

3 Sociolinguistic framework of the Valencian language

Valencian is a Romanic language variety which is spoken in most of the historic Kingdom of València, today officially the Valencian Community, of which it is currently co-official language together with Spanish.

Since the 14th century, this variety has been considered spontaneously, both by Valencians and by foreigners, as the *Valencian language*, with a personality of its own into its surrounding geographical area. Notwithstanding, at the same time, an old brotherhood was recognized with other linguistic varieties that now are usually included in the Occitano-Romance or Eastern Ibero-Romance diasystem (along with Catalan, Balearic, the various Occitan modalities...), which traditionally received the common name of “Limousin.”

Anyway, “*valencià*”, “*llengua valenciana*” or “*idioma valencià*” are the denominations that the speakers of the whole Valencian territory have applied historically, and currently apply, spontaneously, to their own language.

This dichotomy has conditioned the historical development of the Valencian language regarding its characterization as a language, the definition of its literary model and, in most recent dates, its standard model. This characterization has not been exempted, especially in the last century, from external pressures, both from the Spanish government and the Catalan nationalist movement, in order to opt for a favorable view of both Spanish and Catalan sustained thesis, mostly coincident in denying the personality of the Valencian language and supporting its consideration as a mere dialect.

These external pressures have not so far eroded the still majority sociolinguistic consciousness of the Valencian people who believe that Valencian and Catalan are two different languages, as indicated by various sociological surveys –see Annex I–, in a transversal perception of the whole society, regardless of ideologies or geographic origin.

However, the historical development and the aforementioned external influences have determined, in broad strokes, the current coexistence of **three main opinions** within the Valencian society about the normativization of Valencian and its relation to Catalan. We will call respectively those three positions, for practical purposes, **autochthonism, particularism, and annexationism**.

From a linguistic point of view, those three positions would correspond, if we follow Heinz Kloss², in the following sociolinguistic situations:

- a) **Autochthonism** (fig. 1): Two language varieties (Valencian and Catalan) have created two norms (two different standards, or two “Ausbau languages”) that are

2 Kloss, H. “‘Abstand Languages’ and ‘Ausbau Languages’”. *Anthropological Linguistics*, Vol. 9, No. 7 (Oct., 1967), pp. 29-41. Indiana University.

based on different vernacular varieties and, therefore, are characterized by all-pervading differences which, while not necessarily excluding mutual intelligibility, yet make it impossible to treat them as one unit. This is the historical and absolutely majority view until recent dates between the Valencian population, by both ruling and popular classes.

Striking examples of this situation are the relations existing between Czech and Slovak, Danish and Swedish, Bulgarian and Macedonian, or Galician and Portuguese. This is a position represented in the case of Valencian by the linguistic regulations of the **Royal Academy of Valencian Culture** (*Real Acadèmia de Cultura Valenciana, RACV*), headquartered in València City.

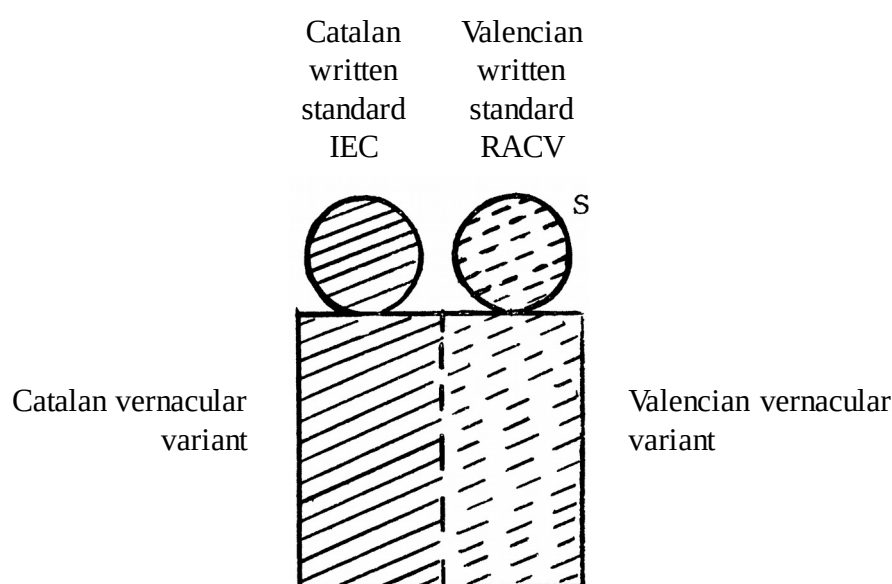


Figure 1. Autochthonism

- b) **Particularism** (fig. 2): two variants of the same standard (polycentric standard) based respectively on the Valencian vernacular variety and the Eastern Catalan vernacular variety are applied, although the solutions of the latter predominate in the common standard. The existence of both variants does not prevent them from being treated in certain areas as a single language, characterized by the use of the same spelling and some common lexical and morphosyntactic conventions, but still, there are two distinctly different oral and written models for, respectively, Valencian and Catalan.

