ha sido posible documentar y analizar" (NGLE, XLV; cf. Tacke 2011, 158) thanks to the help provided by the large academic synchronous databases, the *Corpus de Re-*

ferencia del Español Actual (CREA) and the new *Corpus del Español del Siglo XXI* (CORPES).

In the words of the NGLE's main rapporteur, Ignacio Bosque (2013, 240s.),

"Por oposición a las demás ediciones, presenta en un capítulo introductorio buena parte de las unidades que va a manejar [...]

En lo relativo a los contenidos, la NGLE-2009 mantiene la atención que las otras ediciones prestaron siempre a ciertas materias clásicas (clases de palabras, funciones sintácticas, estructura y segmentación de la palabra, etc.) y acepta asimismo algunas separaciones tradicionales, como la que se establece entre morfología y sintaxis".

In this sense, the NGLE – as a good example of a modern grammar – tries to explain why certain syntactic schemata appear, which contexts favor their presence and how frequent a linguistic phenomenon is. Nonetheless, it seems advisable to insist on the fact that, with very few exceptions, frequency does not constitute a determining criterion for the inclusion of a particular use amongst the constructions deserved to be reported. In order to achieve this aim, such uses must be supported by their utilization within groups of people that have a high sociocultural level and are regarded as typical of formal communicative distance domains in order to gain legitimacy. Even though the *Manual* specifies that the value judgments of educated speakers once again become the source of normative recommendations and prescriptions, the NGLE deals equally with discussions and presents the various opinions of academics regarding controversial constructions (Méndez-Gª de Paredes 2012, 305):

"El obstáculo más notable para la postura 'las Academias son notarios de lo que dicen los cultos' es, una vez más, determinar quiénes son los cultos y cómo sabemos qué variantes prefieren. La *Nueva gramática* lo resuelve apelando a los corpus de la Academia, pero hay que reconocer que estos contienen ocurrencias que la mayoría no dudaría en tildar de 'faltas', y ello en terrenos tan objetivos como la ortografía" (Borrego Nieto 2016, 31).

4.2 The shelter of covert prescription

As explained in the preceding pages, it seems advisable to consider that description and prescription are two sides of the same linguistic normativity (Amorós-Negre 2014, 80–89). It can be observed in the last academic grammar where the task performed as a notary recording idiomatic uses prevails over that of a judge when it comes to establishing the norm (Bajo Pérez 2011, 537). Description and prescription have alternated more or less intensely throughout Spanish grammatical tradition. Not to mention, they have as many supporters as critics, even though all the academic grammars published before 2009 had placed the emphasis on the normative side in an covertly way, though. The NGLE highlights the following in its prologue:

"Es una gramática descriptiva y también normativa. Es descriptiva porque presenta las pautas que muestran cómo se articula el idioma desde el punto de vista fonético, fonológico, morfo-

lógico y sintáctico. Es normativa porque recomienda unos usos y desaconseja otros" (NGLE 2009, VI).

Although description and prescription undoubtedly complement each other, it has not been easy at all for the authors themselves to find a balance between these two approaches. "Como la *Nueva gramática* aclara lo que se considera desaconsejable, cumple las expectativas propias de una obra normativa" (Bajo Pérez 2011, 536), insofar as the detailed description of the Spanish language is accompanied by sociolinguistic ascriptions and use recommendations about specific variants, with remarks such as *esta variante es infrecuente en la lengua escrita*, *estos usos no han pasado a la lengua culta*, *son mucho más abundantes en el habla popular y, en general, en los registros coloquiales*, *este empleo no se considera digno de imitación*, etc. (cf. above, section 2). Such formulations indirectly suggest that those socioculturally ascribed variants fall outside the scope of the standard and are somehow unadvisable or have become stigmatized (cf. Garatea Grau 2008; Amorós-Negre 2014).

Both the NGLE and the *Manual* document the different linguistic phenomena, but the linguistic areas where such constructions can be attested are very often unspecified – this is even done less often, as could be expected, in the *Nueva gramática básica*. When the spread of a construction has a description, it is not often stated whether that construction has an exemplary nature or not. This probably has to do with the fact that insufficiently reliable information is available, mainly about some American regions, as illustrated by passages like this one:

> "*En algunas áreas hispanohablantes (entre otras, la europea y parte de la caribeña)*, los posesivos prenominales son incompatibles con las oraciones de relativo específicas, de modo que se rechazan grupos nominales como *su prima que vive en Buenos Aires* sin pausa ante *que*. En *amplias zonas del español americano* no se percibe, en cambio, tal incompatibilidad" (Real Academia Española/Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española 2010, 347; our italics).

In the light of all the above, many scholars believe that the NGLE and, above all, its basic version addressed to a much broader social segment, lacks the desirable prescriptive value (Moreno Fernández 2012, 613). Since the norm is defined as a variable of description (Tacke 2011, 157), as Greußlich (2015, 82) points out, it is other public and private bodies – television channels, press agencies, etc. – that lay down their own linguistic models and canons seeking to fill this gap and that use a totally different normative discourse (cf. Lebsanft 1997, 212–218; 2013; Méndez-Gª de Paredes/Amorós-Negre 2016). It deserves to be highlighted in this respect that following along the lines of the grammatical behavior shown by the Real Academia Española and the other academic entities – and, in general, by the whole tradition of Spanish grammaticography during the 19th, 20th and 21st centuries – covert or indirect prescription is consistently resorted to (cf. Prieto de los Mozos 1999), an interesting research topic increasingly studied from the perspective of discourse linguistics (↗7).

In effect, academic treatises usually don't dictate and proscribe in a direct and explicit way (Lebsanft 2013, 57). Instead, they adopt and describe a language model based on the use of learned people and good writers, an exemplary norm which is one indirectly prescribed with a more condescending rhetoric of impersonality, of recommendations, and of assigned variants (cf. Borrego Nieto 2008). On other occasions, references to linguistic phenomena are highly present within a particular linguistic community and can be omitted because they lie outside the canon.

Paradoxically, this has been the way academic institutions have done things since 1771, with the exception of the picturesque section that every work dedicated to "diction vices", in which, by way of *Appendix Probi*, words and expressions used by the "clumsy" and "ignorant" masses were indeed vehemently criticized (Amorós-Negre 2008, 112). For instance, one can read the following in the *Gramática española* of 1931: "Por ignorancia, pues, y por torpeza escriben y estampan muchos: *acaparar*, por *monopolizar*; *accidentado* por *quebrado*, dicho de un país o terreno; [...] *aprovisionar*, por *abastecer*, *surtir, proveer*; *avalancha* por *alud*; [...] *bisutería* por *buhoneria* [...]" (RAE 1931, 477), all being solutions that were strongly condemned by RAE at the time but have come to form part of the present-day linguistic norm – in its two senses, "normal" and "exemplary".

Borrego Nieto (2016, 27) points out that academic grammars hardly ever contain formulations such as "*no diga usted esto, diga esto* [...] Es durante el siglo XX y sobre todo en el Esbozo, cuando tal conducta se intensifica". Curiously enough, the *Esbozo*, which "carece de toda validez normativa" (RAE 1973, 5) is arguably the most normative work of the RAE, reveals the role of judge adopted by the institution despite being the first grammatical treatise without the section entitled *De los vicios de dicción*. The *Esbozo* equally marks the starting point for the introduction of variants typical of the American continent, even though the knowledge of the Latin American varieties was still quite deficient at that time, as recognized in the actual prologue of this work, which was not approved by the Academies of the Spanish Language located in American territory (Tacke 2011, 145).

4.3 Panhispanic and/or pluricentric codification?

Fries (1989, 163s.) highlights the fact that the Academy's normative conception changes to a considerable extent with the *Esbozo*, which "manifiesta el paso de una norma más bien eurocéntrica a otra que se podría denominar panhispánica". As things stand, some work has already been undertaken since 1951 to create an association meant to coordinate the efforts of all academic institutions aimed at achieving a joint collaboration for the cultivation of Spanish. Although it could be verified from the mid-1960s that the RAE stressed its mission of not acting as a judge but rather as a notary of linguistic facts (Lebsanft 1997, 135–138), panhispanism would take long to materialize. In fact, the peninsular central-northern norm continues to

be the only one regarded as exemplary in the *Esbozo*, although typical American uses, which enjoyed a certain degree of social recognition, were already present.

As mentioned above, 2004 represented a milestone when it came to idiomatic policy and planning in relation to Spanish, insofar as the *Nueva política lingüística panhispánica* (ASALE 2004) officially began. Regardless of the ideological implications inherent to the *panhispanism* concept itself, and of the aims pursued with its recurrent utilization in the institutional discursive spheres (cf. Del Valle 2007; Senz/ Alberte 2011; Amorós-Negre 2014), the NGLE succeeds in collecting a wide linguistic variation which spans to both sides of the Atlantic; hence why it can be described as *a grammar of global Spanish*. It is, undoubtedly, "una gramática de referencia" (cf. Bosque 2016, 98).

It must be remembered that the linguistic exemplarities of American Spanish, when judged from a Eurocentric perspective, were rejected in Standard Spanish normativization tasks not so long ago. Well into the 20th century, and unlike what happens in today's proposals, the suggested linguistic model was exo- and mono-centric for most speakers. It is only in the NGLE, where the academies explicitly manifest that "der gute Sprachgebrauch aller kulturellen Zentren in Spanien und in Amerika soll dabei Berücksichtigung finden" [the good use of all cultural centers of Spain and America should be taken into account] (Lebsanft 2002, 295). This can actually be inferred from its prologue:

> "Una tradición secular, oficialmente reconocida, confía a las Academias la responsabilidad de fijar la norma que regula el uso correcto del idioma. Las Academias desempeñan ese trabajo desde la conciencia de que la norma del español no tiene un eje único, el de su realización española, sino que su carácter es *policéntrico*" (RAE/ASALE 2009, XLII).

Nevertheless, the "panhispanic" Spanish described in the NGLE aspires to shape an overall shared learned supranorm which can guide and prove valid for all speakers of Spanish beyond regional or national borders, but it can hardly aspire to appear as a pluricentric Spanish at the same time (Méndez-Gª de Paredes/López Serena 2011; Amorós-Negre 2014). The concept of *pluricentricity* entails the establishment not of a single standard – however polymorphic and compositional it might be – but of several standards or exemplary varieties, each one of which constitutes its own variational chain and space for the same historical language: Spanish in this case (cf. Lebsanft 2007; Méndez-Gª de Paredes 2012). Exactly as it was done within the theoretical framework of the German *Varietätenlinguistik*, what matters in terms of pluricentricity is the social valuation achieved by variants, which turn out to be interesting not as *raw linguistic data* but insofar as they are precisely assigned to the context of maximum communicative distance in their respective variational space; or expressed differently, when they become *linguistic facts* (Oesterreicher 2002, 286; López Serena 2013, 106).

Despite the recognition that a plurality of learned norms exists across Spanish-speaking countries, the restriction of the term *standard* to a single coded variety

for the Spanish language which additionally continues to privilege the Castilian peninsular norm in an implicit manner (cf. Borrego Nieto 2013) leads us to conclude that Spanish still appears as a pyramidal polycentric *language* in the NGLE (Hamel 2004). In fact, when an attempt is made to promote convergence between the different learned varieties of Spanish, it tends to be oriented towards the solution preferred by this Castilian modality, as exemplified by the prepositional group *a por* (*Voy a por agua*, as opposed to *Voy por agua*), considered vulgar in Latin America but prestigious throughout Spain (Gómez Torrego 2010, 47). Exactly the opposite happens with the so-called *que galicado* – predominantly associated with American Spanish – which, despite being admitted in the ideal of panhispanic norm, is denied exemplarity status.

As mentioned above, the Academies explicitly recognize that the assessment and status of certain linguistic phenomena does not coincide in the various regions of the Hispanic world but very often – both in the NGLE (2009) and in the corresponding *Manual* (Real Academia Española/Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española 2010) – "se practica el mero registro positivista de los rasgos [...], sin expresarse sobre su relación con la norma (supuestamente) vigente en cada caso" (Greußlich 2015, 78). In fact, no attempt is made to hide the difficulty entailed in reconciling norm and variation during the normativization tasks for the purpose of reflecting the pluricentric nature in coding, especially taking into account the lack of documentation and analysis about the intralinguistic variation of specific Spanish-speaking areas. It must be added that Hispanic linguistics has neglected the value and status which the speakers themselves confer upon the different linguistic uses and variants of Spanish (cf. Lara [2]2004; Amorós-Negre 2014), reasons why the pluricentricity of Spanish constitutes a challenge for grammaticography nowadays (Greußlich 2015, 60).

5 Conclusion

It has already been highlighted in the preceding pages that normative discourses are the window of reflexive knowledge which gradually becomes a historical and cultural product accompanying individuals in their progressive socialization. In the context of the European prescriptive tradition, standardization – the process whereby a variety is turned into a standard, acquires an exemplary status and becomes a parameter for linguistic reference and assessment inside a community – is nothing but a particular – western – expression of intrinsically prescriptive nature. Within the framework of standardization, the coding task to which attention has been paid undoubtedly stands out and more precisely, the drawing-up of grammars which, together with spelling manuals and dictionaries, shape the linguistic code of a specific linguistic community.

In the Hispanic world, the description and prescription of good linguistic usage models is connected to the task performed by the Spanish language academies (cf. the treatises mentioned above). In this respect, the present article has stressed how the grammatical works of the normative body *par excellence* in Spanish-speaking countries systematically resort to a basically indirect prescription when it comes to guiding and regulating linguistic behaviour. This happens equally in the latest *Nueva gramática de la lengua española* (RAE/ASALE 2009), a complex treatise which shows the evolution, dynamics and new channels of expression for the Spanish language on both sides of the Atlantic. Nevertheless, as previously explained, the detailed description and exemplification of the common as well as the divergent uses of the Spanish language is hardly ever accompanied by the corresponding sociolinguistic assessment of the various linguistic phenomena, which is very difficult to carry out considering the lack of evidence pertaining to certain Spanish-speaking areas. In the absence of such information, it remains a difficult task to describe and identify the idiomatic exemplarities of such "centers" or "semi-centers" in the Spanish-speaking world. It becomes crucial for the possibility to suggest a true pluricentric codification for Spanish, which must not be put on a level with the currently proposed model – that has a panhispanic scope.

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Sebastian Greußlich

12.3 Normative Dictionaries

Abstract: This article offers a review of the most relevant general dictionaries of Spanish. In doing so, we consider briefly the relationship between linguistic norms, standardization and dictionaries, highlighting the concept of "general dictionary" as most relevant to the issue of normativity. Thereafter, we take a look at the historical origins and emergence of Spanish general lexicography. Finally, we pay attention to more recent developments in the field as there are the lexicographic implications and consequences of pluricentricity which implies a new mode of codification as well as new developments due to digitalization.

1 Introduction: dictionaries and linguistic standardization

Reflecting on linguistic standardization, the crucial role dictionaries play within this process immediately comes to the forefront. As is well known, exteriorization of linguistic norms through codification is one of its core elements, and dictionaries are an essential means for that: "Hay que recordar, en primer lugar, que cualquier diccionario, normativo o descriptivo, bueno o malo, por el mero hecho de su publicación y difusión, produce, hasta cierto punto, un efecto normativo" (Haensch/ Omeñaca ²2004, 62).

Whoever aspires to make correct use (↗3) of a written standard language is likely to consider information on the precise meaning of words and their appropriateness most important.[1] Nevertheless, the question which properties a normative dictionary is due to dispose of is by no means trivial and no definite solution is at hand. As Mugglestone recently pointed out, there is a rather dialectic relationship of description and norm in the field of dictionary making and dictionary use (2016, 552s.; ↗12.2).[2]

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[1] Cf. Haß/Storjohann (2015) and Taylor (2015) for an up-to-date overview of the many facets implied when coming to terms with the concept of word, among them is its role as a lexicographic category.

[2] Although she was not the first to do so. Cf. e.g. Hernández (1992), Malkiel (²2008). Cf. also Nkomo (2018) who discusses the impact of dictionaries on language policies and vice versa. The dialectic relationship of description and norm is repeated here on a higher level of abstraction.

The dictionaries that are taken into account here can be fundamentally characterized by two aspects: one of them is material, the other ideological: First, they tend to be of a "general" kind and thus pretend to reflect what is considered as extended common vocabulary of Spanish at a given moment.[3] Second, they have historically proven to play a major role as references in public debates on normativity issues concerning Spanish language as well as the formation of a shared social consciousness with regard to them.

These two criteria are justified since they meet two essential characteristics of the functioning of a dictionary as text (cf. Haßler 1990; Haensch/Omeñaca ²2004, 51–187; Kühn ²2008, and also the foundational works of Herbert E. Wiegand). Since a dictionary can be seen as a material database potentially embedded in a reading process whose aim is to provide orientation in terms of correct language use, it becomes clear why the range and limits of the vocabulary it should best contain are notoriously fuzzy. Obviously, the notion of exhaustiveness runs contrary to the idea of selection implied by linguistic norms. Hence, it comes as no surprise that decisions concerning the question of which domains of the lexicon are considered relevant to the task of a general dictionary, can and do vary significantly over time.[4]

Seen as a highly valued symbolic manifestation of a language culture, it is only the recognition by society that enables a dictionary to fulfill its communicative role of sustaining, implicitly or explicitly, a certain notion of linguistic correctness which is necessarily related to an underlying concept of norm. In this context, the importance of the RAE and its lexicographic efforts turns out to be paramount.

In what follows, we shall briefly revise the historical emergence of normative lexicography on Spanish (section 2), subsequently just to turn over to the modern perspective (section 3). In that context, the crucial role assumed by the RAE since the 18th century will be explored. Furthermore, the dynamic relationship between public and private lexicographic enterprises (3.1) will be explored. The marriage between pluricentricity and lexicography forms another key issue (3.2), which we will address. Thereafter, the issue of e-lexicography will be examined with regard to important systematic consequences for the very concept of "dictionary" as well as the degree of its real advancement in the Hispanic world (section 4). Finally, we will draw some relevant general conclusions (section 5).

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3 Cf. Amorós-Negre (2014, 186s.) for a critical assessment of the notions "general" and "common" in this context; cf. also Alvar Ezquerra (2002, 344); Béjoint (2016).

4 At present, mass media communication has made contact with specific communicative domains ever more readily available (cf. García Platero 2016, 414). Although it is true that terminologies are subject to strictly normative regulations, dictionaries for special purposes will not be treated here. This decision is empirically justifiable since terminology normalization in the Hispanic world suffers from a series of obstacles that diminish its effectiveness. The ideological and political reasons for this have been pointed out convincingly e.g. by Arnoux (2020).

With regard to terminology in Romance languages, cf. Cabré (2015); for a discussion of terminologies in relation to other vocabulary domains, cf. Schmitt (2016).

2 Historical sketch of Spanish normative lexicography

Established in 1713, one of the RAE's first activities consisted of making the intention to deliver "un amplio diccionario de la lengua castellana" (Real Academia Española 1713) explicit, unsurprisingly "el más copioso que pudiere hacerse" (Real Academia Española 1713).[5]

The seminal publication of the famous six-volume *Diccionario de la lengua castellana en que se explica el verdadero sentido de las voces, su naturaleza y calidad, con las phrases o modos de hablar, los proverbios o refranes, y otras convenientes al uso de la lengua* (so-called *Diccionario de autoridades*, DA), accomplished only within twenty-six years, not only established a new textual tradition of monolingual Spanish dictionaries in the strict sense, but moreover has offered a relevant material basis for the entire posterior Spanish lexicography (cf. Haensch/Omeñaca ²2004, 202; Lara ²2004, 96–98). The often severe ideological disengagements, which the respective authors expressed towards the DA, have proven, more often than not, empirically unjustified (cf. Álvarez de Miranda 2011, 89s.).

For what concerns an appropriate historical comprehension of the DA, it is crucial to figure out the defining characteristics of the concept of authority respectively *autoridad* which was applicable there (cf. Freixas Alás 2010, 110s.). Basically, it comprises the *uso* observed in writers who were considered to have contributed significantly to the Spanish language culture of their times. Thus, the evaluative flexibility RAE-members have displayed from the outset is essentially due to an interpretation of normativity that refers primarily to persons and their particular language use. Not to mention, a systematics of language use in itself has been of secondary importance (at least as far as academic lexicography is concerned).

What is more, these programmatic guidelines are indeed widely reflected in the data. The approximately 42,500 items (cf. Ruhstaller 2003, 239) forming the cornerstone of Hispanic lexicography (published between 1726 and 1739) account for a wide diasystematic range of the Spanish lexicon. Words pertaining to dialects (although the distribution over different geographic areas is somewhat unbalanced, depending on the contributors available for each area), socially marked expressions

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5 Interestingly, the notion of "general" does not appear in this context. It is only in the 19th century that it enters the scene with its technical lexicographic sense, when the eminent role that languages for special purposes are playing today begins to loom.

The efforts made by the Real Academia Española (RAE) in terms of language standardization have to be seen clearly as an ideological means within the context of modern nation building. Cf. Lebsanft (1997, 109–184) for a detailed assessment of RAE language policy and normativity, Freixas Alás (2010, 19–44) and García de la Concha (2014) for an institution-oriented view, the latter moreover for an exploration of the epistemological setting. Besides, the RAE-Website proves informative in what concerns the data. Cf. RAE/a <http://www.rae.es/la-institucion/historia>.

from proverbs up to vulgarisms (although these had been officially excluded), and finally lexical items confined to special purposes are significantly represented (cf., e.g., Azorín Fernández 2000, 171–174; Ruhstaller 2003, 240–242; González Ollé 2014, 103–114).

This fundamentally descriptive and empirically comprehensive approach is consistent with the agenda of the RAE's founding fathers that have not been focused on the establishment of any linguistic norm in the strict sense of the term.[6] Rather, they worried about the halt of a perceived cultural decline and the filling of a sensed gap in relation to the neighboring European Monarchies' gradual transformation into states. That is why the *Diccionario*'s main significance lies in emblematically illustrating the achievements of Spanish language culture (cf. Ruhstaller 2003, 237s.; Lebsanft 2012, 66; Sánchez/Almela 2014, 334). Moreover, it serves as a means of social mobilization.[7] At the same time, it is appropriate to conceive of this complex phenomenon as a paradigmatic expression of an advance-oriented, open-minded and empirically-based intellectual attitude conditioned by Enlightenment, largely described in its multiple implications and consequences by Lebsanft (1997).[8]

As is widely known, the remarkably successful initiators of Academic lexicography drew generously upon the content of earlier reference works, particularly in regards to the 11,000 items of Covarrubias' *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* from 1611[9] (cf., e.g., Lázaro Carreter 1981 [1980], 103; Carriazo Ruiz/Mancho Duque 2003, 230). Under the general circumstances outlined above, this is not only highly recommended for practical reasons[10] but also perfectly licit (cf. González Ollé 2014, 126). Although his standing in specialist circles of the time has been characterized as mediocre (cf. Alvar Ezquerra 2002, 40; Carriazo Ruiz/Mancho Duque 2003, 221s.), his work counted as an *autoridad* for at least two convergent reasons: to begin with, at the beginning of the 18th century, Covarrubias is the sole precursor in the field of Spanish monolingual lexicography. Put simply, there is no competing authority to overcome.[11] The limited degree of quantitative "completeness" it showed even for

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6 For an extended and historically documented account of the selection criteria originally applied by the RAE, see Lázaro Carreter (1981 [1980]) as well as Freixas Alás (2010).

7 For a more detailed and controversial account of the specific historical roots which have been claimed as essential in explaining the RAE's attitude towards the issue of linguistic norm, cf. Lara (²2004, 51s.), García de la Concha (2014, 23–40), González Ollé (2014, 32–68).

8 These circumstances show to what degree the intellectual and epistemic setting of the time predominates the possible impact of French institutional models that were eventually brought along by the first Spanish Bourbon king (acceded to the throne in 1700).

9 As well as its second and extended edition from 1673 and 1674.

10 For a detailed account of the personal and structural efforts implied by the elaboration of the *Diccionario de autoridades*, as well as the concrete procedures applied there, see Lázaro Carreter (1981 [1980]), Freixas Alás (2010), García de la Concha (2014) and González Ollé (2014), respectively.

11 In this sense, Freixas Alás (2010, 125s.) points out that Covarrubias is the only lexicographic *autoridad* explicitly indicated in the DA just because his *Tesoro* is the only available monolingual source. Despite this, discursive attitude is relevant to the construction of normativity. In fact, other

contemporary measures (cf. DA 1726, I) did not have a strong negative effect under these circumstances. Secondly, the *Tesoro* comes up with a rather complex relation to linguistic issues whose learned treatment the RAE-agenda explicitly fixed in 1713. Admittedly, Covarrubias pursued a fundamentally encyclopedic endeavor directed towards human knowledge in general (cf., e.g., Alvar Ezquerra 2002, 38; Mühlschlegel 2000, 145s.) and not to the establishment of any specific linguistic norm. More specifically, in compliance with his professional status, as well as the epistemic assumptions of his time, his goal has essentially been a theological one. Nevertheless, in this context, he amply reflected on linguistic, especially etymological issues and engaged in contemporary debate on the origins of Spanish language (cf. Azorín Fernández 2000, 99–101; Mühlschlegel 2000, 135–138; Medina Guerra 2016, 166).[12] He did so based on a wide selection of (up to 500!) literary, knowledge transfer-oriented and lexicographic sources (cf. Carriazo Ruiz/Mancho Duque 2003, 225–230). This is to say he displayed authority, anticipating the astonishingly wide scope of selection which later would turn out to be in accordance with the RAE-approach.[13] Hence, in many cases we can state a two-way reception of authoritative sources in the DA, once instigated by means of the respective list of authors circulated by the *Conde de Villena* in 1713 (cf. González Ollé 2014, 96). Additionally, it was once mediated by Covarrubias, who eventually had taken into account a great deal of those same authors going back in time as far as Alfonso X of Castile (cf. Freixas Alás 2010, 113–116; Lebsanft 2012, 66).

3 Modern normative lexicography in Spain and Hispanic America

As we assume Hispanic normative lexicography to be a *longue durée*-phenomenon on the material and intellectual level, it seems reasonable to take the publication of the *Diccionario de la lengua castellana compuesto por la Real Academia Española, reducido a un tomo para su mas facil uso* (DRAE) in 1780, with an astonishing 23 editions released up to date, as a historical turning-point in Spanish lexicography (cf. García de la Concha 2014, 108–114).[14] It has developed from essentially two sig-

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lexicographic sources are exploited – among them as expected, Antonio de Nebrija (cf. Freixas Alás 2010, 361–369).

12 A current bibliographical overview and highly differentiated conceptual analysis of these issues can be found in Feig (2013).

13 As has been pointed out (cf. Garatea Grau 2015), even the indigenous Garcilaso el Inca has been considered as *autoridad* in the sense outlined because of his ability to meet the formal and semantic criteria of a judicial and historical discourse licit and relevant at that time.

14 The RAE's *Nuevo tesoro lexicográfico de la lengua española* (NTLLE) can serve as a useful electronic tool to consult nearly all the dictionaries mentioned in the present contribution, among them all editions of the DRAE.

nificant conceptual changes compared to the DA: 1) the elimination of quotations from original sources and 2), less important, the elimination of morphological indications on irregular verbs. Reducing the dictionary's extent and costs and immediately increasing the number of items comprised up to 46,000, its new format set a standard for Spanish dictionaries of the general type (cf. García Platero 2016, 417), which cannot be ignored.[15]

It is from the beginning of the 19th century onwards that the panorama of Spanish lexicography starts to change. Competition rises and dictionary-making gradually turns into a business for large publishers. These dynamics generate some important problems for what could rightly be considered as a normative dictionary.[16]

3.1 Further developments of the DRAE and rising competition

From mid-nineteenth century on, the supposed shortages of the DRAE have been exploited to justify the launch of new dictionaries, regularly accompanied by the argument of significant conceptual and material contrast.[17] As an outspoken example of this may serve Vicente Salvá's *Nuevo diccionario de la lengua castellana* (1846).[18] Whereas in his case a substantial revision and expansion of material has been corroborated, empirical studies have proven this claim false by many other analogous attempts (cf., e.g., Azorín Fernández 2000, 234–240).

Nonetheless, conceptual innovations indeed took place during the 19th century, crucially driven by the logic of a newly emerging mass market for dictionaries. One important consequence of the diversifying range of dictionary types consists in a growing number of explicitly descriptive accounts of lexicography (cf. Azorín Fernández 2000, 230–233; García Platero 2003, 268–272).[19] In such conditions, the RAE

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15 Indeed, this move may have even contributed to the reinforcement of its normativism by decontextualization, following Sánchez/Almela (2014, 334).

16 A recent bibliographical overview of Hispanic dictionaries of different types can be found in Kiesler (2013) as well as in Medina Guerra (2016).

17 For an extensive account of critics and justifications of the DRAE, cf. Lebsanft (1997, 148–154); cf. also Bosque/Barrios Rodríguez (2018, 647).

18 For notes on the decisive divergences in comparison of the 1838 *Diccionario*, cf. García Platero (2003, 269s.) and Álvarez de Miranda (2011, 98–118).

19 It is worth noting here the implementation of illustrations as a new lexicographic means, characteristic for encyclopedic dictionaries. Well known are, first, the *Diccionario enciclopédico* (Chao et al. 1853–1855) which sets a standard on the metadiscursive level for its descriptive impartiality, although it is chronologically preceded by R. J. Domínguez' *Diccionario nacional* (1846–1847) which, for its part, has received criticism for its blatant political bias in the description of meaning (cf. García Platero 2003, 265–266; Medina Guerra 2016, 166s.). In what concerns normativity, it is interesting to note that RAE, on its part, has decided to take part in these activities, issuing in 1927 the *Diccionario manual e ilustrado de la lengua española* (cf. Lebsanft 2012, 69), a move that can be understood as a reaction to market diversification, especially the highly successful *Pequeño Larousse*

makes a constant effort to reconcile its (moderate) normative aspirations with changing social demands (cf. Lebsanft 2013). Conceptual reorientations have primarily affected the following issues:

– The preferred alphabetical order of entries
– The consideration of grammatical elements
– The treatment of Latin equivalents and/or etymologies
– The treatment of diasystematically marked vocabulary, as there is: terminology, *americanismos*, dialectalisms, *jergas*, archaisms and neologisms (cf. section 2) as well as loanwords

In what follows, we shall briefly resume the properties displayed by the DRAE [22]2001 (approximately 83,000 items) with regard to the aforementioned parameters.[20] During the "printed" history of the DRAE (1780–2001), the fundamental continuity in normative thinking did not preclude the emergence of notable material and conceptual changes. Part of an explanation for such an apparent contradiction lies in the fact that since its foundation, RAE-members have held regular meetings dedicated to practical issues related to the DRAE, especially pertinent emendations (cf. Lebsanft 1997, 153–155). This modus operandi, sustained over three hundred years (currently by the so-called "Comisión Delegada del Pleno y para el Diccionario") with only marginal discontinuities in situations of political crisis, stands for the RAE's serious interest in offering not only a valuable symbol to the public but a usable instrument at the same time.

Due to the fundamental reorientations related to the effects of globalization and digitalization that have manifested over the last fifteen years, it seems appropriate to consider the latest 23rd edition separately.

With regard to Orthography, the Academy's dictionaries have always strictly followed the rules established by this same institution in accordance with its latest version (↗12.1). This is also true for loanwords, although some developments in the field led to unclear results of sometimes dubitable acceptance (cf. Lebsanft 2007, 233s.), only remediated most recently (cf. below, 3.2.2).

In reference to the preferred alphabetical order, it is precisely the 22nd edition that returns to a more conventional attitude, inserting the digraphs <ch> and <ll> into their regular surroundings among the letters <c> and <l>, respectively. On the contrary, between 1803 and 2001 they both were been made up of individual letters. Here, an inclination to foster acceptability on an international level and to adapt to globalization can be reasonably presumed. On the contrary, the highly emblematic letter <ñ> continues to figure in separately (also since 1803).

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ilustrado that had appeared in 1912 (cf. Bajo Pérez 2000, 147; Alvar Ezquerra 2002; 349s.; Haensch/ Omeñaca [2]2004, 219).

20 Concerning the data mentioned in this summary, the following references are especially relevant: Álvarez de Miranda (2011, 15–55); Lebsanft (2012) and online: <http://www.rae.es/obras-academicas/diccionarios/diccionario-de-la-lengua-espanola>.

Moreover, we observe a constant tendency towards ever more economic, space-saving definitions, widely free of synonyms since the DRAE [19]1970 but enriched again with *contornos* in the DRAE [22]2001 (cf. Cruz Espejo 2003, 297).[21] Thus, we can state a partial reconnection with the important tradition of example-giving that had been interrupted in 1780. Finally, a wider consideration of grammatical elements (e.g. affixes) as lexicographic items has been recurring since the DRAE [21]1992.

The indication of Latin equivalences and etymologies displays a nearly complementary trajectory in the history of the DRAE. Since the DRAE [12]1884, equivalences have been rejected in favor of etymologies which have been considered, for their part, as sufficiently developed on a scientific ground to be presented in the dictionary.

The consistent differentiation of vocabulary domains is a highly complex and controversial problem. The same is true for the regulation of its lexicographic treatment. We can reasonably assert that the DRAE [22]2001 displays a historically high degree of receptivity towards diasystematically marked items. This fact can be reasonably understood as continuance of an already secular tradition which, in response to Spanish democratization in 1976 and since the DRAE [20]1984, has led to further expansion (cf. above, section 2).

The DRAE [15]1925, intentionally entitled *Diccionario del la lengua española* (instead of *castellana*) for the first time, reflects the evolving social logic of modernity and implies an ever greater degree of social mobilization. This runs parallel to a growing importance for science and advanced industrial technologies as well as administration and the mass media.[22] Moreover, this setting fosters the gradual globalization of Spanish language culture, turning it into an Hispanic one during the second half of 20th century. Latest steps of this development are the establishment of the new diasystematic marker *Esp[aña]* since the DRAE [21]1992 (cf. Pöll 2012 and below, 3.2);[23] second, the operationalization of the famous *nueva planta*, which has given rise to the CREA-Reference Corpus (currently covering the years 1975–2004), for concrete lexicographic purposes.

Parallel to the consolidation of this state of affairs in the second half of the 20th century and consistent with the observation of Spanish lexicography turning ever more descriptive, there appears to be at least two important and innovative dictionaries which, though taking a descriptive approach, have gained normative character due to their recognized relevance and consistency: First, Gili Gaya's *Diccionario general ilustrado de la lengua española* (DGILE, 1945), and second, Molin-

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21 Both of these moves may have been favored by the nearly simultaneous issue of Moliner's DUE and the DEA, respectively.

22 At the same time, it is true that the consideration of technical terms as part of the "general" vocabulary may have been additionally favored by a low degree of normalization in the field of Spanish terminology up to nowadays (cf. Arnoux [in print]).

23 It is appropriate to admit that this marker originally functioned as a kind of notice of intent (cf. Lebsanft [in print]) and only in recent times has acquired a more substantial functionality.

er's *Diccionario de uso del español* (DUE, 1966–1967; approximately 97,000 items).[24] Both of them, while materially based on DRAE-content, are more strictly confined to the contemporary *uso* of educated speakers (*hablantes cultos*). Consequently, in comparison to the DRAE, they feature significant restrictions in scope (cf. Cruz Espejo 2003, 284–292), whereas a substantial improvement of the definitions at hand is attributed to both of them. What gives even more reason for their elaboration is the fact that they fill a gap most regretted in the DRAE, that is, the lack of citations from original sources to illustrate actual usage. Consequently, they both serve as encoding dictionaries, even if they are addressed to different target audiences (cf. Álvarez de Miranda 2011, 228; Cruz Espejo 2003, 289). They display a complementary role in relation to the DRAE since the latter serves decoding purposes.[25] Nevertheless, both orientations meet up in the guiding concept of the *uso* which stands for a flexible and speaker-oriented concept of normativity shared within Hispanic language culture.

A particular case in this series is represented by the *Diccionario del español actual* (DEA, 1999; approximately 75,000 items) and is highly appreciated for its degree of innovation and methodical consistency (cf. Bajo Pérez 2000, 162–165; Alvar Ezquerra 2002, 389–393; Álvarez de Miranda 2011, 141–163). In contrast to the dictionaries discussed before, it does not make use of the Academy's vocabulary stock but is based on a completely new corpus of contemporary Peninsular Spanish (1950–1998). Despite its clearly descriptive orientation, it is relevant to our purpose for the one reason that it can be considered as the Peninsular lexicographic element within a remodeled regime of codification in contemporary pluricentric Spanish language culture (cf. below, 3.2).

3.2 Globalization, pluricentricity and Spanish lexicography turning Hispanic

It is hardly surprising that major independent lexicographic projects first develop in the most populous and economically capable Spanish-speaking countries. The most prominent case in point is Mexico; consequently, we will briefly sketch some significant innovations in the field of Mexican Spanish lexicography in order to re-

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24 Both of these dictionaries have seen re-editions: the ones of the DGILE date from 1953, 1973 and 1987. For the internal development it has undergone, cf. Bajo Pérez (2000, 147–149) and Alvar Ezquerra (2002, 371–375), especially the re-edition by M. Alvar Ezquerra in 1987; the DUE, for its part, was re-edited in 1998. For a critical assessment of the conceptual change that the latter has undergone since 1998, cf. Bajo Pérez (2000, 149–156), Alvar Ezquerra (2002, 383–385) and the references in Kiesler (2013).

25 That's why we also find ample grammatical information including affixes and their definition within both of these dictionaries (cf. Alvar Ezquerra 2002, 373, 381).

vise the RAE-account and consecutive strategies concerning the coverage of varieties of Spanish in the Americas.

Recently, significant attention has been paid to the phenomenon of the so called *Diccionarios de -ismos* (cf. Ávila 2003 and Werner 2014 for diverging assessments) which arose as a dictionary type *sui generis* in the post-imperial 19th century[26] and are most importantly represented by Juan de Arona: *Diccionario de peruanismos* (1883) and Joaquín García Icazbalceta: *Vocabulario de mexicanismos* (1899). Puerto Rican Augusto Malaret's *Diccionario de americanismos* (1925)[27] can be regarded as a culmination of this 19th-century tradition. Moreover, it can been seen as a key innovation, establishing a genuinely transnational lexicographic account of *americanismos* for the first time that is estimated for its consistency (cf. Werner 1994, 20) even today. It is important to bear in mind that all these dictionaries basically offer a description of a more or less clear-cut share of vocabulary. Thus, they are intended from the outset as differential, not integral. This is what constitutes one of the essential critics expressed towards them nowadays (cf. below, 3.2.1).

Parallel to these first significant changes, a systematic consideration of *americanismos* took effect in RAE lexicography, too (cf. above, 3.1). They are consolidated on a broader empirical ground by Mexican linguist, philologist and politician Francisco J. Santamaría, who, in 1942, released a *Diccionario general de americanismos*.[28] It is characteristic for the pre-pluricentric setting of Hispanic lexicography that the very same Santamaría launched in 1959, as a derivative to his prior Hispanic American account, his equally famous *Diccionario de mejicanismos* which serves as a relevant reference in the field even today (cf. Lara 2012, 354).

These dictionaries have served as historical and systematic cornerstones in the lexicographic treatment of American Spanish. They were clearly meant to be descriptive and only produced secondary normative effects due to their tendency to consider elements of informal speech. Nowadays, the intricate dialectics of descriptive and prescriptive approaches to the norm paradoxically produce normative effects by way of description because they interact in a complementary way to RAE's explicitly normative dictionaries, which will be shown below.

3.2.1 Recent developments – the Mexican case

In 1972, when the DEM-project was started at *Colegio de México*, it set new methodical standards with regard to the implementation of corpus linguistics and computa-

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26 A prior history roots in glossaries that figured as appendices of 16th- and 17th-century indigenous language grammars and served, obviously, for purposes others than reflecting cultural self-awareness. Also important is a due consideration of the often severe ideological baggage they contain (cf. Werner 2014). Cf. also the references in Werner (1994) and (2014) for indications concerning further important dictionaries of this kind.

27 With a second issue in 1946.

28 A continuation of this tradition is represented by the more literature-oriented, conceptually reflected Morínigo (1966) as well as Neves (1973), special purpose- and quantity-oriented.

tional linguistics in dictionary-making. Long before the assembly of the famous *nueva planta* of the DRAE was seriously tackled (cf. Sánchez/Almela 2014, 337),[29] Luis Fernando Lara and his staff took a synchronic and quantitative approach (Lara 1990, 85–106). Surely, some serious limitations are inherent to the layout of the *Corpus del Español Mexicano Contemporáneo* (1921–1974).[30] The material extent of DEM reaches 25,000 items, which is a relatively small number compared to approximately 93,000 items in the DRAE. This state of affairs is practically due to the quantitative method, excluding from consideration all items with a token frequency of less than ten. At the same time, it is fair to take into account the fact explicitly stated in the DEM that its purpose is not to serve – contrastively – as a DRAE-supplement but rather as a description of what is the communicative use of Mexican-Spanish. In this fashion, even if it is not the editor's intention to deliver a full-fledged instrument of codification, but first and foremost a description, it stands for an autonomous regime of linguistic normativity in Mexico. On several occasions, the ideological independence of Mexican society from Spain has been highlighted as an important precondition that justifies the idea of a self-contained "diccionario *regional* del español y no un diccionario más de *regionalismos* mexicanos" (Lara 1990, 88). It is precisely in this sense that Lara's team surpasses the traditional concept of *mexicanismo*, notwithstanding that since the times of Malaret there has been important reflection on this problem and advances in its sophisticated treatment (cf. Werner 1994). The DEM pretends to account for the whole of the vocabulary actually used within Mexican society (cf. DEM 2010, 29–31). Thus, it instantiates a descriptive norm. It is clearly intended as an integral not a differential dictionary. At the same time, it reflects the fact that regional norms characteristic of the pluricentric Spanish language culture are not plainly abstract but become manifest at an intermediate level of discourse elaboration, basically congruent with the long-standing concept of *norma culta* (cf. Greußlich 2015 and the references therein). This means that the DEM also serves as a document of the range and limits of normative pluralism in the Hispanic world (cf. also Amorós-Negre 2014, 209; Sánchez/Almela 2014, 341).

Beyond the aforementioned case, the only further dictionary of an integral and non-differential type is the *Diccionario integral del español de la Argentina*, (Plager 2008; approximately 40,000 items),[31] whereas a more characteristic overall development in recent years has been the edition of a new generation of differential *Diccionarios de -ismos* whose elaboration has taken place under the auspices of the

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29 Although the corresponding paper from 1997 was accepted in 1998, its effective implementation remains partial even today. Cf. section 4 for more.

30 The internal structure of the CEMC is illustrated in some detail on the following website: <http://www.corpus.unam.mx/cemc>.

31 It is also in Mexico and Argentina where, historically, nationalism, as well as conflict with indigenous heritage, play an especially significant role which may be no coincidence.

corresponding *Academias de la Lengua*. See, for example (cf. Sánchez/Almela 2014, 335): *Diccionario breve de colombianismos* (2007), *Diccionario de uso del español de Chile* (2010), *Diccionario de mexicanismos* (DM, 2010), *Diccionario de peruanismos* (DP, 2016). Currently, the concept of integral dictionaries covering particular "national" varieties of American Spanish is openly competing with the traditional concept of differential ones (cf. Rojas 2015).[32]

Just as the DEM, the DM (approximately 11,800 items) and the DP (approximately 9,000 items), to give two examples, are intended as essentially descriptive. Despite their descriptive approach, it is appropriate to account for them here. They interact discursively with the DRAE, illustrating the proverbial *unidad en la diversidad* supported by the ASALE. In doing so, they support a normative claim relating to American Spanish not despite, but because of their descriptive attitude. The role of a judge of linguistic correctness, self-attributed by the RAE, can be strengthened by such a descriptive, democratizing move within meta-discourse, running parallel to the NGLE in this sense (↗12.2; Tacke 2011).[33] A critical evaluation of such an approach can, indeed, come to the conclusion that it reflects the perpetuation of an inherited status quo just under the surface of modernization (cf. Ezcurra 2020).

The ideological and methodological considerations at stake have produced serious conflicts among specialists in the field, as shall be outlined briefly following up the Mexican case. In 2010, it was also under the patronage of the *Academia Mexicana de la Lengua* that the DM was edited, based as well on a *nueva planta*-corpus consisting of a large variety of written and spoken Spanish texts from Mexican sources (Company Company 2012, 174).[34] In the context of its differential approach and taking Castilian Spanish as its point of reference, the items categorized as *mexicanismos* tend to reflect idiomatic domains typical of informal speech – above all taboo words and proverbs (cf. Company Company 2012, 179s.). A peek at the DM confirms this tendency and shows moreover, that a strict differential with regard to the DRAE is not easy to maintain (cf. *abolladura*):

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32 It is important here not to omit the Dictionary series entitled *Diccionarios contrastivos del español de América* that had been coordinated at University of Augsburg by Günther Haensch and Reinhold Werner between 1981 and 2004. It has gained recognition among specialists for its empirical coherence and methodological consistence. Moreover, the dictionaries published within the often so-called *Proyecto de Augsburgo* share some core properties with the abovementioned DEM, most important, their corpus-based methodical ground. Nevertheless, they have not achieved a status of common recognition in public space and outside Academia but are rather perceived as diligently elaborated technical resources of scientific and professional interest and have been justly understood as a first step to a full-fledged description strictly oriented towards pluricentricity (cf. Cruz Espejo 2003, 284; Lebsanft 2007, 239).

33 Cf. for an actual overview of important critical analysis of this issue Arnoux (2020) and the references therein.

34 Consistent with the general tendency of current lexicographic initiatives to seek digital environments, the DM is now available electronically. For more specifics see section 4.

> **abolladura** 'Mella en un objeto de metal, como consecuencia de un golpe'
>
> **aberracidad** 'pop. Aberración'
>
> **aduanal** 'supran. Relativo o perteneciente a las aduanas'

The technical and political evaluation of that consequence gave rise to a huge controversy.[35]

The *Diccionario de americanismos* of 2010 (DAm) constitutes the lexicographic move accounting for the globalist perspective of the NPLP. The DAm with its approximate 70,000 items "pretende recoger todas las palabras propias del español de América, detallando al máximo la información relativa a las características geográficas, sociales y culturales del uso de cada una de las acepciones registradas" (<http://www.asale.org/obras-y-proyectos/diccionarios/diccionario-de-americanismos>). Its material basis is essentially threefold: first, it accounts for the stock of *americanismos* contained in former editions of the DRAE (following the *Prólogo* of the DRAE [22]2001, approximately 28,000 items); second, existing *Diccionarios de -ismos* are exploited systematically; and third, the contributions delivered by the member academies of the ASALE based on their well-known corporative working-method (cf. Lebsanft 1997) are taken into account. Of course, the results achieved hereby are not homogeneous for all countries given their notoriously unequal resources.[36] That is also the reason why existing gaps (cf. Patzelt 2012) can only be filled gradually and partially, and the DAm has received corresponding criticism (cf., e.g., Lara 2012). The problem of unequal quantity and quality of data is observable in the description of meaning as well as in diasystematic marking of items. Despite such problems, the DAm is backed by a secular institutionalized tradition of collecting and processing data, which symbolically guarantees its validity. With regard to linguistic normativity, the interaction between the DAm and the former DRAE (now DLE; cf. below, 3.2.2) is especially relevant. The items considered in each of them are selected with a clearly normative and quantitative sight (cf. DLE 2014, X) which brings up, nevertheless, serious methodological doubts concerning the apparently arbitrary setting of minimum quantities for *americanismos* turning "general" (cf. Ezcurra 2020).

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35 A controversy that is reflected best in the articles of Lara (2011a; 2011b) and Company Company (2011) contained in the journal *Letras Libres*, issues from 02/28/2011 and 04/30/2011. Cf. also Werner (2014, 187–191).

36 An issue already at stake in relation to the *Diccionario de autoridades* and the Peninsular dialectalisms it contains.

3.2.2 The normativity of Spanish Dictionaries today – the DRAE in a new environment

New developments have taken shape in the recent 23rd edition of the *Diccionario de la lengua española* (now officially abbreviated as DLE)[37] from 2014 (approximately 93,000 items) which is the first to appear after the official implementation of the so-called *Nueva política lingüística panhispánica* in 2004. Essentially, it exhibits the following new properties:

- Adapting the treatment of *americanismos* to the DAm-content
- Increased number of Latin expressions
- Revised and extended treatment of grammatical elements, adapted to NGLE-content, as well as loanwords.
- Most interestingly: for the first time, the so called *paréntesis informativo* appears. It contains different kinds of additional indications concerning the variational status and variants of an item. The additional information given according to this more flexible regime of brackets constitutes, on the one hand, a technical advance that facilitates orientation. On the other hand, it makes the internal structure of articles more divergent, undermining normativity and putting forward descriptive adequacy.

At the same time, competition by private editorials has been increasing once more since the 1990s, driven by the economic opportunities that result from globalization of education markets (cf. López García 2020) and digital media. As is foreseeable, the number of market participants has increased (entering the editorial SM, for instance) as well as the number of different dictionary types on the market.

One positive consequence of this has been a notable improvement of Spanish school dictionaries (cf. Alvar Ezquerra 2002, 385–389; Bosque/Barrios Rodríguez 2018, 644s.), whose low quality had been regretted constantly (cf. Hernández Hernández 1989; Ávila Martín 2000; Castillo Caballo/García Platero 2003, 336–340). Though this educational issue is not directly related to normativity, two aspects relevant to further reflection shall be mentioned here: firstly, the increasingly fine-grained diversity of dictionary types is a phenomenon of which the RAE and the ASALE participate in a very substantial manner (cf. Ruhstaller 2003, 260), having edited during recent years: the *Diccionario esencial de la lengua española* (2006), the *Diccionario del estudiante* (³2016) and the *Diccionario práctico del estudiante* (²2012). This strategy favors public presence as a brand and is thus helpful in the contemporary competitive environment but generates ambiguous consequences with regard to codification.

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37 One can assume that this change was intentionally introduced to reflect the present social context and language policy and to avoid any impression of an institutional supremacy on the Peninsular side. Notably, the title in itself is not affected.

Secondly, in 2016, the RAE published a dictionary of substantial volume (approximately 30,000 items) for the first time in its history, which is dedicated to the vocabulary of just one specific functional domain of society, namely the *Diccionario del español jurídico* (DEJ). Its purpose is to reflect the vocabulary of administration and law, but "abandona las explicaciones extensas de carácter enciclopédico y se acoge a los criterios lexicográficos de la Academia, con definiciones breves e informaciones complementarias que orientan sobre el uso correcto de cada vocablo" (RAE/c, <http://www.rae.es/obras-academicas/diccionarios/diccionario-del-espanol-juridico>). This most recent initiative aims at symbolically integrating the specific vocabulary of a social domain that is essential to the functioning of contemporary society into the "general" vocabulary of Spanish. We have an opportunity to observe how borders between specific and common knowledge are shifting in real-time; in this case, towards a juridification of society. The RAE is fulfilling its key task, which is the codification of all vocabulary domains that are considered as "commonly" relevant. At the same time, the editors of the DEJ have found it necessary to elaborate on a separate dictionary for legal purposes considering it inappropriate to integrate all the relevant items into the DLE. This very fact may be interpreted as evidence to indicate an emerging communicative dysfunctionality in the public sphere. The current narrower relationship between everyday life and specialized knowledge does not necessarily lead to a higher degree of mutual understanding.[38] The fact that a *Libro de estilo de la Justicia* (↗12.4) has appeared as a complement of the DEJ, may further support this view.

On the contrary, we observe nowadays how the most ambitious private lexicographic enterprises, which in quantity and quality approximate most to the DRAE-tradition, regularly invite the collaboration and expertise of RAE-members. For example, this is the case of the comprehensive and successful CLAVE-dictionary (2012; around 80,000 items, editorial SM), that, since 1997, has appeared in continuous re-editions and comprises a prologue by Gabriel García Márquez as well as the official approval of academician José Manuel Blecua.

As a marginal case in this context ought to be estimated the long-standing and widespread Larousse-dictionaries which are oriented partly towards encyclopedic information and are only partly intended as general dictionaries (cf. Bajo Pérez 2000, 147; Alvar Ezquerra 2002, 362; Cruz Espejo 2003, 292). Nevertheless, its scope, as well as commercial success and public presence, let it appear comparable in status to the CLAVE. What is more, its most recent derivative, the *Gran diccionario de la lengua española* (⁴2012; approximately 70,000 items), has appeared on the

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38 The very recent extension of the DEJ in form of a *Diccionario panhispánico del español jurídico* (DPEJ) can be interpreted twofold: as a consequent integration of the sphere of law into the NPLP and as a practical tool for inner-hispanic translation in the special purpose domain which can be rightly considered as most relevant to the public.

scene, just as the CLAVE, simultaneously (and first) in a printed and an electronic version.

Indeed, a common denominator following from these new conditions is the ever more immediate link-up between printed and digital versions and/or tools referring to data from one and the same data base. These dynamics are triggered by technical innovation and important with regard to normativity. They potentially undermine the known, conventional dictionary typologies, since the type of a digital dictionary can be determined only in every single act of usage (cf. Águila Escobar 2009, 26; Tarp 2012; Dziemianko 2018).[39]

4 Electronic vs. digital Spanish dictionaries

Since the mid-1990s, attempts to exploit the fundamental and continuous advances in information technology in order to enhance usability of Spanish language dictionaries have steadily developed (cf. Gelpí Arroyo 2003, 319).[40] It is fair to say that this development has been driven, above all, by Peninsular enterprises and academic institutions. By and large, two phases can be differentiated:

As a first step, a transposition of lexicographic material available from paper to electronic support has taken place, applying more or less sophisticated search engines but leaving the data in essence (Águila Escobar 2009, 17) unchanged. Critical assessments of these early efforts (cf., e.g., Chuchuy/Moreno 2002; Águila Escobar 2009, 29–35) have attested the electronic version of the DRAE to be the leading exponent of this development (cf. Gelpí Arroyo 2003, 310). The reason is, following Chuchuy/Moreno (2002), precisely its relatively inconsistent availability and mark-up of data, which is due to the long-term emergent character of its corpus.[41]

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39 One most relevant example for this is the RAE's proceeding to immediately integrate incoming amendments into the online version of the DLE, accompanied by a bibliographical version mark corresponding to every one of its – supposedly once-a-year – updates (e.g., 23.1). As is obvious, the printed dictionary cannot keep pace with this practice.

40 For the dates of issue of particular dictionaries on CD-ROM, as well as a very brief evaluation of their usability cf. Kiesler (2013, 646s., 651). Cf. Bosque/Barrios Rodríguez (2018) for the latest up-to-date bibliographical indications.

41 At the same time, terminological and conceptual confusion reigned during that phase, licensing false equivalences between "electronic" and "digital", the first properly referring to the above-mentioned medial transposition; the second referring, ideally, to a full reflection on and exploitation of the conceptual potential inherent in a non-linear lexicographic data base to make it a tool in the full sense of that term (cf. Águila Escobar 2009, 14–17; Tarp 2012). Also, the consequences for a holistic typology of dictionaries (cf. Águila Escobar 2009, 12) which exist without any doubt considering the multiplying and potentially unpredictable options for use, were mistaken as an evidence for the necessity to develop a modified theory of lexicography (cf. Samaniego Fernández/Pérez Cabello de Alba 2012, 306).

At present, conceptual and technical problems have been grasped to a substantial degree. The advantage of constant amendments of digital data bases is seen as a means so powerful to enhance usability that traceability of different versions of these data bases seem to take a back seat (cf. Águila Escobar 2009, 22–24 in comparison to Tarp 2012, 265). Actual debate is largely dominated by an enthusiastic vision of the possibilities offered by an enhanced online lexicography to develop in the near future (cf. Tarp 2012, 259–264). The RAE is participating in this line of thinking and strategic planning, too. An announcement dating from the 17th of July 2017 says, "la RAE ha adelantado una imagen de la planta del próximo *Diccionario de la lengua española* (DLE), cuya consulta será en línea y contará con un gran número de recursos personalizables" (RAE/b, http://www.rae.es/noticias/los-diccionarios-del-futuro-seran-electronicos-y-personalizables).

Visible efforts have also been made by the RAE in regards to the elaboration of a new corpus, the *nueva planta*, corresponding to the propositions formulated in 1997 (cf. above, 3.2.1). Despite the respective indications given above concerning its partial implementation, it has to be stated clearly that the innovative drive inherent to this initiative goes far beyond the scope of analogous efforts within many other language cultures. The crucial impact the epistemic setting of Enlightenment has had on the RAE's self-awareness and its functioning as an institution becomes obvious here, not to mention the many other facets of its actuation (cf. Lebsanft 1997). The steadily developing *Corpus de referencia del español actual* (CREA), as well as the *Corpes-XXI* reference corpus (2001–today), are established and recognized research tools by now, whereas they are not yet employed in eventual amendments concerning the electronic versions of the RAE's dictionaries, among them the DLE. At once, the design of its user interface remains largely conventional (cf. Tarp 2012, 258). Given this backdrop, an article edited online currently appears on the screen without giving access to its alphabetical context (cf. also Kiesler 2013, 645). It may not cause harm in a particular search but generally undermines the linearity of the dictionary as text (cf. above, section 1). Far from it, hypertext elaboration generating search options appropriate to compensate or even exceed the value of linear information processing is highly limited so far.[42] Hence, it is up to future lexicographic activities to fulfill the high aims that presently should be seen as mere target-settings (cf. also Sánchez/Almela 2014, 345).[43]

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42 Cf., in this regard, the rather reserved statement given by Bosque/Barrios Rodríguez (2018, 646s.). Nevertheless, the fact that in its online version, the DLE currently has gone back to the primary practice of indicating morphological information on irregular verbs (once eliminated for a considered lack of space), shows limited space no longer being a relevant parameter of lexicographic practice.

43 The same is true for the efforts to elaborate a digital version of the DM that are currently made by the Mexican Academy. Cf. <https://www.academia.org.mx/obras/obras-de-consulta-en-linea/diccionario-de-mexicanismos> (03/08/2018).

5 Conclusion

This contribution has pretended to shed light on the role particular dictionaries and dictionary types play with regard to linguistic normativity in the Hispanic world. The notion of "general dictionary" is key in this context. Nevertheless, any strict separation of normative from descriptive dictionaries would be inappropriate. Rather, particular dictionaries gain their normative validity in a social process which can be effectively backed by public institutions. We have touched upon the historical and systematical reasons that can explain the crucial role of the RAE in this context. Beginning with the DA (1726–1739), the RAE assumes its role as the commonly recognized agent of codification in a very effective manner, even amplifying it with the edition of the DRAE in 1780. It has become clear in what sense and to what degree the RAE has remained the essential point of reference for Spanish and Hispanic language policies to this day.

Nevertheless, two additional major tendencies have shaped the complex field of contemporary Hispanic lexicography: first, the growing importance of private actors on the dictionary market as a result of industrialization and the new economic opportunities it has generated from the 19th century onwards; the second is pluricentricity, which, as a consequence of globalization, has changed the regime of linguistic normativity in the Hispanic world. A dialectic discursive move of "prescription by description" has emerged that affects the complementary relationship between differential and integral dictionaries dedicated to (the varieties of) "American Spanish". Despite the unquestionable symbolic prevalence of the RAE, private companies are currently offering educational services far beyond the book sale, which assure them a strong position in the everyday life of students and families, most notably in Latin America (cf. López García 2020). This recent constellation will surely generate further important consequences with regard to language planning in the Hispanic world which deserve to be closely observed and evaluated.

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Franz Lebsanft

12.4 Dictionaries of Language Difficulties

Abstract: This article gives an overview of the past and present of Spanish usage guides. First, it explains the concepts of "doubt" and "difficulty" which refer to the linguistic insecurity of the norm-oriented language user. Then, it retraces the European and American traditions of the dictionaries of language difficulties as a special type of dianormative dictionary. It gives a comprehensive account of the most influential works in this field, with special attention to the discourse that shapes the normative conceptions of its authors. The discussion includes the attitudes towards language contact (purism) and the diversification of the standard (pluricentricity). Thus, the focus is on the contribution of the dictionaries to the modernization and implementation of the Spanish standard(s) at the beginning of the 21st century.

Keywords: Spanish, linguistic difficulty, linguistic insecurity, dictionaries of language difficulties, style books, standardization, implementation, modernization, normative discourse, pluricentricity

1 Introduction: linguistic doubts and difficulties

In Cervantes' *Don Quixote*, the protagonist recommends that his esquire use *erutar* instead of *regoldar*, considered as "uno de los más torpes vocablos que tiene la lengua castellana, aunque es muy significativo; y así, la gente curiosa se ha acogido al latín" (Cervantes/Rico 1998 [1605–1615], 974). Quixote's admonition, "*Erutar*, Sancho, que no *regoldar*" (Cervantes/Rico 1998 [1605–1615], 974), shows a typical formula of correction of the addressee's words regarded as improper by the addresser: "*y*, non *x*". In contemporary peninsular Spanish, *regoldar* still receives the marking *popular* which represents "usos propios de ambientes de niveles culturales bajos" (DEA, XVI). The Quixotian formula "*y*, non *x*" is also widely used to express the rhetorical figure of *correctio* whose concern is not the total rejection of an incriminated word, but the linguistic intensification or moderation of an idea (Lausberg 1998, 346–349 [§§ 784–786]). In terms of ancient rhetoric, the use of "popular" *regoldar* instead of "cultivated" *eructar* does not meet the demands of a perfect discourse (*virtus*) and is therefore considered an error (*vitium*; Lausberg 1998, 4). In the "advertencia preliminar" which precedes his *Diccionario de dudas y dificultades de la lengua española*, certainly the most famous and the most influential Spanish example of this type of work, Seco (1961–[10]1998; 2011; cf. below, 2.2) refers to the well-known *Appendix Probi* (Väänänen [3]1981):

> "Una obrita en que censuraba las formas de hablar descuidadas que con más frecuencia había observado en el vulgo que le rodeaba. 'Decid *calida*, no *calda* ... Decid *vetulus*, no *veclus* ... Decid *auris*, no *oricla*'" (Seco [10]1998, XIII).

