



SECCIÓ DE LLENGUA I
LLITERATURA VALENCIANES

City of València, October 9, 2018, day of the Valencian People

**The European Charter for Regional
or Minority Languages
of the Council of Europe
and the Valencian language:
the point of view of the
discriminated Valencian speakers**

English version:

http://bit.ly/2018_ECRML_LRP-RACV_en



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1 Introduction

Valencian is the language of Valencian people, officially recognized as such by the Statute of Autonomy of the Valencian Community (Autonomous Region) in Spain.

Spain ratified in 2001 the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. As one of the regional languages which are officially recognized in their respective Autonomous Regions, the Valencian language has been taken in account in the five periodic reports that the Government of Spain has elaborated, with the participation of the Valencian Government.

During this time, the reports presented by the various Spanish Governments have made self-diagnosis of the degree of compliance with the Charter. Also during this time, several associations have provided complementary reports, often more critical than the official ones, and the Committee of Experts has issued their recommendations as provided for in the mechanism for the application of the Charter.

As evidenced by all the initiatives carried out in their more than one hundred years of history, the civic organizations/NGOs that elaborate this report –*Lo Rat Penat* (LRP) and *Secció de Llengua i Lliteratura Valencianes de la Real Acadèmia de Cultura Valenciana* (RACV)– consider themselves as directly involved in the process of dignifying and recovering the Valencian language as other Valencian organizations which have been presenting their reports so far.

Although we can mostly agree on some assessments about the deficiencies that state other reports –regarding, for instance, the use of Valencian in the fields of justice and public administrations–, we consider that there are other aspects that hinder the social normalization of Valencian language and have been omitted in those reports, due to a bias, or directly self-interested vision of the sociolinguistic situation in València. These aspects, apart from the potentially harmful effect to the health of Valencian as a minority language, directly affect a part of the Valencian civil society, whose sensitivity we represent, and especially to our organizations, writers and conscious users of the Valencian language.

So, being unable to make an exhaustive report, we have considered it necessary to draw up a document that focuses on those aspects that are relevant to us and that have not been covered either by the official report or by those presented by other civic entities. We will focus on the information contained in the “Fifth report on the fulfillment in Spain of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages of the Council of Europe 2014-2016”, because it is the most recent one and because, precisely under the mandate of the current Valencian Government –which is in power since 2015 and is the author of that report– there have been unprecedented events of discrimination towards the Valencian cultural world.

After this introduction, in section 2 of the document, we give a brief overview of the entities that have written this report, indicating the date of foundation, the foundational

purposes and a summary of the actions of promotion of the use of Valencian that the entities have carried out so far.

In section 3 we present the sociolinguistic conflict around Valencian language, identifying the most defined positions and the evolution of their weight in society, the formal academic fields and political power. This conflict, denied or obviated by some, is as real as having forced the Valencian Government in 1998 to request a report from an advisory body, the *Consell Valencià de Cultura* (CVC), and to create an official institution to set the official standards for Valencian language –*Acadèmia Valenciana de la Llengua* (AVL)–, in the intention to close the social wound. This proposal has so far proved unsuccessful.

Moreover, a self-interested interpretation of this temporary solution has begun to be used, 20 years later, as a justification to apply marginalization and punishment measures to a part of Valencian civil society.

In section 4 we analyze the four evaluation reports prepared by the Committee of Experts up to the present time, elaborating some points and giving complementary details where we believe there is a lack of relevant information in the case of Valencian.

In section 5 we review those points in the Charter in which we consider that the Valencian public administrations are carrying out actions to the detriment of the rights of Valencian speakers, and that would, therefore, go against the spirit of the Charter, and against its goals and principles. In the affected areas, the information contained in the report of the Spanish Government is clarified, and additional data –not included in the official report and those submitted by other associations– are provided.

Finally, in sections 6 and 7 the entities that have prepared this report make themselves available for the Committee of Experts and propose some next steps so that its members can know in greater depth the reality of the Valencian language, evidently unknown, that we have tried to reveal in these pages.

This report is complemented by annexes that collect additional information on aspects dealt with in the document, as well a listing of cases of marginalization and persecution suffered by a part of the Valencian cultural and civil society, in relation to the use of Valencian language, due to disagreement with the current ideological position of some public bodies. A Documentary Appendix provides the evidence of cases of marginalization and persecution that have been exposed for ease of reference.

2 Who we are

Lo Rat Penat



Lo Rat Penat, Societat d'Amadors de les Glòries Valencianes (“Society of Lovers of Valencian Glories”) is a Valencian cultural society founded in 1878 under the auspices of Constantí Llombart, Teodor Llorente and Feliu Pizcueta, representatives of the central ideological tendencies at that time. Dedicated to the promotion, defense, teaching, and dissemination of Valencian language and culture, it is the most ancient Valencianist cultural entity.

Among other activities, we can highlight the *Jocs Florals* (“Floral Games”) of the City and the Kingdom of València, a literary contest that has been taking place since 1879, in which the most prestigious and ancient Valencian language prizes are awarded. Also noteworthy are: the May Crosses Contest, the *Llibrets* contest –another literary contest in Valencian language, linked to Valencia’s Fallas festivity, which was created in 1903 and has been expressly included in the dossier that declared the Fallas festival in 2016 as Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity by UNESCO¹–, the piano contest “*Mestre Josep Serrano*”, or the contest of Milacres de Sant Vicent (“Miracles of Saint Vincent”), in which groups of children represent traditional plays in Valencian language, among many others.

Lo Rat Penat (hereafter, LRP) has played, for more than a century, a central role in the process of cultural, identity and social recovery of the Valencian people. The first claim of a Valencianism with political projection –including the recovery of the self-government lost after the abolition of the *Furs* (own legal rules) of the Kingdom of València in 1707, and also the official status of the Valencian language– took place in the historic speech *De regionalisme i valentinicultura (On Valencianism and Valencian culture)*, pronounced by doctor Faustí Barberà, Vice President of LRP, in 1902.

In 1914, the leading scholars and writers from that time agreed, in a series of public sessions which took place at the LRP headquarters, the first unified orthographic rules of the Valencian language. These rules were developed one year later by the philologist Lluís Fullana in his *Gramàtica Elemental de la Llengua Valenciana (Elementary Grammar of the Valencian Language)*.

A historic landmark was completed in 1949, being President Manuel González Martí,

1 *Examination of nominations for inscription on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity*. Eleventh session, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 28 November to 2 December 2016. <https://ich.unesco.org/doc/download.php?versionID=36341> (in English) [Retrieved 23/08/2018]. The explicit mention to *Lo Rat Penat* –and its literary contest to promote satirical literature related to the festival, written in the Valencian language– can be found in the *Representative List* for the Valencian Fallas Festivity, p. 8: http://fallespatrimoniu.comu.info/pdfs/unesco_en.pdf (in English) [Retrieved 23/08/2018]

through the creation of the Valencian Language Courses section. The first accredited professors for the teaching of the Valencian language were formed in LRP.

Likewise, in the years of the Transition from the Franco regime to democracy, the firm and determined position of LRP, together with many other organizations, in defense of the Valencian historical symbols and the Valencian language's own and differentiated identity, allowed that the Valencian Statute of Autonomy of 1982 collected an essential part of the demands of the Valencian people.

Contact information:

- Òscar Rueda. Vice-President of Training
- Email: cursos@loratpenat.org
- Phone: +34 96 391 09 92
- Address: C/ Trinquet de Cavallers, 9. 46003 City of València

Real Acadèmia de Cultura Valenciana

Secció de Llengua i Lliteratura Valencianes



The ***Real Acadèmia de Cultura Valenciana*** (Royal Academy of Valencian Culture; hereafter, RACV) is a public foundation of the Valencian *Diputació* (Provincial Council). It was founded in 1915, when this provincial corporation thought about creating an entity that would protect and study the language and culture of Valencians, as a logical consequence of the consolidation of the Valencian *Renaixença* (a movement of recovery of the Valencian language and culture that emerges and develops in the nineteenth century and the first part of the twentieth century). Founded with the name of “Center of Valencian Culture”, it adopted the denomination of “Academy of Valencian Culture” in 1978.

In 1915 it published the first normative grammar of the Valencian language in modern criteria: the *Elemental Grammar of the Valencian Language* written by Lluís Fullana, as application of the orthographical rules signed in 1914 in LRP.

In 1922 a Section of Literature was created, and in 1928 it adopted the name of Section of Language and Literature. Nowadays, it gathers philologists, writers, and experts in the Valencian language. It establishes the spelling and grammatical norms of the Valencian language and acts as the normative reference entity for linguistic Valencianism.

In 1991, His Majesty the King Juan Carlos I granted it the title of *Real* so that from that moment on, this entity has been called Royal Academy of Valencian Culture.

Given the absence of an official orthographic model that normativised the Valencian language, the Section of Valencian Language and Literature of the Royal Academy of Valencian Culture dictated in 1979 a set of orthographic rules that mostly recovered the linguistic consensus of 1914. They are popularly known as *Normes d’El Puig*, since they were supported by a public act carried out in 1981 at the Monastery of El Puig by numerous entities and intellectuals, including *Lo Rat Penat*.

These norms had official recognition, and the first edition in Valencian language of the Statute of Autonomy of the Valencian Community (Autonomous Region) was published using them in the Official Gazette of the *Generalitat Valenciana* (Valencian government). They were also used by the regional Ministry of Culture of the Valencian government for the teaching of Valencian in schools.

These research projects around the Valencian language have led the scientific entity to become a popular organization because of its defense and recovery efforts of what is considered the *authentic* Valencian culture, against the continuous attempts of

linguistic and cultural annexation by those who consider Valencian culture and language as part of Catalan culture and language.

Contact information:

- Voro López. Director of the Section of Language and Literature
- Email: correu@lenguavalenciana.com
- Phone: +34 96 391 69 65
- Address: C/ Avellanes, 26. 46003 City of València

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.

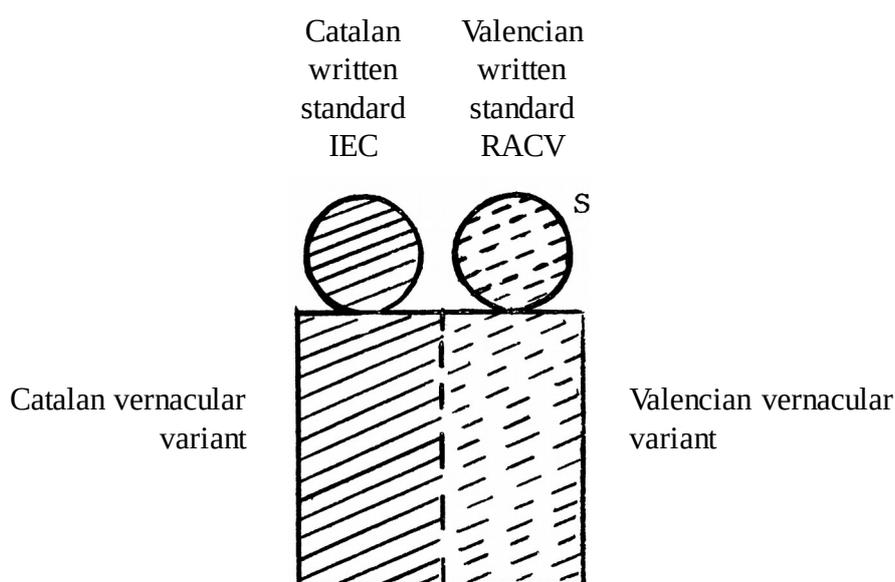


Figure 1. *Autochthonism*

- 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.

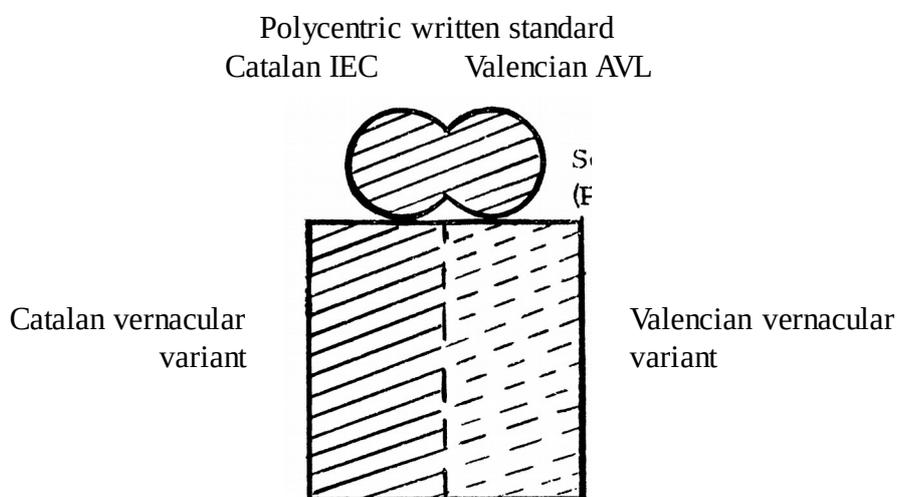


Figure 2. Particularism

- 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.

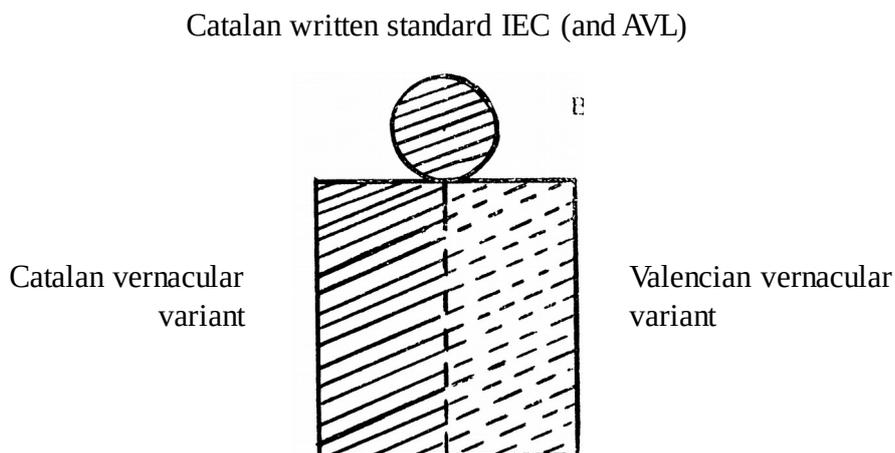


Figure 3. Annexationism

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 annexationist 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**.

4 Clarifications on the previous reports of the Committee of Experts on the Charter in relation to Valencian

The Committee of Experts has prepared so far four evaluation reports, which will be revised below in order to make some clarifications, in the light of the sociolinguistic framework set out in section 3.

4.1 Initial periodical report

About the evaluation included in the initial periodical report, prepared by the Committee of Experts and with adoption date on 08/04/2005¹⁹, we consider it necessary to clarify the following points:

36. The lexical and grammatical characteristics of the Valencian language do not significantly differ from the Catalan language. The Valencian Academy of the Language recognises that Valencian formed part of the same linguistic system in use in the following territories once they had been placed under the Crown of Aragon: Catalonia, the Balearic Islands, the Principality of Andorra, Eastern Aragon (“Franja oriental Aragonesa”), the Sardinian city of Alguer and today’s French department of “Pyrénées-Orientales”. The Valencian Academy of the Language stresses that the name assigned to the language in València, ie “Valencian”, represents one element of differentiation of the centuries-old Valencian identity and compares the situation to the relationship existing for example between the Portuguese and the Brazilians.

In this first evaluation report, the proximity between Valencian and Catalan is acknowledged, a statement that is not incompatible both with our autochthonist position and with the particularist one (see section 3 of this report). Of course, as indicated in the report of the Committee of Experts, we agree that the denomination “Valencian” is one element of differentiation of the Valencian identity, but the signers of this report go further, since this denomination names a set of linguistic characteristics, that is, phonetic, lexical and morphosyntactic features which make up a differentiated Valencian language variety. In other words, a specific language variety in which the speakers have been identified so strongly as to name it with their own demonym. That is the *true* identity mark, being the name only a part, not less important, of that strong sign of identity.

¹⁹ <https://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=09000016806dba65> (English version) [Retrieved 05/08/2018]

754. The Committee of Experts considers that the information provided does not enable it to assess whether the elements of the Valencian culture and history which are reflected in the language are taught to all pupils in València, including those who follow programmes where the Castilian language is more present and those who are exempted altogether from studying Valencian. Furthermore, the Committee of Experts received a complaint that Catalan-speaking authors have been excluded from all programmes in València for political reasons and against the opinion of both the Academy of the Valencian Language and the Valencian Council of Culture.

The report refers to a complaint about the fact that, allegedly, Catalan authors have been excluded from all programs in València for political reasons, against the opinion of the AVL (mistakenly named “Academy of the Valencian Language”) and the Valencian Council of Culture (CVC). We are not aware of any exclusion of the Catalan authors, and we consider instead, for the reasons set out below, that the current situation is contrary to the spirit of the Charter (both in the year 2005, in which the evaluation report was drafted, as at present):

- The Valencian, Catalan and Balearic authors who wrote in their respective linguistic modalities, are almost always mentioned, in these educational teaching materials, as “authors in Catalan language” or directly as “Catalan authors”, regardless of whether they referred to their language as “Valencian” or “Valencian language”, or they claimed to be from the Valencian nation. That is to say, retrospective mentions are made of a supposed “Catalan literature” for the Valencian and Catalan as a whole, although there is no historical evidence of it. Consequently, there is no mention of Valencian literature, made by Valencians in its language variety, nor of Valencian own culture, nor of a singular Valencian identity. This fact is based on a linguistic aspect, but it is projected to extralinguistic aspects that cannot be avoided when analyzing the case of Valencian. Therefore, the reality of Valencian history is not respected, not even the criterion, proclaimed by AVL, of respecting the denomination of “Valencian”.
- In addition, not only is there an absence of writers of Catalan origin in the content of textbooks, but on the contrary, what is observed is that Valencian writers are in a clear minority in these educational materials, in which Catalan authors are an overwhelming majority. We find it absolutely astonishing and unacceptable because we are talking about teaching Valencian language and Valencian literature which was written in that language.
- We disagree with the need to include non-Valencian authors from the rest of the Occitano-Romance diasystem in the teaching of the Valencian language and literature. Should it be considered the inclusion of any such author due to his/her special relationship with València, it should not be restricted to those of Balearic and Catalan language, but should be extended to the Occitan and Aragonese varieties, due to the existence of ancient mutual influences, on an equal footing,

among all of them (to the extent of having considered Catalan, until recently, as a dialect of Occitan or Provençal).

