ANTONI M. ALCOVER AND ILDEFONS RUL·LAN:
TWO VIEWS ABOUT THEORETICAL LEXICOGRAPHY AT THE
BEGINNING OF THE 20TH CENTURY IN MAJORCA

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Abstract

This paper studies the conception of lexicography in Ildefons Rul·lan’s work (Palma 1856-1911) and compares it with the one that appears in three lexicographic works by Antoni M. Alcover: the Mostra de Diccionari mallorquí (1882), the Lletra de convit (1901) and the Diccionari català-valencià-balear (1930). Several views about lexicography, etymology and the role of proverbs in a dictionary are shown. Finally the thesis about the existence of a Majorcan (linguistic) school around the members of the journal L’ignorancia, particularly Tomàs Forteza, is evaluated. Rul·lan and Alcover are part of this school.

Keywords

lexicography, history of linguistics, linguistic ideologies

Resumen

Este trabajo estudia la concepción de la lexicografía en el trabajo de Ildefons Rul·lan (Palma, 1856-1911) y la compara con la que aparece en tres obras lexicográficas o reflexiones sobre esta labor de Antoni M. Alcover: la Mostra de Diccionari mallorquí (1882), la Lletra de convit (1901) y el Diccionari

1 This paper takes its origins in Bellés master’s thesis L’obra lingüística d’Ildefons Rul·lan, presented at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona in July 2017, and supervised by Maria-Pilar Perea.
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català-valencià-balear (1930). Se muestran las concepciones de la lexicografía, la etimología y el papel que en un diccionario desempeñan locuciones y proverbs. Al final se evalúa la tesis según la cual se podría hablar de escuela (lingüística) mallorquina en torno a la revista L'Ignorancia y Tomàs Forteza, de la cual formarían parte Rul·lan y Alcover.

**Palabras clave**
lexicografía, historia de la lingüística, ideologías lingüísticas

1. Introduction

Undoubtedly, the history of the Catalan language is linked to two great linguists who lived at the term of the last years of the 19th century and the first years of the 20th century: Pompeu Fabra and Antoni M. Alcover. If Fabra is known as the creator of standardization of modern Catalan, Alcover, in the words of his disciple Francesc de B. Moll (2004: 505), is known as the «[f]undador de la filologia catalana» (‘the founder of Catalan philology’) and, especially, of Catalan dialectology (according to Wilhelm Meyer-Lübke (BDLC, XIV, 1925-1926, 280-281)). The greatest works of both authors are dictionaries: the *Diccionari general de la llengua catalana* (DGLC) (1932) by Fabra — which was the academic or normative dictionary until 1995 — and the descriptive *Diccionari català-valencià-balear* (DCVB) (1930-1968) by Antoni M. Alcover and Francesc de B. Moll.

The work of these two authors is so great that Moll, in a laudatory speech devoted to his teacher, remembered that before them

en aquells primers anys del nostre segle [20th century], la filologia catalana
tot just si existia. Un Milà i Fontanals o un Balari, a Catalunya, i un Tomàs Forteza
a Mallorca, eren gairebé els únics al nostre país que tenien notícia de les obres

Nevertheless, Moll in his speech did not talk about the development of linguistic studies in different areas of the Catalan speaking territories during the 19th century. It
is true that many of the linguistic works published during this period can be considered as traditional ones. They are often grammars, dictionaries or spelling works which aim is either to teach their own language or to facilitate the learning of the Spanish language (see Rico & Solà 1995: 19-20).

However, since the second half of the century there has been a certain interest in linguistics per se, and some scholars begin to be in contact with the European developments in Romance philology and have news about the works of Rasmus Rask, Franz Bopp, Wilhelm von Humboldt, Friedrich Diez and Wilhelm Meyer-Lübke. Among these first Catalan linguists and grammarians are traditionally mentioned Manuel Milà i Fontanals, Josep Balari and Tomàs Forteza. But others should be added: in Catalonia, Alfons Par, Josep Calveras, Marià Grandia and (perhaps) Jaume Nonell, together with Pompeu Fabra and the group of L'Avenç; and in Majorca, Antoni M. Alcover, Marià Aguiló and Tomàs Forteza. Aguiló and Forteza greatly influenced Alcover’s linguistic conscience (Massot 1983: 79). In this group of Majorcan scholars, there were other lesser-known linguists, among which Ildefons Rul·lan, born in Palma in 1856, stands out. He led a life always related to linguistics: he studied Arts and Humanities in Barcelona with Josep Balari between 1880 and 1884, was a teacher of rhetoric, wrote several linguistic works and translated El Quijote into Catalan.2

Despite the fact that Rul·lan lived in Barcelona during his studies, he participated in the intellectual and linguistic life of Palma (Majorca) and was part of the core of L’Ignorancia — one of the main groups that implicitly defended the unity of the Catalan language, among which there was Alcover (Massot 1985: 106-114). The most important work by Rul·lan is the Apuntes para un vocabulario etimológico mallorquín (Rul·lan 1899), published between 1899 and 1902, which includes a reflection about lexicography and explains how a dictionary should be.

