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ABOUT THE LABELLING IN THE *DICCIONARI CATALÀ-VALENCIÀ-BALEAR* (DCVB): THE EXAMPLE OF *ARGOT*¹

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Abstract

This paper examines the role of the term *argot* in the labelling practice of the *DCVB* by studying the quantitative, formal and semantic aspects of all labels containing the term *argot*. Particular attention is paid to the analysis of its combinatorics with other labels in order to distinguish between central combinational patterns and peripheral combinations. Furthermore, the paper aims to show the influence of certain sources on the use of *argot* in the *DCVB* and to distinguish between the use of the term in diastatic labelling and in labels indicating style levels.

Keywords

Catalan lexicography, *Diccionari català-valencià-balear*, diasystematic labelling, slang

SOBRE LA MARCACIÓ EN EL *DICCIONARI CATALÀ-VALENCIÀ-BALEAR* (DCVB): EL EJEMPLO DE *ARGOT*

Resumen

En este artículo se examina el papel del término *argot* en la práctica de marcación en el *DCVB* mediante el estudio de los aspectos cuantitativos, formales y semánticos de todas las marcas que contienen la palabra *argot*. Se presta especial atención al análisis de las combinaciones con otras marcas con el objetivo de distinguir entre patrones combinatorios centrales y combinaciones periféricas.

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Asimismo, se pretende mostrar la influencia de determinadas fuentes sobre el uso de *argot* en el *DCVB* y diferenciar entre el uso del término en marcas diastráticas y en la marcación de los niveles de estilo.

Palabras clave

lexicografía catalana, *Diccionari català-valencià-balear*, marcación diasistemática, argot

1. The diasystematic labelling in the *DCVB*²

The most striking characteristic of the *Diccionari català-valencià-balear* is that it is based on the idea of a “total” dictionary (Colón 2003: 25), thus of an integral lexicographical work, which should include all varieties of the language of the past and the present. This concept is described in the subtitle of the dictionary as follows:

Inventari lexicogràfic i etimològic de la llengua catalana en totes les seves formes literàries i dialectals, recollides dels documents i textos antics i moderns, i del parlar vivent al Principat de Catalunya, al Regne de València, a les illes Balears, al departament francès dels Pirineus Orientals, a les Valls d’Andorra, al marge oriental d’Aragó i a la ciutat d’Alguer de Sardenya.³

Therefore, in the subtitle, the diatopic, diachronic and diamesic variations are explicitly pointed out. The formulation “totes les seves formes literàries i dialectals” probably means ‘all standard and non-standard variations’, with all sociolinguistic and stylistic levels, so it also implies the diastratic and diaphasic variations.

While reading the introduction of the first volume (both in the first and second edition)⁴, it seems obvious that it was only thought of as an explicit labelling system for spatial classification. Thus, the part about the microstructure of the dictionary (“Estructura dels articles”, pp. xxv-xxviii) mentions only the diatopic marks, namely

² I would like to thank Lea Helfenstein and Maria-Pilar Perea for their valuable help.

³ In the same sense, even if formulated less detailed, already in the first edition (1930): “Inventari lexical y etimològic de la llengua que parlen Catalunya espanyola y Catalunya francesa, el Regne de València, les illes Balears y la ciutat d’Alguer de Sardenya, en totes ses formes literàries y dialectals, antigues y modernes”.

⁴ If not noted otherwise, we quote the second edition.