- Finally, we see in the educational system, at all levels, an exclusion of particular authors for ideological reasons. There is a clear tendency to obviate, hide or disqualify the contributions of autochthonist Valencian literate and scholars, for the fact of being what they are.

They are not present in the textbooks, or they are dispatched in a few paragraphs, emphasizing, in a misleading way, that their position was supposed to be a retreat for the recovery of Valencian. The didactic materials propose to read essays by Joan Fuster (annexationist), but not by Miquel Adlert (autochthonist); poetry by Vicent Andrés Estellés (annexationist), but not by Xavier Casp (autochthonist); novels by Catalan or Valencian authors with annexationist or particularist ideology, but not by autochthonist Valencian authors of equal quality.

We believe that these facts do not contribute to the knowledge of the Valencian language, its history, and its sociological reality, nor do they promote critical attitudes in Valencian pupils, but rather the opposite.

846. A Valencian Academy of Language was established in 1998. Its statute stipulates that the academy will be the institution charged with determining and if necessary developing the linguistic rules of the Valencian language, protecting Valencian on the basis of its lexicographic and literary tradition and its linguistic reality, and of rules consolidated on the basis of the Castelló rules.

At this point, we refer to section 3, in which a review is made of how AVL has acted the opposite direction to the spirit of its creation law. AVL's normative decisions are not always right to the Valencian lexicographical and literary tradition, nor to the current linguistic reality of Valencian, nor to a supposed "consolidated" normativization based on provisional spelling bases that have not seen the evolution based on broad social agreements that they promised.

4.2 Second periodical report

About the evaluation included in the second periodical report, prepared by the Committee of Experts and with adoption date on 04/04/2008²⁰, we consider it necessary to clarify the following points:

²⁰ <https://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=09000016806dba68> (English version) [Retrieved 05/08/2018]

82. The Committee of Experts is aware of the on-going discussion concerning the naming of Catalan and Valencian. In València the language is called Valencian and in Catalonia it is called Catalan. However the Valencian Academy of Language states that this is the same language from a philological point of view, as it is the language spoken in the Autonomous Communities of Catalonia, the Balearic Islands, and in Andorra (Decree 2/2005 of 29 March issued by the President of the Valencian Academy of Language on the Resolution concerning principles and criteria for protecting the name and identity of Valencian).

83. Without entering into this discussion, the Committee of Experts finds it important that the name of the language and its identity shall not hamper the full implementation of the Charter, especially in education, in the media and the justice sector (as indicated in the 2nd periodical report pp. 79-80). It invites the relevant authorities to solve this issue for the benefit of the language.

84. The Committee of Experts recalls that its role is not to challenge Spanish legislation, as long as the language in question receives the necessary protection. That would be overstepping its mandate of monitoring the application of the Charter. The Committee of Experts has therefore decided in the second evaluation report to treat Valencian and Catalan separately.

We want at this point to draw the attention of the Committee of Experts on the fact that the debate is not limited **exclusively** to the denomination of Valencian –which, while being an important issue, is nothing more than the surface of the problem–, but also to the entity of Valencian as a language variety, differentiated from Catalan, and its reflection in an oral and written standard for Valencian, to be taught in education and used in communication media, the Internet, etc. We refer back to section 3 of this report, which deepens in the other sociolinguistic aspects that we consider to be relevant, and to Annex III.e, which refers to the CVC’s Resolution that acknowledges the polyideism of the linguistic conflict and, thus, it motivated the creation of the Valencian Academy of the Language (AVL).

From an autochthonist position –but agreeing, in this particular aspect, with those who support the particularist position theoretically official in AVL–, we consider that neglecting those aspects, and applying essentialist linguistics policies (which do not count on the speakers) in relation to Valencian, can be very harmful to the language (indeed, for its speakers: those who give meaning to all the linguistic rights that are intended to protect).

We are in favor of coexistence and friendly relationship among close language varieties. But if this becomes a subordination of the Valencian speakers to the Catalan ones –by presenting a Valencian standard intentionally distant from the living language in order to bring it closer to Catalan, so that a different treatment is not required–, it will be doing a real disservice to Valencian speakers, and it will generate dissatisfaction and abandonment of the Valencian language.

Finally, we celebrate that the Committee of Experts decided in their time to continue maintaining a separate treatment for Valencian and Catalan, and we encourage this separation not only be done in attention to the legal denomination of the respective native languages in the different territories but also due to the fact that this denomination proves the willingness of Valencian speakers to have a language codification of their own for the language they have given their name.

4.3 Third periodical report

About the evaluation included in the third periodical report, prepared by the Committee of Experts and with adoption date on 02/12/2011²¹, we consider it necessary to clarify the following points:

179. In the last evaluation report, whilst acknowledging the strong presence of NGOs for Part III languages and some Part II languages, the Committee of Experts encouraged the relevant bodies and authorities to establish a forum for dialogue and co-operation with representatives of all the regional or minority languages. It regretted the lack of appropriate cooperation between communities sharing identical or similar languages, such as València with Catalonia and the Balearic Islands. It therefore encouraged the authorities to promote mutual cooperation and understanding for the benefit of the languages.

Here again, we emphasize that for Valencian speakers, both autochthonists and particularists (see section 3 of this document), any collaborative relationship with similar language territories will be welcomed as long as it is not done from the subordination of Valencian to other linguistic modalities. Unfortunately, the annexationist positions of the formal academic areas and part of the Valencian political forces, and more recently of the Valencian government itself, transform a healthy collaboration in an instrument for the depersonalisation of Valencian (understood as the language variety which is strictly Valencian) that goes to the detriment of its speakers. The benefit of the intangible “language” (in a unifying conception) against the rights of speakers and of “languages” as an expression of people and groups is thus endorsed.

We also state that NGOs working for Valencian from autochthonist postulates (as well as some particularists) are almost entirely excluded from any official initiative in favor of the promotion of the Valencian language (such as the preparation of periodic reports by the Spanish and Valencian governments), often giving the impression that the only NGOs working for the native language in València are the annexationist ones. The lack of means suffered by the autochthonist NGOs causes that we have not been able to raise the voice in good time and in an appropriate manner in previous control cycles. That is what we intend to solve by writing this report.

21 <https://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=09000016806dba6b> (English version) [Retrieved 05/08/2018]

Paragraph 3

The Parties undertake to make available in the regional or minority languages the most important national statutory texts and those relating particularly to users of these languages, unless they are otherwise provided.

816. In its second evaluation report (paragraphs 915 - 917), the Committee of Experts considered the undertaking partly fulfilled, as texts pre-dating the collaboration agreement in 2000 between the General State Administration (Official State Gazette BOE) and the Valencian Government had not been published in Valencian. It encouraged the Spanish authorities to publish other “most important national statutory texts” in Valencian regardless of the date of their original publication.

817. As noted in the context of Catalan in Catalonia (see paragraph 275 above), the Catalan version of the Official State Gazette (BOE) now appears half a week later than the Spanish version, so translations are now published in a timely fashion. Furthermore, in the last two years, all the laws from 1977 until 1998 have been officially translated. The consolidated versions are not official.

818. In the light of this information, and based on the proximity of Catalan and Valencian, the Committee of Experts concludes that the undertaking is fulfilled.

At this point, we want to express our disagreement with paragraph 818 of the report of the Committee of Experts. For the majority of Valencians, who sociologically would be framed within the autochthonist and particularist positions (as they are described in section 3 of this document) the absence of Valencian versions in documents such as the Official State Gazette (BOE) is not adequately replaced by Catalan versions. The absence of Valencian versions encourages citizens to opt for the original version in Spanish, a language in which they are fully competent, for not conforming to the Catalan version.

It should be considered that the AVL standard for Valencian is convergent with Catalan, and therefore it gives on paper an impression of more proximity between Catalan and Valencian than the vernacular varieties used by their respective speakers genuinely present. But even though the AVL standard has a convergent vocation (compatible with particularism and annexationism, but not with autochthonism), the regulatory entity stated in its RESOLUTION on its *View on the name and entity of the Valencian*²², of 2005, the following:

8. Based on these criteria, in the Valencian regional area, language codification has been done and is in accordance with **a model that incorporates the characteristics of the Valencian speeches**, as reflected in

22 More more details about that document are given in Annex III.f.

the normative agreements adopted so far by AVL. **This makes it possible to have its own Valencian versions (media, audiovisual products, computer applications, publishing market, liturgical and religious texts...), which should not be interpreted as a sign of linguistic fragmentation, but as a means of promoting the use of the language through the approach of the Valencian language model to its users...**

9. [...] This desirable convergence must be perfectly compatible with **the possibility of using the language models of each territory in the uses that affect private relationships between institutions outside our linguistic sphere (rest of Spain, European Union...),** on the one hand, and the institutions and natural and legal persons of the autonomous communities that share the same language, on the other.

Therefore, we consider that the absence of specific Valencian versions of the BOE –or in any other situation– would contradict the points mentioned in the AVL’s official view, and the compromise could not be considered as fulfilled, in the view of AVL itself.

We note that the absence of Valencian versions of the BOE is taking place again since the end of 2015, this time as a result of the express decision of the current Valencian government to assume the translation to Catalan in alternating years, in a coordinated manner with the Catalan government, as discussed in point 5 of this report.

The autochthonist and particularist Valencian speakers interpret this movement –which the current Valencian government justifies by alleging efficiency reasons– as a wish to converge “de facto”, and with an exclusively partisan intention, the Valencian language with the standard Catalan. This is meant to get Valencians more used to that model, which, due to being closer to that of Catalonia, will end up making unnecessary the versions of non-Catalan territories in a few generations, thanks to a linguistic policy that, in our opinion, is contrary to the Valencian idiomatic personality and is contributing to a process of language shift.

876. During the on-the-spot visit, the Committee of Experts was informed about the dispute over the retransmission of the public channel TV3 of Catalonia in València. For 25 years TV3 was retransmitted in València through privately financed repeaters. A licence had never been granted for this retransmission. According to the NGO, in order to avoid Spanish law that forbids television channels from the autonomous regions from broadcasting beyond their own administrative territory, the retransmission relied on the tacit consent of both regional governments. According to supplementary information received by the Valencian authorities, after switchover from analogue to digital terrestrial technology in April 2010, measures were taken to stop the broadcasting or retransmission of television channels without a license. According to them, the current regulation of television and technical disposition has made it necessary to regulate the control of broadcasting and licences.

877. The Valencian language association “Acció Cultural” has consequently been fined for its rebroadcasting activities. It appealed to the Supreme Court but lost the case and must also pay for closing down the repeaters, which amounts altogether to a fine of €800 000 to be paid to the Valencian government

878. The Committee of Experts expresses its disappointment that the Valencian authorities have not demonstrated more resolute action to facilitate the retransmission of TV3.

879. Shortly after the on-the-spot visit, the Committee of Experts was informed that the Spanish Congress of Deputies has just accepted to discuss the Popular Legislative Initiative (“Televisió sense Fronteres”/“Televisión sin Fronteras”), promoted by “Acció Cultural”, in support of legislation which would ensure that (regional) television channels in co-official languages can be viewed (on DTT) in other regions speaking the same or a similar language.

880. The Committee of Experts considers that the undertaking remains fulfilled. It nevertheless urges the Spanish authorities to find a viable solution for the question of retransmission in the spirit of the Charter. In this respect it underlines the necessity for the Autonomous Communities sharing the same or a similar language to cooperate, for the benefit of the language, respecting the identity of each community.

About these points, we will not get into detailed evaluations on technical or legal aspects related to the sanction given to the nonauthorized repeaters of the association “Cultural Action of the Valencian Country” (*Acció Cultural del País Valencià*, ACPV).

Generally speaking, we believe that, for the perception of diversity and linguistic richness of Spain and Europe, it is positive to have access to entertainment media from territories with languages similar to Valencian –not only Catalan and Balearic, but also Occitan and Aragonese, which are part of the same language diasystem–, as well as from other neighbouring territories that have Castilian Spanish as their own language, or even from territories that have languages with a lesser degree of mutual intelligibility. But we also think that citizens, if interested, can access the contents of those media of other territories through the Internet (on their websites, which offer streaming and recorded programs) or in the Cable TV packages, in which they are usually present and available throughout the Spanish territory.

Thus, the attempts to ensure the broadcast of Catalan television and radio channels through air transmission, which has necessary legal bandwidth limitations at the assigned frequencies that are already occupied, is seen by entities such as ACPV, above all, as a symbolic and propagandistic objective, on the basis of its conception of the Valencian people and language as part of the Catalan people and language.

We do want to make a point regarding what is indicated at the end of paragraph 880, where it says “*it underlines the necessity for the Autonomous Communities sharing the*

same or a similar language to **co-operate**, for the benefit of the language, **respecting the identity of each community.**”

We consider that **the activities of organizations with an annexationist position such as ACPV**, which have received considerable subsidies for decades from the autonomous government of Catalonia –**more than 30 million euros** since 1984 in the case of ACPV²³, and almost **2 million euros** since 2005 in the case of another important annexationist association, *Escola Valenciana*²⁴–, **are perceived by most of the Valencians as an abnormality**: it can be expected from the Catalan government to be supportive of organizations in territories where Catalan is spoken and does not have an official status, but the promotion of Valencian in València is an exclusive competence of the Valencian government. Moreover, that activities are seen as **an interference that does not respect the Valencian identity, but instead wants to influence it**, not only in the linguistic field, but also in cultural and national aspects.

Many Valencians are suspicious of the annexationist associations and their interest in watching TV3 Catalan television since they consider that as a strategy for introducing a medium of propaganda in València in order to disseminate the Catalan expansionist nationalist ideology (Pancatalanism), and not just a cultural exchange between neighbours with the same or similar language. This suspicion has increased in recent months due to the political situation in Catalonia and, in particular, to the fact that TV3 has been criticised for being a tool of propaganda for Catalan independentism (which does not hide a shared political vision for Catalans, Valencians, and Balearics: what they anti-historically call, as a whole, “Catalan countries”).

As stated above, the **co-existence between territories of a similar language is positive but it must be harmonized with respect for linguistic diversity** (without subordination of language varieties in relation to others), **for the linguistic awareness of the speakers** (in the case of Valencians it is, to the present day, mainly autochthonist, as indicated in section 3 of this document), **for their cultural consciousness** (Valencians do not mostly consider our culture to be a part of Catalan one) and **for their own identity** (the Valencian people do not self-identify as a part of the Catalan people, or of a Catalan “supranationality”).

23 See recent article “*Acció Cultural lleva recibidos 30 millones para implantar el catalanismo en Valencia*” (*Acció Cultural* has received 30 million to implement Catalanism in Valencia) in *Las Provincias*, edition of 23/09/2018:

<https://www.lasprovincias.es/politica/accio-cultural-catalanismo-valencia-20180924081808-nt.html> [Retrieved 24/09/2018]

Among other things, ACPV receives annually a subsidy of more than 650,000 euros from the Catalan government to pay the mortgage of the central building of the organization in the city of València. See article “*Puigdemont paid 654,000 euros to Cultural Action two months before the referendum*”, in *Las Provincias*, edition of 06/08/2018: <https://www.lasprovincias.es/politica/puigdemont-pago-accio-cultural-654000-20180805230705-nt.html> (in Spanish) [Retrieved 06/08/2018]

24 See recent article “*Escola Valenciana recibe casi dos millones de euros de Cataluña desde 2005*” (*Escola Valenciana* receives almost two million euros from Catalonia since 2005) in *Las Provincias*, edition of 03/10/2018: <https://www.lasprovincias.es/politica/escola-valenciana-recibe-casi-dos-millones-catalunya-desde-2005-20181003113845-nt.html> [Retrieved 03/10/2018]

d to facilitate and/or encourage the use of regional or minority languages by means other than those specified in the above sub-paragraphs.

926. In its second evaluation report (paragraphs 1016-1019), the Committee of Experts considered that this undertaking was fulfilled and invited the authorities to comment on the implementation of Article 16 of the Law on the Use and Teaching of Valencian in the next monitoring round.

927. The third periodical report (pages 686 – 687) lists campaigns carried out by the Valencian Government to promote the use of Valencian in different sectors, including hotel and catering, festivities, property registers and notaries, and taxi and the search engine website Google.

928. The Committee of Experts welcomes these initiatives and concludes that the undertaking remains fulfilled.

Regarding this point, we wish to emphasize that the campaign carried out by the Valencian government to promote the use of Valencian in the search engine Google, which was positively valued by the Committee of Experts, was fruitless. As far as our entities were able to know through contacts with the political leaders of this initiative, **the technology company Google encountered technical problems related to the absence of a specific ISO-639 codex for Valencian, differentiated from the code “ca/cat” that is currently used for the whole set of Valencian and Catalan.**

This point considerably impedes one of our main demands, shared by autochtonist organizations and those which are in line with AVL’s particularist sector, as already indicated: **the availability of specific Valencian versions –different from Catalan ones–, of textual and audiovisual contents, as well as computer tools.**

For that purpose, the signers of this report highlight, as an unavoidable need, **the assignment of an ISO-639 code for Valencian**, which will allow the Valencian standard to be used appropriately on the Internet. This is a historical demand for linguistic Valencianism that, up until now, has not yet been fulfilled.

4.4 Fourth periodic report

About the evaluation included in the fourth periodical report, prepared by the Committee of Experts and with adoption date on 20/03/2015²⁵, we consider it necessary to clarify the following points:

563. According to the information provided in the fourth periodical report, there are some improvements in several bodies of the General State Administration, most of them related to the presence of Valencian on ministerial websites.