Examples of this situation are Serbocroat –at least until some years ago– and Portuguese of Portugal and that of Brazil. This is a position theoretically represented, in the case of Valencian, by the regulations of the **Valencian Academy of the Language** (*Acadèmia Valenciana de la Llengua, AVL*), headquartered in València City.

However, the fact that AVL completely excludes the RACV's (autochthonist) postulates, and that it completely embraces those of the Institute of Catalan Studies (annexationist), makes many people observe their performance as an underhand or deferred application of the annexationist theses, which currently puts the "particularist" position of AVL, at least, in question.

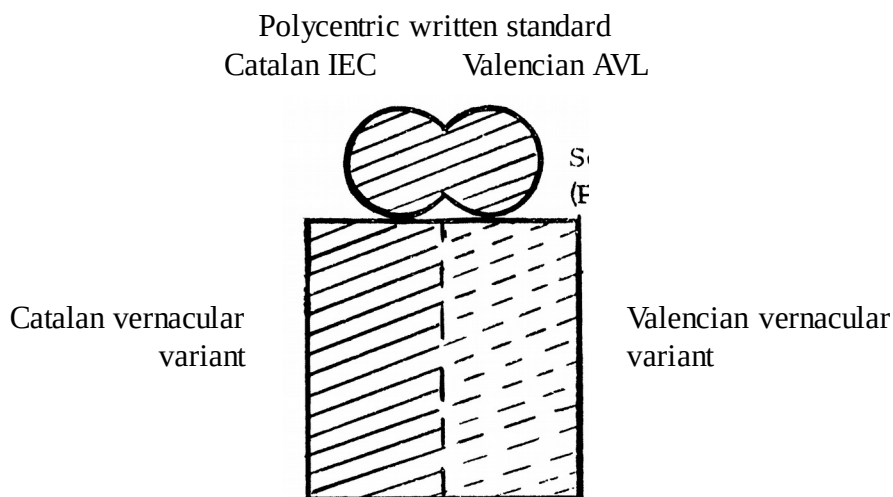


Figure 2. Particularism

- c) **Annexationism** (fig. 3): a single standard defined from a specific vernacular variety, Eastern Catalan, not exposed to the competition of a standard based on other similar linguistic varieties such as Valencian, and which is also intended to apply to both vernacular Valencian and Catalan. It is represented by the **Institute of Catalan Studies** (*Institut d'Estudis Catalans*, IEC), headquartered in Barcelona (Catalonia), and subsidiarily by the Interuniversity Institute of Valencian Philology (*Institut Interuniversitari de Filologia Valenciana*, IIFV).

Although AVL does not formally recommend it, that organization does not consider annexationism incorrect either, as it does with RACV's autochthonism. This facilitates its widespread adoption under AVL's umbrella and causes many people to consider that this is the real or "de facto" position of AVL.

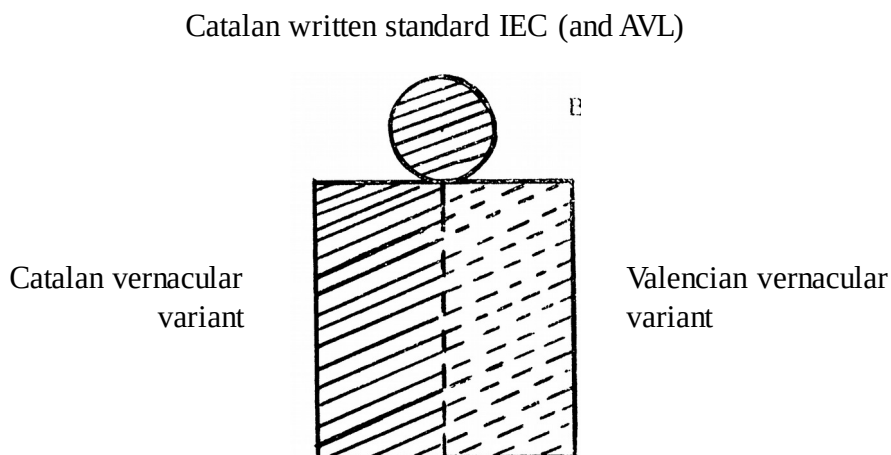


Figure 3. Annexationism

In what follows, a more detailed description of these three visions is given.

3.1 Autochthonism

The Valencian autochthonism defends a literary and standard model for the Valencian language that is based exclusively on the vernacular variants spoken in the territory of the present Valencian Community. This codification is carried out through the orthographic rules of the Royal Academy of Valencian Culture (RACV), a public foundation created by the Provincial Council of València in 1915, as already mentioned.

The primary historical representative of the autochthonism was the philologist Lluís Fullana i Mira (1871-1948), who coordinated the adoption, in 1914, of the first unified Valencian spelling norms. As it has been said, these norms were agreed upon in a series of meetings carried out by the leading writers and scholars from that time in the headquarters of *Lo Rat Penat* and developed in a grammar published by the RACV in 1915, to which later editions have followed.