Rul·lan and Alcover were friends since their youth, and both started their linguistic careers at the same time. In 1881 L’Ignorancia organized a contest to award the best sample of a Majorcan dictionary. This contest invited to «presentá ben espinzellades tres paraules, vèus ó térmes de ses més notables en sa nòstra llengua, y

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2 See Bacardí & Estany (2006), Riera & Cotoner (2005), Bordoy (1956) and Bellés (2017) for a larger Rul·lan’s biography.

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es verbs fèr, dur y anar, junt amb tots es modismes en qu’he y sònan» (quoted from Perea 2001: 15). Alcover obtained the first prize and Rul·lan, who participated by the pseudonym *Un estudiant doblegat*, won the second one. Their interest in lexicography lasted for a long time and at the turn of the century both began a new dictionary. Firstly, Rul·lan published the already mentioned *Apuntes*, an etymological dictionary ordered by etymons. In 1901 Alcover published the *Lletra de convit* (‘Letter of invitation’) (Alcover 1902), where he invites all Catalan society to collaborate in his large dictionary project.

The aim of this paper is to analyse and describe the theoretical conceptions that Alcover and Rul·lan had about lexicography, and debate over the hypothesis about the existence of a group of scholars with common linguistic references in Majorca in the late 19th century.

2. Lexicography understood by Ildefons Rul·lan

Rul·lan (1899) includes some reflections about how a dictionary should be. They are analysed in this paper, after describing the conception and the structure of the work and giving some examples.

The *Apuntes* is a project about an etymological Majorcan dictionary, but it only takes into account the letter *A*, which gives the dictionary the aspect of an unfinished work. However, a conclusion closes the work and a very interesting prologue (Rul·lan 1899: 5-55) includes several ideological, historical and linguistic views.

The introduction of the *Apuntes* consists of a letter as a preface in which the structure of each lexical entry is presented. It begins with a consideration about etymology and philology as sciences, and about the use of the comparative method. The author justifies the use of Spanish rather than Catalan as the metalanguage and explains the process of *spanishization* since the 18th century after defending the unity of Catalan and the Majorcan dialect. Rul·lan also compares some historical processes

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3 See Massot (1985: 76, No. 28). Bacardí & Estany (2006: 139) erroneously asserted that Rul·lan obtained *ad aequo* with Alcover the first prize. Riera & Cotoner (2005: XVI) consider him the unique winner of the award. There is no mention of this prize in Perea (2001). This first work by Rul·lan is lost.
of linguistic change between Catalan and Spanish, which come from Vulgar Latin. Finally, some spelling notes and a list of references close the *Apuntes*.

The second part of the *Apuntes*, which are the lexicographic part, is a mixture of etymological and cultural, historical and linguistic notes. It includes information about the sources used, which are basically documentation from the dictionaries by Pere Labèrnia (Barcelona, 1839-1840) and Juan José Amengual (Majorca, 1858-1878) and also from some medieval Catalan texts. The ordering of the words in the vocabulary is not alphabetical, as could be expected. Words are ordered by root, and each root includes derivatives and related concepts, in a similar way that Coromines ordered them in his dictionaries.

Finally, the conclusion of the *Apuntes* contains some considerations about how the perfect dictionary should be (see Rul·lan 1899: 138-141). Rul·lan (1899: 139) thinks that “el diccionario de una lengua debe ser al mismo tiempo la gramàtica é historia de la misma” and, if possible, it must contribute to establish the history of the language itself. By history he understands both the internal history, that is, a description of the phonetic and morphological changes that the words have undergone, and the external influences that they have had. Thus, in the *Apuntes* Rul·lan indicates the words and expressions that have a Castilian origin (for instance, see Rul·lan 1899: 95, where he explains that *agulla del sombrero* ‘needle of the hat’ comes from the Spanish).