²⁵ <https://rm.coe.int/16806f0658> (English version) [Retrieved 05/08/2018]

At this point it should be noted that, not only in the period of the fourth monitoring cycle but also nowadays, very few websites dependent on the general administration of the State have a Valencian version differentiated from that of Catalan, and the few who have it use neither the idiomatic forms recommended by RACV as an autochthonist normative entity, nor even the forms recommended by the regulatory entity AVL, which are supposedly mandatory for public administrations according to current legislation; thus offering a version far distanced from vernacular Valencian and very close, if not identical, to standard Catalan.

We believe that this fact causes most Valencian speakers to access the versions in Spanish, a language in which they are fully competent, before accessing a version of a language variety –Catalan– which is similar to that of theirs, but it is not theirs.

593. According to the information provided in the fourth periodical report, the Plan to Promote Knowledge and Use of Valencian includes language training, both general and specialised, for employees of the Valencian Government. The plan addresses the training activity itself, the role of Valencian in career progress, the generalisation of the SALT (Diccionario Traductor Valenciano) translator, and the online programme “Learning Valencian”.

At this point, we would like to point out that the old Spanish <> Valencian translator SALT²⁶, which provided Valencian versions sufficiently aligned with some particularist recommendations of AVL, has been replaced by Salt.usu²⁷, which is based on the “Linguistic Criteria” developed by Valencian government in 2016²⁸, with an annexationist tendency.

These criteria, which do not follow the recommendations of AVL in quite essential aspects and are extremely far away from those of RACV, **have been sharply criticized even by some members of the currently official normative entity AVL²⁹, because**

26 Previously dependent on the Valencian government, but transferred to *Las Provincias* newspaper. It is accessible at <http://traductor.lasprovincias.es/>

27 It is accessible at <http://www.salt.gva.es/es>

28 RESOLUTION of November 23, 2016, of the general director of Linguistic Policy and Management of Multilingualism, which approves the linguistic criteria of application to the Administration of the *Generalitat* and its instrumental instruments [2016/9261]. https://www.dogv.gva.es/datos/2016/11/23/pdf/2016_9261.pdf [Retrieved 05/08/2018]

29 The academician of the AVL Aberlard Saragossà published three articles in *Levante-EMV* newspaper, in a series called “The linguistic criteria of the *Generalitat*”.

1) “*Els criteris de la DGPL i les lleis valencianes*” (The Criteria of the DGPL and the Valencian laws): <https://www.levante-emv.com/opinion/2017/06/08/els-criteris-dgpl-i-les/1577506.html> (in Valencian) [Retrieved 05/08/2018]

2) “*Recomanacions de la AVL que la DGPL no ha atés*” (Recommendations of the AVL that the DGPL has not attended): <https://www.levante-emv.com/opinion/2017/06/10/recomanacions-lavl-dgpl-ates/1578538.html> (in Valencian) [Retrieved 05/08/2018]

3) “*Els criteris: un retorn cap al passat*” (The Criteria: A return to the past”): <https://www.levante-emv.com/opinion/2017/06/12/els-criteris-retorn-cap-passat/1579183.html> (in Valencian) [Retrieved

they imply a return to the inadequate linguistic model of the 1980's, with a clear annexationist inspiration, which damaged so much the normalization of the use of Valencian.

The entities that draft this report, despite the significant disagreements about the linguistic model defined by AVL, share to a great extent the analysis made by some particularist members of that organization –a particularist position that used to be the official (theoretical, but not practical) approach of the AVL–. However, we are missing an explicit position of AVL –a corporate view, and not the personal opinion of some of its members– regarding the adequacy or otherwise of the new linguistic standard promoted by the current autonomous government, which is clearly annexationist.

602. During the on-the-spot visit, the Committee of Experts was informed by NGO representatives that there was currently no regional radio station in Valencian and that the range of broadcasting through local radio was very limited.

[...]

608. During the on-the-spot visit, the Committee of Experts was informed by some NGOs that there was still no regional television available in Valencian and coverage by local channels was very limited.

In the period of the fifth monitoring cycle (2014-2016), there was not yet an autonomic television broadcast in Valencian, after the closure of Valencian Radio Television (RTVV).

As of today, and for the last few months, Valencians have once again an autonomous television, and some considerations will be presented in section 5 of this document.

05/08/2018]

This issue is also dealt with in his latest book *El valencianisme llingüístic* (The Linguistic Valencianism), Ed. Àrbena, València City, 2018.

5 Assessment of the fulfillment of the Charter regarding Valencian during the fifth monitoring cycle (2014-2016)

In this section, we will review those paragraphs devoted to Valencian in the last periodic report of the Spanish Government 2014-2016³⁰ (hereafter, **5th Report**), clarifying the statements made regarding the fulfillment of the Charter, and the observance of the recommendations of the Committee of Experts, on the previous periodic report.

5.1 Section “Introduction and data on the number of speakers” (p. 120)

In the introductory section of the section that was dealing with Valencian of the **5th Report**, reference is made to the latest general survey on the knowledge and use of Valencian. However, we find in the report a lack of analysis of the historical evolution of the data on linguistic skills in relation to Valencian.

In this section of our report we present a series of graphs that collect the results of the different official surveys commissioned by the Valencian government³¹ (GVA) to observe the evolution of the skills of Valencians regarding Valencian in four broad categories: a) understands; b) can speak; c) can read; d) can write.

5.1.a) Analysis of the historical series

First of all, we can observe a table taken from a work by Abelard Saragossà³², academician of the Valencian Academy of the Language (AVL). Within these categories, percentages for “Quite well” and “Perfectly” are added.

30 <https://rm.coe.int/spainpr5-es-docx/1680788433> (Spanish version) [Retrieved 05/08/2018]

31 For more information, primary sources can be accessed on the website of the Department of Education, Research, Culture and Sports <http://www.ceice.gva.es/ca/web/fondo-estadistico-documental/fondo-datos-numericos> [Retrieved 30/07/2017]

See also, Valencian Academy of the Language (ed.). *Llibre blanc de l'ús del valencià: enquesta sobre la situació social del valencià* (White paper on the use of Valencian: Survey on the social situation of Valencian), 2004. Publications of the Valencian Academy of the Language, 2005.

We observe a divergence between the date of the first survey offered in the work of Saragossà and the collected in the web of the Department of Education.

32 Saragossà, A. *L'ús del valencià: mirada al present i al futur. Reflexions per a un valencianisme transversal i majoritari*. Aula de Lletres Valencianes. Revista Valenciana de Filologia, 3, p. 31-101, ISSN: 2253-7694. Digital version: <http://roderic.uv.es/bitstream/handle/10550/45016/L%2E%80%99%C3%BA%20del%20valenci%C3%A0%20mirada%20al%20present%20i%20al%20futur.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y> [Retrieved 05/08/2018]

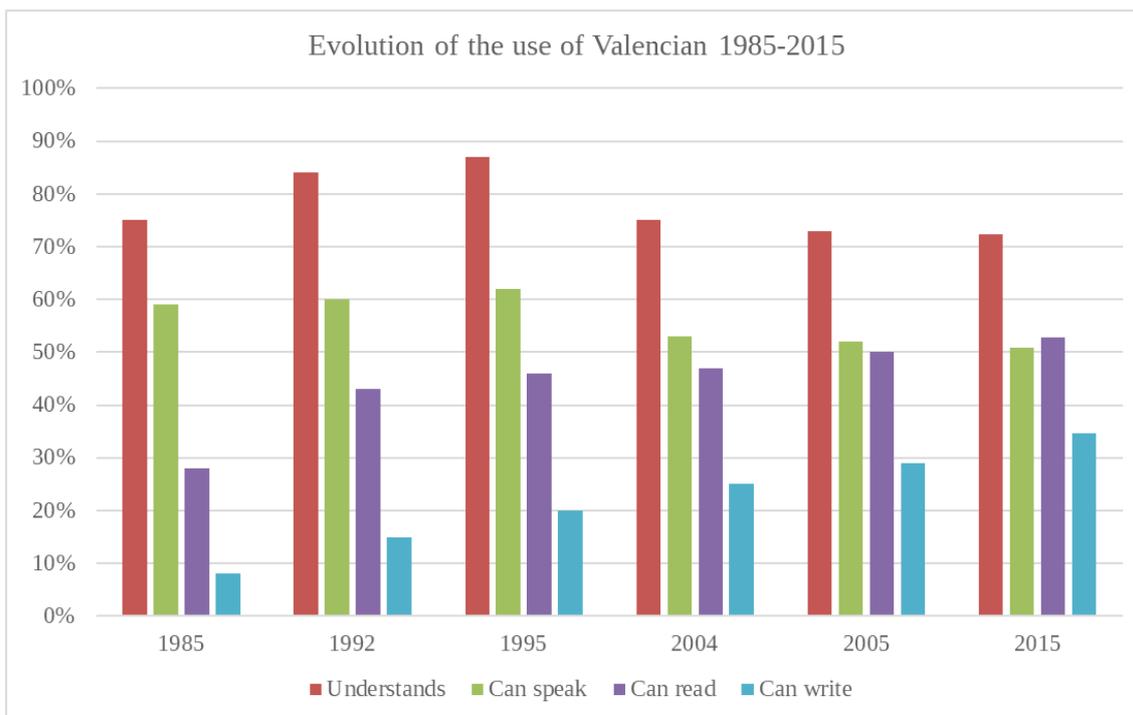
Knowledge of Valencian (data taken from Tortosa 2011)				
Years	Understands	Can speak	Can read	Can write
1985	75%	59%	28%	8%
1992	84%	60%	43%	15%
1995	87%	62%	46%	20%
2004	75%	53%	47%	25%
2005	73%	52%	50%	29%

Table 1. Evolution of the use of Valencian from 1985 to 2005

If we add the latest results of the year 2015, we obtain a graph that gives us visual information on the evolution of these four categories. Let's first take a look at the previous table complemented with the last data, and then a bar graph.

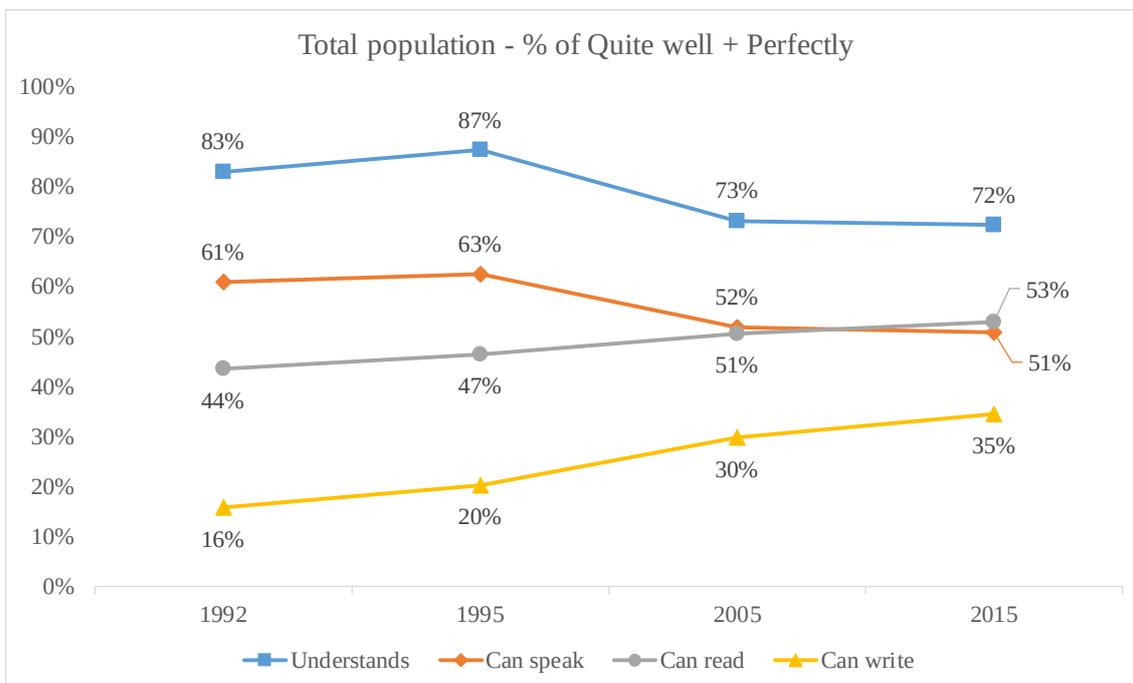
Knowledge of Valencian (data taken from Tortosa 2011 and GVA 2015)				
Years	Understands	Can speak	Can read	Can write
1985	75%	59%	28%	8%
1992	84%	60%	43%	15%
1995	87%	62%	46%	20%
2004	75%	53%	47%	25%
2005	73%	52%	50%	29%
2015	72.4%	50.9%	52.9%	34.7%

Table 2. Evolution of the use of Valencian from 1985 a 2015

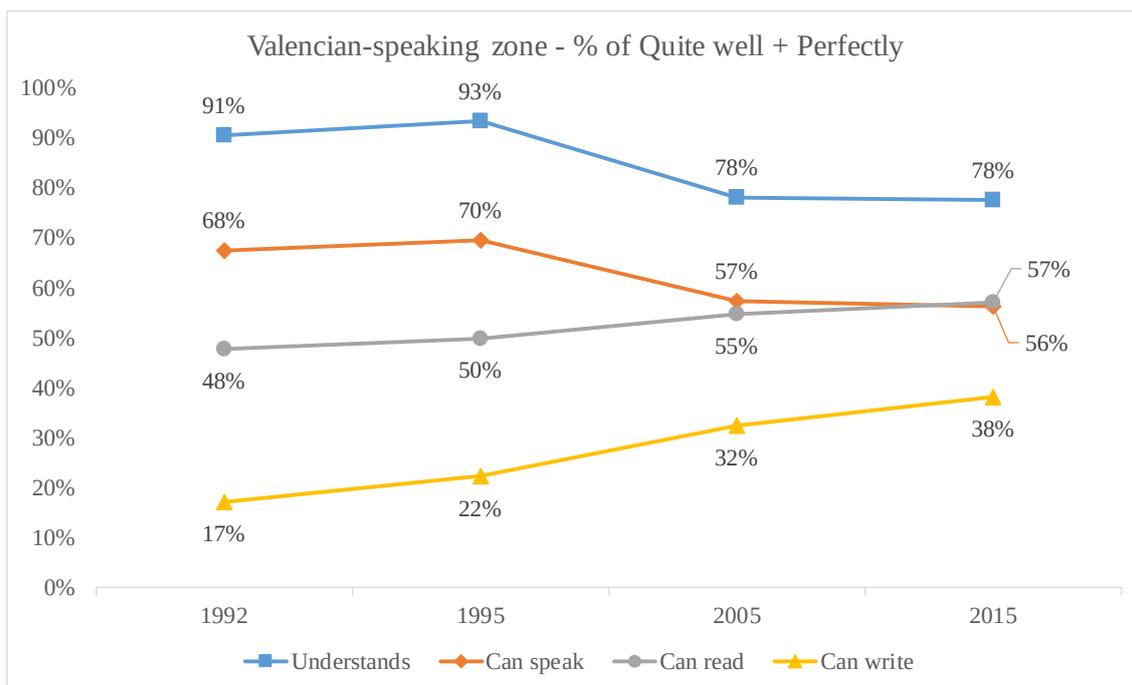


Graph 1. Bar graph of the evolution of the use of Valencian from 1985 to 2015

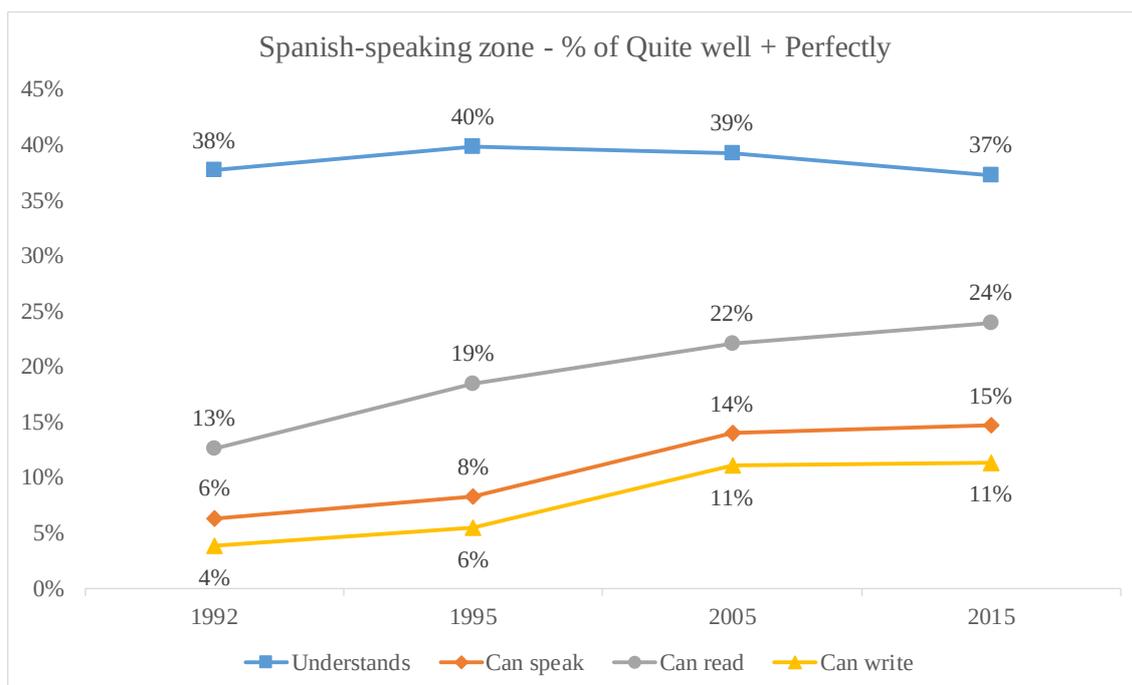
Next, we offer different trends graphs taking the four categories cited in the period 1992-2005, as well as the comparison between the Valencian and Spanish linguistic predominance areas.