It is interesting to point out that Fullana was an active defender of both the use and the entity of the Valencian language. In his memorable speech “Co-officiality of the Valencian language”, read in the Provincial Council of València in 1919, Fullana founded the differentiation of Valencian and Catalan in historical, sociological and purely philological reasons, arguing that neither the own and secular denomination of the Valencian language nor the linguistic differences between the two current languages could be relinquished. Linguistic differences that, in Fullana’s opinion, “*every good Valencian must conserve as a rich treasure, obtained from the natural and spontaneous development of his language.*”

Fullana also proclaimed in his speech that the Valencian language should be official and that its teaching should be compulsory throughout the Kingdom of València. Also, he made clear that co-officiality together with Spanish had to involve a reasonable use of

the Valencian language in administration and justice, and in the other needs of the social life of Valencians.

The current RACV codification is a re-elaboration of the original 1914 orthographic rules, with certain changes. RACV codification was officially used by the Valencian Pre-autonomous Government between 1980 and 1982³ and published by the General Technical Secretary of the regional Education Ministry of the Valencian Government. Also, it was popularly supported by a massive social event held in 1981 at the Monastery of Santa Maria d'El Puig (a place of great historical significance for the Valencians). That is the reason why it is popularly known as “*Normes d’El Puig*”⁴.

RACV codification was used in the first official version in the Valencian language of the Statute of Autonomy of the Valencian Community, which was published in the Official Gazette of the *Generalitat Valenciana* (Valencian Government) in 1982⁵, and many of the first Valencian teachers who were preparing themselves for the teaching of the Valencian language in schools were formed in this codification⁶.

Through its Section of Valencian Language and Literature, philologists and linguistic experts of the RACV have generated a set of normative reference materials (grammar, dictionaries, correction, and translation software...) ⁷ that are used today by numerous particular users, cultural organizations and writers (grouped, most of them, in the Association of Writers in Valencian Language, *Associació d’Escriptors en Llengua Valenciana*) as well as for the teaching of the Valencian language which performs, among others, the historical entity *Lo Rat Penat*, a pioneer in the teaching of the Valencian language for seven decades.

Likewise, the translation to Valencian of the New Testament was done in RACV codification, which afterward was approved by the Spanish Episcopal Conference and published. And according to the study made by Pau Giner in 2006⁸, based on the official data of the Ministry of Culture of Spain, of the total of 5,679 titles registered between 1979 and 2005 in Valencian ISBN, 15% (858) were published in RACV codification. If the total of the official textbooks is discounted, about 2,300, whose codification has

3 The first important official document in RACV codification was the number 23 of the Official Gazette of the Valencian Government (02/06/1980). Its digital version can be consulted in: http://www.docv.gva.es/datos/1980/06/02/pdf/dogv_0023.pdf. [Retrieved 05/08/2018]

The change affected the name of the official newspaper, as the word “*Butlletí*” (Gazette in Catalan), which appeared on the covers of the publication until issue number 22 (15/05/1980), was replaced by “*Bolletí*” (Gazette in Valencian).

4 *Lo Rat Penat* was one of the entities that gave support to the *Normes d’El Puig* in 1981. The Accession Document can be found in the [Documentary Appendix](#) - **Document 48**.

5 Official Gazette of the Valencian Government, No. 74 (15/07/1982). http://www.dogv.gva.es/datos/1982/07/15/pdf/1982_801892.pdf [Retrieved 05/08/2018]

6 Order of July 7, 1980 by which the Royal Decree 2003/1979, of August 3, is being implemented, which regulates the incorporation of the Valencian Language into the Valencian system of education. Official Gazette of the Valencian Government, No. 27 (01/08/1980). http://www.dogv.gva.es/datos/1980/08/01/pdf/dogv_0027.pdf [Retrieved 05/08/2018]

7 They can be consulted on the website of the Language Section of the RACV: <https://www.llenguavalenciana.com/>.

8 Pau Giner, *La normativa pròpia valenciana. Estudi retrospectiu*. (The Valencian own language codification. Retrospective study). Unpublished.

been imposed by the administration, the RACV codification would have been chosen in 34% of the works of this period, despite not being official.

Although Valencian autochthonism recognizes the historical relation of Valencian with Catalan and other languages of the Occitano-Romance or Eastern Ibero-Romance diasystem, it also argues that the Valencian language must have an oral and written standard clearly characterized as Valencian, constructed exclusively from the vernacular variants spoken in the Valencian territory, and different, therefore, from Catalan standard.

That differentiation must be visible through Valencian oral and written versions other than Catalan ones, at all levels (literature, cinema, television, Internet, software, forms of public administrations, labeling of products, etc.). This approach is conceived as the best way to protect the historical sociolinguistic feeling of the Valencians of speaking an autonomous language, in order to enhance their linguistic self-esteem and, therefore, to preserve the language in future generations, on the basis that an excessive separation between the vernacular variants and the official standard causes the non-identification of the speakers with the official language and their language defection in a situation of strong diglossia with a totally standardized Spanish language.