The Spanish lexicographer remembers an ancient textual tradition in which his work is inscribed. However, it is only since the Early Modern Times that classical philologists have called the Latin dictionary of language difficulties *Antibarbarus* (e.g., Cellarius 1678).

Hausmann (1977, 139) has shown that the French monolingual lexicography widely uses what he and others following him (Haensch et al. 1982, 151s.) call "dia-normative marking", i.e. information about the exemplarity and/or correctness of a lexical item. Dictionaries specialized in this kind of information build a subtype of "dictionaries dealing specifically with marked standard language entrywords" (Hausmann et al. 1990, VI). This article does not deal with other subtypes of this kind of marking such as dictionaries of neologisms, dictionaries of regionalisms (e.g. the *diccionario de americanismos*), or dictionaries of foreign words (e.g. the *diccionario de galicismos* or *anglicismos*). Indeed, dictionaries of language difficulties also include discussions about neologisms, regionalisms and foreign words. Dianormative information can also be looked up in specialized, systematically organized manuals like Gómez Torrego (1989) or RAE/ASALE (2013); this article does not consider them either.

Hausmann et al. (1990) use the traditional French term *dictionnaire de difficultés* (cf. Laveaux 1818; Hanse 1949; Thomas 1956) to refer to "our" type of dictionary (Colin 1990), an unfamiliar term in English which prefers the designation *usage guide* (cf. Garner 2000; Brians 2003). According to Colin (1990, 1212), Vaugelas (2009 [1647]) may be considered

> "comme le premier répertoire de difficultés du français, voire comme le premier *Dictionnaire des difficultés* du monde, puisque ce livre célèbre a pour objet d'examiner nombre de points litigeux et d'y apporter une réponse nette".

To be more precise, Vaugelas (2009 [1647], 70) uses the expression "doutes et difficultez" which the modern dianormative dictionaries take up, first in Portugal (Nascentes 1941) and then in Spain (Spanish: Seco 1961; Catalan: Bruguera 2001; Galician: Fernández Salgado/Casas Aguín 2004; only "dubtes": Paloma 1998; only "dificultades": Quesada Herrera 1989). Vaugelas' concept of "usage douteux" (2009 [1647], 75–80) is rooted in ancient grammar. Naturally, the function of the heuristics of analogy is the resolution of linguistic uncertainties, as Quintilian ([6]1971, I.6.4 [96]) explains in the *Institutio oratoria*:

> "Eius [i.e. analogiae 'analogy'] haec vis est, ut id quod dubium est ad aliquid simile de quo non quaeritur referat, et incerta certis probet".

Doutes et difficultés and *dudas y dificultades* have been fixed binominal expressions since the Early Modern Times. However, the first example, which is found in CORDE

(Real Academia Española, 05/01/2017) with clear reference to linguistic problems, stems from Bello ([2]1981 [1844], 113):

> "La Facultad, deseosa de simplificar en lo posible la escritura, ha dado también una regla general para la división de las dicciones a fin de reglón en un caso que según el uso actual ofrece dudas y dificultades a los niños".

As Colin (1990, 1210) points out, the concept of "difficulty" in our modern dictionaries refers to the user as described in the prefaces of such reference tools. Seco (2011, 6) explains:

> "Este libro está concebido para responder a algunas de las mil pequeñas dudas que a *los españoles de hoy, cultos o de cultura media*, se les pueden presentar en el propio uso de su lengua, o a algunas de las mil preguntas que se les pueden ocurrir al observar el uso por otros de este mismo idioma. También se ha escrito pensando en las dificultades y las preguntas que pueden encontrar ante sí *los hablantes nativos de otra lengua* que son aprendices avanzados del español".

Obviously, neither Bello nor Seco refer to the natural (oral) language acquisition process. They do however cite the scholarly acquisition of the prescriptive written norm which forms a kind of second language, comparable in some respects to the acquisition of a foreign language. Along this line of thinking, the "difficulties" of an advanced foreign language learner are only a higher degree of the "doubts" of the native learner. While the idea of a native speaker who "does not know his own language" is totally rejected in general linguistics (Grimm 1984 [1847]; Pinker 2007 [1994], 383), sociolinguists know that the use of language is subject to social and cultural valorization, obviously dependent on the existence of a historically elaborated norm or standard. From this perspective, the concepts of "doubt" and "difficulty" reflect a situation of linguistic insecurity (Labov 1972; cf. Francard 1997). Dictionaries of language difficulties, which are meant to dispel doubts and to resolve difficulties in post-educational situations, would thus contribute to an increase in the normative security of their consumers' daily use of written and spoken language.

Doubts and difficulties occur in all domains of linguistic structure. Therefore, the macrostructure of our dictionaries covers a wide range of linguistic elements, i.e. phonetics and phonology, orthography, morphology, syntax, and the lexicon, including both common nouns and proper names. The normative endeavor not only concerns the mere opposition between incriminated and recommended linguistic forms but also a speech act which formulates, in the microstructure, various kinds of recommendations about these forms and eventually the arguments that underlie the recommendations. In these regards, Berrendonner (1982) analyses the rhetoric of prescriptivism and prescriptive argumentation schemes as the basic elements of the "normative discourse". Berrendonner's analytical framework has fruitfully been applied to the prescriptivism of some of the Spanish and Brazilian dictionaries of language difficulties, namely the *libros de estilo* (e.g. Lebsanft 1997, 212–218; Schmitt 2005, 102–106; Katayama 2011; cf. below, 2.3).

2 The Spanish tradition in Europe

2.1 From the beginnings to the "Seco" (1961)

Of course, the Spanish tradition of dictionaries of language difficulties does not start with the *Appendix Probi*. As early forerunners, Ahumada (2012) mentions two dictionaries from the 18th century, but Ros's opuscule (1771) treats cases of interference between Spanish and Valencian from the Valencian perspective while Merino Irigoyen's (inedited [1786]) *Diccionario antibárbaro* does not build the starting point of a Spanish tradition either. A more propitious moment seems to be the reform of the educational system promoted by the famous *Ley de Instrucción Pública* of September 9, 1857 ("Ley Moyano"). Since Colin (1990, 1215), Antolín y Sáez (1867) was labeled the first Spanish published dianormative dictionary. It is a very short dictionary of coloquial and popular Spanish in Valladolid (Lebsanft 1993, 252), confronting without further explanation "disparates" and "correcciones". A detailed analysis (Rey Méndez 2009, 25–50) shows that Antolín y Sáez (1867) was probably used in elementary schools. Directed to a wider, post-educational public is Orellana's *Cizaña del lenguaje*, which had four editions over two decades (Orellana 1871, [2]1878, [3]1882, [4]1891). While Antolín y Sáez (1867) certainly pertains to the "pedagogues of the lower échelons", Orellana's *Cizaña* "stands out as forming part of the far-flung œuvre of its versatile author, a noted economist, politician, newspaper publisher and 'polígrafo'" (Malkiel 1959–1960, 121s.; cf. Rey Méndez 2009, 51–80). Although Orellana pays some attention to "errors" (*vicios*) induced by linguistic contact between Catalan and Spanish, i.e. catalanisms in regional Spanish, this is not his only concern. Orellana is followed by Huidobro, whose work achieved comparable success (Huidobro 1903, [2]1908, [3]1915).

In Spain, the dianormative dictionary enters a new phase after the Civil War. In the 1950s, two dictionaries of language difficulties are issued, Díaz-Retg (1951), which is the first one to contain the word *dudas* in its title (Díaz-Retg 1951, 13; Ahumada 2012, 65), and Santamaría (1956). Díaz-Retg (1951, 12) characterizes his readers as:

> "personas que, no estando obligadas, por su profesión, a tener un profundo conocimiento del castellano, necesitan consultar gramáticas o diccionarios, o preguntar a otros más versados para solventar una dificultad de orden gramatical o lingüístico. Para tal categoría de personas no profesionales [...] las dudas, las dificultades, son de cada momento, de cada escrito que han de redactar, de cada parlamento o disertación en que han de intervenir".

The headwords represent "correct" as well as "incorrect" forms and the microstructure displays corresponding information (Díaz-Retg 1951, 19):

> "**aborigen.** *adj.* Originario del suelo en que vive [...] *pl. Aborígenes* [...]
>
> **aborígena,** *s.* Es abusivo e inadmisible dar a ABORIGEN terminación femenina. Se dirá *la* o *el* ABORIGEN; *las* o *los* ABORÍGENES".

Santamaría's dictionary, which has been revised and updated three times (Santamaría/Cuartas [2]1967; Santamaría/Cuartas/Mangada [3]1975; Santamaría et al. [4]1984), contains a typology of linguistic errors that still uses the traditional concepts of ancient grammar and rhetoric ("vicios de lenguaje", Santamaría et al. [4]1984, 22). As did Antolín y Sáez (1867), the dictionary systematically opposes "incorrect" and "correct" forms without any further explanation, for example (Santamaría et al. [4]1984, 28):

> "*A campo través. – a campo traviesa o a campo travieso*".

The correction follows the Spanish Academy whose contemporary edition of the DRAE ([19]1970, s. v. *campo*; cf. also DRAE [20]1984) only admits the recommended forms. Although Santamaría et al. ([4]1984) usually accept the decisions of the royal institution, they try to preserve a certain margin of manœuvre ([4]1984, 18):

> "Se da cabida, con la nota de 'admisible', a algunas voces que, aun no aceptadas por la Academia, no hay razón para tenerlas por incorrectas (como venía decir Unamuno, 'si no están admitidas, ya lo estarán')".

Instead of *a beneficio de* Santamaría et al. ([4]1984, 28) prefer, for example, *en beneficio de*, but they tolerate the incriminated form. However, the judgment of the NGLE (2009, 2281) is still somewhat reserved at this point.

The revised editions of Santamaría (1956) were present on the dictionary market until the middle of the 1980s. However, their position is soon very strongly disputed by a new dictionary of language difficulties, which becomes the *diccionario de dudas* "by antonomasia", Seco (1961).

2.2 Seco's *Diccionario de dudas y dificultades de la lengua española*

The ten editions of Seco's dictionary of language difficulties (Seco 1961–[10]1998; cf. also Seco 1979; Seco/Hernández 1999), which cover a period of nearly 40 years, have given a new kind of scientific dignity to this type of linguistic prescriptivism. For the first time in the history of the Spanish dictionaries of language difficulties the author is not a linguistic layman but a reputed lexicographer and linguist (cf. Rodríguez González 2012). In 2011, the "Seco" was reworked and republished as the *Nuevo diccionario de dudas y dificultades* (Seco 2011). The author (but also the public, cf. Ahumada 2012, 65) is fully aware of the outstanding position of his work on the European dianormative dictionary market (Seco 2011, 9):

> "El proyecto primero [= Seco 1961] había sido un encargo editorial para componer un 'diccionario gramatical', es decir, una gramática cuyos contenidos estuviesen ordenados alfabéticamente para facilitar su consulta inmediata al lector culto no precisamente implicado en el

estudio o la enseñanza de la lengua. Yo, al realizarlo, ensanché los límites de aquel plan, presentando como meta del libro ofrecer, más que el conocimiento de las estructuras gramaticales, una orientación sobre las dudas que al hablante de instrucción media se le pudiesen presentar en el uso cotidiano de su lengua; naturalmente, desde luego, en las materias de morfología y sintaxis, pero también en cuestiones concretas sobre palabras, construcciones, semántica, pronunciación y ortografía".

"El trabajo probó desde el principio su utilidad [...]. De la acogida de esta obra dan fe dos barómetros: uno, el incontable número alcanzado de ediciones y reimpresiones; otro, la nutrida floración de publicaciones similares a que ha dado lugar".

Our bibliography documents the flourishing of more or less valuable publications that Seco's work contributed to generate (Aroca Sanz [2]2007 [1997]; DPD 2005; Fernández 1991; Fernández Fernández 2007; González/Reoyo 1995; Lucas Vallejo 1994; Marsá 1986; Martínez Amador 1987; Martínez de Sousa 1996, [2]1998, [3]2001, [4]2008).

Seco (2011, 2s.) opens with reflections about the norm and tries to deduce the traditional notion of prescriptive norm from Coseriu's quite different concept of descriptive norm. Indeed, Coseriu (1982 [1962], 90) makes a sharp difference between *norma ejemplar* (= *prescriptiva*) and *norma usual*:

"Aclaramos, además, que no se trata de la norma en el sentido corriente, establecida o impuesta según criterio de corrección y de valoración subjetiva de lo expresado, sino de la norma objetivamente comprobable en una lengua, la norma que seguimos necesariamente por ser miembros de una comunidad lingüística, y no aquélla según la cual se reconoce que 'hablamos bien' o de manera ejemplar, en la misma comunidad. Al comprobar la norma a la que nos referimos, se comprueba *cómo se dice*, y no se indica *cómo se debe decir*: los conceptos que, con respecto a ella, se oponen son *normal* y *anormal*, y no *correcto* o *incorrecto*".

In other words, Seco wants to make the point that the "prescriptive" norm – defined as the "*uso escrito* de los hablantes cultos" (Seco 2011, 3) and the "pronunciación de las personas cultas de la capital del país" (Seco 2011, 3) – is only the "usual", descriptive norm of a certain sociocultural group within the speech community. This is certainly not true, since Seco often tries to impose forms which are in contradiction to the "usual" norm of this group. Using Berrendonner's theoretical framework as applied to the "special case" of linguists (1982, 99–120), Seco masks a normative behind a descriptive type of discourse. For example, Seco's puristic orientation rejects the use of *agresivo* with the "English" sense of "activo, dinámico, emprendedor" (Seco 2011, 42: "no es recomendable"), although this signification is (in the Coserian sense) so "normal" that the DLE ([23]2014, s. v.) includes the definition "Que actúa con dinamismo, audacia y decision". In other cases and although Seco's recommendations are less explicit, they reveal preferences that are not in touch with the "normal" usage, which is attacked in the following toponymic example on grounds of euphony (Seco 2011, 114s.):

"**Bresláu.** *Breslau* es el nombre alemán de la ciudad polaca de Wroclaw, y el que tradicionalmente se le ha dado en español (con tilde: *Bresláu*). Es preferible usar el nombre clásico, de

fácil fonética, /bresláu/), y no el polaco, cuya pronunciación, /vrótsuaf/, es difícil para nuestros hablantes, quienes siempre dicen, disparatadamente, /brokláb/. En italiano es *Breslavia*, forma que también se encuentra ocasionalmente en español".

It is not always clear how Seco handles the relation between quantitative and qualitative facts. In the case of *agredir* – one example among many –, Seco (2011, 41) gives information about the frequency of the *i*- and the non-*i*-forms but without any further recommendations:

> "**agredir.** Este verbo solo se usa habitualmente en las formas que tienen en su formante la vocal *i* [...] Sin embargo, no es raro encontrar otras formas en los periódicos [...]. También, aunque menos frecuentes, hay ejemplos literarios [...]. La frecuencia de estas formas sin *i* en el formante es más alta en América que en España".

The DLE ([23]2014, s. v.) does not consider *agredir* as a defective verb any more nor does the NGLE (2009) discuss a possible defectivity of the verb.

In line with the "descriptive" approach adopted by Seco, the style of recommendations is rather detached. Compare, for example, his information about *agresivo* with a highly emotionally invested comment such as Aroca Sanz ([2]2007 [1997], 22):

> "**agresivo** por ACTIVO, AUDAZ, DINÁMICO, EMPRENDEDOR, CON CAPACIDAD DE INICIATIVA – El uso de este anglicismo ridículo puede dar origen a situaciones cómicas, graves, absurdas y, por supuesto, intolerables desde el punto de vista idiomático, y en especial para nuestra lengua, tan rica en vocablos que permiten toda clase de matizaciones".

Seco's hints at the differences between American and European usage are neither systematically elaborated nor based on any deeper reflections about the pluricentricity of the Spanish language (Lebsanft et al. 2012). On the contrary, Seco (2011, 6) not only limits his observations to the prescriptive norm of European Spanish but is also convinced that the *español europeo* is "equivalente en un noventa por ciento al estándar del español mundial", a clear though somewhat outdated statement.

2.3 The stylebooks of the Spanish mass media

A new era begins with the publication of the peninsular stylebooks in the midst of the 1970s. The importance of this new linguistic genre in Spain is confirmed by the fact that 25 years later *libro de estilo* has a definition in the DRAE ([22]2001, s. v. *libro*): "conjunto de normas que regulan los usos expresivos de un medio de comunicación". In effect, the *libros de estilo* merge the two traditions of the US-American style books and the Spanish dictionaries of language difficulties. The most influential peninsular stylebooks are those of the Spanish news agency Efe and the Madrilenian daily newspaper El País. The pre-history and history of the first published editions of the agency's *Manual de estilo*/*Manual de español urgente* (Agencia Efe 1976–[8]1991), which owes much to Alberto Gómez Font's work in the Departamento de

Español Urgente (cf. below, 2.4), and the daily's *Libro de estilo* (El País 1977–[8]1991) are described in Lebsanft (1997, 189–196, 237–243; cf. also Fernández Beaumont 1987). Both stylebooks still have a continuous presence on the Spanish book market today (Agencia Efe [9]1992–[18]2008; cf. also Gómez Font/García Domínguez/Vicho Toledo 2000; El País [9]1993–[22]2014; cf. various contributions to Fernández Martínez/Blanco Alfonso 2008). Fundéu BBVA/Bezos (2015) is presented as the "segunda época" of the *Manual de español urgente*, El País ([22]2014) wants to accompany the newspaper in its "viaje a la globalidad" (El País [22]2014, 11). Unlike Seco (1961–[10]1998; 2011), which is the work of a professional linguist, the *libros de estilo* are the result of a collaboration between journalists – experienced practitioners of the word – and linguists. Therefore, the *libros de estilo* are heavily influenced by the puristic thinking of linguistic laymen or "language mavens" (Pinker 2007 [1994], 382–418), i.e. folk linguistics (Lebsanft 2017a). Álex Grijelmo, who is the *spiritus rector* of El País ([3]1990–[22]2014), is an outstanding representative of this kind of linguistic amateurism in Spain (Lebsanft 1997, 10–43, 241–245; 2017b).

The Spanish transition from Franco's dictatorship to the establishment of a democratic monarchy (1975–1978) was accompanied by the creation of a pluralistic, democratic mass media landscape. The early Spanish stylebooks met with the demand of a renewed, antitotalitarian use of language in the press. At the same time, not only the mass media but public opinion (Lebsanft 1990) felt the need for the modernization and implementation of the prescriptive norm (cf. Haugen 1987; Marcos Marín 1979), a need that at that time was not being satisfied by the Real Academia Española. This situation led to the creation of the stylebooks. Since then, the (more or less) obligatory application of the stylebooks' codifications have created a specific linguistic identity of news agencies and newspapers. A high level of linguistic quality seems to be an important aspect of the product "newspaper". As a consequence, Efe's *Manual* and El País' *Libro* have been followed by an increasing number of stylebooks in the press, radio and television; an extensive selection (which we do not have the space to comment) can be found in the bibliography. Insofar as the Academies of the Spanish Language have managed to modernize the codification of the Spanish standard(s) in recent years, the situation of the *libros de estilo* has changed. Looked at broadly, Fundéu BBVA/Bezos (2015) is more in line with the modernization of the prescriptive norm described by the Academies than El País ([22]2014).

Fundéu BBVA/Bezos (2015, 9) is directed to the "millones de usuarios que, en contra de las voces de alarma que a menudo se escuchan, sí prestan especial atención a la corrección lingüística". The Agencia Efe provides the Hispanosphere with news; hence, it aspires to be the normative reference guide for all Spanish speaking journalists. Besides, it tries to reach a public of professional and amateur writers outside the mass media (Fundéu BBVA/Bezos 2015, 10). The scope of El País ([22]2014, 22) is much more limited:

"[...] estamos ante un libro de estilo, y de estilo se habla; no de una norma general para todos los hablantes, sino del criterio que un periódico decide darse a sí mismo de entre varios posibles".

Typically, the *libros de estilo* are divided in two major parts; first, a manual which treats a systematically arranged selection of orthographic, phonetic, lexical, grammatical and textual "difficulties" (Fundéu BBVA/Bezos 2015, 13–127; El País [22]2014, 27–187); second, a glossary (Fundéu BBVA/Bezos 2015, 129–248) or dictionary (El País [22]2014, 189–530). It is this second part which resembles the traditional dictionary of language difficulties.

As in previous editions of the *Manual de español urgente* (cf. Lebsanft 1997, 212–218), the normative discourse of Fundéu BBVA/Bezos (2015) is explicit, the comments are clear and simple, not to say simplistic. For example, compare Seco's comment on *Bresláu* with Fundéu BBVA/Bezos (2015, 145):

"**Breslavia** (Polonia) MEJOR QUE Wrocław, Breslau".

If the formula "mejor que" leaves some room for discussions, this is not the case with "dígase" or "no". The asterisk indicates a disapproved form:

"***a espera** DÍGASE en espera, a la espera"

"**a pesar de que** NO a pesar que"

More explicit comments are given in the case of semantic improprieties or formal and semantic confusions. In these cases, Fundéu BBVA/Bezos (2015) illustrate with discourse examples what they consider to be the right and wrong use of a linguistic expression:

"**a expensas de** Quiere decir a 'costa de', 'por cuenta de': *El viaje fue a expensas de la empresa*. Es impropio usarlo con el sentido de 'a la espera de'. En *⋆El plan está a expensas de la aprobación del pleno* debería haberse dicho *a la espera*".

Much attention is paid to integral and semantic borrowings, especially from English. Although Fundéu BBVA/Bezos (2015) do not continue a completely lost battle (for example, there is no article "agresivo" any more), their approach remains clearly puristic. New formal (or integral) anglicisms, which are italicized, are systematically rejected (*⋆account manager*, *⋆amenities*, *⋆aquaplanning*, etc.) and should be replaced by autochthonous neologisms. Accommodated loanwords are categorized as "españolismos" (*airbag*), but Spanish word formations are preferred (*bolsa de aire*, *cojín de aire*, *colchón de aire*; Fundéu BBVA/Bezos 2015, 133). The *Manual de español urgente* obviously still adheres to the traditional idea (Lebsanft 1997, 31) that borrowings endanger the existence of Spanish words and meanings.

El País ([22]2014) follows the same normative principles but is even more conservative than Fundéu BBVA/Bezos (2015). Undoubtedly, it often accepts explicitly

normative changes approved by the Spanish Academy. Nonetheless, this is not always the case. El País ([22]2014) is fond of the formula "yes, but", where the opposition to the Academy is represented by an idiomatic and expressive preference – a normative doctrine developed by Álex Grijelmo and considered as the ultimate refuge of an elitist *buen uso* (Lebsanft 2017b). El País ([22]2014, 199) approves, for example, the transitive use of *abortar* "hacer fracasar, interrumpir, frustrar algo" (cf. DLE [23]2014, s. v.), but adds the comment:

> "La Academia ha admitido [...], pero no hay que olvidar que también existen 'malograr', 'anular', 'impedir', 'obstaculizar' o 'desbaratar'".

However, the newspaper also rejects uncompromisingly linguistic forms accepted by the Academy (El País [22]2014, 370):

> "**juez, jueza.** Aunque la Academia admite 'jueza' como femenino de 'juez', en EL PAÍS se seguirá escribiendo 'la juez' (y 'las jueces'), fórmula también correcta y que marca con claridad el femenino".

According to Seco (2011, 360), *la juez* would be characteristic of the official and administrative use, whereas *la jueza* represents the colloquial language.

El País ([22]2014) also defends the same puristic attitude toward borrowings as Fundéu BBVA/Bezos (2015). The *Libro de estilo* is a treasure trove of anglicisms, which are italicized (as in the DLE [23]2014) when printed in the newspaper. If they are used, especially in quotes, they have to be explained. Integrated anglicisms are written in romans (*baipás*), but "Spanish" words are preferred (*puente coronario*, *derivación coronaria*; El País [22]2014, 224). In contrast to the meager comments of Fundéu BBVA/Bezos (2015), encyclopedic information is abundant in El País ([22]2014). While Fundéu BBVA/Bezos (2015, 170), for example, only repeats the definition of *escrache* "manifestación popular de denuncia contra una persona pública [...]" found in DAm, the corresponding article in El País ([22]2014, 306) is full of etymological explanations.

The style books of the mass media are also the models for similar reference works in other linguistic domains. As early as 1990, the Spanish Government published the experimental version of a *Manual de estilo del lenguaje administrativo* which contained an important "Diccionario de términos y frases" (MAP 1990, 163–257; cf. Lebsanft 1997, 106s.). Nearly 30 years later, after the Spanish Academy entered the market of linguistic consultant services (cf. below, 2.4), the governmental manual followed the *Libro de estilo de la Justicia* (RAE/CGPJ 2017).

2.4 The *Diccionario panhispánico de dudas* and the *Libro de estilo de la lengua española*

The publication of the DPD (2005) constitutes a major change in the normative politics of the Academies of the Spanish Language. In the 1980s, the Real Academia

Española still rejected the idea of running a linguistic consulting service (*asesoría lingüística*) which would have helped modernize and implement the prescriptive norm (Lebsanft 1997, 134–138). At that time, an internal as well as external service, the Departamento de Español Urgente, existed in the Agencia Efe under the leadership of Alberto Gómez Font (Lebsanft 1997, 223–231); later, it was transformed into the Fundación del Español Urgente (Fundéu BBVA). It is to be considered as the model for the Spanish Academy's Departamento de "Español al día", which has been functioning since 1998, the year in which the institution went online.

The DPD (2005), whose editorial team is composed of members of the Madrilenian Departamento, does not acknowledge the fact that it is based not only on the Academies' codification work, but also on the tremendous bulk of dictionaries of language difficulties. The DPD (2005) has no specific target audience. It simply wants to help (DPD 2005, XIII)

> "tanto a quienes buscan resolver con rapidez una duda concreta y, por consiguiente, están solo interesados en obtener una recomendación de buen uso, como a quienes desean conocer los argumentos que sostienen esas recomendaciones".

The approach to the norm is "descriptive" in the sense of Seco (cf. above, 2.2). The DPD (2005, XIV) pretends describing explicitly – i.e. codifying – the implicit normative consensus of the whole Spanish speech community, which receives the name of "norma culta" or "español estándar". Tacke (2011) has shown that this normative doctrine has since been developed in the NGLE (2009; 2011). The normative discourse wants to avoid dichotomized sharp judgements (*correcto* vs. *incorrecto*). Instead, it prefers to provide graduated views which use the categories *error*, *descuido/desconocimiento*, and *preferencia* (DPD 2005, XV). However, the DPD (2005, XXVIII–XXIX) makes abundant use of the signs ⊗ (*bolaspa*) and *, which represent inadequate and agrammatical usages (↗12.1; ↗12.2).

The DPD (2005) has not (yet) developed a theory about the pluricentricity of the Spanish language, although it takes into account various prescriptive norms such as "norma española", "norma Americana", "norma de un determinado país o conjunto de países" (DPD 2005, XVI; Méndez-Gª de Paredes 2012). To put it simply, the dictionary is still of European inspiration (and therefore finds its place in this article). The DPD (2005) has received fair and equitable criticism (Bajo Pérez 2007); even though one cannot deny that it is the dictionary of language difficulties with the most thoughtful structure (macrostructure: types of articles; microstructure: lexicographical, descriptive and normative treatment of the "difficulties"). To cite just one example, the article *aborigen* (cf. above, 2.1; DPD 2005, 8)

> "**aborigen.** 'Originario de un territorio o lugar' y, como sustantivo, 'primitivo habitante de un país'. Es común en cuanto al género (→ Género², 1a y 3h): *el/la aborigen*. No debe usarse la forma ⊗*aborígena*, error debido al cruce con *indígena*".

shows the kind of descriptive normativism developed in this dictionary. The *bolaspa* ⊗ condemns the form *aborígena* as an "inadecuación a la norma culta" (DPD 2005,

XXVIII), but explains how the analogical mechanism produces the rejected form. In the case of *jueza* (cf. above, 2.3), there is no such "error" since the usage even admits the analogical form "en el nivel culto" (DPD 2005, 382).

The treatment of foreign words is based upon the traditional distinction between "necessary" and "luxury" borrowings (DPD 2005, XIX). In these respects, the claim of describing an implicit consensus is simply false. If we take a look at the article "baipás" (cf. above, 2.3), the DPD (2005, 82) treats the word as normal among medical professionals (but what about the patients?); for this reason, it is only accepted ("se admite" [!]) in the adapted form *baipás* – a form that is only suggested ("propuesta"; but by whom?). CREA (05/01/2017) points out 5 occurrences of *baipás*, 92 occurrences of *by-pass*, 32 of *bypass*, 26 of *by pass*. The admission of the loanword, whose orthographical integration is not the result of a social, implicit consensus, does not even imply that it is considered as "necessary": The DPD (2005) is convinced that the Spanish equivalents like *puente (aorto)coronario* or *derivación (aorto)coronaria* (cf. also above, 2.3) exist.

The publication of the *Libro de estilo de la lengua española* (LELE, 2018) confirms the new normative politics of the Real Academia Española. By retracing the history of this project only within the institutional frame of the academic institutions (LELE, 14), it shamefully silences the tradition of this normative genre in the mass media. It affirms the pluricentric orientation of the Spanish Academies, but its recommendations are often rather useless. Discussing, for example, the use of the *pretérito perfecto simple* (*canté*) vs. the *pretérito perfecto compuesto* (*he cantado*), an observation like "mientras que en algunas zonas lo normal es decir *Ayer comí*, en otras se podría decir *Ayer he comido*" does not work as a valuable recommendation. Like many other usage guides, the LELE has a bipartite structure. The first part is a manual, which includes chapters on grammar, orthography and pronunciation (LELE, 21–334), while the second part is a traditional normative glossary (LELE, 335–474). In some aspects, the manual of the LELE is innovative, since it addresses new topics like the digital communication ("escritura y comunicación digital", LELE, 269–312).

3 The Spanish tradition in the Americas

The issue of Spanish language normativism has a long and well-known tradition in the Americas. As we have already said (cf. above, section 1), the study of the important "work of gathering regionalisms" (Guitarte/Torres Quintero 1974, 339–343), is not the object of this article. We only focus on some of the early 19th-century dictionaries whose main concern is a clearly corrective approach (cf. Lozano Andrés 2002). In parallel to, and even slightly before the first peninsular dictionaries of language difficulties, the "puristic bias of most [American-Spanish] lexicographers" (Malkiel 1959–1960, 120) results in a work like that of the Ecuatorian Cevallos ([1–2]1861, [3]1862,

[4]1873, [5]1880, [6]1904). In Cevallos ([3]1862, 1), the first edition to be found today in public libraries, the author defines the scope of his study:

> "hemos resuelto dar a luz otra que, abrazando los errores que son comunes en el Ecuador i Nueva Granada [= Colombia], i eliminando los que son propios solo de este pueblo, comprenda ademas los nuestros".

Of course, Cevallos advocated a European norm until the last edition of his work, for example ([3]1862, 34; [4]1873, 80; 1985 [[6]1904], 173):

> "Decimos: Vos [pronombre pers.] no puede concertar sino en plural. – Debemos decir: Tú".

Cevallos ([3]1862), whose main "theoretical" source is González (1848), arranges the material according to the type of error (pronunciation, meaning, grammar, accentuation; Gallicisms), each time in alphabetic order.

Similarly, although more extensively, dictionaries were published before the turn of the 20th century in Colombia (Uribe Uribe 1973 [1887]), Guatemala (Batres Jáuregui 1892), and Costa Rica (Gagini 1892). Uribe Uribe (1973 [1887], XVII) follows the puristic doctrine of Cuervo (1876) and Baralt (1855), which includes the elaboration of a detailed and comprehensive classification of error types ("vicios de lenguaje", XIX–XXIV). In educational and post-educational contexts, the author wants to be useful to an extremely wide range of readers (Uribe Uribe 1973 [1887], XVIII):

> "al niño y al maestro en la escuela primaria, al viajero y al estudiante, en el escritorio del mercader, sobre el banco del obrero, en la mesa del periodista, y aún quizá para el médico y el abogado, el campesino y el minero".

The dictionary draws on a very simple corrective discourse, applying the European norm (Uribe Uribe 1973 [1887], 256):

> "'*Vos decís que me querés*', tú dices que me quieres. Sólo se usa *vos* dirigiéndose a Dios, a los santos, a personas constituídas en dignidad y en obras dramáticas de estilo elevado. 'Vosotros y ellos lo *han* (habéis) dicho'. 'Vosotros, señores del Jurado, y el señor Juez *han* (habéis) resuelto'".

After World War II, in the second half of the 20th century, I do not see any renewal of the dianormative dictionary tradition in the Americas comparable with the European situation. Not by chance, old dictionaries like those of Cevallos or Uribe Uribe were republished in the 1970s (Cevallos 1985 [[6]1904]) and 1980s (Uribe Uribe (1973 [1887]). Perhaps, the success of the European *libros de estilo* gave a new impulse to these types of dictionaries in the Americas. However, many of the Spanish American mass media style books are only for internal use, which is why we cannot say anything about their linguistic quality (cf. the items in an older list of manuals established by Gómez Font 1998, 562–564). If the *Manual de estilo* of the Argentinian daily *Clarín*, which was published (Clarín 1997), were representative of the Spanish

American scene then the production is rather disappointing. In effect, the "diccionario de dudas" in Clarín (1997, 107–117) is very short and contains quite poor material.

However, there are, at the beginning of the 21st century, signs that the dictionaries of language difficulties enter in a new phase in Spanish America, at least in Argentina. First, Aragó's important dictionary, which had been published at the end of the 20th century (Aragó ²1996 [1995]), was further elaborated (Aragó 2008; ³2009). Aragó (³2009, 13) wants to establish a balance between regional and general norms:

> "Además de las cuestiones que atañen al español general, se presta en esta obra especial atención a las peculiaridades del español de América y, especialmente de la Argentina, incluso lunfardismos que han alcanzado nivel coloquial y aun literario".

Along these lines, the article "recién" pays much more attention to American and Argentine usage than Seco (2011, s. v.) and the DPD (s. v.). Aragó (³2009, s. v.) also gives a lot of room to normative discussions in Argentina (Bello, Capdevila, Schallman, etc.). Besides, Aragó (³2009) explicitly comments on peninsular usage which does not exist in the Americas. This is the case, for example, of *canguro* "persona, generalmente joven, que se encarga de cuidar a niños pequeños en ausencia corta de los padres" (Aragó ³2009, s. v.):

> "En la Argentina no se usa la voz *canguro* con esta última acepción, sino *niñera por horas* o, más frecuentemente, la denominación inglesa → *baby sitter*".

> "***baby-sitter***. **1.** Expresión inglesa (pron. [*béibi síter*] con que se designa a una niñera por horas [...]. En España se la llama *canguro*, denominación prácticamente desconocida en la Argentina. La RAE ha incluido la expresión inglesa en el DRAE/01 [= DRAE ²²2001]. **2.** El DPD recomienda sustituir esta expresión por *niñera* (con la especificación *por horas*, si se desea distinguirla de la niñera a tiempo completo) y emplear el masculino *niñero* en el caso de que sea un hombre el que se dedica a esta actividad".

Second, a French publishing house with an old and visible presence on the American Spanish speaking dictionary market encouraged Petrecca et al. (2002) and Petrecca et al. (2006) to offer the first important work that explicitly takes into account the pluricentricity of the Spanish language in the Americas. Petrecca et al. (2006, VI) have certainly used the DPD (2005):

> "El español, o castellano, es por cierto una de las lenguas de mayor difusión en el mundo. No solo se habla en Europa, donde ha nacido, sino también en América, donde es el idioma de la gran mayoría de sus naciones, y en África, pues es el idioma de Guinea Ecuatorial. En tales condiciones es razonable comprender que exista una gran diversidad de normas regionales y nacionales. En este sentido, el español no es un bloque monolítico. Constituye un rico y complejo plurisistema comunicativo donde coexisten con igual valor y legitimidad sus distintas variedades".

Petrecca et al. (2006, VII) feel the necessity for a normative guide to American Spanish, which the dictionary sees as a more or less homogenous entity, a rather controversial statement:

"Existe además un fenómeno que parece tornarse cada vez más visible: la existencia de una mayor unidad en el español americano. Un hecho que contraríe la norma peninsular en algún país americano muy razonablemente la contrariará de igual modo [*sic*] en uno o más del continente".

In contradiction to this affirmation, Petrecca et al. (2006, VII) know very well that the inclusion of the rioplatense variant of the *voseo* is justified because it forms part of the *norma(s) nacional(es) culta(s)* of only this area. In many cases, the commentary does not reflect any kind of normative diversity; in others we have information about plurisystematic variation that goes beyond other dictionaries of language difficulties (Petrecca et al. 2006, 6):

"**con acuerdo a** [...] Esta fórmula aparece generalmente en escritos administrativos tanto en España como en América, al menos en la Argentina, Chile, Paraguay, Perú y México. No obstante su empleo parece ser el más irregular y, por lo tanto, no es aconsejable".

The normative discourse is deliberative ("no es aconsejable"), even with respect to the puristic treatment of anglicisms (Petrecca et al. 2006, 5):

"Parece preferible esta forma [i.e. *acceder* (informatics)] al anglicismo innecesario → ***accesar**, pese a que este haya sido reconocido por la Academia Mexicana".

In this case, the DPD (2005, 12) uses a stricter formula:

"Se trata de un anglicismo que debe sustituirse por el verbo intransitivo español *acceder*".

After some preliminary essays (e.g. AAL 2000), the Academia Argentina de Letras decided to rework, under the direction of Francisco Petrecca, the DPD (2005). The result was AAL (2011), which intended to offer the reader a dianormative dictionary representative of the "norma estándar general de la Argentina" (AAL 2011, XII). Therefore, AAL (ib.) decided to

"descartar de esa obra algunos artículos que no correspondían al habla del país, agregar otros que conviniera incluir porque corresponden a las particularidades propias del español hablado en la Argentina, ejemplificar con autores contemporáneos argentinos y con textos extraídos de diarios de todo el territorio y redactar la obra en un castellano afín con el de nuestra norma".

In some cases, AAL (2011, XIII, 347) even acknowledges various Argentinian norms (*remís*: the general accentuation, *remis*: the accentuation in the center of the country).

Although AAL (2011, XV) vigorously defends the position of Spanish standard as a "sistema pluricéntrico de normas", it admits "el peso que la norma peninsular ha tenido para el reconocimiento de un modelo de habla". However, it is worth noting that AAL (2011) eliminates as many references to the peninsular norm as possible. Furthermore, it excludes norms of all other Spanish speaking countries. On the other hand, AAL (ib., XIII) tends to minimize differences between regional

or national variants of the prescriptive norm with the argument that these are based on the "nivel estándar culto urbano, donde las diferencias regionales tienden a limitarse".

4 Conclusion

Since the 19th century, the dictionaries of language difficulties have played an ever-growing role not only in the post-educational implementation, but also in the modernization of the Spanish standard. At the beginning of the 21st century, five major conclusions can be drawn from the history of this type of dianormative work. First, since Seco (1961), we have observed a lexicographic and linguistic professionalization in the making of these dictionaries. This implies a shift from folk to professional linguistics. Second, the integration of dictionaries into the *libros de estilo* opens a new and versatile field of application in the mass media which includes linguistic consulting services for a broad public. Third, in reaction to the important though somewhat heterogenous normative challenge by the mass media, the Academies of the Spanish Language tried to retake complete control over this kind of activity by publishing the DPD (2005). Fourth, the renewal of the Academic linguistic standardization politics, viz. the emphasis on the pluricentricity of prescriptive norms, has made it possible to adapt the DPD (2005) to national and regional norms, at least in Argentina (AAL 2011). Finally, the assumption that the prescriptive norm only represents the usual norm of the educated upper class cannot mask the fact that the individual, as well as the institutionalized authors of the dictionaries of language difficulties, try to impose their normative conceptions which still draw heavily on puristic traditions. Although the concern of the dictionaries of language difficulties is not only about modernization but also about implementation of the standard, we still do not have much research on the real impact of these works on everyday usage. The (non-)application of the *libros de estilo* in the mass media would open a promising and well-defined field of study (cf. Lebsanft 2019).

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13 Portuguese

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13.1 Orthography and Orthoepy

Abstract: In 1990, Portugal, Brazil, and the then-five (now six) African countries whose official language is Portuguese (Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, São Tomé and Príncipe, Angola, and Mozambique) signed the *Acordo Ortográfico de 1990* (AO90), an international agreement whose objective it is to give Portuguese – a pluricentric language – a common orthography. The AO90 has gone through some difficulties and is now official only in four Lusophone countries (Portugal, Brazil, Cape Verde, and São Tomé and Príncipe). However, after centuries without an official regulation, of a unilateral Reform (Portugal), and of the 20th century marked by the disagreement between Portugal and Brazil, the more the political discourse emphasizes the role of the AO90 for the "unidade da língua" and for its international prestige, the more the enforcement of the AO90 in the Lusophone countries suffers from problems or uncertainties. The AO90 is thus a receptacle of graphic solutions that reflect orthoepic differences between the two, already-established national norms (European and Brazilian).

Keywords: Portuguese, Lusophony, orthography, spelling, orthoepy, pronunciation, standardization, modernization, phonology, pluricentricity

1 Introduction

The current situation of the implementation of the AO90 in the countries of the so-called "lusofonia" can only be understood by looking at its historical antecedents and at the problems subjacent to the graphic standardization of the Portuguese language. The term *lusofonia* conveys the "ideia de um bloco linguístico formado por Portugal, as suas colónias e o Brasil" with more than 240 million speakers; yet, it is also the object of controversies (Castro 2010; Faraco 2012). The idea of unifying Portuguese orthography was not new given that the "demanda" (Castro/Duarte/Leiria 1987) for a uniform graphic system has been around for many centuries. It was not resolved in 1911 when Portugal approved the *Bases para a Unificação da Ortografia*, a unilateral initiative that caused diplomatic tension with Brazil, independent since 1822. Lasting the entire 20th century, this disagreement between Portugal and Brazil led to the establishment of two national (graphic) norms – European and Brazilian Portuguese. It was a situation that somehow reflected the idea that Portuguese had stopped being a monocentric language.

The AO90 is currently effective in four countries of the Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa (CPLP): Portugal, Brazil, Cape Verde, and São Tomé and Príncipe. These countries not only sent the Agreement through "processos internos de aprovação" but also did the "depósito" of its ratification at the Portuguese Government, a *sine qua non* condition, according to the Agreement ("Acord", Marquilhas 2015) in order for the latter to truly come into effect. The AO90 involves different judicial acts necessary for the ratification process and subsequent adaptation by each country. The *IIº Protocolo Modificativo* (2004) did not produce the desired immediate effects given that only in 2008 it was approved in Portugal by the *Resolução da Assembleia da República* (nº35/2008, 29 de Julho) and in Brazil by the decree nº6 585 (September 20). In Brazil (Silva 2008; Pereira da Silva 2009), the rules became effective in January 2009, the year in which the *Vocabulário Ortográfico da Língua Portuguesa* (VOLP), published by the Academia Brasileira de Letras (ABL), included them, even though back then the AO90 was not mandatory. In both countries, periods of transitions were taken into consideration: six years in Portugal, where the AO90 has been mandatory since May 13, 2015; three years in Brazil, where it should have been effective starting January 2013, but, backed by Comissão de Educação do Senado, the AO90 was made mandatory as of January 1, 2016. Cape Verde, which ratified the treaty upon approving it in 2009, stipulated a six-year transition period (until 2015), thus applying the October 2016 rules even though the gradual application is extended until 2019–2020. In São Tomé and Príncipe, where the document was ratified 2006, the AO90 is currently in "fase de implementação".

Besides the different rhythms of ratification, transition, and enforcement in these four signatory countries, the remaining Lusophone countries witnessed different scenarios, particularly in the two larger African countries. The Angolan government made no announcements regarding the AO90 ratification, neither did it send data to the *Vocabulário Ortográfico Comum* (VOC). In Mozambique, which had already contributed to the VOC, the document is still pending validation by the national Parliament. The AO90 (21 *Bases*, total) is also responsible for the different interpretations that, in Portugal, the involved parties in the elaboration of standardization make its *Bases*. From one side, the Academia das Ciências de Lisboa (ACL) has the "competência de elaborar e publicar o *Vocabulário Ortográfico da Língua Portuguesa*"; on the other side, the Instituto de Linguística Teórica e Computacional (ILTEC), that prepared the *Vocabulário Ortográfico do Português* (VOP). Now, as far as it is known, these entities have not mandated criteria for the respective vocabularies, insomuch as the ACL made public, as of 2017, some *Sugestões para o aperfeiçoamento do AO90* (cf. below, 3.1). In Brazil, orthographic vocabularies are the purview of the ABL that in the 20th century published the VOLP, whose fifth edition (2009) follows the AO90.

2 Historical antecedents

The history of Portuguese orthography is froth with different paradoxes. The first one is that, notwithstanding the long tradition of written texts in Portuguese (the first records date back to the 12th century; cf. Martins 2001), the first normative grammar, the *Grammatica da lingoagem portuguesa* (1536) by the Portuguese humanist Fernão de Oliveira (1505–ca. 1581), was only published in 1536. The first explicit orthographic rules were laid down by João de Barros (1540, 42r), who dedicated part of his grammar to orthography. It was not until September 12, 1911 that the Portuguese language had a codifying instrument, the *Bases para a Unificação da Ortografia* (Diário do Governo 213). This is explained by the inexistence of an entity with sufficient prestige, authority or legal gravitas to promote the graphic norm of the Portuguese language. Actually, there were as many systems as writers. Writing in Portuguese was defined by the tradition and graphic material borrowed from Latin. However, among many hesitations, new solutions were eventually devised in order to represent a phonetic-phonological reality distinct from Latin and Vulgar Latin. In this search for representing graphically a new language, Mediaeval writing traditions did not obey rules or conventions, but rather, they reflected the *scriptae* (writing practices) of the scribes or of the royal chanceries. The language, whose written standardization becomes an imperative in the 16th century for historic, sociolinguistic, and cultural reasons (Mateus/Cardeira 2007, 23–24), has to deal not only with the system but mainly with the changes that the real language incorporates through time. Hence, this incipient standardization had to obey aspects such as the leveling (except in the northern variants) of the Old Portuguese final nasal sounds in the singular masculine (*-om*, *-am*, *-ão*) into one diphthong [ãw] <ão> (*leão*, *cão*, *mão*); the open/closed timber of the stressed vowel of 1st person plural of the verbs in *-ar* (e.g., *cantamos*/*cantámos*) and the elevation of the unstressed vowels (/a/ > /ɐ/; /e/ > /ə/, /o/ > /u/). Without proposing rules for orthography, Oliveira (1536, chap. XII) recognized and described well the articulatory difference between /a/ and /ɐ/. The next orthographers followed other orthographic directions (Gonçalves 1992; 2003, *passim*): more or less etymological (Barros 1540; Gândavo 1574; Leão 1576; Vera 1631; Barreto 1671; Feijó 1734; Monte Carmelo 1767) or phonetical (Verney 1746; Leão 1879; Silva 1880). With the foundation of the Academia das Ciências de Lisboa (ACL; then Academia Real das Sciencias) in 1779, a point of preference for orthographic regularization arose. Nonetheless, this institution did not publish an "ortografia" and its first dictionary, which could serve as an orthographic model, stopped at the Letter A (1793). With such academic inertia, the 19th century witnesses a true orthographic politicization: the "etimológicos", on one side, and the "sónicos" (Gonçalves 2009), on the other (Leite 1887; Fontes [2]1910). Formed with Barbosa Leão (1875; 1878), the Porto Comissão (Leão 1878, 73, 135) addressed the ACL and asked for a regulatory action. Be that as it may, Latino Coelho rejected the proposal, defending the etymological orthography (Leão 1878, 112–113) instead of an "ortografia sónica".

The *Bases* are the initial steps of the period "unificado", "reformado", or "simplificado" of Portuguese orthography (Winkelmann 1994, 472–473; Gonçalves 2003, 235–394; Kemmler 2009; Marquilhas 2015). The orthographic Comissão was composed by famous early 20th century Portuguese philologists. Gonçalves Viana (1840–1914) held the title of *Relator da Comissão*: he was the author of pioneer publications on Portuguese phonetics/phonology and orthography (1883; 1892; 1904). The 1911 *Bases* aimed at ending polygraphy, thus abolishing learned spellings – <ch> (with a /k/ value), <ph, rh, rh>, <y> (except for an etymological initial *h-*) – and double spelling (e.g., <cc, dd, ff>), except for <-rr-, -ss-, mm, nn>, phonetically relevant (*carro*, *cassa*, *emmalar*, *ennovelar*); dissolving consonantal groups when one of the two elements is unarticulated (e.g., *producto*, *augmento*, *damno*), yet maintaining the initial group <sc> (*sciência*); keeping the "consoantes, usualmente mudas, quando facultativamente se profiram, ou quando influam no valor da vogal que as precede" (Ministério do Interior 1911, 23) – be it open unstressed /a/, /ɛ/, /ɔ/ (*activo*, *espectáculo*, *adoptar*), or tonic (*acto*, *directo*, *adopto*). However, historically accepted graphemes were kept (<nh>; <lh>; <s, c, ç/-s-, z>; <ch/x>; <g/j>; <qu>); whereas the orthography of oral diphthongs (*ai, éi, ei, ói, oi, ui, au, éu, iu, ou*) and nasal sounds (*ãe, em/ens, õe, ão*) were established anew. In order to facilitate reading, the 1911 *Bases* also established a diacritical system: the acute (´) and circumflex (^) accents to mark the open and closed tonic vowels (*sábado*, *cédula*, *António*; *câmara*, *farmacêutico*); the circumflex accent to distinguish homographs (*almôço-almoço*); the grave accent to distinguish homographs (*aquela-àquela*, *pregar-prègar*), the open vowel in secondary tonic syllable (*pègada*), the dieresis instead of a diphthong (*faìscar*), and stressing an articulated <u> (*agùentar*). Finally, the use of the hyphen linking elements of compound words were also established (*água-forte*).

As for the differences between the two national norms – European Portuguese and Brazilian Portuguese – already evident at that time and alas "irreversíveis" (Castro/Duarte/Leiria 1987, XVIII), it is clear that the 1911 unification of the Portuguese orthographies was subjacent not only to an idea of phonological invariance (Mateus 2014). Besides the phonetic-phonological arguments, the Brazilian disagreement had a clear ideological basis. As can be seen from the main diplomatic/legislative norms related to a Luso-Brazilian orthography in the 20th century, orthography is a particularly fertile land for "conflicting ideologies" (Sebba 2007, 109) or for social action. Case in point: in 1915, the ABL harmonized its orthography with the 1911 Portuguese orthography, which was revoked four years later (1919). In 1924, the ACL and the ABL tried to craft a common orthography. In 1929, the ABL altered the rules to its orthography (Figueiredo 1929; Freire 1926), and in 1931, the first *Acordo Ortográfico Luso-Brasileiro* (in Portugal, *Portaria nº7117*; in Brazil, the *Decreto nº20108*, revalidated in 1933) was signed (Pinto 1931, 81–82; Camargo 1931). It was suspended in 1934 by the new Brazilian Constitution, which reverted back to the 1891 spelling (Faraco 2016, 193) and, in 1938, the government of the Brazilian Estado Novo (1930–1945) reinstated the orthography of the *Acordo*. In 1940, the ACL

published the *Vocabulário Ortográfico* and in 1943, the ABL edited the *Formulário Ortográfico* and the *Pequeno Vocabulário Ortográfico da Língua Portuguesa* (ABL 1943). On December 29, 1943, the governments of both countries signed the *Convenção Ortográfica* (Portugal, *decreto nº35:228*), stipulating that neither country could take, regarding this matter, "providência legislativa ou regulamentar" without consulting the other country. In 1945, in the wake of the Conferência Inter-Académica that took place between July and October, the 1945 *Acordo* was signed. Both governments approved the 1945 document (in Portugal, *decreto-lei nº35228*; in Brazil, *decreto-lei nº8286*), and the respective Academies prepared vocabularies based upon the *Bases*. In 1948, the Brazilian President Getúlio Vargas asked for the ratification of the 1943 Convention, alleging problems in the legal procedures of the 1945 Agreement. In 1951, the Brazilian Câmara de Deputados revoked the 1945 Agreement. In 1955, the Brazilian President Café Filho revoked the law nº8286 and reinstated the 1943 system (*lei nº2623*). In 1967, at the 1º Simpósio Luso-Brasileiro sobre a Língua Portuguesa (Coimbra), a favorable motion to the Agreement between Portugal and Brazil was approved. In 1971, the two Academies convened into an "acordo limitado" (Castro/Duarte/Leiria 1987, 216) to remove accents from homographic words (except for *pôde*/*pode*, preterit and present) and the secondary tonic in words ending in *-mente*, *-zinho*, and *-zão* (in Brazil, *lei nº5765*, December 18, 1971). In Brazil, the umlaut over unstressed hiatuses also was removed, paving the way for further studies on this matter. In 1973, in Portugal, law nº32/73 suppressed grave and circumflex accents in secondary tonics in words ending in *-mente* (*invariàvelmente*, *cortêsmente*). In 1975, given the political situation in both countries (in the wake of the April 25, 1974, Revolution, Portugal was undergoing a troubled political period and Brazil was in a dictatorial regime), the two Academies put the Agreement project on hold. Accordingly, both democratic countries held a meeting with representatives in 1986. The meeting was also attended by representatives of Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, São Tomé and Príncipe, Angola, and Mozambique. As for the AO90, the critiques were directed at areas mainly like the suppression of the "consoantes mudas", to the (significant) reduction of diacritics and to the restriction of the use of the hyphen. After the 1986 debacle, there was a sudden change in some controversial points (mainly, but not limited to, accentuation).

3 Orthography and standardizing instruments

The AO90 is the text that established the *Bases* for an "ortografia unificada" of Portuguese and that, once the legal prerequisites are addressed, aims at obtaining normative effects. It should be noted that not all the *Bases* imply alterations to the former graphic norms, since the intention was to unite all the convergent points of both European and Brazilian Portuguese in one document. The alterations introduced by the AO90 apply to the etymological graphemes that are not pronounced

(*Base IV*, 1º, c and d and 2º). This change primarily affected the former European norm, the admission of double spelling within the educated norm (European or Brazilian) in cases of fluctuation of pronunciation, within the system of graphic accentuation (especially in paroxytones) and "hifenação" (use of the hyphen). As for the former norm of Brazilian Portuguese, it was decided (*Base XIV*) to suppress the umlaut (¨), dieresis, which signaled the vowel realization of <u> in the groups <gue, gui, que, qui> (*agüentar-aguentar*). Despite the change concerning its contents, terminological actualization is not always provided.

The principles and the rules are found in the *Anexo I* (*Bases* of the AO90) as well as in the "Nota Explicativa" (*Anexo II*). In this "Nota", the failure of the previous agreements, including the 1986 Agreement, is attributed to the imposition of "uma unificação gráfica absoluta". The AO90 aimed at being "suficientemente forte para unificar ortograficamente 98% do vocabulário geral da língua" (AO90, *Anexo II*, 1.). This attempt at merging the two former graphic norms was seen as a "lusitanização da ortografia brasileira e uma brasilianização da ortografia lusitana" (Faraco 2016, 195), in other words, both sides compromised. Indeed, the European variant graphemes that are no any longer pronounced ceased to be written (*ativo*, *ótimo*), including those with a diacritical value to indicate the aperture of the preceding vowel (*rece**p**ção-receção*). On the other hand, Brazil stopped using the acute accent in the diphthong <ei> that, in paroxytones, was realized with an open vowel (*assembleia*, *ideia*). Both variants of Portuguese (*Base IX*, 3º) deleted the acute accent in paroxytones with the diphthong <oi> (*asteroide*, *joia*), the circumflex accent (*Base IX*, 5. c) in words ending in <eem> and <oo> (*deem*; *enjoo*), the latter only in the Brazilian variant, since it had already been taken out in European Portuguese, and also the "acento diferencial" (*Base IX*, 9º) that previously distinguished graphically *pára* (verb *parar*) and *para* (preposition). Furthermore, in European Portuguese, the acute accent over the stressed <a> to distinguish the 1st person plural of the preterit (*louvámos*) from the present (*louvamos*) of the verbs from the 1st conjugation (-*ar*), pronounced as a (slight) nasal /ã/, is now optional, given that in the former the tonic vowel is open (*Base IX*, 4º). In Brazilian Portuguese, the 1st person plural of the preterit of the verbs from the 1st conjugation (-*ar*) was always (and is always) pronounced with a (strong) nasal /ã/, though it was never written with the acute accent over the stressed <a>, just like the 1st person plural of the present tense of the verbs from the 1st conjugation (-*ar*). Representing the pronunciation of both countries, the "ortografia comum" presents double spelling when the etymological graphemes <c, p> are pronounced in a national variant and not in the other (in European Portuguese, *facto*, *receção* – in Brazilian Portuguese, *fato*, *rece**p**ção*). Following the same criterion then (*Base XI*, 3º), words with open or closed vowels near a nasal are stressed (open in European Portuguese, *académico*, *polémico*, *António* – closed in Brazilian Portuguese, *acadêmico*, *polêmico*, *Antônio*). The hyphen ("hifenização") is no longer used in words formed with prefixes and recompositions (*Base XVI*). When the prefix or pseudo-prefix (*anti*-, *auto*-, *hiper*-, *super*-, *pluri*-, *mul-*

ti-) ends with a vowel and the following element starts with <r> or <s>, in this case, the consonant has to be doubled (*antirreligioso*, *autorrádio*; *contrarreacção*, *minissaia*); when the prefix ends with a vowel and the following element starts with a different vowel (*agroindustrial*, *antiaéreo*, *coautor*, *extraescolar*, *hidroelétrico*, *plurianual*); when the prefix (or pseudo-prefix) ends with a vowel and the following element starts with an identical vowel (*anti-ibérico*, *contra-almirante*, *intra-arterial*, *semi-interno*, *micro-ondas*), except with the prefix <co->, usually agglutinated to the first element, even when the following element starts with an <o-> (*coobrigação*, *coocorrente*). The hyphen is kept (*Base II*, 3º) when the following element starts with <h-> (European Portuguese, *anti-higiénico*, *pré-história*, *sobre-humano* – Brazilian Portuguese, *anti-higiênico*, *pré-história*, *sobre-humano*). It is also kept in compound words that designate botanical or zoological species (*couve-flor*, *ervilha-de-cheiro*), either linked or not linked by a preposition. In European Portuguese, the hyphen was also deleted when it linked the proposition *de* to the monosyllabic words of the verb *haver de* ('must' or 'ought to') (*Base XVII*). The AO90 (Base *XIX*, 1º a) also changed the usage of minuscules and majuscules, establishing that the names of the days of the week, the months and seasons of the year are to be written with the initial minuscule; yet, the use of the majuscule is optional in names of disciplines or knowledge (*Base XIX*, 1º g). According to the AO90, the alphabet now includes the graphemes <k, w, y>, for a total of 26 graphemes (*Base I*).

The *Anexo II* clarifies that the Agreement chose the "critério fonético (pronúncia) com um certo detrimento para o critério da etimologia" (AO90, Anexo *II*, 3), since in one of its functions, for example, the *Base IV* established the suppression of the consonantal graphemes that are not articulated in the "pronúncias cultas da língua" (*a**c**to*, *ado**p**ção*, *ado**p**tar*, *cole**c**tivo*, *dire**c**tor*, *Egi**p**to*, *ó**p**timo*, *rece**p**ção*). Following the same criterion, the graphemes "invariavelmente proferidos nas pronúncias cultas da língua" (*compacto*, *convicção*, *ficção*, *pacto*, *adepto*, *erupção*, *rapto*) are kept instead. According to the "facultatividade", the Portuguese and the Brazilians spell differently then, either keeping or eliminating the graphemes <c, p> (*Base IV*, 1º c) according to their learned pronunciation "ou então quando oscilam entre a prolação e o emudecimento" (*aspecto/aspeto*, *cacto/cato*, *caracteres/carateres*; *facto/fato*, *sector/setor*; *ceptro/cetro*, *concepção/conceção*, *recepção/receção*). Identical freedom of choice covers the groups <bd, bt, mn> (*súbdito/súdito*; *subtil/sutil*; *amnistia/anistia*, *indemnizar/indenizar*). Conscious of the practical effects of this double spelling, when there is an fluctuation in a given learned norm, the very composers of the *AO90* (*Anexo II*, 4.4) admit "ser praticamente impossível enunciar uma regra clara e abrangente", thus establishing that the vocabularies/dictionaries must register "todos os casos de dupla grafia", and then clarifying "tanto quanto possível, sobre o alcance geográfico e social desta oscilação de pronúncia". As for the European norm, this issue has caused much controversy, precisely because a weak orthography opened the doors for the standardizing instruments to provide orthoepic information. Therefore, the reader is induced to opt for one of the two pronunciations. Obviously, this "efeito de retorno" on pronunciation is not new.

Up until now, reference was made almost exclusively to the national variants of Portugal and Brazil. Yet, it should be stressed that, in matters of orthography, the African countries whose Portuguese is the official language followed the European norm. The AO90 text refers to "factores de desagregação da unidade essencial da língua portuguesa", including orthography. This led Malaca Casteleiro (Casteleiro/ Correia 2007, 14), one of the negotiators of the Agreement, to declare that the alterations introduced by the AO90 in Portuguese orthography are to be applied to these Lusophone African countries since the latter are included in what he called "norma culta lusoafricana". This is a problematic concept on different levels given that it presumes a total convergence among the emerging Portuguese norms in Lusophone Africa and the European Portuguese norm. Conversely, the orthographic situation is different now in Portugal since there is the norm "acordizada", whereas in Angola and Mozambique they still have not ratified the Agreement. Given the changes, the problem that some see (and with reason) is the implementation of the AO90 in the Lusophone countries: the normalizing instruments will have a fundamental role, since the text (*Bases*) is not accessible to the common citizen. Hence, even though the text of the Agreement produces standardizing and normative effects, in practice the dictionaries and other publications have the onus of solving problems of concrete application to the general lexicon of the language. This is where the real problems lie and where they will surface soon.