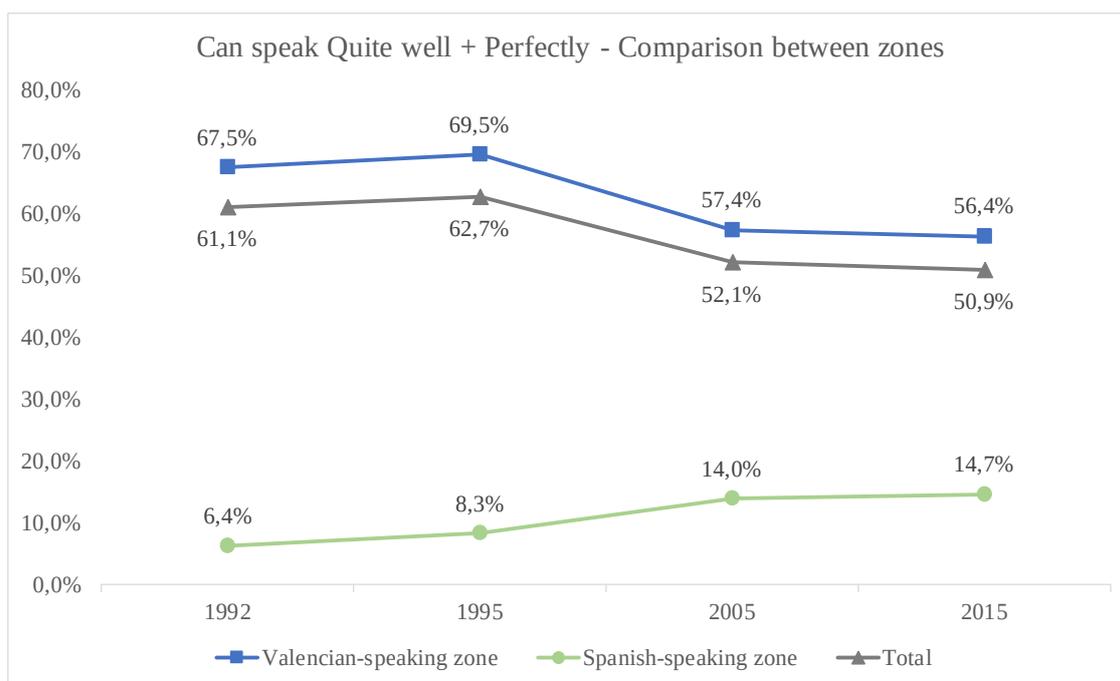
Graph 2. Evolution of the use of Valencian from 1992 to 2015. Total population



Graph 3. Evolution of the use of Valencian from 1992 to 2015. Valencian-speaking zone



Graph 4. Evolution of the use of Valencian from 1992 to 2015. Spanish-speaking zone



Graph 5. Evolution of Valencian oral usage from 1992 to 2015. Comparison between zones

5.1.b) Conclusions

In the interval between 1992 and 2015, 23 years, we have the following evolution in the skills declared by the respondents:

- **UNDERSTANDS:** The total percentage of Valencians who claim to understand quite well or perfectly Valencian **has fallen 10.8 points**. Especially dangerous is the evolution in the Valencian-speaking area, where the fall is 12.9 points so that almost 1 in 4 Valencians living in Valencian-speaking zone affirms that it is not able to understand Valencian proficiently (in 1992, it was 1 in 10 people).
- **CAN SPEAK:** The total percentage of Valencians who claim to speak Valencian **has fallen by 10.2 points**. Especially dangerous is the evolution in the Valencian-speaking zone, where the full competence to speak Valencian (“Quite well” + “Perfectly”) has fallen 11.1 points.
- **CAN READ:** The total percentage of Valencians who claim to be able to read in Valencian **has grown 9.3 points**. In the Valencian-speaking zone, the evolution reaches a growth of 9.4 points.
- **CAN WRITE:** The total percentage of Valencians who claim to be able to write Valencian “Quite well” or “Perfectly” **has grown by 18.9 points**. In the Valencian-speaking zone, the evolution reaches a growth of 21.1 points.

It is undeniable that the incorporation of Valencian into regulated education has favored the growth of skills inherent in school education: reading and writing. However, unfortunately, these favorable developments have not had an impact on the improvement of the linguistic skills that have the most significant impact on the social use of Valencian, such as speaking and understanding Valencian proficiently. In this respect, the conclusions that we can extract from the results are alarming:

- In 1992, 2 out of 3 Valencians claimed to speak Valencian, the most critical linguistic competence, since it is the only one that, itself, can guarantee the social use of Valencian since if you cannot speak it, it will be hard to use it normally in all areas of life. Dramatically, in 2015 only 1 out of 2 Valencians say they can speak Valencian confidently.
- In 1992, 4 out of 5 Valencians claimed to understand Valencian well or perfectly. In 2015, less than 2 out of every 3 Valencians claims to understand Valencian or well or perfectly.

If we add additional data, in this case from the survey conducted by the AVL in 2004³³, we observe disturbing numbers. As it is known, the continuity of a living language is ensured by its transmission from parents to children. If we take as a criterion **the oral use of the language in the family**, for the Valencian-speaking areas we have that **only 36.5% of the population use exclusively or mostly Valencian in their family environment**, whereas another 5.5% claims to use Valencian and Spanish alike. Therefore, virtually 60% of the population of the Valencian-speaking zone (not taking into account, therefore, historically Spanish-speaking areas) uses exclusively or mostly Spanish (or other languages) in their family relationships.

If we break it down by age groups, we have that, **while 48.5% of the “older” people use mainly Valencian at home**, this percentage declines as we move to younger ages, reaching **only 29% among the younger age range**.

If we analyze the **parent-child linguistic use**, we observe that it is stabilized, in a slight positive trend (36.9% speak mainly Valencian with their parents, 39.3% with their children), but complemented by some disturbing data, that is, for example, that **only 37.8% of mixed marriages** (Valencian with Spanish speakers) **uses preeminently Valencian at home**.

The rest of oral uses do not present a better picture for the Valencian language. **The effective oral use of Valencian with friends**, for example, **fell from 44% in 1985** (almost equal to that of Spanish) **to 32% in 2004**, while the predominant use of Spanish has risen from 45% in 1985 to 51% in 2004. Therefore, we are talking of more than a 12% drop in the oral use of Valencian in close circles, accompanied, for example, by a fall of 14% of its use in traditional stores and 10% in shopping centers. Similar

33 We take advantage of the references collected by Pradilla, M.A: *La tribu valenciana. Reflexions sobre la desestructuració de la comunitat lingüística* (The Valencian tribe. Reflections on the de-structuring of the linguistic community). Onada Edicions, Benicarló, 2008, pp. 93-120

percentages of retrogression in the real use of Valencian occur in the rest of areas of use of the language.

This involution of knowledge and the use of Valencian shocks precisely because it is given in the period in which the Valencian language has enjoyed a status of supposed protection and empowerment, unprecedented since the Kingdom of València period. Valencian has been officially present at schools and universities, we have had a Valencian Broadcasting Service (now again active, after a few years without this service) and the governments, in turn, have had resources for the normalization of the Language as never before in history.

It can be argued that the linguistic policies applied by the governments of the *Partido Popular* are responsible for this situation. However, attributing the responsibility of this situation to only partisan politics is very simplistic. Thus, Abelard Saragossà³⁴ emphasizes that the linguistic policies of PP and PSOE did not differ too much. Also, a possible explanation would be the immigration received in Valencian lands. It is an essential factor to keep in mind, but some variables are not being considered when analyzing why the Valencian language is falling behind. One of these variables may be the divergence between the written model and the oral model. Thus, Saragossà³⁵ states:

The change between the thirties and the sixties also affected the linguistic model. From a fresh Valencian, natural, identifying, assimilable and predominantly practicable in the public oral language, we went to a bookish linguistic model that could not be applied to a public parliament and, as a consequence, separated writing and public orality. For example, where the model of the thirties wrote “preferix” (prefers, in Valencian verbal conjugation) and “este carrer” (this street, in Valencian), the model of the seventies changes it to “prefereix” (prefers, in Catalan verbal conjugation) and “aquest carrer” (this street, using Valencian archaism but modern Catalan determiner “aquest”) (p. 53)

This is also seen the same way by Mollà³⁶, who claims that a linguistic model cannot be designed by ignoring people.

In any case, in these lines we do not intend to offer an in-depth analysis of the situation of the social use and the knowledge of Valencian, and the deep causes that may be behind the discouraging results we have seen, since this exceeds the objective of this document and would require demoscopic information that considers more variables. We only aspire to give some elements for reflection, through the surveys that we have at our disposal and that, due to the way they have been conducted, **offer us more questions than answers**. We lay on the table some reflections and some of these questions with the hope that our governments, especially those that have a responsibility in the matter of linguistic policy, can respond to them someday:

34 Saragossà, A. 2013 op. Cit.

35 Saragossà, A. 2013 op. Cit.

36 MOLLÀ, T. *La llengua dels mitjans de comunicació* (The language of the media). Alzira. Edicions Bromera, 1990.

- There is a systematic denial of the existence of a linguistic conflict between Valencians from the political and linguistic authorities, or at most it is treated as a “battle” that has been overcome. However, on the contrary, after a year analyzing press news about it, the editors of this report have detected that ambivalence is produced on this subject, as curious as undesirable because it shows that the conflict is still alive:
 - The headlines about the linguistic conflict raise a lot of interest and controversy. They do not go unnoticed and guarantee a good amount of readers.
 - On the other side, these headlines produce tiredness and indignation in the readers.
- For those responsible for the Valencian linguistic policy, the criteria of linguistic convergence towards other territories own linguistic modalities of our Occitano-Romance diasystem is more important than the real survival of our language, our Valencian modality. Thus, the secular differentiated linguistic consciousness of Valencians, which, within that framework of brotherhood between the languages of the entire diasystem, should be a characteristic that we must respect and preserve, on the contrary, it is treated as an illness that we must cure even though medicine is not well tolerated.
- Would it be normal for an English speaker, or a Spanish speaker, adult, trained and highly competent in their respective languages, to be concerned and to study hard to get a diploma of linguistic competence in their own language? Would it be normal for them to repeat 3 or 4 times the exams until they got it? Is it normal what happens in the examination criteria of the *Qualifying Board of Knowledge of Valencian (JQCV)*? It seems clear to us that this distance between natural orality and writing model severely penalizes Valencian native speakers. Is this normal in a society that wants to preserve its language?
- Deepening in the previous point: if the linguists and sociolinguists agree that the older generations are the ones that have the most linguistic competence, and a great distance is also recognized between the oral and written model in Valencian, then, when we congratulate ourselves because the cohort “18 to 35 years” are the ones that have the most significant linguistic competence in 2015, are we congratulating ourselves for the recovery of a language or for the achievement of a process of linguistic substitution?

There are many more questions that we can ask if we want to know better the real sociolinguistic context in which we the Valencian speakers move, and that latent conflict that has never been solved because it follows its course in the dark.

These questions we have referred to have not been seen reflected in a survey so far; we do not know if it is because they are not considered relevant enough or due to an

unwillingness to face the answers that can be obtained. Perhaps in the light of more complete information, some of the political decisions that are being taken (such as, for example, promoting a multilingual education model that Spanish speakers perceive as an imposition, or choosing to use a more convergent linguistic model that the official Valencian Academy of the Language recommends, or ignoring the non-dialectal linguistic consciousness of most of the Valencians) should be reconsidered.

This reconsideration, in our view, should go through:

- Encouraging an approach of Spanish-speaking Valencians to Valencian language by the conviction and not by the imposition.
- Respecting and requesting that the usage of genuine Valencian linguistic forms in the AVL norms is further encouraged in those cases in which the current legislation forces to use AVL's grammar rules.
- Officially recognizing the reference of the RACV as a regulatory entity, and respecting the preferred linguistic model of every Valencian speaker.

To sum up, we note that in the section about Valencian of the **5th Report**, only decontextualised data are offered that do not present an explained vision or an in-depth analysis. In addition, we think that part of the poor results in those skills that guarantee the survival of Valencian is due to factors not analyzed by the successive autonomic governments: those that can refer to the proximity between the Valencian vernacular variant and the language model proposed by the public administrations, the educational system, and the mass media.

As stated in section 3 of this report, both previous governments (by action or omission) and specially the current one (with determined action) **have decided to focus more on the linguistic convergence of Valencian towards Catalan** (a convergence not towards a center of gravity or Koine, but towards a standard Catalan) **rather than to offer Valencian speakers a worthy standard and versions of textual or audiovisual contents in the Valencian linguistic modality.**

The current autonomous government boasts about cooperation with other territories sharing “identical or similar languages”, as a positive action for the language, forgetting that the language per se is nothing without the speakers and that the lack of contents in Valencian does not help to “... *increase not only its use, but also the indispensable prestige to be used in the areas with more future (Internet, social networks), as well as in more formal and representation areas*”, as stated in the **5th Report**.

These actions, in addition, are contrary to what has been expressed in the AVL's RESOLUTION of 2005 (which has been mentioned in section 4.3 and on which more details are given in Annex III.f), which in its points 8 and 9 defends the existence of textual or audiovisual content versions in Valencian linguistic modality. Despite of that, to date the official normative entity of Valencian, according to current legislation, has not clearly stood up for its own opinion, nor has it complaint about the lack of respect

for this point of view by the autonomic government, which for the authors of this report shows that the AVL is abandoning its theoretical particularist positions to embrace the annexationist ones.

5.2 Section “Application of the Charter” (p. 122)

We will evaluate below the degree of fulfillment of the application of the Charter in the case of Valencian, clarifying some aspects of the 5th **Report** in which the entities that have elaborated this report have discrepant views.

5.2.a) Subsection “Part II – Objectives and principles pursued in accordance with Article 2, paragraph 1”

Paragraph 1

In respect of regional or minority languages, within the territories in which such languages are used and according to the situation of each language, the Parties shall base their policies, legislation and practice on the following objectives and principles:

- a) the recognition of the regional or minority languages as an expression of cultural wealth;*
- b) the respect of the geographical area of each regional or minority language in order to ensure that existing or new administrative divisions do not constitute an obstacle to the promotion of the regional or minority language in question;*
- c) the need for resolute action to promote regional or minority languages in order to safeguard them;*

The 5th **Report**, on page 123, refers to the creation of the General Directorate of Linguistic Policy and Multilingualism Management (*Direcció General de Política Llingüística i Gestió del Multilingüisme*, DGPLGM). This body is the result of the restructuring of the preexisting General Directorate of Linguistic Policy (*Direcció General de Política Llingüística*, DGPL), carried out after the last change in the autonomous government.

However, and in relation to the indicated points in the Charter, we would like to state that:

- We believe that the linguistic policies of the DGPLGM are against the spirit of the Charter in points such as the recognition of regional or minority languages as an expression of cultural wealth. The annexationist position of this organism, manifested in the markedly convergent linguistic model that promotes (that we will discuss later when we treat the “Linguistic Criteria” that it has approved) and in the absence of the promotion of textual and audiovisual versions in the Valencian linguistic modality (which has its own official standard in the

Valencian Community, different from the existing standards in other territories), is anything but respectful towards the recognition and preservation of the cultural richness that diversity offers. At this point, we also consider that these active and passive policies go against the spirit of article 3.3 of the Spanish Constitution that affirms that **“The richness of the different linguistic modalities of Spain is a cultural heritage that will be subject to special respect and protection.”**

- The determined action of the DGPLGM to promote regional or minority languages in order to safeguard them are, in fact, **to promote and preserve only the standard Catalan**, with a strategy aimed at making Valencian and Catalan as similar as possible, which we believe can only result in the disaffection of users of the Valencian modality, abandoning their own language, or replacing the Valencian modality with the Catalan standard, being both situations (in our opinion) contrary to the spirit of the Charter.

d) the facilitation and/or encouragement of the use of regional or minority languages, in speech and writing, in public and private life;

e) the maintenance and development of links, in the fields covered by this Charter, between groups using a regional or minority language and other groups in the State employing a language used in identical or similar form, as well as the establishment of cultural relations with other groups in the State using different languages;

In relation to these points, and to the actions explained in page 123 and following of the **5th Report**, we value positively the actions carried out in relation with the municipalities of the Region of Murcia that historically have spoken Valencian (*El Carche*), although we feel there is a lack of involvement of the Murcia autonomic government, for example with the inclusion of Valencian as a recognized regional or minority language, protected albeit not official.

We do not value so positively the relationship with Catalonia and the Balearic Islands, since following the change in the autonomous government they have always been made from a position of subordination of the Valencian linguistic modality with respect to Catalan, both in terms of the linguistic model that is promoted as well as regarding the denomination for the whole set of Valencian and Catalan.

We have nothing against the coexistence and cultural exchange between the territories that share the same linguistic family (and here we do not stick to the Valencian, Catalan and Balearic varieties, but we extend it to the whole Occitano-Romance diasystem), but as long as these contacts remain coordinated and not subordinate. We see very positive the historical ties that unite us provided they do not become chains, but in the case in question, in the relationships that the DGPLGM promotes there are more chains than ties:

- First of all, initiatives such as the *Llull* project (mentioned in page 124 of the 5th **Report**) doesn't give visibility to the diversity of the linguistic modalities of the linguistic domain that it is supposed to represent: the linguistic model it promotes, as shown in their web site³⁷, is standard Catalan (based on the Eastern Catalan vernacular variant), without concessions to the Valencian and Balearic modalities, not even in the publications that refer to those other territories³⁸.
- Consistent with the above, the joint initiatives of the current political leaders of the Valencian, Catalan and Balearic territories systematically use the denomination "Catalan language" or "Catalan" for all the linguistic modalities of the three territories, not including the "Valencian" demonym³⁹, thus failing to comply with the AVL's RESOLUTION of 2005⁴⁰, which in its points 8 and 9 defends, not only the name of "Valencian" but also the existence of content versions in the Valencian modality.