“l’enunciat, fet entre parèntesis, de les regions o pobles on hem recollit aquella accepció, si no és d’ús general a tot el territori” (p. xxv).⁵ For geographic classification, the introduction also contains a map of the language area as well as a specific table of the areal abbreviations.⁶ For all other concerns, such as the grammatical and semantical information, there is a second, general table of abbreviations (“Abreviatures diverses”). This one includes — along with abbreviations of various kinds — some short forms which could, if necessary, serve for the diasystematic labelling:

- the abbreviations for the main dialects of Catalan
- the general *dial[ectat]*,
- the two most important abbreviations for the diachronic classification (*ant[ic]* and *neol[ogisme]*),
- a few abbreviations for style level indications (*eufem[isme]*, *pejor[atiu]*, *poèt[ic]*, *pop[ular]* and *vulg[ar]*.
- numerous abbreviations for the assignment to special fields of activity or disciplines, such as *agric[ultura]*, *agron[omia]*, *anat[omia]*, *antropol[ogia]*, *apic[ultura]*, *aritm[mètrica]*, *arqueol[ogia]*, *arquitectura]*, *astron[omia]*, *biol[ogia]*, *botànica]*, *ceràm[ica]*, *cir[urgia]*, *cosmol[ogia]*, *econ[omia]*, *electr[icitat]*, *farm[àcia]*, *fís[ica]*, *fotogr[afia]*, etc. etc.

In this context, it is interesting that, besides the traditionally important fields for dialectology such as *agricultura*, *apicultura*, *botànica*, *ictiologia*, *indumentària*, *marineria*, *nàutica* or *ornitologia*, modern branches of knowledge from those days (e.g. *electricitat*, *fotografia*, *galvanoplàstia*⁷) are also listed, as well as a large number of scientific disciplines, which are particularly productive fields for neology. Relating to this the authors of the *DCVB* provide the following explanation in the introduction to the first edition:

⁵ Similar already in the first edition: “l’enumeració, feta entre parèntesi, de les regions o pobles aon havem recollida l’accepció, si és que no sia d’ús general en tot lo territori” (p. xxv).

⁶ In practice, those abbreviations are neither always used nor systematically put in brackets.

⁷ Only in the first edition.

Els NEOLOGISMES formats damunt paraules llatines y gregues, que se són introduïts en lo llenguatge de totes les nacions cultes per expressar tècnicament els novells objectes aportats p'els descobriments científichs dels temps moderns, ocupen també la nostra atenció y tenen un lloch en la sèrie dels articles qui formen lo Diccionari. Això constitueix p'el nostre lèxich una aportació artificial y erudita, que no té gayre interés p'els llingüistes, la tasca dels quals és d'estudiar els elements vius qui brollen del fons íntim y natural de la llengua; però creym que té una importància ben manifesta p'el nostre gran públich y p'els professionals de les diverses ciències [...] (p. IV).

In practice, and in regard to the labelling in the lexicographic part itself, we see the aforementioned priorities confirmed: 1. The spacious labelling is being carried out in detail and systematically, even though it is not formally uniform; 2. the use of diachronic marks is also habitual; 3. the assignment to fields, both traditional and modern, is very frequent. Some examples:

FEMBRA || 1. **ant.**, adj. Femella (dit d'animals o de persones) [...] || 2. f. **ant.** Dona; [...] || 3. **modernament**, Dona, en sentit pejoratiu [...]
 LLIR *m.* (**ant.** i poèt.) Lliri; [...]
 NECRECTOMIA *f.*, **neol.** [...]
 PÚTID, PÚTIDA *adj.* (**neol.**) [...]
 CASSANELL (i **ant.** *casonell*). *m.* **nàut.** [...]
 EFELOPIA *f.*, **neol. patol.** [...]
 NAPEL·LINA *f.*, **neol. quím.** [...]

As shown in the last two examples, the neologisms are very often assigned to a specific terminology. To that extent, there is actually a great match between the table of abbreviations and the actual practice of labelling.