This vision connects with the concept –hegemonic until mid-twentieth century– of Valencian as a language with its own personality within the “Limousin” or Occitano-Romance linguistic group, and it was the inspiring model of the first modern language codification proposals for Valencian. Unfortunately, the Valencian speakers who are supporters of this position **have suffered in the last decades growing mistreatment by official bodies.**

For political reasons, Valencian language teachers trained in RACV codification were separated in 1982 from their jobs, and later political action has not only taken part in the annexationist theses but has been banishing from the educational system, public libraries or public media the works of the writers in Valencian language who follow RACV codification.

Also, from 2015 onwards, a rigorous and ideological interpretation of current legislation by the new autonomous government is causing cultural organizations that use the Valencian language according to RACV codification to be out of any public support, whether it is for the promotion of Valencian or for any other cultural activity. It should be pointed out that before 2015 the autochthonist organizations had received public support to some extent, even though not in equality with respect to annexationist organizations.

For instance, in the case of the centenary institution *Lo Rat Penat*, what the writers of this report understand as apparent political persecution has come to the point of revoking a public subsidy for which all the requirements were met, and that had been previously granted to the cultural organization LRP. The only reason for not finally granting that subsidy was the appearance of a report in which the entity was accused of

hosting, on its website, an opinion criticizing the AVL (official regulatory entity) and supporting the RACV (see Annex IV.i.5).

This fact gives an idea of the severe implications concerning freedom of expression and freedom of literary creation which, in the opinion of the writers of this report, is having the repressive action of the current autonomous government towards the citizens and civic associations of Valencian speakers that freely use RACV codification for Valencian language.

In fact, the “*Síndic de Greuges*”, or Valencian Ombudsman, has upheld the complaints of a Valencian cultural organization, *Casal Bernat i Baldoví*, about this discrimination, and has asked the Valencian authorities not to discriminate the Valencian cultural entities whichever Valencian codification they use, and that all of them may opt in equal conditions to public support for the promotion of Valencian (see Annex IV.k). This demand has not only been accepted by the political leaders of the Regional Department of Education but has also been responded with an astonishing request for the resignation of the Valencian Ombudsman.

A non-exhaustive list of the main Valencian autochthonist organizations is compiled below:

- ***Lo Rat Penat***. València City. Founded in 1878. Website: <http://loratpenat.org/>
- ***Real Acadèmia de Cultura Valenciana (RACV)***. València City. Founded in 1915 by the Provincial Council of València. Its Section of Valencian Language and Literature is the normative reference entity for autochthonist idiomatic Valencianism. Website: <http://www.llenguavalenciana.com> (Section), <http://www.racv.es> (Academy).
- ***Associació d'Escriptors en Llengua Valenciana***. València City. Founded in 1991, it associates most of the writers in the Valencian language according to RACV codification. Web: <http://www.aellva.org>.
- ***Observatori de la Llengua Valenciana***. València City. Coordinating body of the three previous entities and three more (*Institut d'Estudis Valencians*, *Colectiu Fullana de Professors i Doctors Universitaris*, *Convenció Valencianista*) created in 2015 to defend the rights of Valencian speakers. Website: <http://observatoridelallenguavalenciana.org>.

3.2 Particularism

We use in this report the term “particularism” to denote a position that agrees with the linguistic union between Valencian and Catalan, and also with the use of Catalan spelling applied to Valencian (the orthographic rules adopted in 1913 by IEC: an entity founded in 1907 by the Provincial Council of Barcelona), but it advocates a certain acceptance in the standard language of some of the phonetic, lexical, morphological or

syntactic variants of Valencian instead of those adopted by Catalan standard, although in some cases it gives preference to those of Catalan.

This defense of a “polycentric” standard allows the existence of a Valencian standard which, while maintaining an orthographic unit with Catalan, implies the existence of different oral and written versions for Valencian and Catalan, although in a smaller differentiation between them than when the RACV autochthonist codification is used.

Likewise, Valencian particularism defends the use of the “Valencian” denomination to refer to the Valencian language variety, and usually defends, although not always, the use of syncretic denominations (“Valencian-Catalan” or “Catalan-Valencian”) to refer to the set of both modalities. Furthermore, at a sociological and political level, it tends, like the autochthonists, to support the conception of a Valencian people or nationality different from the Catalan one, but, unlike the autochthonists, it proclaims that Valencians share the language with Catalans.

The most important historical precedent brought about by this tendency is the so-called “Valencian Orthographic Bases” agreed by some writers and scholars gathered in 1932 in *Castelló de la Plana* (that is the reason why they are popularly known as “*Normes de Castelló*”). The bases constituted, in fact, the adoption of the codification created by the Institute of Catalan Studies in 1913 for the Catalan language, with a few slight variants more accommodated to Valencian phonetics.

Later his promoters sought the support of some other organizations and experts that had not participated in the debate and that were more inclined to the autochthonism, such as Lluís Fullana or *Lo Rat Penat*, who ended up signing them for having appealed to its supposed provisionality and to the theoretical spirit of concord that encouraged them. Nevertheless, their previous positions were maintained, as expressed in their documents of adhesion.⁹

In the first decades of the Franco regime, the Valencianist movement had been reverely reduced, and a significant part of the young authors of then, for different reasons, chose to use the Bases of 1932. However, over the years it was found that the adoption of these bases had facilitated the growing introduction, in the literary language, of rigid prescriptivism that fostered lexical, morphological and syntactic variants of Catalan which were strange to Valencian vernacular variants.