Another point that requires clarification is the mention that is made on page 124 of the relationship with the Institute of Catalan Studies (*Institut d'Estudis Catalans*, IEC), which is recognized as the "*maximum regulatory authority in Catalan language, without prejudice to the own normative institution [of the Valencian], the Valencian Academy of the Language (AVL)*". In our opinion, this recognition of authority is another example of the subordination of the Valencian government (and also of the official Valencian normative entity) with respect to an entity from a different territory that has no competence to codify the Valencian modality, competence that the Statute of Autonomy of the Valencian Community currently deposits exclusively in the AVL. A unique official status as a regulatory entity, that of the AVL, that we the autochthonists reject, as we claim this official consideration for the RACV; but that in any case makes it clear that no non-Valencian institution has any authority to set the reference norms for the Valencian language.

In summary, we identify in the current autonomous government the same inadequate tendency towards a subordinate and uncoordinated convergence of the Valencians with respect to the Catalans, resulting in the Valencian personality becoming diluted, both linguistically and culturally. As already mentioned in section 4.3, AVL's academicians such as Abelard Saragossà have been very critical of the "Linguistic Criteria" elaborated by the DGPLGM (see note 29).

37 The website of the Institut Ramon Llull can be found here:

<https://www.llull.cat/catala/home/index.cfm>

38 See article "*Comença l'estada lingüística a València per a estudiants de català d'arreu del món*" (Starts the language stay in València for students of Catalan from all over the world) here:

https://www.llull.cat/catala/actualitat/actualitat_noticies_detall.cfm?id=36051&url=comenca-l-estada-linguistica-a-valencia-per-a-estudiants-de-catala-d-arreu-del-mon-.html [Retrieved 08/05/2018]

39 This fact can be checked on the website of the *Institut Ramon Llull*, in almost all of its contents, and very significantly in the title of its website, which refers to "*Llengua i cultura catalanes*" (Catalan Language and Culture) or "Catalan culture abroad", thus mixing the language and culture of the three territories under the unique denomination of "Catalan".

40 See Annex III.f.

Regarding the relationships with the other communities with languages other than Spanish, we value positively any initiative whose objective is to strengthen the co-official languages and the rights of their users.

f) the provision of appropriate forms and means for the teaching and study of regional or minority languages at all appropriate stages;

g) the provision of facilities enabling non-speakers of a regional or minority language living in the area where it is used to learn it if they so desire;

In relation to these points, and to the actions explained in page 123 and following of the 5th **Report**, it's worth noting that the mechanisms to facilitate the learning of Valencian, outside the circuit of the regulated education (including the Official Schools of Languages), include agreements with annexationist private organizations⁴¹. In this case, as we will repeat later in this report, the entities of autochthonist linguistic sensitivity that organize Valencian language courses (some of them as *Lo Rat Penat* offer courses since 1949) have remained invisible to Valencian autonomous governments.

Lo Rat Penat continues to offer Valencian language courses at present. Despite the fact that their diplomas have no official validity since it was revoked in 1982, for ideological reasons, its classrooms continue to be filled with Valencians who register for his courses year after year.

h) the promotion of study and research on regional or minority languages at universities or equivalent institutions;

Once again we must emphasize that actions such as the participation in the *Llull* project, referred to on page 125 of the 5th **Report**, put more emphasis on the promotion of the idea of a homogeneous Catalan language (and of an associated culture, which is also referred to as “Catalan”) than on the defense of the richness and the diversity of the Valencian, Catalan and Balearic modalities, as evidenced by both the linguistic model used (the standard Catalan of the IEC, based on the eastern Catalan varieties) and the almost exclusive use of the name the “Catalan” demonym to designate the whole of the linguistic modalities, which is contrary to the Valencian legislation and to AVL’s RESOLUTION of 2005⁴².

41 See article “*El Ayuntamiento de València concede otros 16.800 euros a Acció Cultural para cursos de valenciano*” (The City Council of València grants another 16,800 euros to *Acció Cultural* for Valencian courses), from *Las Provincias*, edition of 24/03/2017:

<https://www.lasprovincias.es/valencia-ciudad/201703/24/ayuntamiento-valencia-concede-otros-20170323234938.html> [Retrieved 05/08/2018]

42 See Annex III.f.

5.2.b) Subsection “Part III. Article 8 – Education”

Paragraph 1

With regard to education, the Parties undertake, within the territory in which such languages are used, according to the situation of each of these languages, and without prejudice to the teaching of the official language(s) of the State:

a) i) to make available pre-school education in the relevant regional or minority languages; or

b) i) to make available primary education in the relevant regional or minority languages; or

c) i) to make available secondary education in the relevant regional or minority languages; or

With regard to the comments contained in the 5th **Report**, on page 125, we just want to express that the entities that have prepared this report are committed to the use of Valencian as a vehicular language in teaching, but we consider that the course of action by the Department responsible for education has not been based on the necessary social dialogue, but has followed a unilateral path worked between a part of the government and some associations of teachers, resulting in a widespread social rejection and, in the legal field, the judicial suspension of Decree 9/2017.

d) i) to make available technical and vocational education in the relevant regional or minority languages; or

Regarding the comments on page 126 of the 5th **Report**, we value positively the intention of extending the use of Valencian in the technical and professional teaching centers, although the Decree 9/2017 that had foreseen it has been suspended.

e) iii) if, by reason of the role of the State in relation to higher education institutions, sub-paragraphs i and ii cannot be applied, to encourage and/or allow the provision of university or other forms of higher education in regional or minority languages or of facilities for the study of these languages as university or higher education subjects;

Regarding the comments on pages 126 to 128 of the 5th **Report**, we want to make a point.

It is said that universities are targeted for subsidies for “... *training activities that have as an objective the increase of teaching in Valencian, the creation of digital platforms*”

for the learning of Valencian, as well as initiatives for training and boosting of the university llinguistic volunteerism. On university networks, the eligible activities are those that affect the promotion and social prestige of Valencian and employability, where Valencian is the driving force of the action.” Certainly the universities are carrying out an important task of promoting the use of Valencian, but here we can perceive again the promotion of a linguistic model that is subordinate to the standard Catalan, which, instead of betting on making Valencian versions of digital platforms, they reuse materials from universities in other territories and, therefore, are not adapted to the norms and recommendations of the current normative entity of Valencian (AVL). In this way, we find it difficult to achieve the “promotion and social prestige of Valencian”, understood as the Valencian linguistic modality, which is the official language in the Valencian Community: only the social prestige of the standard Catalan linguistic model is being promoted, to the detriment of our own modality.

f) i) to arrange for the provision of adult and continuing education courses which are taught mainly or wholly in the regional or minority languages; or

Regarding the comments contained in pages 128 and 129 of the 5th **Report**, we would like to make two points:

- The knowledge certification mechanism for Valencian language, through the *Qualifying Board of Knowledge of Valencian* (JQCV), uses as a reference an overly convergent linguistic model with standard Catalan and, therefore, far from the living language (which is worsening since the change of 2015 in our autonomous government), a model that also diverges from the norms and recommendations of the AVL as a the currently normative entity of Valencian, mandatory for the uses of public administrations. This often causes a higher difficulty for native Valencian speakers to obtain the C1 and especially C2 CERF⁴³ certifications, while new speakers have relative ease to overcome them⁴⁴. This circumstance, totally unnatural, can be correlated with the data that we analyzed in section 5.1 of this report, which show that the skills that have improved over time are those linked to *formal learning* (understand, read, write), an improvement that isn't observed in the skills that guarantee an everyday use (speak), largely due to the fact that the official linguistic criteria condemn the

43 Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (<https://www.coe.int/en/web/common-european-framework-reference-languages/>)

44 We provide 2 examples:

1) “*Els exàmens de valencià i les homologacions*” (The exams of Valencian and homologations) by Leo Giménez, an article published on the website of the Valencian Philology Board (*Taula Valenciana de Filologia*, TVF) on 06/22/2018, accessible at:

<https://taulafilologiavalenciana.wordpress.com/2018/06/22/els-examens-de-valencia-i-les-homologacions/#more-1873> [Retrieved 05/08/2018]

2) “*La ‘d’ intervocàlica*” (The intervocalic ‘d’) by Òscar Rueda, an article published in *Las Provincias* newspaper, edition of 07/06/2018. It can be found in the [Documentary Appendix - Document 1](#).

naturally spoken Valencian for being “uncultivated”, “vulgar” or “informal”, inducing to a diglossia between spoken and written language.

To this should be added that in the last call for C1 level tests there was a substantial controversy over the difficulty of the test⁴⁵, whose results will not be known until September 2018⁴⁶. From the Department of Education of the Valencian government, it has been assured that in the previous model the pass rate of the C1 exams ranged between 30 and 40%; we will wait to see the results in the recently implemented model. Also, we would like to have detailed information about pass rate by mother tongue, both in previous calls and in the most recent, but we are not aware whether such analysis has been done (or whether there is an intention to do it).

- In addition to the channels for the teaching of Valencian to adults mentioned in the 5th **Report** (Official Languages Schools and Adult Training Centers), we want to claim that entities such as *Lo Rat Penat* have been teaching Valencian language lessons since 1949 without interruption, without any recognition on the part of the different autonomic governments from 1982 to the present time.

Certificates issued by *Lo Rat Penat* were recognized as official titles in 1982 when it was published the list of titles that enabled teachers to teach Valencian language classes in schools (see Annex IV.a.1). According to this list, titles issued by entities with an autochthonist position and by entities with an annexationist position were equally accepted. The validity was withdrawn a few months later (see Annex IV.a.2) when there was a political change in the autonomous government, leaving in effect only the titles of entities positioned in the linguistic annexationism.

At the moment we find that the autonomic Valencian government considers homologous to Valencian titles those ones issued by entities from the Balearic Islands, Catalonia, Andorra and Roussillon (which teach the standard Catalan model, or the particular one for those territories) but not the titles issued by Valencian entities that teach a linguistic model tailored to the Valencian modality⁴⁷. The argument that *Lo Rat Penat* and other entities do not follow the official AVL norms, taken to the extreme, should not allow the validation of

45 See article “*Las quejas por la ‘complejidad’ del C1 de valenciano se multiplican por nueve en solo 24 horas*” (Complaints about the ‘complexity’ of C1 exam of Valencian are multiplied by nine in just 24 hours), published on June 13, 2018 in the digital newspaper *València Plaza*: <https://valenciaplaza.com/las-quejas-por-la-complejidad-del-c1-de-valenciano-se-multiplican> [Retrieved 05/08/2018]

46 See article “*La JQCV tardará tres meses en corregir los exámenes del C1 de valenciano*” (It will take three months for the JQCV to correct the C1 exams of Valencian), published on August 1, 2018 in the digital newspaper *València Plaza*: <https://valenciaplaza.com/la-jqcv-tardara-tres-meses-en-corregir-los-examenes-del-c1-de-valenciano> [Retrieved 05/08/2018]

47 See article “*Marzà valida el catalán de Andorra y excluye el valenciano de Lo Rat Penat*” (Marzà validates the Catalan of Andorra and excludes the Valencian from *Lo Rat Penat*), published on March 9, 2017 in the newspaper *Las Provincias*: <https://www.lasprovincias.es/politica/201703/09/marza-valida-catalan-andorra-20170309004643-v.html> [Retrieved 05/08/2018] (it can also be found in the [Documentary Appendix - Document 2](#)).

titles issued by private entities that also fail to follow the normative recommendations of the AVL. Recommendations that, moreover, are mandatory only for public administrations and the Valencian educational system, as legally established at present, but doesn't oblige, as is evident, individuals or private civic entities.

g) to make arrangements to ensure the teaching of the history and the culture which is reflected by the regional or minority language;

h) to provide the basic and further training of the teachers required to implement those of paragraphs a to g accepted by the Party;

In relation to article 8.1.g) of the Charter, we take this opportunity to indicate that the teaching of Valencian history and culture is not without controversy for several reasons:

- In the educational system, the history of the Valencian People is not always explained with the due rigour. Both textbooks and materials produced by teachers themselves often convey biased versions of the history of the Crown of Aragon, which maximize the role of present-day Catalonia and its involvement as the sole protagonist in the constitution of the historic Kingdom of València. This vision leads to a language-culture-nation identification that is not in accordance with either a balanced view of Valencian history or the feeling of identity of the vast majority of Valencians.
- Also, in the educational system, language is often equated with culture, and therefore the “Catalan” name is applied to all the cultural manifestations of the Valencian, Catalan and Balearic territories. Thus, the application of the “Catalan” demonym to the linguistic modalities of these territories is followed by the application of the “Catalan” label to any cultural manifestation (literary, festive, gastronomic) and even to all the citizens (first as “Catalan-speaking” groups, and later directly as “Catalans”).
- In this Catalan-centered framework, literary authors and other relevant Valencian historical figures are considered and named Catalan, and also their works too, while historical figures not aligned with linguistic annexationism are ignored, despised, or disqualified, branding them as anti-scientists and enemies of Valencian, when they are only in favor of linguistic autochthonism.

With regard to the comments on pages 129 and 130 of the **5th Report**, we would like to share two thoughts regarding the training of education staff to teach in Valencian.

First of all, in the light of the analysis of the evolution of Valencian presented in point 5.1 of this report, we are quite critical about the degree of adequate training of a large

part of the people who can prove it through the possession of an administrative certificate.

Both the consideration of those certificates as a merit, before, and as a requirement, in recent years, have encouraged teachers to obtain the requested certifications, but it is a common impression that this training reflects more the skills of reading and writing (assisted in many cases by new technologies, which provide automatic translation tools) than oral expression skills, attending to the fact that many teachers with accredited training have problems when faced with a class in Valencian.

Secondly, as already mentioned above, the whole process of accreditation of knowledge of Valencian is directed by an organism, the JQCV, which applies more convergent criteria to the standard Catalan than the norms and recommendations of the AVL stipulate. If we add the automatic validation of titles from other territories with non-Valencian linguistic models (without some minimum adaptation “bridge classes”), we are convinced that teachers who are really trained to teach Valencian will contribute, by conviction or by ignorance, to the denaturation of the Valencian linguistic modality, to the benefit of the standard Catalan and a homogeneous vision of the whole set of Valencian and Catalan.

Another subject deserves separate mention: the degree in Catalan Philology, that in 1993 replaced the specialty of Valencian Philology. Following the AVL’s RESOLUTION of 2005⁴⁸, which indicates in its point 5 that the proper name for the language in the Valencian Community is “Valencian”, we consider that the Valencian government should urge Valencian universities to amend the name of that linguistic degree back to Valencian Philology, using the denomination for the language that is included in our Statute of Autonomy and that the AVL prescribes that should be used in the Valencian Community.

i) to set up a supervisory body or bodies responsible for monitoring the measures taken and progress achieved in establishing or developing the teaching of regional or minority languages and for drawing up periodic reports of their findings, which will be made public.

The **5th Report**, on page 130, states that “... *Finally, the Decree [referring to Decree 9/2017 already mentioned, which before its suspension established the Dynamic Multilingual Educational Program] establishes the realization of a global evaluation of the linguistic model to check the degree of fulfillment of the objectives and improve multilingual education (article 37. Purpose of the global evaluation of the Valencian language teaching model)*”.

Unfortunately, we doubt that the evaluations carried out by the current Valencian government, to verify the degree of fulfillment of the objectives and to improve

48 See Annex III.f.

multilingual education, take into account aspects such as the proximity of the linguistic model used in the educational system to the speakers, point which we consider should be the key to a realistic linguistic policy, far from an essentialism that is harmful to Valencian.

5.2.c) Subsection “Part III. Article 9 – Judicial authorities”

Paragraph 1

The Parties undertake, in respect of those judicial districts in which the number of residents using the regional or minority languages justifies the measures specified below, according to the situation of each of these languages and on condition that the use of the facilities afforded by the present paragraph is not considered by the judge to hamper the proper administration of justice:

a) in criminal proceedings:

i) to provide that the courts, at the request of one of the parties, shall conduct the proceedings in the regional or minority languages; and/or

ii) to guarantee the accused the right to use his/her regional or minority language; and/or

iii) to provide that requests and evidence, whether written or oral, shall not be considered inadmissible solely because they are formulated in a regional or minority language; and/or

iv) to produce, on request, documents connected with legal proceedings in the relevant regional or minority language, if necessary by the use of interpreters and translations involving no extra expense for the persons concerned;

b) in civil proceedings:

i) to provide that the courts, at the request of one of the parties, shall conduct the proceedings in the regional or minority languages; and/or

ii) to allow, whenever a litigant has to appear in person before a court, that he or she may use his or her regional or minority language without thereby incurring additional expense; and/or

iii) to allow documents and evidence to be produced in the regional or minority languages, if necessary by the use of interpreters and translations;

c) in proceedings before courts concerning administrative matters:

i) to provide that the courts, at the request of one of the parties, shall conduct the proceedings in the regional or minority languages; and/or

ii) to allow, whenever a litigant has to appear in person before a court, that he or she may use his or her regional or minority language without thereby incurring additional expense; and/or

iii) to allow documents and evidence to be produced in the regional or minority languages, if necessary by the use of interpreters and translations;

The Committee of Experts strongly urges the Spanish authorities:

- to amend the legal framework with a view to making it clear that the criminal, civil and administrative judicial authorities in València will conduct the proceedings in Valencian at the request of one party;*
- to take the necessary measures to ensure, as appropriate, that the parties to a proceeding are specifically informed of the obligation of the judicial authorities in València to conduct the proceedings in Valencian if one of the parties so requests, in conformity with the undertakings entered into by Spain under Article 9 para. 1.a.i, 1.b.i and 1.c.i of the Charter;*
- to take the necessary measures to increase the proportion of judicial staff in València, at all levels and particularly among judges and prosecutors, who are competent in the use of Valencian as a working language in courts;*
- to develop adequate training schemes for judicial staff as well as for lawyers.*

Recommendations of the Committee of Ministers:

- 1. amend the legal framework with a view to making it clear that the criminal, civil and administrative judicial authorities in the Autonomous Communities can conduct the proceedings in co-official languages at the request of one party;*
- 2. continue to implement legal and step up practical measures aimed at ensuring that an adequate proportion of the judicial staff posted in the Autonomous Communities concerned by the application of Article 9 of the Charter has a working knowledge of the relevant languages;*

In relation to article 9 of the Charter, we believe that there is a long way to go until Valencian speakers' linguistic rights are fully respected, without having to give up expressing themselves in Valencian, and that justice communicates with them in the same language. Any action aimed at moving forward in this matter will have our support.