The author also reflects about the lexicographic methodology, and adds that “no pueden desconocerse la fonología y morfología del latín y del griego” (Rul·lan 1899: 139), since it is in those languages where the etymologist and the lexicographer must settle. It is obvious that Rul·lan has taken into account the Romance studies, and he declares:

> para tener un conocimiento exacto de una lengua neo latina se necesita también hacer un detenido estudio de su fonología y morfología, comparándolas con las de sus hermanas; empezando por el análisis de cada letra, y siguiendo por el de los grupos para formar afijos, por las permutaciones y substituciones, hasta llegar a la formación de las palabras (Rul·lan 1899: 139).
Later on, spelling, which is not the result of the routine, the caprice or the mere authority of the classical authors, can be imposed. From this view, Rul·lan conceives a dictionary as a total work that must contain all the possible information about a language: the lexical explanation of each word, with etymological information, phonetic and morphological aspects — even diachronic data — and the spelling system to write it.

Finally, the author also reflects on the system of the dictionary word ordering. He defends the system adopted in the *Apuntes*: an ordering based on roots and not a conventional alphabetical order, because

[n]o cabe dudar de que es más científico, abriendo el camino á investigaciones que el mismo lector se complace en seguir, y convirtiendo el libro en algo más que un mero almacén de palabras (Rul·lan 1899: 139).

Hence, he does not want the dictionary to become a mere list of words, similar to the Eduardo Benot’s *Diccionario de ideas afines*, which is one of the bibliographic references of the *Apuntes* (Rul·lan 1899: 55). However, a dictionary is not a linear reading tool, but rather a query tool. Therefore, a mere alphabetical order can sometimes facilitate a specific query, a task that is really difficult in works ordered etymologically if they do not include a proper index of words, as in the case of the *DECat* by Coromines (see Colón 2011: 42).

In the *Apuntes*, the information about methodology is not clear. In the first pages, when Rul·lan honours his teacher Josep Balari, he says:

sus consejos [of Dr. Balari] [...] son: recoger notas filológicas, siempre y en cualquier sitio demos con ellas, guardarlas cuidadosamente y clasificarlas cuando tengamos oportunidad para ello.

[...]

Hace tiempo que recojo notas filológicas donde quiera las haya encontrado, y éstas son las que me propongo presentar, deseoso de contribuir al estudio de nuestra lengua.

[...]
El primer trabajo que debería tomarse es el de clasificarlos, aprovechar los útiles y separar el ripio. Esto es lo que puedo hacer con mis notas, disponiendo las aprovechables en forma de apuntes (Rul·lan 1899: 6).

Next, without mentioning which sources are considered, Rul·lan explains the structure of the book. At the end of the introduction, just before the vocabulary, he offers a short reference list: the “Abreviaturas de las obras que se citarán con más frecuencia”, which includes dictionaries and other works. Although he does not state that all the content of the Apuntes is based on this list, it can be deduced that most of them come from it. After examining the list, some conclusions about the sources used by Rul·lan can be drawn.

On the one hand, many of the lexicographical materials are not only Spanish, but also Catalan. Thus, it includes the most important Catalan dictionaries of the 19th century: the Labernia and Amengual’s dictionaries (see Colón & Soberanas 1986: 153-160; 177-178), and also the Diccionari Torra, of the 17th century.4 The Diccionari Amengual is the most important Majorcan dictionary since the publication of the DCVB. It was also one of the main sources used by Alcover in his Mostra de diccionari mallorquí (Perea 2001: 12).

On the other hand, the other works are mainly medieval texts, with special importance of the Spanish ones. The author includes literary texts as the poem of El Cid and Calila é Dymna. Concerning Catalan, he includes the works by Ramon Llull, Ramon Muntaner, King Pere IV, etc., and some modern ones; for instance, the journals La Renaixença and L’Ignorancia. Finally, in a third section, he states:

los nombres de los autores mallorquines, catalanes y valencianos que se citen, serán fácilmente entendidos cuando se escriban abreviados (Rul·lan 1899: 56).

The mention of abbreviations suggests that Rul·lan was not systematic in the compilation of the materials that were to provide the words for his dictionary. In

4 A usual practice of traditional lexicography was to copy and update dictionaries as a main tool to create new works. See Perea (2001: 57) and Colón & Soberanas (1986).
addition to these theoretical considerations, he also explains how the information of each lexical entry will be structured. It can be summarised in the following paragraphs.