Although other markings are more rare than the three types mentioned above, they are more diverse than the explanations in the introduction and the tables of abbreviations lead one to believe. The following few examples may show the diversity and the formal heterogeneity of the diasystematic labelling and comments:

- PUTERIA f. (en **llenguatge grosser**) [...]
- COMPUTO m. **vulg.** Quantitat completa, suma que pertoca (or.). [...]
- DALIGÈNCIA f., **forma vulgar**, per diligència. [...]
- DARRIBAR v. (**vulg.**) Arribar (Blanes, Barceloneta).
- DEBILITÓS, -OSA adj. (**vulgarisme**) De debilitat. [...]
- MARMOLERA f., **vulgarisme**: Ganes de murmurar (Mall.). [...]
- LLINYAR (**vulgarment nyinyar**). v. tr. [...]
- BULUNIS pl. Calces, en el **llenguatge dels gitanos** [...]
- GAMARÚS m. [...] || 4. Gall, en el **llenguatge d'argot dels gitanos** [...]
- MUI f. Boca, en el **llenguatge gitano**.
- GARRANYIC-GARRANYAC m. intens. de garranyic [...] **maledicció gitanesca** (Barc.).
- NAP m. Moneda d'un duro, en **llenguatge familiar** (or., men.).
- ORELLUT, -UDA adj. [...] || 4. m. Conill (en el **llenguatge molt familiar o d'argot**).
- PIPÍ m. Orina, en **llenguatge infantil**.
- DÀ m. Pare, en el **llenguatge dels infants molt menuts** (Men.).
- BOLITXADA f. [...] || 5. Replega de candeles [...] És un **terme propi de l'argot dels capellans**.
- CASETA f. [...] Els **mariners mallorquins** donen el nom de caseta a l'espai que hi ha entre dos "maderos" (Palma) [...]
- DAÇA [...] Daça!: crit amb què **els caçadors** inciten els gossos perquè aixequin la caça (Mall.) [...]
- PUPAI m. Papà (en el **llenguatge dels mossons i menestrals de la Ciutat de Mallorca en el segle XIX, per imitar** els senyors que deien *papai*).
- XIRIMINDANGUES f. pl. [...] **Es tracta d'un mot més que vulgar, gairebé d'argot**.

The terminological and formal diversity makes it difficult to recognize a conventional labelling scheme or paradigm, which is why it is hard to interpret the status of the individual labels. This holds true also for the term *argot*, which appears relatively often and in different combinations.

2. The term *argot* in the first half of the 20th century

In French, the term *argot*, about whose etymology exist various hypotheses, is sourced since 1628 (*DHLF* und *TLFi*, s.v. *argot*). In the 17th century, it first denoted the “communauté des gueux” (‘community of the beggar and thieves’), and later also their language. Since the 18th century, the meaning of *argot* expanded into two different directions. For one thing, it became more and more a general term for a substandard or “incorrect” speech, for speech that transgresses norms, so that *argot* became some kind of an antonym for standard language. In addition, the social spectrum to which the term applied extended from the slang of the underworld to other languages of particular groups and occupational-related languages and terminologies more or less cryptic for outsiders (cf. the examples of the 19th century that are listed in *TLFi*, s.v.). Towards the end of the 19th century, the Gallicism *argot* experienced an international diffusion in literature and linguistics, also in Spain.

Spanish literary examples from the 1880’s on can be found in the *CORDE*, in which *argot*, like in France, refers to different languages of particular groups and activity-related languages. With his *Diccionario de argot español*, which came out for the first time in 1905, Luis Besses also wanted to cover a wide sociolectal spectrum: from slang words of delinquents to technical terms of specific occupational groups to expressions of the popular colloquial speech, as the subtitle of the dictionary “ó lenguaje jergal[,] gitano, delincuente[,] profesional y popular” demonstrates. In the preface, he justifies the use of the new Gallicism by saying that the translations *germanía* or *jerga* proposed by the Spanish language authorities have too restricted senses (Besses 1905: [9]). In the academic Spanish lexicography, the word appears for the first time in 1927, in the *Diccionario manual*, defined as “jerga, jerigonza, germanía”. The present definitions given in the DRAE “1. Jerga, jerigonza. 2. Lenguaje especial entre personas de un mismo oficio o actividad” appeared for the first time in the 20th edition (1984).