Paragraph 3

The Parties undertake to make available in the regional or minority languages the most important national statutory texts and those relating particularly to users of these languages, unless they are otherwise provided.

The 5th **Report** states on page 134:

The Official Gazette of the State [BOE] is published in the different co-official languages.

It is up to the autonomous government:

- The rotation in the elaboration of the Catalan version of the BOE, in coordination with the *Generalitat* of Catalonia.
- The elaboration of the Valencian version of the IRPF (Personal Income Tax statement).
- The elaboration of the Valencian version of the documentation for electoral processes.
- The translation to Valencian of the proofs in the processes of the Ministry of Justice (lawyers and solicitors).

Below we clarify some of the previous aspects.

5.2.c.1 Version in Valencian of the Official Gazette of the State (BOE)

In relation to the publication of the Official Gazette of the State (BOE) in Valencian, it is necessary to indicate that different Valencian autonomic governments had been sending the translation of the BOE to the State Agency of the BOE from the end of the year 2000 to the Supplement of day 23 October 2015. As of that moment, Valencian versions of the Gazette are no longer published on the BOE website⁴⁹.

The entities that have elaborated this report initiated a procedure through the Spanish Ombudsman (*Defensor del Pueblo*) to find out the reasons for the interruption of the translations of the BOE to Valencian, coinciding with the last change of autonomous government, obtaining the confirmation on the part of the State Agency of the BOE that the Department of Education, Research, Culture and Sports of the *Generalitat Valenciana* had stopped sending the translations, but expressed the intention to normalize the translations⁵⁰.

49 The digital version of the Official Gazette of the State can be found here: <http://boe.es/>

50 The Supplement in Valencian language of the BOE is published under the Royal Decree 489/1997, of April 14, on the publication of the laws in the co-official languages of the autonomous communities, which foresees that those publication will be carried out in the terms that will be established by means of a collaboration agreement with the corresponding community. Based on this provision, on December 4, 2000 (BOE #312 of December 29), the General Administration of the State and the *Generalitat Valenciana* signed a Convention for the publication of

However, a subsequent letter from the Department of Education, Research, Culture and Sports of the Valencian government, through a report from the Directorate General of Linguistic Policy and Management of Multilingualism (DGPLGM) indicated that, due to the high demand for translation of texts, the new autonomous government had not been able to attend the BOE's translation commitment, but that the BOE had always had a version in Valencian, since, according to this report, "Valencian and Catalan are coincident languages."

The same letter from the aforementioned Department stated that the DGPLGM was working with the General Directorates of Linguistic Policy of Catalonia and the Balearic Islands to "*optimize the human, technical and economic resources to satisfy the three at the same time the agreements of collaboration with others Administrations, among them the one of the State*". This statement is along the lines of the statements made in the **5th Report**, when it is said that "*It corresponds to the autonomic government: The rotation in the elaboration of the Catalan version of the BOE, in coordination with the Generalitat of Catalonia*".

In the past there was already a temporary interruption of the Valencian versions of the BOE, and in that case the evaluation report of the Committee of Experts concluded that, given the similarities between Valencian and Catalan, the existence of the latter satisfied the need to have the most important legislative texts in Valencian (see section 4.3 of this document).

As users and advocates of the Valencian linguistic modality, we can confirm that the rotation in the elaboration of the "*version in Catalan [sic]*" of the BOE is (and will be), indeed, always a standard Catalan version and not an alternation of standard Catalan and standard Valencian. This is consistent with the linguistic policy of the current Valencian autonomous government, which emphasizes the subordinate convergence with respect to the Catalan standard rather than the defense of the Valencian own modality. Although justified by a supposed greater efficiency, this action actually hides an ideological purpose contrary to Valencian speakers' right to have versions in their own linguistic modality.

It should also be noted that the arguments put forward by the DGPLGM to offer a unique version for Valencian and Catalan mention the AVL's RESOLUTION of 2005⁵¹, but in a self-interested way: only the aspects that are in line with its intention to promote a homogenizing vision of Valencian and Catalan are cited, and the fact that the AVL encourages the existence of different versions for the linguistic models of each territory is obviated. Regardless whether they consider that Valencian and Catalan are coincident languages or not, the existence of different standards (one of them expressly mandatory

the laws in Valencian language. In accordance with its clauses, its up to the Ministry of the Presidency, through the State Agency of the BOE, to provide the Valencian Government with the texts in Spanish of the norms in accordance with the law, duly composed, read, corrected and certified.

Based on this remission of the texts in Spanish, it's up to the *Generalitat Valenciana*, in accordance with the fifth clause of the above mentioned agreement, its translation to Valencian and return to this Agency.

51 See Annex III.f.

for official uses in the Valencian Community) requires different versions to respect the rights of citizens of each territory to have, in this case, the BOE in its own modality.

As Valencian users, we think that, when the respect for linguistic diversity is at stake, this should be prioritized over criteria of alleged efficiency, which carried to the extreme would make the Charter a utopia, since different versions wouldn't be necessary for any minority language that coexists in a diglossic situation with a non-minority language in which the speakers of the first are also competent, or that is structurally close.

5.2.c.2 Valencian version of the IRPF

Given that the paper version of the forms to prepare the Personal Income Tax statement is less and less used, we cannot verify the degree of compliance with this responsibility on the part of the Valencian government.

However, we can say that the computer application to prepare and submit the income tax statement has a language option for Valencian but, according to the website of the Spanish Tax Agency in the "Linguistic Policy"⁵² section, the versions in languages other than Spanish are done employing automatic translation. In the case of Valencian, we understand that due to the unavailability of automatic translation tools for the Valencian modality, the Tax Agency is providing the same translation into standard Catalan under both "Catalan" and "Valencian" language options.

We consider that the Tax Agency or the autonomic government are acting negligently in this case, applying the same automatic translator to the two language options, since there is no possibility of using the argument of efficiency. Alternatively, perhaps, more than acting negligently, this case shows the lack of computer tools for the Valencian modality or its lack of dissemination, and in both cases the Valencian government or the Valencian Academy of the Language should put in place the means to guarantee the existence and diffusion of computer tools for automatic translation from the main languages to the Valencian standard and vice versa, either developed by the administration itself or in collaboration with leading technological companies in this field.

5.2.c.3 Valencian version of the documentation for electoral processes

As in the case of the BOE, the entities that have elaborated this report initiated a procedure through the Spanish Ombudsman (*Defensor del Pueblo*) to enquire about the reason why some Valencian citizens received versions of the voting census cards in Catalan and not in Valencian, for the elections of June 26, 2016, thinking that this was a mistake.

52 It can be found in:
https://www.agenciatributaria.es/AEAT.internet/en_gb/Inicio/ otros /Politica_linguistica/Politica_linguistica.shtml [Retrieved 05/08/2018]

The Office of the Electoral Census indicated in a report that the first translation provided by the Valencian government, as a result of the entry into force of Organic Law 5/1985, of June 19, of the General Electoral Regime, was being used until now, and that the Office of the Electoral Census would again request “... *the correct translation to Valencian [...] thus solving the error in view of future electoral processes...*”.

We look forward to the electoral census cards in the next elections, to verify that Valencian citizens receive their census cards in the Spanish/Valencian bilingual version.

5.2.d) Subsection “Part III. Article 10 – Administrative authorities and public services”

Paragraph 1

Within the administrative districts of the State in which the number of residents who are users of regional or minority languages justifies the measures specified below and according to the situation of each language, the Parties undertake, as far as this is reasonably possible:

a) i) to ensure that the administrative authorities use the regional or minority languages; or

The Committee of Experts urges the Spanish authorities to substantially increase the number of Valencian-speaking staff in the relevant state administration offices and to develop adequate training schemes.

b) to make available widely used administrative texts and forms for the population in the regional or minority languages or in bilingual versions;

c) to allow the administrative authorities to draft documents in a regional or minority language.

The entities that have prepared this report value positively the efforts in favor of the knowledge of Valencian by public employees at the service of the General State Administration in the Valencian Community. However, we still find cases of acts contrary to the normalization of the use of Valencian by public employees (for example, in state security forces⁵³).

53 An example can be found in the article “*Denunciado en Benidorm por dirigirse a dos policías nacionales en valenciano*” (Denounced in Benidorm for addressing two national policemen in Valencian) published in *Información* on March 2, 2017: <https://www.diarioinformacion.com/benidorm/2017/03/02/denunciado-benidorm-dirigirse-policias-nacionales/1866326.html> [Retrieved 05/08/2018]

The political climate that is being lived in Spain, due to the Catalan nationalist question, is causing in the population some reactions contrary to linguistic plurality. We hope that the staff of the different public administrations continue to be an example of respect for the diversity and rights of the citizens of territories with their own language, in an environment of coexistence, tolerance, and equality of co-official languages.

Paragraph 2

In respect of the local and regional authorities on whose territory the number of residents who are users of regional or minority languages is such as to justify the measures specified below, the Parties undertake to allow and/or encourage:

a) the use of regional or minority languages within the framework of the regional or local authority;

b) the possibility for users of regional or minority languages to submit oral or written applications in these languages;

At this point, with regard to what is indicated in pages 136 and 137 of the **5th Report**, we'll only state that the DGPLGM published in 2016 its "Linguistic Criteria" that have been harshly criticized by members of the Valencian official normative entity (AVL), for proposing a linguistic model distant from the norms and recommendations of the normative entity, returning to the model of the 80's of the past century, subordinate with respect to the standard Catalan (see note 29).

These Criteria are being used even outside its scope of application, extending to local administrations and communication media a language that is far-off the living language but is being consolidated by the quantity of new speakers who don't know another linguistic model and by insecurity caused in native Valencian users, who believe that their vernacular Valencian is "informal", "illiterate", "vulgar" or "unscientific".

c) the publication by regional authorities of their official documents also in the relevant regional or minority languages;

At this point, we want to reiterate that the linguistic model that is promoting the current autonomous government is being noted in the writing of the official texts of the Valencian public administrations, both autonomous and local, and we do not recognize it as being suitable for the Valencian language.

d) the publication by local authorities of their official documents also in the relevant regional or minority languages;

e) the use by regional authorities of regional or minority languages in debates in their assemblies, without excluding, however, the use of the official language(s) of the State;

f) the use by local authorities of regional or minority languages in debates in their assemblies, without excluding, however, the use of the official language(s) of the State;

g) the use or adoption, if necessary in conjunction with the name in the official language(s), of traditional and correct forms of place-names in regional or minority languages.

Paragraph 3

With regard to public services provided by the administrative authorities or other persons acting on their behalf, the Parties undertake, within the territory in which regional or minority languages are used, in accordance with the situation of each language and as far as this is reasonably possible:

a) to ensure that the regional or minority languages are used in the provision of the service; or

b) to allow users of regional or minority languages to submit a request and receive a reply in these languages; or

c) to allow users of regional or minority languages to submit a request in these languages.

Regarding the previous points, to clarify the information provided on page 138 of the 5th **Report**, we want to point out that a large part of the local administrations are promoting the subordinate model with respect to the standard Catalan set by the DGPLGM, both in official documentation and in its “informal” channels (web sites, social networks). It is sadly common to find expressions belonging to other territories that displace the equivalent Valencian expressions, which are also those backed by the official normative entity of Valencian (AVL).

This fact can be explained partially by the circumstance already discussed: the absence of automatic translation tools into the Valencian modality, which causes that certain public employees with Valencian knowledge certificates feel uncomfortable writing in this language and have to rely on Translation tools such as Google Translate, which don't include Valencian as such but only standard Catalan. In fact, many local administrations with few resources to translate their web pages are using for their Valencian versions automatic translation options in standard Catalan, causing rejection among their citizens.

At the same time, a coercive strategy towards civil servants is being observed in some administrative areas, requiring them to modify their linguistic uses to adapt to the

“Linguistic Criteria” of the DGPLGM. This fact has been denounced by both autochthonist and particularist sectors.⁵⁴

In April 2017, an official sent me this information: “I work in the Administration, and I suffer the Criteria of the DGPLGM. They say that they are from the Generalitat Valenciana [Valencian government]. The AVL, according to this, is almost not part of the Generalitat. Last week, a person who has now a small charge where I work, told me that, by order of the head, I had to change in a document I’d been asked to write all the “servicis” [“service” in Valencian] and all the “este, esta” [“this” in Valencian] for “servei” [“service” in standard Catalan] and “aquest, aquesta” [“this” in standard Catalan], because, as he said, it was breaching the Criteria.”

Paragraph 4

With a view to putting into effect those provisions of paragraphs 1, 2 and 3 accepted by them, the Parties undertake to take one or more of the following measures:

a) translation or interpretation as may be required;

On page 138 of the 5th **Report**, reference is made to the elaboration and edition of the “Linguistic Criteria of the Administration of the *Generalitat*”⁵⁵, already commented in previous sections. We reiterate that these criteria have been harshly criticized even by members of the (AVL), whose norms are official for the uses of public administration, because they propose a linguistic model distant from the norms and recommendations of the normative entity, going back to the subordinate model with respect to the standard Catalan of the 80’s of the past century (see note 29).

The existence of these criteria, unnecessary in view of the normative documents elaborated by the AVL and contradictory with them, intends to:

- “... accompany any interested person in writing correctly in Valencian in the attainment of a good linguistic competence...”, when they indeed propose an unnatural linguistic model except for the minority of Valencian speakers who favor the linguistic annexationism.
- “... make them available to all public administrations that carry out their activity in our autonomous community...”, usurping the powers of the

54 Saragossà, A. *El valencianisme lingüístic* (The linguistic Valencianism). Àrbena, València c., 2018, p. 176.

55 Criteria approved by means of Resolution of November 23, 2016 (DOGV 7923, of 23/11/2016). They can be found at:
http://www.ceice.gva.es/documents/161863132/163843714/Criteris_2a+edici%C3%B3_web.pdf/35655c83-8beb-43e7-a6d9-47a8c2c83bb6

normative entity not only in the Administration of the *Generalitat* but in other public administrations. The Criteria were made available to public administrations, as well as to some private cultural entities, through the publication of a book on paper, an unnecessary thing in today's times.

The DGPLGM emphasizes that in the process of elaboration of these Criteria “*linguistic technicians from municipal, provincial, university and self-government Valencian public institutions have taken part*”, but it is omitted the fact that they have been done without the participation of the AVL, to which only a non-binding report was requested, precisely in the summer holiday period. Only some of the recommendations from that report were incorporated in the final text, overlooking the majority of the most relevant ones (the articles mentioned in note 29 explain the process followed by the DGPLGM). As one might expect, the RACV was not taken into account as the normative entity of reference for idiomatic Valencianism.

Our interpretation is that the current government has a roadmap drawn up to achieve as fast as possible the fullest convergence (except for some minor concessions) of the Valencian towards the standard Catalan, in all public uses, taking advantage of its capacity to influence on the media and the educational system. In this way, the vernacular Valencian modality would remain as a vulgar language in Valencian native speakers, who would use standard Catalan in formal fields (or, directly, Spanish, a language without ideological connotations and whit more than 300 years in a position of diglossic dominion over Valencian), and in a little more time would disappear entirely even in the speech, due to the increasing presence of users of the language that have learned it at school and through the media, and to the Spanishization which affects the big Valencian cities fundamentally and starts affecting the medium-sized ones.

This scenario, sought or favored by annexationism, seems incompatible with the survival of the Valencian language, but, unfortunately, it also is increasingly likely.

b) recruitment and, where necessary, training of the officials and other public service employees required;

Regarding the information provided on pages 138 and 139 of the **5th Report**, we find a significant discrepancy in some of the data presented:

- When it comes to proving knowledge in Valencian through certificates, considering that certificates C1 and C2 certify a degree of “quite well or perfectly” in the different skills, the percentage of Valencian public employees that have this level would be 52.9%.
- The survey conducted in the last quarter of 2016 indicates that “speak quite well or perfectly” was answered by 57.3% of the respondents, above the percentage

of employees that certify a C1 or C2 level. On the other hand, from this survey, it follows that “write quite well or perfectly” was answered by 45.9% of the respondents, below the percentage of employees that prove a C1 or C2 level.

- From the comparison of the previous data, if the methodology of the survey is correct, we deduce that more public employees are confident in their oral skills than those attested by certificates. We dare say that some of them will be Valencian speakers unable to prove their inherently high oral competence with a certificate, and it should be analyzed why these native speakers have not opted for, or have obtained, certifications.
- On the other hand, in terms of writing, the opposite happens: despite having a certification that attests greater skills, many public employees do not feel confident in written expression. In this case, we dare say the reason could be the lack of practice in the written use of Valencian once the certification has been obtained, and we fear that the consequence will be the use of automatic translation tools, that will either be for the standard Catalan or follow the “Linguistic Criteria” of the DGPLGM (subordinate to the standard Catalan) mentioned in previous sections.
- Once again, we must reclaim here the full validity of the different Valencian titles that, for the last seven decades, have been imparted and issued by *Lo Rat Penat*, which certify a proper knowledge of the Valencian language, and that remain unrecognized by the public administration for strictly ideological reasons.

5.2.e) Subsection “Part III. Article 11 – Media”

Paragraph 1

The Parties undertake, for the users of the regional or minority languages within the territories in which those languages are spoken, according to the situation of each language, to the extent that the public authorities, directly or indirectly, are competent, have power or play a role in this field, and respecting the principle of the independence and autonomy of the media:

a) to the extent that radio and television carry out a public service mission:

i) to ensure the creation of at least one radio station and one television channel in the regional or minority languages; or

<p><i>The Committee of Experts urges the Spanish authorities to take the necessary measures to encourage and/or facilitate the creation of one public TV channel and a public radio station in Valencian.</i></p>
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On the information provided on pages 140 and 141 of the 5th **Report**, we consider it necessary to make the following clarifications.