9 See for example *Les Normes del 32. Aportació documental (The 32 Norms. Documentary contribution)*, by Alfons Vila i Moreno, Ed. *Lo Rat Penat*, 1997. The text of the letter of adhesion of *Lo Rat Penat* reads as follows:

“*Lo Rat Penat protests of the thoughtlessness that represents that being the oldest Valencian society, which has done so much for the Valencian Renaixença and that has been present in all the movements of the strict Valencianism, it has not been consulted nor a fortiori invited to the elaboration of these orthographic rules. But as its mission was, is and must continue to be in harmony within the great Valencian family, and even more so among the different cultural and political tendencies, it accepts them only provisionally so that they become as unanimous as possible and they achieve the success that would be desirable.*”

This text can be read on the last page of the original Bases of Castelló, that can be consulted here: http://bivaldi.gva.es/es/catalogo_imagenes/imagen.cmd?path=1002235&posicion=1®istrardownload=1 [Retrieved 05/08/2018] (it can also be found in the [Documentary Appendix - Document 14](#)).

This, according to many speakers, caused an excessive separation between the standard and spoken language, as well as an unwanted undervaluing of Valencian solutions, which were supposedly “vulgar” or “dialectal” in comparison to the corresponding Catalan ones, which were presented as “cultivated” or “formal”.

On the other hand, this phenomenon was accompanied by political connotations: the parallel emergence of a previously very minor ideology, the Valencian Pancatalanism, ideologically and economically stimulated by the powerful Catalan nationalist movement, which advocates not only the Valencian linguistic unity with Catalan but the denial of the existence of Valencian as a differentiated language variety. In this way, the Valencian language becomes a dialectal variant of the Catalan language and, as a consequence, the existence of the Valencian people as a subject different from Catalan one is also denied. Thus, according to Pancatalanist ideology, València belongs to some hypothetical “països catalans” (“Catalan countries”, an ideological construction of Catalan nationalism) to which Valencian people ought to be annexed.

These facts, and the progressive radicalization of Catalanist theses, triggered a reaction of cultural Valencianism, leading to the recovery of RACV codification, already described, and its clear identification with a renewed autochthonism; whereas another part, identified with the catalanist movement, took advantage of the theses that we name “annexationism” in this report, and are described in the following section. The Valencian “particularism”, faced with this social dichotomy, has been diluted since the 70’s against the supporters of autochthonism, who defend an independent Valencian language, and those supporting annexationism, who defend the consideration of Valencian as a local dialect of the Catalan language.

The political creation of the Valencian Academy of the Language (AVL) in 1998 –by means of the agreement of PSOE and PP political parties– had as a theoretical objective the closing of the Valencian linguistic conflict –even though the real objective was conditioned by the political pacts between the Catalan nationalism and PP in Spain–. Initially, AVL seemed to have a particularist line but, as will be seen below, the later evolution has officially upheld the annexationist theses, dominant in the current autonomous government.

These annexationist theses, taking advantage of the acceptance by AVL of the Catalan orthography, ignore the normative recommendations of AVL in the fields of lexicon, morphology or syntax, and in fact impede the vehiculation of the Valencian oral and written standard proposed by AVL in areas such as education or the uses of public administrations, in which the annexationist model continues to be widely disseminated despite the legislation in force.

Simultaneously, the new legalized architecture and its rigorous interpretation by the current autonomous government have left RACV’s autochthonists theses officially proscribed, in an attempt to politically force the autochthonists and, in general, the Valencian linguistic community as a whole to accept linguistic annexationism unreservedly and irreversibly. All in all, it causes the “particularist” recommendations of

AVL, as the current official regulatory entity, to be followed effectively only by a minority sector of Valencians.

A non-exhaustive list of the main Valencian particularist organizations is compiled below:

- **Acadèmia Valenciana de la Llengua (AVL).** València City. Law of creation in 1998. Particularist in its beginnings, although it has gradually turned towards annexationist postulates. Website: <http://www.avl.gva.es>.
- **Taula de Filologia Valenciana (TFV).** València City. Founded en 2011. Website: <https://taulafilologiavalenciana.wordpress.com>.
- **Òc València.** València City. Founded in 1996. Website: <http://oc-valencia.org>.
- **Cercle Isabel de Villena (CIV).** València City. Founded en 2016. Web: <http://cercleisabeldevillenablog.blogspot.com>.