3.1 Orthographic dictionaries as standardization instruments

There are many instruments used for the application and dissemination of the graphic norm of Portuguese: from the start, dictionaries but mainly orthographic vocabularies. The AO90 states that vocabularies ("autorizados", *Base I*, 3º) will aid the graphic forms of the current lexicon as well as the technical terminology (*Anexo II*, 4.4), that dictionaries of Portuguese (it does not say which ones) will aid language users as much as possible regarding double spelling issues. This means that vocabularies and dictionaries can be used as a reference for orthographic standardization of the Portuguese language. The AO90 (art. 2) states that "através das instituições e órgãos competentes" a VOC, "tão completo quanto desejável e tão normalizador quanto possível, no que se refere às terminologias técnicas e científicas", would then be compiled. This implies contributions from Brazil, Portugal and the other Lusophone countries. The AO90 was introduced in the educational system as well as in all government or government-supported offices (Leitão 2012). The Portuguese Government (*Resolução de Ministros nº8/2011*) issued the VOP that the ILTEC had been developing, as well as the converter *Lince*. In Brazil, the ABL is the entity responsible for elaborating the VOLP that, in 2009, was published according to the AO90 and is now available online through ABL's website.

It should be noted that the ACL – the institution that approved the text for the AO90, together with the ABL and the representatives from the Países Africanos de

Língua Oficial Portuguesa (PALOP) – published its *Vocabulário Ortográfico atualizado da Língua Portuguesa* (ACL 2012) a year after the governmental *Resolução de Ministros*. Nevertheless, the adoption of the VOP as a reference for all agencies linked to the Portuguese State was due to the fact that the Instituto Internacional da Língua Portuguesa (IILP) planned to hold "atividades de gestão da língua portuguesa" and offer immediate access to data thanks to the *Portal da Língua Portuguesa*. Moreover, the latter together with the VOP offered "recursos linguísticos" for the general public as well as to the scientific community. Still, the choice of the VOP was a political decision with consequences for the ACL because, given that the latter has the authority to elaborate a *Vocabulário Ortográfico da Língua Portuguesa* (with an online version, the VOP received an "official status" so to speak). It is the only *Vocabulário* mentioned in the *Resolução*.

However, besides the VOP and the *Vocabulário Ortográfico of the Academia das Ciências de Lisboa* (VOAC), there are other publications which, with some kind of prestige, can work for the general public as an orthographic reference. It is the case of dictionaries published by editors that dominate the publishing market for textbooks: e.g., *Porto Editora* in Portugal. In Brazil, the *Dicionário Houaiss*, published by the Instituto de Lexicografia works in the field of language. The *Dicionário Aurélio*, its main rival, is widely used in schools as well as by the general public. Setting these aside, the next paragraphs will concentrate on publications hailing from a legal or institutional venue.

3.2 The *Vocabulário Ortográfico do Português*

With 211,000 entries, the *Vocabulário Ortográfico do Português* (VOP) (cf. *Portal da Língua Portuguesa*) was designed for Internet use as a "base para ferramentas informáticas". It constitutes an enormous potential in terms of transfer of information of new products. As a lexicographic product, it is defined as an "extensa lista de palavras com indicação da sua categoria morfossintática e das suas peculiaridades de flexão, quando existem" not including the semantic and the etymologic information; hence, it is not a language dictionary. Even though its objective is to apply, in concrete, the new orthographic rules to European Portuguese lexicon, the data base offers a different kind of information, namely, as "relações entre palavras, como as suas variantes, as formas do superlativo absoluto sintético dos adjetivos ou a base adjetival dos advérbios, entre outras". The VOP was based on the nomenclature of the *Vocabulário Ortográfico da Língua Portuguesa* by Rebelo Gonçalves, by the ACL, the *Grande Dicionário da Língua Portuguesa*, by Porto Editora (2004) as well as sources found in the *Dicionário da Língua Portuguesa Contemporânea* (ACL 2001). Obviously, digital media is the great advantage of the VOP for it allows updates and continuous revisions, something which is impossible in a printed Vocabulary.

Since it is a *Vocabulário Ortográfico*, the authors of the VOP could not help but allude to the AO90 and the problems that the "texto legislativo" poses to standardi-

zation and the applicability of its abstract formulation to concrete cases, thus demanding an "interpretação". It is precisely this that motivates critiques and disagreements. To this matter, the authors stress that the AO90 was born precisely from a "solução de compromisso relativamente a versões anteriores, contém omissões, contradições internas, uma seleção discutível de exemplos e não revela por vezes fio condutor de natureza linguística, sustentado por avanços recentes da Linguística Portuguesa e Brasileira" (*Apresentação*, VOP). Given that orthoepy is clearly the main problem of the application of the AO90, the authors state that most of the options found in the Agreement are due to "fatores históricos" and "fatores fonéticos", "o respeito integral por estes princípios pressuporia a existência de dicionário(s) histórico(s) da língua portuguesa e de vocabulário(s) ortoépico(s) atualizado(s)". Hence, one is bound to conclude the VOP, lacking these tools, had to perform its own interpretation, or rather, the criteria followed by applying the AO90. These criteria are found on the website of the VOP and include points where the use of the AO90 implies "alterações à grafia das palavras" or that "potencialmente suscitam dúvidas". The criteria of the VOP do not necessarily point at aspects where "interpretação" of the *Bases* had been performed. However, there are some clues: as for hyphenization, it states that they are spelled "sem hífen as locuções não atestadas no VOP". It also states that "também são aceitáveis variantes (não preferenciais) sem hífen" as they were mentioned in the AO90, as *arco-da-velha*, *cor-de-rosa* and *pé-de-meia*; for the "grupos de palavras que se comportem como sequências sintáticas livres" they followed the "princípio lexicográfico de não hifenizar", even though they have the hyphen in more recent lexicographic publications. As for the so-called "consoantes mudas" – one of the most debated aspects of the AO90 – when in a national variant there is difference in realization, the authors accept both variants (*assético-asséptico*, *concetual-conceptual*, *carácter-caráter*). Finally, according to the *Plano de Acção de Brasília*, the VOP records all the other orthographic variants, particularly those that restrict the "âmbito geográfico das variantes em casos de facultatividade introduzidos pelo AO90". Accordingly, as for Brazilian Portuguese, the VOP reflects the nomenclature of the VOLP. As for European Portuguese, the form of a variant not registered in the application instruments of the AO90 is based on "casos semelhantes ou por generalização" and only "muito ocasionalmente", "homogeneização destas formas" was done. Graphic forms that were included in the previous norms (European Portuguese, *húmido*; Brazilian Portuguese, *úmido*) were not treated systematically; thus, they were not part of the electiveness introduced by the AO90. In order to elucidate what we have stated above, we would like to provide some examples of double spellings found in the VOP: *asséptico*, variant AO – *assético*, variant AO – *assumptível* (Brazil) – *assuntível*, variant AO (Portugal); *cacto*, variant AO (Brazil) – *cato*, variant AO (Portugal); *conceptível*, variant AO – *concetível*, variant AO (Portugal); *perceptível* (Brazil) – *percetível*, variant AO (Portugal); *recepção*, variant AO (Brazil) – *receção*, variant AO (Portugal). By registering graphic variants like the ones listed above, the VOP

sanctions orthoepic variants that, in the case of European Portuguese, cause a lot of surprises for its speakers even if they are found in lexicographic sources and other instruments of applications of the AO90. Finally, another resource associated with the VOP should be mentioned: the converter *Lince*, which converts documents to the new orthography.

3.3 The *Vocabulário Ortográfico* of the Academia das Ciências de Lisboa

The *Vocabulário Ortográfico* of the Academia das Ciências de Lisboa (VOAC) follows a tradition that dates back to 1940, the year of the publication of the first Vocabulary, reissued in 1947, 1970 and 2012. Evidently, these editions included the orthographic alterations that were being added. According to Portuguese law n°157/2015 (art. 5), the ACL is the "órgão consultivo do governo em matéria linguística". The elaboration of lexicographic publications is the purview of the Instituto de Lexicologia e Lexicografia da Língua Portuguesa (ILLLP) which, as stated in (art. 20), has to "promover a criação e apoiar a atividade de núcleos de estudos necessários para a defesa e enriquecimento do léxico da língua portuguesa [...]". Therefore, the last printed edition is dated 2012. In this latter edition, the VOAC adopted the new Agreement in order to follow the *Resolução de Conselhos de Ministros* that stipulated the application of the AO90 to the educational system for the academic year 2011–2012. Yet, within the ILLLP, a few aspects of the AO90 were evaluated and subject to a "aperfeiçoamento metódico". This led to the creation of the *Vocabulário Ortográfico* (online) based upon the 2012 edition and previously printed editions. Currently, *Sugestões de Aperfeiçoamento* (ACL 2017) are being applied to the VOAC. The use of the acute accent was introduced in forms like *pélo* (verb *pelar*), with an open tonic, different from *pelo* (noun), with a closed tonic, and the acute accent in *pára* (3rd person singular present of the verb *parar* 'to stop') was restored in order to distinguish it from *para* (preposition). This alteration will also affect the spelling of compound words – e.g., *pára-quedas*, *pára-choques* – whereby in the VOP, two variants are found (*paraquedas/para-quedas*), none of them coinciding with the ones found in the VOAC. By the same token, the "consoantes mudas", whose suppression in the AO90 might have caused ambiguity (ACL, *Sugestões*, 2017, 11), will also be restored as in the case of *aceção/acessão*, *espectador/espetador*, *recepção/recessão*.

Now, even though the ACL wishes to force an all-hands meeting regarding problematic aspects of the actual enforcement of the AO90 in standardizing instruments. It is also true that this situation – i.e., altering some rules – has effects in terms of spelling homogenization introduced by the AO90. The VOC, which is an official point of reference on this matter, offers a *Vocabulário* associated with the AO90; whereas the ACL, thinking that certain topics of the Agreement are omitted or ambiguous (e.g., the graphic accentuation and hyphenization), is introducing alterations to the orthography of the online vocabulary. Therefore, reference works on

European Portuguese will then offer different standardizations. The argument for ILLLP's decision is based upon the existence – as a consequence of the AO90 enforcement – of "ambiguidades e incoerências", as well as "muitas palavras novas na língua", when the Agreement should have fostered "alguma unificação" (ACL 2017, 7). The AO90 also foresaw the "elaboração taxativa de um vocabulário", with the issuing of various vocabularies, clearly alluding to the *Vocabulário Ortográfico Português* (VOP) and the *Vocabulário Ortográfico Nacional* (VON) of each country of the CPLP. Political decisions taken after the AO90, trying to disseminate it through the CPLP, appear to be prevailing over the legal text. Even if these could be considered as dubious aspects for enforcing the AO90 and its possible effects, it is clear that the *Resolução de Ministro de 2011*, upon choosing the VOP and the formation of linguistic planning (Melo-Pfeifer 2016) through the IILP, gives momentum and legitimizes projects like the VOP and the VOC. In this context, it will be interesting to see how the academic *Vocabulário* evolves, since the very standardization and the "ortografia comum" fostered by the AO90 could be in jeopardy, at least when it comes to European Portuguese spelling.

On the other hand, the ACL is currently busy elaborating a new "acervo dicionarístico em linha". It reflects current Portuguese, aimed at an "uso mais generalizado e maior alcance", especially if we consider that the *Dicionário da Língua Portuguesa Contemporânea* (ACL 2001) – published by the ACL with support from the Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, with the commercial responsibility of the Editorial Verbo and edited by Malaca Casteleiro – is out of print. The new *Dicionário da Academia* will thus follow the orthographic suggestions contained in the *Vocabulário Ortográfico*, both available online.

3.4 The *Vocabulário Ortográfico* of the Academia Brasileira de Letras

In Brazil, the elaboration of the VOLP falls under the purview of the Academia Brasileira de Letras (ABL), being an academic publication of reference. The lexicographic tradition of the ABL dates back to 1933, the year in which the *Vocabulário Ortográfico e Ortoépico da Língua Portuguesa* (ABL 1933) was prepared in collaboration with the ACL. However, the 1st edition of the VOLP was published in 1943, followed by subsequent editions down to the 5th edition published in 2009, the year in which the *Vocabulário* was adapted to the AO90. Obviously, the VOLP also serves as a base for the making of generic dictionaries of Portuguese; for that reason, its impact extends beyond orthographic standardization.

The VOLP is now in its 6th edition (currently only available through the VOC); it is coordinated by Evanildo Bechara and integrates the *VOC*. In its 5th edition (2009), available online through the website of the ABL, the VOLP includes 381,000 entries. In the "Nota editorial" of this edition, it explains that the ABL strived to create a "registo o mais completo possível não só dos vocábulos de uso comum como tam-

bém da terminologia científica e técnica". It incorporated the rules of the AO90, yet it recognized that the latter were insufficient to adjust the VOLP to the AO90. Thus, the team of scholars who worked on it had to carefully analyze each entry so that the "numeroso repertório lexical que integra a 5ª edição do VOLP correspondesse com rigor aos propósitos unificadores e simplificadores das delegações oficiais signatárias do supracitado texto". In the "apresentação" to this 5th edition, referring to the AO90, they underscore that "[c]om este projeto aprovado, a língua portuguesa deixa para trás a condição de ser um idioma cujo peso cultural e político encontra, na vigência de dois sistemas ortográficos oficiais, incômodo entrave a seu prestígio e difusão internacional".

According to this agreement with the AO90 and its intentions, the ABL applied the rules of the Agreement to the Brazilian variant of Portuguese. Therefore, the ABL removed the acute accent in the diphthongs <ei> and <oi> of the paroxytone words (*assembleia*, *heroico*), as well as the <i, u> tonic preceded by the falling diphthong in paroxytone words (*feiura*, *baiuca*). It suppressed the circumflex accent of same vowels in hiatus (e.g., *voo*, *enjoo)*. It eliminated the acute accent with differential in paroxytone words with open or closed tonic vowel (*pelo* (*ê*), *polo* (*ó*), *pera* (*ê*)), as well as when it was differential in *para* (verb *parar* 'to stop') vs. *para* (preposition). It suppressed the umlaut that marked the pronunciation of the <u> (*linguiça*, *tranquilo*). Conversely, according to the AO90, the VOLP applies the hyphen in onomatopoeic words (*blá-blá-blá*, *lengua-lengua*), in names of zoological species (*bem-te-vi*, *porco-da-índia*), in formations with prefixes and radicals (*anti-inflamatório*, *micro-ondas*; *sub-base*), when the second element starts with <h-, m-, n-> (*circum-hospitalar*, *circum-navegação*). However, it removed the hyphen in compound words by juxtaposition (*pé de moleque*), words formed by <anti, mini, supra> and words with prefixes <co-, re-, pre-, pro-> (*coautor*, *coabitar*; *reescrever*; *preexistência*; *proativo*). In this 5th edition, the formations with <não> and <quase> (*não agressão*, *quase nada*) are not addressed. The VOLP includes (in parentheses) orthoepic information that might confuse its users.

Additionally, the ABL points out that the online version of the VOLP included posthumous alterations added after its publication. This means that there are discrepancies – "correções publicadas em suplemento, com as alterações feitas após a 5ª edição", so users should consult both editions. This confirms that the digital archives make the conventional tools (i.e., printed matter) unbalanced or obsolete.

3.5 The *Vocabulário Ortográfico Comum*

The *VOC* is a platform that gathers "os instrumentos que determinam legalmente a ortografia portuguesa" (<http://voc.iilp.cplp.org/>). It is a project of the ILLP, an institute that belongs to the CPLP for linguistic politics that received this task in the wake of the "Plano de Ação de Brasília" (2010). With this objective, the IILP partnered with the ILTEC, which, in the *Portal da Língua Portuguesa*, already had differ-

ent electronic resources. The VOC launched its version in 2013 and included the VON of four countries. Held in Díli (East Timor) the following year (July 2014), the VOC was recognized by the Member States in the "conclusões finais" of the *X Cimeira de Chefes de Estado e de Governo da CPLP*. Besides the different phases of implementation of the AO90 in each country, this meant that the countries of the CPLP accepted it as a standardizing instrument ("modelo multilateral e compartilhado para a gestão da língua portuguesa", Faraco 2016, 198). The Portuguese language, "internacional e pluricêntrica", needs to possess agile instruments that facilitate the formation of a *corpus* that contains all the variants of Portuguese. Officially launched in February 2015, the platform is a unique and commendable initiative on many levels even if we consider this would not be the solution to creating a VOC. With reservations appearing on all sides, the VOC is fulfilling this project and promoting the dissemination of the AO90 with the advantage of not being static, as traditional Vocabularies. This will open the doors to revisions and updates any time. The platform will not only allow future updates, but will also offer opportunities to augment information on each item and transference to other tools (e.g., orthographic correction and spell check) as well as open access and free online consultations.

Given that the VOC aims at registering all national registers, it is necessary that each Lusophone country contribute with its own VON. The VOC has "versões específicas para cada país", thus reflecting the sources and the "frequência e as propriedades das formas mais representativas" of each country. The integration of the VON in each country is being done gradually according to the "validação política e conformação com uma metodologia comum", adding the following national Vocabularies submitted to the ILLP. Besides the VOP and the VOLP (Bechara [6]2017) there are the *Vocabulário Ortográfico Cabo Verdiano da Língua Portuguesa* (VOCALP 2017), the *Vocabulário Ortográfico Moçambicano da Língua Portuguesa* (VOMOLP 2017) and the *Vocabulário Ortográfico de Timor-Leste* (VOTL 2017). The platform is still missing the VON in São Tomé and Príncipe. The aggregation process is complex. In the case of the VOLP, it was necessary to establish compatibility among systems and validation. In the standardization chapter, particularly interesting are the Vocabularies elaborated by countries that did not possess, in Portuguese or in any other national language, a normalizing tradition as stated by the authors of the VOMOLP: "muitas palavras usadas – tanto as decorrentes da vitalidade criativa intrínseca de qualquer língua, como as que têm origem nas línguas *bantu* e outras faladas em Moçambique – não têm a sua grafia estabilizada". Besides being a normalizing instrument, the VOMOLP could be defined as an "instrumento de cidadania" (VOMOLP 2017). The case of the VOTL is also interesting, given that in 2001 East Timor chose Portuguese as an official language together with Tetum (actually with the status of official and national language). With 30,000 entries, the VOTL mainly includes words also used in other Lusophone countries that belong to the CPLP. Also showcasing more than 600 words "específicas da variedade timorense desta língua, provenientes na sua maioria das línguas nacionais de Timor-Leste" which receive a

kind of "registo de nascimento official" (VOTL 2017). As "instrumento facilitador do uso da língua portuguesa em Cabo Verde" (VOCALP 2017), the VOCALP in turn represents the legitimization of the use of many words of the Cape Verdean variant of Portuguese, written and oral, which had not hitherto been included in Portuguese vocabularies or dictionaries. Furthermore, the VOCALP is seen as an "instrumento de cidadania".

Despite the enthusiasm conveyed by the CPLP's official statement, it remains to be seen if the AO90 will actually be ratified and implemented in all the CPLP countries. Consequently, it will be interesting to see if the VOC reaches the objective of gathering all the national vocabularies.

4 Orthoepy

With the exception of good pronunciation or norm of pronunciation, the word *orthoepy* carries a later lexicographic register since, in the wake of classical tradition, the syllable, accentuation, intonation and emission of sounds, and, by extension, good pronunciation, belonged to "prosody". Prosody is thus the part of grammar where Barros (1540, 1r) talks about the "syllaba" and its "açidentes". Before him, Oliveira (1536, 6r) had already alluded to the "melodia da nossa lingua", though omitting the term prosody. Hailing from the area north of the Mondego River, the first Portuguese grammarians most certainly had a very conservative pronunciation. Furthermore, during the first years of the 16th century, the Portuguese unitary "common language", then still in-the-making, had not yet distanced itself from the northern matrix. Neither did it incorporate all the southern traits that it would later adopt. As we have mentioned above (cf. section 2), Oliveira, hailing from Aveiro (center-littoral region), paid particular attention to the pronunciation of his time ("assi me soa a mi nas orelhas", Oliveira 1536, 20r). Portuguese grammarians of the 16th/17th centuries still did not take into consideration Lisbon speech as an orthoepic model (after all, Lisbon was the seat of the Portuguese Crown) despite the fact that Portuguese social groups and the level of education found in Lisbon – "nobres, cortesãos, & pessoas de juizo, & letras", Barreto 1671, 31) – already bestowed a significant linguistic prestige.

As a result, the geographic localization of the linguistic variant used as a reference is clearly marked in the standardizing instruments found in the 18th century. It was a time when the phenomena distinguished the central-southern pronunciation (tied to the current variant-current standard) from the northern pronunciation, the latter characterized by more conservative traits that are tied to the ancient matrix. It is precisely at that time that both the "dialecto da Provincia da Estremadura" and the one from "Lisboa" (Argote 1725, 291–296; Verney 1746, 30) began to be considered as models in the standardization process. It is also where the Portuguese Court resided and people had the "Recta pronunciaçâm" dos "Cortezãos, e Erudi-

tos" (Monte Carmelo 1767, V). As for orthographic and orthoepic standardization, it is worth mentioning two monumental works: the *Orthographia ou Arte de escrever, e pronunciar com acerto a Lingua Portugueza* (1734) by Madureira Feijó, reprinted until 1861 (Winkelmann 1994, 490–491), and the *Compendio de Orthografia* (1767) by Monte Carmelo (Winkelmann 1994, 492). Both works stress the "vícios" and the "abusos da plebe", seen as deviations from the "orthologia moderna" of Portuguese that motivated, in both publications, comprehensive lists of corrections of prosodic and orthoepic aspects. Actually, this practice reflects the tension between the attempt at standardization (orthoepy and orthography) – an ideal language – and the conscience of linguistic variation (real language per se).

It should also be stressed here that the old dictionaries already included "prosódica" (i.e., the position of the tonic vowel) information. In the following centuries, a few works were published whose titles included either prosody or orthoepy (e.g., Carvalho/Deus 1877; Viana 1909; Coimbra 1936). On the other hand, during the 19th century, pronunciation was a problem that involved authors of teaching/reading methodology techniques (Melo 1817; Figueiredo 1844; Castilho ²1853; Deus 1876). In the *Diccionario prosodico de Portugal e Brasil* (Carvalho/Deus 1877), when it came to Brazilian Portuguese pronunciation, no examples of Brazilian prosody were actually given despite the fact that studies (though subjective) on Brazilian pronunciation, in comparison to European Portuguese, had already been published (Silva 1879). Júlio Ribeiro (²1885) is considered to be the first scholar to clearly describe Brazilian pronunciation and its regional variants. His work, which includes a part dedicated to "fonologia", instead of the traditional "prosódia" or "ortoépia", is a ground-breaking study of phonetics and phonology, thus opening the floor for a discussion on the "padrão ortoépico normal" (Nascentes 1938, 69) in Brazil. In 1916, this led to the establishment of the *Comissão de Instrução pública da Câmara dos Deputados* which, for political, social, and cultural reasons adopted the speech of the "capital da República" (Rio de Janeiro) as a national standard.

In Brazil as in Portugal, the debate on pronunciation is associated with the establishment of orthography although the situation in Brazil is quite different. Even though independence (1822) stimulated linguistic nationalism, the first grammars published in Brazil do not describe Brazilian pronunciation except for some recurring examples. Brazilian orthoepy, based on Brazilian pronunciation, shows a Lusitanian vision of Portuguese. Yet, the uniqueness of Brazilian Portuguese motivated scholars to publish works on Brazilian Portuguese norms, starting with pronunciation. An example of this is *O idioma hodierno de Portugal comparado com o do Brazil* (1879), authored by Paranhos da Silva, which emphasized Brazilian Portuguese and legitimized Brazilian orthography.

On the contrary, the orthoepic description was still intuitive and not systemic. This only changed with the studies on phonetics/phonology and transcription standardization (Phonetic Alphabet), which will eventually describe methodically the "pronúncia normal" of Portuguese. As for Portugal, this norm uses the so-called

"dialecto comum" (Viana 1892, 43) as model, which corresponds to the "centro do reino, entre Coimbra e Lisbôa". It is characterized as being "um português medio, do qual procuram aproximar-se os que sabem ler e escrever, e que tende a absorver as particularidades dialectaes, não só nesse centro, mas ainda nas cidades das demais províncias" (Viana 1892, 43). This is the Portuguese standard that Gonçalves Viana – the first Portuguese phoneticist – describes in his *Essai de phonétique et de phonologie de la langue portugaise, d'après le dialecte actuel de Lisbonne* (1883) and in the *Exposição da pronúncia normal portuguesa para uso de nacionais e estrangeiros* (1892), where he presents the orthoepic bases for the establishment of the first official Portuguese orthography in 1911. Viana also pays attention to the "pronúncia culta" (Viana 1892, 54), which he uses as orthoepic reference. Nevertheless, the "características fónicas de Lisboa, que se afastam desse 'dialecto comum', são então assinaladas como tais" (Barbosa 1988, 333). For Viana, the standard pronunciation did not coincide completely with the Lisbon variant ("dialecto de Lisboa") that distanced itself from the centralized pronunciation of the /e/ before a palatal (*beija-baija*; *igreja-igrâija*, Barbosa 1988, 334). On the other hand, knowing the role of education when it came to pronunciation, Viana considered the pronunciation of the words *m**i**nistro*, *part**i**cipar* (instead of *m**e**nistro*, *part**e**cipar*) as "pronúncia artificial", or actually "pedante" (Viana 1892, 57). It is also true that, before the end of the 19th century, the geographic axis Coimbra-Lisbon led to the creation of a standard. This was seen as being a "norma" (i.e., prestigious variety). It is also true that the prestige bestowed upon Coimbra speech (Boléo 1974 [1951], 216) would lose ground to that of Lisbon. The new century ensued and the pronunciation of the capital was being irradiated by the Media, thus being adopted as a model of pronunciation.

In the first decades of the 20th century, the orthoepic question in Portugal take a back-seat position and is surpassed by studies on Portuguese Phonetics (Guimarães 1927). The debate about "norma ortoépica" (Correia 1933) also includes the argument of the "superioridade linguística" (Boléo 1974 [1951], 216) of a pronunciation over the other one (Coimbra vs. Lisboa). In his description of the "pronúncia normal", Gonçalves Viana did not talk about this aspect. Perhaps this is an indication of the increased interest in Lisbon, a time when the pronunciation of the capital was gaining ground: "Assim como há no país, de uma maneira geral, a consciência de que onde se fala melhor é na região de Coimbra [...], assim existe também a ideia de que em Lisboa não se fala bem. Daí a reacção de muitos portugueses à dicção dos próprios locutores da Emissora Nacional, de que encontramos ecos em jornais e revistas e que se ouvem com frequência em conversas" (Boléo 1974 [1951], 216). Oddly enough, the orthoepic discussions intensified during the aborted attempts at having the *Acordo Ortográfico Luso-Brasileiro*, first in 1931 and later in 1945 (cf. section 2).

Meanwhile in Brazil, the "pronuncia carioca" ("A pronuncia normal brasileira é a do Rio de Janeiro, a capital do país", Nascentes 1938, 69) is considered as the

norm by the participants of the *Primeiro Congresso da Língua Nacional Cantada* (1937). Up until that time, singers and actors were forced to practice the Lusitanian pronunciation. This led Mário de Andrade (1893–1945), a Brazilian writer and director of the São Paulo Department of Education and Culture, to organize the above-mentioned conference in order to decide which "boa pronuncia da língua nacional no canto erudito" to follow. The "carioca" pronunciation was chosen since it was closest to the European Portuguese variant, and it was more urban and elegant. Its generalization warranted prudence since the "língua nacional" was still "em fase incontestável de adolescência e desenvolvimento" (*Normas* 1938, 35). The *Normas* that were drawn from the Conference were used as a model of pronunciation. By and large, they were ratified in 1956 in the *Primeiro Congresso Brasileiro de Língua Falada no Teatro*, held in Salvador da Bahia. The 1956, *Normas* reveal a less rigid uniformization (Affonso 1958) because they acknowledged the fact that the actors had to adapt their pronunciation both geographically and socially. The description of the "normal brasileira" pronunciation for an orthoepic vocabulary was envisaged to appear in a later publication although it was never composed. At the same time, these *Normas* suggested that "através da radio, da televisão e do cinema, entre outros meios (sem mencionar o canto), o padrão culto terá uma tendência a se propagar nacionalmente". Eventually, the 1943 *Vocabulário Ortográfico* used as reference the "ortoépia usual brasileira". Held in 2007, the pronunciation of the language used in music was reexamined at a national *Encontro*, which eventually suggested some norms that contemplated a "pronúncia neutral" of Brazilian Portuguese.

With the dissemination of the linguistic structuralism in Portugal and in Brazil, the normative perspective was set aside. This showed that the divide between prescription and description in pronunciation was now evident. As for European Portuguese, the norm of pronunciation resurfaced when the application of some "Bases" of the AO90 raised doubts since even the educated pronunciation had oscillations. Instead, for Brazilian Portuguese, the 6th edition of the *Vocabulário Ortográfico da Língua Portuguesa* (VOLP; Bechara [6]2017) only indicated a "divisão em sílabas, a marcação da sílaba tônica". Given the sociolinguistic and dialectal characteristics of Brazilian Portuguese, the question of the "boa pronúncia", as we shall demonstrate shortly, appeared to be a major issue when compared to that in Portugal.

4.1 Orthoepy and the new standardization means

In Portugal, barring works describing the "norma-padrão", there were no publications aimed at standardizing pronunciation or clarifying doubts in pronouncing certain words. Alas, present-day publications on phonetics and phonology of Modern Portuguese (Mateus/D'Andrade 2002) cannot be used for this purpose, nor do they have didactic objectives since they do not address the problems that speakers encounter on a day-to-day basis. Similarly, studies on Brazilian Portuguese phonetics do not appear to tackle orthoepy (Cristófaro Silva [6]2002). Even though they address

the variants with the pronunciation of the "norma-padrão", these works do not address standardization. When in doubt, speakers have to consult other sources. Among the latter, there are dictionaries that include prosodic information (position and aperture of stressed vowel) or the (rare) dictionaries include phonetic transcription of words, as is the case of the *Dicionário da Língua Portuguesa Contemporânea* (ACL 2001), a clearly "descritiva" and "normalizadora" work (cf. above, 3.1). Even though it is useful, this innovation triggered criticism since many speakers did not identify with the Portuguese variant therein represented (i.e., the Lisbon norm). Indeed, there were people who thought that it was a political option by the coordinator of the dictionary (Malaca Casteleiro) so that, by calling it "norma", he could in a way "conter a influência crescente de determinadas variedades do português brasileiro nos países africanos de língua portuguesa ou até a influência da pronúncia brasileira ouvida nas telenovelas importadas do Brasil" (Schmitz 2007, 144).

There are no standardized textbooks that focus on pronunciation. Besides publications on phonetics/phonology and the information available in dictionaries, the Portuguese Government is not planning on publishing one as far as European Portuguese is concerned. Even though the AO90 refers to the "pronúncia culta", since there are no "vocabulário(s) ortoépico(s) atualizados" (VOP, <http://www.portaldalinguaportuguesa.org/>), some spellings of the *Vocabulário Ortográfico do Português* are of doubtful authority because they are possibly the result of written interference on the oral production (i.e. cases of spelling pronunciation). Additionally, it is evident that standardization and orthoepy are a preoccupation in some activities. Therefore, in the wake of Brazilian conferences on this topic, the *Simpósio – A pronúncia do português europeu cantado* (2009) aimed at launching in Portugal a debate on the same topic and determine how different professionals – "cantores, maestros, compositores, musicólogos, actores, jornalistas, linguistas e foneticistas" – (Pacheco 2009, V) have addressed the question.

Furthermore, as far as is known, Portuguese radios and television stations do not actually have a policy on pronunciation, nor do they have specific policies for their announcers and presenters. This is clearly the opposite of what happens in Brazil, as we shall demonstrate herein. However, during these past years, the Portuguese National Radio and Television State (RTP) has been airing a daily, small segment called *Bom Português* as part of the morning news with the intent at promoting the correct use of the written and spoken language. During prime time, this station also aired the program *Cuidado com a Língua*, which approaches orthoepic problems.

In the PALOP (Países Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa), it is still not possible to discern clearly a standard where the norms are at different phases of elaboration. Nevertheless, even though the tie of the African variants with European Portuguese is commonly accepted, there is growing evidence that the PALOP are trending toward the creation of a distinct orthoepy. Given the vast variety of the Portuguese languages spoken in these countries, coupled with a great variability of

sociolinguistic factors and the contact of the Portuguese language with different native African languages, only a study based on the oral and written *corpora* (sociolinguistically representative) could indeed reveal solid pronunciation norms that, in their turn, could set the scene for an orthoepy for each Portuguese African variant. This situation applies to all the Portuguese African variants, including those with more-advanced stages of linguistic distinctiveness – despite the obvious internal differences, namely, Angola and Mozambique – when compared to those of the remaining Lusophone African countries (i.e., Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, and São Tomé and Príncipe). Additionally, although there is a high number of publications on their linguistic norms, there is still a need for phonetic and phonologic studies. Alas, the former and the latter are truly essential to identify pronunciation features that could eventually become norm (orthoepy) in Angolan and Mozambican Portuguese while highlighting differences between the two norms. Despite the projected pronunciation goals of Angolan and Mozambican Portuguese, it is obvious that their norms will further increase the already established pluricentrism of the Portuguese language, given the growing number of Portuguese speakers in these two countries.

4.2 Orthoepy and the mass media: the "Globês"

Owing to socio-cultural and educational problems, the question of the "norma culta" (Faraco 2008) and the "polarização sociolinguística" (Lucchesi 2015) are intensely debated in Brazil. This discussion brings tension between real language and ideal language (Bagno 2001; 2012). There are projects that aim at documenting and describing the "norma oral culta" (NURC – *Norma Urbana Oral Culta do Rio de Janeiro*, <http://www.nurcrj.letras.ufrj.br/>). Yet, when it comes to other aspects of the language, also related to pronunciation, the normative perspective ("pronúncia correta") of Portuguese is present in works destined to the wider public, as in the *Dicionário de pronúncia correta* (Sacconi 1991). Interestingly, there is no equivalent in Portugal.

In the past, the "falar carioca" was considered the Brazilian standard because of Rio de Janeiro's historic, administrative, and cultural importance and had a prestigious role in grammars, radios, music, and theater (cf. above, 4.1). But as the 20th century was approaching its end, São Paulo gained a demographic and economic weight that allowed an appreciation for the speech patterns of the demographic and economic capital of the country. The *Atlas Linguístico do Brasil* (ALIB) project showed an enormous variety of Brazilian speech norms. This contradicted the idea of a relative homogeneity while, at the same time, also showed their distance from the "norma culta" and the real speech patterns of the Brazilian people. The issue gained momentum when some Brazilian media outlets obtained great social influence, particularly among the lesser schooled and economically challenged. Hence, TV Globo, the most powerful television station of the country adopted a standardizing policy that it cannot be ignored today since announcers and reporters

were being trained in a neutral accent. Some believe that it is quite artificial, while others consider it "boa pronúncia" of Brazilian Portuguese. By the same token, by training their reporters and announcers of local stations in this (neutral) pronunciation, TV Globo deleted the regional pronunciations while it made speakers hailing from other regional pronunciations wonder which was the better linguistic model to follow. Located in Rio de Janeiro, TV Globo actually began training its reporters in 1974 by contracting a phono-audiologist, Ms. Maria da Glória Cavalcanti Beuttenmüller (1925–), better known as Glorinha Beuttenmüller. She guided the journalists of the television station and standardized the speech of reporters throughout the country. In order to do so, she followed the decision of the *Congresso Brasileiro de Língua Falada no Teatro* (1956), thus using the pronunciation of Rio de Janeiro and eventually creating an "ortoépia televisiva", i.e., a pronunciation that reaches all the regions of Brazil. Given that this was not an ephemeral phenomenon, it piqued scholarly interests, as in the case of Silveira's publication *Uma pronúncia do Português brasileiro* (2008), whose objective was to propose a "pronúncia estandardizada para o Brasil, com base no chamado 'globês', isto é, a pronúncia dos apresentadores da TV Globo que tem a preferência tanto de nativos quanto de estrangeiros, por ser transmitida por um importante e poderoso foco de irradiação". Even though the "globês" is based on the pronunciation of Rio de Janeiro, the author's proposal did not reflect the pronunciation "idiomática, pois esta última resulta de um estado linguístico imposto pelo Poder político que prestigia a pronúncia carioca padrão" (book cover). According to its author, the effects of this practice could go deeper than what was anticipated, since the proposed pronunciation creates "representações mentais sonoras que ficam armazenadas" in the "memórias de longo prazo" of its listeners. Thus, they function as "uma unidade imaginária na diversidade de variações lingüísticas de pronúncias brasileiras" (Silveira 2004).

The standardization operated by the Media bypasses by far the standardizing efforts exercised by the educational system and other institutes. One must now add the "globês" to the Brazilian standard pronunciation and the different regional pronunciations.

5 Conclusion

Graphic normalization of the Portuguese language has been quite sinuous (see section 2). Hence, one could not talk about Portuguese orthography – i.e., an assemblage of unified precepts and rules that are usually used by a community with a writing system – until 1911. In fact, until the implementation of the orthographic Reform (1911) issued by the First Republic (1910–1926), there were graphic systems in Portugal that did not share the same principles or rules (Bourdon 1976). Understandably, this graphic chaos and the predominance of etymology did not facilitate literacy. Actually, not even the so-called "ortografia usual" mentioned in the Diário

do Governo in 1897 was uniform since every time a writer harmonized the orthographic criteria – pronunciation, etymology, and usage – they did as they wished, according to their level of education. This was mainly due to the fact that there was no Academy truly oriented towards linguistic matters and not merely a *Classe de Letras* within an Academia das Ciências de Lisboa. Linguistic standardization began in the 16th century, as can be seen in the metalinguistic publications (e.g., grammars) that called for the good use of the language (the norm) and talked about which reference variant (e.g., regional and social) to use. Graphic normalization not only arrived later, but it also encountered further obstacles since the unification and simplification of the Portuguese orthographies began to be used. Actually, from the 16th century to the present time, the history of graphic codification of the Portuguese language reveals the determining character of extra-linguistic factors and, particularly, the dependence on ideological and political aspects. In the 1940s (see section 2) the divergence centered on issues of standardization: both parties (Portugal and Brazil) had to compromise when it came to consonants, either articulate or inarticulate in the pronunciation of both countries (*fato*/*facto*, *adoção*/*adopção*, *espetacular*/*espectacular*), in the graphic accent and in the name of the "desejada unidade ortográfica", not to register "tendências fonéticas variáveis". As a political instrument, the "ortografia comum", as it was envisioned by the AO90, welcomed the differences of pronunciation in the two national norms. Yet, there were some problems since the sheer fact of having different spellings led to inevitable mistakes, doubts, or pronunciation uncertainties. Therefore, orthoepy is being conditioned by orthography.

With roots in the concept of "lusofonia", the Orthographic Agreement of 1990 is tangible proof that writing acquires identity and symbolic values; therefore, it talks about a specific time. Orthography is a field whereby ideas and political programs are asserted. As for the AO90, orthography is seen as a factor of "unidade essencial da língua", unifying speakers of Portuguese dispersed throughout all continents (with very different pronunciations, possibly without an orthoepic model), where there are emerging evolutionary tendencies typical of a pluricentric language. Perhaps this pluricentric aspect of the AO90 is a weak norm that is not absolute because it accepts two spellings (European Portuguese and Brazilian Portuguese) endorsing *optionality*, a criterion that goes against the invariance inherent to the etymological concept of orthography. With all the controversies and counter-arguments (Emiliano 2008; Moura 2008), the AO90 is a reality. It remains to be seen what other types of divergence it will have if other Lusophone countries fail to categorically ratify the international treaty. On the other hand, enforcing the AO90 to standardizing instruments (cf. section 3) is not devoid of problems, particularly technical, including possible cases in which the written norm dictates the pronunciation. This is especially true for European Portuguese whereby one can find cases of resistance, weak or strong – indeed. Even the Academia das Ciências de Lisboa suggests that the AO90 be updated – and a public petition was submitted to the

Assembleia da República where a "grupo de trabalho para a avaliação do impacto do AO90" was formed. It is clear, then, that the agreement is a political instrument held together by nine countries unified by a common language rather than being an instrument of orthographic standardization in the restrictive and unifying sense of the word orthography.

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Augusto Soares da Silva
13.2 Normative Grammars

Abstract: In the Portuguese-speaking world, grammatical description and prescription have been carried out separately for European and Brazilian standards. Over the first couple of decades of the 21st century, there has been a significant increase and diversification in the number of published grammars for each respective standard. Following a brief account of traditional grammars of Portuguese starting in the 16th century, we describe and assess contemporary normative and nonnormative Portuguese grammars, focusing on their (dis)continuity with the traditional grammatical paradigm. A few issues will be addressed, namely selecting a language variety as the basis for description/prescription, reconciling intra- and inter-standard variation with language prescription, adjusting the grammar to educated norms, especially in Brazil and devising a methodology of description and prescription. Finally, we examine how the attitudes and ideologies underlying discourse and the instruments of Portuguese standardization reveal romantic and rationalist cultural models of linguistic unity and diversity. It is argued that the greatest challenge for Portuguese grammars is the *pluricentric* codification of a (increasingly) pluricentric language, something absent from contemporary grammars.

Keywords: Portuguese, Lusophony, grammar, standardization, modernization, prescriptivism, descriptivism, language variation, cultural cognitive models, pluricentricity

1 Introduction

Just as variation is intrinsic to language, every linguistic community is aware of the concept of *correctness* in the use of language with regard to an established standard or *norm*. The so-called *standard variety* or *language*, which constitutes the basis for a *prescriptive* view of language, is a social convention. From a linguistic perspective, the standard variety is just as valid as any other but is socially favored and institutionalized for carrying out linguistic activity, becoming what Bourdieu (1991) calls *habitus* and *symbolic and cultural capital*. Acquiring and preserving this standard requires time, power and formal training – which some speakers attain more than others. The establishment of a standard variety, or *standardization*, implies both an ideological device and an institutional apparatus. Both mechanisms have social legitimacy and the authority to define and impose this standard (Bartsch 1987). In addition, standardization entails codification processes in grammars, dictionaries and orthographies as well as the dissemination of these rules through formal education or other means.

In contrast to this *ideal*, *prescriptive* standard, another linguistic norm exists that corresponds to what is customary or usual in a given linguistic community or communicative situation, thus constituting a *real* or *objective* norm (or simply *norm*, according to Coseriu 1952) that is observable and describable and that exists in every variety of a language (given that there is no language variety without a norm). Nevertheless, both senses of linguistic norm are interwoven. Indeed, a common linguistic fact may be converted into an exemplar and undergo codification. Similarly, a prescribed linguistic fact may have become established on the grounds of its regular and frequent use by a given community. Hence, the boundaries of the two linguistic norms are unclear. Moreover, linguistic prescription and description (as well as the grammars based on these two linguistic norms, i.e. the so-called *normative grammar* and *descriptive grammar*) may combine and even complement each other. In fact, any prescriptive grammar is necessarily descriptive, and a descriptive grammar shares the normative perspective in so far as it selects a variety as the basis for description. There is also the so-called *educated norm*, which falls under the scope of the second definition of linguistic norm presented above and on a par with other regional, social and communicative linguistic norms. It is the most prominent topic of interest in grammatical description. More specifically, the educated norm is the real language model used by the more educated social strata. Consequently, it tends to approximate the standard variety and enjoys prestige among speakers (Mateus/Cardeira 2007, 23–27). Identifying and delimiting the educated norm is much more complex in countries like Brazil, characterized by great regional and social diversity and especially by a considerable margin between spoken and written varieties (Faraco 2008).

A language can have more than one standard, in which case it is said to be *pluricentric* (Clyne 1992; Soares da Silva 2014a). Language pluricentricity may be understood in the narrower sense of different national standards or in the broader sense of different regional norms. Portuguese is the national/official language of ten countries – the nine members of the Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa (CPLP), the most recent being Equatorial Guinea, and the Macao Special Administrative Region in China. It has two established standards: European Portuguese (in Portugal and in the Portuguese-speaking countries in Africa and Asia) and Brazilian Portuguese (exclusively in Brazil). Other standards are emerging such as in Angola and Mozambique. The *standardization* of Portuguese started after the establishment of the Kingdom of Portugal in the 12th century, but the first normative codification instruments would only appear four centuries later in the 16th century. From the second half of the 19th century, a second pole emerged in Brazil, which developed its own relatively independent and divergent standard – thus, two spelling systems, two sets of grammatical nomenclature, two academies and two standards that compete with each other on the geopolitical stage. Over the last few years, the CPLP and its language agency (the Instituto Internacional da Língua Portuguesa) have tried to transform Portuguese language policy by switching from a

bipolar to a multipolar and multilateral management model (Oliveira 2015). Compared with other Romance languages such as French and Spanish, the standardization of Portuguese developed at a slower pace and without the support of an actual language academy. Indeed, the Academia de Ciências de Lisboa, founded in the 18th century, and the Academia Brasileira de Letras, founded at the end of the 19th century, both play a minor role in the standardization process of Portuguese compared to the Real Academia Española or the Académie française for Spanish and French, respectively. Demographic projection data from Portuguese-speaking countries and data on the demolinguistic evolution of Portuguese until the end of the 21st century show that there will be a major increase in population and of Portuguese speakers in the Países Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa (PALOP), especially in Mozambique and Angola. This will lead to an even more *pluricentric* standardization of Portuguese and greater multilateral management of national standards (Oliveira 2016).

2 The tradition of Portuguese grammars

As with other vernaculars in the context of Renaissance European Humanism, the first *grammatization* (Auroux 1992) of Portuguese closely followed the Greco-Roman grammatical model (e.g. Buescu 1978; Verdelho 1995; Woll 1994; Assunção 1997; Leite 2007), and therefore the same normative conception of grammar, as the *art of speaking and writing correctly* (Auroux 1993; Stefanini 1994), a characteristic of Western traditional grammar. The Greco-Roman grammatical model originated with Greek philosophers such as Aristotle, Plato and the Stoics, who laid the epistemological groundwork for the establishment of a grammar (Swiggers 1997), and with Alexandrian philologists such as Dionysius Thrax, who compiled the actual grammar, defined the organizational pattern encompassing fields such as phonetics/phonology, morphology, syntax, rhetoric and stylistics, aimed at establishing the rules of linguistic correctness by drawing on literary or similar models. This Greco-Roman grammatical legacy, discernible in the 2,000-year-old *traditional grammar*, conceived grammar as a prescriptive instrument and embraced an *ideology* of linguistic correctness based on the following principles: the subordination of spoken to written language (making the latter the object of grammar); the subordination of language to the writing of the best literary authors of the past whose texts were believed to illustrate linguistic correctness; a negative assessment of language variation and change and the resulting concern with language purity and the submission of language to the standard. The first grammars of Portuguese, written by Fernão de Oliveira in 1536 and João de Barros in 1540, define grammar as an "arte que ensina a bem ler e falar" (Oliveira), and more normatively, as "um modo certo e justo de falar e escrever, colhido do uso e autoridade dos barões doutos" (Barros). Later traditional grammars of Portuguese, as well as contemporary normative refer-

ence grammars such as Cunha/Cintra (1984), Bechara (1999), Azeredo (2008) and Hauy (2014), continue to associate grammatical description with prescriptive standardization and base them on the texts of literary authors, especially the great Portuguese writers of the past.

As with other European vernaculars, in the second quarter of the 16th century the traditional grammatization of Portuguese was characterized by the faithful reproduction of the Latin model (Leite 2007), especially the Latin grammars of Donatus and above all Priscian, which paid special attention to syntax but also directly or indirectly to the Greek grammar of Dionysius Thrax. Indeed, much of our current grammatical nomenclature (e.g. "*substantive*", *adjective*, *adverb*, *conjunction*, *vowel*, *diphthong*, *subject*, *predicate*) comes from the Latin transposition of Greek terms. Similarly, Cunha/Cintra (1984) have used most of Dionysius Thrax's definitions and classification criteria for the eight *parts of speech* in the formulation of their ten *word classes*. The only exceptions are interjections (introduced by Latin grammarians), numerals, participles (which Dionysius thought to be independent from the verb) and adjectives (which, according to Cunha/Cintra, are separate from nouns). The internal organization of grammar that prevailed from João de Barros until the end of the 19th century follows the Latin model of four parts consisting of orthography, prosody, etymology (which includes the "parts of speech" and whose boundaries coincide with those of modern morphology) and syntax.

There is also space to break with the "traditional paradigm of grammatization" (Vieira 2015). The first two Portuguese grammarians are a telling example. On the one hand, João de Barros, in his *Grammatica da língua portuguesa*, strictly adheres to traditional Greco-Roman guidelines. Fernão de Oliveira (2000 [1536]), on the other hand, in his *Grammatica da Lingoagem Portuguesa* (critical edition by Torres/Assunção 2000), breaks new ground: adopting a more descriptive rather than prescriptive approach. He observes, gathers and describes the *actual* use of the language albeit inconsistently (in the form of "anotações", as Oliveira himself puts it) and also registers language variation (Leite 2007). However, it is Barros' grammar, more aligned with the Greco-Roman model, which would become the standard-bearer of the grammatical historiography of Portuguese. While comparing the grammatization of Portuguese to that of other European vernaculars, Leite (2007) notes that the first two Portuguese grammarians adopted a more normative-descriptive approach based on the actual linguistic behavior of educated speakers (on the "língua dos que mais sabem", in Oliveira's words) rather than a normative-prescriptive approach. Therefore, the initial grammatization of Portuguese is characterized by a certain balance between *norm* and *usage*.

In the following centuries, Portuguese grammars would echo the developments of European historic grammaticography. In the 17th century, the rationalist grammarians of Port-Royal proposed a *general and rational* grammar, also known as a *philosophical grammar*. They defended the idea that grammatical categories reflect universal mental processes, which, in turn, may be expressed differently from one

language to another, breaking with the normative goal. Fostered by 18th century rationalist thought, philosophical grammar gave rise to a series of grammatical studies of Portuguese, among which Jerónimo Soares Barbosa's *Grammatica Philosophica da Lingua Portugueza ou Principios da Grammatica Geral aplicados á Nossa Linguagem* (1822) stands out. Cardoso's (1994) *Historiografia Gramatical (1500–1920)* reveals that a good number of Portuguese philosophical grammars were printed in Portugal and Brazil from the end of the 18th century until about 1870, and whose titles include terms like *philosophical*, *rational*, *reasonable*, *general grammar*, *analytical grammar* and *grammatical principles*. At the same time, there is a growing concern about the teaching of Portuguese, mostly for the education of the nobility, which results in various publications of methods for learning grammar and even didactic grammars. The coming of age of Linguistics as a science in the 19th century (largely owing to the advent of the historical-comparative method), offers a counterpoint to the rational, logical-philosophical method championed by Port-Royal grammar. More importantly, the historical-philological method of the Neogrammarians has contributed to the emergence of historical grammars in the second half of the 19th century. Undoubtedly, almost every historical grammar of Portuguese published both in Portugal and in Brazil between the end of the 19th century and the mid-20th century follows in the footsteps of the Neogrammarians (Martins 1996). The first and most important example is Adolfo Coelho's *A Lingua Portugueza. Phonologia, Etymologia, Morphologia e Syntaxe*, published in 1868 (although only the first installment, dedicated to *Phonologia*, was published). Adolfo Coelho was the first in Portugal to apply the scientific method to the study of languages, and his work marks a formal and conceptual shift in Portuguese grammar, namely the rupture with the traditional grammatical paradigm, which would continue to exist. Júlio Ribeiro's *Grammatica portugueza*, published in Brazil in 1881, was also inspired by the historical-comparative method and paid special attention to the linguistic reality of Brazil. In fact, Ribeiro was the first to embrace *scientific grammar* in Brazilian grammatical studies (Cavaliere 2014).

3 Contemporary normative (and descriptive) Portuguese grammars

As mentioned in the introduction, normative grammar and descriptive grammar are not clearly delineated. Furthermore, contemporary grammars rarely acknowledge their prescriptive nature. Also, today's prescriptive grammars tend to present themselves as descriptive: as a sign of "scientificity". For instance, influential grammarian Bechara (1999; 2014) supports the principle that normative grammar depends on descriptive grammar. Conversely, another Brazilian grammarian, Bagno (2012; 2014), criticizes the deceptive character of the so-called scientific objectivity of lin-

guistic theory and of other sciences and defends the maxim that "describing is prescribing" and therefore the "social role" of the linguist. Here, the idea that scientific discourse masks normative discourse is well explained by critical discourse linguistics (for an early theoretical discussion of "normative discourse", cf. Berrendonner 1982).

Interestingly, neither the Academia de Ciências de Lisboa, nor the Academia Brasileira de Letras has published its own normative grammar of Portuguese, contrary to other Romance languages. Yet the first couple of decades of the 21st century have seen an increasing number of grammars published, especially of Brazilian Portuguese.

This section is divided into three parts. The first section presents the openly normative and the normative-oriented grammars of European and Brazilian Portuguese. The second section provides an overview of the openly non-normative grammars of European and Brazilian Portuguese. Finally, we will discuss the questions, attitudes and ideologies that play a role in the pan-Lusophone and/or pluricentric codification of Portuguese. For a deeper understanding of the first two points mentioned above, we refer the reader to Neves/Casseb-Galvão (2014) and Faraco/Vieira (2016a). The former collected statements from the authors of the main contemporary grammars of Portuguese (one from Portugal and six from Brazil) regarding their idea of grammar. The latter gathered critical reviews of those grammars by specialized readers.

3.1 Normative grammars of European and Brazilian Portuguese: tradition and innovation

Few contemporary grammars of either European or Brazilian Portuguese claim to be *normative*. One of those rare grammars is the *Gramática Normativa da Língua Portuguesa*, by Carlos Henrique da Rocha Lima, first published in 1957 in Brazil and by 1992 in its 31st edition. Other grammars adopt, to varying degrees, a normative approach, including a few mainstream reference works, namely (1) the *Nova Gramática do Português Contemporâneo*, by Celso Cunha and Lindley Cintra, published in Portugal in 1984 and in Brazil the following year (now in its 4th edition). It describes "(as normas) admitidas como padrão em Portugal e no Brasil" (Cunha/Cintra 1984, XIII) (note that it is a revised and expanded edition of Celso Cunha's *Gramática do Português Contemporâneo*, published in 1970); (2) the *Moderna Gramática Portuguesa*, by Evanildo Bechara (1st edition in 1961, extensively revised and expanded in 1999 for its 37th edition); (3) the *Gramática Houaiss da Língua Portuguesa*, by José Carlos de Azeredo (2008); (4) the *Gramática Pedagógica do Português Brasileiro*, by Marcos Bagno (2012); and (5) the *Gramática da Língua Portuguesa Padrão*, by Amini Boainain Hauy (2014). Grammars (2)–(5) have all been published in Brazil and are concerned with either a supranational Portuguese (Bechara and Hauy), or Brazilian Portuguese ("Português do Brasil", Azeredo; "Português Brasileiro", Bagno). Other

contemporary normative grammars of Portuguese in vogue today include that of Pilar Vázquez Cuesta/Maria Albertina Mendes da Luz, originally intended for Spanish-speaking PSL learners and those of Brazilian grammarians Napoleão Mendes de Almeida (2005), Francisco da Silveira Bueno (1944), Artur de Almeida Torres (1966), Gladstone Chaves de Melo (1970), Celso Pedro Luft (1986), Domingos Paschoal Cegalla (1986) and Rocha Lima (1985) (cf. Cavaliere 2014). Some of these authors describe their grammars as *methodical*, *expository* or *normative*. *Expository* grammars (such as the traditional and influential grammar by Brazilian Eduardo Carlos Pereira (1907), or the more recent grammar by Almeida Torres) fall into the historical-comparative framework, while *normative* grammars (including those by Silveira Bueno, Rocha Lima, Cunha/Cintra and Bechara) follow structural linguistic theories.

Even though Cunha/Cintra (1984; 1985), Bechara (1999), Azeredo (2008) and Hauy (2014) introduce new concepts and features from linguistics (these authors are renowned linguists themselves), their grammars follow the traditional grammatical paradigm mentioned in the previous section. Hauy (2014) stays closer to the traditional paradigm since she describes her work as "uma tentativa de sistematização da tradicional teoria gramatical do português acadêmico". Bechara (1999) highlights the merits and strengths of traditional grammar while claiming that his work is the result of an innovative trend within traditional grammar. Finally, Azeredo (2008) defends the theoretical, conceptual and terminological validity of traditional grammar. In addition to their normative purpose, and despite a (moderate) prescriptive stance, these grammars draw from written texts and on literary language in particular, taking all (Cunha/Cintra and Bechara) or most (Azeredo and Hauy) of their examples from classic literature. As a result, they propose an artificial model of the language, distant from actual educated norm(s) – hence the continuing gap between grammatized language (the standard) and the actual language of educated speakers (the educated norm), notably in Brazil. Furthermore, these 21st century reference grammars stay in line with traditional grammar in the way they catalog, formulate and outline their "word classes" and other grammatical categories, notably by retaining the terminology and concepts of the Greco-Roman model, including its "parts of speech" (Leite 2014; Vieira 2015; 2016). For instance, Bechara, Azeredo, Hauy and Cunha/Cintra follow the *Nomenclatura Gramatical Brasileira* from 1959 more than half a century later, with only slight conceptual and terminological modifications. Moreover, their grammars adhere to the structure defined by the traditional model, which goes from the smallest linguistic unity (sound) to the biggest (sentence). Accordingly, they start by tackling phonetics and phonology first, followed by morphology and finally syntax. Another aspect of the grammatical conservatism of these works is in the defense and overestimation of the so-called "superior unity" (Cunha/Cintra 1984, XIV) of the Portuguese spoken in Portugal and Brazil.

Brazilian linguist Celso Cunha and Portuguese linguist Lindley Cintra conceive their grammar as an answer to the need for "uma descrição do português contemporâneo que levasse em conta, simultaneamente, as diversas normas vigentes dentro

do seu vasto domínio geográfico" (Cunha/Cintra 1984, XIII). They present their grammar as a "descrição do português actual na sua forma culta, isto é, da língua como a têm utilizado os escritores portugueses, brasileiros e africanos do Romantismo para cá", whose goal is to "mostrar a superior unidade da língua portuguesa dentro da sua natural diversidade" (Cunha/Cintra 1984, XIV). Even though Cunha/Cintra acknowledge that all linguistic varieties are legitimate manifestations of the language – devoting the first two chapters of their grammar to the linguistic variation in Portuguese from a sociolinguistic perspective –, they still advocate the superiority, correctness and efficiency of the "educated norm", especially that of Portugal, and restrict this norm to examples from the literary language. Regarding the continuing influence of traditional grammar in Cunha/Cintra (1984), Vieira (2015) points out that there is an almost exact match between Cunha/Cintra's ten "word classes" and Dionysius Thrax's eight "parts of speech". For instance, to Dionysius, a "*substantive*" *or noun* "designates a person or a thing"; to Cunha/Cintra, it is "the word with which we designate or name beings in general". To Dionysius, a *pronoun* "may replace a noun"; to Cunha/Cintra, it has "a similar role in a clause than that of nominal elements". An *adverb*, to Dionysius, "modifies or accompanies the verb"; to Cunha/Cintra, it is "fundamentally a verb modifier". Finally, for Dionysius the *article* "comes before or after a noun"; for Cunha/Cintra it "precedes the noun". Furthermore, both Cunha/Cintra and Dionysius Thrax consider these categories as "fixed" and "autonomous". In other words, they believe that a word belongs to one and the same category, regardless of the context in which it is used.

Similarly, Bechara's (1999) monumental grammar, deemed *modern* because it is based on the principles of contemporary linguistics (especially Eugenio Coseriu's functionalist theory), still focuses on the literary language of Portuguese and Brazilian authors from the 16th to 20th centuries, elevating it to the status of "educated norm" and as the object of a unitary language (or "língua comum") between Brazil and Portugal, in an effort to achieve convergent standardization for European and Brazilian varieties, and, ultimately, a pan-Lusophone standard. Mulinacci (2016a, 120) illustrates this converging standardization in Bechara's grammar with two examples: the "uso do gerúndio com auxiliar *estar* ou infinitivo com *a*" in progressive constructions as merely preferential, and the fact that Bechara turns to Alexandre Herculano, a 19th century Portuguese writer, to legitimize the use of *a gente* as a pronoun to be used "fora da linguagem cerimoniosa". Accepting the normative but also descriptive nature of his grammar aimed at formal education, Bechara asserts that the main goal of a grammar is to teach the "língua-padrão modelar" or "língua exemplar" as well as to deal with patterns of normative correctness. As Mulinacci (2016a, 147) points out, Bechara's normative perspective is not limited to a straightforward standardization of the educated norm; it actively contributes to its creation. Bechara does so by prescribing linguistic usage that supposedly matches the choices of the speakers of both national varieties and by censuring typical uses of "linguagem coloquial despreocupada" or that do not belong to the "boa norma da lín-

gua", and are considered "desvios", "vícios" or even "erros". Bechara's grammar also replicates the structure of traditional grammar, starting from sounds (the first part is devoted to phonetics and phonology) to words and clauses (the second part entitled "Gramática descritiva e normativa" is more extensive and consistent). It includes a literary-stylistic appendix consisting of notions of stylistics, versification and punctuation in the last three chapters (the last chapters in Cunha/Cintra 1984 are also devoted to punctuation and versification).