First of all, we congratulate ourselves on the recovery of the public communication media in Valencian that the former autonomous government dismantled. However, and as we have indicated about the “Linguistic Criteria” of the DGPLGM, the Style Book of the new autonomous broadcasting service⁵⁶ promotes a linguistic model that is markedly convergent with standard Catalan, with particularist concessions in audiovisual content but establishing a decidedly convergent or annexationist model in its web and social networks, like wanting to transmit in textual contents (more easily searchable and accessible on the Internet) a more homogeneous vision of Valencian with respect to Catalan than oral language allows.

This, in our view, contradicts some of the functions outlined in this section of the 5th **Report**, specifically:

k) To promote and spread the historical, cultural, educational and **linguistic values, in all its richness and variety**, to contribute to the development of the Valencian Community.

[...]

n) To promote territorial **cohesion and linguistic diversity through the broadcasting in Valencian**, which will be the vehicular language of the public media that depend on the *Generalitat Valenciana*.

We do not consider that a linguistic convergence close to annexationism is compatible with promoting and spreading the linguistic values in all its richness and variety when precisely that variety is being avoided in what refers to Valencian linguistic modality (which is the one that should be of interest to the Valencian government). Nor do we consider that the avoidance of the Valencian linguistic modality helps to the territorial cohesion of the Valencian Community; instead, it helps to create “cohesion” at other levels outside the autonomic field, and that is not accepted by the majority of the Valencian population.

Secondly, we are also concerned about the lack of plurality, in relation to the linguistic sensitivity, of professionals who have joined the Public Broadcasting Service of the Autonomous Region, which are largely active, or have been in the past, in associations in defense of linguistic annexationism or even joint national projects for the Valencian and Catalan peoples⁵⁷. We trust that professionalism will be above ideologies, and that

56 This Style Book can be downloaded from:

https://www.cvmc.es/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/Llibre-destil-CVMC_web.pdf

57 See the article “*Llega À Punt, una autonòmica a la medida de Compromís y con guiños al independentismo*” (À Punt arrives, an autonomic [broadcasting company] tailored to Compromís and with winks to the independence movement), from *El Español*, published on 06/11/2018:

https://www.elespanol.com/economia/medios/20180610/llega-punt-autonomica-medida-compromis-guiños-independentismo/313969195_0.html [Retrieved 05/08/2018]

this public service will guarantee “*the generation of informative content and the spread of objective, truthful, accessible and impartial information, which will have to be fully adjusted to the criterion of professional independence and to the political, social, ideological and territorial plurality of the Valencian Community*”. However, it is still worrying that the ideological composition of a public service as relevant as a media company is sociologically so far away from the society it is addressed to.

Finally, regarding the promotion of the programming and production of audiovisual content in Valencian, we see the same danger that these contents present a linguistic model distant from living Valencian language. This can either cause rejection in the consumers, or help to normalize a standard that displaces Valencian expressions, or facilitate the replacement of Valencian by Spanish, as the speakers will not identify themselves with this linguistic model.

b) i) to encourage and/or facilitate the creation of at least one radio station in the regional or minority languages; or

c) i) to encourage and/or facilitate the creation of at least one television channel in the regional or minority languages; or

d) to encourage and/or facilitate the production and distribution of audio and audiovisual works in the regional or minority languages;

e) i) to encourage and/or facilitate the creation and/or maintenance of at least one newspaper in the regional or minority languages; or

Regarding the newspapers, it should be emphasized that among digital newspapers (or digital versions of printed press) that have chosen to have two versions, in Spanish and in Valencian, most of them make use of automatic translation tools with a minimum Human supervision, as has been observed in the numerous errors due to literal translations, even in the headlines⁵⁸.

These automatic translations, in addition, show the same deficiencies that have been mentioned for other scenarios of automatic translation: this tools are either well-known translation websites that don't include Valencian but standard Catalan (e.g., Google Translate) or custom-developed software aligned with the “Linguistic Criteria” of the DGPLGM (Salt.usu), of markedly convergent with Catalan. We have the impression that some newspapers offer the Valencian version only to opt for subsidies from the autonomous government.

58 See article “*El traductor automático del diario ‘Levante’ convierte a Lady Di en Lady Vaig Donar*” (The automatic translator of the newspaper ‘Levante’ turns Lady Di into Lady Vaig Donar [translation of Spanish word ‘Di’ into the Valencian expression ‘Vaig donar’]), from the *El País*, published on 31/08/2017:
https://verne.elpais.com/verne/2017/08/31/articulo/1504190083_815299.html [Retrieved 05/08/2018]

Another subject that deserves separate mention is that of the newspapers published in Catalonia. These newspapers do not usually reach many Valencians: they are mostly read by the minority with an annexationist point of view and by a part of the particularist speakers. In this newspapers we do not find a convergent Valencian model, but rather their contents are written to a large extent directly in the Catalan modality, except for those that refer to Valencian themes, which use a strongly convergent model, that doesn't follow the norms and recommendations of the AVL and, needless to say, very distant from the norms and recommendations of the RACV, the closest to the vernacular Valencian variant.

It is curious that the Department of Education, Research, Culture and Sports of the Valencian government contributes to the economic support of some of these Catalan media, when they have the support of the Catalan government, and that in addition to not having many Valencian readers, they don't follow the Valencian linguistic standard, they do not respect the denomination of "Valencian" applied to the own language of Valencians (as stated in the AVL's RESOLUTION of 2005⁵⁹) and do not respect the Valencian culture and identity traits (name of the territory and identity of the Valencian People, to give a couple of examples).

f) ii) to apply existing measures for financial assistance also to audiovisual productions in the regional or minority languages;

Regarding the comments on page 142 of the 5th **Report**, we declare that many media companies (especially digital newspapers with two versions, Spanish and Valencian) that opt for grants are just automatically translating the original version in Spanish, using inadequate translators, since they do not reflect the Valencian linguistic modality.

5.2.f) Subsection "Part III. Article 12 – Cultural activities and facilities"

Paragraph 1

With regard to cultural activities and facilities – especially libraries, video libraries, cultural centres, museums, archives, academies, theatres and cinemas, as well as literary work and film production, vernacular forms of cultural expression, festivals and the culture industries, including inter alia the use of new technologies – the Parties undertake, within the territory in which such languages are used and to the extent that the public authorities are competent, have power or play a role in this field:

a) to encourage types of expression and initiative specific to regional or minority languages and foster the different means of access to works produced in these languages;

59 See Annex III.f.

b) to foster the different means of access in other languages to works produced in regional or minority languages by aiding and developing translation, dubbing, post-synchronisation and subtitling activities;

c) to foster access in regional or minority languages to works produced in other languages by aiding and developing translation, dubbing, post-synchronisation and subtitling activities;

d) to ensure that the bodies responsible for organising or supporting cultural activities of various kinds make appropriate allowance for incorporating the knowledge and use of regional or minority languages and cultures in the undertakings which they initiate or for which they provide backing;

e) to promote measures to ensure that the bodies responsible for organising or supporting cultural activities have at their disposal staff who have a full command of the regional or minority language concerned, as well as of the language(s) of the rest of the population;

f) to encourage direct participation by representatives of the users of a given regional or minority language in providing facilities and planning cultural activities;

g) to encourage and/or facilitate the creation of a body or bodies responsible for collecting, keeping a copy of and presenting or publishing works produced in the regional or minority languages;

h) if necessary, to create and/or promote and finance translation and terminological research services, particularly with a view to maintaining and developing appropriate administrative, commercial, economic, social, technical or legal terminology in each regional or minority language.

This section of the 5th **Report** is the one that we are more critical of. On page 145 it is stated:

“... On the other hand, annual aid calls are opened for editorial production and electronic edition of books in the Valencian environment, with particular attention to works published in Valencian.

Thus, Order 84/2016, of December 12, of the Department of Education, Research, Culture, and Sports, establishes the regulatory bases for the granting of subsidies to editorial production. Moreover, in the corresponding call, this aid line is awarded in 200,000 euros, which 60% is used for publishing production in Valencian.

In the same vein, Order 75/2016, of November 29, of the Department of Education, Research, Culture, and Sports, establishes the regulatory bases for the granting of subsidies to the electronic edition of books.

In the corresponding call, the following distribution of the financial endowment of the line is established as follow:

Through animation activities, with Valencian as a vehicular language, the habit of reading is encouraged in libraries: reading clubs, literary festivals, recitals, conferences, exhibitions, etc.

Likewise, the magazine Lletres valencianes give an account of the literary novelties, with reviews both in Spanish and in Valencian. The magazine aims to create a community of readers-users of the publications of Valencian publishers and libraries. Through this publication, from a cultural and artistic point of view, the most relevant books produced by Valencian publishers are made known, thus becoming a reference catalog in the Valencian publishing sector.

On the other side, the General Directorate of Linguistic Policy and Management of Multilingualism also performs actions in the field of culture, where the presence of Valencian is intimately linked to some of its expressions, especially in those more traditional. Thus, annually, financial aid is granted in the festive sphere aimed at promoting the use of Valencian in festive books, specifically, those that are more traditional and more geographical extent: Fallas, Magdalena, Fogueres and Moros i Cristians.”

On the previous information, we must clarify that, although we the autochthonist entities we have never had a proportional economic support from the Valencian public administrations, in accordance to the social representativeness of our postulates, since the change of autonomous and municipal governments of 2015 **virtually all the actions to promote culture in Valencian** (creation of literary works, recitals, conferences, traditional festivals) **systematically exclude those civic and cultural entities that pronounce themselves in favor of the linguistic autochthonism and act coherently with those convictions.**

As stated in section 3, it is known that between the last years of the Franco regime and the principle of democracy there was an identity conflict in the modern Valencian Community, which affected the denomination of territory, its identity traits, the denomination of the Valencian language and its entity and model of codification.

During the period in which the pre-autonomous government opted for an autochthonist linguistic codification for Valencian, organizations in favor of annexationist or particularism were respected, and the titles of Valencian issued by them were as valid as those of the autochthonist entities to enable education professionals to teach in Valencian.

During the PSPV-PSOE (1983-1995) period, while the official position turned towards annexationist, the autochthonist entities were tolerated to a greater or lesser extent, mainly based on the political sign of certain city councils.

When the government changed in 1995, the new Valencian administration had to manage again the linguistic conflict, latent during the previous stage. On the one hand, the social pressure demanded an autochthonist linguistic model that would correct the policies of the previous government, and on the other hand, formal academic sectors and opposition parties opposed to an autochthonist solution (see section 3 for greater detail of the positions in conflict). As a result, an official normative entity for Valencian was created in 1998, the Valencian Academy of the Language (AVL), which had to express itself with respect to the name and entity of Valencian, and to determine its normative.

The AVL approved in 2002, for the first time, an official normative referent for the Valencian language, valid while the Grammar and the Dictionary or other prescriptive texts of the institution were not approved.

In 2005, the AVL established for the first time (motivating the protests of important social sectors), that Valencian and Catalan are “the same linguistic system or language”, proposing a “convergent polycentric” coding approach, which would unroll in several normative works that were published in the following years: *Spelling and pronunciation dictionary of Valencian* (2006), *Valencian Normative Grammar* (2006), *Valencian Normative Dictionary* (2014) and *Basic Valencian Grammar* (2016). This positioning caused the rejection of the autochthonist social sector headed by the RACV, which in parallel has continued the development of several normative reference works, such as the *General Dictionary of the Valencian Language* (2010) or the *New Grammar of the Valencian Language* (2015).

Therefore, never before 2002 there was an official normative, and only after that moment there was, being obligatory only for “all the public administrations of the Valencian Community”, as it appears in the Statute of Autonomy reformed in 2006, but not, as is evident, for private users or civic entities.

Neither during the period from 1995 to 2002, when there was still no official Valencian standard, nor in the period from 2002 to 2015, when an official codification for Valencian had already been established, the autochthonistic entities had ever been discriminated against by their ideas.

However, since the last change in the autonomic government, accompanied by changes of the same sign at the Provincial Council of València and the City Council of the city of València, a rigorous application of the Law of Creation of the AVL has been used as an excuse to reduce or refuse aid to civic and cultural entities that legitimately defend their position after verifying that the consensus solution that the AVL intended to be has proved useless, by allowing the linguistic annexationists to continue to use its model without concerns and, instead, only making a few concessions to autochthonism, which

sees the impossibility of using a model not even close to its starting premises (see again section 3 for a greater detail of the positions in conflict).

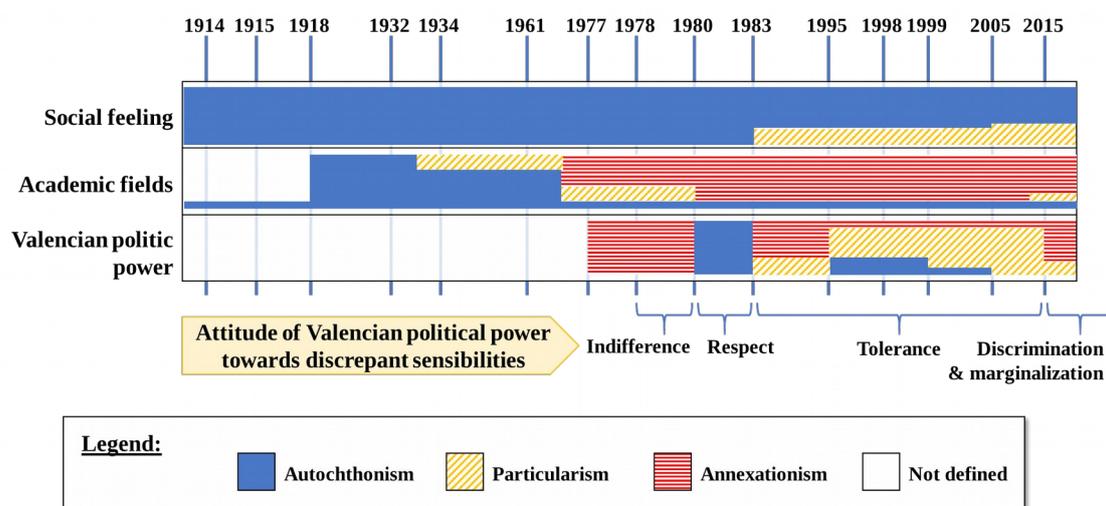


Figure 4. Simplified chronogram of linguistic sensitivities in different fields, and the official treatment of the discrepant sensitivities with the political power

Some relevant dates are indicated: 1914, autochthonist norms agreed by the leading writers in Lo Rat Penat; 1915, Elemental Grammar of the Valencian Language by Lluís Fullana, drafted according to the previous norms by the Center of Valencian Culture (today RACV) (autochthonist); 1918, Chair of Valencian Language (autochthonist) in the University of Valencia; 1932, Provisional bases of Valencian Orthography of Castellon; 1934, antioccitanist manifestoon the part of Catalan nationalism, secessionist with respect to Occitan and annexationist with regard to Valencian and Balearic (see note 12); 1961, Valencian university students began to call “Catalan” to their language (annexationism); 1977, Preautonomic Council, beginning of the government of PSPV-PSOE (annexationist); 1978, Spanish Constitution; 1980, beginning of UCD government (autochthonist); 1983, beginning of the government of PSPV-PSOE (annexationist/particularist); 1995, beginning of the government of PP-UV (autochthonist/particularist); 1998, creation of the AVL, which obliges the administration to follow the norms of the official entity; 1999, PP government (particularist/annexationist); 2005, publication of the AVL Resolution that equates Valencian with Catalan; 2015, beginning of the current government (annexationist).

We believe that **the persecution carried out by the current political power** against the autochthonist entities, **unprecedented in the centuries-old history of some of them, violates enshrined fundamental and linguistic rights** (see Annex II) and **rights included in the Spanish legal order** (see Annex III), such as:

- Freedom of opinion, expression, and communication.
- Ability of individuals to choose the own cultural expressions (in particular in everything related to the own language and the way in which it is understood).
- Freedom of artistic creation.

- Non-discrimination on the grounds of language, political or other opinions.
- To have their own cultural life and to learn their own language (based on their convictions, as a linguistic community free of external interference).
- To teach their own language (based on their convictions, as a linguistic community free of external interference).
- Protection of the existence and the national or ethnic, cultural and linguistic identity, and the promotion of the conditions for the encouragement of that identity.
- To enjoy their own culture, and to use their own language, privately and publicly, freely and without interference or discrimination of any kind.
- To express their own traits and develop their own culture and language.
- To promote the knowledge of history, traditions, language and culture (based on their convictions, as a self-aware People).
- Protection and promotion of the diversity of cultural expressions (being the own linguistic modality one of the most important cultural expressions), and promotion of respect for this diversity.
- Recognition of the distinctive nature of cultural activities, goods and services as vehicles of identity.
- Recognition of the equal dignity of all cultures (without intrusions or improper appropriations).

We, the autochthonist entities, have suffered in these last three years clearly discriminatory and repressive actions, which are listed in detail in Annex IV, and that we can summarize in the following typologies:

- Withdrawal of subsidies previously granted.
- Non-granting of subsidies to publishers in the Valencian language that follow the RACV autochthonist linguistic model.
- Censorship of our authors' literary creations (not published in official books of festivities).
- Non-admission or implicit disqualification of cultural associations that follow the autochthonist linguistic model in festive competitions.
- Exclusion, from actions related to the organization and protection of certain traditions, of the entities that created them, just because they are in favor of linguistic and cultural autochtonism⁶⁰.

60 Some examples can be found in the following stories:

- Disrespect and marginalization towards people who legitimately defend an autochthonist position with respect to the Valencian language, on the part of political leaders of the Valencian public administrations.

These actions, which have never been suffered with so much severity by annexationist/particularist individuals or entities, irrespective of the political complexion of the governments, seem more serious to us when they come from the governing authorities who have boasted of their tolerance and respect for diversity, but instead show that tolerance and respect only apply when something fits into its ideological positions.

At no point does the last report of the Spanish State, nor the other reports provided by associations, make the slightest mention of the existence of a group of Valencian speakers who have disagreed and still disagree with the linguistic policies of the different Valencian governments. Although the existence of this linguistic sensibility has been concealed in many communication media and in the educational system in the last 30 years, the repression actions we have enumerated never before occurred.