In Catalan, the language of the social fringe groups and of the underworld of Barcelona sparked the interest of writers like Joan Pons i Massaveu and Juli Vallmitjana around the turn of the century. The most frequently used terms by them for these

sociolects and special languages were initially *murriesc* and *caló*. From the second decade of the 20th century on, those expressions have been displaced, at least in linguistic circles, by the Gallicism *argot*, probably thanks to the studies of Joan Givanel i Mas (1919) and Max Leopold Wagner (1924) about the vocabulary of the argot of Barcelona. Givanel and his essay “Notes per a un vocabulari d’argot barceloní”, published in 1919 in the *Butlletí de Dialectologia Catalana*, played a pioneering role in the investigation of the urban dialectology of Barcelona. He defines *argot* as follows: “L’argot és el llenguatge d’una part de la societat que no vol ésser entesa per l’altre, sinó únicament pels que formen part del grup o gremi” (‘Argot is the language of a part of the society that does not want to be understood by the others, but only by the ones who belong to that group or guild’) (Givanel 1919: 13). For Givanel, the functional aspects of *argot*, like group identity, linguistic dissociation and its cryptic character are in the foreground. He understands *argot* not exclusively as the language of delinquents, but also as each special language of a group that wants to distinguish itself linguistically from others by creating an insider-vocabulary:

Però el nostre argot no vol dir solament l’usat per la gent de la vida, ço és, el llenguatge delinqüent, sinó que pel carrer sentim els nois, quan juguen, que fan ús d’un vocabulari especial i propi d’ells, com també el sentim en el teatre, entre els còmics, i en les cases de joc, entre els *crupiers*, *papallones* i *apunts*, i fins en la Borsa i els nois de la Casa de Caritat barcelonina tenen el seu (Givanel 1919: 15-16).

Wagner’s *Notes linguistiques sur l’argot barcelonais* (1924) are a direct reply to Givanel’s paper. The German philologist criticizes not only Givanel’s etymologies, but also reproaches him, among other things, for a too broad and undifferentiated usage of the term *argot*. Wagner’s definition of *argot* is not a functional one but a sociolinguistic one that leans closely towards the original meaning of the French term. For Wagner (1924: 7), it is important to distinguish *argot* in its original meaning, i. e. the language of the criminals (“argot proprement dit, c’est-à-dire le langage des malfaiteurs”), from other connected sociolects, especially the language of the lower

classes (“langage populaire des basses stratifications sociales”), but also from *caló* (in the sense of ‘language of the *gitanos*’). These distinctions are important for Wagner’s etymological approach because his aim is to prove the mutual influences in order to identify the origin of argot expressions.

In the Catalan lexicography, the term *argot* appears for the first time in the *Diccionari ortogràfic* in 1917 (cf. *DECat* s.v. *argot*), where no definitions are provided. In the first volume of the *DCVB* (1930 [and 1968]), in the entry *argot* the word is marked explicitly as a neologism. It is defined as a special group language where the focus lies on the intentionally produced discrepancies from general language use:

ARGOT *m.*, neol. Llenguatge propi d’una casta especial de gent, caracteritzat principalment per l’ús de certs vocables i metàfores no usuals en el parlar corrent i per la desfiguració de paraules d’ús general; cast. *argot*.

Contrary to this, in the first volume of the *DGLC* (1932), the term *argot* is defined as “Llenguatge propi d’una determinada professió, estament, categoria de persones”, thus as an activity or status-related sociolect without any allusions to cryptic or creative aspects, but also without any signs of negative connotations.

With regards to other denominations of slang, the *DCVB* still registers *germania* as “Llenguatge especial dels gitanos i malfactors” (s.v. *germania*, 3.), thus as ‘special language of the *gitanos* and delinquents’, whereas in the entries of *caló*, *gitanesc*, *murriesc* and *rufianesc* any mentions of a linguistic use of these words cannot be found. On the other hand, the *DGLC* registers *caló* as “Llenguatge rufianesc, dels gitanos” (‘language of the villains, of the *gitanos*’).