The goal of Azeredo's grammar (2008) is to present the "variedade padrão escrita do português em uso no Brasil" and, much like Cunha/Cintra, Bechara and Hauy, favors the written language (although he does not limit himself to literary texts). Contrary to these authors, Azeredo claims to describe the "Português do Brasil" – even though the language he describes is still different from the one educated Brazilians actually speak. Like Bagno's grammar (2012), Azeredo's grammar has the educational aim of contributing to Portuguese teacher training, which gives it a prescriptive status. Even though it offers useful theoretical and methodological explanations on language and its uses and warns that "continuam a ser indevidamente estigmatizadas como 'erros gramaticais' muitas formas e construções regularmente empregadas em textos formais de circulação pública em território brasileiro" (Azeredo 2008, 26), Azeredo ends up delegitimizing, and even ruling out typical Brazilian Portuguese constructions "regularmente empregadas em textos formais", relegating them to informal and/or oral contexts (Lagares 2016). Hauy (2014) presents her grammar as a normative, descriptive and critical attempt to systematize the traditional grammatical theory of a so-called "português acadêmico", predominantly based on literary models (frequently turning to Fernando Pessoa), with a view to teaching the standard language.

Consequently, the concepts and terminology used in these 21st century reference grammars stem from traditional grammar, even if they are (re)formulated with new definitions. Borges Neto (2012) notes that these grammars (as well as other non-normative reference grammars, which we will discuss in the following section) have *naturalized* Greco-Roman grammatical theory by deconstructing its theoretical assumptions and making *protocol use* of the concepts and terminology established by traditional grammar.

Nevertheless, Cunha/Cintra, Bechara, Azeredo and Hauy do sometimes deviate from the traditional paradigm of grammatization. Their discontinuities include a grammatical work that is predominately descriptive, despite its prescriptive goals; the use of theories and methods from linguistics; the scientific systematization of normative description; the reformulation of some grammatical categories (for example, the definition of *noun* and *adjective* in Bechara); greater attention to the language of educated Brazilians, albeit with insufficient results; some attention to language variation and change as well as to discourse and textual aspects of grammatical categories (especially in Azeredo); a commitment to the teaching of grammar and the awareness that teaching grammar must not be an end in itself but a

means to mastering speaking, reading and writing skills together with the standard (Faraco/Vieira 2016b, 317).

The departure from grammatical tradition is particularly evident in Bagno's *Gramática Pedagógica do Português Brasileiro* (2012), which is normative insofar as it purports to "contribuir na criação de um modelo de referência para as práticas sociais de linguagem que exigem maior grau de monitoramento estilístico na fala e na escrita" (Bagno 2012, 109) as well as to effectively revamp traditional grammar. Such a renewal can principally be observed in the selection of the object of grammatical description and prescription and the position taken regarding the conceptual and terminological framework of traditional grammar. Using sociolinguistic concepts in his descriptive grammar, Bagno describes what he refers to as the "gradual traits" of Brazilian Portuguese; in other words, the features that appear in the speech of all educated Brazilians, such as *a gente fala* (as opposed to *nós fala*, a "discontinuous trait" because it occurs in the speech of poorly educated Brazilians; and to *nós falamos* in European Portuguese). Bagno calls these features "vernáculo geral brasileiro", and affirms the existence of an urban educated norm, which he calls "português brasileiro contemporâneo urbano culto". However, he does not specify whether "Brazilian general vernacular" and "urban educated Brazilian Portuguese" are equivalent, or whether the latter is cut from the former (Faraco/Vieira 2016b, 308). Bagno's struggle against the unreasonable rules of an idealized standard makes him avoid, somewhat excessively, any literary examples. He does not break completely from grammatical tradition, but, unlike the other grammarians referenced in this section, he shies away from Greco-Roman concepts and terminology as well as the 1959 *Nomenclatura Gramatical Brasileira*. Though Bagno maintains nine out of the ten traditional word classes, discarding interjections, his analysis of the adverb and the redistribution of elements conventionally labeled "numerals", "pronouns" and "articles" into new grammatical classes are clear examples of discontinuity. Adopting a functionalist perspective on language, Bagno combines grammar and discourse, striving to account for the mutual conditioning between frequent uses of linguistic forms and grammatical rules and discourse aspects of grammatical phenomena.

We would like to finish this section by briefly reviewing the grammatical nomenclatures used in Portugal and Brazil. These are normative devices chronicled in traditional grammar and which serve as a great homogenizing force (hence their *naturalization* by normative and school grammars). As we have seen above, most Brazilian reference grammars follow the *Nomenclatura Gramatical Brasileira* (NGB), which has prevailed for more than half a century (since 1959). Despite much criticism, it has not yet been updated. The NGB divides grammar into three parts: phonetics, morphology (which includes the ten word classes) and syntax. It also provides an appendix on syntactic figures of speech, historical grammar, spelling, punctuation, semantics and "vícios de linguagem". The *Nomenclatura Gramatical Portuguesa* (NGP), published in 1967, follows its Brazilian counterpart, dividing

grammar into morphology (including the same ten word classes as NGB) and syntax, while assigning phonetics, spelling, punctuation, lexicology, semantics and language history to "outra nomenclatura linguística mais necessária ao Ensino". In order to overcome the terminological drift from the outdated NGP, Portugal adopted a new *Terminologia Linguística para os Ensinos Básico e Secundário* (TLEBS) on a trial basis in 2004. It serves as a pedagogical reference guide for Portuguese teachers. TLEBS' lack of internal consistency with respect to the degree of development of its different sections (for instance, the chapter on morphology goes into excessive detail, while the chapter devoted to semantics and discourse analysis is noticeably abridged), as well as an enormous amount of terminology, some of it inadequate and redundant, led to the publication of the *Dicionário Terminológico* (DT) in 2007. The DT, which is a revised version of the TLEBS, is meant to be used by primary and secondary school teachers "com uma função reguladora de termos e conceitos sobre funcionamento da língua de forma a acabar com a deriva terminológica". Structurally, the DT is divided into five fields: language variation and change; descriptive linguistics (subdivided into phonetics and phonology, morphology, word classes, syntax, lexicology and semantics); discourse analysis, rhetoric, pragmatics and textual linguistics; lexicography; and graphic representation.

3.2 Other grammars: (dis)continuities and ruptures

The following contemporary grammars of Portuguese are non-normative and have already been published for the most part in the 21st century. On the one hand, the *Gramática da Língua Portuguesa* by Maria Helena Mira Mateus et al. (published in 1983, extended and revised in 2003), and the *Gramática do Português* by Eduardo Paiva Raposo et al. (in three volumes, the first two of which were published in 2013) describe European Portuguese. On the other hand, the Brazilian grammars by Maria Helena de Moura Neves (*Gramática de Usos do Português*, 2000), Mário Perini (*Gramática do Português Brasileiro*, 2010) and Ataliba T. de Castilho (*Nova Gramática do Português Brasileiro*, 2010) describe "português do Brasil" (Neves) or "português brasileiro" (Perini, Castilho). Also worth mentioning are the monumental multiauthor works on spoken Brazilian Portuguese, namely the *Gramática do Português Falado* (Castilho 1991–2002), in eight volumes, and the *Gramática do Português Culto Falado no Brasil* (2006, ongoing). They are both the result of a major project launched in 1988 under the supervision of Ataliba T. de Castilho.

All of these grammars claim a *non-normative* status – some more explicitly than others. They do not intend to be "um instrumento que regule o *bom uso* da língua" (Mateus et al. 2003, 17), and they do not make "juízos de valor sobre a correção ou incorreção das variantes linguísticas" (Raposo et al. 2013, XXVI). Rather, they follow a "estritamente descritiva, e não prescritiva" perspective (Raposo et al. 2013, XXVI), whose goal is to "[apresentar] descrições e análises de um largo conjunto, evidentemente não exaustivo, de aspectos da língua portuguesa" (Mateus et al. 2003, 17).

All these non-normative grammars have other features that distinguish themselves from their normative counterparts, except for Bagno's (2012) normative grammar, which nevertheless shares their innovative traits. Indeed, they all ground their descriptions in different theoretical frameworks, namely formalist or generative theories (Mateus et al. 2003; Raposo et al. 2013; Perini 2010), as well as functionalist (Neves 2000; Castilho 2010; and also Bagno 2012), thus taking a step back from the conventional grammatization paradigm without, however, abandoning it completely. They choose, as their object of grammatical description, the *standard language* (Mateus et al. 2003, 17), *standard Portuguese* (Raposo et al. 2013, XXVI), the *educated norm* (Perini 2010; Castilho 2010), or something similar but unspecified (Neves 2000), using written language (Neves 2000), spoken language (Castilho 2010; Perini 2010) or some neutral modality (Mateus et al. 2003; Raposo et al. 2013) as the object of study rather than literary language. Nevertheless, this object of description is particularly vague, generic and fluid in the three single-authored Brazilian grammars (Faraco/Vieira 2016b, 306–307), especially considering Brazil's great sociolinguistic diversity. For instance, Neves (2000, 13) states that her usage grammar "mostra como está sendo usada a língua portuguesa atualmente no Brasil", while Perini (2010, 44–45) unrealistically asserts that the "língua falada padrão" he describes is "uma variedade altamente uniforme e socialmente aceita em todo o país". All aim for observational adequacy, but only Neves' grammar (2000) is actually *empirical* (i.e. supported by a substantial *corpus* of texts of different genres). The remaining grammars only use (Mateus et al. 2003; Perini 2010) or mostly (Castilho 2010; Raposo et al. 2013) introspective data (Castilho and Raposo do use various *corpora* – including electronic –, but their examples are almost always contrived). All of these grammars acknowledge the heterogeneity and variation within Portuguese in (almost) every aspect, but none offers a systematic description of this variation, and only some refer to it in passing. This is the case of Bagno (2012), who briefly discusses variation in Brazilian Portuguese, and Raposo et al. (2013), who devote a few chapters to geographic variation, including "português do Brasil" and the "variedades angolana e moçambicana do português", attempting to account for aspects of dialectal, individual and social variation in a number of their descriptions. All of these grammars distance themselves from their traditional social role as a reference guide for the general public. Instead, they are intended for use by the specialized reader (linguists, Portuguese teachers, and language and literature students). This includes Neves (2000), who aims, unrealistically, to reach "toda a comunidade de usuários da língua". Consequently, they are more similar to linguistics handbooks rather than grammars in the traditional sense.

All of these non-normative grammars (as well as Bagno's 2012 normative grammar) break from the concepts and terminology of traditional grammar and largely avoid grammatical nomenclatures (NGP and NGB). They reanalyze, redefine and/or rename many grammatical categories and word classes, introducing new concepts and terms, and they grammatize the specific (morphosyntactic) features of the var-

iety they are describing, especially in the case of Brazilian Portuguese. Furthermore, the categorization of lexical items is now based on higher-order classifications (Leite 2014, 130). For example, Neves (2000) starts from the functions of word classes (predication, reference, quantification and junction), while Mateus et al. (2003), Castilho (2010) and Raposo et al. (2013) start at the level of the phrase or other syntactic constructions. However, it should be noted that these grammars keep in line with traditional grammar in many respects, namely in the terminology they use and their concern with classification and their attempts to reconcile "grammatical tradition" and "linguistic tradition", especially in the analysis of word classes (see Neves 2000); the emphasis on phonetics/phonology, morphology and syntax (even though Mateus et al. 2003; Castilho 2010; and Raposo et al. 2013 devote a few chapters to pragmatics and semantics); and finally, the designation of the sentence as the ultimate unit of grammatical description at the expense of bigger units, namely text and discourse.

3.3 Pan-lusophone and/or pluricentric codification? Attitudes and ideologies

Even though the different national varieties of Portuguese (both established such as European and Brazilian varieties and emerging varieties such as African) are now recognized and comparatively studied, such as the recent example Wetzels/ Menuzzi/Costa (2016), there is not, as of today, a grammar of Portuguese as a *pluricentric* language, that is, a single grammatical codification containing two or more national norms (see also Batoréo 2016). Existing grammars, most of which were written or revised in the 21st century, are monocentric. They either concern themselves with European Portuguese (Mateus et al. 2003; Raposo et al. 2013), which they historically refer to as *Língua Portuguesa*/*Português*; or with Brazilian Portuguese, referred to as "português brasileiro" (Perini 2010; Castilho 2010; Bagno 2012), or "português do Brasil" (Neves 2000; Azeredo 2008); or even with an alleged "língua comum" (Cunha/Cintra 1984; 1985; Bechara 1999) that is mostly Lusocentric. The grammatization of Portuguese is inevitably associated with an ontological and political question: what is the Portuguese language today and what do we want it to be? Is it the *common* language of the Portuguese-speaking world, though still idealized and lusocentric? Is it a *pluricentric* language (Baxter 1992; Soares da Silva 2014a and 2014b; 2016; Oliveira 2016), but still revolving around the European and Brazilian standards? Is it an *international* language (Mateus 2002; Santos 2016; Mulinacci 2016b), even though it is still *multinational* (Castro 2009)? Is it one language or two – "Portuguese" and "Brazilian" (Bagno 2001; 2012)?

The attitudes and ideologies underlying the process of standardization of contemporary Portuguese and the development of language policies over the last three decades are grounded in unifying and separating ideologies based in *romantic* and *rationalist* cultural cognitive models of language variation and standardization

(Soares da Silva 2015). As general models of linguistic standardization, having their roots in the Enlightenment thinking and the Romantic tradition, whereas the *rationalist* model views language as a medium of communication, the standard language as a neutral medium of social participation and language variation as an impediment to emancipation, the *romantic* model takes language as a medium of expression, the standard language as a medium of oppression and social exclusion and values language variation as a recognition of a fundamental respect for different identities (Geeraerts 2003).

The *romantic unifying* attitude reclaims the *purity* of the (European) Portuguese language, declaring war on the specificities of the language spoken in Brazil and imposing the European standard in Brazil (and more extensively in the Portuguese-speaking countries of Africa and Asia) and preserving it in Portugal. Despite advances of the Brazilian standard, there is still a social imagery in Brazil that leads journalists, intellectuals and teachers to wage social "wars" in defense of the dogmatic and immutable "standard" calqued on literary European variety. Three typical effects in Brazilian society are: (1) the conservatism manifested in the style guides used by the main newspapers, which merely transcribe the prescriptions laid down in the old grammar books; (2) the proliferation and success of grammar columns in newspapers, which attempt to root out errors of all kinds; and (3) the importance given to the (European) artificial standard in the national high school exams (Faraco 2001; 2008; 2011). Beneath this linguistic purism and Lusocentrism lies an ideology of *identity* nationalism, of national and linguistic unity in the immense territory of Brazil – the so-called "veritable Brazilian miracle" reinforced by the anthropologist Ribeiro (1997) –, and of social exclusion which has given rise to linguistic prejudices about the inferiority of the language spoken in Brazil ("Brazilians speak and write wrongly", "Brazilian is ungrammatical", Bagno 1999; 2000; Scherre 2005). In Portugal, Brazilian language forms are considered to be "invaders" and even "killers" of the language. A collective book entitled *Estão a assassinar o português!* was published in Portugal in 1983 in which the "language killer" is the Brazilian soap-opera (Moura 1983). More recently, many Portuguese people see the 1990 *Acordo Ortográfico da Língua Portuguesa* (↗13.1 Orthography and Orthoepy), which came into force in Brazil in 2009 and in Portugal in 2011, as a "national disaster" (Moura 2008) and the "sale of the language" to Brazil. There is also the opposite romantic attitude. The *romantic separating* attitude, which is more heartfelt in Brazil, proclaims the existence of a specific *Brazilian language* and wages war on the European standard as its reference model. Currently, the most influential scientific expression of this attitude can be found in the work of Brazilian writer and popular linguist, Marcos Bagno. In his pedagogical grammar, Bagno (2012, 14) proclaims a "clara, nítida e assumida militância em favor do reconhecimento definitivo de que o português europeu e o português brasileiro já constituem duas línguas diferentes". In the same activist vein, Bagno (2001, 175) asserts that it is important to recognize the existence of a Brazilian language in order to raise Brazilians' "linguistic self-

esteem", and to begin to deal with the issue of the "diglossic schizophrenia that exists in Brazil". The same romantic metonymic-metaphoric mappings for the *expressive* and identity-related conceptualization of language and nationalism, namely the romantic metonymy LANGUAGE STANDS FOR NATION-STATE/CULTURE and the romantic metaphors LANGUAGE IS AN IDENTITY MARKER/AN ORGANISM are thus used for different language policies, both for linguistic purism of the mother tongue (European variety) and for linguistic independence of the new tongue (Brazilian variety).

The *rationalist unifying* attitude is manifested both in the old idea of "unity in diversity" or the "superior unity" of the Portuguese language which has been reinforced by Cunha/Cintra's (1984; 1985) and Bechara's (1999) normative grammars and in the recent rationalist discourse of *Lusophony* as utilitarian political ideology of affirming a supra-national space of economic, cultural and linguistic identity. In the globalized world of the 21st century, linguistic unity expressed in the term *Portuguese* is an *opportunity* to project Portuguese as a language of international communication and economic affirmation; as a major world language (Mateus 2002, 67). There is, thus, an urgent need for an *international* policy for Portuguese (Aguiar e Silva 2005; 2007) or the *internationalization* of its management (Oliveira 2013). Recent pressures for a convergent standardization (Oliveira 2013) have arisen, such as the 1990 *Acordo Ortográfico* (2009/2011), the *Vocabulário Ortográfico Comum da Língua Portuguesa* (VOC, 2014) and joint actions between the Portuguese-speaking countries, such as the *Plano de Ação de Brasília para a Promoção, a Difusão e a Projeção da Língua Portuguesa* (2010). In contrast, the *rationalist separating* attitude has been present in the process of *divergent standardization* (Reis 2008) or *bicentric standardization* (Oliveira 2016) of European and Brazilian varieties over the course of the last century and persists to this day. It is manifested in large-scale research projects on language variation (e.g. *Norma Urbana Culta* begun in 1969, *Gramática do Português Falado* since 1988 in Brazil and *Português Fundamental* begun in 1970 in Portugal) and in national educational projects; in the recent increase of separate grammatization of both varieties; in the divergence between terminologies; in the "language industry" that pits the two varieties against each other in international markets; in the digital separation between these two varieties; and finally, in the well-known Lusophone *bicentricity* (Aguiar e Silva 2007, 20). In Brazil, this attitude is also adopted by those that consider the study and teaching of the Brazilian urban standards to be an important instrument for political and educational participation as well as a basis of *civic* nationalism and liberal democracy. In short, the two rationalist attitudes assume the *communicative* conception of language and the liberal idea of nationalism. Therefore, the LANGUAGE IS A TOOL/KEY conceptual metaphor, focusing either on the supranational or the national dimensions of Portuguese.

The rationale underlying these two cultural cognitive models of Portuguese standardization is very complex and includes prototypes and paradoxes. Prototypical patterns are the rationalist ideology of promoting the *superior unity* of Portu-

guese in the current transcontinental global context and its economic and political benefits, and, the romantic ideology of claiming the *Brazilian language* as distinct from Portuguese. The main paradox of the rationalist model lies in the nationalist subversion of the enlightened ideal based on the unity of Portuguese in favor of the democratically inevitable recognition of the *emancipation* of the Brazilian variety. The main paradox of the romantic model is in the nationalist subversion of the ideal of diversity of the Brazilian variety in favor of the *purity* of the European variety mother tongue as a mark of Lusophone cultural identity. Various current discourses about Portuguese language policies blend the romantic and rationalist models. Examples include the discourse about *Lusophony* as a space of plural cultures and factor of economic relevance (Fiorin 2006; Martins 2006; Cristóvão 2008), the discourse on the *economic potential* of Portuguese (Reto 2012), the discourse on the orthographic agreement as a political tool for the ideological strategy of Lusophony and some discourses on the *internationalization* of Portuguese and its management. Correlating the development of Portuguese with these cultural models, the ongoing process of divergence between European and Brazilian varieties, confirmed by our sociolectometrical research (Soares da Silva 2010; 2014b), may suffer interruptions and reversals triggered both by the rationalist promotion of economic and political benefits of Portuguese unity on the international plane and by the romantic promotion of Lusophone identity.

The current trend in Portuguese language policy is to promote the participation of all Portuguese-speaking countries in a multilateral, rather than bilateral, management model. Nevertheless, Portugal and Brazil will probably keep their dominant status, while other countries without a standard will have difficulty being as involved as the former. Another trend is the development of common foundations for the language (currently limited to spelling) in order to establish Portuguese as an *international* language in a globalized world. Although current policies acknowledge and value the extensive variation of Portuguese across national varieties, it is not yet clear whether they will lead to a truly *pluricentric* codification of several standards (each with its own dynamic), or to a pan-Lusophone codification of a *supranational* educated norm, as a guiding reference to facilitate international cooperation, or even a mix of both. Mulinacci (2016b) warns that if Portuguese really wants to be recognized as an international language, it needs to abandon its current bicentric model (as well as the desired pluricentricity) in order to establish itself as "um português internacional como nova língua". Those are all challenges for the current science of Portuguese grammar, still fundamentally monocentric, with the most pressing being the systematic incorporation of pluricentric national variation and different national standards in the grammar.

4 Conclusion and outlook

In the Portuguese-speaking world, the grammatical description and prescription of the two standards have been carried out separately by Portuguese and Brazilian grammarians (and not by language academies). European Portuguese, which is historically more prestigious, has been undergoing a long and rich grammatization process since the 16th century. This process enabled the establishment and spread of the standard, first in Portugal and later to other Portuguese-speaking countries, including Brazil, in part. The standardization of Brazilian Portuguese, on the other hand, started in the second half of the 19th century. Although it has been the object of many comprehensive descriptive studies, it had not attracted the interest of grammarians until the last decades. Some Brazilian and Portuguese grammars describe an alleged supranational standard, which is actually close to the European standard but very distant from the Brazilian. This Luso-Brazilian bicentricity has developed separately and divergently. Furthermore, normative discourse and debates on language policies reveal romantic and rationalist models of divergence and convergence between the two national standards. However, the influence on standardization of the debates about Portuguese colonization/decolonization demands further research. Although there are descriptive studies on emerging varieties of Angola and Mozambique, they have not yet been standardized. CPLP's multilateral efforts to manage the Portuguese language have dealt mostly with spelling tools but have yet to produce a grammatical one.

Over the last fifteen years, there has been a boom in Portuguese grammatical studies that has seen the publication of new, expanded grammars (normative and non-normative), especially in Brazil. Normative grammars usually follow the traditional grammatical paradigm. This is particularly evident in the terminology adopted, the classification of grammatical categories, and significantly in the choice of the written (literary) language as the object of grammatical description and prescription, which results in a model that is artificial and distant from the real language of the speakers, especially Brazilians. At the same time, these grammars introduce some discontinuity with respect to traditional grammar, implementing theoretical and methodological principles from linguistics and adopting a more flexible prescriptive stance. Most of the innovations concerning the traditional paradigm may be seen, however, in the non-normative grammars of various theoretical frameworks that have appeared over the last few years in Portugal and Brazil. Despite this grammatical boom and subsequent progress in the grammatical description of Portuguese, 21st century grammars still do not systematically account for variation within each standard (especially with regard to the Brazilian standard), and, even less so for the variation between national standards. More important than a pan-Lusophone supranational model to which some romantic and rationalist language policies seem to aspire, there should be more comparative studies on the established and emerging standards, concentrating on undertaking a real *pluricen-*

tric codification of Portuguese. Only then will it be possible to combine the great variety inherent in the *complex dynamic system* of the Portuguese language and the codification of its different standard varieties.

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Ulrike Mühlschlegel
13.3 Normative Dictionaries

Abstract: This article treats the concepts of standard and norm in Portuguese dictionaries as well as the normative impact of lexicographic texts. Emphasis is placed on Portuguese as a pluricentric language, especially on the emergence of a pluricentric norm.

Keywords: Portuguese, lexicography, dictionaries, standardization, codification, modernization, linguistic norm, language variation, language academies, pluricentricity

1 Introduction

1.1 Dictionaries and norm

Normative dictionaries and language academies in Romance-speaking countries are central research subjects in Romance language studies. The situation for Portuguese, however, differs considerably from the other languages, especially Spanish. These peculiarities concern both lexicography and orthography as well as the role of language academies. Even regarding pluricentricity, one of the youngest objects of research, Portuguese exhibits considerable differences when compared to Spanish (cf. Oliveira 2016, 36).

Dictionaries are instruments that are working both inwards and outwards: since the 16th century, they were meant to demonstrate the grandeur, cultural richness and significance of a language. They spread the language and represent a testimony of culture (cf. Zgusta 1989, 77). Dictionaries convey linguistic norms in several ways and have thus influence on the language.[1]

Regarding lexicography, Ripfel gives the following definition:

> "Wenn in der Wörterbuchforschung von Norm die Rede ist, denkt man zunächst an die normstabilisierende oder die Sprachnorm begründende Wörterbücher. Als normative Wörterbücher werden üblicherweise allerdings nicht die Wörterbücher bezeichnet, in denen die sog. standardsprachliche Norm oder Sprachnorm verzeichnet wird, sondern solche, mit denen regelnd in den Sprachgebrauch eingegriffen wird" (Ripfel 1989, 198).

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1 On the definition of norm and its emergence, ↗0. Cf. also Ripfel (1989), who, based on Coseriu and the Prague School of Linguistics, equates *linguistic norm* or simply *norm* with *common usage* whose registration is a descriptive act (Ripfel 1989, 190). Furthermore, she points to the different uses of *linguistic norm* in subdisciplines like ethnolinguistics (Ripfel 1989, 190s.); on the differing use of *norm*, cf. also Schmitt (2001, 436).

[In lexicographic research, the term *norm* first evokes dictionaries that stabilize or define the linguistic norm. However, normative dictionaries are usually defined not as dictionaries that codify the linguistic standard but as dictionaries that are used to regulating usage.]

"Ein normatives Wörterbuch ist ein Wörterbuch, in dem das in ihm Verzeichnete an irgendeiner Stelle (entweder innerhalb der Wörterbuchartikel oder der Registerteile, des Grammatikvorspanns oder im Vorwort) als verbindlich für andere bezeichnet wird bzw. normative Erwartungen durch Normexplikationen ausgedrückt werden. Daneben gibt es verdeckt normative Wörterbücher. In diesen werden normative Erwartungen nicht explizit mitgeteilt" (Ripfel 1989, 189).[2]

[A normative dictionary is a dictionary that in some place (either inside the entries or the index or in the opening grammatical section or in the preface), describes its content as binding for others or that presents normative expectations through norm explication. In addition, there are covert normative dictionaries. Normative expectations are not expressed explicitly in these.]

Therefore, covert normative dictionaries are works that contain "die Darstellung einer angemessenen, vorbildlichen und nachahmenswerten Sprache" [the exposition of an appropriate, exemplary language worthy of imitation], which should be adopted by the users: "es wird von dritter Seite das in diesen Wörterbüchern Verzeichnete zur Norm erhoben" [by a third party, the content of the dictionary is turned into the standard] (Ripfel 1989, 203).

Malkiel (1989, 63) distinguishes the applied methods according to the usage of examples and the explicit criticism of deviations from the pursued normative ideal.[3] The impact depends on the lexicographer's or the institution's prestige. Normative dictionaries are also distinguished according to their purpose: aimed simply at the lexicon (for example the prevention of foreign words and archaisms) or at orthography, syntax or phraseology.

Another criterion was developed by Zgusta (1989): he distinguishes *standard-creating dictionaries*, *modernizing dictionaries*, *antiquating or archaizing dictionaries* and *standard descriptive dictionaries* as ideal types that allow for combinations. At the same time, he refers to the definition of the prescriptive norm in the domain of the *normative/norm-descriptive/prescriptive dictionary*: "The term 'prescriptive' dictionary could be usefully applied to dictionaries that not only select from vacillating usage, but that rule against real usage" (Zgusta 1989, 75).

1.2 Portuguese and Pluricentricity

Treating the subject of linguistic norm also requires considering its pluricentricity. Today, the Portuguese language has two standard varieties: Portuguese and Brazil-

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2 For a comprehensive definition of descriptive dictionaries and a discussion of "descriptive", cf. Ripfel (1989, 199–203).

3 On that, cf. extensively Zgusta (1989, 74–76).

ian. In addition, depending on the point of view, Galician has to be taken into account (↗14.3; ↗14.4). The European-Portuguese standard is also applied predominantly in Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique, São Tomé and Principe, Timor-Leste and the other Asian territories. Since 2011, Portuguese is also the official language of Equatorial Guinea.[4]

While Portuguese is on the retreat in Asia, its position in Africa remains strong. Especially in Angola and Mozambique, the emergence of *variedades africanas do Português* (VAP) is already observable (cf. Gonçalves 2005). At the same time, processes of status planning as of now are in motion:

> "a prime factor in language change and its direction in the African nations is the fact that Portuguese is primarily a second language, existing in a variety of forms and competences and influenced by the local languages, indigenous or creole. The potential for change in the direction of a stabilizing and nativizing second language variety of Portuguese [...] is real" (Baxter 1992, 34).

Moreover, Brazilian media have great impact on the use of Portuguese in Africa (cf. Woll 1994a, 395–397).[5]

The emergence of the pluricentricity of Portuguese is a result of ongoing power shifts through history comparable to the case of English (cf. Clyne 1992, 3). Soares da Silva (2013, 80) defines the situation of Portuguese as a *pluricentrismo simétrico*:

> "De hecho, la supremacía histórica de Portugal tiene su contrapeso en la gigantesca dimensión del territorio y de la población de Brasil. Entre los factores que han favorecido el pluricentrismo del portugués se pueden apuntar los siguientes: ni Portugal ni Brasil ejercen poder político o económico sobre el otro; ambos países han ganado recientemente prestigio internacional, Portugal como miembro de la Unión Europea y Brasil por la popularidad internacional de sus telenovelas, de su música y de su fútbol y como potencia económica emergente; el desarrollo en las últimas tres décadas de diccionarios y gramáticas de referencia y el consecuente aumento de codificación de las normas estándar de Portugal y Brasil; la creación de instituciones, como la Asociación de las Universidades de Lengua Portuguesa y la Comunidad de Países de Lengua Portuguesa, que tratan de cuestiones de estandarización y promoción internacional de la lengua; y el reconocimiento cada vez mayor de la importancia del pluricentrismo del portugués en términos sociopolíticos, geoestratégicos, económicos y culturales. Hay, sin embargo, algunas asimetrías. Por ejemplo, mientras el PB goza de gran popularidad en Portugal y en otros países lusófonos, la exposición del PE en Brasil es, en general, mínima. En realidad, los brasileños tienen generalmente dificultades para entender la norma estándar del portugués hablado, mientras que lo contrario no se verifica. Otra asimetría muestra que la norma están-

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4 On the pluricentricity of Portuguese, cf. Baxter (1992, 11), Soares da Silva (2013, 80), Batoréo (2016), Oliveira (2016, 37). On Portuguese in the African states, cf. Baxter (1992, 15–18).

5 Among the studies on Portuguese language variation and pluricentricity, no attention is paid to the *dialectos portugueses del Uruguay* (DPU) (cf. the comprehensive account by Adolfo Elizaincín and Luis Behares, for example Elizaincín 1987). On non-dominating varieties of pluricentric languages and their codification, cf. Muhr (2005).

dar brasileña está mucho más alejada de la realidad y de la diversidad de la lengua hablada que la norma portuguesa".[6]

Oliveira (2016, 39) proposes a chronological division for Portuguese from *monocentric* (16th–19th century) to *bicentric* (19th–20th century) to *pluricentric* (21st century). He also points to the demographic factor which means that African Portuguese will have more weight in the future:

> "Demographic projection data of Portuguese speaking-countries, up to 2100, show a high population increase in the PALOP (Portuguese-speaking African Countries), especially in Angola and Mozambique, and to a population decrease in Brazil and Portugal. This means that a great number of Portuguese speakers will live in Southern Africa by the end of the 21st century" (Oliveira 2016, 36).

The forecasts for the further development of Portuguese as a pluricentric language differ:

> "Los lingüistas tanto brasileños como portugueses están divididos en lo que respecta a la diversidad que el portugués presenta: algunos consideran que lo que se habla en Brasil y en Portugal son ya lenguas diferentes (Bagno 2001); otros encuentran que estamos ante variedades diferenciadas aun de una misma lengua. La hipótesis de la divergencia entre las dos variedades es la que actualmente parece reunir mayor consenso. Por ejemplo, Castro (2006) formula la hipótesis de la fragmentación progresiva e inevitable de la lengua portuguesa" (Soares da Silva 2013, 82).[7]

Purist movements in Portugal are against any development towards pluricentrism and defend the monocentric status of European Portuguese (cf., e.g., *Estão a assassinar o português!*, edited by Vasco Graça Moura, 1983, Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda). In addition, the idea of a *português internacional*, comparable to the concept of *español neutro*, has to be mentioned. It is meant to represent a "balanced standard" between Portugal and Brazil that should be taught internationally (cf. Mulinacci 2016). However, this approach largely remains ineffective so far.

Even if the main subject of this article is lexicography, the long-run struggle for a common orthographic norm throughout the Lusophone countries has to be mentioned because it is a perfect reflection on the issue of pluricentricity in general. At the end of the 20th and beginning of the 21st century, negotiations, the conclusion and the subsequent steps of the signing and ratification of the *Acordo Ortográfico*

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6 Cf. also Baxter (1992, 14, 22s.), Soares da Silva (2014, 145–147; 2016a, 18; 2016b, 68–70).
7 For a more detailed account, cf. Soares da Silva (2014, 149; 2016a, 18). On the debates about the unity and diversity of Portuguese, see Soares da Silva (2014, 150–153) who applies Dirk Geeraerts' model: "Applying Geeraerts' (2003) distinction between romantic and rationalist models of language variation, four attitudes towards the question of convergence and divergence between the two national varieties can be identified in literature on the subject: romantic vs. rationalist convergent attitudes and romantic vs. rationalist divergent attitudes" (2014, 150).

were a subject of interest both among experts and the general public as they concerned the balance between tradition and usage. Leading lexicographers like Antônio Houaiss were involved in the negotiations. Meanwhile, in Brazil, Portugal and Cape Verde, the *Acordo Ortográfico* came into force through law after the expiration of a transitional period.[8]

1.3 Institutional actors in language culture

Considering the institutions and actors implicated in the establishment of the Portuguese standard, it should be noted that both the academy in Portugal and in Brazil play a lesser role than the language academies in other Romance-speaking countries. A superordinate association, comparable to the Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española (founded in 1951), does not exist.

The Academia Real das Sciencias, today's Academia das Ciências de Lisboa, was founded in 1779. The Classe de Belas Letras, later called Classe de Letras, was dedicated to the cultivation of language and literature. Regarding language normativization, its application area is limited to orthography though. Since 1924, it has collaborated with the Academia Brasileira de Letras in this domain (Woll 1994a, 391).

The Brazilian academy was established in 1896 with the explicit goal of language cultivation: "tem por fim a cultura da língua e da literatura nacional" (Statutes, art. 1; <http://www.academia.org.br/academia/estatuto>, 08/11/2018). Within the context of describing and codifying an independent Brazilian standard, it attends mostly the domain of grammar, particularly lexicography.[9]

Furthermore, the Sociedade da Língua Portuguesa (SLP) should be added to this list. It was founded in Lisbon in 1949 but closed in 2011 after state subsidies were not extended. The website has been shut down too, but older versions can be found under the domain of Lisbon University. The Facebook page Amigos da Sociedade da Língua Portuguesa contains a mixture of announcements and contributions of language criticism. Journalist José Mário Costa's website *Ciberdúvidas* represents a comprehensive platfom containing diverse activities. Established in 1997, it had to be shut down for a short period of time in 2012 before being reestablished through private financing and crowdfunding. Financial problems also affect the Instituto Internacional da Língua Portuguesa, an institution related to the CPLP (Comunidade dos Paises de Língua Portuguesa) founded in 2002 after twelve years of planning. According to its statutes, the institution's goal is "a promoção, a defesa, o enriquecimento e a difusão da língua portuguesa como veículo de cultura, educação, infor-

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8 On the negotiations, cf. Woll (1994a, 391), Machado Rego Metzeltin (1994, 427s.), Winkelmann (1994, 495s.), Brumme (2006, 1505s.), Baxter (1992, 30–32); on questions of norm and standard in Portuguese orthography, cf. Winkelmann (1994) and Brumme (2006, 1505s.) and ↗13.1.

9 On the Portuguese academy, cf. Woll (1994a, 394); on the Academia Brasileira de Letras' lexicographic activities, cf. the comprehensive exposition in Nunes (2015).

mação e acesso ao conhecimento científico, tecnológico e de utilização oficial em fóruns internacionais".[10] Consequently, it is aimed at the external spread of the Lusophony rather than at the internal management of Portuguese's pluricentricity (cf., however, below, section 4).[11]

2 The development of norm and standard in Portuguese

Portuguese spread in the 13th century first in scriptoria and chancelleries while rapidly acquiring a relatively homogeneous form (about the first written texts, cf. Woll 1994a, 385s.). Therefore, since the later stages of the Middle Ages and earlier than the other Romance languages, Portuguese has exhibited an informal written standard that was used in the entirety of the Portuguese state. This has been favored by the lack of dialectal substrates, by clear national borders and by the undisputed position of Court (cf. Woll 1994a, 382–390). The texts produced in the 15th century under the Aviz dynasty contributed to the establishment of a prescriptive norm (cf. Metzeltin 1994). At the same time, King Edward evoked a "geeral boo costume de nosso falar" (Woll 1994a, 391; Schmidt-Radefeldt 2002, 213) in his mirror of princes *Leal Conselheiro* (1437).

This kind of discourse was continued by the grammarians João de Barros (1496–1570) and Fernão de Oliveira (1507–1581). The latter emphasized the *bom uso* (also called *bo costume*) of writers and scholars by praising their clarity. For Fernão de Oliveira, the standard language was to be found in south Portugal as opposed to the north (Woll 1994a, 388).[12] The texts written by Fernão de Oliveira (*Grammatica da lingoagem portuguesa*, 1536) and João de Barros (*Grammatica da lingua portuguesa*, 1540) were not very widespread and had little impact in a time when Portuguese was barely taught. Nonetheless, the first third of the 16th century saw the establishment of a consolidated linguistic norm. It was reflected in classical Portuguese literature (cf. Schmidt-Radefeldt 2002, 213) and was clearly differentiated from Spanish. Along with the authors of the 17th and 18th centuries, the texts of the 16th century entered the literary canon of exemplary authors that served as a basis and source for the elaboration of dictionaries following the example of the Spanish *autoridades* (cf. Metzeltin 1994). In the 18th century, Jerónimo Contador de Argote

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10 *Estatutos da Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa*, Art. 9: Instituto Internacional de Língua Portuguesa.
11 On further institutions implicated in language cultivation, e.g. the Instituto Camões, cf. Schmidt-Radefeldt (2002, 214s.), Brumme (2006, 1505s.); on the CPLP, cf. Große (1996). On the history, structure and tasks of the IILP, cf. Oliveira (2015).
12 Cf. also Metzeltin (1994), Schmidt-Radefeldt (2002, 212), Woll (1994b).

also commented on the different linguistic varieties in his grammar *Regras da língua portuguesa* (1721): for him, the *dialectos locaes*, *dialectos do tempo* and *dialectos de profissão* formed part of the exemplary language as opposed to the *dialect rustico* (cf. Metzeltin 1994).[13]

The question of an independent Brazilian standard arose after political independence in 1822 when general schooling of the population was called for. In the context of Romanticism and Nationalism terms like *língua nacional*, *idioma nacional* and *língua brasileira* were evoked. However, from 1890 and far into the 20th century, a whole series of grammars were published that continued to codify a exonormative language model based on the Portuguese literature of the 19th century.[14] As part of the lexicon, Brazilianisms are already firmly established (cf. Duarte/Gomes/Paiva 2016, 53). Alongside José Lins do Rego's novel *Menino de engenho* (1932), spoken and colloquial language have entered Brazilian literature, even though this has not yet resulted in the emergence of a homogeneous Brazilian standard (cf. Woll 1994a, 391–395).

The debate on the standard language in Brazil that takes place in the 20th and 21st century is mostly determined by the enormous disparity between the fixed prescriptive norm and linguistic reality: "the standard of Brazil is far more removed from the reality and diversity of its spoken language than is the standard of Portugal" (Baxter 1992, 35; on the historic development, cf. Duarte/Gomes/Paiva 2016). Today, the debate also integrates questions of social exclusion and equal opportunities (cf. Bagno 2001) as well as the emergence of regional standards inside Brazil (e.g. in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo). An important aspect is the urban-rural gap: "BP presents a situation of diglossia – there is a clear distance between the idealized and prescriptive traditional norm and the real norm (or norms) used in big city centers" (Soares da Silva 2014, 148).

Meanwhile, this urban linguistic norm is being documented by several projects, for example the project *Norma Urbana Culta* (since 1969), that studies the language use of educated urban speakers in Porto Alegre, São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Salvador and Recife. Another ongoing project is the *Gramática do Português Falado* (since 1988).[15]

However, the Brazilian standard is not only spreading through explicit normative text genres but also through Brazilian media, which also dominate other Lusophone countries. Here, along print media, it is most notably television in general and *telenovelas* in particular that have a lot of impact on speakers (cf. Baxter 1992, 22).[16]

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13 For a history of codification of Portuguese as well as on standardization and standardization, cf. Baxter (1992, 12s.); cf. Metzeltin (1994) on language awareness and on the relation between the Portuguese and the Galician languages.

14 Cf. Woll (1994a, 393); on the 20th-century grammars of use, cf. Woll (1994b, 665–667).

15 Cf. Soares da Silva (2014, 153) on this and other projects; cf. also Duarte/Gomes/Paiva (2016).

16 On debates on Brazilian standard language(s), cf. Baxter (1992, 19–23) and Castilho (2005, 193–197); on the Brazilian prescriptive norm in grammars, cf. Baxter (1992, 20).

3 Standard and norm in Portuguese dictionaries

3.1 Portugal: the origins in the 18th century

The history of monolingual lexicography dates back to the 18th century.[17] The Theatine monk and born Frenchman Raphael Bluteau (1638–1734) is known as the first modern Portuguese lexicographer. He worked roughly 30 years on a ten-volume monolingual dictionary (although the title suggests a Portuguese-Latin dictionary) that was published between 1712 and 1728. Among his goals was the documentation of the richness of the Portuguese language through a maximum number of entries.

Alongside extensive encyclopedic information in Portuguese, each entry contains quotations from literary authors, Latin equivalents and numerous sublemmas. Apart from words documented by classical Portuguese authors, Bluteau also included archaisms, dialectalisms and exotisms (Brazil, India). In this sense, he talked about "Vocabulos vulgares, e outros inauditos ao vulgo; termos nobres, frases elegantes" (Suppl. 1, *Ao leitor impaciente*) and "muitos modos de fallar de Cidades, Provincias, e Reynos" (Suppl. 1, *Ao leitor estrangeiro*). The standard is defined as the "variedade nobre" used by "good" authors and in court. Substandard words were also included but always marked: "Tambem não fiz escrupulo de allegar com alguns Autores, que com algumas palavras offendem a pureza da Lingoa Portugueza; porque nestes taes achei outros termos, & vocábulos, muito próprios" (preface to the *Catalogo de Autores*).

Bluteau rejected the documentation of spoken language, which he considered corrupted (Suppl. 1, *Ao leitor portuguez*) and too instable. Therefore, only written language was considered worthy to be registered (preface to the *Catalogo de Autores*). Borrowings were only accepted in order to fill gaps in the Portuguese lexicon (Suppl. 1, *Ao leitor portuguez*). The spelling used in his dictionary was both conservative and etymologizing (cf. Winkelmann 1994, 489s.) and Bluteau himself considered the question of orthography as an unresolved problem: "naõ está a Orthografia certa, porque até agora naõ achey no idioma Portuguez regras de Orthografia taõ certas, nem Authores nesta arte taõ uniformes, que tenhaõ assentado com geral aceitaçaõ, e approvaçaõ dos Doutos, o verdadeiro modo de escrever" (Suppl. 1, *Advertencias a todo o leitor*).

The extensive prefaces and epilogues show that Bluteau was perfectly familiar with both Portuguese and European lexicographic traditions and that he had a critical outlook on his own writing. This is also true for his *Prosas portuguezas*, published in 1728, dedicated to questions of standardization, lexicographic fixation and

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[17] On the history of Portuguese lexicography in the 17th and 18th centuries, cf. Mühlschlegel (2000). A long list of unfinished projects can be found in Verdelho, s.d. On Bluteau, cf. Holtus/ Mühlschlegel (2000).

linguistic purism. Subsequently, Bluteau's dictionary constituted the primary point of reference for further works in Portuguese lexicography.

The Brazilian António de Moraes Silva[18] (1756–1824) studied law at Coimbra University, but his chances to work in the field were thwarted by an accusation by the Inquisition in 1779. During the trial, Morais Silva managed to flee to London where he lived nine years and started working on a dictionary. In 1788, he returned to Portugal and then moved to Recife.

His *Diccionario da lingua portugueza* was first published in 1789 under Bluteau's name ("composto pelo padre D. Raphael Bluteau, reformado, e accrescentado por Antonio de Moraes Silva"), presumably to circumvent the prohibition to print emitted by the Inquisition. Only from the second edition of 1813 onwards, it was published under his name. As opposed to Bluteau's comprehensive dictionary, it was meant to be a handy dictionary, easy to access. For this reason, Morais Silva deleted both the Latin part and the numerous quotations and extensive explanations that characterized Bluteau's work. These reductions amounted to about 25% (cf. Verdelho 1994, 677), without always achieving a significant reduction of the entries:

> "eu quizera ommittir muitos vocábulos de cargos, officios, navios, e outras cousas da Asia, e Ethiopia, que vem nas Historias daquellas partes, explicados ahi mesmó pelos Autores, e de que ninguém usou depois: mas receei que me accusassem dessa ommissao, e lá os conservei" (VIII).

On the other hand, Morais Silva added about 22,000 new lemmas as well as grammatical information and indications on pronunciation. New entries were also legitimized through quotations: "Os Autores, com que autorisei os artigos addidos, são Portuguezes castiços, e de bom seculo pela maior parte" (VIII).

The dedication (III–V) to Prince João, grandson of D. José, founder of the Regia Officina Typografica, was not signed by Morais Silva but by the booksellers Borel, Borel & Companhia. The dedication evokes the importance of language as a yardstick for the civilization and culture of the people and for its role among the other nations. Furthermore, the authors underline the old glory of the Portuguese language. Portuguese was in decline as could be seen by the increasing use of foreign words:

> "Sendo a riqueza das Linguas com justa razão considerada como huma balança fiel, em que se póde pezar ouro e fio o progresso da civilisação das Nações; grande argumento de gloria dahi resulta a Gente Portugueza, cuja Lingua em todos os conhecimentos humanos nao só chegou a ter seu proprio o cabedal perciso, mas ainda repartia com as outras Nações, que nas quatro partes do mundo conhecido della tomarao muitos termos, principalmente em Geografia, Historia Natural, Commercio, e Navegação. A fatalidade dos tempos, sem diminuir a riqueza da Lingua, empobreceo seus naturaes; e hum tao rico, e formoso idioma veio a ser

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18 According to the common spelling of his name. During the orthographic reform, it was adapted and since, it's usually spelled *Morais*. This form will be used here.

reputado defeituoso, assim que começava a propagar-se entre os Portuguezes a funesta liber-
dade de introduzir termos estranhos, que só fazia necessarios a ignorancia dos proprios"
(IIIs.).

The dictionary was meant to counteract this trend.

Concerning orthography, Morais Silva proposed a compromise in favor of read-
ing habits: even though he was a supporter of the *Orthografia Filosofica* and its 1 : 1
correspondence between sounds and letters, he used a common and widespread
moderate etymological spelling (cf. Winkelmann 1994, 493s.).

Despite certain deficits (from today's point of view), his dictionary constitutes
a landmark for Portuguese lexicography even today. Apart from the initial publica-
tion, the author supervised two more editions (Lisboa, ²1813 und ³1823) where he
made corrections and included expansions. The fourth edition, published posthu-
mously, was also accomplished following his notes. Due to its rapid spread, his
dictionary came to be an important factor in the development of the linguistic stan-
dard (cf. Brumme 2006, 1504; Verdelho s.d.). Further editions followed until the
tenth edition, published in Lisbon between 1949 and 1959, which was edited by
José Pedro Machado and counted more than 300,000 lemmas gathered in twelve
volumes.[19]

3.2 The dictionary of the Academia Real das Sciencias

The Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa was founded in 1779 on the initiative of
the Duque de Lafões and supported from the outset by Queen Maria I. In 1780,
inside the Classe de Belas Letras, the project of a comprehensive monolingual dic-
tionary was developed.[20]

Contrary to Italy, France and Spain, only three members of the academy were
asked to accomplish the work, which explains the project's ultimate failure. The
bulk of the work was left to only one person: the rhetoric teacher Pedro José Fonse-
ca, who had already gained significant experience with his *Diccionario Portuguez e
Latino* (1771). His accomplishments include the dedication and preface of the aca-
demic dictionary. Moreover, he elaborated the *Planta* and the author catalogue and
was responsible for a multitude of entries of the letter A. His collaborators were
Agostinho José da Costa Macedo and Bartolomeu Inácio Jorge. The dictionary's
goals, *riqueza*, *pureza* and *bom uso*, formed part of the intellectual currents of the
18th century and corresponded mostly with those pursued in other Romance-speak-
ing countries:

19 For a study of these editions, cf. Verdelho (2003).
20 Cf. Malaca Casteleiro (1981) for a history of the dictionaries authored by the Portuguese lan-
guage academy.

> "Não intenta a Academia dar a luz debaixo deste titulo hum simples Vocabulario de palavras Portuguezas; mas fixar em geral o idioma patrio (quanto se permitte nos existentes) pela autoridade dos nossos melhores Escritores, a differença dos significados em seus vocabulos, a variedade de seus usos, as suas syntaxes, frases, anomalias e elegancias. Alem disso procura facilitar a intelligencia das vozes obsoletas, mostrar a indole, riqueza e extensao de toda a lingoa, ajuntar em hum só corpo seus grossos cabedaes, fazerlhe estavel a consistencia, a regularidade, a correcção e a pureza" (*Prólogo*).

The *Introducção* (I–III) reinforces the contemporary concern for linguistic purification through quotations ranging from Cicero to Condillac as well as the necessity to fixate language by unalterable principles. Furthermore, article III of the *Planta* names the reasons for the decline of the Portuguese language: "vindo esta depois com excesso a extragarse quasi de todo pela leitura de livros estrangeiros, especialmente Francezes [...] e mais que tudo pelas pessimas".

The dictionary's content is defined as "[t]odas as palavras appellativas da Lingoa Portugueza, qualquer que seja della a especia, sem excluir (como já se disse) as antiquadas, terão lugar no Diccionario" (§VI). According to article VII, the dictionary should also include exotisms ("termos privativos das provincias e Conquistas de Portugal") in case they were used by classical authors, deonomastic adjectifs as well as burlesque, vulgar and colloquial expressions. It should not contain "as palavras que nuamente exprimem objecto deshonesto ou sordido" and those substandard words that were only known by "pessoas da infima condição". Through the inclusion of the aforementioned varieties, the use of markers meant to label deviations from the exemplary usage was necessary. In sum, the academy's dictionary was quite puristic in nature: the pursued "arte de bem dizer" was based on literary quotations from the 14th to the 17th centuries, notably from the 16th (cf. Woll 1990, 1727).

The section on orthography (*Planta*, art. XI) takes sides with an etymologizing and latinizing spelling but also evokes the intention to publish a standardized orthography under the name of the academy.

3.3 Portugal: the 19th century

The manuscript of the *Diccionario contemporaneo da língua portuguesa* by Júlio de Caldas Aulete, who died in 1878, was published posthumously by Santos Lopes Valente in 1881. In Portugal, the dictionary did not have much success (three editions, the last in Lisbon in 1948–1952). By contrast, it was widely used in Brazil (8th edition, Rio de Janeiro, 1987; numerous revisions until the *Novíssimo Aulete* of 2011). Due to its widespread use, it contributed to the standardization of the lexicon and was the basis for many dictionaries to come. Caldas Aulete's original 23-page introduction announces:

> "um vocabulario que represente a língua portugueza como ella é hodiernamente, contendo as palavras que são do domínio da conversação, de que boa parte se não encontra nos dicciona-

rios nacionaes; os neologismos sanccionados pelo uso e pela necessidade, e os termos techni-cos, que, com o desenvolvimento da instrucção publica, tem passado para a litteratura e para a linguagem da conversação. Não deixámos tambem de inserir os archaismos, que com mais frequencia se encontram nos clássicos dos séculos xvi e xvii" (Aulete 1881, I).

The dictionary wants to reflect the "estado actual" of the Portuguese language. Concerning orthography, the author supports the idea of two different norms: "palavras populares" should be spelled phonetically, "termos eruditos" etymologically.

The *Nôvo diccionario da lingua portuguesa* by Cândido de Figueiredo (1899) contains some 110,000 lemmas: "nada desperdicei do que fui colhendo: arcaismos e neologismos, derivações violentas e ate erroneas, termos de significação duvidosa ou obscura, tudo alphabetei e reproduzi" (Figueiredo 1899, VIII).

The autor underlines the importance of coloquial language (*vocabulario coloquial e popular*; "a linguagem popular mereceu-me longos e especiais cuidados", Figueiredo 1899, VII) and includes regionalisms (*provincianismos*) as well as gallicisms (also: *barbarismo*, *estranjeirismo*). He notes: "não sabemos se o gallicismo, hôje intolerável, será amanhan palavra portuguêsa ou, como tal, fará parte do thesoiro da lingua" (Figueiredo 1899, VIII). The wider concept contains archaisms and popular speech: "a linguagem portuguesa não é só a linguagem popular de hoje; é também a linguagem popular antiga, e a linguagem culta, antiga e moderna" (Figueiredo 1899, VIII). In addition to words pertaining to European mainland-Portuguese, he includes words from the Azores and Madeira as well as of Angola, Mozambique, India, Macau, Timor and Brazil (Figueiredo 1899, IX). He states: "um diccionario [...] destinado a tôdos os povos que falam português, não pòde prescindir dos termos brasílicos, que são inseparaveis da linguagem portuguêsa, praticada àlém do Atlântico" (Figueiredo 1899, IX).

His conception of a descriptive dictionary is defined as follows: "bem sei que os menos experientes em trabalhos desta natureza hão de acoimar-me de nimiamente tolerante [...] Mas ao diccionarista não impende o tolerar ou vedar o uso ou abuso [...] o diccionarista tem, como dêver capital, o reproduzir factos e interpretá-los. Se intende que um vocábulo está corrompido ou que é mal formado, se o julga neologismo inútil ou disparatado, consigna o que intende, mas regista o vocábulo" (Figueiredo 1899, XI).

Originally, Cândido de Figueiredo was a supporter of the *Ortographia Filosofica* citing Verney and Morais Silva (XV). Nonetheless, he frequently states variants (*pae/Pai*, *filosofo/philósopho*, *oiro/ouro*) in order to reflect the habits of his readers.

He himself supervised the second, third and fourth editions of his dictionary before J. Guimarães Daupias and other authors took over and continued with more than 30 editions. Even before that, Cândido de Figueiredo was quite famous and popular for his language teaching books, which contributed significantly to the diffusion of his dictionary.[21]

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21 For a critique of the definitions and the microstructure, cf. Woll (1990, 1729s.).

3.4 Portugal: from the 20th century until today

The dictionaries of use of publisher Porto Editores are widespread in Portugal. The monolingual Portuguese dictionary by Joaquim Almeida Costa and António Sampaio e Melo Costa was first published in 1952. Numerous new editions and slightly amended editions followed. The current edition of the *Dicionário da Língua Portuguesa* (Porto, Porto Editora, 2017) containing some 120,000 lemmas, still carries the year 1952. In addition, an indication of the *Acordo Ortográfico* of 1990 has been taken into account.

A new project that forms part of the publisher's line is the *Grande Dicionário da Língua Portuguesa*. Its principles are defined by Graciete Teixeira as follows:

> "A nossa língua tem sofrido uma continua evolução, fruto dos tempos e da sociedade actual. Sempre atenta aos fenómenos linguísticos, a Porto Editora decidiu consagrar numa só obra todo o seu trabalho de Língua Portuguesa, fornecendo assim a todos uma obra digna de referência. A elaboração deste dicionário exigiu um espirito crítico e um rigor extremo. [...] Não cabe ao lexicógrafo a tarefa de julgar ou censurar o sentido de qualquer palavra, mas tãosomente (o que não é, de modo algum, mais fácil) a de descrever os diferentes significados, enquadrando-os nos respectivos contextos. A finalidade de qualquer dicionário é apresentar um retrato objectivo do estado da língua no momento da sua elaboração, mas por maior e mais completo que seja, nenhum dicionário pode conter todos os termos existentes num idioma dada a sua vastidão indefinida. No entanto, estamos certos que este nosso Grande Dicionário de Língua Portuguesa cumpre cabalmente a função de mostrar a situação actual da nossa língua. Esta obra pretende servir as necessidades dos falantes de língua portuguesa no sentido lato da lusofonia, cobrindo um leque alargado de palavras usuais em Angola, no Brasil, em Cabo Verde, na Guiné-Bissau, em Macau, em Moçambique e em São Tomé e Príncipe, além das habituais ocorrências das regiões nacionais" (Teixeira 2004, s.p.).

The work is defined as a synchronic dictionary that also contains "noções depreciativas ou [...] sentidos pejorativos", which are marked as "os coloquialismos, os termo populares, do calão, da gíria". Neologisms and archaisms are included referring to linguistic richness: "estão as palavras antiquadas ou arcaicas que, apesar de serem pouco, ou nunca utilizadas pelos falantes, revelam a riqueza da própria língua" (Teixeira 2004, s.p.). The same justification is given concerning neologisms, e.g. anglicisms in the area of internet and informatics: "a adopção e/ou tradução de conceitos de origem anglófona, enriquecendo dessa forma o português e atestando assim a sua vitalidade". Brazilianisms and Africanisms are integrated in light of a pluricentric perspective:

> "entendemos que a promoção de uma língua comum não fragiliza as especifidades culturais das diversas regiões e dos diversos paises que a utilizam, antes consolida e promove essa riqueza, reforçando as identidades, e é nesse sentido que o Grande Dicionário dá um contributo decisivo para a consolidação de afinidades e laços que têm na língua portuguesa o seu principal fundamento" (Teixeira 2004, s.p.)

Phonetic transcriptions are conformous to the European norm, especially to the pronunciation of northern Portuguese. The same is true for Brazilianisms, where Euro-

pean pronunciation is applied. Spelling variants are accepted: "por vezes, uma palavra pode ser escrita de diversas formas igualmente correctas e acetáveis. A forma mais corrente e/ou preferível é definida e explicada, e as outras remetem para ela" (Teixeira 2004, s.p.). The edition of 2010 (410,000 lemmas) is compliant with the *Acordo Ortográfico*:

> "esta obra reflete de forma clara e exaustiva todas as mudanças descritas no *Acordo Ortográfico* de 1990, vindo deste modo contribuir para o uso correto da Língua Portuguesa por parte de todos os falantes, qualquer que seja o seu país de origem. A par das novas grafias, foram mantidas as grafias anteriores para facilitar a pesquisa de vocábulos neste momento determinante da evolução da língua portuguesa" (Teixeira 2010, s.p.).

The descriptive-normative approach is defined in the final sentence of the introduction: "o Grande Dicionário, que, não se assumindo como norma, retrata com rigor as variações e as opções lexicais tomadas pelos falantes de português" (Teixeira 2010). The same is stated in the advertising for the Kindle version (2014, reduced to some 300,000 lemmas): "o maior e mais completo dicionário padrão da língua portuguesa disponível para Kindle".[22]

In the 1970s, the *Academia das Ciências de Lisboa* started a new attempt to publish a Portuguese dictionary. The printing of the first volume (A–Azuverte) started in 1971, but when it was finished in 1976, no major amendments to orthography that took place had been taken into account (Academia das Ciências de Lisboa 1976, footnote on page VI). The lemmas contain: "1. As palavras que actualmente fazem parte da linguagem geral das principais cidades de língua portuguesa dos lados do Atlântico e na costa do Índico [it follows a enumeration of major Lusophone cities]. 2. As palavras que se encontram em obras da literatura clássica portuguesa". The latter has included poetry since Camões and prose texts since the 17th century. Regionalisms, which are included only if they are documented in literature, form part of phraseologisms and are known nationwide. Words from the substandard varieties *calão* and *gíria* are taken into account if their "sentido é conhecido dos falantes de qualquer nível social", neologisms if they correspond "a uma necessidade real de designação, estando correctamente formados, e os que, embora não satisfaçam a estas condições, já estão enraizados, sendo impossível bani-los ou ignorá-los" (Academia das Ciências de Lisboa 1976, VIII). Loan words, scientific and technical lexemes are included if they are widely accepted and known (cf. Baxter 1992, 13; Schmidt-Radefeldt 2002, 212s.).

Among the examples, Brazilian literature, especially from the 20th century, is included, too. The scientific contributions inside the preface (Joseph Maria Piel and João Malaca Casteleiro are among the authors) deplore the lack of homogeneity that characterizes Portuguese but underline its richness due to Brazilian, African and

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22 Source: Amazon, <https://www.amazon.com.br/Grande-Dicion%C3%A1rio-L%C3%ADngua -Portuguesa-Editora-ebook/dp/B00HGW83U4> (08/15/2018).

Asiatic Portuguese. European Portuguese constitutes the unmarked standard language, however, the authors also mention that, from a Brazilian point of view, denominations such as *hospedeira de bordo* should actually be considered *lusismos* (Academia das Ciências de Lisboa 1976, XXIX).

After 12 years in the making, the third effort to publish an academic dictionary in Portugal culminated in the publication of the *Dicionário da língua portuguesa contemporânea* (DLPC) in 2001. Containing 90,000 lemmas, it was sponsored by the Fundação Gulbenkian and officially published by João Malaca Casteleiro, the president of the *Instituto de Lexicologia e Lexicografia da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa*. The symbolic significance of the dictionary is stressed by Torre (2010, 129): "la etiqueta de Diccionario de la Academia representa un respaldo de la institución que resuelve el problema emblemático de la obra, y al mismo tiempo contribuye al prestigio cultural de la lengua portuguesa, equiparándola, a través de un diccionario académico, al español y a otras lenguas europeas".