Firstly, Rul·lan says that the materials must be ordered by etymology from the simplest to the complex form. For example, *casa* ‘house’, *casar* ‘to marry’, *caserío* ‘homestead’, *caseta* ‘small house’ (Rul·lan 1899: 7).

Secondly, the author studies the etymology of the word — or it should be said the *family* of the word. This becomes a methodological problem because firstly he associates each word with its derivatives, but the knowledge of the etymon is necessary to carry this out. Thus, using the aforementioned example, *casar* (‘to marry’) is a derivate form of *casa* (‘house’) (cf. *DECat*, II: s. v. *casa*), although the etymology is not always evident.

Thirdly, Rul·lan proposes to mark if a word is common or not.

Finally, from an ethnological point of view, he tries to collect proverbs and idioms related to each word. He also expects to include in the same lexical entry some related ideas, based on Benot’s dictionary. However, the dictionary is too short to analyse if he succeeded in this task.

The analysis of word *abat* ‘abbot’ in relation to its etymology, derived forms, etymologies of these forms, information sources, etc. will show if Rul·lan was able to accomplish this aspects.


Rul·lan (1899: 69-71) offers abundant documentation in ancient Castilian, but what is more interesting is his study about the semantic change of *abat* from ‘clergyman’ to ‘leader of a monastery’ in the 15th and 16th centuries (cf. *DCECH*, sv. *abad*).

Form *abat* the word *abadia* ‘abbey’ is derived, which, apart from designating the buildings or rooms destined to the abbot, is also the base of “los apellidos Abadía,
Abadías, Abadiano y el mall. Badía” (Rul·lan 1899: 75). This definition coincides with the DCVB (s.v. badia, acc. 4) and Moll (1987: 208).

Several samples of etymological discussion are also found: from abad the word abadejo is derived, which can refer to “tres especies zoológicas” (Rul·lan 1899: 79). These three species are a) “avecilla comunemente llamada reyezuelo ó régulo”, reietó, in Catalan; b) “pescado seco, por otro nombre balacao”; and c) “carralleja”, a sort of beetle. Rul·lan explains why this animal is called thus. First, the bird was called the diminutive of ‘abbot’ “porque en lo vistoso de sus plumas semejaba al traje de los abades primitivos”; the fish, «por el color aceitunado y por tener una mancha amarillenta en la cabeza, semejando su aspecto al del traje de los abades primitivos»; and, the insect, «por recordar [its body] una mitra” (Rul·lan 1899: 79).

Next, Rul·lan explains abadejo’s ‘cod’ etymology. From the beginning, he notes that the etymology of a priest (‘abad’) is not found in the Scottish bodach, but rather it has Castilian origins because the appearance of the suffix -ejo. This proposal does not appear in either of the two etymological dictionaries mentioned in the introduction: the Diccionario etimológico de la lengua española by Barcia and the Diccionario etimológico de la lengua castellana by Monlau.

The Diccionario etimológico de la lengua española by Barcia (1881-1883, s.v. abadejo), considers that abadejo is a “[f]orma diminutiva de abad, aludiendo á su color aceitunado y á tener una mancha amarilla en la cabeza, semejante al traje de los abades primitivos”, which coincides with the etymon proposed by Rul·lan. The other Castilian etymological dictionary mentioned, the Diccionario etimológico de la lengua castellana by Monlau (1856), does not include the word abadejo.

The Diccionario Enciclopédico Hispano-Americano (Hispano-Americano, from now on) proposes a Celtic etymology (Hispano-Americano: I, 27b: “ABADEJO (del escocés bodoch): s. m. Pez correspondiente al orden de los malacopterígios, familia de los gádidos, denominado por Linneo Gadus Morrhua”).

In the definition, Rul·lan also mentions two Andalusian farmhouses called from abadejo — information obtained precisely from Hispano-Americano (I, 29b) — and concludes that it is easier to decide which ones are derived from a abada ‘inflated or bulky thing’ because it is necessary to swell the dry cod with water before eating it.
Coromines (DCECH, s.v. abadejo; DECat, s.v. abat) accepts that abadejo derives from abat or, rather, from ABBADAGIUM, which would be a contribution in the form of a cod that would be paid to the abbots. The option chosen by the DCVB (s.v. abadeco) starting from ABBATICULU derives from abat, which was formed in Low Latin. Finally, Colón (2014: 21-22) considers it a derivative from abat in Spanish, which was exported to the other peninsular languages (see also Colón & Soberanas 1992: 305, 27). Colón’s opinion is the simplest and also the most lucid and credible — the one that would be expected from Rul·lan, as he includes abadejo in the lexical entry of abat.