Finally, we may mention the entry *jargot* as an oddity. This amalgam of the French terms *jargon* + *argot* seems to be a hapax in Catalan. It originates from a speech that Lluís Cuched held in 1876 as president of the *Consistori dels Jocs Florals*. The definition “Argot, llenguatge no apte per a la literatura” (‘language not suitable for literature’) derives from the context, that says: “[...] han volgut fer del nostre idioma un pobre patuès, un vil jargot, com si se tractés de una tribu gitana qualsevol” (‘they

wanted to make our language a primitive *Patois*, a shabby *Jargot*, as if it had to do with some gypsy clan').⁸

In conclusion, it can be said that *argot* was in the time of the making of the *DCVB* a relatively new and polysemic term which was employed for sociolinguistic and stylistic variation for socially and situationally varieties.

3. *Argot* in the labelling in the *DCVB*

3.1 Overview

The *DCVB* contains 367 entries in which at least one element has a mark or a comment that includes the term *argot* (a total of 373 labels).⁹ These indications refer either to the lexeme itself, to special collocations or to single meanings. Interestingly enough, though, the label “(argot)” in this simple form appears only in six entries. Other formulae like “terme d’argot”, “en termes d’argot” and particularly “en llenguatge d’argot” are much more frequent. Some examples:

QUILI *m. i adj.* (argot) || 1. Home presumit i de poca vàlua; [...]

CILINDRE *m.* [...] || 4. (argot) Rellotge.

NÀPIA *f.* (d’argot) Nas gros. [...]

PELMA *m. i f.* Persona pesada [...] És terme d’argot.

TEIA o TEA *f.* [...] || 3. Ganivet, en llenguatge d’argot (or., occ.).

TIA *f.* [...] || 5. Dona (en llenguatge d’argot o imitant aquest) [...]

In 80% of cases the label “argot” / “llenguatge d’argot” is combined with one or two other indications. The following tables show the types of combinations and their frequencies:

⁸ *Jochs Florals de Barcelona* (1876: 52). Interestingly enough, the French linguist Marc Sourdout created the term *jargot* for overlapping forms between *argot* and *jargon* (cf. Sourdout 1991 and 2002).

⁹ These figures do not include the use of *argot* in the etymological explanations and they refer to the second edition. As far as the labels with *argot* are concerned, there are no major differences between the two editions: since only a total of 5 entries (6 marks) were added in the second edition.

<i>ARGOT</i>	—	+ <i>diastratic</i>	+ <i>diaphasic</i>	+ <i>diachronic</i>	<i>total</i>
—	74	109	11	1	195
+ <i>diatopic</i>	40	129	9		178
<i>total</i>	114	238	20	1	373

Table 1. Frequency of the combinations with the term *argot* (number of occurrences)

<i>ARGOT</i>	—	+ <i>diastratic</i>	+ <i>diaphasic</i>	+ <i>diachronic</i>	<i>total</i>
—	19.84%	29.22%	2.95%	0.27%	52.28%
+ <i>diatopic</i>	10.72%	34.58%	2.41%		47.72%
<i>total</i>	30.56%	63.81%	5.36%	0.27%	100 %

Table 2. Proportional frequency of the combinations with the term *argot*

3.2. *Diatopic labels in combination with argot*

The combination of *argot* with a geographic assignment occurs in 178 cases, including 138 triple labels. The relatively few number of double labelling (*argot* + diatopic mark) could be attributed to the fact that the additional diatopic mark does not clarify the meaning or the connotations of the ambiguous mark *argot*.

It is not surprising that the spatial assignment is nearly always Barcelona, considering that the spreading of the term *argot* is primarily connected with the publications about the *Argot barceloní* (cf. *supra*). 165 *argot* expressions are assigned to Barcelona, 161 of them exclusively. The most frequent formulae are the triple ones “*argot dels malfactors barcelonins*” (116 cases), “*argot dels malfactor (Barc.)*” (6 cases) and “*llenguatge d’argot (Barc.)*” (6 cases), as well as the double one “*argot barceloní*” (19 cases).