3.3 Annexationism

The Valencian linguistic annexationism has its beginning in the ideological concept of “Great Catalonia” that was originated in the Catalan nationalist movement of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. It affirmed the absence of Valencians as a differentiated people and, on the contrary, claimed the “catalanity” of the Valencian people, even though historically the Kingdom of València had always been a different political entity from that of Catalonia, and the Valencian language had always been considered different from Catalan.¹⁰

The Catalan writer Rovira i Virgili affirmed in 1917: “*united by the origin, by the common history and by language, the Catalans, the Valencians, the Majorcans, the Roselloneses are the same people, a unique nation. And today, in Catalonia, there is no longer said Valencians and Majorcans, but Catalans of València and Catalans of Mallorca. The Balearic Islands are the insular Catalonia, as the Principality and the kingdom of València are the peninsular Catalonia, as the French department of the Eastern Pyrenees is the ultrapirenaica Catalonia.*”¹¹

These ideas initially had little or no support in València, even though some Valencian youngsters, who had been university students in Barcelona and had impregnated with that expansive Catalanism, tried to promote it in València by taking advantage of the

10 This is evidenced in *El crit de la llengua* (The Shout of the Language), a historical compendium of about five hundred pages of the denomination “Valencian language” and its own and differentiated entity with respect to Catalan. (Alminyana Vallés, J.: *El crit de la Llengua*. València c., Diputació de València, 2006).

A summary of the state of this question can be read in the foreword of the *Nova gramàtica de la llengua valenciana* (New grammar of the Valencian language) (RACV-Lo Rat Penat, Valencia c., 2015), that can be consulted at <https://www.llenguavalenciana.com/media/documents/prolec.pdf>

11 Rovira i Virgili, A. *El nacionalismo catalán*, pp. 18-19. Ed. Minerva, Barcelona, 1917.

traditional feeling of brotherhood between Valencians and Catalans, but they had little success.

In fact, Jacint M. Mustieles attempted that the orthographic norms created in 1913 by the Institute of Catalan Studies were accepted for Valencian by *Lo Rat Penat*, but this action was responded by the approval, by the leading writers of the moment, of a differential codification for Valencian in 1914, as already described.

However, the attempts of Catalanism to penetrate into Valencian land continued, being the “Valencian Orthographic Bases” of 1932 the first spearhead in the strategy. Nevertheless, this novel and deviant reinterpretation of civic and linguistic Valencianism was seen with reservations by important intellectuals from that time. Nicolau Primitiu Gómez Serrano (who was president of *Lo Rat Penat*) asserted in the magazine *El camí* of January 1934:

“... by blaming the Centralism to the people, and preaching the imperative need to meet themselves again, will there be someone who seriously thinks that they can be talked about Catalan language and Pancatalanism, without the people understanding that this is a change of centralism? Assuming that the culture and the Valencian language –which is very much to be supposed and that we do not believe– had their origin in those Catalans who came to the distribution of booty, together with Aragonese, French and foreigners, because it was a crusade, the people are not prepared to understand this, nor does politically interest them, and when someone talks to them about Pancatalanism [...] it will be resistance, helped by our common enemies; so the Pancatalanism of Valencianists, at least, is a dissolving and retardant element of our rebirth movement, an element that we need to banish from València vigorously.”

In that same year, on May 6, Pompeu Fabra and other Catalan personalities published in *La Veu de Catalunya* the manifesto “*Desviacions en els conceptes de llengua i pàtria*” (Deviations in the concepts of language and homeland). In that text it was declared what, for expansive Catalan nationalism, *the homeland* should be –the “Catalan countries” that, in addition to Catalonia, annex Valencia and the Balearic Islands, as opposed to a superior Panoccitan national identity or to individual identities, such as Valencian, Catalan, and Balearic–, and what, for the same Catalan nationalism, *the language* should be –a single Catalan language south of the Pyrenees, with a secessionist position regarding the Occitano-Romance linguistic family, whilst annexionist in relation to the Valencian and Balearic modalities–¹².

After the Spanish Civil War, cultural Valencianism was virtually reduced to a single entity, *Lo Rat Penat*, and all the existing sensibilities had to coexist inside of it. As has

12 Fornés, Ll. *La llengua valenciana i el diasistema occitano-romà* (The Valencian Language and the Occitano-Romance diasystem). Oc-València, València c., 2010, pp. 120-125.

In this pages, what the author calls “the secessionist process” –whereby the Catalan “*noucentisme*” decided on the concepts of nation and language, unilaterally and without taking into account the rest of the actors concerned–, is analyzed.

already been described, especially since the 60's a rift opened up within Valencianism, and it resulted, in the 70's, in a total rupture between the supporters of annexationism, headed by Joan Fuster and Manuel Sanchis Guarner, and those of the autochthonism, led by Miquel Adlert and Xavier Casp.

The resurgence of an identitarian Pancatalanism (which was residual before the Civil War) that proclaimed that Valencian language was Catalan and went on to announce that the Valencian people were part of the "Catalan countries"¹³ was due, in particular, to the extensive financial and material support that Valencian Catalanists received from the identitary movements of Catalonia, which contrasted with the historical passivity of the Valencian ruling classes towards their own language.

In the 70's, annexationism abandoned the historical entities of Valencianism such as *Lo Rat Penat* because of being in a minority, and began to spread their linguistic theses through new entities such as Cultural Action of the Valencian Country (*Acció Cultural del País Valencià*, ACPV), as well as by the new heads of the Faculty of Philology of the University of València –dominated since the 70's by Manuel Sanchis Guarner, an annexationist ideologue, despite the fact that decades back Lluís Fullana, autochthonist, had directed at the same University a Chair of Valencian Language (*Càtedra de Llengua Valenciana*), founded in 1918 and abolished years later by the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera–.