This long example has been useful to illustrate some theoretical aspects that Rul·lan describes in the introduction of the Apuntes. As we have seen, it is a mixture of Catalan and Spanish references, and the latter are the majority. This aspect suggests a new analysis based on the discussion if the word mallorquín in the title of his work is appropriate or not.

3. Lexicography understood by Antoni M. Alcover

3.1 The first step: the Mostra de diccionari mallorquí (1882)

Fifty years before the publication of the Apuntes para un vocabulario etimológico mallorquin, Rul·lan had participated in the contest organized by the journal L’Ignorancia. It was won by Antoni M. Alcover, and Rul·lan obtained the second prize. Unfortunately, Rul·lan’s contribution is lost, but Alcover’s Mostra de diccionari mallorquí is preserved and was published by Perea in 2001. Some aspects of the Mostra will help to contextualise Rul·lan’s work.

Alcover’s youth work is a bit special. In fact, it is not a classic dictionary, despite its title, Mostra de diccionari mallorquí (Mostra, from now on) (‘A sample of Majorcan Dictionary’). Divided into two parts, the first includes an analysis of the verbs anar ‘to go’, dur ‘to carry’ and fer ‘to do/to make’, and a large sample of idioms and collocations using these verbs. In the second part, Alcover studies the historical evolution of the gender of the words amor ‘love’, color ‘colour’ and olor ‘smell’ from
the medieval authors to the contemporary ones. The use of literary texts as a basis of the vocabulary offers the clue of the methodology: the use of a reference corpus (avant la lettre, if you want). One of the innovations of this work is that “cal destacar el fet que [Alcover] utilitzi un corpus de referència” (Perea 2001: 22). In the corpus’ reference list Alcover only gives the name of the author, and rarely the work, an aspect that will change in the DCVB.

This new method of making dictionaries is compatible with the old one — copying and adapting previous ones — and, as Perea (2001: 11) says, Alcover used this method to complete the Mostra. But the important thing of the use of corpus is that it overcomes the old usage and becomes the first step of what is known as a dictionary of usage (Perea 2001: 11).

Finally, another point underlined by Perea (2001: 11) is the “implantació del treball de camp en la recollida de dades dialectals”. This method was used in France and Switzerland, but not in Catalonia, and it helped both the innovation in the lexicography and in the conception of a total dictionary (see Alcover, 1902: 5; Alcover & Moll, 1930: i). This step leads to the Alcover’s second dictionary, the total dictionary referred by Perea.

3.2 The Second step: from the Lletra de convit (1901) to the Diccionari català-valencià-balear (1930)

The Diccionari català-valencià-balear has been studied extensively. Dols (2003) analysed the development of its methodology throughout the pages of the Bolletí del Diccionari de la Llengua Catalana (BDLC). We will focus on the aspects that are explained in the letter that Alcover used to present the project to Catalan society, the Lletra de convit (‘Letter of Invitation’) (Alcover 1902), which will be compared with some aspects of Rul·lan’s work.

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5 Some of the studies about the DCVB can be found in Colón & Soberanas (1986: 211-216); Rico & Solà (1995: 146-147); Perea (2011a: 149-192); Perea (2011b); and the project DCVB2.0+ <http://www.ub.edu/alcover_dcvb/>.
Chapter three of the *Lletra de convit* (Alcover 1902: 6-61) ("Manera de realisar el pensament", ‘Way to realize the thought’) offers information about the method that was to be used to make the future dictionary, that is, how the information was to be collected.

Firstly, Alcover explains the well-known system of lexical cards where ‘all the language’ must be consigned. This basic system was adopted by Balari (Quetglas 1990: 38) and probably Rul·lan also used it when he says that he had collected philological materials for years (Rul·lan 1899: 6).

Alcover distinguishes two sorts of lexical cards: the ones with *written documentation* and the others with *living language*. For the cards containing *written documentation* — which are the base of the corpus used in the DCVB — Alcover suggests two types of documents: on the one hand, old documents and literary works — as he had done fifteen years ago in the *Mostra* — and, on the other hand, all the Catalan dictionaries published until then (Alcover 1902: 7-9).