Apart from Barcelona, the other diatopic labels that occur in combination with *argot* refer to various cities, greater regions, dialectal areas or to other places: “*en el llenguatge d’argot barceloní i valencià*” (s.v. *ful*), “*argot de Barc. i Tarr.*” (s.v. *mutxel*), “*en l’argot de Barcelona, Montblanc, etc.*” (s.v. *bua* 4.), “*(en llenguatge d’argot) [...]*” (St. Feliu de G.)” (s.v. *cangrí* 1.), “*(argot) [...]*” (Valls)” (s.v. *quilè*), “*llenguatge d’argot de tota*

Catalunya" (s.v. *pirandó*), "en llenguatge d'argot (or., occ.) [...] (Solsona, Cardona)" (s.v. *teia* 3.), "en llenguatge d'argot (or., men.)" (s.v. *ullera* 5.), "argot soldadesc [...] (Mall.)" (s.v. *turista*) , "(en llenguatge familiar i una mica d'argot) (Plana de Vic, Empordà)" (s.v. *frai*), "en llenguatge vulgar o d'argot (Empordà)" (s.v. *trincar* 2.).

Exceptionally the geographic label is mentioned in first place:

BITZA f. || 1. *Panxa* (Men., en llenguatge infantil i d'argot); [...] || 2. *En bitza*: mancat, privat; sense res (Barc., en llenguatge d'argot).

3.3 *Diastratic labels in combination with argot*

The combination of *argot* with a diastratic mark (+ / - diatopic mark) is with 64% the most frequent one (64% of all occurrences of *argot*). The explicit mention of the social or professional community operates here not only as pragmatic restriction, but also as semantic specification of the term *argot*, because *argot* is, in these combinations, clearly speaker-related. It has the meaning 'language of a certain group' and, in most cases, a strict sense as special language of social fringe groups, crooks (*malfactors*), members of the underworld and the milieu (*gent de mala vida*), mostly with an explicit attribution to Barcelona.

The two most common labels are "argot dels malfactors barcelonins" (116 occ.) and "argot dels malfactors" (101 occ.); sourced several times are also "argot de la gent de mala vida", "argot dels gitanos i gent de mal viure", "argot dels gitanos", and "argot la "gent de la vida" barcelonina". Occasional labels are: "argot gitano", "argot gitanesc de Barcelona", "argot dels estudiants i malfactors (Barc.)", "argot estudiantesc", "argot soldadesc", "argot de Borsa" and "argot dels capellans ...".

Since the *Gitanos* clearly belong to the social fringe groups, their language constitutes thereby an *argot* in the strict sense as well. This may hold true for the student's language ("argot estudiantesc") too, as the combination "argot dels estudiants i malfactors (Barc.)" (s.v. *matalasser* 2.) may suggest.

The labels "argot soldadesc", "argot de Borsa" and "argot dels capellans", however, are based on an extended meaning of *argot* as the language of a professional

group. Here it has to do with expressions and metaphors that are used by soldiers, brokers or priests among themselves and are incomprehensible for outsiders, as seen in these respective entries:

TURISTA *m. i f.* [...] **En l'argot soldadesc**, Soldat que sempre està absent en el moment de repartir-se els treballs de la caserna, per escapar-se'n (Mall.).

MUSSOL *m.* [...] || || **5. (en l'argot de Borsa)** Jugador de Borsa que actua a sou d'algú, fingint actuar en nom propi (Barc.).

BOLITXADA *f.* [...] || 5. Replega de candeles [...] És un **terme propi de l'argot dels capellans**.

3.4 Diaphasic (and diachronic) labels in combination with argot

In combination with stylistic and attitudinal labels, *argot* evidently has another meaning, not the attribution to a speech community but to a situational variety or style level. *Argot* indicates, in this sense, a marked style level other than the neutral one or refers to negative connotations. This is demonstrated by the possibility of grading in these cases so that an expression can be labelled as “gairebé d'argot” (‘almost argot’) or “una mica d'argot” (‘a little argot’).