The annexationist codification, on the theoretical "respect" to the Bases of 1932, opts for a heavy convergence with the Catalan standard, not only at the orthographic level but also in lexical, morphosyntactic and even phonetic field, introducing an artificial distinction between an allegedly "cultivated" Valencian (with minimal differences, or none, with respect to standard Catalan) and a Valencian which is called "vulgar", "corrupted" or "ordinary", represented by the Valencian vernacular variety, which, according to annexationist theses, must be gradually "corrected", so that it finally converge with the Catalan one, which is considered "more formal". This prescriptivist vision, in the opinion of the writers of this report, and without going into political or identity considerations, aroused an increased devaluation of the Valencian variety that was added to the tremendous diglossic situation with respect to Castilian Spanish.

Quite logically, annexationism defends, against the historical and traditional uses, the only or preferential use of the denomination "Catalan language", of which Valencian would only be a dialect or local variety. The rejection of this vision by an important part of the Valencian society force the annexationists to use, for tactical reasons, euphemistic expressions as "the language", "our language", "the local language", "our own language" or, at best, "Valencian" (never "Valencian language") to avoid explicit recognition of a differentiated personality for Valencian language.

13 Joan Fuster, annexationist, wrote in *Qüestió de noms* (Question of names, 1962): "We have the right to wait –no matter how far this hope might be presented to us–, that one day it will be enough to say 'Catalan' to allude to our status as a single people, and to add a local precision to locate the thing or person in question. The current 'regions' may vanish and only the radical fact of the region and the general fact of the language and civil community will be important..."

Social discussions and tensions regarding the name, entity, and codification of the Valencian language continued during the 80's and 90's. It was this continuous state of social controversy that politically justified the Law of Creation of the Valencian Academy of the Language (AVL) in 1998¹⁴, as already explained. With the presence (although in unequal proportions) of academicians theoretically in favor of the three tendencies in conflict, it had as a primary objective to reach a linguistic consensus in which all the sensibilities were taken into account.

However, from some positions initially close to particularism, the action (or omission) of AVL has gradually been derived towards the legal underpinning of Catalanist annexationism and the social exclusion of RACV's autochthonism.

The reform of the Statute of Autonomy of the Valencian Community in 2006, which established (art. 6.8) AVL as a "normative institution of the Valencian language", determined the mandatory use of its linguistic recommendations for all public administrations, but these suggestions have been poorly followed and have had little or no resonance in education, which continues to use an annexationist linguistic model, accentuated in recent years due to the lack of computer tools that could disseminate the Valencian standard, as will be explained in the next sections.

As of 2015, the change of political sign in the autonomic government has caused a shift in the Valencian linguistic policies that has accentuated the annexationism guidelines. This turn is fundamentally perceived in:

- The exclusion of the autochthonist cultural entities from entitlement to public funding, for the sole reason of using Valencian language according to the RACV linguistic codification.
- The design, by those responsible in the regional Ministry of Education of the Valencian Government, of some new "Linguistic criteria of the Administration of the *Generalitat*" that do not respect in many cases AVL's linguistic recommendations, leading the currently official Valencian linguistic patterns to the hardest annexationist model of the 80's of the past century.

A non-exhaustive list of the main Valencian annexationist organizations is compiled below:

- ***Institut Interuniversitari de Filologia Valenciana (IIFV)***. Created by Decree of the *Generalitat* in 1994, in operation since 1987. Website: <https://web.ua.es/iifv>.
- ***Acció Cultural del País Valencià (ACPV)***. València City. Founded in 1978. Website: <http://acpv.cat/web>.
- ***Escola Valenciana (EV)***. València City. Founded in 1990. Web: <https://escolavalenciana.org>.

14 Law 7/1998, of September 16, of the *Generalitat Valenciana*, of Creation of the Valencian Academy of the Language (DOGV No. 3334, 21-9-1998).
http://www.dogv.gva.es/datos/1998/09/21/pdf/1998_7973.pdf [Retrieved 05/08/2018]

3.4 Preliminary analysis of the current situation

If we continue to follow Kloss, we see that **annexationists** would represent, in the field of language planning, “conservative planners”, who are obstinate in theoretical “correctness” and purism of language. A “correctness” based, in addition, on the Eastern Catalan vernacular variant, different from Valencian one. On the other hand, **autochthonists** would represent a class of “innovational planners”, who naturally accept the linguistic change which is characteristic of the Valencian vernacular variant, and so its reflection in the current standard model.¹⁵

We also find ourselves in a situation, also defined by Kloss, in which Valencian, given the pressures of Catalan and also its diglossic situation against Spanish, could succumb to a “near-dialectized language” category, from its former situation of autonomous language.¹⁶