The book starts with three quotations from Eça de Queirós, Carlos Drummond de Andrade and Mia Couto and thus shows the wide spectrum of the Lusophony. The preface states the following principles:

> "A língua falada por um povo é um organismo vivo, enriquecendo-se quotidianamente no contacto dos seus falantes com novas realidades da existência e até com com falantes de outros idiomas. Há que lutar pela sua defesa e ilustração, mas sabendo que os novos vocábulos e até novos termos de outros idiomas ou estrangeirismos, uma vez integrados e afeiçoados no cerne da língua falada, não a corrompen nem a poluem lexicalmente" (DLPC, IX–X).

The authors also stress the importance of literature, which fixes language and of orthography, which gives it a (albeit changing) framework.

The ten-page *Introdução* justifies the descriptive-normative (*dicionário padrão da língua*) conception:

> "O Dicionário da Academia, embora seja uma obra de natureza essencialmente descritiva, fundamentada no uso da Língua, tem também uma preocupação normalizadora em aspectos que se relacionam com a grafia, a fonética, o aportuguesamento de estrangeirismos ou a sua substituição por formas vernáculas, a hifenação de certos compostos, etc. Pela sua função didáctica, objectivos e características, assim como pelas expectativas criadas à sua volta, o Dicionário da Academia assume-se, pois, como uma obras de orientação idiomática no domínio lexical" (DLPC, XIII).

The general vocabulary contains "as palavras que actualmente fazem parte de linguagem corrente das principais cidades de língua portuguesa, de Portugal, do Brasil, da África lusófona e dos territórios asiáticos onde se fala português" (DLPC, XIV) as well as the vocabulary of 19th- and 20th-century authors and those of written communication in general. Furthermore, it includes technical terminology, regionalisms documented in literature and those lexems from *gíria* and *calão* "que se generalizam na linguagem corrente" (DPLC, XIV). The explanations relating to neologisms are identical to those of the academic dictionary of 1976. Loan words are

given following their original spelling and, if they are widespread, according to an adjusted spelling. Here, the corresponding explanations are identical, too.[23]

Brazilian vocabulary is included if it is "de uso geral em Brasil" and if the lexemes have a different meaning than in European Portuguese. Different spellings are not given. The lexicon of the Lusophone countries of Africa and Asia are taken into account.

Diasystematical markings (*popular*, *familiar*, *gíria*, etc.) are used in the case of "empregos não pertencentes à lingua culta", diatopical markings for Brazilianisms (stating the specific region) as well as for other Lusophone countries. The phonetic transcriptions follow the "norma culta, aproximada, de Lisboa e Centro do país" (DPLC, XVIII). Concerning orthography, it has to be stated that the development of the DLPC fell right into the debate on the *Acordo ortográfico*.

Criticism of the DLPC concerns the inclusion of neologisms and an excessive concentration on the urban norm: "se le reprocha el incluir un abultado número de neologismos (en su mayoría extranjerismos) propios de la civilización urbana, con las consiguientes y notables lacunas en lo que respecta a los regionalismos" (Torre 2010, 132).

3.5 Brazil

As early as 1910, Mário de Alencar, a member of the Brazilian academy, proposed the creation of a "dicionário de brasileirismos" to the Academia Brasileira de Letras. Later, the project is amended to a "dicionário da língua" (Austregésilo de Athayde in Nascentes, 1961–1967, *Prefácio*, III).

In the 1930s, the academy established a lexicographic working group that unfortunately dissolved four years later. Therefore, the five-volume *Grande e Novíssimo Dicionário da Língua Portuguesa* (1939–1944) was published under the name of its author, Laudelino Freire without further mention of the academy. His dictionary was not wide spread and did not continue. It is noteworthy, however, that it constitutes the beginning of an autonomous Brazilian lexicography and that the first debates on the establishment of a standard of the elites, different from Brazilian colloquial language, emerged with it (Nunes 2015, 43–46).

Even though he was a founding member of the Academia Brasileira de Filologia, Antenor Nascentes (1886–1972) was not a member of the Academia Brasileira de Letras. He was in charge of making a dictionary as an external expert. The Spanish academic dictionary served him as role model, his sources were Caldas Aulete, Morais Silva, Cândido de Figueiredo and the *Dicionário de vocábulos brasileiros* by

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23 On the debate on *vícios da linguagem* and linguistic purism in the 20th century, cf. Schmidt-Radefeldt (2002, 214s.). In sum, it has to be noted that "negatively normative dictionaries" that are directed against Gallicisms and Anglicisms are much less frequent in Portugal and Brazil than, for example, in Spanish language culture (cf. Malkiel 1989, 65).

Beaurepaire Rohan (Nascentes 1961–1967, *Prefácio*, IX). Next, came the *Dicionário da Língua Portuguesa*, printed between 1961 and 1967 (cf. Nunes 2015, 46–48). It codifies "a língua viva do Brasil de hoje [...], o que não se encontrar será arcaico, regional da Europa, da Asia ou da África, supérfluo ou errado" (Nascentes 1961–1967, *Prefácio*, IX). On the other hand "omitiram-se, porém, barbarismos, estrangeirismos inúteis, palavras chulas, de gíria ou pouco decentes" (Nascentes 1961–1967, *Prefácio*, IV). Other lexemes were marked accordingly: "Vocábulos a suprimir: marquei os galicismos correntes, as palavras de duvidosa vernaculidade, as da gíria. A Academia resolverá se as aceita ou não" (Nascentes 1961–1967, *Prefácio*, X). The guiding principle for the inclusion of Brazilianisms is to "registrar apenas aqueles que Rodolfo Gracia chamou pambrasileiros, além de um ou outro de caráter regional, mas de importância nacional" (Nascentes 1961–1967, *Prefácio*, XI). In 1988, Nascentes' dictionary is officially assumed and republished by the Brazilian academy. Criticism concerns the fact that even though it codifies the Brazilian and takes into account the Portuguese standard language, it sets aside African and Asiatic varieties (cf. Baxter 1992, 20s.).

The *Pequeno dicionário brasileiro da língua portuguesa* (1938) starts another comprehensive dictionary family.[24] The most prominent members are the editions, published from 1961 on and edited by Aurélio Buarque de Hollanda Ferreira. After him, all these dictionaries – and often any dictionary in Brazil – are named *Aurélio* or, as a comprehensive dictionary, *Aurelião*.[25] The existence of a word is often defined by the expression "está no Aurélio": if it is not in the *Aurélio*, it does not exist (cf. Woll 1994a, 394).

The 5th edition of 2010 contains 145,000 lemmas. For its content, the authors evaluated many sources: "atento não so à língua dos escritores (muito especialmente os modernos, mas sem desprezo, que seria pueril; dos clássicos), senão também à língua dos jornais e revistas, do teatro, do rádio e televisão, ao falar do povo, aos linguajares diversos – regionais, jocosos, depreciativos, profissionais, giriescos ..." (Ferreira 1975, *Prefácio*, VII).

At the same time, the preface stresses the importance of journalists and *cronistas*[26] for using a down to earth language and creating new words. The second edition (1986) takes into account divergent definitions in European and Brazilian Portuguese. Additionally, it considers the vocabulary used in the Azores and Madeira. Since the third edition, lexemes from Lusophone Africa have taken into account "para que o Aurélio continue, sempre, a refletir o português vivo, do Brasil, de Portugal e – esta é uma novidade introduzida na presente edição – da África, continuaremos [...] a registrá-lo em todos os seus aspectos" (Ferreira ³2004, Prefácio).

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24 On the list counting 41 single titles, cf. the entry "Versões do Dicionário Aurélio da Língua Portuguesa" on <https://pt.wikipedia.org/> (08/15/2018).

25 The same is true for *Michaelis*, which continues the name of the German-Portuguese lexicographer Karoline Michaelis (later: Carolina Michaelis de Vasconcelos, 1851–1925).

26 The *crónica* is a journalistic text genre popular both in Brazil and Hispanic America. It provides the reader with impressions from society, politics, sports, and so on.

Apart from the *Aurélio* two more dictionary families count among the most widespread lexicographic works: *Michaelis* and *Houaiss*.

The *Michaelis*-line of the publisher Melhoramentos and its *Novo Dicionário Brasileiro Ilustrado* (1962), its *Grande Dicionário Brasileiro Melhoramentos* (1975) and its *Moderno Dicionário da Língua Portuguesa* (1998) defines itself as "uma grande e imprescindível obra de referência que renova as possibilidades de estudo, conhecimento e uso correto de nossa língua" (Michaelis 1998, VII). It stands out that "brasileiro" was deleted from the title and replaced by "nossa lingua". The vocabulary of the current dictionary, which contains 174,000 entries, was chosen according to the following principles: "Especial ênfase foi dado ao registo de novas palavras que sugiram com o desenvolvimento das ciências e da tecnologia, além da inclusão dos neologismos da linguagem padrão, dos regionalismos, da gíria e do baixo calão" (Michaelis 1998, VII). The marking "indica área de conhecimento, regionalismo brasileiro, tipo de linguagem, gíria, baixo calão o lusismo" (Michaelis 1998, IX). The truth is that *lusismos* (e.g. comparing *chávena* and *xícara*) are especially left unmarked.

Antônio Houaiss was a central figure in language debates and a supporter of a Brazilian norm. Among his books are *Sugestões para uma política da língua* (1960), *A crise da nossa língua de cultura* (1983) and *O Português no Brasil* (1985). Simultaneously, in the 1960s, he worked for the United Nations and contributed to the process of decolonialization of Africa and Asia. Additionally, he was the Brazilian representative in the negotiations on the *Acordo Ortográfico*. The famous dictionary named after him, the *Grande dicionário Houaiss da língua portuguesa*, was elaborated by a working group under his and Mauro de Salles Villar's supervision. It included collaborators from Brazil, Portugal and five African countries and was first published after 20 years in 2001 counting 195,000 entries (today: 230,000). Its goal is the most comprehensive integration of the European, Brazilian, African and Asian lexicon, of neologisms, technical and scientific terminology and of colloquial language. Alongside the Brazilian edition, a Portuguese edition was first published in 2002. Due to the fact that the Instituto Antônio Houaiss de Lexicografia (Rio de Janeiro) has worked since its foundation in 1997, based on IT and created the *Banco de Dados da Língua Portuguesa*, the first editions of the dictionary were published both as print and CD-ROM-versions. Nowadays, an online database (registration required) containing more than 230,000 entries is available.

4 Conclusion and outlook

The early emergence of a quite homogeneous national language in Portugal favored the establishment of a linguistic standard that has manifested itself in the monolingual dictionaries since the 17th century. The authors of these dictionaries not only tend to include the Portuguese lexicon in a comprehensive way but also mark those

lexemes that diverge from the standard language. Restrictions concern regionalisms and substandard vocabulary. An autonomous Brazilian standard only emerges in the course of the 20th century. With the increasing demographic, economic and political importance of Lusophone African countries, these varieties too have come to be included in modern dictionaries on an equal footing.

Since 2015, the *Vocabulário Ortográfico Comum da Língua Portuguesa* (VOC) has been available online thanks to the *Instituto Internacional da Língua Portuguesa* (IILP).[27] The database contains more than 250,000 entries and is based on the *Vocabulários ortográficos nacionais* (VON) of Brazil, Cape Verde, Mozambique, Portugal and Timor-Leste. Its primary concern is orthography, and its content is described as "palavras representativas do português escrito nesses países, tanto do léxico comum, como das áreas críticas da ortografia que representam a toponímia e as formas provindas de outras línguas e cuja grafia não se encontra adaptada à do português". Ultimately, the VOC influences the lexicon, which is why, in the *Apresentação*, the authors stress its importance as a "Memória Lexicográfica do Português". It remains open whether or not a comprehensive pan-Lusophone instrument will emerge from it.

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27 <http://voc.iilp.cplp.org>; cf. Oliveira (2015, 29s.).

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Maria Filomena Gonçalves
13.4 Dictionaries of Language Difficulties

Abstract: This article provides an overview of the history and the current situation of the so-called dictionaries of doubts and difficulties. These instruments are meant to address the speakers' "insecurity" concerning specific aspects of the Portuguese language. This concerns both the European and Brazilian norm. The current dictionaries of difficulties will be contextualized within the wider Lusophone tradition. By doing so, the article will present a critical panorama of the most important dictionaries of difficulties published at the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century. Emphasis will be put on how these instruments reflect different normative attitudes and discursive strategies vis-à-vis the diversity of usages and language change.

Keywords: Portuguese, linguistic difficulty, linguistic insecurity, dictionaries of language difficulties, style books, standardization, implementation, modernization, normative discourse, pluricentricity

1 Introduction

An awareness of the variability of the language and the feeling of "insecurity" (cf. Francard 1997) regarding the "correct" or "good" use of Portuguese first emerged right after the beginnings of the metalinguistic tradition. Testimony thereof is given by grammarians and other authors who saw themselves confronted both with the variation of spoken language and the necessity of a written standard language (Oliveira 1536; Barros 1540; Gândavo 1574; Leão 1576; cf. Santos 2006). Debates concerned the selection of a social and geographical variety that could serve as the basis of that standard and as a model for orthography (Feijó 1734; Verney 1746; Monte Carmelo 1767). Later on, language became the object of a puristic attitude (Leite 1997), which became obvious in the 17th century due to contact with other languages. Purism is a manifestation of metalinguistic thought (Delveroudi/ Moschonas 2003) according to Houaiss/Villar (2015, 3195) and is defined by the aprioristic rejection of "toda transformação de caráter regencial, sintático ou empréstimo de estrangeirismos, fixando arbitrariamente determinado momento histórico como depositário atemporal da correção linguística". In the first dialogue of his *Corte na Aldeia* (1991 [1619]), Francisco Rodrigues Lobo stated accordingly that his contemporaries used their mother tongue "mais remendada do que capa de pedinte" (1991 [1619], 85). The influence of borrowings, especially from Spanish, started to be seen as a threat. This was a topos that would be the *leitmotiv* of the dictionaries of doubts and difficulties even though, during the 19th and the first half of the

20th century, the attention of lexicographers was first drawn towards French (Amaral 1938; 1943; Nascentes [4]1962 [1941]), then from the 1960s on, to English (cf. Neves 2003; Estrela/Soares/Leitão 2004; 2010).

As opposed to general dictionaries, which normally do not have the purpose of prescribing certain variants in an explicit way, dictionaries of doubts or difficulties (on the denomination, cf. Porto Dapena 2002, 67) are considered instruments of normative orientation. It is the purpose of dictionaries of doubts, difficulties or errors to provide orientation by giving answers to questions concerning all kinds of forms (including orthography and orthoepy) on all levels of linguistic usage. They do so by choosing among competing variants, i.e. by marking them dianormatively (Haensch et al. 1982, 151s.). Traditionally, these instruments have exhibited a clearly prescriptive attitude towards language variation drawing a line between *bom uso* and *mau uso* by formulas like "deve dizer-se" or the traditional "*x*, não *y*". In other words, they are supposed to provide objective answers that are preferably short and simple. The same is true for style books or manuals directed at language professionals like journalists.[1]

Since Portuguese is a pluricentric language, some preliminary considerations of the concept of norm are necessary. Concerning Brazilian Portuguese, recent studies have shown a deep fracture between the "norma popular" and the so-called "norma culta". However, not even the speech of educated speakers is homogeneous. Because of this complex constellation, there is no consensus on what defines the characteristics of the "norma culta".[2] In this article, when we talk about the Brazilian norm or standard language, we refer to the norm of the learned variety, the one that is generally subject to standardization. By contrast, the evaluation of the European standard and its characteristics is less problematic. Finally, the question of African national norms cannot be resolved since, as of today, these are still emerging and national standards are in the process of elaboration.

It is important to consider that the dictionaries of language difficulties of different Lusophone countries also deal with different problems concerning the "good use" of Portuguese. While doubts and difficulties common to all national varieties exist, there are also uncertainties specific to one variety or another. This is why, since the beginning of the 20th century, national and more or less autonomous textual traditions have emerged.

This article tries to provide a general overview of the most important dictionaries of difficulties and style books in both Portugal (section 2) and Brazil (section 3). The recent emergence of digital, i.e. online, instruments will also be taken into account.

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1 The characteristics of "grammatical dictionaries" is somewhat different, which is why they will not be treated in this article.
2 This subject is frequently revisited in light of the social history of Brazil and the social, ideological and political representation of Brazilian Portuguese (cf. Bagno 2002; 2004; 2009; 2015 [1999]; Faraco 2008; 2011; Lagares/Bagno 2011; Lucchesi 2015; ↗13.2).

2 The tradition of dianormative instruments in Portugal

2.1 From the beginnings to the second half of the 20th century

The first repertories of difficulties and errors go back to the 18th century and were compiled in the context of the standardization of orthography. In the work of Madureira Feijó (1734), we find a list of words that the author judged incorrectly pronounced ("erros communs da pronunciação do vulgo", Feijó 1734, 163s.). His approach is similar to the system of the *Appendix Probi*: "*x* não *y*". The list is extensive and contains all kinds of errors although those concerning spelling and pronunciation prevail. It is interesting to see that the catalogue contains many forms that are still discussed by modern dictionaries of difficulties as is the case of "comprimento/cumprimento" (cf., for Portugal, Estrela/Soares/Leitão 2010, 83; for Brazil, Neves 2003, 233). Sometimes, the motivation for Feijó's decisions for one of two forms is not clear: "*Bertoêja*, ou *bortoêja* dizem alguns commumente; e eu dissera *Brotoêja*, a comichão em que brota a effervescencia do sangue" (Feijó 1734, 226). The normative marking provides valuable information on the changing character of both usage and norm. Have a look, for example, at the case of *você*, perfectly generalized and neutral in Brazil as opposed to Portugal, where it exhibits a complex range of pragmatic values. However, in the 18th century, it was not considered recommendable as we see:

> "*Vossê*, derivasse de *vos*, trato de gente inferior, que nem he *vos*, nem *vossa merce*, e por isso senaõ dirá *Você*" (Feijó 1734, 542).

Despite the considerable production of (normative) dictionaries during the following century (cf. Verdelho/Silvestre 2007, 49–57), normative repertories remained successful. For instance, Portugal (1856) compiled "errors" and "corrections".

Beyond the doubts on the pronunciation and spelling of words (homophones, homographs and paronyms) in the 19th century, borrowings from French became an important subject of the normative discourse and encouraged the publication of specific works like Cardeal Saraiva's *Glossario das Palavras e Frases da Lingua Franceza, que por descuido, ignorancia, ou necessidade se tem introduzido na Locução Portugueza moderna; com o juizo critico das que são adoptaveis nella* (1827 [1816]) (i.e. Fr. Francisco de São Luís). Wearing the official seal of the Real Academia das Ciências (today's Academia das Ciências de Lisboa) this *Glossário* demonstrates the influence French language had among Portugal's elite, not only lexically but also regarding semantics and syntax (Figueiredo 1902; Boléo 1965; Machado 1994; Gonçalves 2006; Teixeira 2009).

In sum, all these works, whether in the form of lists, glossaries, repertories or dictionaries, reflect the manner and idea of standardization. They have in common

a tendency towards an ideal norm which is conservative and, for the most part, detached from actual linguistic usages. Nonetheless, it is only in the 20ᵗʰ century that the normative and dianormative marking becomes the characteristics of a specific kind of dictionary, different from general dictionaries.

2.1.1 The *Novo Dicionário de Dificuldades da Língua Portuguesa*

Vasco Botelho de Amaral (1912–1980) is without a doubt the most important representative of language cultivation within the realm of (dia-)normative lexicography concerning European Portuguese. In 1938, he published his first *Dicionário de Dificultades*, reedited and updated several times until 1958, when his *Grande Dicionário de Dificultades e Subtilezas da Língua Portuguesa* came out (this edition was reedited in 2012 as a tribute to the author). Furthermore, over this 20-year period, he published the *Novo Dicionário de Dificuldades da Língua Portuguesa* (1943), the *Subtilezas, Máculas e Dificuldades da Língua Portuguesa* (1946) and the *Glossário Crítico de Dificultades do Idioma Português* (1947).

Amaral considers the normativity of various aspects of both oral and written language use as is indicated on the cover of his *Novo Dicionário de Dificuldades da Língua Portuguesa* (1943). We will take it as an example of both the normative practice and the normative discourse typical for the first half of the 20ᵗʰ century. The dictionary states the following topics:

> "Formação, Ortografia, Ortoépia, Morfologia, Sintaxe, Solecismos, Sematologia, Neologismos, Estilística, Vernaculidade, Estrangeirismos".

After the introduction, it remains obvious that, from Amaral's point of view, the entrance of foreign words is one of the most important issues (cf. the debates both in Portugal and in Brazil; cf. Figueiredo 1902). The focus was, of course, on Gallicisms. Concerning this topic, Amaral defined a clear set of principles stating that foreign words were to be considered attempts on the "vernacularidade" of the Portuguese language:

> "Neste *Dicionário de Dificuldades* da nossa língua registam-se palavras e expressões estrangeiras, não porque dela façam parte integrante mas porque tão arraigado está o hábito de se lançar mão de têrmos estranhos que nem os escritores clássicos se dedignam de com eles enfeitarem a escrita, de vez em quando. Ora, pequena ou grande, a dificuldade está amiúde em se encontrar na língua portuguesa têrmo ou termos em correspondência com os exóticos" (Amaral 1943, 9s.).

It's in the name of this "vernacularidade" of the "língua nacional" that Amaral goes against foreign words and barbarisms:

> "Pôsto que este *Dicionário de Dificuldades* não cuide apenas dos chamados estrangeirismos, necessário se tornou não alhear-se dêles, e assim combate barbarismos de vocábulos, de frase e de construção" (Amaral 1943, 11).

Concerning the variety and nature of possible vernacular alternatives to avoid Gallicisms, one of the most striking examples is the entry *chauffeur*, which has been documented as an original form in Portuguese texts since 1908 (cf. Houaiss/Villar 2015, 964) and alternates today with *motorista*:

> "Propôs-se para substituir êste francesismo 1) *condutor*, 2) *motorista*, 3) *autista*, 4) *guiauto*, 5) *automobilista*, 6) *volantista*, 7) *motorneiro*. Havia por onde escolher, evitando-se *chauffeur*, que o povo lê *chófer* (como em espanhol, aliás), e cujo significado é – fogueiro. Em Espanha também se propôs – *mecânico, maquinista*. *Motorista* foi a tradução que se vulgarizou" (Amaral 1943, 169).

Like in many other cases treated by Amaral, the corrective discourse is noteworthy for its use of imperatives ("escreva-se"). Amaral's standardization assumes, therefore, quite an authoritarian tone.

If the intent to "vernacularize" is quite notorious concerning foreign words, especially Gallicisms, the same is true regarding other kinds of expressions and constructions. The following cases treat verbal regency and the so-called "queísmo": "*Acabar com*. É regência correcta"; "*Acabar de*. É bom Português ao contrário do que alguns pensam"; "*Acabar por*. Não é galicismo"; "*Ter duvida que* é correcto". In other cases, the author confirms the normativity of expressions: "*Comprido de tantos metros*. É êrro. Com o comprimento *de*, *tantos metros de comprido* – eis a correcção" (Amaral 1943, 197).

Botelho de Amaral's dianormative "filter" also applies to the use of doublets of participles like *absorvido/absorto*, *assentado/assente*, *comprimido/compresso*, *matado/morto*. These cause linguistic insecurities (Francard 1997) because according to the norm, the regular forms with *-ado/-ido* select *ter* and *haver*, while the irregular forms are constructed with *ser*, *estar* and *ficar*. This topic remains current, which means the insecurities persist. Another persistent difficulty is the use of the adjectives *melhor* and *pior* for the adverbs *bem* and *mal* (*mais bem*, *mais mal*). In this instance, Amaral is less severe than in other cases: "Nós julgamos que se torna indiferente o emprego de *mais bem* (e *mais mal*) ou *melhor* (e *pior*) desde que *bem* e *mal* não forme composto com o adjectivo subsequente" (Amaral 1943, 546).

In sum, these examples clearly show Amaral's normative rigor concerning all levels of linguistic use. Amaral is more tolerant regarding internal variation than foreign borrowings. His influence cannot be overestimated given, on the one hand, the great number of editions during the 20-year period and, on the other hand, the repercussions on later works in the field.

2.1.2 The *Dicionário de Erros e Problemas de Linguagem*

Published in 1969 (3rd edition in 1989), the *Dicionário de Erros e Problemas de Linguagem* by Rodrigo de Sá Nogueira (1892–1979) is, like the title shows, a dianormative dictionary. In his prologue, the author acknowledges that it would be impossi-

ble to gather all errors, so he had to limit himself to comment only on those he considered "mais impressionantes" as well as the "muitos modernismos, que estão invadindo a língua sem verdadeira necessidade, como por ex. management, reciclagem, etc." and "alguns problemas de sintaxe e de etimologias geralmente mal interpretadas, segundo o meu modo de ver" (Nogueira ³1989 [1969], 7).

Like Botelho de Amaral, Sá Nogueira uses the first person throughout his normative discourse. He thus assumes authority and wants to contribute to the establishment of the "verdade científica". This recourse to science is in fact a novelty as is his reference to the "julgamento imparcial". His approach manifests itself in his choice of authors that serve to back his evaluation of problematic linguistic forms. It is noteworthy that Sá Nogueira also included linguistic issues, which, without doubt, arose from and are connected with the political developments from the end of the 1960s onwards. These issues were accelerated by the Carnation Revolution (25ᵗʰ April 1974), democratization and the entrance of new ideas and customs from Europe and its former African colonies.

Many entries treat foreign words even though Sá Nogueira is much less rigorous than purists before him. Consider *abat-jour*: "É dispensável este galicismo. Não querendo, à viva força dispensá-lo, dê-se-lhe, ao menos forma portuguesa na escrita *abajur*" (Nogueira ³1989 [1969], 9; cf. also *gare*, *gaffe*, *agrafe*). In the same manner, Anglicisms are on the rise as can be seen by the example of *drugstore*: "Parece impossível, mas é verdade! [...] o meu pasmo de tristeza de ver estampado em letra redonda e em local de relevo no considerado primeiro jornal diário da Capital e no século XX ..." (Nogueira ³1989 [1969], 152; cf. also *garden-party*, *groom*, *gulf-stream*, *stock*).

The author treats analogy effects on all levels of the linguistic system. Take for instance the case of *explodir* ("*expludo*, *expludes* [...]. A analogia interfere aqui com força [...]", Nogueira ³1989 [1969], 185) or the "confusão existente" concerning the plural forms of names ending on *-ão* (Nogueira ³1989 [1969], 29). Sá Nogueira tends to accept the generalized use. However, in other cases like verb regency and syntactic constructions, the author tries to control and correct deviations from the prescriptive norm (cf., e.g., the entries *metade dos homens morreram*, *fazer com que*, *duvidar de que*, *estou convencido de que*).

Sá Nogueira accepts many technical and scientific terms in consonance with the general tendencies of society. The corresponding entries are mostly aimed at standardizing the pronunciation of some of these words as in *biopsia* where the /i/ and not the /o/ needs to be stressed.

Finally, it's important to emphasize two important aspects of the author's normative attitude: the "modernismos" and the neologisms. Sá Nogueira (³1989 [1969], 257s.) considers words and expressions like *funcional*, *descontracção*, *descontraído*, *relevante*, *relevância*, *uns quantos*, *ao fim e ao cabo*, *reunião cimeira*, *no cume*, *de alto nível*, *a escala de*, *na medida em que*, *monumental*, *de nada* – all of them considered normal today.[3]

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3 There are only a few references to Brazilian Portuguese in Sá Nogueira's dictionary even though he sometimes refers to the works of Antenor Nascentes.

2.2 Current dictionaries of difficulties

2.2.1 The *Dicionário de dúvidas, dificuldades e subtilezas da língua portuguesa*

After their successful *Saber escrever, saber falar: um guia completo para usar correctamente a língua portuguesa* (2004), Edite Estrela, Maria Almira Soares and Maria José Leitão published another clearly dianormative dictionary, the *Dicionário de dúvidas, dificuldades e subtilezas da língua portuguesa* (2010) (cf. Ayres-Bennett 2016, 105). The extremely successful *Guia* (13 editions until 2013) promises to follow an "ideal de correcção" in order to offer "segurança ao leitor" by addressing the "atentados ao 'corpo da língua'". It aims at doubts concerning all levels of linguistic use.

Even though in their subsequent *Dicionário de dúvidas, dificuldades e subtilezas da língua portuguesa*, the authors take a somewhat less prescriptive stance, they stress the fact that their dictionary, which contains some 1,400 entries, is based on "estudo, na experiência e na observação dos casos frequentes e reincidentes de atropelos ao carácter e à identidade da nossa língua" (Estrela/Soares/Leitão 2010). Within Portuguese dianormative lexicography, it is not the first time that a dictionary addresses "subtilezas". The term is a borrowing from French and was already used by Vasco Botelho de Amaral (cf. above, 2.1.1). Nevertheless, no distinction is made between difficulties, doubts and subtleties. The dictionary continues the tradition started by Botelho de Amaral: instead of a descriptive attitude, their approach is clearly prescriptive aiming at "the best use" of the linguistic system on all levels. The terminology used within the dictionary clearly shows the authors' affiliation with the tradition of linguistic purism (cf. Burke 1998). Without referring to the given variation in language use, the authors advocate for an ideal norm, hence their prescriptive attitude. To give but one example, the authors declare that the form *rentável* (< Fr. *rentable*), very frequent in everyday language usage, would infringe the "normas de derivação" recommending instead the form *rendível* – a form that, curiously, is only used by purists. In this sense, it is also understandable that their dictionary does not include the form *você* even though it is more and more recurrent in European Portuguese. As opposed to Brazilian Portuguese, where the form is generalized and neutral, the growing complexity of uses resists any standardization effort, something that certainly collides with the intent to offer a simplistic standardization. Nevertheless, despite its prescriptive focus, this dictionary does not exclude forms that are already completely established in general usage (see, for example, the formation of plural forms of names in *-ão*). Moreover, the authors include entries clearly referring to the current world like *chancelerina* (referring to Angela Merkel), *talibã*, *maestrina*, *paraolimíadas*, which show that, in the end, even a traditional normative vision has to correspond to new realities.

2.3 Style books (*livros de estilo*)

Daily newspapers, radio stations and, above all, TV stations have a lot of influence on the speech of many people for whom the language used by professionals constitutes a model in every aspect (pronunciation, vocabulary, syntax, use of registers). Therefore, the limited number of standardization instruments directed at the difficulties encountered by professionals is quite noteworthy. This is true despite the multiplication of journalism schools, despite the common criticism of the "bad use" of language in these media and despite the existence of television shows like *Bom Português* on RTP. Then again, it has to be stressed that the instruments produced by communications media – style books – treat only a few of the various aspects of language use. The resolution of linguistic doubts is left to instruments directed at the general public.

2.3.1 The *Livro de Estilo* of *Público*

Público was the first Portuguese newspaper to produce a style book. The original text of its *Livro de Estilo* dates back to 1988. Only in 1997 was it published in book form with a second edition coming out in 2005. It presents the typical structure of a manual elaborated by professionals. Therefore, before treating linguistic issues, it attends to journalistic questions corresponding to the "princípios fundadores do jornalismo internacional". They are structured as follows: "Parte I – *Introdução*, *Questões de ética e deontologia*, *Critérios, géneros e técnicas*, Parte II – *Alfabeto do Público, Normas e Nomenclaturas*".

The first part includes a section that addresses the "rigor da escrita" with clear references to normative questions: "O bom uso do português e o cumprimento das regras gramaticais, o rigor e a competência indispensáveis na informação que se leva ao leitor aconselham, por outro lado, uma permanente atenção a certos vícios e incorrecções de linguagem". In the name of the "bom português", the style book recommends "substantivos fortes" and "verbos na voz activa" apart from avoiding repetitions, cacophonies, complex sentences and the misuse of insertions. It also contains a list of "Erros e vícios de linguagem mais frequentes" (e.g. the feminine forms *governanta*, *giganta* and spellings like *açoreano*, *caboverdeano [açoriano, caboverdianao]*, *àcerca [acerca]*, *beige [bege]*). It should be noted that syntactic problems are explicitly addressed. Take, for instance, the "contracção errada em orações infinitivas antecedidas de certas locuções" (*o facto de*, *antes*, *depois de*) or the confusion of formally similar but semantically different words (e.g. *demais/de mais*, *estrato/extracto*, *mandado/mandato*, *senão/se não*).

The second part contains lists concerning graphic accentuation, verbs, the use of capital letters and minuscules, the spelling of foreign toponyms, abbreviations, measurement units, military and police hierarchies, religions, etc.

As these examples show, the *Livro de Estilo* is a dianormative tool even though its normative discourse seems less prescriptive and is rather open to promoting dynamic language usage.

2.3.2 The *Livro de Estilo* of *Lusa*

The Agência de Notícias de Portugal, also called *Lusa*, published its own style book in 2011 (Lusa ²2012 [2011]), which was complemented in 2017 by the *Prontuário da Lusa*. Its normative discourse is clearly prescriptive just like that of the aforementioned dictionaries of doubts and difficulties. The entry concerning the confusion between the verbs *aceder* and *acessar* reveals its prescriptive approach:

> "**Aceder/acessar.** Os dois verbos não devem ser confundidos. O primeiro significa 'concordar', 'aquiescer', 'anuir': O segundo é um verbo transitivo direto, introduzido na linguagem corrente pela informática, e significa 'ter acesso a', isto é, conectar-se ou comunicar-se com uma unidade de armazenamento de dados através de um computador" (Lusa 2017).

In its normative rigor and evaluation of the dominant use of European Portuguese, the *Prontuário* stands in sharp contrast to the rather descriptive attitude that characterizes the reference dictionary by Houaiss/Villar (2015, 64) and the main school dictionary (Porto Editora 2015, 30), which has already integrated the dominant use.[4]

This type of normative discourse is used concerning all kinds of aspects of oral and written language. Consider the entry *deixar cair*: "Tem sido utilizado por alguns meios de comunicação como sinónimo de 'desistir', o que constitui uma importação desajeitada do francês 'laisser tomber'" (Lusa 2017, 19).

2.3.3 The *Guia Essencial da Língua Portuguesa para a comunicação social*

Among the instruments produced for non-journalists is the *Guia essencial da Língua Portuguesa para a comunicação social* (Estrela/Pinto Correia 1988), reedited several times. In its first edition, the objective in terms of normativity is defined as follows: "pretendemos delimitar as fronteiras entre o 'correto' e o 'incorreto' é [...] movermo-nos nas areias pouco seguras do relativo e do subjectivo" (Estrela/Pinto Correia 1988, 16). Its prescription-driven discourse is based on the idea that the "uso correcto radica no conhecimento e domínio dos códigos" because "à atitude dos puristas, contrapõem os permissivos a anárquica recusa do binómio correto/incorreto, defendendo que todas as situações linguísticas são igualmente válidas, desde que

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4 Since the news agency disseminates reports concerning all Lusophone countries, it is quite possible that it aims at guaranteeing total intelligibility, above all in the Brazilian media. In Brazil, *aceder* has the first meaning.

inteligíveis". For this reason, the authors state, the "noção de correcto não é, modernamente, a que os gramáticos tradicionais defendiam". The *Guia* treats all domains of oral and written language use, but because of its internal structure, it is not as accessible as other instruments. For each subject, it presents extensive lists, among others lists concerning Gallicisms and Anglicisms ("uma autêntica invasão no discurso quotidiano", 1988, 127–135). Despite its shortcomings, it still constitutes a reference within the domain of social communication. Its fifth edition (Estrela/Pinto Correia ⁵2001) is still available.

2.4 Digital instruments

As of today, digital instruments, especially the internet, offer unlimited access to information in a way that challenges the capacities of traditional codification and standardization instruments. As a pluricentric language, Portuguese is no exception as can be seen by the multitude of institutional online portals put in place to offer linguistic advice (cf., e.g., the *Portal da Língua Portuguesa* and *Linguateca*). The quantity of digital resources, not only institutional but also private ones (e.g. the blogosphere), makes it impossible to give a full exposition. Accordingly, we will focus on the characteristics and influence of one of the most important ones: the portal *Ciberdúvidas da Língua Portuguesa* (<https://ciberduvidas.iscte-iul.pt/>).

Established in 1997, *Ciberdúvidas* is "um serviço gracioso e sem fins comerciais, de esclarecimento, informação e debate sobre a língua portuguesa". It offers advice on all kinds of linguistic issues. Among many other aspects, *Ciberdúvidas* provides information on grammatical and linguistic concepts, it discusses the concepts of linguistic variation, norm and usage, and it provides bibliographic information. The doubts treated on its pages concern all national norms and varieties of Portuguese. Its normative discourse is not homogeneous due to the fact that the contributions are written from different perspectives by various linguists and philologists. Depending on the subject treated, it can be rather descriptive or prescriptive.

Ciberdúvidas also provides a *Glossário de Erros* (<https://ciberduvidas.iscte-iul.pt/glossario/erros/letra/A>), i.e. a list that applies dianormative marking. The *Glossário* clearly forms part of the lexicographic tradition that assesses and corrects selected words and expressions. Although the entries are rather short, the information available through cross-references and linked to the answers given in its advisory section amplifies its reach considerably. Its rhetoric functions by the traditional formula "*x* e não *y*" confronting actual usage, usages that are more or less generalized among speech communities and an ideal (prescriptive) norm. The following entries give an example:

> "***Alcoolemia*** ... e não *alcoolémia*, tal como dizemos *leucemia*, e não *leucémia*".

> "***Emirados***... e não *emiratos*. Cf. Barbarismos".

> "***Maqueta***... e não *maquete*. Cf. Neologismos".

The following correct assessments are of the same type:

> "*De que*. Regência normalmente mal utilizada. Cf. Regências".

> "*Quadrilha*. Errado usar *quadrilha de ladrões*".

In other cases, the assessment does not confront different variants but gives no alternative:

> "*na medida em que* – modismo dispensável".

3 The tradition of dianormative instruments in Brazil

Today as Brazil counts more than 207 million inhabitants, the debate on linguistic correctness is obviously quite different from the one that dominated at the beginning of the 20th century when Brazilian elites and official entities still promoted the European usage as the "good use". Nowadays, the debate is shaped by the existing split between an educated, rather ideal norm and a popular norm more grounded in actual usage. Intents to standardize the latter represent the tendency towards "restandardization" (↗0). Another topic is the consequences of this situation for the level of literacy of many millions of Brazilians: the norm concept privileged by school and other institutions disregards to a large extent Brazil's sociolinguistic reality (cf., among others, Bagno 2009; 2015 [1999]; Lagares/Bagno 2011; Lucchesi 2015). Of course, these debates are not exempt from ideological elements.

Against the background of different norm concepts, it is hardly surprising that there is great interest in normative and dianormative works – some of which are extremely popular. Since it is impossible to give a complete picture of these instruments, we will focus on those that reflect best the Brazilian tradition as well as on the characteristics of their normative discourse and the linguistic difficulties privileged therein.

3.1 Beginnings

The tradition of (dia-)normatively marking the usage of Brazilian Portuguese goes back to the end of the 19th century when the first differential dictionaries were published in order to compile specific vocabulary used in this territory. The grammars published before then failed to consider a lot of Brazilian Portuguese but were still focused on disseminating the traditional Portuguese standard. The *Grammatica Portugueza*, published in 1885 by Júlio Ribeiro, represents an exception in this context for including rural uses ("caipiras") which were already "banidos [...] do uso da

gente culta" (Ribeiro 1885, 11) at the time – a fact that reveals the idealization of the norm and the social stigmatization of certain uses. However, it is through dictionaries that the description of Brazilian Portuguese gains momentum. The difficulties that arose from linguistic variation and subsequent confusion, as well as the attempt at standardizing Brazilian Portuguese, led to the publication of numerous texts of all kinds. These, despite their heterogeneity, manifested a normative ideal that contrasted with the diversity found in actual usage. As a result, at the beginning of the 20th century, works like Rego's *Cacolexias; ou, Vicios de Linguagem* (1910) that were dedicated to deviations and violations of the standard emerged. Other examples are the *Dificuldades da Língua Portuguesa* (2008) by Manuel Said Ali, first published in 1908, and João Ribeiro's *Curiosidades Verbais* (2008), first published in 1927.

One of the issues treated by Said Ali's *Dificuldades da Língua* is the use of clitics and their syntax ("crase"), quite different from European Portuguese as is well known. Since the Brazilian normative discourse still tended to follow the Portuguese standard, the attempts to use it "correctly" sometimes led to caricatural results: "Por afetação ou pedantismo cometem, contudo, alguns, em nossos dias, de vez em quando, belezas como isto: 'O Jornal traz as notícias do combate; estou doido *pelas ler*'; 'esforcei-me *pelo convencer*' (i.e., por convencer a ele); '*pelo verem morto*, abandonaram o campo', etc." (Said Ali 2008 [1908], 34). Obviously, tension sprouted from the divergence between a conservative and artificial standard that nobody practiced in Brazil and the generalized usage.

One of the most important dianormative instruments not only of the first but also the second half of the 20th century is Antenor Nascentes' *Dicionário de dúvidas e dificuldades do idioma nacional*, (⁴1962 [1941]). In its preface, the author states he aims to clarify those doubts that are not sufficiently and objectively treated in traditional grammars. He wants to help the candidates of "concursos e competições" and even though he does not "concorde com todas as pequenezes inventadas pelos puristas", he assesses the same issues in order to "livrar o candidato de incorrer em pecha de ignorá-las" (Nascentes ⁴1962 [1941], 6). For that reason, Gallicisms are marked negatively despite pertaining to actual usage:

> "***Abater*** – Os puristas consideram galicismo no sentido de derrubar ou matar" (Nascentes ⁴1962 [1941], 12).

> "***Abordar*** – os puristas consideram galicismo no sentido de encetar" (Nascentes ⁴1962 [1941], 13).

> "***Acusar recepção*** – Os puristas consideram galicismo o emprego desta expressão e preferem *comunicar* e *participar*" (Nascentes ⁴1962 [1941], 16).

But prescription cannot avoid taking into account variation, as can be seen in:

> "***Aluguel, Aluguer*** – Ambas as formas são corretas, sendo a primeira a mais usada" (Nascentes ⁴1962 [1941], 25).

"***Anão*** – Esta palavra tem dois plurais, anões e anãos. A primeira forma é mais usada, mas a segunda é a etimológica" (Nascentes ⁴1962 [1941], 27).

The examples show that Nascentes' dictionary has all the discursive, expressive and thematic characteristics which define these kinds of instruments. However, it stands out for its informational economy and accessibility.

3.2 Current dictionaries of difficulties

Since it is impossible to give a complete picture of all dictionaries of difficulties published in Brazil (cf., e.g., Cegalla 1999 [1996]; Ledur/Sampaio 2000; DUP; Neves 2003; Sacconi 2005; Medeiros/Gobbes 2009; Pereira/Silva/Angelim 2011 [2005]; Piacentini 2012; Bechara 2016; Gonçalves 2017), we will only consider the most influential ones, published by prestigious linguists and lexicographers in many cases. Furthermore, it has to be noted that Brazilian Portuguese is the only Lusophone variety to be described by dictionaries codifying usage based on a corpus of written language, the *Dicionário de Usos do Português do Brasil* (DUP) and the *Guia de uso do Português (Confrontando Regras e Usos)* (Neves 2003). Therefore, it is important to distinguish, on the one hand, between traditional prescriptive dictionaries of language difficulties and, on the other hand, those instruments that acknowledge variation and take into account what is normal (or most frequent) in actual usage – contributing, in this sense, to the "restandardization" of Brazilian Portuguese (↗0).

3.2.1 The *Dicionário de Dificuldades da Língua Portuguesa*

First published in 1996, Domingos Paschoal Cegalla's *Dicionário de Dificuldades* has seen a lot of success being re-edited three times (⁴2009), even in paperback. Its author implicitly criticizes former works by claiming to avoid "o eruditismo estéril e as terminologias complicadas" and preferring to describe the "factos linguísticos com objectividade e a maior singeleza possível" (1999 [1996], VII–VIII). His normative attitude is, in his words, "moderada: nem liberal, nem caturrice vernaculista, amarrada a velhos cânones gramaticais". In fact, his normative discourse is not authoritarian and correctness judgements are rather implicit. This can be shown by his treatment of foreign words, generally not censored by Cegalla even though they are put in italics if their spelling and pronunciation are not adapted. Compare, for instance, the following entries:

"**Entorse**. [Do Fr. *entorse*]. Estiramento ou distensão dos ligamentos de uma articulação. É subs. feminine" (Cegalla 1999 [1996], 142).

"***Entourage*** – Palavra francesa de gênero masculino [...]. Designa o conjunto de pessoas com quem convivemos. Prefira-se *círculo social*, *roda*, *ambiente*" (Cegalla 1999 [1996], 142).

Although Cegalla uses the expressions *não se deve*, *não se diz* (e.g. "não se diz ortografia correta", 1999 [1996], 301), the author avoids the adjectives *correcto*/*incorrecto* and prefers *usa-se*, *emprega-se*, *admite-se* and *é preferível*. In some cases, his judgement is toned down by a recommendation: "Não recomendamos a forma *corrimões*, registrada em alguns dicionários" (Cegalla 1999 [1996], 90). In sum, Cegalla shuns an authoritarian discourse. He prefers a descriptive approach to caution against the less appropriate forms and usages.

3.2.2 The *Guia de Uso do Português*

The *Guia de uso do Português (Confrontando Regras e Usos)* (Neves 2003), as well as the *Dicionário de Usos do Português do Brasil* (DUP), are based on a corpus of "77 milhões de ocorrências de palavras em textos escritos no Brasil, com absoluta predominância da escrita jornalística, o que importa muito na medida em que é aí que há não só variedade de autores, mas principalmente grande variedade de assuntos e enfoques" (DUP, VI). However, unlike the DUP, the *Guia* is directed at the general public and thus presented in a less complex way. Its normative attitude is explicitly defined:

> "Rejeita-se, nesta obra, a prescrição cega, que é estreita e insustentável, mas rejeita-se, também, o vale-tudo que considera simplisticamente que a norma-padrão é invenção das classes dominantes" (Neves 2003, 15).

Re-edited in 2012 with the subtitle *confrontando regras e usos*, the *Guia* constitutes a reference instrument in the domain of linguistic doubts and difficulties. The descriptive approach prevails, as can be seen below:

> "**checar, checagem**. O verbo **checar** é considerado anglicismo, com uso condenado em lições normativas, já que o português tem outros verbos com significado correspondente, que podem ser usados: *conferir, verificar, confrontar, comparar*. Entretanto, é forma usual" (Neves 2003, 178).

Hence, it is up to the readers to decide whether they want to follow the general usage or the one propagated by purists.

Even though the *Guia* is not a repertory of foreign words, many entries are dedicated to them. By this, the author acknowledges their dissemination in everyday language and current debates.[5] In some entries treating competing variants instead of judgments, frequencies are given. Consider for instance the case of *com vista a* vs. *com vistas a*: "a expressão com vistas a é muito mais frequente (90%)" (Neves

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5 Neves puts *check-in* and *check-up* in italics for not being adapted, but both are accepted because none are accompanied by any judgement.

2003, 194). While the second variant is more common in Brazil and is thus – implicitly – recommended, the first one is more customary in Portugal.

3.2.3 The *Novo Dicionário de Dificuldades da Língua Portuguesa*

The *Novo Dicionário de Dificuldades da Língua Portuguesa* (Bechara 2016) is the most recent representative of the Brazilian tradition. The author, a renowned grammarian and philologist, who was also responsible for the *Vocabulário Ortográfico da Língua Portuguesa* (VOLP) of the Academia Brasileira de Letras, defines the purpose of his dictionary as follows:

> "[…] pretende ajudar o leitor a seguir o melhor caminho, indicando-lhe não só a tradição do idioma refletida na lição dos bons autores, mas também as novidades e concessões que se vão consolidando sob a responsabilidade dos escritores mais modernos" (Bechara 2016, *Prefácio*).

The normative ideal of the *Novo Dicionário* follows the writing of both past and modern writers and subscribes to the well-established normative tradition even though the author acknowledges the "aparente equilíbrio de um idioma vivo e a serviço de todos" (Bechara 2016, *Prefácio*). In this sense, his dictionary is conceived as a "guia de consulta rápida e fácil para esclarecer dúvidas e dificuldades mais recorrentes na hora de escrever ou falar" (Bechara 2016) that wants his users to improve their expressive skills:

> "[…] procurar e escrever 'melhor' e com os melhores não de uma atitude preconceituosa e profundamente antidemocrática, mas sim, como diz Eugenio Coseriu, de uma aspiração genuína de todo falante consciente do seu ser histórico" (Bechara 2016, *Prefácio*).

The issue of the plural forms of nouns ending with -*ão* (Bechara 2016, 93) is a good token of the normative discourse applied to linguistic difficulties. Bechara assumes a rather neutral stance and acknowledges variation:

> "**Corrimão** – Muitos substantivos em -*ão* apresentam dois e até três plurais. É o caso de *corrimão*, plural: *corrimãos* ou *corrimões*" (Bechara 2016, s. v.; cf. also the entry *cortesão*).

In other cases, Bechara's explications are somewhat more orienting by giving information on which variant is most frequent:

> "**Cotizar, quotizar**. Ambas as formas estão corretas e registradas no *Vocabulário* da Academia (Volp). A forma *cotizar* é mais usada. A grafia *quotizar* admite duas pronúncias /quo/ ou /co/" (Bechara 1999, 93).

> "**Cotidiano, quotidiano**. Ambas as formas estão corretas e registradas no Vocabulário da Academia (Volp). A forma *cotidiano* é mais usada […]" (Bechara 1999, 93).

While the description-driven normative discourse prevails, sometimes Bechara's indications are more prescriptive:

"[C]onstitui incorrecção, na língua culta, o emprego do verbo *ter* em lugar de *haver*, em orações como: *tem livros na mesa* por *há livros na mesa*. Este emprego ocorre vitorioso na conversação de todos os momentos e já vai ganhando aceitação nos escritores modernos brasileiros que procuram aproximar a língua escrita da espontaneidade do falar colloquial" (Bechara 1999 s. v. *ter*).

Despite its underlying traditional conception of an ideal norm, Bechara's *Novo dicionário* and the normative discourse it applies are rather balanced in terms of the opposition between description and prescription.

3.3 Style books (*livros de estilo*)

Style books are very common in Brazil due to the importance of the media and the necessity to apply a unified standard both in oral and written use. This is especially true in Brazil where media outlets reach millions of people. Furthermore, it is not only the necessity of journalists, but also the competition between media outlets, that determines the existence of style books. The quantity and diversity of these tools are difficult to assess (cf., e.g., Garcia 2003 [1992]; Martins [3]2007 [1992]; Embrapa 2007; Costa 2009) and make it impossible to provide a critical synthesis. For that reason, this section will only deal with one of the most influential instruments, the *Manual de Redação e Estilo* of the newspaper *O Estado de São Paulo*.[6]

In 1992, the first edition of the *Manual de Redação e Estilo* was published by journalist Eduardo Martins. Today it is in its third edition ([3]2007, 400 pages; also online: <https://www.estadao.com.br/manualredacao/>). The online version stresses its impact on both professionals and the general public:

"Consagrado conjunto de normas da imprensa brasileira, que ultrapassa a fronteira do papel para o mundo online, o *Manual de redação e Estilo do Estado* cumpriu essa trajetória exatamente porque sua utilidade não é restrita às redações de jornais e revistas. O trabalho é um sucesso em livro – cerca de 500 mil exemplares vendidos em todo o Brasil – porque é mais do que uma série de regras para jornalistas: é um verdadeiro guia para qualquer pessoa que escreva, com orientações gerais e específicas e os princípios básicos do nosso idioma".

The *Manual* contains both a description of internal guidelines and a part dedicated to linguistic difficulties. Those are presented in the form of dianormative lists like "cem erros mais momuns" as well as topics treating problems such as the "crase" (i.e. the difficult issues of the syntax of pronouns), a "guia de pronúncia" and a section called "escreva certo". Its normative discourse is quite similar to the one found in traditional dictionaries of "errors", i.e. clearly prescriptive:

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6 However, it should be noted that in terms of impact, TV stations have a much more profound impact on reaching social classes that are otherwise hardly in contact with the products of the printed press.

"***ir a algum lugar*** e não *em*. Com verbos de movimento use *a* e não *em*. *Fui ao teatro* (e não *no*)" (Martins [3]2007 [1992], 22).

"***Apelar para.*** O certo é ***apelar para*** e não ***apelar a***" (Martins [3]2007 [1992], 39).

"***Namorar com***. O verbo é direto: *A moça namorava o filho do prefeito* (e não *namorava 'com'*). / *Namorava a vizinha havia muitos anos* (e não *namorava 'com'*)" (Martins [3]2007 [1992], 183).

Other linguistic difficulties are treated in the same manner. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that in light of this normative conservatism, foreign words are treated likewise:

"A palavra estrangeira, na sua forma original, só deverá ser usada quando for absolutamente indispensável. O excesso de termos de outra língua torna o texto pretensioso e pedante. E não se esqueça de explicar sempre, entre parênteses, o significado dos estrangeirismos menos conhecidos" (Martins [3]2007 [1992], 209).

Even long-established expressions (in colloquial Portuguese) are thus censored:

"***Parabenizar.*** Não use. Substitua o verbo por *dar parabéns a*, *cumprimentar*, *felicitar* ou *aplaudir*" (Martins [3]2007 [1992], 221).

Chapter 3, "Os cem erros mais frequentes", is a modern version of a glossary of errors, where all kinds of difficulties are assessed dianormatively. Among other topics, the system of pronouns, grammatical concordance and verbal regency are treated:

"**Nunca 'lhe' vi. *Lhe*** substitui *a ele*, *a eles*, *a você* e *a vocês* e por isso não pode ser usado com objeto direto: *Nunca o vi.* / *Não o convidei.* / *A mulher o deixou.* / *Ela o ama*.
Vocês 'fariam-lhe' um favor? Não se usa pronome átono (*me*, *te*, *se*, *lhe*, *nos*, *vos*, *lhes*) depois de futuro do presente, futuro do pretérito (antigo condicional) ou particípio. Assim: *Vocês lhe fariam* (ou *far-lhe-iam*) *um favor?* / *Ele se imporá pelos conhecimentos* (e nunca '*imporá-se*'). / *Os amigos nos darão* (e não '*darão-nos*') *um presente.* / *Tendo-me formado* (e nunca *tendo 'formado-me'*)" (Martins [3]2007 [1992], 322).

"**Chegou 'em' São Paulo.** Verbos de movimento exigem ***a***, e não ***em***: *Chegou a São Paulo.* / *Vai amanhã ao cinema.* / *Levou os filhos ao circo*" (Martins [3]2007 [1992], 322).

"**Ele foi um dos que 'chegou' antes. *Um dos que*** faz a concordância no plural: *Ele foi um dos que chegaram antes* (dos que chegaram antes, ele foi um) [...]" (Martins [3]2007 [1992], 324).

"**Quebrou 'o' óculos.** Concordância no plural: *os óculos*, *meus óculos*. Da mesma forma: *Meus parabéns*, *meus pêsames*, *seus ciúmes*, *nossas férias*, *felizes núpcias*" (Martins [3]2007 [1992], 322).

It becomes clear by these examples that the normative discourse applied by Martins is rather prescriptive, probably due to the necessity to draw a clear line between what is "correct" and what is "wrong". In this sense, the *Manual* lacks openness regarding long-established usages both in oral and written language.

3.4 Digital instruments

Since it is impossible to give an exposition that exhaustively covers the vast online landscape of blogs and other pages dedicated to linguistic matters, we will focus on the portal <*Sualíngua.com.br*>, which has the most impact regarding access. The portal is run by Cláudio Moreno, a teacher, writer, columnist and essayist from Rio Grande do Sul. The informative portal provides an index and a search engine in order to access all kinds of linguistic topics and books. Furthermore, it offers virtual classrooms and an FAQ-area. Subjects are presented under labels such as "questões do momento", "etimologia e curiosidades", "lições de gramática", "como se escreve" and "Acordo Ortográfico". In his book section, Moreno promotes his own books such as the multi-volume *Guia Prático do Português Correto*. Moreno's normative discourse is characterized by erudition demanding some prior linguistic knowledge on the part of the readers.

4 Conclusions

The overview provided in this article gives a general idea of the normative tradition of the Portuguese language focusing on the diversity of instruments whose common denominator is the assessment, normative orientation and prescription of linguistic usages. In recent decades, the landscape has fundamentally changed: while in the past, these instruments were not available to the majority of the Lusophone countries' population, today, new forms of access have liberalized and, in a certain way, democratized this area of standardization. The best example of this development is probably *Ciberdúvidas*, which provides answers to doubts concerning Portuguese as a pluricentric language. The different models of normative discourse applied in these instruments show that the question of linguistic correctness has been and still is subject to symbolic values and (ideological) representations. Against this backdrop, the digital resources available today have not changed or diminished the interest in the standard language, nor have they failed to stimulate the dissemination of style books, some of which still promote a rather purist vision of linguistic correctness.

By definition, standard languages are created from exclusion because they filter usages by stigmatizing others. As we have seen, in many cases, standardization instruments tend to promote a narrow concept of norm giving preference to variants that might be traditional but are only used by a minority of speakers. Historically established, the standard functions, at least in certain social domains as a centripetal force, unifying the natural diversity of usages. Nevertheless, standard languages contradict the natural functioning of languages which are essentially defined by a tendency towards variation and change. Taken as a whole, the examples given in this article are proof of this fact.

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14 "Minor" Romance Languages

Sabine Heinemann

14.1 "Minor" Italo-Romance Languages

Abstract: The present article covers a wide range of idioms which can be described as Italo-Romance languages due to their relatively small linguistic distance towards both the standard variety of Italian and the idioms geographically close. Therefore, in addition to Friulian and Ladin, Swiss Romansh is dealt with, too – this is justified not only by the similarities to Alpin Lombard but of course also because the three idioms are often subsumed under the term Rhaeto-Romance (or Ladin) as a result of their close relationship. Corsican, with its visible similarities to Tuscan dialects and the former belonging to Pisa, may also be considered an Italo-Romance language, even though Italian nowadays is no longer seen as the linguistic reference point. With respect to the standardization process, it is not only the belonging to different states that is relevant, but also the individual sociolinguistic situation and the intralinguistic differences which may put an obstacle to standardization, as is the case, e.g. for Sardinian with two main varieties showing a large array of differences.

Keywords: Italo-Romance, Rhaeto-Romance, Friulian, Ladin, Swiss Romansh, Corsican, Sardinian, regional languages, standardization, codification

1 Introduction

In the European context, the development of the minority or regional languages is to be seen on the one hand from a historical point of view – strongly related to the standardization of the modern national languages. So, e.g. according to the Constitution of France, French is the only official language of the Republic. This, of course, has consequences for the possible status of the other languages spoken in the country. On the other hand, today's tendency towards promoting linguistic varieties, to a certain degree guaranteed by legislative measures at European, national and regional scale, might provoke an acceleration of the standardization process. With this, the inherent problems of the standardization process itself become even more urgent – the predominant question to be solved being that concerning the linguistic source of the (potential) standard variety.

Comparing the standardization process of the national languages with that of the minority languages still going through it is rather interesting. In the historical development of the former, a kind of leading variety exemplary for the entire lan-

guage system and the linguistic community can be observed (Mattheier 2008, 1088ss.). Its prestige is a highly important factor for standardization as being a dynamic societal process of institutionalization. In most cases, the basis for a national language is either a dialect or a courtly variety. For the minority languages, if there is no reference variety or no standard yet fixed, there is a tendency to establish a norm based on more than one dialect or even different parallel norms.

For the definition of an idiom as language, the concepts of linguistic distance and elaboration, introduced by Kloss ([2]1978, 25ss.), offer a helpful foundation. While the former concept, the more static of the independent sets of criteria, is based on linguistic properties and indicates the discontinuity of idioms (there is no need for a standard variety as is often the case with minority languages), the latter is determined by socio-political functions and is more dynamic (development of a standard variety serving as a tool for literary expression).

As a consequence, language by distance (*Abstandsprache*) refers to an idiom, which, on the basis of linguistic distance, can be defined as a language; as characteristics of linguistic distance Kloss ([2]1978, 64) names an "erheblichen Abstand im Lautstand" [noteworthy phonetic distance] and "tiefgreifende Abweichungen in Morphologie und Syntax" [profound deviations in morphology and syntax], the most important characteristic feature though being "natürlich der Wortschatz" [the lexicon, of course]. It is exactly here that difficulties may arise if one considers related idioms geographically close or also the national language that itself functions as a so-called linguistic roof (roofing language, *Dachsprache*, cf. Muljačić 1993; on these theoretical notions, cf. also ↗0).

The concept of elaboration (language by development, *Ausbausprache*) allows a more reliable assessment, especially for those languages not showing a large distance to either the surrounding idioms or to the national language. Kloss ([2]1978, 25) defines elaboration as the process by which idioms become "Werkzeug [...] für qualifizierte Anwendungszwecke und -bereiche" [instrument [...] for qualified applications and domains], underlining the importance of a targeted linguistic policy. This means a standardization process involving orthography, grammaticography, and lexicography. Furthermore, the concept is also referred to as the continuous extension of application domains following Koch/Oesterreicher (1994, 589). The concept can thus be subdivided into two aspects, i.e. intensive and extensive elaboration, the former describing the supply and development of linguistic means of expression in a standardization process, the latter designating the application to ever more contexts. Kloss describes several stages of elaboration beginning with the use in folklore contexts and lyrics up to narrative prose, followed by (also parallel to) serious non-fiction and finally the adaption in technical, scientific domains. The idea of elaboration reflects and extends the model of Haugen (e.g. 1966) with status and corpus planning being the central steps in standardization processes (while status planning with the selection of a norm and the implementation of this norm is the responsibility of society, it is mainly authors and linguists who take care of the

corpus planning, which consists in the codification and elaboration as functional developments of an idiom).