On the one hand, *argot* appears as a kind of superlative or intensification of *vulgar*, like in the following combinations: “llenguatge d'argot o molt vulgar”, “llenguatge d'argot o més vulgar”, “llenguatge molt vulgar o d'argot”, “molt vulgar o gairebé d'argot”, “es tracta d'un mot més que vulgar, gairebé d'argot”; also with additional diatopic restriction: “llenguatge vulgar o d'argot (Empordà)”, “llenguatge vulgar o d'argot rossellonès”, “llenguatge d'argot o molt vulgar (Lluçanès, Barc.)”.

On the other hand, *argot* is combined in the same way and equally frequently with the label *familiar* (‘colloquial’): “llenguatge familiar i d'argot”, “llenguatge familiar o d'argot”, “llenguatge d'argot o molt familiar”, “llenguatge molt familiar o d'argot”; and with additional diatopic restriction: “argot familiar barceloní”, “argot i llenguatge familiar barceloní”, “llenguatge familiar o d'argot (Pineda)”, “llenguatge familiar i una mica d'argot (Plana de Vic, Empordà)”.

Isolated cases are the combinations “llenguatge infantil i d’argot”, “argot i despectivament”, and “argot modern”. In the last-mentioned combination, “modern” may be interpreted either as a diachronic indication in the sense of ‘new, recent’ or as a stylistic indication in the sense of ‘modish’. Since it refers to a term extracted from a poem by Salvador Espriu written in the 1950’s we tend to interpret it as a diachronic label:

PÀFIA f. (argot modern) Pesseta. Amb les noves lleis, percebreu almenys cinquanta mil pàfies, Espriu Lab. 90.

3.5 Bibliographic sources and labelling

The authors of the DCVB based the entries that were discussed here mainly on written sources, that is, scientific, lexicographic and literary works. The most important source is without any doubt the essay “Notes per a un vocabulari d’argot barceloní” by Joan Givanel (1919).¹⁰ Not only does it provide numerous lemmas, definitions and references, but it was also, obviously, the reason and motivation for using *argot* as a label.

Most of the examples and references come from works by Juli Vallmitjana, mostly via Givanel’s paper¹¹. There Vallmitjana’s “Caló” named expressions turned into “argot”. Analogously, the authors of the DCVB applied this label to the expressions they extracted from the vocabulary *Caló-Català* (Vallmitjana 1910: 57-69), which seems to have been a primary source, and then also to marked words from other literary sources, for instance from the autobiographical narrative by Pere Corominas (1899) or from the novels by Joan Pons i Massaveu¹² that also contain expressions from the language of social fringe groups.

A similar terminological adaptation can also be observed in material from lexicographical sources. Here, as well, the modern term *argot* replaces other markers

¹⁰ Wagner (1924), for his part, is often quoted in the etymological comments.

¹¹ This is rarely indicated, and if it is indicated, then often without naming the author, but only cited as BDC VII.

¹² For these sources see Perea (2011: 39) [no. 206], 89 [no. 744], 92-93 [nos. 788-790].

for group languages which are probably perceived as less scientific. The following examples from the *Novíssim Diccionari Manual* by Jaume Saura¹³, the *Diccionari Aguiló* and the *Tresor* by Antoni Griera illustrate this process:

Source	DCVB
Nyapa ó Falcídia. Fam. Entre estudiants. <i>Moros.</i>	NYAPA <i>f.</i> [...] 2. Fam, en l'argot estudiantesc (Saura Dicc.)
bolea (clavar una –): donar una bufetada, un revés, &. (Barcelona, llenguatge pinxo).	BOLEA <i>f.</i> Bufetada, cop violent amb la mà (en l'argot barceloní , segons Aguiló Dicc.)
fortosa: l'aiguarent, en llenguatge murriesc .	FORTOSA <i>f.</i> L'aiguarent, en el llenguatge d'argot (Aguiló Dicc.)
pellerenca [...] la justícia, en el llenguatge dels gitanos [...]	PELLERENCA <i>f.</i> [...] 3. fig. La justícia, en l'argot dels gitanos [...] (Aguiló Dicc.)
Peleo. – El conjunt d'operacions fetes en el primer quart d'hora que segueix a l'hora oficial de contractació (Borsa).	PELEO <i>m.</i> En l'argot de Borsa , el conjunt d'operacions fetes en el primer quart d'hora que segueix a l'hora oficial de contractació (Griera Tr.).
Endobar. – Enganyar. És mot del parlar dels gitanos i gent de l'hampa .	ENDOBAR <i>v. tr.</i> Enganyar (en l'argot dels gitanos i gent de mal viure , segons Griera Tr.).

However, it should be noted that, in the case of the language of the *Gitanos*, the terminological unification was not consistently carried out, so that in the *DCVB* six labels with *argot* (argot gitano / argot dels gitanos / argot gitanesc) coexist with the same number of labels with *llenguatge* (llenguatge gitano / llenguatge dels gitanos). The retention of *llenguatge* may be linked to the fact that the expressions concerned are mainly taken from a list entitled "Breu diccionari de termes catalans en llenguatge gitano" published in Alcover's *Bolletí del Diccionari* (BDLC IX, 1917: 164- 165).

¹³ We quote from the edition of 1883, because the edition of 1894 quoted in the *DCVB* (Perea 2011: 57 [no. 399]) is not at our disposal.

4. Conclusions

The marking practice in the *DCVB* focuses mainly on the spatial and temporal references and labels for special fields of activity or scientific terminology. In view of this, we find it quite remarkable that the neologism *argot*, which gained a foothold in the Catalan linguistics only in the second decade of the 20th century, is used 373 times in the labelling and replaces systematically popular terms like *caló*, *germania* or *murriesc*.

The survey investigation of the use of *argot* provides the following results:

1) There is no conventional form of the label “argot”; the formulations and the compositions of the markings are extremely heterogeneous and inconsistent. For example, the expressions taken from the essay *Criminalitat típica local* by Juli Vallmitjana (1910) appear in an undifferentiated way as “llenguatge d’argot”, “terme d’argot”, “argot barceloni”, “llenguatge d’argot barceloni”, “argot dels malfactors”, “argot dels malfactors (Barc.)”, “argot dels malfactors barcelonins”, “argot de la ‘gent de vida’ barcelonina”, “llenguatge molt familiar o d’argot”. This might give the impression that the indication of the source is more significant for the diasystematical classification than the label.

2) Although in the *DCVB* the lemma *argot* has a rather narrow definition as a group language with cryptic properties, the label “argot” is used much more ambiguously, because it serves both as sociolinguistic and stylistic marker. In addition, in each of those two meanings it appears to indicate various connotations. The question remains whether the polysemy of *argot* is the reason why the term is barely used alone, or whether, on the contrary, the habit of combining it has led to its semantic weakness. In any case, for the interpretation of the labelling the combinations are very useful.

3) The classification and quantitative analysis of combinatorics has shown that there are central and peripheral combination types. The central combination is the type “*argot* + diastratic mark +/- diatopic mark”, in its concrete realization it is “*argot* + malfactors +/- Barcelona”.

In summary, the survey shows that in the *DCVB* the label “argot” actually means the written documented slang expressions of the social fringe groups of Barcelona in the neighborhoods at the feet of Montjuïc¹⁴ at the beginning of the 20th century. Based on this meaning, the term experienced extensions in the temporal and spatial dimensions and occasionally also socially. Extensions to the stylistic level are rare and seem to concern mainly expressions from oral sources.

It might be worthwhile to investigate more closely just these “peripheral” applications of the label “argot”.

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