Kloss offers compelling examples of it: *“If, for example, Slovakia replaced standard Slovak by standard Czech then it would be correct to call Slovak ‘dialectized’. This is what happened in Scotland after the speakers of the ausbau language called Scots (or Lallans) adopted English as their sole medium for serious literature.”*¹⁷

Another case is that of Ukrainian: *“In the last century the Imperial Academy at St. Petersburg issued a statement to the effect that Ukrainian (‘Little Russian’) was not a separate Slavonic language but just a branch of Russian; on the basis of this opinion the Czarist government felt justified in prohibiting the publication of periodicals and books in Ukrainian.”*¹⁸

Other examples may be presented in which different positions on the standardization criteria of a language coexist within the same linguistic community:

- The Norwegian case, with two official language codifications: *Nynorsk*, autochthonist, and *Bokmål*, particularist with great coincidences with standard Danish.
- The Galician case, with one official language codification, that of the *Real Academia Galega*, autochthonist, and another unofficial codification (though not socially discriminated), that of the *Associaçom Galega da Língua*, convergent with standard Portuguese.

It is curious to note that Valencian linguistic controversy also has its concomitants with which Greek society suffered during the nineteenth and much of the twentieth century on the idiomatic model that should be used officially in administration and education. The dispute was between the general language spoken by today’s Greeks (the ‘demotic’), and a supposedly ‘cultivated’ reconstruction of ancient Greek, named ‘katharevousa’ and which, allegedly, avoided the ‘corruptions’ of contemporary

15 Kloss, op. cit., p. 34.

16 Kloss, op. cit., p. 35.

17 Kloss, op. cit., ibid.

18 Kloss, op. cit., p. 37.

language. This modality, which was official in the Greek state until 1976, was a variant that adopted lexical and morphological features of ancient Greek, although it was pronounced in contemporary phonetics. The differences between ‘katharevousa’ and spoken Greek were so significant that it was largely unintelligible to the Greeks who had no higher education, producing a diglossia between the official and everyday language varieties.

The obstinacy of the establishment remained unforgiving for many years: in 1911, the closure of a school that taught in demotic Greek was decreed, and a new Constitution was enacted in which the officiality of the ‘katharevousa’ Greek was reaffirmed, expressly affirming the prohibition of *“any intervention aimed at corrupting it.”* 65 years passed until a law, at last, declared official the demotic Greek, in words as expressive as the following: *“People can use this language without political implications or personal risks, and the old shame derived from the social uncertainty of ‘correct’ writing is mostly a thing of the past.”* The parallelism with the Valencian case (in which the “demotic” autochthonism faces the “katharevousa” annexationism that the officiality sphere tries to impose) is, in this respect, more than evident.

Because of this situation, that we analyze in more detail throughout the document, our purpose is to claim that:

1. **Our position as Valencian speakers deserves the same respect as that of those Valencian speakers who opt for particularist or annexationist positions.** In spite of this evidence, **our position has been suffering in the last decades increasing mistreatment by the officiality.**
2. The consideration of our position as an alleged “minority” in Valencian society, or the argument of electoral majorities at a particular time, **are not acceptable reasons** that could justify the current infringement of our rights as Valencian speakers, including those of freedom of expression and literary creation, or the right to receive public support under equal conditions.
3. We respect academic freedom, but we are of the opinion that the current heads of the Departments of “Catalan Philology” of the Valencian universities are not being unbiased in their approaches, which **we see more inspired by political and ideological motivations than scientific ones.**
4. The aforementioned claim is primarily supported by the fact that **“science” cannot, in any case, be used as a reason to justify social discrimination towards minority language speakers**, simply because they legitimately do not agree with the annexationist theses that defend the current heads of the Departments of “Catalan Philology” of the Valencian universities.
5. As stated in article 9 of the Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights, “All language communities have the right to codify, standardize, preserve, and promote their linguistic system, without induced or forced interference.”

6. **The Valencian case, in addition, is perfectly homologable to some other cases without the need to leave Europe**, such as that of Norwegian or that of Galician; or, in past times, the Ukrainian language.
7. The signatories of this report call on the Council of Europe that **the Valencian, Spanish and European public authorities deal with Valencian autochthonist speakers with the same respect and recognition that they do with particularists and especially annexationists**, recognizing **the same rights to receive aid, promotion and social spreading** to our cultural expressions and our positioning, without any discrimination.
8. For this reason, the signers of this report **demand from the public authorities to implement the legislative reforms which may be necessary** to legally impede any discrimination, active or passive, and to legally recognize RACV as normative reference entity for the Valencian language, since it already *is*, de facto, for a significant part of the Valencian speaking community: the Valencians in favor of the autochthonist theses.
9. Likewise, the signatories of this report affirm that our rights as Valencian speakers are not fulfilled in the unique existence of oral or written versions in standard Catalan. Thus, **we vindicate that the Valencian, Spanish and European public authorities promote the existence of oral and written versions in Valencian standard at all levels**, different from the standard Catalan ones.
10. This approach is conceived as the best way to **protect the Valencian sociolinguistic feeling of speaking an autonomous language, to enhance their linguistic self-esteem and, therefore, to preserve the language in future generations**.