Languages by distance typically provide a roof over dependent varieties, and as such, the national languages (as mentioned above) lend a roof, of course, to all dialects and minority languages of the respective national territory. As a consequence, for regions with a standardized minority language, there are regularly two roofing languages, with the minority language often considered as the official language within the context of the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages*. Interestingly, Corsican is roofed by French and not by the more similar Italian (in terms of linguistic distance), this being the reason for its classification as a roofless idiom.

Considering the relationship between the national language and the respective minority language, there are two problems which may arise. Firstly, the possible massive influence of the roofing language on the single minority language (i.e. for the case of Italy a progressive Italianization) due to the adaptation of technical terms or the translation of important texts in the context of elaboration. Secondly, the creation of a kind of hyper-language by using local variants or deviant word formation patterns with the intention of (artificially) enlarging the distance to the roofing language (cf. Carrozzo 2008). Against the backdrop of the creation and implementation of a standard, the fear of (native) speakers that their own variety may be sacrificed has to be taken serious.

Apart from distance and elaboration, a strong speaker awareness, which leads to the consideration of the speakers own language as being an autonomous language and not a dialect of the national language, is also highly important. However, the speakers do not always appreciate the diversity of their own language with regard to the difference between language and dialect. The interrelation of distance, elaboration and speaker awareness can be seen from the idea that a larger distance might make the speakers aware of their otherness and lead to an increased self-confidence. Again, this might trigger efforts towards standardization. Because of its multi-dimensionality, the model of Kloss is to be implicitly used in the following description of the development of the Italo-Romance minority languages.

Linguistic diversity is recognized by the Council of Europe as a fundamental value and therefore is fixed in various agreements. Apart from the *Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities* (EC 1995) – the first multinational treaty of high importance in this field (Hofmann 2005, 587) – there is the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages*, which came into force in 1998 and has a notable influence on national legislation, even though, e.g. Italy and France have signed but not yet ratified it (unlike Switzerland, which was one of the first countries to ratify it; for signatures and ratifications cf. ECRML online, under "Signatures and ratifications"). Both countries have developed a catalogue of measures following the list of possible measures given by the *European Charter* (cf. *Disegno di legge n. 5118* [Camera dei Deputati 2012; Italian draft bill]; for France, see the constitution-

al amendment with regard to the legal protection of minority languages in France). Against the background of diverse denominations in this article, the terms *regional* and *minority language* are used interchangeably following the definition of the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* (see ECRML online, under "Text of the charter"):

> Article 1
> a "regional or minority languages" means languages that are:
>   i traditionally used within a given territory of a State by nationals of that State who form a group numerically smaller than the rest of the State's population; and
>   ii different from the official language(s) of that State; it does not include either dialects of the official language(s) of the State or the languages of migrants;
>
> b "territory in which the regional or minority language is used" means the geographical area in which the said language is the mode of expression of a number of people justifying the adoption of the various protective and promotional measures provided for in this Charter;
>
> c "non-territorial languages" means languages used by nationals of the State which differ from the language or languages used by the rest of the State's population but which, although traditionally used within the territory of the State, cannot be identified with a particular area thereof.

In France, such idioms are named *langues régionales*, while the term *langue minoritaire* is used for historically relevant languages without any relation to a specified region (Willwer 2006, 97ss.; Tacke 2015, 218s.).

The central point of the *Charter* is the cultural function of language; the use of the adjective *regional* in the denomination of the *Charter* refers to a limited part of the statal territory (cf. *Explanatory Report*, paragraph 17ss.; for a detailed linguistic analysis of the legislative text cf. Lebsanft 2012). The recourse to the language area in question is due to the necessity of restrictions concerning the limits of geographically determined areas of application.

The principal aim of the *Charter* lies in the obligation of the member states to protect and promote the (historical) regional or minority languages – not the linguistic minorities – as, e.g. in the field of education but also in the public and legal sector, in the media, etc.; this might not be to the detriment of the respective official language(s). In art. 7 (part II) several principles are formulated such as the recognition of regional or minority languages as expressions of cultural wealth – with this the simple recognition of the language is understood, not the acceptance as an official language (*Explanatory Report*, paragraph 17, 58). It is the task of the individual states to name the respective regional or minority languages (cf. Willwer 2006, 77).

For the principles named in part II, the single states have to choose from the alternative options listed under specific obligations (cf. Schubert 2004, 305). In doing so, the different situations of the single minority languages and the administrative and financial capacity of the several European states are taken into account (*Explanatory Report*, paragraph 23).

The present article is structured as follows: after a short survey of the minor Italo-Romance languages and their specificities due to their relationship to different nations (section 2), a comparative documentation of the standardization process is given for each language – first with regard to the history of the process and second for the current situation. The description starts with Friulian, Ladin (intended as Dolomitic Ladin), and Romansh (sections 3 to 5) – though perceived as idioms that are to be separated, these can theoretically be regarded as realizations of a geotype named Rhaeto-Romanic or Ladin and thus grouped together (cf. Goebl 1995). Sections 6 and 7 describe the situation of Sardinian and finally Corsican, which to a certain extent shows similarities to the northern varieties of Sardinian and to Tuscan but whose territory no longer belongs to Italy. The differences in the sociolinguistic situation and related problems concerning the elaboration process will be summarized in the concluding remarks.

2 Survey of the minor Italo-Romance languages

Alongside non-Romance languages such as German, Croatian, or Albanian (to name but a few), in Italy, there are also Ibero- and Gallo-Romance minority languages such as Catalan, Occitan and Franco-Provençal and finally Italo-Romance languages, of which only the latter are the topic of this article. The designation Italo-Romance refers to a handful of languages, although only a few of these are located on Italian territory. Therefore, Friulian, Ladin and Sardinian are typically named as minority languages of the Italian State, while others, namely Romansh and Corsican, are spoken in Switzerland and France respectively. The term Italo-Romance is meant to refer to the relatively small linguistic distance to Italian (and the surrounding diatopic varieties of Italian), justifying the consideration of both Romansh and Corsican. While Romansh shares various features with Ladin and Friulian (thus grouped together as Rhaeto-Romance or Ladin), the northern and eastern Corsican dialects (*cismuntanu*) resemble Tuscan varieties and the southern dialects (*ultramuntanu*) have many characteristics in common with northern Sardinian *gallurese* and *sassarese*. In addition, the island was ruled by Pisa first and by Genoa from 1284 onwards before it was officially ceded to France as part of a pledge for debts (France defeated Corsican troops in 1769).

An interesting aspect, which unites all five languages and thus from a sociolinguistic perspective leads to the same problems concerning standardization, is the fact that there is no reference language outside Italy, Switzerland or France for any of them.

With regard to the legislative background, the national constitutions of Italy, France, and Switzerland cover the highest level of the legal system.

The Italian Constitution contains no stipulation concerning Italian as the official language (Pan 2006, 219; cf. Tani 2006 for details; cf. also Zaffi 2006, 337s.).

The protection of the linguistic minorities is indicated as one of the fundamental principles in article 6, but for historical reasons a distinction is made between "strong" (national) and "weak minorities", the former having a reference language outside Italy (e.g. Slovenian), the latter being only spoken in Italy (like Friulian and Sardinian) and having insufficient legal protection (Hilpold 2008, 3; cf. also Toso 2008, 48ss.). Ladin is also included in the first group because of various international treaties of the post-war period. "Strong minorities" have profited from promotion measures from early on in the new Republic, while "weak minorities" have not. Both Friuli-Venezia Giulia and Sardinia obtained the status of territorial autonomy, which guarantees separate legislative organs and hence a higher degree of protection (Pan 2006, 237s.; Zaffi 2006, 356).

The *Legge 482/1999* (*Norme in materia di tutela delle minoranze linguistiche storiche*) represents the realization of article 6 of the constitution, expanding the fields of protection previously defined by regional laws. This holds especially for school lessons and the use of minority languages in the regional administrative sector (cf. the installation of *sportelli linguistici* or the publication of dictionaries referring to technical language; Heinemann 2014, 112ss.).

The Constitution of France of 4 October 1958 – in the amended version of 1992 – in article 2 says "La langue de la République est le français". Since the *Deixonne* law of 1951, and even more since the 1990s, France has changed its attitude towards minority or regional languages; the new constitutional article 75–1 (since 2008) reflects the official recognition of these idioms: "les langues régionales appartiennent au patrimoine de la France" (*Loi constitutionnelle n°2008–724 du 23 juillet 2008 de modernisation des institutions de la Ve République*, art. 40).

As mentioned above, the *European Charter* has not yet been ratified by France. According to the Constitutional Court, article 7–1–d of the Charter ("[...] the Parties shall base their policies, legislation and practice on the following objectives and principles: [...] d the facilitation and/or encouragement of the use of regional or minority languages, in speech and writing, in public and private life; [...]") is incompatible with article 2 as the justice system, administration and public services belonging to public life (Comité consultatif 2013, 22). In sum, the change in the constitutional law does not mean further rights for the linguistic communities, neither does it allow the ratification of the *European Charter* – it is simply a sign for politics of tolerance (Bertile 2011, 85; cf. also Le Fur 2011, 125).

Switzerland has recognized Romansh as a national language since 1938 and it is considered an essential part of the country's culture. Only in 1996 did Romansh become an official language, in the canton of Grisons and on a federal level only in contact with Romansh speaking people (therefore, "Teilamtssprache," cf. art. 70 of the constitution put in place in 2000; Thürer/Burri 2006, 243ss.). This step followed a survey on the acceptance of the supra-regional written language *Rumantsch Grischun* (up until 2001, alongside *Rumantsch Grischun* regional varieties were permitted for written uses; Grünert 2015, 53s.). With the total revision of the constitution,

the territorial principle integrated and the idea of protection enforced, the state was obliged to intervene in the autonomy of the cantons to protect a national language (Vitali/Andrey/Valär 2015, 37; for a detailed summary cf. Tacke 2012).

3 Friulian

Friulian, alongside Ladin and Romansh, is part of the group (or, as mentioned earlier, geotype) known as Rhaeto-Romance. Important for the elaboration of Friulian (as for Ladin and Romansh) is the fact that the language area has never formed a politically or culturally motivated unity.

In the case of Friulian, it is the historic situation that is responsible for the categorization as a separate language not the linguistic distance either to the Italian standard variety or the nearby Venetian dialect. There are three main varieties to be distinguished, i.e. *friulano centro-orientale* in the center of the region Friuli-Venezia Giulia and extended to the East, *friulano occidentale* in the western zone and forming intermediate dialects with Venetian and finally *friulano carnico* in the mountainous part of the northern region, which has some archaic characteristics. Friulian is spoken by approximately 500,000 people thus being the Rhaeto-Romance language with the most speakers.

3.1 History of the standardization process

While Friulian has been documented since the late 12th century, the first literary texts, namely the sonnett *E là four del nuestri chiamp* and the ballads *Piruç myò doç inculurit* and *Biello dumnlo di valor*, stem from the 14th century. Together with these, several everyday non-literary texts written in Friulian are known. With the writer Ermes di Colloredo (17th century), a *friulano comune* which later developed into the *koiné friulana*, was used by Caterina Percoto and Pietro Zorutti (18/19th century). The *koiné* or better the *friulano comune* can be judged as the basis for a possible standard variety of Friulian. The political weight of the Società Filologica Friulana (SFF) can be seen from the early acceptance and promotion of the *koinè* as standard. However, because of the criticism of the *koiné* for the discrepancy between the written language and local uses on the one hand, and the foundation of the Academiuta di Lenga Furlana by Pier Paolo Pasolini with the promotion of the *friulano occidentale* on the other, the debate over a widely accepted standard was taken up once again. As Udine came under Venetian reign in 1420 and had become bilingual (Venetian/Friulian, and later with Italian trilingual) with the spread of Venetian in preference to Friulian, Udine had never been a linguistic reference point. Consequently, the local variety could not exert influence on the discussion concerning a standard (for more details, cf. Heinemann 2016, 126s.).

The first grammar of Friulian was the *Lineamenti di grammatica friulana* by Giuseppe Marchetti, first published in 1952 and regularly used in language courses offered by the SFF. Marchetti himself points out that for a reference grammar, it is necessary to come close to a widespread variety identifiable as *friulano centrale* (Marchetti 1955). The discussions about the reference variety remain unfinished, although "è altrettanto innegabile che nella coscienza dei Friulani è presente […] il concetto di un 'friulano comune' da usare quale lingua scritta" (Frau 2006, 1449). The newly, promising project *Grammatica friulana di riferimento* (1998/1999) has, for various reasons, not been continued unfortunately.

In contrast, the problem of a unitary orthography has recently been solved. As for other minority languages, the basis for the alphabet is given by Latin or Italian as roofing language; the main problem for Friulian lay in the realization of the post-palatal occlusives. The long tradition starts with proposals presented by the aforementioned authors, adapted in Pirona's dictionary (1871). In the 1920s, the discussion was taken up again with Ugo Pellis, who tried to develop an orthography in the context of a general standardization of Friulian for the new edition of the Pirona dictionary (cf. Pirona/Carletti/Corgnali ²1992). Marchetti, in his grammar, developed his own orthography with diacritics that were broadly rejected by the experts – but the model was adapted once more, e.g. in the dictionary by Faggin (1985).

With regard to the elaboration of Friulian, important political steps have been taken in recent decades, first of all with the Autonomy Statute assigned to the region in 1963. Also, the foundation of the University of Udine in 1977 is of importance as the promotion of Friulian was one of its key objectives (art. 26).

For the further development of Friulian, apart from the national law, two recent regional laws are of utmost significance. With the regional law (*Legge regionale*) 15/1996 Friulian is officially recognized as a minority language (art. 2), its standardization is supported, and its use in the public contact with citizens and for local offices is guaranteed (the law is clearly orientated to the *European Charter*). The law gives large space to the arrangement of lessons in public schools, especially in pre-schools, elementary schools and secondary schools (*scuola secondaria di primo grado*). Meaning, schools are obliged to offer lessons in Friulian. With the implementation of the master course in didactics "Insegnâ in lenghe furlane" and the foundation of the Societât Sientifiche e Tecnologjiche Furlane in recent years, the wish to install Friulian also as a means for scientific purposes is visible.

Although rather weak, the *Legge regionale* 29/2007 means an enhancement of the legal status of Friulian and an extension of the field of application for the Friulian language (Heinemann 2014; 2016).

3.2 Current status of standardization

As pointed out in the previous section, the orthography, after a rather long discussion covering various centuries, has been fixed in the *Legge regionale* 29/2007. The

binding orthographical norm (a proposal by Lamuela 1987, modified by the SFF) is indicated as an important means for the promotion of Friulian.

Apart from the first monolingual dictionary by Pirona (1871, new edition 1935, with further annexes regarding local dialects, cf. Pirona/Carletti/Corgnali ²1992), two other lexicographical projects have to be mentioned here: Faggin (1985, 2 vol.) and the prestigious project *Grant Dizionari Bilengâl talian-furlan* (GDBtf) edited in 2011, a bilingual dictionary (but only Italian-Friulian and not vice versa), conceptionally based on the Italian *Grande Dizionario Italiano dell'Uso* (De Mauro 1999/2000).

For grammaticography after Marchetti and various (non-)standard grammars (cf. especially Faggin 1997), the project of *Grammatica friulana di riferimento* in the late 1990s was promising. Though there is still no reference grammar representing a Friulian standard, at least for orthography and lexicography one can rate Friulian as partly standardized (Vicario 2008, 96).

The SFF, protected also by law, is one of the most important institutions with regard to the promotion of Friulian language and culture. Not only is the SFF involved in the process of standardization, but it supports linguistic projects (e.g. currently the *Atlante Toponomastico del Friuli-Venezia Giulia*) and publishes the scientific reviews *Ce fastu?* and *Sot la nape* (more culturally oriented). The other central institution is the ARLeF, which replaced the Osservatorio regionale della lingua e della cultura friulane (OLF) in 2002 and coordinates and puts political measures into practice.

The legislative interventions provide for the use of Friulian in media – Friulian is regularly used in articles published in the weekly magazines *Il Friuli*, *La Voce isontina*, *La Vita Cattolica* (one page; every month *La Vita Cattolica* contains the magazine for children *Alc&cè*). Once a month, the daily newspaper *Il Messaggero Veneto* has an entire page in Friulian (announced in the newsletter of the SFF), and the *Gazzettino del Friuli* often publishes Friulian articles. Radio stations which use Friulian are Radio Onde Furlane (broadcasting only in Friulian) and Radio Spazio 103 (daily for at least three hours). In addition to this, the regional channels of RAI offer daily programs in Friulian. Private television channels like Telepordenone and Telefriuli offer several broadcasts in Friulian, while in the past, RAI dubbed programs for children (*Berto Lôf*, *La Pimpa*) not truly fulfilling the treaty signed with the region.

4 (Dolomitic) Ladin

As stated above, Ladin, like Friulian, is one of the Rhaeto-Romance idioms within Italy, but in legal terms they are treated differently. Ladin is divided into five dialects, *badiot* spoken in Val Badia, *maréo* in Mareo and *gherdëina* in Val Gardena (Athesian group of the Sella), *fascian* (split into *cazet*, *brach* and *moenat* – Trentini-

an group of the Sella) and finally *fodóm* (Livanallongo, Agordino group; Bauer 2002a, 144). Surrounding idioms are considered transitory such as, e.g. *ampezzano* or *cadorino* (Ladin-Venetian). The linguistic distance to Venetian and Italian is higher compared to that of Friulian due to the isolation given by the mountainous location. Ladin is spoken by approximately 32,000 speakers; Val Gardena and Val Badia are trilingual (German, Italian, Ladin), while in the other valleys bilingualism of Ladin and Italian is widespread. Ladin clearly dominates as the language of the family in Val Badia while in Val Gardena, German competes heavily with Ladin (Bauer 2002a, 147). Due to contact with German-speaking areas over centuries, the northern varieties in particular show many lexical borrowings from Bavarian dialects, which is one of the reasons for the differences with regard to the southern varieties.

4.1 History of the standardization process

The oldest text to be passed on is an Episcopal decree of 1631. First attempts at standardization date back to the mid-19th century with Bacher's *Sprachlehre*, in which he made a proposal for orthography, too. Regarding lexicography, the dictionary of *gherdëina* (Lardschneider-Ciampac 1933) is a fundamental work (for an overview of early proposals for standardization with reference to the single varieties cf. also Kattenbusch 1989). In the 1980s, a commission was set up with the aim of standardizing the orthography, cooperating with all five valleys (formalized in 1987; cf. Iannàccaro 2006, 1453s.). In 1994, the Servisc de Planificazion y Elaborazion dl Lingaz Ladin (SPELL) (cf. Bauer 2012, 208) was founded and the very ambitious project of language planning started. One of the main goals was the development of a pan-Ladin written language called *Ladin Dolomitan* (LD), following the model of *Rumantsch Grischun* for the Romansh varieties, both developed by Heinrich Schmid (Schmid 1982; 1998; Bauer 2002a, 145). LD was planned to be used for administrative purposes, and as a possible roof language for the local varieties. Therefore, LD is based on phonetic regularities and also includes lexical variants following the principle of the majority role; neologisms were also created. To guarantee mutual comprehensibility, forms are respected that are present in the varieties of at least two valleys (Bauer 2012, 212s.). As results of the commission's work, a reference grammar and two dictionaries of LD have been published (SPELL 2001; 2002; 2003); in addition, a database with the lexicon of LD and the single Ladin varieties was set up (*Banca lessicale Ladina*) containing some 350,000 words.

Since the fascist politics in the 1920s, Ladin-speaking areas have belonged to three different provinces, namely Bolzano, Trento, and Belluno, located in two regions (Trentino-South Tyrol and Veneto). By breaking down the traditional area of settlement under Mussolini, it was thought to overcome the opposition against the assimilation policy (Zaffi 2006, 334; Riz 2005, 85).

In comparison to other minority languages on Italian soil, for historical reasons Ladin was considered worth protecting right from the beginning of the new Republic and can be defined as a "strong" minority. The Autonomy Statute of 1948 for South Tyrol lead to the introduction of a school system defined by the equality of languages (*scuola paritetica*) and lessons in Ladin in the Ladin-speaking municipalities were guaranteed – but only with regard to the province of Bolzano (Detomas 2005, 130s.; Riz 2005, 85; Kattenbusch 1989, 712). Through an amendment act concerning the Statute in 1972, an enlargement of the rights for the Ladins living in the province of Bolzano and advantages for the whole region of South Tyrol were achieved. In the context of regional autonomy, legislative authority was passed to the provinces (Zaffi 2006, 341). For Bolzano in 1989, Ladin was claimed as an official language of the province alongside German and Italian (Iannàccaro 2006, 1451s.). The maintenance of Ladin in Val Badia and Val Gardena can also be seen from a tendency to celebrate the Mass in Ladin and not in German as was done before. For Trentino, over decades the legal protection of the Ladin-speaking minority was very limited up to the reform of the Statute in 2001 (Riz 2005, 85). In 1993, a legislative decree for the protection of Ladin in the province of Trento was issued; subsequently, Ladin became an obligatory subject in compulsory schools with two lessons per week. In contrast, for the approximate 3,000 Ladins in Veneto, almost no legal measures have been taken; the Ladins of Belluno are thus embedded in a completely different institutional and political context (Detomas 2005, 129ss.). The *Legge regionale* 60/1983 provided only modest financial support for the minorities of the region.

4.2 Current status of standardization

In 2003, the declaration by the South-Tyrolian government that the varieties of Val Badia and Val Gardena were to have the status of official languages and therefore be legitimated for administrative contexts for the province of Bolzano makes it almost impossible for LD to become officialized, at least in this province (Bauer 2012, 211).

The cultural institutes Micurà de Rü (San Martino, Val Badia) and Majon di Fascegn (Vigo di Fassa) are important institutions in charge of editing the scientific reviews *Ladinia* and *Mondo ladino* respectively. In addition, the Union Generela di Ladins dla Dolomites has to be mentioned; it represents the cultural and political interests of the population and publishes the journal *Usc di Ladins* (Kattenbusch 1989, 715) weekly. Further, a section regarding the Ladin language has been installed at the faculty of education of the University of Bolzano (in Bressanone).

In the province of Bolzano, courses are taught in schools not only in German and Italian but in Ladin-speaking municipalities in Ladin, while in Belluno, it is used as an auxiliary language in rare cases. Ladin as a subject is obligatory in elementary schools, with differentiating numbers of lessons per week (Kattenbusch 1989, 716; Iannàccaro 2006, 1453).

In terms of the media, there are divergent broadcasting companies offering programmes in Ladin: First of all – in contrast to the other regions considered here and due to the fact that Ladin is a national minority – RAI Ladinia is responsible for local news in Ladin (*TRaiL*). In addition, further programmes (*Paladina*; *Bancorin* for topics of current interest, *EuroTV* for economic topics) are produced (Bauer 2002a, 145, Iannàccaro 2006, 1450). Since 2006, the station TCA has offered some programs in Ladin, too, though predominantly in *fassano* (on the channels RTTR and Trentino TV). Finally, since 2009, Tele Minoranze Linguistiche has broadcast separate programs, inter alia, in Ladin. With regard to radio programs, RAI (Radio 1) broadcasts news twice a day and two current daily affair programs (*La copa del cafè*, *Dai crepes dl Sela*). In addition, the private Radio Gherdëina Dolomites offers transmissions in all Ladin dialects, which can be listened to via online streaming (Iannàccaro 2006, 1452). In the print sector, the aforementioned weekly journal *Usc di ladins*, with pages dedicated to the single valleys and written in the respective local varieties, is rather successful; single pages in Ladin are also published in daily newspapers such as the German *Dolomiten* and the Italian *Alto Adige*.

5 Romansh

Like Ladin, Romansh also shows a strong fragmentation of varieties; indeed, five idioms can be distinguished, namely *sursilvan*, *sutsilvan*, *surmiran*, *putèr* and *vallader* (including *jauer*) with a total of roughly 40,000 speakers (about 14.5% of the population of the canton). Another 20,000 speakers reside outside the Grisons, which is the only trilingual canton where German plays a dominant role (68.3% vs. Italian 10.3%; Thürer/Burri 2006, 243s.; see Federal Statistical Office online). Chur, after its almost complete destruction by fire in 1464, became German-speaking. As a consequence, similar to Friulian with respect to Udine, Romansh also has no linguistic or cultural center (Bauer 2002b, 233).

5.1 History of the standardization process

The first documents of Romansh date back to the 10th or 11th century (*Würzburger Federprobe*; the *Einsiedler Interlinearversion* follows in the 11th or 12th century), but it is only from the 16th century on that Romansh has been used with a certain regularity, almost exclusively in church literature until the 19th century (Bauer 2002b, 232ss.; for details, cf. Darms 2006, 1455; 1989). The first schoolbooks (German-Romansh dictionaries, grammars) were published in the 19th century, and with the proposal of a uniform written language by Father Placi a Spescha (around 1800) the need for a common language became visible for the first time. Gian Antoni Bühler presented his idea of a *romontsch fusionau* in an elementary grammar in 1863 –

within the newly-founded teacher training college, it was originally thought to give lessons in the two main languages (*sursilvan* and *vallader*) as there was a certain tradition of some varieties also being used for written purposes (though in the form of a regional variety). Furthermore, there were at least differences in orthography for cantonal schoolbooks, mirroring catholic and protestant traditions. As a consequence, the plan for a uniform written language was dismissed (Darms 2006, 1456ss.). In the mid-19th century, schoolbooks were at last published in all four varieties in regular use at the time. The Lia Rumantscha, founded in 1919 as a roof organization for the several regional institutions – through its language commission has played an important role in finding a compromise for the unsolved problem of a uniform orthography since 1928, applied for the first time in the *Deutsch-engadinisches Wörterbuch* published in the same year. The Lia Rumantscha is also responsible for the publication of reference grammars and dictionaries for the single varieties. With Leza Uffer in 1958, the idea of a uniform language arose once more – the author developed an *interrumantsch* (on the base of *surmiran*; Darms 2006, 1460; Etter 2010, 52). It was finally the proposal of Heinrich Schmid (1982) to create *Rumantsch Grischun* (RG) on a pluri-dialectal basis and following the majority role that was (and still is) successful. A first small dictionary and an elementary grammar in RG were published in 1985 (Darms/Dazzi/Gross 1985) and, in addition, a data base (*Pledari grond*) has been made available in 1995 (available online and covering lexical material not only concerning RG but also the different varieties; Darms 2006, 1461; Dazzi/Gross 2001, 60ss.).

The decision to introduce RG as a written language is of course closely linked to language policy, which for Romansh was highly important in the fascist period. With regard to the Italian irredentist territorial claims threatening the canton of Grisons, a referendum was made in 1938 leading to the recognition of Romansh as a national language in the federal constitution. As an official language, it has been recognized on a regional basis for Lower Engadine and Val Müstair since 1995 and for the whole canton of Grisons on a federal level since 1996 (Vitali/Andrey/Valär 2015, 37).

The federal constitution (Bundesverfassung 1999) provides equal rights for all four national languages (German, French, Italian and Romansh, art. 4). Freedom of language is guaranteed (art. 18) and for the first time, the cantons are legally obligated to maintain the awareness of the traditional linguistic constitution of the areas and to take into consideration the linguistic minorities (dynamic principle of territoriality), to maintain and support them (art. 70). The additional (federal) language law (put in place in 2010, cf. Bundesrat 2010a) claims that Romansh, like the other languages, is to be promoted in its standard variety at all levels of school; competences in at least one more national and a foreign language have to be achieved (art. 15). It also stresses the necessity for the protection and promotion of the minority languages Romansh and Italian, with special regard to the latter. Furthermore, it introduced RG as standard variety for cantonal authorities and can-

tonal law courts and supported the promotion of RG in cantonal administration, translations, terminological work, publishing activities (*Chasa Editura Rumantscha*) and *Agentura da Novitads Rumantscha*. At compulsory school, Italian and Romansh have to be offered (art. 21, 22; cf. regulation for Grisons 2010 [Bundesrat 2010b], art. 18–21 with regard to art. 22; cf. Thürer/Burri 2006, 244, 253; Jäger 2015, 18; cf. *Sprachengesetz Graubünden* 2006 and *Sprachengesetz Graubünden* 2007 for further details). Regarding the cantonal constitution (2004) with article 3, equal rights were given to German, Romansh and Italian as national and official languages of the canton (yet in 1880, they were already named as national languages) – cantons possess autonomy as to culture law, so they decide themselves on their official language (until 2001, alongside RG, the regional idioms were allowed for written use). The necessity of promoting the minority languages arose as an idea in the 1920s (Thürer/Burri 2006, 256; Grünert 2015, 52ss.; Jäger 2015, 19s.).

5.2 Current status of standardization

From its beginning onward, RG was intended to be a bridge for the spoken varieties of Romansh and to be used in contexts which, in the past, were dominated by German. It is the most understood language after a speaker's own local variety and thus is widely accepted though considered as a soulless test-tube language. As the spoken varieties are most often limited to the private domain, RG can instead support them by lexical enrichment (Etter 2010, 55). Since 2009, RG has been used for the first three years of elementary school in half of the municipalities of Grisons; later Romansh became a subject and other subjects are taught in Romansh, too; teaching aids have been published from 2005 onwards in RG (with the first complete grammar in 2006 and dictionaries for elementary schools in 2007), but after demands to introduce school books also in *sursilvan*, *sutsilvan*, *putèr*, and *vallader*, the cantonal government acted to introduce these in 2012 (Etter 2010, 52ss.; Solèr 2009, 158; Grünert 2015, 70).

Also, in the media, RG is used with certain regularity – though the Expert Committee of the *European Charter* (Switzerland ratified it in 1997) claims the negative attitude towards private broadcasting stations (Thürer/Burri 2006, 254). For Grisons, public television guarantees a regular program in Romansh (Etter 2010, 54). SRG, according to federal law and financed by license fees, have a public mandate (*service public*) and consequently offer programs in all four national languages, through which the entire population should be reached (Knapp 2015, 119ss.). The Romansh subsidiary RTR offers a radio program entirely in Romansh; in addition, TV daily and weekly programs are produced (*Telesguard*, *Cuntrasts*; *Minisguard* for children), and a large number of videos in all five Romansh varieties are available on the website (the texts though are written in RG).

Concerning the press, there is a wide range of newspapers and journals: *La Quotidiana*, which integrated a number of regional newspapers, publishes texts in

all varieties and in RG (daily, not on weekends); the *Engadiner Post/Posta Ladina* comes out three times a week with single pages in Ladin; *Pagina da Surmeir* and *Punts* (for adolescents) are weekly journals (Andrey 2014, 168s.).

The most important institutions for Romansh are the Società Retorumantscha, founded in 1886 and known for both the *Dicziunari Rumantsch Grischun* and the scientific review Annalas da la Societad Retorumantscha, and the Lia Rumantscha, the roof organization for various regional associations with the goal of promoting Romansh culture and language and as such, anchored in the cantonal laws (Solèr 2009, 155; Bauer 2002b, 234).

6 Sardinian

Unlike Friulian (less so for Ladin), Sardinian has always been considered a separate Romance language. This is because of the clear linguistic distance of some of the dialects with regard to Italian and at least partly caused by the geographical isolation. An innerlinguistic problem for the standardization is the large difference between the two main dialects, *campidanese* in the south and *logudorese* in the north (there are two further dialects, *sassarese* and *gallurese*, both situated in the north and linguistically closer to Corsican; Blasco Ferrer 2002, 248). Sardinian is spoken by around one million speakers and represents the numerically most important Romance minority language in Italy.

6.1 History of the standardization process

In early times, Sardinian had a period of glory known as the language of administration and (regional) *lingua franca*. Be that as it may, the first written documents only date back to the 11th century (cf. the *condaghes*, early legal documents). Texts of non-literary character are found from the 12th century on. Linguistically important are the economic and political dependence on Genoa and even more so on Pisa (cf. texts in Pisan from the 13th century), while in the following century it is the Iberian presence on the island, with Catalan still being spoken in Alghero today. Becoming part of the House of Savoy in 1718, from the end of the century on Sardinian underlies a process of Italianization due to assimilation policies (Raffaelli 2006, 1469ss.).

However, first grammars and dictionaries are published from the 18th century on, embedded in the upcoming Italian lexicographical tradition. In 1948, Sardinia is administered by a special statute of autonomy and on this basis the region aims towards Sardinian becoming co-official alongside Italian. With parallels to Friulian, the *Legge regionale* 26/1997 fixes the status of co-officiality of Sardinian for the region and refers to both the Constitution and international laws and foresees the

institution of an Osservatorio linguistico per la cultura e la lingua sarda for the coordination of measures regarding the promotion of Sardinian. After the first serious proposals in the 1980s which deal with the standardization of both *campidanese* and *logudorese*, or a kind of mixed standard, the region presented norms of a *Limba sarda unificada* (LSU) in 2001 (cf. Calaresu 2002) and in 2006, of a *Limba sarda comuna* (LSC; for more details cf. Heinemann 2014, 119s.). LSC, based on *logudorese-nuorese*, integrates elements of the transitional varieties between *logudorese* and *campidanese*. It works as an inter-variety with regard to phonetics and morphology, adapting common elements of the wide range of varieties used in oral and written contexts (Mensching/Grimaldi 2005; Pittau 2004). LSC is related to the former proposal of *Limba de Mesania* (LDM) based on the transitional variety of the historic Mandrolisai region (cf. Wippel 2011 for more details) and at the same time represents further development of LSU, although heavily criticized for its artificial character and for excluding features of *campidanese*. Since 2013, the orthography of LSC has been used, together with the local orthography, in most cases. With the decision of the regional government (*Deliberazione n.16/14*, 2006), LSC was indicated as the reference language for written usage for the regional administration and for translations of official documents. After the first period of testing, the use of LSC was extended to domains outside the regional administration with the idea of encouraging the general use of LSC as the standard language. LSC is rated as rather natural by the majority of the population (almost 93%); to serve as a completely accepted standard variety, it needs slight adaptations to local varieties and under a regional law, it might be officially recognized (<www.sardegnacultura.it/linguasarda>).

In schools, Sardinian (in its main varieties) is only a facultative subject with one to three lessons weekly (Blasco Ferrer 2002, 249s.). A large part of the population is, however, in favor of the introduction of Sardinian as a school subject. In principle, from 2013 to 2014 onwards, families have had the possibility of pre-inscribing their children for lessons of Sardinian, but there are only a couple of schools respecting the law. Unfortunately, this is an example of the concrete measures for the promotion of Sardinian that are still lacking. Problematic for Sardinian, in spite of the formal government recognition, are the sparse offers of the media and the lack of financial recourse.

6.2 Current status of standardization

The standardization process could, after long discussions, come to an end by officializing LSC. The grammars so far published have a strong regional focus and cannot be considered as standard or reference grammars in the stricter sense. Regarding lexicography, apart from early dictionaries in the 19th century, the recent *Dizionario universale della lingua di Sardegna* of Rubattu (2001) is rather interesting, as the author attempted to create a dictionary including a maximum of local variants.

In the print sector, there is the monthly journal *Noas … Eja*, while *Diarilimba* is instead a digital journal, written entirely in Sardinian, with additional web-TV (Telelimba). Scientific reviews with a focus on literature, cultural anthropology, and politics are *La grotta della vipera*, *Quaderni bolotanesi*, and *Portales*, with at least a part of the texts being written in Sardinian. Radio and TV programs are limited to private broadcasting organizations, which offer some cultural programs in Sardinian financed by the region. Radiopress offers news in Sardinian. Only in 2016 was an agreement between the region and RAI signed, according to which TV and radio programs (RAI 3, Radio 1) in Sardinian and Italian were to be produced and realized for the whole of 2017.

7 Corsican

Corsican is mainly divided into a group of northern dialects (*cismontanu*), close to Tuscan dialects and *ultramuntanu* in the south with more archaic characteristics and similarities to Sardinian *sassarese* and *gallurese*. Linguistic distance is rather low with regard to Italian, historically serving as roofing language and facilitating the access to prestigious forms (Adrey 2009, 163).

Thanks to its isolation, Corsica – similar to Sardinia – retained its linguistic and cultural identity well into the 20th century. The increasing feeling of Corsican nationhood during the last century is mirrored in the efforts concerning political autonomy (Judge 2007, 100). These efforts are accompanied by the wish for (linguistic) distance towards French (or France) and Italian (or Italy) and are thus partly artificially created. Corsican is spoken by around 170,000 people.

7.1 History of the standardization process

Though Corsican poetry has probably existed since at least the 17th century, the first texts are only from the 19th century (Salvatore Viale, *U Sirinatu di Scappinu*, 1817); this might be a result of the orientation to Italian in the prior centuries (Farrenkopf 2011, 58; Judge 2007, 101). Even though the island became part of France in 1768, until the 20th century, Corsican-Tuscan dominated in literature, religion and popular education. After first following an official bilingual policy, Italian was displaced by French in all official domains (administration, school, court) by the end of the 19th century (Adrey 2009, 267s.; Judge 2007, 16, 23). The belonging to the French state endorsed the individuality of Corsica and reviews such as *A Tramuntana* (until 1914), *A Muvra* (radical, italophile), or *Annu Corsu* (moderate, regionalism) not only represent first steps towards the written use of Corsican but are also an instrument to fight for political autonomy (Farrenkopf 2011, 57; Goebl 2015, 37).

The fundamental problem for the standardization of Corsican is its lack of unity. After the first failed trials of promoting a standard based on northern dialects (Adrey

2009, 180s.), the diversity of the intercomprehensible dialects is seen as richness and a standard as such is neglected. Marcellesi (1983, 314) defines the Corsican situation by coining the concept of a *langue polynomique* (↗0), referring to languages

> "dont l'unité est abstraite et résulte d'un mouvement dialectique et non de la simple ossification d'une norme unique, et dont l'existence est fondée sur la décision massive de ceux qui la parlent de lui donner un nom particulier et de la déclarer autonome des autres langues reconnues".

Thus, it is a kind of abstraction which includes all regional varieties (Judge 2007, 102; Goebl 2015, 31). In terms of orthography, the Italian system has been adapted with *intricciate e cambiarine* (i.e. the problem of representing sounds not known to Italian, such as <ghj> for the pre-palatal occlusive [c], and sandhi phenomena; cf. Geronimi/Marchetti 1971). In dictionaries, normally only the dominant variant of northern dialects is indicated (Farrenkopf 2011, 63ss.) – the first dictionaries were Italian-Corsican, the first French-Corsican being published only in 1968. With no standard being fixed, the various dictionaries and grammars do not have reference status (for details cf. Farrenkopf 2011, 49ss.; for an early dictionary, cf. Falcucci 1915).

Language activism in the past decades has been taken up both by academic institutions and civil society organizations; e.g. the Scola Corsa in particular lobbied for the extension of the *Loi Deixonne* that initially didn't include Corsican, which was officially recognized in 1974 (in 2000 the law was integrated into the *Code de l'Éducation*; for Corsican cf. art. L312-11-1 ; cf. also the *Loi n° 51-46 du 11 janvier 1951 relative à l'enseignement des langues et dialectes locaux *Loi Deixonne*;* Adrey 2009, 179; Goebl 2015, 37; Tacke 2015, 225). While being part of Metropolitan France, Corsica is also designated as *collectivité territoriale* by law and enjoys a greater degree of autonomy than other French regions. Since the 1980s, more support for Corsican (school, media) has been given by the French state: several laws guaranteed a certain degree of autonomy (the *Statut particulier*, 1982; the *Statut collectivité territoriale*, 1991; the *Loi relative à la Corse*, 2002). In 1982, the Assemblée de Corse was established as the central administration unit with corresponding competences; later, with the *statut Joxe* in 1991, the Collectivité Territoriale de Corse was set up. The Pasca-Paoli University in Corte was (re-)opened in 1981 and courses with regard to Corsican language, literature, and culture have been implemented (cf. also CAPES; Judge 2007, 29; Giacomo-Marcellesi 2013, 469; Goebl 2015, 37ss.). In 2007, the Assemblée de Corse approved the *Plan stratégique d'aménagement et de développement pour la langue corse* and in 2013 it proclaimed the regional co-officiality of Corsican, still seen as unconstitutional (Giacomo-Marcellesi 203, 469ss.; Judge 2007, 123).

7.2 Current status of standardization

The settlement of an enormous amount of *pieds noirs* after the Algerian war (the population in 1965 was about 173,000 people vs. 215,000 in 1972) led to a cultural break in Corsican society – the younger generations no longer learn Corsican as their mother tongue. As a consequence, it is mainly the contact-induced *francorse* that is used in everyday contexts (Farrenkopf 2011, 60, 76ss.). Nevertheless, Corsican is one of the most vivid regional languages of France (Comité consultatif 2013, 11). Speakers, who at least possess a good passive competence, often identify with it and desire an "individuation glottopolitique", i.e. a dissociation from both French and Italian (though in neology Italian technical terms are often adapted; Farrenkopf 2011, 80; cf. Goebl 2015, 45s.).

In comparison to other regional languages, for which the *Loi Deixonne* provides only for facultative teaching, the legislative standards for Corsican are unique in France due to the Special Statute. Consequently, Corsican has been well anchored in the school system since the early 1980s and, at least in part, been mandatory (for elementary schools the subject *Langue et Culture Corse* or LCC three hours/week at elementary schools since 2007; Comité consultatif 2013, 27ss; cf. also Goebl 2015, 37). Corsican has been studied by approximately 70% of secondary school pupils in recent years (Judge 2007, 102s.), and it is very possible that even monolingual, exclusively Corsican classes will be implemented (Comité consultatif 2013, 26). Following the concept of *langue polynomique* (↗0), education is based on the respective local variety; later, insights to other dialects are given to allow region-wide communication and to strengthen social cohesion (Adrey 2009, 180s.; Tacke 2015, 233ss.).

As standardization efforts are missing, no *office de la langue* has been installed yet (Farrenkopf 2011, 66). On a scientific level, the Centre de Recherches Corses is important.

The use of Corsican in newspapers or journals is rather rare. *Corse matin* dedicates one page per week to Corsican literature and cinema (Goebl 2015, 45; Giacomo-Marcellesi 2013, 472; Adrey 2009, 192). In contrast, coverage through radio and TV is good: The private radio station Voce nustrale broadcasts only in Corsican, Radio Corsica Frequenza Mora is the regional Radio France, France Bleu the network of radio stations covering the national territory and broadcasting in most regional languages – the allocated time for Corsican is five hours/day; regarding TV, the outcome for France 3 Corse with roughly 95 hours/week is also definitely above average (programs include, e.g. *A Famiglia Pastacciu*, *Ghjenti*, *Noi*, *Ultima Editione*; Comité consultatif 2013, 37ss.; cf. also Tacke 2015, 240).

8 Conclusion and outlook

Though all minority or regional languages dealt with in this article are related in terms of linguistic character (all being Italo-Romance languages), there are significant differences regarding the roof language, the belonging to different states with possibly divergent legal statuses and the level of the standardization process. The representations have made clear that standardization depends on a structure which is determined by 1) the inner-linguistic differences that might be an obstacle to standardization in general, 2) the consciousness of the speaker community and the desire for demarcation and even isolation, 3) the linguistic distance to surrounding and roofing idioms, and 4) the historical development of the respective region. This can lead to rather different results, from a widely accepted standard language with a pluri-dialectal basis and considered to be exclusively for written purposes, as is the case for *Rumantsch Grischun*, to an ongoing discussion regarding a possible standard though a *koiné* has developed over the past centuries, as is the case for Friulian.

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Ursula Reutner
14.2 "Minor" Gallo-Romance Languages

Abstract: Today, Occitan and Francoprovençal are languages spanning over five nation states, where they are in competition with prestigious official languages. The consequences are a strong dialectal variation on the one hand and a relatively weak need for normative models on the other. This article provides an approach to identify language planning attempts within both languages taking into account the vicissitudes of their status throughout history. Whereas Occitan boasts a glorious past, and its variety "Aranese" has a highly legal recognition stimulating diverse efforts of codification, Francoprovençal is disputed even with its mere existence. After a presentation of both languages, the article retraces relevant aspects of their history and present status in society in order to present the institutions, codification instruments and main issues pertinent for their standardization.

Keywords: Gallo-Romance, Occitan, Francoprovençal, regional languages, standardization, codification, elaboration, status planning, corpus planning, sociolinguistics

1 Introduction

General reflections – Status and corpus are usually considered two separate aspects of language planning in the tradition of Haugen (1983). This separation helps to discern different parts in the process but risks drawing strict lines in our minds that do not exist in real life. Surely, it is beyond doubt that status and corpus do not always go hand in hand: there are, of course, languages with a high status and small corpus and others with a large corpus and low status. Yet, when it comes to language planning, the two aspects are highly interlinked and difficult to divide. Three examples may suffice to illustrate this reality.

First, declaring a language as official to a nation is an aspect of status planning, but whenever this declaration goes beyond a theoretical statement, it automatically involves (conscious or unconscious) corpus planning: the varieties used for example in administrative texts or on road signs highly influence the standardization process. People usually perceive them as a norm of orientation even if the respective texts are no codification instruments in a traditional sense, whereas explicit attempts of standardization like composing normative dictionaries or grammars sometimes do not have any consequences for the language at all.

Secondly, the decision whether or not to use a language at school is part of status planning but again strongly linked with corpus planning. Not only is the existence of grammars and dictionaries often a prerequisite and at the same time a

consequence of the language's introduction at school, but also the variety used for teaching is practically codified through text books, semi-officialized by the use on the blackboard and dispersed through pupil's works even if the selection process is unconsciously realized.

Thirdly, standardization has often been accomplished by language usage in literature and media. The most prominent example is the translation of the Bible presented by Martin Luther, whose primary aim was definitely not the standardization of the German language, but nevertheless contributed to it. The usage of a language in the media (with their function as a linguistic role model) and especially on the Internet nowadays (with its easy access to the wide distribution of written information) can be, at first sight, considered as status planning. At the same time, it is a powerful impulse of its corpus planning, since a language used in certain domains cannot be separated from the way it is used there.

The following article will therefore go beyond the highly theoretical efforts of corpus planning *in sensu strictu* realized through grammars and dictionaries with their sometimes limited range and effect. Furthermore, it will consider those aspects that are regarded as parts of status planning but are actually often much more important for a language's corpus than the direct efforts of corpus planning.

Minor Gallo-Romance languages – Gallo-Romance languages usually comprise French, Francoprovençal and Occitan, whereas some authors also include Catalan (cf., e.g., Koppelberg 1998). Others unite Occitan and Catalan in a special group of bridging languages between Gallo-Romance and Ibero-Romance languages. In contrast to French and Catalan, Occitan and Francoprovençal are endangered languages with a declining use and are sometimes described as minor. The term *minor* is considered to be quantitatively descriptive not judgmental, especially since Occitan has a very impressive corpus of written usage with world famous literature.

Structure of the article – Both languages will be presented one after the other following the same pattern. Accordingly, a closer examination of Occitan in France, Italy, Spain and Monaco is provided before considering Francoprovençal in France, Italy and Switzerland. In both cases, the first sections aim at familiarizing the reader with each language; they explain their status as languages in their own right and give an overview of their prominent dialects, then present their different denominations, speech area and vitality. The next sections recall the history of both languages while setting a special focus on aspects relevant to their process of standardization such as dominant varieties, codification instruments and institutionalization. The third sections present the current linguistic situation of both languages starting with their different legal status in the five states and the respective regions. They present their roles in the educational systems and in the media, roles that are not only crucial for the institutional process of standardization, yet can also prompt the codification led by other stakeholders. The closing sections portray the institutions engaged in language planning, recent codification instruments and main issues of codification.

2 Occitan

2.1 Overview

2.1.1 Status as a language and dialect variation

Distinct language or languages? – Occitan can clearly be distinguished from the (other) Gallo-Romance languages French and Francoprovençal (see below, 3.1.1). However, it offers such a wide range of dialect variation that some linguists do not define it as one single language but consider it to be an umbrella term for manifold *lengas d'òc*: "l'occitan [...] n'a jamais émergé. On peut penser qu'il a plutôt convergé" (Chambon/Greub 2002, 491). Not only is the linguistically divergent Gascon often regarded as a language in its own right (see below, *Gascon as a special case*), but other dialects are also: "Provençal satisfies the sociolinguistic criteria for being considered as a distinct language (and not a variety of Occitan)" (Blanchet 2003, 1). When reflecting on the standardization process of any language, the consideration of its variation is of high importance. In the case of Occitan, this is all the more true. Chambon even states that "les parlers d'oc n'ayant jamais connu de processus socialement accepté de standardisation ou de narrativisation, toute la linguistique occitane est en effet dialectologie, ou dialectologique" (2012, 204s.).

Dialect classifications – Within Occitan studies, Bec's dialect classification (⁶1995 [1963], 32–49) can be considered the most widely accepted. He aligns Occitan's six main dialects which are separated into three major language groups: northern Occitan (with Lemosin, Auvernhat, Alpin), southern Occitan (with Lengadocian, Provençal) and Gascon (with Aranese). Nonetheless, Wheeler (1988, 246), for instance, only distinguishes between a northeastern group (Lemosin, Auvernhat, Alpin, Provençal) and a southwestern group (Lengadocian, Gascon).

Supradialectal classification with Catalan – Supradialectal approaches classify Occitan with Catalan, in ancient times described as one and the same: "[...] despues de los Araves, no se han escrito en toda España tantos, tan buenos, i tan sotiles libros en prosa, i metro, como en esta lengua Catalana [...] la Proençal, i Catalana son una mesma lengua" (anonymous 1559, 6). Bec (⁶1995 [1963], 52–56), for example, distinguishes between Arverno-Mediterranean (Lemosin, Auvernhat, Provençal, Alpin), central Occitan (Lengadocian) and Aquitano-Pyrenean (with Gascon, Rossellonese, Balearic, Alguerese, central Catalan, northern Catalan and Valencian), and Sumien divides Arverno-Mediterranean in Transoccitan (Lemosin, Auvernhat, Provençal) and Niçard-Alpin and classifies central Occitan and Aquitano-Pyrenean as Pre-Iberian (2006, 146–149).

Gascon as a special case – Reasons why Catalan is often linked to Occitan are its common early history (see below, 2.2.1) as well as some analogies with Gascon that appear in the supradialectal classifications within Catalan. From an Occitan perspective, Gascon is therefore often perceived as "lengatge estranh": Molinher

explains in his 14th-century *Leys d'Amors*: *"quar nos no prendem en nostres dictatz en romans lunh lengatge estranh si no en la maniera dessus pauzada et apelam lengatge estranh coma frances. engles. espanhol. gasco. lombard. E quar la lenga de Gascuenha reputam per estranha. per so nos no devem dir aytals motz si be hom los ditz en Gascuenha. Quar trop mal pauzo li gasco alqus motz"* (1842 [1332–1356], 388) [because we don't use foreign languages in our poems in Roman except in the way we have explained above, and we call foreign languages languages like French, English, Spanish, Gascon and Lombard. And as we regard the language of Gascogne as foreign, we shouldn't use such words, even if they are used in Gascogne, because the Gascons often use bad words]. Some linguists such as Baldinger (1962, 331s.) or Chambon/Greub (2002, 492) consider Gascon a Romance language by itself due to particular differences concerning language evolution. It is almost as divergent from Occitan as Francoprovençal in terms of phonology, morphology and syntax (Wheeler 1988, 246) but commonly regarded as an Occitan language variety.

2.1.2 Nomenclature

Generalization of regional varieties – The use of *Provençal* to identify the koinè of southern France in general was once common but has been increasingly abandoned in order to avoid confusion with *Provençal* referring to the dialect of the Province of Provence. Other varieties also served as pars pro toto, a prominent example of these are *Les Gasconismes corrigés* (Desgrouais 1766) intended to purify the French language from southern influences ("francitan") in general.

Oc – The designation *Occitan*, also referred to as Fr. *langue d'oc*, Occ. *lenga d'òc*, is derived from Dante's classification of Romance languages. In *De vulgari eloquentia* [On Eloquence in the Vernacular] he states: "nam alii *oc*, alii *sì*, alii vero dicunt *oïl*" (1979 [1304–1307/1308], 70 [I/ix/25]) [for some say òc, others sì, yet others say oïl] and thus classifies Occitan, Italian and French dialects according to their realization of the affirmative particle *yes* in òc, sì and oïl languages. In the 19th century, the medieval denominations *lingua d'oc* and its derivation *occitanus* reemerged while asserting themselves more and more even though there was a struggle between their advocates. This became evident in the double determination of the respective teacher's exam *CAPES d'occitan-langue d'oc* (2.3.2).

2.1.3 Geographic and quantitative distribution

Geographic distribution – The totality of areas in which Occitan and its dialects are used spans over parts of France, Monaco, Italy and Spain. The Occitan-speaking territory in France stretches across all four administrative regions in the south, thus comprising the complete regions of Occitanie and Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur, as

well as big parts of Nouvelle-Aquitaine and Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes. In Monaco, Occitan is only encountered in peripheral areas adjoining France. Italy's Occitan Valleys in Piedmont and Liguria (*valadas occitanas*) and the Guardia Piemontese, an Occitan-speaking enclave founded in Calabria by Waldenses, present the easternmost part of the Occitan zone. Spain's Aran Valley in the Pyrenees of Catalonia forms the southern border of Occitan.

Quantitative distribution – Quantitative indications differ in both languages according to the definition of who is to be counted (cf. Reutner 2017, 19). The *Ethnologue* indicates for example 218,310 speakers: 110,000 in France, 100,000 in Italy, 4,500 in Monaco, 3,810 in Spain (Simons/Fennig 2019), and The Network to Promote Linguistic Diversity between one and three million: 1–2.8 million in France, 50,000–100,000 in Italy, 4,700 in Spain and 4,500 in Monaco (NPLD 2017). Kremnitz, who stated in 1997 that maybe 3 million could speak the language and 1 million actually spoke it (1997, 1188), lowered his estimations to between 600,000 and 1.5 million in France (2015, 54). Bernissan calculates the total number of native speakers in France at around 110,000 and of new speakers (*néo-locuteurs*) at around 20,000 (2012, 492). Bert/Costa give percentages of age groups indicating those who speak the regional language well (first numbers) or understand it well (second numbers): 2/4% (under 30), 0/2% (30–40), 1.5/7.5% (40–50), 3.9/15.6% (50–60), 7.2/24.6% (60–70), 14/32% (70–80), 30/60.9% (over 80) (Bert/Costa 2009, 34s.), and mention a total of 6.3% of traditional speakers, with 1.1% among the 40–50 year-olds, 1.6% among the 50–60, 10.2% among the 60–70, 14.4% among the 70–80 and 17% among the over 80 (2009, 34s.).

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2.2 History of standardization

The evolution of Occitan has been highly influenced not only by inter-linguistic diglossia (in competition with first Latin and then French) but also intra-linguistic dialect variation. Because there has never been a political entity in the Occitan area, the linguistic evolution was strongly affected by its division into different sovereign territories. The following historical abstract centers mainly around the intra-Occitan problem of standardization. Accordingly, the historical evolution of Occitan can be divided into three major periods: the cultural blossoming between the 11th and 13th centuries, Occitan's decline and retrogression in the centuries to follow until its new awakening as of the 19th century.

2.2.1 Cultural blossoming

Legal-administrative texts and troubadour lyrics – The Old-Occitan blossoming was initially shaped by vernacular tradition that appeared predominantly in legal-

administrative as well as religious texts, the language of which bears resemblance to meridional varieties of Occitan. The first literary texts appeared around the year 1000. One century later, the troubadours, with their most important early representative William IX of Aquitaine (1071–1127), paved the rise of Occitan until the 13th century. The poetry of travelling minstrels later established Occitan as an important written language, which reached parts of Italy (*scuola siciliana*), Galicia (*cantigas de amor*), Catalonia (*trobador*) and northern France (*trouvères*).

Koinè – Even though the dimension of the standardization effects emanating from the troubadours and their Occitan poetry are controversial within Romance linguistics, their medieval koinè later built the basis for what is now known as classical norm (see below, 2.2.3). Since the troubadour texts avoided regionalisms in order to be widely understood in the Catalan-Occitan area, they distinguished themselves through a relatively high consistency being geared toward the meridional Occitan of the Toulouse region.

Poetics – As there was a need to explain the poetic rules to future poets, troubadour lyrics also made Occitan the Romance language with the first grammar: Ramon Vidal de Besalú's *Razos de Trobar* (1190–1213) written in Catalonia and recommending Lemosin (cf. Städtler 1988). It was followed by other poetics depicting the most important normative tendencies in the Middle Ages and generally showed preference for Lengadocian over Gascon and Provençal: Uc Faidit's famous *Donatz Proensals*, written around 1240 in Italy, Terramagnino da Pisa's *Doctrina d'Acort* (ca. 1280–1290), Jofre de Foixà's *Regles de Trobar* (1286–1291), Guilhem Molinher's *Leys d'Amors* (1332–1356, already cited in 2.1.1 and also referred to as *Flors del Gay Saber*) as well as Johan de Castellnou's *Compendi de la conaxença dels vicis que poden esdevenir en los dictatz del Gay Saber* (1341; for more details cf. Schlieben-Lange 1991, 106ss.).

Challenges – However, the lack of a commonly accepted linguistic center for the Occitan territory impeded endeavours to establish a uniform, standardized variation of Occitan. The outbreak of the Albigensian crusades (1209–1229) drastically changed circumstances in southern France. The destruction of Occitan courts dispossessed the troubadours of their livelihood and subsequently initiated Occitan's downfall. The County of Toulouse was incorporated into France (1271) which not only set the basis for the later francization of the Occitan area but also separated it from the Catalan zone, which developed differently from then on.

2.2.2 Decline

Declining written usage and the Edict of Villers-Cotterêts – Closely linked to the evolution of royal power and the French state in the 14th and 15th centuries, the usage and cultivation of Occitan declined significantly, triggering a diglossic situation in southern France. Occitan was still officially used as a written language, but French

gained more and more domains. Eventually, with the edict of Villers-Cotterêts (1539), French was declared as the only official language superseding not only Latin but also regional languages such as Occitan.

Loss of a pan-Occitan language awareness – Written tradition of Occitan successively vanished in favor of French, the language of administration and culture. Due to the corresponding decline in pan-Occitan language awareness, the dialectal variation increased. Scattered standardization attempts in the 17th century only concerned specific regions and mainly referred to literary language. Occitan was more and more glorified in light of its past and described as a "lost language" (Pasquini 1994, 25s.), which further emphasized the diglossic situation.

Standardization through the alignment to Paris – In the course of the 18th century, dictionaries like Pellas' *Dictionnaire provençal et françois* (1723) or Boissier de la Croix de Sauvages' *Dictionnaire languedocien-françois* (1756) had normative impacts and initiated new debates on standardizing Occitan in terms of grammar, orthography, and lexicography. They originated less in the will to codify Occitan than in the practical need to help aspiring Occitan speakers brush up on their French after an economic and social rise in Paris. This became most evident in Desgrouais' *Les Gasconismes corrigés* (1766). The strong alignment to French as the dominant language led not only to a further decline in language awareness, but also to a degradation of Occitan being more and more regarded as a mere dialect of French (for commented lists of different types of Occitan-French dictionaries cf. Schlieben-Lange 1991, 115–121).

Declining oral usage after the French Revolution – "Une nation – une langue" soon became a powerful idea in the minds of French revolutionaries. Whereas the Edict of Villers-Cotterêts led to the replacement of Occitan in written texts, the French Revolution aimed at imposing the French language in daily life (for more details cf. Martel 2015) from 1793 onwards. This could only be accomplished after the introduction of compulsory school education (1881) and gradually led to the substitution of Occitan by French in southern France.

2.2.3 New awakening

Félibrige – At the same time, the second half of the 19th century marks the revitalization of Occitan and its codification. The literary movement Félibrige, founded on the model of the French Pléiade in 1854, heralded the beginning of Occitan's modern standardization. The most important representative of the group is Frédéric Mistral (1830–1914), Nobel Prize laureate of 1904 for his epic poem on the farmer's daughter who fell in love with a modest basketmaker, *Mirèo* (1859; Mistral 1860). He helped leverage the popularity of Occitan not only in France but also internationally.

Fédéric Mistral – Mistral's *Tresor dóu Félibrige* (1878–1886) is a comprehensive pluri-dialectal dictionary that includes the different *lengas d'òc* comprising Proven-

çal. The orthography later referred to as Mistralian norm or Felibrean norm, however, is inspired by Simon-Jude Honnorat's *Vocabulaire Français-Provençal* (1848) and Joseph Roumanille's *Dissertation sur l'orthographe provençale* (1853) and thus only based on the language varieties of the lower Rhône valley. Mistral avoided underlining any pan-Occitan speech unity and delimited the validity of his norm by naming it *lengo prouvençalo*. He applies this variety to French rules (e.g. <ou> for /u/), while also adopting phonologic considerations (e.g. suppression of <r> in infinitives, <s> in plurals and <t> in past participles). Due to its evident dialectal slant and strong reference to literary language, the Mistralian orthography could not become a commonly accepted standard. Nevertheless, it represents an important breeding ground for following standardization approaches.

Antonin Perbòsc and Prospèr Estieu – In order to unify the Occitan dialects and present a commonly acceptable orthography, Antonin Perbòsc (1861–1944) and Prospèr Estieu (1860–1939) recollected the writing of the troubadours. In 1919, they presented a standardization approach on the basis of the widely understood Lengadocian that followed etymological principles and could be accepted by speakers of other varieties. In the tradition of the troubadours, they tried to bridge dialectal differences, especially focusing on the autonomy from French. Accordingly, they replaced the French digraph <ou> by <o>, represented /ɔ/ by <ò> and adopted the digraph <tz> for the second person plural (*cantatz* 'vous chantez') to distinguish it from the second person singular (*cantats* 'tu chantes').