About the first type of *written documentation*, he emphasizes the importance of the old documents apparently less important than the literary works:

En aqueixa segona secció de l’enquesta [the written language one] no m’om limitats a escorcollar les grans obres literaries, sino que hem acullit també els documents de menys importancia, ordenacions de lletres particulars y en general tota mena d’escrits qui puguen server per esclarir o completar l’explicació d’una forma, significat o us d’una paraula (Alcover & Moll 1930: III).\(^6\)

In his *Lletra*, Alcover does not give a list of the literary documents that the collaborators would use, although it appears in the pages of Alcover’s journal, the *Bolletí del Diccionari de la Llengua Catalana*.

Obviously, Rul·lan’s work is less ambitious than Alcover’s, but some common elements can be found. Rul·lan also takes into account old documents as the basis of his corpus. Moreover, both authors give importance to etymology. According to

\(^6\) This justification of using archive documents does not appear in the second edition, where Moll only says: «Al costat de textos impresos, figuren en el Diccionari materials de documentació molt escollits, extrets directament de manuscrits de diversos arxius per col·laboradors experts en paleografia» (DCVB, I: xxvi).
Rul·lan, this is the main reason for writing a dictionary; according to Alcover, this is only a complement of his work. He does not want to imagine fanciful solutions but only the certain ones. Also, he criticizes authors who

Formulavesen etimologies sense mirar prim, preguent peu de qualsevol semblansa purament externa dels mots, donant per establerta a priori la possibilitat de qualsevol canvi, lo qual resultà en una multitud de lo que qualcú va anomenar etimologies del sonsonete (Alcover & Moll 1930: xxxv-xvi)

What is said could be a good description of what Rul·lan (1899: 83-137) carried out in the example of abat explained above.

Finally, Rul·lan and Alcover include idioms and proverbs in their dictionaries. In the Lletra, Alcover (1902: 25) emphasizes the importance of taking all the idioms related to every section of the living language. In the DCVB, idioms have a separate section within each lexical entry (Alcover & Moll 1930: xi; DCVB, I: xxvi).

4. Conclusions

Rul·lan and Alcover were not only childhood friends: they learned together, in the same environment, in Mallorca of the late 1800s. Probably they kept up their friendship over the years as some of the correspondence they exchanged shows.

However they evolved in very different ways. Rul·lan started some linguistic works, and he kept doing so throughout his life, but he did not think about being a famous linguist. Alcover started a linguistic career that gave him some reputation and at the beginning of the 20th century he was known as L’apòstol de la llengua catalana (‘The apostle of Catalan language’). In relation to his academic achievement, Rul·lan had a degree in Arts and Humanities (Filosofia i lletres, according to the Catalan nomenclature) and Alcover did not, although he reached the higher position as a linguist. Later Alcover refused Rul·lan’s linguistic contribution, as the letter he sent on May 30, 1902, in which he probably speaks about the Apuntes, allows us to deduce:
Estimat amich: aquest llibret, no es mes qu’un grapat de rebble que t’envii com una mostra d’antiga amistat.

Si troba [sic] alguna pedra que’t fassi per s’obra que dus entre mans, aproveitele si vols que n’estaré content.

Mana y “disposa”. Ton amich de sempre⁷

The Apuntes is not mentioned in the DCVB reference list nor in the 1930 edition nor in the 1968 one, and here is the break between Alcover, who worked very hard at completing his dictionary, and Rul-lan, whose following works were more ethnographic than linguistic.

In this paper, theoretical ideologies about lexicography and the art of making dictionaries according to Alcover and Rul-lan ideologies have been described and compared. But it has been also an attempt to following a new line of research concerning the existence of a “Majorcan group” based on the L’Ignorancia, which opened a new conception of linguistic studies: the use of a reference corpus and the importance of idioms and etymologies in lexicographic works. These characteristics can also be found in the most representative works of Rul-lan’s and Alcover’s teachers: the dictionary by Josep Balari and the grammar by Tomàs Forteza. Balari’s dictionary is based on ancient documents and Forteza confers a central role to etymology (Quetglas 1990: 38-46; Perea 2008b: 27-29). The use of proverbs also has to do with some Romantic principles and they are related to another work by Alcover: the Aplec de ronalles mallorquines d’en Jordi d’es Racó, 24 volumes of Majorcan folktales written using living and expressive language.

Finally, the similarities between Rul-lan’s and Alcover’s works are not only explained by the development of new European linguistics studies at the end of the 19th century, but also because of their belonging to the Majorcan group. Further research should trace an outlook of the role of linguistics in Majorca in the late 1800s.

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