Loís Alibèrt – However, their deliberations lacked systematization, especially in the field of morphology. Therefore, Alibèrt (1884–1959) presented an attempt to reconcile their system with the Mistralian orthography. His elaboration of the Perbòsc/Estieu orthography also known as classical or Albertine orthography is based on etymological forms and considers the most characteristic phonological and morphological elements of the contemporary *lengas d'òc*. Thus, it allows the encoding of different Occitan varieties. He replaced some prominent Catalan graphemes (e.g. <ll> → <lh>, <ny> → <nh> like in Portuguese: Cat. *filla*, Occ. *filha*, Pt. *filha*; Cat. *Catalunya*, Occ. *Catalonha*, Pt. *Catalunha*; <ix> → <is>, <tx> → <ch>, <ig> → <g>), corrected Perbòsc's and Estieu's misleading remarks on the usage of *-v-* and *-b-*, and differentiated between *-s-* and *-ss-*. As a result, his *Grammatica occitana segòn los parlars lengadocians* (1935) and his *Dictionnaire occitan-français selon les parlers languedociens* (1966) heralded Occitan's standardization process. Since they permit synchronic and pan-Occitan understanding, Alibèrt's works still present an important normative reference commonly known as the classical norm.

Institutions – The Félibrige movement was primarily a literary movement that did not systematically advocate for a better status of Occitan. Due to the lack of political impact, other institutionalized endeavors arose with the ambition of protecting and defending Occitan, among them the foundation of the Institut d'Estudis Occitans (cf. below, 2.4.1). Due to efforts of the IEO and trend-setting codification instruments, the Lengadocian of the Toulouse region rose to the basis of a widely

accepted standard variety of Occitan (for further reading on the standardization history of Occitan see among others Bec [6]1995 [1963], 65–116; 1991, 51s.; Bernsen 2006, 1981–1992; Boyer/Gardy 2001; Kremnitz 1974, 86–260; 1981, 20–32; Lafont 1971, 41–45; Martel 2013, 512–528; 2004; Pasquini 1994, 62–76; Polzin-Haumann 2006, 1474–1480; 2017, 97ss.; Sauzet/Brun-Trigaud 2013; Sibille 2002; 2003a, 179–184; Sumien 2006, 60s., 157; Taupiac 2001, 91–100).

2.3 Current linguistic situation

2.3.1 Legal status

The current linguistic situation of Occitan emerges from varying legal backgrounds in the four nation states, where great differences in terms of official recognition are evident. Whereas Aranese is co-official in Catalonia, Occitan is not an official language in Italy, Monaco or France. Hence, Occitan faces a quite paradoxical situation with the second smallest language community in the Aran Valley accounting for the highest legal consideration.

France – French is the one and only official language of the French Republic which is underlined by the passus "La langue de la République est le français" added to the Constitution in 1992 (RF 1958/2015, art. 2). In 2008, the French government under Sarkozy passed an amendment taking into special account regional languages: "Les langues régionales appartiennent au patrimoine de la France" (RF 1958/2015, art. 75-1). This amendment only has a symbolic function as France still lacks concrete decrees or enactments concerning the conservation and protection of regional languages. Moreover, France failed to ratify the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (ECRML), signed in 1999 (for further reading concerning the difficulties of the ratification process see Alén Garabato 2013, 327–336; Tacke 2015, 221–223).

Italy – The Italian Constitution does not specify any official language. The only reference to language can be seen in article 6 that ensures the protection of linguistic minorities: "La Repubblica tutela con apposite norme le minoranze linguistiche" (RI 1948/2019, art. 6). In application of this article, the law 482 of 1999 declares Italian official while comprehensively safeguarding historic linguistic minorities (RI 1999, art. 1), among them Occitan and Francoprovençal (RI 1999, art. 2) (cf. Pirazzini 2012 on the law and the discussion concerning the ECRML). The details are specified in the regional laws. In 1970, the Region of Piedmont declares in its Statue: "La Regione difende l'originale patrimonio linguistico, di cultura e di costume delle comunità locali e ne favorisce la valorizzazione" (RP 1970/1990, art. 7) and successively completes this article. The special reference to Occitan and Francoprovençal is introduced in 2005 (RP 2005/2016, art. 7). Piedmont further protects and promotes the knowledge of its linguistic heritage in the regional law 26, in which it announces

supporting the teaching of Occitan and Francoprovençal as well as their usage in the media (RP 1990/1997, art. 3 and 5).

Spain – Spain reveals a different constitutional consideration of regional languages. While referring to Castilian as official language for the whole nation state, article 3 of the Spanish Constitution also makes reference to the respective regional Statutes of Autonomy (RE 1978, art. 3). Accordingly, Occitan or more precisely the Aranese variety of Gascon is granted special protection in the Catalan Statute of Autonomy of 1979 (GC 1979, art. 3) and becomes a co-official language in the Aran Valley in 1990 through the law 16 (GC 1990, art. 2.1). Due to a reform of the Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia in 2006, Occitan is now a co-official language in all of Catalonia besides Catalan and Castilian (GC 2006, art. 6.5).

Monaco – French is the official language in Monaco: "La langue française est la langue officielle de l'État" (PM 1962, art. 8). The traditional national language is Monégasque, a Ligurian dialect that is also taught in school and used on street signs for example.

2.3.2 Educational system

France – The Post World War II period was shaped by the introduction of Occitan into the educational system. During that time, several previously unsuccessful attempts at legislation bore fruit as the *Loi Deixonne* passed in 1951 (and as other important legal texts concerning the educational system later were integrated into the *Code l'éducation*; cf. Tacke 2015, 224–231). In order to achieve "la promotion et l'enrichissement des langues et cultures régionales" (RF 1951, art. 7), it authorized optional courses in regional languages in the "zones d'influence du breton, du basque, du catalan et de la langue occitane" (RF 1951, art. 10). Subsequently, the number of students taking optional secondary school examinations in Occitan increased from 236 (1952) to 9000 (1980) (cf. Kremnitz 1997, 1191). Writing was instigated and promoted the standardization of writing at a high range. In 1975, the *Loi Deixonne* was completed by the *Loi Haby*: "un enseignement des langues et cultures régionales peut être dispensé tout au long de la scolarité" (RF 1975, art. 12). Additionally, the *Circulaire Savary* (1982) and the *Circulaire Bayrou* (1995) supported the teaching of regional languages. A *CAPES d'occitan-langue d'oc* was introduced in 1992. In the tradition of the bilingual education institutions Ikastola (Basque country, since 1969), Diwan (Brittany, since 1976), and Bressola (Catalonia, since 1976), privately run Calandretas have offered bilingual education in Occitan since 1979; today there are 68 Calandretas in southern France. During the school year 2013–2014, a total of 56,066 students studied Occitan in elementary or secondary schools, representing the second largest group among the regional languages, only topped by Alsatian (264,783 students), while Breton (36,880 students), Corse (36,295 students), Creole (22,431 students), Catalan (14,565 students), and Basque (14,281 stu-

dents) account for clearly fewer students (DGLFLF 2015, 79; for further reading see for example Alén Garabato 2013; Lespoux 2013; Martel 2007, 131–147; Sibille 2003a, 187ss.; Weth 2014, 501ss.).

Italy – The Region of Piedmont supports the teaching of Occitan through the regional law of 1990/1997 (cf. above, 2.3.1), but there seems to be a strong resistance to its introduction at school among the population. Most people interviewed by Pla-Lang can imagine Occitan as an optional subject (2008, 108) at the most.

Spain – Teaching of Aranese was stipulated in the Statute of Autonomy of Catalunya of 1979, reformed in 2006 (cf. above, 2.3.1), and promoted by the *Llei de normalització lingüística a Catalunya* of 1983 (GC 1989) that was transferred to the *Llei de política lingüística* in 1998 (cf. Tacke 2012). Nowadays, Aranese is not only taught but also used as a language of teaching in the Aran Valley. It has the same rights as Catalan in other areas of Catalonia, but its usage is controversially discussed by parents. Practical considerations support the use of Spanish and Catalan, as a good knowledge of both is necessary in order to apply for many jobs in Catalonia. The choice of Aranese, by contrast, conveys the impression of being more ideologically motivated (for further reading cf. Suils/Huguet 2001, 159s.; Viaut 2001, 408–412).

2.3.3 Media

Occitan is present in print as well as audio-visual media and more and more penetrating the Internet.

Print media – Newspapers and journals like *Jornalet. Gaseta occitana d'informacions* have been published daily in Occitan in Barcelona/Toulouse since 2012 in the classical orthography. *Prouvènço d'aro* has appeared monthly in Marseille since 1987 in Mistralian orthography, as well as *Aquò d'Aquí*, published monthly in Marseille since 1987, and *La Setmana*, appearing weekly in Lescar since 1995.

Radio – Several radio stations have broadcast their whole program in Occitan or offer particular slots treating or using the Occitan language since the beginning of the 1980s, for example Ràdio Lenga d'òc (Montpellier), Ràdio Occitània (Toulouse), Ràdio País (Pau), Radio Albigés (Albi) and Radio Coupo Santo (Avignon). Catalunya Ràdio (Barcelona) broadcasts some programs in Aranese.

Television – Even though an Occitan-only television channel exists merely on the Internet (<www.oc-tv.net>), there are some regional programs in Occitan language on other channels: France 3 Occitanie broadcasts, for example, the program *Viure al Païs* with small documentaries on everyday life (FT 2019a) and France 3 Provence-Alpes-Côtes d'Azur a weekly magazine *Vaqui* (FT 2019b); but all in all, we are speaking about a very small percentage of the whole broadcasting time, France 3 offering only 56.53 hours in Occitan (Provençal excluded) and 67.51 hours in Occitan Provençal throughout 2014 (DGLFLF 2015, 84). TVSud presents documentaries in Occitan on a regular basis (TVSud 2019), Barcelona Televisió offers the programs *Aranèsoc* and *Infòc* (betevé 2019; for further reading cf. Sibille 2003a, 185s.).

Internet as a platform for old advocates – The goal of strengthening Occitan via traditional media was once confined to a local level, whereas nowadays, most of the mentioned products of the print and audio-visual media are also accessible via the Internet. Similarly, the institutions engaged in promoting and strengthening Occitan (cf. below, 2.4.1) also operate in the digital sphere. Thus, their aspirations of language revitalization cannot only be achieved more economically and at the same time more professionally, but can also reach a wider range of people and more easily attract younger speakers. The comparably low intergenerational transmission of Occitan, often problematized in current research, can certainly profit from the new digital opportunities.

Internet as a new platform for everybody – The Internet is not only used by traditional groups to publish conventional products in another medium. Since the end of the 1990s, the standardization of Occitan has also been driven directly in the digital area: private homepages, discussions and postings in social media platforms and even a general encyclopedia are now available in Occitan. The frontal page of Wikipedia in Occitan points to a total of 86,120 articles written in this language (cf. Wikipedia 2019a) and the authors of these articles are leading lively discussions on language online. Whereas minor languages have always profited from enthusiastic amateurs publishing glossaries, booklets, or little texts to promote their language, the digital age grants popular linguistics a more and more important role in the process of standardization (for further reading on popular linguistics in the case of Occitan cf. Osthus 2006, 1542ss.).

2.4 Codification

2.4.1 Institutions

IEO – The Institut d'Estudis Occitans (IEO), founded in 1945, can be considered the most prominent pan-Occitan institution in terms of popularity and acceptance. It highlights aspects of status planning in its Internet presentation when it explains that it is "working for the recognition of the Occitan as a full European language" and "supports the efforts of all those who want the Occitan language to find its place in the cultural diversity inherent in today's society". Corpus planning is included when it states that it aims at "the promotion and teaching of Occitan respectful of dialectal diversity" and "the maintenance and development of the Occitan language and culture as a whole" (IEO 2019a). In this respect, the IEO endeavours to establish a normative standard and to fix it in referential codification instruments. Highly committed to allow for dialectal differences, it aspires to promote the classical norm in its respective dialectal versions. It works on the renewal of Occitan vocabulary in order to adapt it to modern language usage with several dictionaries presenting for example the terminology of biology, mathematics and informatics

(IEO 2019b) or for sports like jousting, bullfighting, football and rugby (IEO 2019c; 2019d).

Lo Congrès – Lo Congrès permanent de la lenga occitana (CLO) was founded in 2011 in order to successfully revitalize Occitan on a transnational level. In the tradition of the IEO, it applies the classical norm to different dialects and aims to overcome the competing linguistic concepts of Occitan (CLO 2019a). It offers an Internet database supplying various codification instruments (CLO 2019b): an Occitan-French, French-Occitan dictionary, *dicod'Òc*, based on 15 dictionaries and already covering the 5 varieties Auvernhat, Gascon, Lengadocian, Provençal, and Alpin (CLO 2019c), as well as a digital conjugation guide, *verb'Òc* (CLO 2019d), a dictionary of Occitan toponymy, *Top'Òc* (CLO 2019e), a database of Occitan terminology, *Term'Òc* (CLO 2019f), and a dictionary of Occitan expressions, *Express'Òc* (CLO 2019g).

IEA – The Institut d'Estudis Aranesi (IEA) was founded in 2014 as an official institution to cultivate the use of Aranese in Catalonia. Like the IEO, it is geared toward the classical norm but has adapted to its Gascon variety (cf. IEA 2019 and for more information on the institutional support in Catalonia CGA 2017, in Italy Pla-Lang 2008, 73–97, and Salvi 1975, 172ss., and in France Bert/Costa 2009, 132s., as well as the evaluation in Diver 2015, 213–223).

2.4.2 Codification instruments

Over the past centuries, many codification instruments of Occitan have emerged, including the poetics meant to explain how to compose troubadour lyrics (cf. above, 2.2.1), dictionaries intended to help Occitan speakers with French (among them Pellas 1723 and Boissier de la Croix de Sauvages 1756; cf. above, 2.2.2), or intended to support the understanding of Occitan texts like Honnorat (1846–1847; 1848) and above all Mistral (1878–1886; cf. above, 2.2.3). Language planning institutions offer online applications like the ones already mentioned of Lo Congrès, *dicod'Òc*, *verb'Òc*, *Top'Òc*, *Term'Òc* and *Express'Òc* (cf. above). The following listing adds some other codification instruments of the 20th and 21st centuries for different areas of Occitan, thus illustrating that most reference works are conceived for a special variety of Occitan.

Spelling – Besides the Mistralian norm, there is the classical norm (cf. 2.2.3) that codification instruments of the second half of the 20th century adapt, for example to Provençal (Lafont 1951; 1972), Gascon (Bec/Alibèrt 1952), Auvernhat (Bonnaud 1969), or Lemosin (Desrozier/Ros 1974). As for Aranese, the government of Catalonia installed a commission to develop an appropriate orthography with the result of the *Nòrmes ortogràfiques der Aranés* that became operative in 1983 (GC 1999).

Grammar – The four volumes of Ronjat (1930–1941) still represent the most complete grammar. Reference books with a strong normative character are Alibèrt (1976 [1935]) for the classic norm and Sumien (2006) aimed at establishing an *occitan larg*.

Bonnaud (1974) is a grammar of Auvernhat, whereas the grammar of Salvat (⁵1998 [1943]) and the conjugation guides of Pojada (⁵2014 [1993]) and Sauzet/Ubaud (1995) are again based on Lengadocian.

Lexis – With Gallo-Romance historical dictionaries like the FEW and specialized dictionaries like the DAO, DAG, DOM, ancient Occitan enjoys lexicographic description of high academic standards (cf. Chambon 2015, 31ss.). Numerous are the dictionaries on the contemporary *lenguas d'òc*; among them Alibèrt (1979 [1966]), Laux (2001 [1997]), Cantalausa (2003), Guilhemjoan (2005), and Lagarde (2012) are geared to Lengadocian, Gonfroy (1975) to Lemosin, Lèbre/Martin/Moulin (1992) and Fettuciari/Martin/Pietri (2003) to Provençal, Dubarry (2009 [1998]), Rei Bèthvéder (2004) and Grosclaude/Nariòo/Guilhemjoan (2007) to Gascon, Omelhièr (2004) to Auvernhat, and Faure (2010) to Alpine.

Language guide – All kinds of teaching material are available to those who want to learn Occitan, for example the *Cours Assimil* for French learners (Nouvel 2007 [1975]; Quint 2014) and Cichon (2002 [1999]) for German learners.

2.4.3 Main issues

Competing norms – The two major competing norms are the Mistralian, based on Provençal, and the classical based on Lengadocian. Both are adaptable to different Occitan dialects and account for a better pan-Occitan acceptance (cf. 2.2.3). In addition, other norms have been emerging since the 1970s as well as a large variety of individual spellings representing local phonetics by applying the rules of the French orthography to Occitan. While there might be a tendency among older readers who never became literate in Occitan to prefer these spellings based on French, the younger generation will probably rather tend towards the classical norm having studied Occitan at school.

Illustration – The following three versions of article 1 of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* illustrate the different principles of the Mistralian norm based on Provençal, the classical norm used for Provençal and the classical norm for Lengadocian. They show for example that in the Mistralian norm, [u] is noted by the digraph <ou>, [-o] is noted <o>, a graphic accent distinguishes between stressed vowels and unstressed diphthongs, and only some mute final consonants are noted (*dre*), whereas in the classical norm [u] is represented by <o>, [-o] is represented by <a> and final consonants are never dropped.

> "Tóuti li persouno naisson liéuro e egalo en dignita e en dre. Soun doutado de rasoun e de counsciènci e li fau agi entre éli em' un esperit de freiresso" (Mistralian norm).

> "Totei lei personas naisson liuras e egalas en dignitat e en drech. Son dotadas de rason e de consciéncia e li cau agir entre elei amb un esperit de frairesa" (classical norm for Provençal).

> "Totas las personas naisson liuras e egalas en dignitat e en drech. Son dotadas de rason e de consciéncia e lor cal agir entre elas amb un esperit de frairesa" (classical norm for Lengadocian).

Coping with varieties in a standardization process – Occitan's normative situation is rather complex as it accounts for manifold *lengas d'òc*, partly present in different standardization attempts. Roughly speaking, three solutions can be found to cope with such a dialectal variation in a standardization process: equality of varieties, imposition of one variety and, last but not least, abstraction from varieties. The first option of accepting the different varieties on an equal level leads to a polynomial model that considers language unity as a merely abstract concept. Explicit norms give way to self-regulating forces of languages. Very democratic in theory, this option is difficult to accomplish in practice as a speaker's desire for orientation seems to exist at least when writing and especially when learning the language. The second option of imposing one of the dialects or a group of dialects as orientation was, for example, the solution for the standardization of French, Spanish and Italian based on the varieties Francien, Castilian and Tuscan. These varieties were dominant due to the political, economic or cultural supremacy of some of their speakers. If in a pluricentric stage of language evolution no dialect predominates, it is difficult to select one variety that the speakers of others can accept. For this reason, the third option of abstracting from actually existing varieties does not privilege one single variety. However, it aims for a compromise by gathering features of different dialects like Euskara Batua is meant to do for Basque or Rumantsch Grischun for Rhaeto-Romance. In trying to be acceptable for all, this option draws the criticism of those who consider it as an artificial norm that threatens the regional varieties and therefore the transmittance of the cultural heritage (for these three options cf. Reutner 2006).

Coping with the varieties of Occitan – Even if many of the standardization instruments are based on Lengadocian that has the advantage of being one of the more conservative southern dialects (cf. below, 3.1.1 – *palatalization*) and of being central, adjacent to most of the others and thus comprehensible in different regions, Occitan language planners do not want to privilege one single dialect. Their intent rather is to establish a general standard accessible to speakers of different varieties on the basis of the classical norm while adapting to different dialects, the so called *occitan larg*, *occitan estandard* or *occitan referencial*. In a certain way, they try to reconcile the polynomial model with the human need for orientation. When Lo Congrès defines the "respect de l'unité et de la diversité de l'occitan" (CLO 2019b) as one of its principles, it is designed to create unity by accounting for dialectal variation. Such an idea of "unity by diversity" can be achieved by the usage of one single orthographical system in all dialects, reflecting varying forms and pronunciations.

3 Francoprovençal

3.1 Overview

3.1.1 Status as a language and dialect variation

How to create things with words – In 1873, the Italian linguist Graziadio Isaia Ascoli (1829–1907) introduced the designation *franco-provenzale* as a collective term for those Gallo-Romance dialects that – according to dialectological criteria – can neither be considered French nor Occitan. In order to group these dialects, Ascoli introduced a third type, taking an intermediate position between the two others closer to French than to Occitan:

> "chiamo franco-provenzale un tipo idiomatico, il quale insieme riunisce, con alcuni caratteri specifici, più altri caratteri, che parte son comuni al francese, parte lo sono al provenzale, e non proviene già da una confluenza di elementi diversi, ma bensì attesta sua propria indipendenza istorica, non guari dissimili da quella per cui fra di loro si distinguono gli altri principali tipi neo-latini" (Ascoli 1878, 61).

Controversial topic – Ascoli's deliberations opened a heated debate, which is still present today. The main reason for the argument persists within his language definition which struggles to name definite linguistic traits exclusively valid for Francoprovençal. Thus, the question of whether or not it can actually be considered a language of its own is crucial when dealing with Francoprovençal.

Double evolution of A – In order to distinguish Francoprovençal from both French and Occitan, Ascoli focused on phonetic criteria and saw the evolution of the Latin A as the main distinctive feature. After a non-palatal consonant, the stressed Latin A evolves in open syllable to /e/ in French, but is maintained in Francoprovençal (and Occitan): Lat. PRĀTŬ(M) > Fr. *pré* vs. Frp. *pra*, Occ. *pra*; Lat. PŎRTĀRE > Fr. *porter* vs. Frp. *portà*, Occ. *portar*. After a palatal consonant, the stressed Latin A results in /e/ in Francoprovençal (and French), but is kept in Occitan: Lat. CĂPRĂ(M) > Frp. *tsevra*, Fr. *chèvre* vs. Occ. *cabro*; Lat. MĂNDŬCĀRE > Frp. *midjé*, Fr. *manger* vs. Occ. *manjar*.

Word-final vowels – Actually, Ascoli's criterion of the evolution of the stressed Latin A seems convincing when differentiating between Francoprovençal and Occitan but doesn't clearly distinguish Francoprovençal from French. Much more useful for identifying these languages is the loss of Latin unstressed word-final vowels in French pronunciation (also maintained in writing). They are conserved in Francoprovençal (as for example in Italian), which often lead to a paroxytonic stress: Lat. CĂNTŌ > Fr. *je chante* vs Frp. *tsanto* (It. *canto*), Occ. *canti*; Lat. LĂRGŬM > Fr. *large* vs. Frp. *lardzo* (It. *largo*), Occ. *large*; Lat. NŎSTRŬM(M) > Fr. *notre* vs. Frp. *noutron* (It. *nostro*), Occ. *nòstre* (*noutron*, *voutron* always being highlighted as a very original

creation in Francoprovençal). Hasselrot, who added this criterion (1938, 80), is convinced that no other linguistic area of comparable importance can be delimited with the same precision by the aid of such an efficient phonetic difference (cf. 1966, 258).

Paroxytonic stress – The feature is particularly striking in Francoprovençal onomastics, where toponymes like *Bionaz* [ˈbjona] or *Nendaz* [ˈnɛ̃nda] and anthroponymes like *Berlioz* [ˈbɛrʎo] still include the letter <z>, a silent letter only indicating that the final vowel is unstressed, described as the most original feature of medieval Francoprovençal writing (cf. Vurpas 1995, 401). There are more than 50 names of villages ending in -*az* only in Romandy (for example *Evionnaz*, *Veysonnaz*, *Penthaz*, *Nendaz*, *Ovronnaz*) and they are more and more pronounced according to French rules, as is the case with the name of the famous composer *Berlioz* [bɛʁˈljoːz]. In other cases, the ancient spelling in -*az* was supplanted by a French version that represented the actual pronunciation by French orthography, like *Lausanne* (once *Lausannaz*) or *Evolène* (once *Evolenaz*). All in all, with its numerous non-stressed ending vowels, Francoprovençal is characterized by a frequent paroxytonic stress. In contrast to the French oxytony, stress therefore becomes a distinctive feature in Francoprovençal: Frp. *monte* [ˈmɔ̃ta] vs. *montez* [mɔ̃ˈta], *rose* [ˈruza] vs. *rosée* [ruˈza].

Diphthongization – Stressed Latin vowels in open syllables have been diphthongized in Francoprovençal (like in ancient French and partly in Italian where the short/open vowels have also been diphthongized but not so for long/closed vowels) and distinguish it from Occitan where they are kept: Lat. PĔDĔ(M) > Frp. *pia*, Fr. *pied* (It. *piede*) vs. Occ. *pè*; Lat. CŎRĔ(M) > Frp. *queur*, Fr. *cœur* (OFr. *cuer*, It. *cuore*) vs. Occ. *cor*; Lat. STĒLLĂ(M) > Frp. *étèyla*, Fr. *étoile* vs. Occ. *estela* (It. *stella*); Lat. FLŌRĔ(M) > Frp. *fleur*, Fr. *fleur* (OFr. *flour*) vs. Occ. *flor* (It. *flore*).

Intervocalic plosives – The dental and velar intervocalic plosives [t], [k] fall silent in French and Francoprovençal in contrast to Occitan (and Iberoromanian languages) where the voiceless consonants (remaining voiceless in Tuscan) are only weakened and voiced: Lat. VĪTĂ(M) > Frp. *via*, Fr. *vie* vs. Occ. *vida* (It. *vita*); Lat. ĂMĪCĂ(M) > Frp. *amia*, Fr. *amie* vs. Occ. *amiga* (It. *amica*).

Palatalization of [k]ᵃ/[g]ᵃ – The examples mentioned above (CĂPRĂM, CĂNTŌ) together with Lat. GĂLBĬNŬ(M) > Frp. *dzuono*, Fr. *jaune*, Occ. *jaune* show that [k]ᵃ/[g]ᵃ is palatalized to [tʃ]/[dʒ], later [ʃ]/[ʒ] in French, while found with [ts]/[dz] in some Francoprovençal dialects. Northern Occitan dialects go with French and palatalize in [tʃ]/[dʒ] (*chabro*, *chanto*), whereas southern Occitan dialects are more conservative and maintain the [k], [g] (*cabro*, *canto*).

Dialect variation – Even though it is not agreed upon whether Francoprovençal can be considered a single Gallo-Romance language, a group of dialects or a single dialect, in view of the features mentioned, many linguists conclude with Gardette: "le francoprovençal est une langue différente de la langue d'oïl et de la langue d'oc" (1971, 89). Meanwhile, Francoprovençal appears in the official list *Les langues de la France* of Cerquiglini (1999) and will be treated as a minor Gallo-Romance language. Within the varieties of Francoprovençal, one can distinguish between northern and

Tab. 1: Features distinguishing Francoprovençal from French and/or Occitan.

	Latin	French	Franco-provençal	Occitan
A				
stressed in open syllable after non-palatal consonant	PRĀTŬ(M)	pr*é*	pr*a*	pr*a*
	PŎRTĀRE	port*er*	port*à*	port*a*r
after palatal consonant	CĂPRĂ(M)	*chè*vre	*tse*vra	*ca*bro
	MĂNDŬCĀRE	man*ger*	med*zé*	manj*a*r
final vowels				
	CĂNTŌ	je chant*e*	tsant*o*	cant*i*
	LĂRGŬ(M)	larg*e*	lard*zo*	larj*e*
	NŎSTRŬ(M)	notr*e*	neutr*on*	nòstr*e*
diphthongization				
stressed vowels in open syllable	PĔDĔM	p*ie*d	p*ia*	p*è*
	CŎRĔM	c*œu*r	qu*eu*r	c*o*r
	STĒL(L)Ă(M)	ét*oi*le	ét*è*yla	est*e*la
	FLŌRĔ(M)	fl*eu*r	fl*eu*r	fl*o*r
intervocalic plosives				
	VĪTĂ(M)	vi*e*	vi*a*	vi*d*a
	ĂMĪCĂ(M)	ami*e*	ami*a*	ami*g*a
palatalization				
	GĂLBĬNŬ(M)	*j*aune	**dz**uono	*j*aune

southern dialects. The Glossary RA (2019d), for example, includes a large number of alternative forms to those indicated in table 1. This shows the wide range of dialect variation included in Francoprovençal, a remark that also applies to Occitan when looking up the forms of table 1 in the multidictionary *Dicod'Òc* (CLO 2019c; for further reading cf. Bauer 2017, 249ss.; Bert/Martin 2013, 490s.; Jochnowitz 1973, 34–56; Martin 1990, 673–676; Sibille 2003b, 117ss.; Stich 1998, 29–33; Telmon 1997, 1335s.; Tuaillon 2007, 165–203; Zwanenburg 2004, 179–182).

3.1.2 Nomenclature

Early labels – The disagreement about considering Francoprovençal as a language on its own strongly reflects upon the question of how to name it. Another name circulating in the past was *Mittelrhônisch* 'Middle-Rhodanian' (Suchier 1888), an expression that presents the drawback of excluding important regions such as the Aosta Valley and Swiss cantons like Fribourg and Neuchatel. *Südostfranzösisch* 'French from the South-East/southeastern French' (Meyer-Lübke [3]1920 [1901]) also is a critical term, since it may be confused with the French spoken in the southeast-

ern part of France. *Burgundo-Französisch* 'Burgundo-French' (Herzog 1906, IX) in turn led to the Burgundian theory vigorously defended by Walther von Wartburg (1950, 93–98; 1967, 81–94) stating that Francoprovençal owes its evolution mainly to the Burgunds, which was widely falsified.

Generalization of varieties – What's more, other terms such as *dauphinois*, *lyonnais*, *savoyard*, *forézien* and *bressan* are used to name the language. They circulate in several regional investigations trying to elaborate further linguistic features of Francoprovençal dialects and are usually more present in the speakers' awareness to refer to their local dialect than *francoprovençal*. Occasionally, these denominations for parts of the territory are also generalized and used as pars pro toto for a bigger area.

Arpitan – Nowadays, *arpitan* (or *arpetan*) is becoming a popular alternative label, especially on the Internet and among young militant activists. The term, literally meaning 'inhabitant of mountain meadows', was created in 1970 on the basis of the pre-Indo-European root *alp-*, in its modern dialect form *arp-* referring to "pâturages de montagne où les troupeaux sont conduits et passent l'été" (cf. ACA 2019b), which is critical as the Francoprovençal territory also includes plains of the Saône and the Loire rivers. Furthermore, it also might refer to the Alps and other mountainous areas like the Jura and the Massif central.

Losing the hyphen – Lacking good alternatives, Ascoli's term *Franco-Provençal* has prevailed in academic circles, even though it can be misleading. According to critics, the composition of *franco* and *provençal* rather suggests a hybrid language between French (*franco*) and Occitan (*provençal*; originally Occitan was also referred to as *provençal* as mentioned in 2.1.4). To avoid confusion, the term *Francoprovençal* is nowadays usually used without hyphen in the tradition of Gardette (for example 1960). Tuaillon (1994, 64) also speaks of *Proto-French*, a French that is typologically closer to Latin than French (for further reading on the discussion of denomination see Martin 1990, 671s.; Tuaillon 2007, 22s.; Costa 2011; Bert/Martin 2013, 495s.; Jauch 2016, 43–46).

3.1.3 Geographic and quantitative distribution

Geographic distribution – The Francoprovençal zone covers areas of France, Switzerland and Italy and is surrounded by four different languages: French in the north, Alemanic in the east, Piedmontese in the southeast and Occitan in the southwest. In France, Francoprovençal is spoken in parts of Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes and Bourgogne-Franche-Comté. In Switzerland, it covers the whole area of Romandy, except the canton Jura (and the northeastern part of the Bernese jura) of oïl tradition. In Italy, it is spoken in most parts of the Aosta Valley, in some northern Piedmontese valleys (the southernmost valleys being Occitan-speaking), as well as in the two enclave communities of Faeto and Celle di San Vito in the Province of Foggia (Apulia).

Quantitative Distribution – As for Occitan, it is difficult to determine adequate numbers. Martin first estimated the number of speakers of the whole Francoprovençal area below 200,000 (1990, 679) and then lowered this number to between 120,000 and 150,000 for the year 2000 (2002, 78). The language is especially vital in the Aosta Valley where the local population is at least able to understand Francoprovençal; a recent study reported that 81.8% understand and 45.8% speak Francoprovençal well or rather well (FEC 2013, 121), which is about 58,000–103,000 people (Istat 2013, 9). In France, Francoprovençal is primarily spoken by the elderly male, rural population, with a decreasing tendency; Sibille indicates numbers of about 60,000–100,000 speakers (2003b, 123) and the étude FORA (Bert/Costa 2009) estimates that 50,000 people (1%) are able to speak Francoprovençal in Rhône-Alpes (Bert/Martin 2013, 494). In Romandy, Francoprovençal was mostly abandoned in favor of French; estimations indicate 1–2% of people still use it. It is almost extinct in the reformed cantons Geneva, Neuchâtel and Vaud and better conserved in parts of the Catholic dominant cantons Valais and Fribourg (Knecht 2000, 151).

3.2 History of standardization

Latinity and the Middle Ages – The history and evolution of Francoprovençal is strongly linked to the special latinity of Lugdunum founded in 42 BCE. Lyon has been the breeding ground and main linguistic center for Francoprovençal ever since. The first manuscripts of Francoprovençal can be traced back to the 12th century: above all administrative texts (the toll rate of Givors appears in 1225) and religious texts like the translations from Latin *Les Légendes en prose* describing the life of 12 saints, the Theodesian code *La Somme du code*, written 1232 in Grenoble, and the meditations of Marguerite d'Oingt (ca. 1240–1310), *Spéculum* [Mirror], and her *Li via seiti Biatrix*. *Virgina de Ornaciu* [the Life of the Holy Beatrice, Virgin of Ornacieux], written in Lyonese dialect. With only these three known early texts, Francoprovençal never evolved a literary tradition comparable to that of French or Occitan.

Modern times in France and Switzerland – Whereas the Edict of Villers-Cotterêts (1539) heralded the end of the written usage of Occitan in the administration (cf. 2.2.1), it did not change the situation of Francoprovençal. In its territory, Latin had already directly been replaced as a written language by French, which was also partly used as a spoken language by the elite. Nevertheless, a modest dialectal literature evolved mainly incorporating written tragedies, comedies, parodies, carols, tales and pamphlets. In the 16th century, the Savoian composer Nicolas Martin published *Noël* (1530), which, supplemented by 14 songs (1555), became a written collection of traditional Christmas carols and Laurent de Briançon published three pamphlets in Grenoble. From the 17th century, there are around 25 authors known to us, including Jean Chapelon (1647–1694), who wrote more than 1500 chants in Saint-Étienne. About 10 authors continued his tradition of dialect writing in the 18th century like François Blanc, called Blanc-la-Goutte (1690–1742), with his fa-

mous tale of the inundation of Grenoble in 1733, *Grenoblo malherou*. Authors that contributed to the cultivation and usage of *patois* in the 19th century are, for example, Guillaume Roquille (1804–1860) of Rives-sur-Giers close to Saint-Étienne with his heroic poem *Breyou et so disciple* (1836), Louis Bornet from Gruyère in Switzerland with his religious poem *Les Tzévreis* and Amélie Gex (1835–1883) with her poems written in Savoy. Important 20th-century authors include Louis Mercier from Roanne (1870–1951) and the bard from Bresse Prosper Convert (1852–1934).

    Modern times in the Aosta Valley – The 19th century saw western Europe's moment of a revitalization of the big classic languages Catalan, Galician and Occitan through the Renaixença in Catalonia, the Rexurdimento in Galicia and the Félibrige in southern France. This atmosphere is finally captured in the Aosta Valley, where the Francoprovençal literature is established by Jean-Baptiste Cerlogne (1826–1910). His poems *L'infan prodeggo*, *Marenda a Tsesalet*, *La bataille di vatse a vertozan*, *Megnadzo de Monseur Abonde*, written between 1855 and 1866, were published in *Poésies en dialecte valdôtain* (1889). Later he supplemented his poetic work with codification attempts: *Petite grammaire du dialecte valdôtain* (1893), *Dictionnaire du patois valdôtain. Précédé de la petite grammaire* (1907), and *Le patois valdôtain. Son origine littéraire et sa graphie* (1909). As commented for the Middle Ages, the works mentioned for the modern period in France and Italy should not mislead the reader into overestimating the very limited literary heritage of Francoprovençal (for further information on Francoprovençal literature cf. Bert/Martin 2013, 494ss.; Martin 1990, 677ss.; Martin/Rixte 2010; Sibille 2003b, 120ss.; Tuaillon 2001; Zoppelli 2009, 51ss.).

3.3 Current linguistic situation

3.3.1 Legal status

France and Italy – What was said about the Constitution of France and Italy and the legal situation Piedmont (cf. above, 2.3.1) applies accordingly to Francoprovençal. As for the autonomous region Aosta Valley, its Statute of Autonomy only states that French and Italian are equally used languages (RA 1948/2001, art. 38), but the regional law 18 of 2005 makes special reference to Francoprovençal (RA 2005, art. 1,5).

    Switzerland – The Suisse Constitution does not include Francoprovençal among its four national languages: "Les langues nationales sont l'allemand, le français, l'italien et le romanche" (CS 1999/2017, art. 4; cf. also art. 70 for more details); it does however guarantee the freedom of language usage (CS 1999/2017, art. 18). The only cantonal Constitution considering other varieties is that of the Jura that stipulates the protection of patois (CS 1977/2017, art. 42.2).

3.3.2 Educational system

France – The Post World War II period in France was shaped by the introduction of regional languages into education, as outlined in 2.3.2. However, the Loi Deixonne of 1951, which regularizes the teaching of regional languages, authorized optional courses in Breton, Basque, Catalan, and Occitan (cf. RF 1951, art. 10) without mentioning Francoprovençal. Later it was extended to Corse (1974), Tahitian (1981), Alsatian/German (1988), Melanesian (1999), and Creoles (2000): Francoprovençal has never been integrated. Consequently, bilingual schools like Calandretas have not been established for Francoprovençal in France. Since 2000, the Association des enseignants de savoyard/francoprovençal (AES) has supported initiatives to impart Francoprovençal classes in Savoian schools. In the IUFM, the Concours Constatin et Désormaux was organized following the model of the Concours Cerlogne in the Aosta Valley with 200–300 pupils participating each year (cf. Bron 2011).

Italy – To promote Francoprovençal in the Aosta Valley, the Assessorat de l'Éducation et de la Culture founded the École populaire de patois in 1995. With 56 teachers, it offers 40 hours of language courses in Francoprovençal and is also responsible for the professional training of teachers (cf. RA 2019c). In addition, the Concours Cerlogne has served to sensitize pupils and parents for Francoprovençal since 1963. It is a big, three-day-long annual festivity organized for pupils and their parents in different locations of the Aosta Valley, during which an average of 2000 pupils present the results of their Francoprovençal language acquisition by staging theater plays, singing songs and reciting poems in patois (Josserand 2003, 112ss.; Telmon 1997, 1334).

Switzerland – Suisse cantons are aiming at imitating the system of the École populaire de patois (cf. Jauch 2016, 47).

3.3.3 Media

Print and audio-visual media – Some newspapers, periodicals, radio and TV programs include bits of Francoprovençal. The Francoprovençal-only radio station *Radiô Arpitania* went on air in 2007.

Internet – Language vitalization is strongly conducted in digital spheres also in the case of Francoprovençal. All the following institutions traditionally act on a rather local level and have recently promoted Francoprovençal and its cultural heritage on the Internet. Furthermore, the Internet allows for new methods, like Vouiquipèdia offering speakers targeted discussion forums in their language (cf. for example Bedijs/Heyder 2012). However, in contrast to the 83,520 articles published in the Occitan Wikipedia (cf. 2.3.3), only 3,356 articles can be found in the Francoprovençal version (Wikipedia 2019b). Vouiquipèdia currently functions as digital platform for language activists to promote and enhance the knowledge about Francoprovençal rather than operating as a real general encyclopedia written in this language.

3.4 Codification

3.4.1 Institutions

BREL – The Bureau Régional pour l'Ethnologie et la Linguistique (BREL) was founded in 1985 in order to support Francoprovençal in the Aosta Valley (RA 2019a). On their site *patois*, they give information about the language and its history, announce events and publications and promote some of the codification instruments (RA 2019b) mentioned below.

CEFP and other associations – The Centre d'Études Francoprovençales René Willien, based in Saint-Nicolas (Aosta Valley) since 1967, supports research and researchers of Francoprovençal, conserves and catalogues the works of the Concours Cerlogne and administers of the *Musée Cerlogne*, which documents Francoprovençal heritage of the region (CEFP 2019). Besides the CEFP, associations like the Comité des traditions valdôtaines (since 1948), Charaban – Théâtre populaire en patois (since 1958), the Fédérachon valdoténa di téatro populéro (since 1979), and the Association valdôtaine des archives sonores (since 1980) promote the patois and are supported by the regional law n° 79 of 1981. Initiatives like the Concours Cerlogne, the École populaire de patois (cf. for both 3.3.2), the Festival des peuples minoritaires, the Fête internationale des patois are contributing to enhance the interest and prestige of Francoprovençal (cf. Salvi 1975, 121s.; Favre 2011).

ACA – The most powerful institution operating outside of the Aosta Valley is the Aliance Culturèla Arpitana, based in Lausanne since 2004. It promotes cultural projects related to the Francoprovençal area (Arpitania) and in particular the language they call *arpitan* (see 3.1.2), supporting its public visibility and usage (cf. ACA 2019a; RAr 2019; for further information on the promotion of Francoprovençal in France cf. Bert/Costa 2009, 130ss., and in Suisse cf. Knecht 2000, 160ss.).

3.4.2 Codification instruments

Writing – Instead of a unified orthography, many individual choices prevail in Francoprovençal. Nevertheless, in France there seems to be a tendency of accepting the Conflans orthography, elaborated in the 1970s and 1980s by the Amis des patois savoyards meeting in Conflans/Albertville (Groupe de Conflans 1983), and in the Aosta Valley (with Cerlogne 1909 already mentioned above) the orthography presented by Schüle (1980). Both orthographies are semi-phonetic and recommend noting only the letters that are pronounced, otherwise following the French rules as closely as possible. The supradialectal approach of Stich (1998) is more etymological as it aims at proposing an orthography that can be adapted to the different dialects. Stich calls it "Orthographe de Référence A" (ORA; cf. Stich 1998, 36), which is criticized by those who perceive it as artificial and a possible danger to linguistic au-

thenticity (cf. Martin 2002, 81). Vouiquipèdia offers detailed information on these and other types of orthography, leaving the choice to its authors and hoping for the self-regulating forces of language planning:

> "Voilà ... Alors on a (enfin) une Wikipédia ... mais il faut se mettre tous d'accord sur la graphie à utiliser ... Donc cette page, c'est pour proposer vos modes de graphie, uniquement présenter et expliquer le système de graphie, et dans la page discussion on choisit quelle graphie on utilisera au futur ... Car il s'agit d'unir nos écritures pour ne pas trop sombrer dans des petits désaccords orthographiques ..." (Wikipedia 2017c).

Grammar – The oldest grammar for Francoprovençal in the Aosta Valley was again written by Cerlogne (1893); recent publications include Stich (1998).

Lexis – In the area of lexicography, we can mention Cerlogne (1907) in the Aosta Valley and Constantin/Désormaux (1902) in Savoy, the authors after whom the language contests in the respective regions have been named, as well as many other (dialect) dictionaries, among them Chenal/Vautherin (1962–1982; 1984), Duraffour/Gardette (1969), Stich (2003), Vautherin (2007) and Glarey (2011). Francoprovençal forms can also be found in the FEW (1922–2002), the GPSR (1924ss.), the REW (1935) and in the linguistic atlases. A glossary with audio support for pronunciation is available on the homepage of the BREL (RA 2019c).

Language guide – Teaching material is also available for Francoprovençal, among the different options is also a *Cours Assimil* (Martin 2005).

3.4.3 Main issues

Corpus – In contrast to Occitan, Francoprovençal's lack of a real written tradition impeded the elaboration of a unified orthography and the establishment of a koiné. The geographic fragmentation and the absence of political-administrative unity only aggravated this trend.

Artificially defined language – Not unlike Rhaeto-Romance, the linguistically defined language compound Francoprovençal is dispersed in different countries where it is placed in very different language ecologies and perceived in different ways. The speakers don't automatically consider themselves as a unity, which weakens the status of the language and complicates its standardization.

Controversial status – Unlike Rhaeto-Romance, which includes the clearly defined entities and their sub-dialects of Romansh (Grisons/Switzerland), Dolomitic Ladin (Trentino, South Tyrol and the Province of Belluno), and Friulian (Friuli Region), the area of Francoprovençal remains more vague and its status as a language is still being discussed.

4 Conclusion

Status and corpus planning going hand in hand – A historical survey showed that status and corpus planning were alternating and at the same time influencing one another across history. Whereas troubadour lyrics contributed to the corpus planning of Occitan in the 13th and 14th centuries and thus automatically advanced its status, the 15th-century Edict of Villers-Cotterêts aimed at the status planning of French as the only official written language, which also subsequently enhanced its corpus and lowered the status of Occitan. After another two centuries of corpus planning, especially for French (and in a more modest way also for Occitan), French was uncontroversially the high variety in a diglossic situation in which most people were rarely confronted with the official language, unable to write in any language and only used Occitan varieties in their daily life. The French Revolution took up the issue of status planning and tried to impose French as a spoken language, which only bore fruit with the introduction of compulsory school education at the end of the 19th century.

Minority status within five states – As Occitan usage was declining, its history partly joined that of Francoprovençal, though the latter never developed a written tradition comparable to that of Occitan. The 20th century is characterized by a fading oral use of both languages; nevertheless, corpus planning (especially in Occitan, but also in Francoprovençal) regained new impetus in different ways: first, by the suggestion of new graphic norms and the application of diverse codification instruments; second, by the establishment of institutions engaged in protecting and promoting the language; and third, by new opportunities offered by print and audiovisual media, and last but not least, the Internet. The standardization process of both Occitan and Francoprovençal is challenged by their minority status within the national boundaries of four different states. These states offer varying recognition to the languages: Francoprovençal is absent from French and Swiss national law but enjoys legal protection in Italy. Occitan's legal status is indirectly proportional to its speaker numbers: while it is only implicitly recognized in France where most of its speakers live, it is better protected in Italy and even co-official in Catalonia.

Varieties as a challenge for standardization – The even bigger challenge to standardization is the prominent dialectal variation of both languages. In the case of Occitan, the variation has led to a wide range of different suggestions so that Occitan language planning primarily has to cope with competing concepts of linguistic norms, especially the Mistralian and the classical. Recently, pan-Occitan movements like the CLO have started to bear fruit, more and more bridging the traditional gaps by replacing combat with a clever use of synergies. The question of the status of Francoprovençal remains, by contrast, unresolved. Ever since Ascoli introduced the new concept, linguists and laymen have disagreed whether to consider it a single Gallo-Romance language, a dialect or a group of different dialects. This debate is symptomatic for the historical evolution of norms in Francoprovençal and its cur-

rent status, in which standardization attempts are highly underdeveloped and lack interregional acceptance.

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Sebastian Postlep

14.3 "Minor" Ibero-Romance Languages

Abstract: In the following section, we will describe the codification attempts of Galician, Asturleonese in the broad sense (in the narrow sense: Asturian and/or Mirandese) and Aragonese both from a diachronic and synchronic perspective. By naming and characterizing the main reference tools for the languages under consideration, we will show that different current opinions about the "correct" codification proceedings have been competing with each other for a long time (in the case of Galician: for more than two centuries). In order to create a common ground for comparison, the discussions will be systematized along four dimensions. At the end of each subsection, the (more or less) established present-day norm concept provided by social forces will be compared with contemporary opinions and uses of the speakers, with a special focus on the digital media.

Keywords: Ibero-Romance, Galician, Asturleonese, Mirandese, Aragonese, regional languages, standardization, codification, supra-dialectality, pluricentricity

1 Introduction: conceptual codification dimensions for "minor" languages

In order to describe and compare the main currents and reference tools regarding the codification processes of "minor" languages, different dimensions will be taken into account. One should bear in mind that these dimensions are mainly based on both modern linguistic ideas and the still present classical subjects of discussion regarding purism (mainly the principles of *consuetudo*/*usus*, *vetustas*, *auctoritas*, cf. Siebenborn 1976, 53ss., and the antipole of *obscuritas*, cf. Hafner/Kocher 2005, §A.II.):

– Historical dimension: A norm concept might be based either on the actual language (in accordance with the classical criteria of *consuetudo*/*usus* in order to generate a better understanding and to avoid *obscuritas*) or on archaic varieties (which could be seen as more prestigious and would equal the classical criteria of *vetustas*).
– Integrative dimension: Regarding the dominant language(s), the norm concept might be integrative (i.e. integrating features from other languages familiar to the speakers) or segregative (in order to create distance and thereby strengthen the *abstand* criteria in the sense of Kloss [2]1978).
– Selective dimension: Referring to the base varieties incorporated in the norm, either mono-dialectal (i.e. one prestigious variety becoming the norm in the

classical tradition of the *auctoritas* principle) or supra-dialectal (i.e. variants of different varieties forming a koine, see Grübl 2011; Regis 2012).

– Variational dimension: Related to the acceptance of variation inside the norm concept, from unique (no variation admitted) to polynomic (inside a given administrative territory, more than one solution for certain features is admitted, as for Corse, see Thiers 2000) or even pluricentric (more than one official norm, each depending on the respective administrative territory, see Oesterreicher 2000); in the typology of Amorós Negre (2009, 50s.) the variational dimension is reflected by the (non-)existence of equation tendencies, ranging from "estándar absoluto o prescriptivo" to "relativo o empírico".

During the codification process, the "social forces that determine what is standard in a language" (Ammon 2003), e.g. norm authorities, model speakers and/or language experts, generally define – more or less consciously – the future norm concept for the respective language along the four dimensions listed above. This will be treated independently for each "minor" language in sections three to five. To separate the diachronic perspective from actual results, the relevant sections will be divided into two subsections: the first one will provide insights into the history of standardization of the respective languages, while the second one will show the actual tendencies, agreements and language uses.

Before that, section two will take a closer look at the language panorama of the Iberian Peninsula in order to introduce the individual "minor" languages that will be treated below.

2 Number and area of "minor" Ibero-Romance languages

Since the beginning of linguistic geography, it has been quite evident that especially the northern part of the Iberian Peninsula is marked by continuous conditions rather than by discrete units. Hence, language borders for Ibero-Romance languages are scarcely documented as the various isoglosses tend to fan out across the territory (for an overview regarding Castilian-Aragonese-Catalan see Postlep 2010, for Portuguese-Galician-Asturian see Fernández Rei 1999 as well as the representations in the respective dialectology handbooks, e.g. Alvar 1996).

Because the *abstand* criteria is relatively weak, the actual number of Ibero-Romance Languages is still subject to discussions. On the one hand, if one emphasizes or even overemphasizes the historical and dialectological criteria, the number of living Ibero-Romance languages can be reduced to three (Portuguese, Spanish, Catalan; the latter forming a bridge to Gallo-Romance). On the other hand, if one includes sociolinguistic criteria such as language consciousness, elaboration process-

es or political implementation, the situation turns out to be more complex. Therefore, the following linguistic "units" will be taken into account (for an overview see Brumme 2006, for recent Galician legislation Becker 2016, for Aragonese Nagore Laín 2011, for Mirandese Merlan 2012, for Asturian Frías Conde 2011):

–   Galician (nearly 300 years of codification history, fully recognized as co-official language in the autonomous community of *Galicia* since 1981, afterwards further normalization laws);
–   Asturleonese and Mirandese (the first has been mentioned in legal texts in the Principality of Asturias in Spain since 1981, and the second is legally recognized in the municipality of Miranda do Douro in Portugal since 1999; in the dialectological sense both idioms form a linguistic unit, but are running through different elaboration processes due to territorial separation);
–   Aragonese (with the weakest status among the named dialects/languages but still with its own codification history and some legislation attempts).

3 Galician

3.1 History of standardization

The first Galician texts appeared towards the end of the 12th century and were followed by the so-called *blossom of Galician troubadour literature* up to 1350. Due to both the declaration of independence of *Portu Cale* county and Galicia's growing dependence on the Kingdom of Castile, one can observe a separation of Galician from Portuguese writing traditions between the 13th and 15th century. In the 16th century, one can already assert the definite loss of Galician writing traditions and their substitution by Castilian traditions. Thus, medieval traditions were buried in oblivion. During the standardization process that slowly began in the 18th century and was intensified during the 19th century, this proved to be one of the main obstacles in the selection process of normative Galician (for an overview of pre-normative history of Galician, see Brea 1994, 110s., and Lorenzo 2002, 89s.).

In 1746, Padre Sarmiento wrote down his *Coloquio de 24 gallegos rústicos* that today, despite its weak diffusion during the monk's lifetime, might be seen as the beginning of the modern Galician codification process. As Fernández (1997, 142) points out, the scholar's aim was to collect Galicia's popular and orally transmitted *refranes* and to record them in written form. For this purpose, he already had three options at his disposal – options that will dominate the normative discussion in Galicia down to the present day: a) loyalty to the living language, b) recourse to medieval traditions or c) dependence on the Portuguese written language. As the father clearly preferred the first option (a), one can state that the beginning of the codification process was influenced by a polynomic (i.e. multi-dialectal) concept. Accordingly, Padre Sarmiento neither fell back on a unique norm concept based on

a medieval koiné (b) nor included the Galician *refranes* within a pluricentric norm concept of the Portuguese language (c). Therefore, Brea (1994, 111s.) considers the work of Padre Sarmiento and his followers (mainly Fray Juan Sobreira and José Cornide y Saavedra) as being far from prescriptive and more dialectological and lexicological. Nonetheless, one has to say that the father himself did indeed refer to the purist Castilian Siglo de Oro traditions: although never put into practice, the ideas expressed in his manuscript *Onomástico etimológico de la lengua gallega* (1757) openly supported the idea of creating an "arte" for Galician as Nebrija did for Latin/Castilian (see Santamarina 1997, 59ss.).

Over the course of the 19th century, a fourth option emerged with the renaissance of Galician literature traditions (Glc. *Rexurdimiento*, for a detailed description see Hermida 1992): (d) the creation of a unique (supra-dialectal) norm concept based on the written language of the developing "new" "model speakers" (authors like Xosé Fernández Neira and, most notably, Rosalía de Castro). Although the *Rexurdimiento* movement was clearly inspired by the Catalanist *Renaixença*, the Galician (mostly elitist) attempts did not have the same impact on language codification as did their eastern counterpart (for a detailed comparison of these two movements, see Beramendi 2012). Fernández Salgado/Monteagudo Romero (1995), in any case, classify the 19th century as the first period of modern Galician literature. Regarding the language of these written traditions, they created the category of "galego popularista" that is marked by the following features: high orthographical variability, dialectally marked morphology, high presence of Castilianisms, slight tendency to popularization of learned words, nearly complete absence of neologisms. Nevertheless, some authors already show a minor tendency to use supra-dialectal forms, on top of the dialectal background of their works. If we take a closer look at the linguistic traditions of the 19th century, we can observe the appearance of the first genuinely prescriptive grammars, dictionaries and essays. To name but a few: the *Gramática gallega* by Saco Arce in 1868, the *Diccionario gallego* by Cuveiro Piñol in 1876 or the *Diccionario gallego-castellano* by Valladares Núñez in 1884. The already mentioned options (a–d) regarding the normative concepts of the codification attempts continue to be present in the cited works. On the one hand, Saco Arce bases his grammar on the rural *Ourense* dialect without complete denial of other dialectalisms (a), just like Cuveiro, who refers to different dialects of the rural and mountainous regions of Galicia and shows a high tolerance of variation (a). On the other hand, Valladares already recognizes the impact of the cited model speakers and bases his work partly on educated speakers. Furthermore, he introduces the idea of the majority principle in the norm discussion, pleading for the use of the most common variants as a supra-dialectal model (d). Against the backdrop of the strong presence of Castilianisms and the lack of orthographical systematicity in the developing written traditions, one can observe the emergence of two new options in the codification process of Galician: e) the ideal of a phonological orthography (mainly based on Castilian rules) and f) the necessity of de-Castilianization (purism) regard-

ing the lexical features. Besides these tendencies, the so-called *re-integrational* movement aimed at classifying the Galician dialects under the Portuguese language (c) comes into existence towards the end of the 19th century (for the main works, currents and options in the codification process of the 19th century named above, see Brea 1994, 116ss.; Fernández 1997; Fernández Salgado/Monteagudo Romero 1995; Reymóndez Fernández 2003, 80ss.).

In the early 20th century, the normative and literary movement became more and more intense, literary works appeared in larger numbers covering more genres, and new norm authorities (besides the larger number of model speakers) were established: the Real Academia Galega (RAG; 1906), the Irmandades da Fala ('brotherhood of language', 1916) and the Seminario de Estudios Galegos (1923) (cf. Lorenzo 2002, 90s.; Kabatek 2000, 293; Reymóndez Fernández 2003, 82). Moreover, Galician starts to be present in the print media (main publication instrument: *El Pueblo Gallego* from 1924 onwards, cf. Monteagudo 2002). Due to the stronger presence of Galician in society, the listed options in the codification process are now heavily disputed – as evidenced by a large number of normative publications and an increase in the number of people involved in the discussion (for a detailed overview, cf. Brea 1994, 120ss., and, above all, Monteagudo 2002). To name but a few: Leandro Carré Alvarellos in his early works (e.g. the *Gramática galega. Incógnita desfeita*, 1919) and Vicente Risco who follow the polynomic idea of Saco Arce (a), Johán Vicente Viqueira and Evaristo Correa Calderón who adopt the elitist concept of an archaizing (b) and de-Castilianized (f) norm with Portuguese-based orthography (c), Lugrís Freire (1922, *Gramática do idioma galego*) who pleads for a unique, supra-dialectal norm (d). Orthographical issues were clearly at the center of interest, and at the end of the 1920s, the supporters of an anti-etymological and phonological orthography (e) seemed to be most widely supported (to cite an example, /ʃ/ written as <x> instead of etymological <j> or <g>: Lat. ɢēɴᴛᴇ(ᴍ) > Glc. *xente* but Pt. *gente*). Regarding the lexicographical concepts for the enrichment of the Galician lexicon, Monteagudo (2002, 48ss.) describes the outcome of the normative discussion as follows: dialectalisms, archaisms from medieval texts, Lusisms and learned words from Greek and Latin were mostly seen as acceptable. In other words: the preferred orthography concept can be classified as integrative regarding the Castilian tradition and segregative regarding the Portuguese tradition – and the preferred lexicographical concept in contrast as integrative regarding the Portuguese lexicon and segregative regarding the Castilian lexicon (f). In terms of normative grammar, supra-dialectal and polynomic concepts oppose each other, as can be seen from the discussion about the "correct" plural marking for nouns ending with <-n> like Glc. *can* 'dog' (cf. Monteagudo 2002, 43ss.): *cans*, *cás* or *cais*? The literary output in the early 20th century reflects the described tendencies as Fernández Salgado and Monteagudo Romero point out the following features: less orthographical variability (but still not homogenous), oscillation between dialectal and supra-dialectal morphological features, less use of Castilianisms and greater use of archaisms, Lusisms and popu-

larized learned words regarding the lexicon (*galego enxebrista* 'puristic Galician', cf. Fernández Salgado/Monteagudo Romero 1995).

After the Spanish Civil War, the codification process definitely decelerated. Nonetheless, the described tendencies of the early 20th century remain present in the Franco era – as shown by the literary output that might be characterized as becoming more and more supra-dialectal in terms of grammar, de-Castilianized in terms of lexical features and less variable in terms of orthography (*galego proto-estándar*, cf. Fernández Salgado/Monteagudo Romero 1995). In 1950, the publishing house *Galaxia* was founded and partly took over the tasks of a norm authority, so that in the 1960s and 1970s, the codification process gained new momentum. For at least two decades, the grammar by Carballo Calero (*Gramática elemental del gallego común*, Galaxia, 1966) and the *Diccionario enciclopédico gallego-castellano* by Rodríguez González (posthumously published by Galaxia between 1958 and 1961) set standards; the first becoming more and more supra-dialectal from edition to edition (d) and clearly preferring a Portuguese-based orthography (c), the latter showing more tolerance to variation (a) and Castilianisms. In 1971, due to the remarkably high variability regarding the orthographical traditions, the Real Academia Galega published the first edition of the *Normas ortográficas e morfolóxicas do idioma galego* – clearly following the idea of a phonological orthography (e). Afterwards, the *Normas* were modified several times in collaboration with the Instituto da Lingua Galega (ILG; also founded in 1971 at the University of Santiago). To conclude, we can say that at the end of the Franco era, an agreement regarding the codification options was still out of sight, polynomous concepts competed against supra-dialectal concepts in grammar and – regarding the Castilian influences – segregational concepts competed against integrational concepts in orthographical as well as in lexicological traditions (for more details, see Albrecht 1991, 66ss.; Brea 1994, 122s.; Luyken 1991; Schmidt-Radefeldt 1995).

During the Spanish transition to democracy and during the first two decades of democratic Spain, the codification process of Galician re-accelerated remarkably. Due to the legislation changes in 1978, 1981 and 1983, which made Galician a co-official language in the autonomous community of Galicia, some of the already existing norm authorities prevailed, at least because they were by then supported by the Xunta de Galicia: first and foremost, the Real Academia Galega (cf. Monteagudo 1995, 221ss.) and, in the background, the Instituto da Lingua Galega (cf. Kabatek 1992). Thus, some of the long disputed codification concepts came to be favored as well. In terms of orthography, the *Normas* elaborated by the RAG in collaboration with the ILG, which supported a phonological and integrative concept regarding the Castilian tradition (e), were declared official in 1982/1983 (slightly modified in 1995). Moreover, the future ideal concept for standard Galician was pronounced in the introductory part of the *Normas*. Muñoz Carrobles summarizes the main argumentation line as follows:

> "Na 'Introducción' a todas as edicións das *Normas* … atopamos os principios que guiaron a súa elaboración: necesidade dunha lingua próxima á falada e sen castelanismos, supradialec-

tal, que respecte a tradición literaria e que sexa coherente coas outras linguas románicas en especial co portugués" (Muñoz Carrobles 2008, 50s.).

[In the 'Introduction' to each of the editions of the *Normas*, we find the principles that guided their elaboration: the necessity of a language standard close to the spoken language, which is free of Castilianisms; of a supra-dialectal language, which respects the literary tradition and which is coherent with other Romance languages, especially with Portuguese.]

In other words: a polynomic concept for Galician (a) as well as archaizing procedures (b) finally were rejected by the *Normas* in favor of a unique, supra-dialectal concept (d) based on the most frequently used features in the actual spoken language. But, as Kabatek (1992) points out, the ideal of *supra*-dialectality has to be relativized due to the more or less obvious impact of Central Galician present in the proposal (cities of A Coruña, Santiago and Vigo).

Even though the orthographical solution may be characterized as integrational regarding the Castilian features, this is not the case for grammatical and lexical features: in order to avoid Castilianisms (f), the authors of the *Normas* plead for segregational solutions in terms of grammar and lexicon, either in dependence on literary traditions or other Romance languages, especially Portuguese. This partly turns the *Normas* into an integrational concept regarding Portuguese features (c) as well. Beside the *Normas*, the established principles were reflected by the *Diccionario da lingua galega* (RAG/ILG under the direction of Constantino García although its diffusion has to be characterized as very weak, cf. Reymóndez Fernández 2003, 83) that was published in 1990 and complemented by the even larger *Vocabulario ortográfico da lingua galega* (ILG 1989). Paradoxically, it only existed as a provisional version (cf. Rodríguez Río 1998) for a long time. In terms of grammatical codification, the *Gramática galega* (Álvarez/Regueira/Monteagudo 1986) turned out to be outstanding (cf. Brumme 2006, 1503).

As a consequence of both the modified legal status of Galician and the growing agreement regarding the norm concept, the codification process increasingly touched other domains than merely high literature which in turn equally reflected the ongoing changes as to the norm concept of Galician (*galego estándar*, cf. Fernández Salgado/Monteagudo Romero 1995). In 1988, following a few feeble attempts, Galician definitely entered the education system. Thus, the number of school books regarding the Galician language increased remarkably and contributed to fixing the norm concept in society (cf. Burban 2001). Apart from the education system, Galician started to be present in public administration implicating a need of codification regarding the juridical and administrative language. To cite an example: in 1991, the Escola Galega de Administración Pública in collaboration with the Xunta de Galicia published the first *Manual de linguaxe administrativa*.

However, the norm discussion did not end with the turn of the millennium, in spite of the apparent settling of the norm concept problem and of the growing legal support of the cited codification works that were progressively used in schools and public administration. The so-called *reintegrationism* kept the idea of a norm con-

cept based on the medieval language (b) and, at the same time, emphasized the similarities to Portuguese (c). In 1980, the Associaçom Galega da Língua (AGAL) was founded. The AGAL published an alternative draft to the *Normas* in 1985, the *Prontuário ortográfico galego* (cf. Kabatek 1992, 67ss.; Fernández Rei 1999, 43ss., also mentions grammars and dictionaries in the reintegrationist tradition of the 1980s and 1990s). In addition, besides the strict "Lusism" of the AGAL, the Asociación Sócio-Pedagóxica Galega (AS-PG) represented an intermediary approach to the norm concept discussion, the so-called *reintegracionismo de mínimos*. Nonetheless, the discussion was slightly related to orthographical topics and less affected grammatical or lexical features (cf. Becker 2016).

In addition to the ongoing norm discussion inside the autonomous community of Galicia, another codification option emerged during the 1990s: g) the idea of a pluricentric norm for Galician with regional standards for Galician outside the autonomous community of Galicia, namely the Principality of Asturias. The Mesa prá Defensa del Galego de Asturias e da Cultura da Comarca (MDGA; founded in 1988) defined the dialects of the Asturian *Terra Navia-Eo* region (also called *Eonaviego*) as Galician and published the *Normas ortográficas e morfolóxicas del galego de Asturias*, clearly following the options officially chosen in Galicia (cf. Fernández Rei 1999, 62s.) (for the opposite concept of a more "Asturianized" norm for Eonaviego see section 4).

In summary, the codification process of Galician was strongly affected by competing norm concepts for more than two centuries. At the end of the 20th century, a unique norm concept (halfway between integration and segregation, based on the actual language but still supra-dialectal) was widely implemented by the norm authorities in Galicia. Moreover, regarding the Principality of Asturias, a pluricentric norm concept was proclaimed by parts of the social forces that determine what might be standard in Galician. However, the discussion about the "correct" norm concept (above all: the orthographical norm) continues to this day.

3.2 Current Status

If we take a closer look at the situation at the beginning of the 21st century, it becomes obvious that the implemented norm concept of the 1980s and 1990s has finally borne fruit. The controversy about the *Normas* between the RAG/ILG and the AS-PG had been settled by a revised edition in 2003 that can be characterized as more open to "Lusist" variants in orthography and grammar and therefore slightly more polynomic regarding the original proposal (the so-called *normativa de concordia*, cf. Becker 2016, 288ss.; Reymóndez Fernández 2003, 84s.). Nevertheless, the *normativa de concordia* can still be seen as unique and supra-dialectal rather than archaizing, polynomic or even pluricentric related to Portuguese. As a consequence, the more radical reintegrational movement (as represented by the AGAL) still does not accept the new proposal.

In terms of lexicography, the implementation of Galician in public administration, schools, universities and media gave rise to a veritable explosion of special language dictionaries (for a detailed and up-to-date overview, cf. Becker 2016, 292ss.). The obvious need for neologisms in Galician corpus planning reanimated the discussion about the "correct" enrichment of Galician terminology: in the end, segregational procedures regarding the potential Castilianisms are the preferred way again (cf. Castaño Torrado/González González 2001 for an insight into the work of the Seminario de Lexicografía da Real Academia Galega in the beginning of the 21st century). After the extension of the domains of communication for Standard Galician, today's emergence of digital media increasingly supports the definition of specific lexical variants as a norm among the non-professional users. The online dictionary of the RAG (*Dicionario da Real Academia Galega* = DRAG) contains roundabout 60,000 entries in 2017 and keeps increasing (for comparison: July 2013: 50,000 entries; earlier offline versions: 1997: 25,000 entries; 1990: 10,000 entries; cf. Becker 2016, 292s.; Rodríguez Río 1998, 298). In 2016, the implementation of the DRAG in society even accelerates when the RAG launches DRAG applications for Google Play store and iTunes (more than 70,000 downloads for both applications until April 2018; cf. *portaldaspalabras* 2018).

Regarding the grammaticographical traditions, the *Gramática da lingua galega* by Álvarez and Xove stays the preferred normative publication (2nd, revised edition from 2002) and complements the basic rules offered by the *Normas*. However, a polynomic approach confronting standard Galician solutions with the respected dialectal variants was presented between 1998 and 2003 by Freixeiro Mato under the same title (*Gramática da lingua galega*; cf. Brumme 2006, 1503).

Besides the online dictionary cited above, other codification instruments have become easily available thanks to the general spread of digitalization: translation tools, conjugators, correction tools for word processing programs, corpus tools or digital versions of normative grammars help to spread the official norm among the speakers (for an actual overview, cf. MaOs, "Recursos para o galego (ILG-RAG)"). Even though the norm discussion conflict has eased nowadays, the reintegrationist movement remains present with its own digital ressources (cf. MaOs, "Recursos para o galego-português"). The pluricentric approach for *Eonaviego*, however, has found little support in Asturias as the Galician-based concept is clearly rejected by the speakers (cf. Patzelt 2016, 264ss.).

In order to draw conclusions regarding the current status of the codification and standardization attempts, a closer look at the language behavior and language attitudes of the actual speakers of Galician could be helpful. A case study of language attitudes among university students (Huygens 2007) shows that spoken standardized Galician is widely seen as negative, Castilianized and/or too distant from the dialectal uses. On the one hand, this result may be interpreted as a consequence of both the ideal of supra-dialectality and the integrational procedures regarding Castilian features in the codification process. On the other hand, standard Galician

still seems to have little prestige among educated speakers who partly reject non-native model speakers (e.g. television speakers or teachers who learned Galician and therefore do not show any dialectal influence; cf. Huygens 2007) and plead for more segregation regarding the Castilian influence.

As Krefeld (2016, 270ss.) points out, web-based encyclopedic tools, such as Wikipedia, nowadays belong to the typical fields of application for non-professional users of minority languages and dialects. Due to the principle of openly editable contents, the writing community step by step – consciously or unconsciously – comes to a basic level of agreement about the language use. In the case of Galician, the Wikipedia data base (<http://gl.wikipedia.org>, also named *Galipedia*) contains roughly 154,000 articles (place 48 out of 299) – written, edited and discussed by more than 94,000 users (among them approx. 284 "heavy" users; cf. Wikimedia, "List of Wikipedias", all numbers as of January 2019). To cite a few examples (cf. *Galipedia*):

- orthography: the writing community of *Galipedia* clearly prefers the application of the *Normas*, as evidenced by the search hits for *a xente* (1,158) vs. *a gente* (16; nearly all citations from Portuguese or older Galician texts);

- grammar: polynomic variants are rejected in favor of unique supra-dialectal solutions, as evidenced by the search hits for *os cans* (116) vs. *os cás* (5; all citations from older refranes);

- lexicon: the segregational solutions are not always respected, integrational solutions regarding Castilian terminology stay in use; e.g. Glc. *mazá* 'apple' or 'block of houses' (< Sp. *manzana*) should be replaced by Glc. *quinteiro* or *bloque* for the second meaning (cf. DRAG) – however, the writing community of Galipedia continues using *mazá* in order to denominate a block of houses:

"[...] Parque Vitoria. Este parque ocupa unha mazá enteira e foi nomeado en honra da ex reina Vitoria" (Galipedia, s. v. *Hamilton, Bermudas*).

"O centro neurálxico do barrio constitúeo o mercado de Sant Antoni, que ocupa a mazá delimitada polas rúas Comte Borrell, Manso, Comte d'Urgell e Tamarit" (Galipedia, s. v. *Barrio de Sant Antoni*).

"O maior dos primeiros incendios de Fresno en 1882 destrúo toda unha mazá da cidade" (Galipedia, s. v. *Fresno, California*).

In conclusion, the codification process of Galician has made significant progress in the last few years. The selected norm concept (integrational and slightly polynomic in orthography, unique and supra-dialectal in grammar, segregational in lexicon) has been largely implemented in society by means of normative publications with easy access (digital versions). However, the official norm has been partly rejected by educated speakers and is still subject to discussions ("Lusist" movement). In addition, the language use in digital media only partly reflects the implemented norm, although most of the principles nowadays finally seem to have become widely accepted in digital media as well.

4 Asturleonese and Mirandese

4.1 History of standardization

Preliminary remark: due to divergent legislation in the *comunidades autónomas* of *Castile and León* as well as *Cantabria* and *Extremadura*, the codification process of Asturleonese in the respective communities is scarcely credited (cf. Frías Conde 2011 or Patzelt 2016). For this reason, the following discussion will concentrate on the formation of standard Asturian and Mirandese both in the *Principality of Asturias* (Spain) and in the *municipality of Miranda do Douro* (Portugal).

In the early 19th century, after many centuries of decay, a renewed interest in codification of Asturian can be observed: Jovellanos developed the first modern concept for the codification of Asturian lexicon in 1801, but his ideas were never put to practice. His guidelines can be summarized as follows: the normative approach should be elaborated a) on the basis of actual spoken dialects (non-archaic), b) avoiding Castilianisms (segregational-puristic) and c) eliminating variants to a "lista general alfabética" (unique).

Apart from this early codification proposal, the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century were mostly marked by model speakers (writers) who rediscovered the local dialects for literary means. Therefore, these texts can be classified as being more descriptive than prescriptive – except in terms of orthography (d) that already showed a minimum agreement for the spelling of some of the phonemes not existing in Castilian (e.g. <x> for [ʃ]) (cf. Frías Conde 2011). Following this dialectal and descriptive tradition, the linguistic output was strongly intensified during the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s leading to a large number of descriptions of single dialects (cf. Born 1991, 224s.).

As for Asturian, the codification process for Mirandese was mostly initiated by model speakers (most prominently: Vasconcelos) at the beginning of the 19th century; it focused mainly on orthographical issues, e.g. should Mirandese use a Portuguese-based (e) or phonological (f) orthography (cf. Merlan 2011, 70ss.).

The 1970s stand out as the era of the norm discussion revival for Asturian; this is attested by both the creation of a new norm authority (*Conceyu Bable* in 1974) and the appearance of new codification instruments, above all: the *Gramática bable* by Cano González et al. in 1976. Although the *Gramática* is partly descriptive and explicitly encourages the users to write in dialects as well, it also re-visits the idea of codification, mainly preferring Central-Asturian solutions (g) to other variants (being the region with most speakers and most literary output) (cf. Born 1991, 225; Brumme 2006; Frías Conde 2011, 60).

In line with the political appreciation of Asturian in the Principality (see section 2), the Academia de la Llingua Asturiana (ALlA; established in 1980/1981) edited the so-called *Normes ortográfiques y entamos normativos* in 1981 (ALlA 1981), following the idea of the *Gramática bable* regarding the Central-Asturian basis (g)

in terms of morphology and the idea of an integrative, i.e. Castilian-based spelling with special uses for some phonemes (d) in terms of orthography. Nonetheless, the proposal can also be seen as polynomic (h), since dialectal variants are not omitted and special graphemes for dialectal uses are introduced. In terms of lexicon, the various dictionaries of these decades do not show a clear tendency regarding the codification concept and (for being published before) do not apply the *Normes*; to cite an example: the *Dicionariu xeneral de la llingua asturiana* by Novo Mier in 1979 (cf. Born 1991, 229).

In Miranda do Douro, the Câmara Municipal served more and more as a norm authority and worked – together with language experts from Lisbon and Coimbra – on a codification concept for Mirandese orthography and some morphological features. After the political implementation of Mirandese in 1999, the elaborated *Convenção ortográfica da língua mirandesa* was declared official. In opposition to the Asturian proposal, the *Convenção* follows the idea of a unique, supra-dialectal concept (i), on the one hand integrative regarding the Portuguese traditions (e), on the other hand clearly segregative regarding the newly developed Asturian *Normes* (cf. Merlan 2011, 73ss.).

4.2 Current status of codification

In the 21st century, the Academia de la Llingua Asturiana has become widely accepted as a norm authority. In addition to the *Normes*, the *Gramática de la Llingua Asturiana* (^{3}2001) has set standards and continues to be the main reference tool for Asturian normative grammar. The codification concept follows the established principles of the late 20th century, i.e. preferring the Central-Asturian variants (g) but allowing additional dialectal variants (h). Regarding the Castilian influence, the concept can be described as slightly segregational for grammatical features but clearly integrational in orthography (d). Moreover, the first edition of the *Diccionariu de la Llingua Asturiana* (DALLA) was published in 2000. Regarding the lexical solutions offered in the DALLA, Frías Conde (2011) points out that the underlying codification concept may be seen as distinctly segregative in terms of Castilian influences: for instance, in order to create lexical distance, the DALLA prefers vulgarisms instead of etymological "correct" forms that would match with the respective Castilian lexemes (e.g. *aspeuto* instead of *aspecto*).

In addition, a pluricentric concept for Asturian emerged with the creation of the *Normas ortográficas del gallego-asturiano* (ALlA 2007), conceived to be applied in the *Terra Navia-Eo* region and openly competing with the Galician-based proposal mentioned above (3.2). The codification concept is undoubtedly inspired by the *Normes* for Central-Asturian: preferring unique solutions but allowing dialectal variants and, above all, highly segregative regarding possible Galician features (j). Nonetheless, as Patzelt (2016, 272ss.) shows, the speakers of *Eonaviego* seem to reject the Asturian proposal as well.

With regard to Mirandese, the criticism of the *Convenção* by parts of the Mirandese-speaking community has led to a modification of the codification concept, integrating polynomic components by adding variants from the southern Sendinese dialect (Câmara Municipal 2000). Following the segregational idea regarding the Asturian proposal, the *Dicionário de Mirandês-Português* by Ferreira and Cardona Ferreira has served as a reference tool for the Mirandese lexicon since 2001.

In the digital era, online publications, databases and translation tools try to spread the Asturian reference tools elaborated by the ALlA among the speakers. Besides the *Normes*, the *Gramática* and the DALLA, the *Diccionario General de la Llingua Asturiana* (DGLA, coordinated by Xosé Lluis García Arias) serves as a polynomic reference tool: although dialectal variants are comprehensively listed and georeferenced (including *Eonaviego* forms), they always appear subordinated to the preferred standard proposal (mostly Central-Asturian forms). Moreover, the *eslema* tool developed at the University of Oviedo provides translation and conjugation tools as well as grammatical and corpus analyzing tools.

Finally, the *Dicionário de Mirandês-Português* is also available online for Mirandese speakers emphasizing the independence of the codification concept in the Portuguese territory of Asturleonese. Based on this observation, the global concept for Asturleonese can be seen as pluricentric with at least two regional standards for different territories. We should bear in mind that the existence of a pluricentric norm concept usually has to be connected to the linguistic consciousness of the speaking community: but as Merlan (2010, 296) points out, neither Asturian nor Mirandese speakers acknowledge the unity of Asturleonese.

This is also demonstrated by the existence of two separate Wikipedia web pages: a) Asturian (<ast.wikipedia.org>; n°62/303) with approx. 99,000 articles, 50,500 users (among them 146 "heavy" users); b) Mirandese (<mwl.wikipedia.org>; n°191/303) with approx. 3,700 articles, 10,000 users (among them 20 "heavy" users) (cf. *Wikimedia*, "List of Wikipedias", all numbers as of January 2019). If we take a closer look at the Asturian version, the norm concept of the web community (as being new model speakers) can be compared to the official norm concept promoted by the ALlA.

In terms of orthography, the preferred solution by the ALlA (mostly based on Central-Asturian) seems to be the most frequently used variant by the Wikipedia community as well, e.g.:

Tab. 1: Selected Asturian writings of words containing etymological Latin inicial F- (Wikipedia articles) (western-central <f-> vs. eastern <ḥ->, preferred solution by the ALlA in bold).

fiu	n = 9,559	fiyu	n = 17	ḥiyu fiyo	n = 2		
fueu	n = 3,068	fuegu	n = 7	fuebu	n = 2	ḥueu ḥuibu fuibo	n = 1

Regarding the vulgarisms suggested or accepted by the DALLA, the solutions used by the online community show a clear tendency against the DALLA variant in the case of *téunicu* 'technical'; in the remaining cases the suggested variant of the DALLA (*aspeutu*, *llaboratoriu* but *leucemia*) is clearly in the lead:

Tab. 2: Asturian uses of vulgarisms (Wikipedia articles) (etymological -ct- and l- vs. vulgar -ut- and ll-; preferred solution by the ALlA in bold).

téunicu	n = 207	**aspeutu**	n = 2,085	**llaboratoriu**	n = 776	**leucemia**	n = 116
técnicu	n = 902	apectu	n = 19	laboratoriu	n = 3	lleucemia	n = 1

Even so, the administrative and/or professional use of Asturian and Mirandese is still unusual and special language dictionaries hardly exist (cf. Frías Conde 2011, 57s.; Merlan 2011, 82s.).

To conclude, the codification of Asturleonese varieties has led to a more or less pluricentric concept regarding the territories of Miranda do Douro (Portugal) and Asturias (Spain) – although most of the speaker would not recognize the unity between Asturian and Mirandese. The norm concept for Asturian finally turned out to be non-archaic and polynomic (with preference for Central-Asturian features), integrative regarding the Castilian influences in orthography and more segregative in terms of lexicon and grammar. The Mirandese norm, however, can be described as integrative regarding the Portuguese traditions, highly segregative regarding the Asturian proposals as well as unique and supra-dialectal rather than polynomic. Both concepts seem to have finally become accepted by the average speaker (at least in digital media) although the codification and normalization process is still far from being highly advanced (above all, due to a lack of certain communicative domains).

5 Aragonese

5.1 History of standardization

The codification process of (Upper-)Aragonese began, little by little, in the late 19th century and in the early 20th century. The first step towards a written code of the oral, dialectal traditions was made by local literates editing Aragonese-Castilian word lists as well as by local writers, such as Cleto Torrodellas for Low Ribagorzan (Eastern Aragonese), Leonardo Escalona for *Belsetán* (Central Aragonese) or Domingo Miral for *Cheso* (Western Aragonese). At the same time, Jean-Joseph Saroïhandy (1898) elaborated the first linguistic descriptions of the Aragonese dialects. Apart from a minimum consensus in terms of orthography, all linguistic activities up to

the 1970s can be classified as descriptive rather than normative – if a normative proposal was made at all (e.g. the commentaries of Veremundo Méndez accompanying his literary work), it was clearly restricted to single dialects (cf. Postlep 2010, 230ss.). In the same tradition, Aragonese dialects were mostly seen as (primary) dialects of Spanish, and holistic descriptions could only be found in dialectological handbooks (such as Alvar 1953; Zamora Vicente 1960 and many successors up to the present day).

In 1976, the *Consello d'a Fabla Aragonesa* (CFA) was founded and represented the first norm authority for Aragonese (if defined as a language). In terms of orthography, the first normative reference tool appeared in 1987 (*Normas gráficas de l'aragonés*, CFA), resuming provisional proposals from 1974 and strictly following a phonological, anti-etymological concept (a) – even when Castilian would use an etymological letter, e.g. <v> for [b/β] (therefore the proposal might also be seen as segregative). In 1977, the first grammar (*Gramática de la lengua aragonesa* by Francho Nagore Laín) and lexical reference tool (*Diccionario aragonés* by Rafael Andolz [DARAG]) appeared. Both reference tools follow the descriptive, dialectological tradition and register dialectal variants (polynomic concept; b). Only the *Gramática* (fifth edition 1989) additionally marks the preferred variants for a future unique concept (c) of Standard Aragonese (cf. Metzeltin 2007; Nagore Laín 2011; Postlep 2010, 230ss.). In terms of lexicography, the *Vocabulario básico bilingüe* (Martínez Ruiz 1997) has to be added as it avoids the dialectological impetus of the DARAG and makes a normative proposal for Aragonese Standard lexicon (although still polynomic, e.g. variants are noted when seen as necessary).

In the following decades, norm authorities tried to reduce phonological and morphological variation by establishing the so-called *Consello Asesor de l'Aragonés* (CAA) in 2000. The proclaimed *resoluzións* by the CAA follow a unique, supra-dialectal concept (c), the so-called *fabla*, not denying polynomic variants but always marking preferred forms. In the majority of the cases, the preferred variant is the most distant variant to Castilian and/or Catalan, i.e. the concept has to be seen as strongly segregative (d) – above all, because the most common use was frequently rejected (e.g. the participle endings *-ato*, *-ito* were favored over the more common endings *-au*, *-iu*) (cf. Nagore Laín 2011, 600ss.; Postlep 2010, 237s.).

5.2 Current status

In the early 21st century, the mixture of missing legal recognition, highly polynomic traditions among the (rare) native speakers, the language use of a highly segregative, supra-dialectal norm by non-native (and/or literate) speakers as well as the denial of the language status by parts of the language experts has led to severe resentments in the codification process of Aragonese. On the one hand, alternative norm authorities were established (e.g. the Sociedat de Lingüística Aragonesa [SLA] in 2004) – proclaiming an opposite concept regarding the CFA/CAA proposals, i.e.

both the return to polynomic traditions and the strengthening of etymological criteria (e), as can be seen by the *Ortografía SLA* published in 2006 (cf. Postlep 2010, 238). On the other hand, local model speakers keep using the established local norm concepts (decline of publications in *fabla*) – above all, speakers of *Cheso* and *Ribagorzan*.

The ongoing discussions culminated in the creation of the *Academia de l'Aragonés* in 2006 (later, due to the lack of legal support, renamed as *Estudio de Filología Aragonesa* [EFA]) that published its own orthographical norms in 2010 (*Propuesta Ortografica de l'Academia de l'Aragonés*), slightly more etymological than the CFA proposal and therefore somewhat intermediary between CFA and SLA. Regarding the three competing norm concepts for Aragonese orthography, the recently established Dirección General de Política Lingüística, new and official norm authority since 2015, is actually seeking to create an official orthographical reference tool involving the three organizations (CFA, SLA, EFA) as well as international language experts.

If we take a closer look at the language attitudes towards the competing codification concepts, neither the supra-dialectal concept (CFA) nor the polynomic concept (SLA) is openly supported by the folk (for more details, see the case study in Postlep 2010, 239ss.). Regarding the digital media, reference tools for Aragonese are only scarcely published online.

Nonetheless, an Aragonese Wikipedia version does exist (an.wikipedia.org; n°98/ 285) counting approx. 34,000 articles and 51,000 users (among them 71 "heavy" users) (cf. *Wikimedia*, "List of Wikipedias", all numbers as of January 2019). The competing codification concepts are clearly reflected by the fluctuating uses of the community: following the polynomic proposals for the Aragonese lexicon, some authors prefer to write using regional norms (according to the respective taggings: slightly more than 100 articles). Regarding the supra-dialectal proposals for Aragonese grammar, authors do not show a clear tendency, as exhibited by the participle endings used: e.g. *charrato* 'talked' (n = 56) vs. *charrau* (n = 78) or *seguito* 'followed' (n = 49) vs. *seguiu* (n = 83). Finally, in terms of orthography, etymological and non-etymological uses vary from case to case: regarding <b> (*bocable* 'word') and <v> (*vocable*), authors tend to etymological <v>. Regarding <ch> (*chinero* 'January') and <g> (*ginero*), authors nearly exclusively use non-etymological <ch>.

In summary, a consensus regarding the codification concepts for Aragonese is still out of sight: due to various existing norm authorities that are defending either segregative (d) or integrative concepts, polynomic uses (b) compete with supra-dialectal proposals (c) and etymological variants (e) compete with non-etymological forms (a). Moreover, none of the concepts seems to be fully supported neither by the "offline speakers" nor by the digital community.

6 Conclusion

Although the *abstand* criteria may be seen as relatively weak in the described contexts (see section 2), the given examples show that the elaboration process by means of codification reference tools has made important progress over the last two centuries (first and foremost: Galician, followed by Asturian and Mirandese, less progress may be attested for Aragonese).

The selected norm concept in each case can be described as follows:

– Historical dimension: All concepts are mainly based on the *actual* language (in case of lexicon, especially for Aragonese, *etymological* solutions are preferred when distance to the dominant languages has to be created).
– Integrative dimension: both *integrative* and *segregative* solutions are present in all of the selected norm concepts; this might be seen as a reflex of both the need of delimitation (as distance is relatively little) and the desire to integrate the greatest number of speakers (that often are only familiar with the traditions of the dominant languages).
– Selective dimension: *Supra-dialectal* solutions compete with traditional varieties, on a fictitious scale the SLA proposal for Aragonese would be at the one end (traditional varieties), followed by Asturian and Mirandese, whereas Galician and – above all – the CFA proposal for Aragonese would be at the other end (supra-dialectal norm).
– Variational dimension: the official norm concept for Galician can be seen as mostly *unique*, followed by the proposals for Asturian, Mirandese and Aragonese (CFA), each showing tolerance to variation although clearly preferring single solutions. The SLA proposal for Aragonese might be classified as most *polynomic*. Moreover, the divergent proposals for Asturian and Mirandese can be seen as indicators for an arising *pluricentricity* for Asturleonese (if seen as a unity).

Nowadays, digital media help to spread the norm concepts, especially in the case of Galician and Asturian. Nonetheless, the respective norm discussions continue to the present day (above all, in the case of Aragonese).

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Carolin Patzelt

14.4 Romance-based Creoles

Abstract: This article gives a comprehensive overview of norm-generating efforts in communities where a Romance-based Creole is spoken. After discussing key issues that characterize creole language standardization processes, the article provides a survey of ongoing standardization processes in French-based and Ibero-Romance Creoles, before analyzing the codification of Haitian Creole and Papiamento in more detail.

1 Introduction

In line with an increasing linguistic self-awareness concerning creole languages, several countries have started to establish written standards for Creoles, traditionally restricted to oral domains in order to turn them into viable means of expression in the community's public domains. The more these actions pass from language cultivation by individual societies and actors to systematic language planning by official actors, the more the topic of normativization becomes relevant. However, it becomes evident from the very beginning that the key issues arising in Creole-speaking contexts are fundamentally different from other areas, which adopted the language of the colonizers. Therefore, the article starts off with a discussion of the key issues, which set intents and processes of the standardization of Creoles apart from that of other languages (section 2). It discusses the most crucial problems in the step from oral domains to literacy and thus provides the basis for the (selective) survey of Romance-based Creoles,[1] which is to follow. Section 3 discusses French-based Creoles. After providing an overview of the current expansion of Creoles into domains such as education, literature and the media (3.1), general tendencies regarding the codification and standardization of French-based Creoles are summarized (3.2). The same aspects are treated for Ibero-Romance Creoles in section 4. Section 5 then examines key issues arising from the elaboration of instruments and reference tools in selected Creoles, while at the same time explaining their absence

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[1] For reasons of space, it will not be possible to provide a comprehensive survey of all French-, Spanish- and Portuguese-based Creoles in this article. Therefore, the focus will be on general standardization issues relating to (Romance-based) Creoles. For a comprehensive survey of the individual Creoles, cf. Patzelt (2014) for French-based Creoles, Munteanu Colán (2014) for Spanish-based Creoles and Bartens (2014) or Stolz (1998) for Portuguese-based Creoles.

in other cases. Finally, the standardization process of Haitian Creole and Papiamento – two Creoles that have widely expanded into official domains – will be discussed in more detail. Theoretically and terminologically, this article is based on Haugen's (1983) standardization model and the distinction between (1) selection, (2) codification, (3) implementation and (4) elaboration.

2 Key issues in the codification of Creoles

2.1 From oral to written codes

A creole language's spread to literacy calls for the elaboration and implementation of an orthography as well as a structural regularization on all linguistic levels and an implementation on different discursive levels (literature, science, etc.). While an artificial split between oral and written codes should be avoided, a written norm cannot represent scripted orality in a dialectological sense (cf. Eckkrammer 2007, 304) because the codification of a Creole requires both structural expansion and the implementation of a recognized standard. Hazaël-Massieux (1993) argues that codification should provide an expanding canalization that facilitates the continuous development of the creole language but does not "freeze" its vivid orality. In other words, a written standard should stabilize the language without eradicating the varied means of expression available beforehand. As a result, while standardization brings about a certain homogenization, it also provides the means for expanding the discursive possibilities of expression within a language. Works concerning techniques of junction etc. in creole languages (Ludwig 1989; 1996; Lämmle 2005) illustrate such processes of structural expansion that are most commonly intertwined with an implementation of literacy. In an ideal case, as Eckkrammer (2007, 305) points out, the expansion of discursive possibilities resulting from a Creole's spread into written domains is accompanied by its use by renowned authors.

The most evident symbol of standardization and expansion into written domains certainly is the existence of an official orthography. Nonetheless, developing and implementing a written standard for a Creole can be demanding and often meets two main obstacles: 1) Since Creoles developed in the era of European colonization, they traditionally coexist with their source languages in diglossic situations,[2] and therefore Creole speakers themselves often display a negative attitude towards their mothertongue. They often fear that an intense development and active use of their Creole will cut them off from the modern, globalized world. 2) Creole structures are often claimed to be difficult to standardize, since they show too much

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[2] Cf. Winford (1985) and Zéphir (2010) for critical discussions of the applicability of the concept of diglossia to creole continua (Winford) and creolophone societies (Zéphir).

variation and undergo too many changes in a short period of time. And if they do get codified, there is another crucial problem to be handled: lectal variation.

2.2 Acrolect vs. basilect

While the codification of minority languages is often initiated by community members and their subjective motivation, creole languages are normally in objective need of codification as part of their sociopolitical enhancement within society (cf. Coulmas 1994). Consequently, the codification of a Creole – as opposed to that of minority languages – does not usually imply 'folclore and the maintenance of traditions' (Dahmen et al. 1991), and it tends to be taken care of by linguists rather than laypersons (cf. Eckkrammer 2007).

The decision of codifying an acrolectal or basilectal variety is fundamental. However, it is a complex decision, implying a profound conflict of interest. Since in most Creole-speaking societies the (European) lexifier represents the country's official language, the pressure of assimilation is high, usually forcing authors to choose an acrolectal variety when writing in Creole. Be that as it may, it is exactly this pressure of assimilation, which – as pointed out by Lang (2005, 85) – causes an increasing number of authors to argue in favor of setting literary production apart from the acrolect, thus supporting the enhancement of a "pure", "real" Creole in literature. The problem this movement has to face is that literary standards – as can be observed in the history of European cultured languages –, tend to arise from highly prestigious oral varieties (Lang 2005, 87), and prestige is not notoriously associated with basilectal varieties of Creoles. However, Lang (2005) challenges the widespread assumption "the lesser the distance from the acrolect, the higher the prestige of the language" – a popular belief in the post-creole continuum. According to Lang, there is no such thing as "low rhetorics". Talented authors who write in Creole are very well capable of creating a "literary basilect", which simply does not correspond to spoken basilectal varieties but represents a sophisticated enhancement of them. Generally speaking, a tendency towards employing a basilectal variety and a genuine creole morphosyntax in literary production does exist, and it seems to arise essentially from the fact that in Creole-speaking countries, writers are often actively engaged in language planning and codification debates (cf. Eckkrammer 2007, 308). However, as Eckkrammer (2007) points out, the main challenge of codifying a Creole is that a standard too close to the acrolect is not accepted as representing an independent norm, but neither is a clearly basilectal one, since its use is often rejected in public domains and considered inappropriate for written communication.

2.3 The number of speakers as impact factor

The most frequently mentioned reason for Creoles failing to become standardized languages is their low number of speakers,[3] and this often results from pressure from one or several dominant languages. A good example is Louisiana Creole, which is struggling to survive and shows no tendencies towards codification:

As shown in Neumann-Holzschuh (1985), Klingler (1992) and Valdman (1997), Louisiana has a complex linguistic situation with a continuum between Standard French[4] and Louisiana Creole. As a result of pressure from English, only Cajun French and Louisiana Creole still dispose of active speaker groups, but most of them are bilingual already. The social hierarchy places English as the most prestigious language over Cajun French followed by Louisiana Creole, but a clear separation between varieties is hardly possible. In order to support the conservation of Louisiana Creole, a monthly *Creole magazine* was published, but such initiatives have since disappeared (Valdman/Klingler 1997, 110). One reason for this certainly is the low prestige attributed to Creole, which provokes attempts of destigmatization by approaching the Creole's basilect to the respective varieties of French (Eckkrammer 2007, 311).[5] This problem is aggravated by the growing influence of English in Louisiana: "Today the pressure of English manifests itself [...] by massive borrowing, calques, and code switching" (Valdman/Klingler 1997, 111). The implementation of a standard would certainly help Louisiana Creole, but there have been no initiatives as of late. Valdman/Klingler (1997, 142) talk about a "fast disappearing speech form" and Marshall (1997, 346) claims speakers are "adapting more and more to the American way of life".

Interestingly enough, a correlation between number of speakers and degree of standardization does not hold for all Romance-based Creoles. A perfect counter-example is French Guiana, where the sociopolitical position of Guianan Creole[6] and the foundation of the publishing company Ibis Rouge have provoked a vivid standardization supported by an impressive amount of publications in and on Guianan Creole, including normative dictionaries and grammars.[7] Thus, the modest number of approximately 50,000 speakers (Eckkrammer 2007, 319) has been enough for Guianan Creole's implementation into the educational system as well as its promotion by political parties and cultural associations.

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3 Usually "low" is associated with a number of speakers inferior to 100,000 (cf. Eckkrammer 2007).
4 For an up-to-date analysis of the varieties of French spoken in Louisiana, cf. Neumann-Holzschuh/Mitko (2018).
5 There is a widespread decreolization process which can be observed in many regions (cf. Patzelt 2014).
6 Honorien (2009, 122) qualifies Guianan Creole as being used "tant comme langue vernaculaire que comme langue véhiculaire".
7 See, for instance, the *Dictionnaire créole guyanais-français* or the contrastive grammar by Damoiseau (2003).

As a result, the number of speakers is not the sole decisive factor when it comes to a Creole's expansion into public domains. A strong tradition of literary production, for instance, has a favorable impact on standardization even if the number of speakers is low. Section 5 will further elaborate on such points, discussing standardization and its obstacles in two Romance-based Creoles, which have indeed been successfully expanded: Haitian Creole and Papiamento.

3 French-based Creoles

3.1 The presence of Creoles in public domains

This section discusses the situation of French-based Creoles with the exception of Haitian Creole, which will be analyzed separately and in more detail in section 5.

In 2001, the creation of a *CAPES de Langues et cultures régionales-option créole*, opened up new possibilities for the teaching of creole language and culture at school.[8] Since, within the scope of LOUM,[9] the four DOM-Creoles (Guadeloupe, Martinique, Guyane, Réunion) were assigned the status of regional languages by the French Ministries of Education and of Overseas Territories in 2002, the role of Creole in the educational sector has experienced divergent developments:

In Guadeloupe, for instance, education in Creole has increased both at primary and secondary schools, whereas in Martinique it is limited to primary school, where it competes with foreign languages like English or Spanish.[10] A crucial impediment to an exhaustive implementation of Creole at school certainly is the heterogeneity of orthographies accepted by the CAPES-committee: The GÉREC-F-orthography, proposed for implementation into the educational domain in 1983,[11] was not made obligatory by the CAPES-committee.[12] This, in turn, provoked a dynamic discussion of whether the *CAPES de créole* could be successful in the long run if there was no consistent orthography for the Lesser Antilles. While some answer this question negatively (cf. Chaudenson 2000), others regard the implementation of the *CAPES de créole* as an impetus for intensifying the pursuit of a unified norm (cf. Eckkrammer 2007).

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8 For a discussion of the different positions and problems concerning the introduction of a *CAPES de créole*, cf. Reutner (2005); for general information about the *CAPES de créole*, cf. also Confiant (2001).

9 *Loi n°2000-1207 du 13 décembre 2000 d'orientation pour l'outre-mer.*

10 Ministère de l'Éducation nationale, *éduscol*, <http://eduscol.education.fr> (05/22/2018), under "Langues de France d'Outre-mer".

11 See Fleischmann (1986) for more information.

12 A reason for this probably is that this phonologically oriented orthography was largely rejected by the middle classes because their spontaneous spelling tended more towards an etymological one.

Another obstacle to the use of Creole at schools is the formation of teachers. In French Guiana, for example, Creole was introduced into the educational system in 1986, but most teachers were from France, lacked formation in Creole and followed the educational system of their native country (cf. Migge/Renault-Lescure 2009). Since 2001, primary schools at La Réunion have offered education either completely in Creole or in terms of a bilingual education, and in secondary schools, there is even an option called "Langue et culture régionales".[13] Unfortunately, there is a lack of well-trained teachers, and thus a lot of families reject the possibility of education in Creole. In Haiti, theoretically, the first six years of school are characterized by an education in both French and Creole.[14] However, since being monolingual in Creole is often associated with a low social status in Haiti, the desire to master French remains a widespread goal among students (cf. Patzelt 2014). Generally speaking, the introduction of Creole into the educational system advances but still meets a variety of obstacles.

A literary production in Creole does exist in all Creole-speaking regions nowadays, ranging from oral literature such as tales and fables to poetry, theater and novels, and there is even a body of world literature translated into French-based Creoles (cf. Hazaël-Massieux 2011, 123).[15] An issue concerning the label "littérature créole" is that it may be misleading, since it often signals literature written by Haitian, Antillean or other Creole-speaking authors rather than literature written *in* Creole. Especially in the Antilles, many authors opt for a "creolized" variety of French so that questions regarding "literature" in Creole always have to be answered carefully. There are also authors who do write in Creole, the first texts having been mainly song texts, religious texts and political and/or legal declarations. By the end of the 19th century, the number of poems in Creole had increased considerably and the first novel (*Atipa*) appeared in French Guiana. Currently, the main literary production in Creole comes from Haitian authors (cf. Hazaël-Massieux 2011, 124s.).

The presence of Creole in the media also has an important impact on its expansion into public domains. Although Creoles tend not to be that present in radio and television broadcasts (cf. Hazaël-Massieux 2011, 127), initiatives in this direction do exist. RFI (Radio France International), for instance, regularly broadcasts news in Creole – especially from Martinique and Haiti. This positive tendency is to a certain extent disrupted by the often unsatisfactory proficiency in Creole displayed by respective journalists. Especially in the DOM (common abbreviation for *Département d'outre-mer*), the Creole used on radio broadcasts is generally marked by numerous

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13 For further information on Creole in the educational system of La Réunion, cf. Dupuis (2005).

14 In Haiti, Creole was introduced into the educational system in 1978. However, its presence at school varies considerably between regions. In the capital, education is dominantly in French, whereas rural regions tend to favor Creole.

15 There is a visible tendency towards a stronger literary production in independent countries such as Haiti, Mauritius or the Seychelles.

calques from French, since most journalists receive their information entirely in French (Hazaël-Massieux 2011, 127).[16]

3.2 The codification of French-based Creoles

Generally speaking, the codification of French-based Creoles is quite well advanced but must be regarded in differentiated terms: While descriptive grammars have been elaborated for almost all Creoles, the publication of prescriptive ones is by far less prominent (cf. Bollée 1998). Traditionally, creole grammars have mostly been elaborated by foreign researchers interested in documenting the different varieties of a Creole. As a result, a standard variety is hardly ever fixed, but initiatives of implementing Creole into the educational system have led to an increase in systematical descriptions of creole grammars. More particularly, works such as *Syntaxe créole comparée* (2012), *Éléments de grammaire comparée Français-Créole* (1999, both by R. Damoiseau), or the *Précis de syntaxe créole* (2005) by Jean Bernabé were written explicitly for students of "Cultures et Langues Régionales Créoles". As for dictionaries, their numbers even clearly exceed that of existing grammars. Bilingual dictionaries are available for any French-based Creole nowadays, with Haitian Creole being the first one to have been documented from the 1970s onwards.[17] The 1980s witnessed an increasing production of creole dictionaries not only for America but also for Creoles of the Indian Ocean such as the *Petit Dictionnaire Créole réunionnais/ Français* (Baggioni/Armand 1987) or the *Diksyonner kreol-franse* (D'Offay/Lionnet 1982).[18] More recent publications include the *Dictionnaire créole martiniquais-français* by Raphaël Confiant (2007), the *Dictionnaire créole guyanais-français* (Barthélémi/Damoiseau 2007), the *Dictionnaire pratique du créole de Guadeloupe* (Tourneux/Barbotin 2009) or the *Diksioner Morisien* (Carpooran 2009), the "premie diksioner kreol monoleng dan Lemond". There are also online dictionaries available for some Creoles, such as the *Dictionnaire du créole martiniquais* by R. Confiant (<www.potomitan.info/dictionnaire>) or the *Dictionnaire créole*, a collection of vocabulary from the Creoles of Guadeloupe, Martinique, Haiti and La Réunion (<www.dictionnaire-creole.com>). Bollée (1998) points out that the number of existing Creole dictionaries is quite remarkable considering the majority of French-based Creoles do not yet dispose of a field-specific vocabulary in all public domains and thus often have to draw on the respective technical terms in French (cf. Stein 1984, 116). Therefore, a clear separation between French and Creole vocabulary and the

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16 For a discussion of Creole on the internet, cf. Steinicke/Schlaak (2011).

17 See, for instance, the *Ti diksyonnè* (Bentolila et al. 1976) or the *Haitian Creole – English-French Dictionary* by Valdman (1981).

18 However, Bollée (1991, 2874) criticizes dictionaries of the 1980s for listing mere (literal) translations of the respective French terms and for hardly providing any examples.

transition from the macro structure of French dictionaries to Creole ones are demanding.

Apart from individual publications, there are also at least two long-term projects aimed at a systematic documentation of creole lexicon. From 1993 until 2007, four volumes of the *Dictionnaire étymologique des créoles français de l'Océan Indien* (DECOI), elaborated at the University of Bamberg, appeared. Following up on this, a research team directed by Annegret Bollée (Bamberg) and Ingrid Neumann-Holzschuh (Regensburg) began to elaborate on the DECA (*Dictionnaire étymologique des créoles français d'Amérique*) in 2011.

To conclude, the choice of an official orthography for the various French-based Creoles is subject to controversial debates that cannot be discussed in detail here.[19] Generally speaking, an orientation towards the acrolect, often suggested due to its acquisition at school, would mean giving priority to an etymological spelling – a decision which would not only impede the reinforcement of a Creole's autonomy (Hazaël-Massieux 2011, 41) but would simplify its acquisition only for those speakers who already speak French, not monolingual Creole speakers.

4 Ibero-Romance Creoles

4.1 The presence of Creoles in public domains

Generally speaking, most Portuguese-based Creoles[20] have not entered the educational system (cf. Baptista/Brito/Bangura 2010), while at least two of them do dispose of a written tradition: In 1936, the foundation of the magazine *Claridade* marked the beginning of written practices in Cape Verdean Creole (Ferreira [3]1985, 257; Veiga 2004, 37), which today still counts with some literary prose. After Independence, Guinea-Bissau's Kriôl also developed a prose – destined primarily for the composition of political manifests (Stolz 1998, 628).

When they were granted independence, most former African Portuguese colonies started campaigns of literacy in their respective Creoles in the 1970s. In Guinea-Bissau, for instance, literacy programs were introduced in the 1980s (Bartens 1995, 56) and the oral use of Kriôl was even permitted in class (Bartens 2014, 727). Thus, Kriôl did make its way into various sociocultural domains of Guinea-Bissau, but two main problems impeded its consolidation there: in the first place, political unrest –

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19 See section 5 for a discussion of Haitian Creole and, for more general information and further discussion, Hazaël-Massieux (2011).

20 For reasons of space, this section will focus on Portuguese-based Creoles, since Papiamento, the only Spanish-based Creole that has undergone true standardization processes, will be discussed in a separate section (5.2). For a discussion of writing practices in Chabacano, cf. Sippola (2016); for Palenquero, cf. Schwegler (2001).

especially the civil war in 1998/1999 – aggravated attempts to strengthen the position of Kriôl at school and in other public domains. Moreover, existing campaigns of literacy in the creole language must actually be judged as processes of (re-)lusitanization, leading to a rapidly growing convergence with Standard Portuguese (cf. Stolz 1998). Domains in which the Creole is still present nowadays include music, films and information brochures – the latter probably being its most important function (cf. Pinto Bull 1989). Nonetheless, efforts of standardization have actually come to a standstill (cf. 4.2), and similar scenarios hold for other Portuguese-based creoles as well (cf. Bartens 2014).

4.2 The codification of Ibero-Romance Creoles

The vast heterogeneity of linguistic varieties seems to be at the heart of codification problems regarding Portuguese-based Creoles. Not only do almost all Creoles have a lot of dialects, but they also tend to have at least two sociolectal varieties: the *crioulo levinho* (which is close to Standard Portuguese) and the *crioulo fundo*, a basilectal variety (Stolz 1998, 627). The combination of geographical and sociolectal variation complicates the search for an official orthography: a phonemic orthography of Cape Verdian Creole, for instance, was used from 1979 till 1989 but was rejected by speakers of the Barlavento dialect (an acrolectal variety spoken by Cape Verdeans with rather light skin).[21] In 1993, a group of linguists founded the National Commission of Standardization that implemented the ALUPEC (*Alfabeto Unificado para a Escrita do Cabo-Verdiano*). This orthography represented a compromise between the phonemic orthography that had been proposed earlier and the etymological spellings used by most Cape Verdeans from the 19th century onwards. The new orthography was rigorously promoted by the Cape Verdean Creole Institute founded in 1996, and after an experimental period of ten years, the government finally adopted the ALUPEC as the official orthography of the country in March 2009. Sadly, the question of competing varieties has not yet been solved. There were suggestions to approve the variety of Santiago in Sotavento and that of São Vicente in Barlavento, with the aim of establishing a functional bilingualism throughout the community (Veiga 2004, 127–130, 141). Unfortunately, this strategy failed because speakers of other varieties from those of the two islands mentioned feared that their own variety could be lost. Therefore, a final solution is yet to be found.[22] In the case of Guinea-Bissau's Kriôl, codification does exist.[23] However, lectal variation, along with con-

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21 The oldest and most basilectal variety is spoken on the island of Santiago, which is the most densely populated area. The capital, Praia, is also situated here.

22 Pereira (2013), however, argues that written practices in Creole do not necessarily require a consistent orthography. Instead, she proposes to expose students to "spontaneous multiple practices".

23 There are, for instance, both etymological (Rougé 1988) and normative dictionaries (Scantamburlo 1981).

siderable political upheaval (cf. 4.1), impeded a successful standardization. No official orthography could be agreed upon.[24] The same holds for other Creole-speaking communities which (preferably since the countries' independence) dispose of grammars and dictionaries but have not been successful in standardizing the Creole.[25] Due to a complex continuum between acrolectal and basilectal varieties, decreolization and a lack of distance from Standard Portuguese are crucial problems almost all Portuguese-based Creoles have to cope with.[26] As a result, Cape Verdean Creole and Kriôl seem to be the only Portuguese-based Creoles not in danger of extinction today.

5 Case studies: Haitian Creole and Papiamento

Both Creoles discussed in this section are good examples of a successful expansion into official domains, a process which presupposes a Creole's recognition as a language in its own right. A first significant indicator of such a recognition – which constitutes a fundamental prerequisite for any codification processes – is the existence of a specific, proper designation of the Creole.[27]

Thus, Haitian Creole – or *Kreyòl ayisyen* –, to be discussed in 5.1, is definitely considered a language in its own right by the speakers themselves who call their language *Kreyòl* (cf. Spears 2010). In the case of Papiamento (5.2), the Creole not only has a proper designation, but its name, ending alternatively with *-o* (Aruba) or with *-u* (Bonaire, Curaçao), overtly reflects divergent paths in the codification and implementation of an orthography of the Creole in the respective isles.[28]

5.1 The case of Haitian Creole

5.1.1 History of the standardization of Haitian Creole

Although Haitian Creole is known for a successful expansion into most sociocultural domains nowadays, it is, above all, a good example of a strong oral culture that has

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24 For further discussion, cf. Ageyman (2007).

25 See, for instance, Ferraz (1979) for Forro.

26 Most Creole speakers also speak Portuguese, and the amount of existing linguistic varieties seems to favor decreolization: Papiamento, for instance, also has a high percentage of bilingual speakers, but it seems to have escaped decreolization or restructuring – apparently because it does not display any kind of continuum or "in-between" in terms of lects. Rather, old and young bilinguals in Palenque seem to employ virtually the same Creole grammar (cf. Schwegler 2001).

27 Cf. Vintilă-Rădulescu (2003) for a comprehensive survey on designations of Romance-based Creoles.

28 In this article, we opt for the spelling "Papiamento", officially used in Aruba. Cf. Kramer (2004) for further details on the orthography debate and for a detailed survey of the origin, history and development of Papiamento/u on the ABC isles.

gradually worked its way into written domains: for a long time, conflicting political interests caused Haiti's national language policy to be inconsistent – a domain particularly affected by this was the educational system. It was only in the late 1970s that the use of Creole in education was officially approved. Even in the 1980s, its use in primary education was still an issue. Moreover, during several decades, Haitian Creole was only used as an "auxiliary medium" (Migge/Léglise/Bartens 2010, 1) at school: its standardization was not promoted to support the linguistic identities of Creole speakers but rather as a practical means to increase the rate of literacy in Haiti.[29] Thus, a mere permission to use Creole at school does not automatically correspond to its recognition as a language of instruction in its own right. Another critical point that impeded a successful expansion of Haitian Creole in the 20th century was the fact that Haiti became a US-American protectorate in 1915. The main problem was – since French became the official and obligatory language of governmental institutions in 1918 (Holm 2000, 88) – campaigns of literacy in Creole did not aim at elaborating a genuine creole culture nor did rural areas serve as a point of orientation. Instead, there were attempts to "modernize" Creole, which made Haitian literacy policy "doomed to failure" (Fleischmann 1986, 248).

The political situation had a negative influence on norm-generating discussions and made the implementation of an official orthography quite difficult. The first proposition came from the Methodist preacher Ormonde McConnell in 1943, who elaborated a systematic orthography on a phonological basis. This orthography was oriented towards the basilect, thus enabling the Creole-speaking masses in Haiti to use a written standard close to their everyday speech.[30] However, the orthography was criticized for being non-compliant with French graphemes – especially by French-speaking elites and the Catholic Church, who regarded the proposition as an intent of American-Protestant manipulation (cf. Eckkrammer 2007, 316). After its rejection, a second – etymological – proposition came from the journalist Pressoir and the teacher Faublas (1945).[31] Again, it did not gain broad acceptance. In the late 1970s, the Institut Pédagogique National (IPN) developed an orthography that included elements of the two systems previously in use. This new version of orthography was considered more appropriate,[32] and the government gave semi-official status to it as part of the educational reform of 1978 (cf. 5.2.2).

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29 This aim was already promoted in 1816 (Eckkrammer 2007, 315). The Pétions government declared an intention to introduce Haitian Creole as a language of instruction at school, but this was primarily motivated by the hope of overcoming poverty and illiteracy among the Creole-speaking population by drawing on their own language and culture (cf. Fleischmann 1986).
30 According to Bartens (1996, 173) only about 10% of the population is bilingual, whereas the vast majority uses Haitian Creole as their everyday language.
31 See Déjean (1997) for details concerning the different orthographical propositions.
32 For details concerning respective modifications, cf. Valdman (2005).

5.1.2 Haitian Creole's current status of standardization

Having been recognized as official language since 1987, Haitian Creole is often claimed to be the most standardized of the French-based Creoles. Although it has never been actively and systematically supported by politicians or social elites in Haiti, it is increasingly challenging the position of French in the media, administration and educational sector (Valdman 2005, 39). Two crucial points apparently paved the way for this development: 1) In the course of the educational reform of 1978, Creole was introduced as a medium of instruction for the first four grades at school. Until then, the result of French being the only language of instruction was a widespread educational failure among the Creole-speaking masses who had difficulty in following classes due to an insufficient knowledge of French. This, in turn, led to a bad image of creole culture which has changed considerably.[33] In a comprehensive teacher training manual for Haitian educators published in 2010, the Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie stresses the need to continue promoting Creole as a language of instruction. 2) Since the 1970s, Haitian Creole "is gaining the intellectual tools and momentum needed to extend into schools and other domains" (Hebblethwaite 2012, 260) due to intense publishing in Creole. Haitian Creole has experienced a "classical" development of literary production – from religious texts and translations of the Bible to poetry, theatre and novels (Eckkrammer 1996) – and has now reached the upper end of the developmental scale. As it has long since experienced an intense literary production, Haitian writers actively participate in discussions about standardization. A problem they often complain about, though, is a lack of descriptive lexicography for Creole speakers themselves (Eckkrammer 2007, 317) which documents recent developments in oral domains and makes them available for use in written domains.

5.2 The case of Papiamento

5.2.1 History of the standardization of Papiamento

Papiamento has been an official language of Aruba since 2003 and of the former Netherlands Antilles (including Bonaire and Curaçao) since 2007. About 90% of all communication on the islands is in Papiamento (Perl 1999, 252) and the creole language has made its way into all sociocultural domains of the ABC islands.

Although the first written documents of Papiamento appeared as early as 1775, a debate about standardization did not come up until the 1940s (Eckkrammer 2007, 324), since Papiamento texts and translations were simply elaborated on the basis

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33 This change also seems due to adult literacy programs in Creole established by the government in the 1960s.

of other orthographic systems – usually either the Spanish or the Dutch one. A growing emancipation from the mother country during the course of World War II led to a serious interest in standardizing Papiamento, starting with a call for an official orthography. Papiamento had at least two decisive advantages over other Creoles: first of all, it did not compete with a sole prestige language, but acrolectal Dutch was continuously flanked by Spanish. Secondly, Papiamento was spoken by the entire population from the very beginning, including the social elites (Dutch settlers and Sephardic Jews). As a result, Papiamento became less stigmatized than other Creoles and quickly developed a sociolectal stratification (Eckkrammer 2007, 325). From the 1940s onwards, a continuous discussion concerning standardization and especially an official orthography of Papiamento arose – in 1940, the Union Pro Papiamentu finally presented a first draft. An intense period of standardization started in the 1960s with Papiamento classes being taught at university, an expansion of the publishing sector, first pieces of juvenile literature in Papiamento and the implementation of the Creole as language of instruction at primary schools, along with Dutch. The 1980s, in turn, were marked by a growing institutionalization of language standardization processes. The KOMAPA (Komishon pa Maneho di Papiamentu) was founded in 1983, with the Sede di Papiamentu as its executive body whose main task was to supervise and support the introduction of Papiamento into the educational system and the development of teaching materials.

Reports on education in the ABC islands throughout the 19th century lament the poor results achieved by students already identifying the gap between Papiamento, the home language of all social classes, and Dutch as the school language, as the root of the problems (cf. Putte 1997). Despite punitive measures aimed at discouraging the use of Papiamento at school, it was never completely absent from the school grounds. The issue of which language of instruction to be used was never easily resolved (cf. Smeulders 1987). A proposal for changes in the educational system was launched in the mid 1990s, but no agreement was reached on aspects concerning the language(s) of instruction (cf. Dijkhoff 1998) until an educational policy was finally implemented in 2003, and most schools chose Papiamento as their language of instruction.

However, the continuous spread of Papiamento into public domains also met some obstacles. Thus, political controversies between the islands led to the implementation of two parallel orthographies: a phonologically oriented proposal presented by Raúl Römer in 1969 was rejected by Aruba.[34] After a revision by Maduro and Jonis, this orthography known as the Römer-Maduro-Jonis orthography, was officially recognized by Bonaire and Curaçao. Aruba, however, officialized a distinct, etymologically oriented orthography. This conflict, in turn, led to difficulties in the publishing industry accompanied by endless discussions between the three islands concerning the standardization of single words in Papiamento (cf. Eckkram-

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34 Cf. Kramer (2004) for a more detailed discussion of the orthography debates.

mer 2007 for more details). In sum, after the separation of Aruba from the Netherlands Antilles, cooperation on language issues between the ABC islands has become almost impossible, with the activities of the Standardization Committee (1983–1990) a victim of this situation.

5.2.2 Papiamento's current status of standardization

Despite this conflict, a considerable amount of standardization has been done, and guidelines have been drawn up for vocabulary expansion in various technical areas. Curaçao and Aruba continue to operate with their own organizations for the promotion of Papiamento. A major milestone was the establishment of a Faculty of Arts at the University of the Netherlands Antilles in Curaçao in 2002. Apart from that, it is particularly bottom-up-initiatives that help to promote the standardization of Papiamento nowadays (cf. Eckkrammer 2007 for details).

Both Dutch and Spanish have a considerable influence on the daily lives of Papiamento speakers. Students returning after the pursuit of higher education in the Netherlands are an important vehicle of Dutch influence, while Spanish enters homes daily through popular Venezuelan television and radio channels. Besides, tourism brings a large part of the population in contact with native speakers of Anglo-American. In this long-standing situation of language contact and multilingualism, it is not surprising that variation in both the lexicon and the grammar of Papiamento has been noted (cf. Muller 1982; Andersen 1983). An important issue for codification processes are the numerous parallel borrowings from Dutch and Spanish which coexist without visible semantic differences (e.g. *belasting*/*impuestos*, cf. Eckkrammer 2007, 328). Some of this variation, however, points to emerging distinctions between formal and informal registers in Papiamento, testifying to its position as an accepted language of communication in a wide range of social settings.

In fact, Papiamento competes with Dutch in the written media, and radio and TV broadcasts use Papiamento almost exclusively (Pereira 1994). Government business is also conducted in Papiamento and it serves as the language of instruction in several primary schools and even (unofficially) in secondary-level education. Private foundations, such as the Pierre Lauffer Foundation in Curaçao, have become prestigious promoters of the cultural heritage of which Papiamento is the vehicle. In short, Papiamento functions as the national language of the ABC islands. Standard orthographies and dictionaries have been produced and many aspects of Papiamento grammar are well documented. Although there is still a serious shortage of instructional material in Papiamento and of supporting material such as children's fiction, there is a steadily growing body of authentic work in Papiamento as well as translations on a variety of topics (cf. Eckkrammer 1996). Since the wish for linguistic orientation is growing among the population, the elaboration of (monolingual) descriptive dictionaries and reference grammars of Papiamento is an important desideratum.

6 Conclusion and outlook

This short survey of standardization issues in (Romance-based) Creoles has revealed several important points: first of all, observations regarding the standardization of minority languages cannot simply be transferred to Creole-speaking societies. A fundamental decision to be taken in Creole-speaking societies is, for instance, that of codifying an acrolectal or basilectal variety (cf. section 2).

Secondly, most standardization processes – even those of Creoles that do succeed in the end (cf. section 5) – seem to get stalled at some point after their start. This happens in various ways and for various reasons, but ideological controversies, as well as discussions about an official orthography, are often at the heart of the problem. While supporters of standardization tend to bring forward the argument of decolonization, their opponents fear that using Creole as a written language may lead to marginalization in a global world. As for orthography, the general tendency seems to be the implementation of phonological spellings, but a lot of speakers do not embrace them, since they are rather used to employing etymologically oriented, spontaneous spellings. Variation is a recurrent problem, be it the widespread acceptance of parallel orthographies (cf. GÉREC, section 3) or the existence of numerous diatopic and/or sociolectal varieties of a Creole (cf. section 4).

Regarding the correlation of factors that support or impede standardization, it has been shown that a strong oral tradition does not automatically lead to a productive scriptural one, nor does the number of speakers always correlate with a Creole's degree of expansion into public domains. A Creole's coexistence with more than one prestige language has both advantages and disadvantages. While it can prevent a classical diglossia, the existence of parallel borrowings from various languages tends to make standardization more difficult (cf. 5.2.2).

Finally, factors that apparently accelerate standardization are urgent sociopolitical problems such as a high rate of illiteracy (cf. section 5), a strong literary tradition and the integration of the Creole into the educational system. The latter is subject to controversial debates, though (cf. sections 3 and 5).

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