We take this opportunity to denounce that (as explained in section 3 of this report) throughout the process of coding of the Valencian linguistic modality, **Valencians as a linguistic community**⁶¹ have suffered and still suffer the violation of the following rights:

- Respect for the democratically expressed will. In our case, the linguistic consciousness of the Valencians has been and continues to be ignored by the political and academic elites, who instead of respecting it have decided to correct it. This has happened even with governments that had previously used that linguistic awareness as an electoral argument to attract votes.

- <http://www.actualidadfallera.es/es/blog-fallero/6018-por-que-lo-rat-penat-no-esta-en-la-comision-de-la-unesco>, published in *Actualidad Fallera* on 01/12/2017 [Retrieved 05/08/2018] (it can also be found in the [Documentary Appendix - Document 3](#))

- <https://www.lasprovincias.es/valencia-ciudad/201702/24/malestar-penat-decision-fuset-20170224001418-v.html> published in *Las Provincias* on 24/02/2017 [Retrieved 05/08/2018] (it can also be found in the [Documentary Appendix - Document 4](#))

- <https://www.lasprovincias.es/fallas-valencia/201702/28/penat-exige-incluyan-comite-20170227234510-v.html> published in *Las Provincias* on 28/02/2017 [Retrieved 05/08/2018] (it can also be found in the [Documentary Appendix - Document 5](#))

- <https://www.esdiario.com/558093611/Ayuntamiento-de-valencia-hace-un-feo-a-lo-rat-penat-al-enviarle-una-carta-sobre-la-batalla-flores.html> published in *EsDiario.com* on 20/07/2018 [Retrieved 05/08/2018] (it can also be found in the [Documentary Appendix - Document 6](#))

61 Based on article 1.1 of the Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights (referred to in Appendix II.a.7), we affirm that Valencians are a linguistic community, understood in the way that better guarantees the linguistic rights of a group and of its individuals, which would be the one that recognizes the **minimum linguistic community that identifies itself as such** based on our manifest self-awareness as a People (recognized in the Statute of Autonomy of the Valencian Community).

- To be recognized as members of a linguistic community that is coincident with our awareness of linguistic community, since in our case we have been included in a superior linguistic community without our consent.
- To codify, standardize, preserve, preserve and promote our linguistic system (according to the own consciousness of the linguistic community), without induced or forced interference.
- Equality of rights of all the linguistic communities (based on the premise that the condition of linguistic community is adapted to the feeling of belonging of its members).
- Non-discrimination against linguistic communities based on criteria such as their degree of political sovereignty, their situation defined in social, economic or other terms, the extent to which their languages have been codified, updated or modernized, or on any other criterion.

5.2.g) Subsection “Part III. Article 13 – Economic and social life”

Paragraph 1

With regard to economic and social activities, the Parties undertake, within the whole country:

- a) to eliminate from their legislation any provision prohibiting or limiting without justifiable reasons the use of regional or minority languages in documents relating to economic or social life, particularly contracts of employment, and in technical documents such as instructions for the use of products or installations;*
- b) to prohibit the insertion in internal regulations of companies and private documents of any clauses excluding or restricting the use of regional or minority languages, at least between users of the same language;*
- c) to oppose practices designed to discourage the use of regional or minority languages in connection with economic or social activities;*

Regarding this point, we consider that there are several factors that discourage the use of Valencian, and that are the responsibility of the different public administrations in València, as well as the central administration of the State:

- **The discriminatory actions denounced** in the previous section of this report, and detailed in Annex IV, **are clearly practices that discourage the social use of Valencian**, since they affect both individuals and groups (festive associations and entities with a long history of promotion and use of the Valencian language, in the most difficult circumstances) that find themselves in the situation where they have to renounce their convictions to be able to carry

out their activities on equal terms than similar organizations. These harmful actions, unfortunately, are the exclusive responsibility of the Valencian public administrations themselves that should have a higher stake in the promotion of the use of Valencian.

- A **linguistic model that is far from the natural language of Valencians** is causing internal diglossia among native Valencian users, who have the perception that the language of their ancestors (who often could only speak Valencian) is the corruption of another language that is presented as “cultivated”. **This diglossia can trigger the disaffection and loss of loyalty of the speaker towards his vernacular language.** Also in this case, the responsibility, in our opinion, is partly of the currently official normative entity, which proposes a model that is still too distant from the living spoken Valencian, and of the autonomous government that prefers the most convergent with Catalan model that the official norms allow.
- Finally, we also think that **the linguistic policies aimed at correcting the linguistic identity of Valencians** (see the surveys referred to in the Annex I) **won't help the recovery of the social use of the Valencian**, since instead of taking advantage of an identity element that strengthens the self-esteem of speakers, an alien identity that generates rejection in most speakers being fostered.

Given the responsibility of the public administrations themselves in the actions described, with the outstanding action of the DGPLGM, we will be vigilant on the actions of the Office of Linguistic Rights created by the aforementioned Directorate General when mediating between a compliant and the same Valencian public administrations.

d) to facilitate and/or encourage the use of regional or minority languages by means other than those specified in the above sub-paragraphs.

In relation to the comments included in pages 148 to 151 of the **5th Report**, which reviews the social use of Valencian and some economic measures to promote multilingualism or linguistic diversity in the social sphere, we again denounce that in most cases, any financial aid or subsidy is being conditioned, in the promotion of Valencian but also with any other purpose, to the fact that the recipient entity agrees with certain linguistic ideology and uses the official norms, making a rigorous interpretation of the Law of creation of the AVL to understand that a company or civic entity that receives a subsidy, aid or prize is a publicly financed company.

Paragraph 2

With regard to economic and social activities, the Parties undertake, in so far as the public authorities are competent, within the territory in which the regional or minority languages are used, and as far as this is reasonably possible:

a) to include in their financial and banking regulations provisions which allow, by means of procedures compatible with commercial practice, the use of regional or minority languages in drawing up payment orders (cheques, drafts, etc.) or other financial documents, or, where appropriate, to ensure the implementation of such provisions;

b) in the economic and social sectors directly under their control (public sector), to organise activities to promote the use of regional or minority languages;

The 5th **Report**, on page 151, indicates that the Law of Usage and Teaching of Valencian stipulates that public companies, as well as public services, must guarantee that employees have enough knowledge of Valencian to attend the service with normality, but it does not value the degree of compliance with this provision.

In practice, we consider that many public services do not guarantee a bidirectional communication with users in Valencian. Generally, public employees can understand Valencian, but they don't always have enough confidence to express themselves in fluent Valencian, so they end up speaking Spanish, causing in many cases that the user also switches language.

c) to ensure that social care facilities such as hospitals, retirement homes and hostels offer the possibility of receiving and treating in their own language persons using a regional or minority language who are in need of care on grounds of ill-health, old age or for other reasons;

d) to ensure by appropriate means that safety instructions are also drawn up in regional or minority languages;

It is true that the safety instructions are usually expressed in Valencian, and in some cases in Spanish and Valencian. But in this case, like in the previous section, we do not consider that personal treatment in Valencian is guaranteed to users.

6 Conclusions

In view of the situation depicted on this document, and although the editors of this report are in favor of the linguistic autochthonism with regard to the name, the entity and the linguistic codification of the Valencian language, we want to make it clear that our objective is not to convince anybody about the adequacy or inadequacy of our position. On the contrary, our purpose is to claim that:

1. **Our position as Valencian speakers**, that is, as speakers and users of a minority language officially recognized as such by the Spanish State and the Council of Europe, **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 an increasing mistreatment by the officiality**, which has been further aggravated since the last change of political sign of the autonomous government in 2015.
2. The consideration of our position as an alleged “minority” in Valencian society, or the argument of electoral majorities at a certain time, **is incompatible with our democratic, modern and European standards, and 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, without discrimination based on the sole use of the RACV codification for the Valencian language.
3. We respect academic freedom and the internal procedures of operation of the Valencian universities, but we are of the opinion that the current heads of the Departments of “Catalan Philology” of the University of València and the other Valencian universities are not being unbiased in their approaches, which **we see more inspired by political and ideological motivations than scientific ones**, and therefore must be regarded as a partisan opinion, instead of an objective and non-ideological position.
4. The aforementioned claim is especially 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 want to keep their non-dialectal sociolinguistic awareness –which is noteworthy and unquestionable at the sociological and historical levels–, nor by the fact that they want to self-determine this awareness in a consensual language codification – that of the RACV– accepted by abundant philologists, linguists, writers, cultural organizations and users of Valencian who do not agree with the annexationist theses that defend the current heads of the Departments of “Catalan Philology” of the University of València and the other 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. Because we are committed to coexistence and to the full social normalization of the Valencian language, 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 NGOs and writers who opt for the social use of the Valencian language according to the RACV autochthonist language codification, 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:**
 - a) to legally impede any discrimination, active or passive, to Valencian users of RACV language codification, and
 - b) to legally recognize RACV and, in particular, its Section of Valencian Language and Literature, as normative reference entity for the Valencian language, since it already *is*, de facto, for the Valencians in favor of the autochthonist theses and, for that reason, representative of an important part of the Valencian speaking community.
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, and especially in education, social networks, internet browsers, language translators and other standard software, regardless of the consideration as a differentiated language subject that each body grants to the Valencian linguistic variety.
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**, on the basis that an excessive separation between the vernacular variant and the official standard causes the non-identification of the speakers in the official language, and their linguistic defection.

7 Next steps proposal

Once our point of view on the situation of Valencian in the Valencian Community has been stated, we are available to give the Committee of Experts any assistance it may need, and we propose some next steps:

1. First of all, we respectfully ask the Committee of Experts **to take into account in their evaluation report the points of view of NGOs of all the positions described in section 3.**
2. The associations that have authored this report **make ourselves available to hold a meeting with the members of the Committee of Experts**, in order to present them personally this report and to explain our situation and demands.
3. In the event of a visit on the ground, the organizations that have prepared this report **invite the members of the Committee of Experts to meet in València with representatives of the different autochthonist associations** to know first hand the situation.

Annex I - Surveys on linguistic and identity consciousness of Valencian people

I.a) Linguistic consciousness of Valencians

As stated in the section 3, Valencians have mostly expressed their non-dialectal linguistic consciousness with respect to Catalan.

Sociological evidences can be found in the following opinion studies:

1. Sociological studies about the Valencian Community conducted by the Sociological Research Center (*Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas*, CIS)⁶², a Spanish government agency. In 2001⁶³, 2002⁶⁴, 2003⁶⁵, 2004⁶⁶ i 2005⁶⁷, the survey explicitly asked “Regarding the identity of Valencian [language], which sentence do you identify more with?”, being the possible answers “It is a different and differentiated language from Catalan”, “It is the same language that is spoken in Catalonia and the Balearic Islands”, “Don’t know” and “No answer”.
2. Sociological studies about the Valencian Community conducted by the *Generalitat Valenciana* (Valencian government). In the Barometer of 2014⁶⁸ a question related to Valencian linguistic consciousness appears, formulated as “Regarding the identity of Valencian [language], which sentence do you identify more with?”, being the possible answers “It is a different language from Catalan”, “It is the same language that is spoken in Catalonia and the Balearic Islands” and “Don’t know/No answer”. This question appears in relation to the controversy that caused the definitions of “Valencian” and “Catalan” in the

62 The web site of this organism is: <http://www.cis.es/>

63 *SITUACIÓN SOCIAL Y POLÍTICA DE LA COMUNIDAD VALENCIANA (VII)* (SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SITUATION OF THE VALENCIAN COMMUNITY (VII)), published in 25/03/2001. Accessible in: http://www.cis.es/cis/opencm/ES/1_encuestas/estudios/ver.jsp?estudio=2175 [Retrieved 05/08/2018]

64 *ESTUDIO SOCIOLÓGICO DE LA COMUNIDAD VALENCIANA (I)* (SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE VALENCIAN COMMUNITY (I)), published in 02/02/2002. Accessible en: http://www.cis.es/cis/opencm/ES/1_encuestas/estudios/ver.jsp?estudio=2522 [Retrieved 05/08/2018]

65 *ESTUDIO SOCIOLÓGICO DE LA COMUNIDAD VALENCIANA (II)* (SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE VALENCIAN COMMUNITY (II)), published in 15/02/2003. Accessible in: http://www.cis.es/cis/opencm/ES/1_encuestas/estudios/listaMuestras.jsp?estudio=3471 [Retrieved 05/08/2018]

66 *ESTUDIO SOCIOLÓGICO DE LA COMUNIDAD VALENCIANA (III)* (SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE VALENCIAN COMMUNITY (III)), published in 12/04/2004. Accessible in: http://www.cis.es/cis/opencm/ES/1_encuestas/estudios/listaMuestras.jsp?estudio=4255 [Retrieved 05/08/2018]

67 *ESTUDIO SOCIOLÓGICO DE LA COMUNIDAD VALENCIANA (IV)* (SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE VALENCIAN COMMUNITY (IV)), published in 01/02/2005. Accessible in: http://www.cis.es/cis/opencm/ES/1_encuestas/estudios/listaMuestras.jsp?estudio=5038 [Retrieved 05/08/2018]

68 *BARÓMETRO D’ABRIL 2014* (BAROMETER OF APRIL 2014), published in April of 2014. Accessible in: http://www.argos.gva.es/fileadmin/argos/Documentos/Encuestas/201404A_cruce.pdf [Retrieved 05/08/2018]

Valencian Normative Dictionary (*Diccionari Normatiu Valencià*, DNV) elaborated by the AVL, which equated the two languages. In fact, this definition was coherent with the opinion stated in 2005 by the AVL, but it did not transcend too much (or the autonomous government did not consider it necessary to show the opinion of citizens) until 2014.

After the indicated studies, neither the Spanish nor the Valencian government considered relevant to ask again about this question.

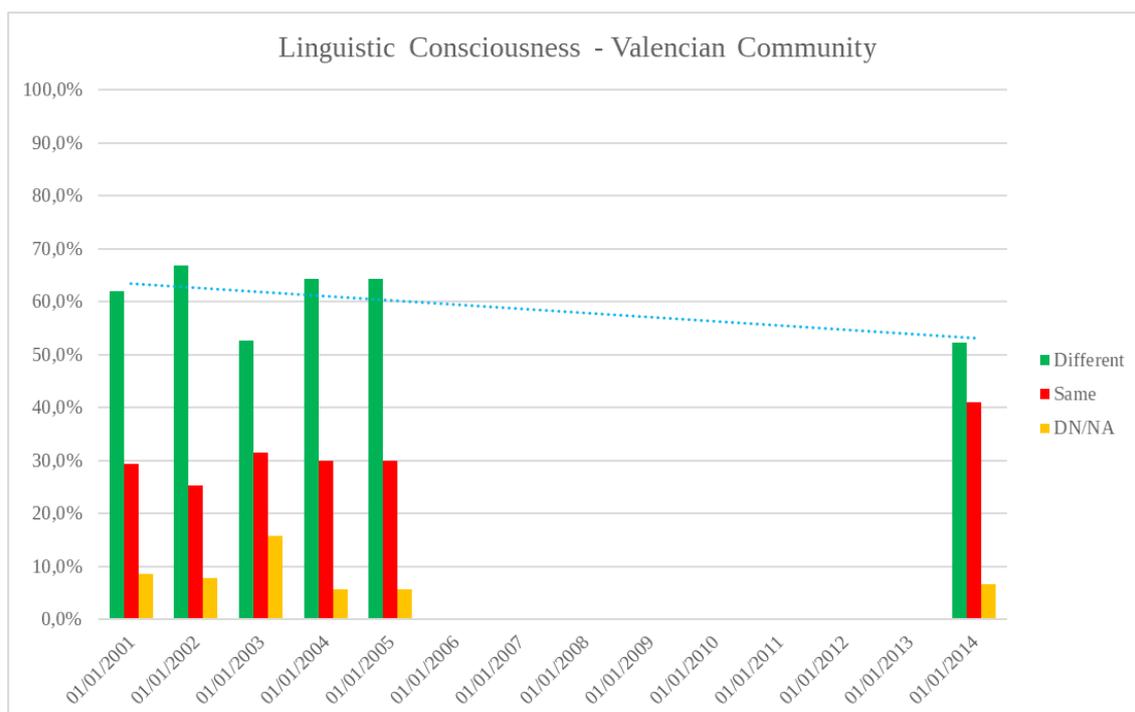
The tabulated comparison of the six sociological studies referred to is the following:

		CIS	CIS	CIS	CIS	CIS	GVA
		25/03/2001	02/02/2002	15/02/2003	12/04/2004	01/02/2005	30/04/2014
Valencian Community (Total)	Different language	62.0%	66.8%	52.7%	64.4%	64.4%	52.3%
	Same language	29.4%	25.3%	31.5%	29.9%	29.9%	41.1%
	NS/NC	8.6%	7.9%	15.8%	5.7%	5.7%	6.6%
Province of Alacant	Different language			50.5%	72.5%	72.8%	43.2%
	Same language			16.9%	22.0%	19.3%	49.0%
	NS/NC			32.6%	5.5%	7.9%	7.8%
Province of Castelló	Different language			54.2%	51.9%	49.8%	51.4%
	Same language			39.0%	42.6%	44.6%	44.4%
	NS/NC			6.8%	5.5%	5.6%	4.2%
Province of València	Different language			53.7%	62.2%	62.7%	58.4%
	Same language			38.8%	32.0%	32.6%	35.4%
	NS/NC			7.5%	5.8%	4.7%	6.2%

Table 3. Evolution of linguistic consciousness of the Valencians

It can be observed from the beginning of the series a clearly greater proportion of the autochthonist linguistic sensitivity, which with the exception of two studies (2003 CIS and 2014 GVA Barometer) is above 60%.

The evolution is best appreciated graphically (we take as reference the global values for the whole Valencian Community):



Graph 6. Evolution of linguistic consciousness 2001-2014

It can be observed that the option that claims the singularity of the Valencian language (autochthonism) is predominant, although in the last study it represents just over 50%. Regarding the option that considers Valencian and Catalan as the same language (particularism or annexationism), in the surveys between 2001 and 2005 it would represent a maximum of 30%, but in the last report it exceeds 40%.

Leaving aside methodological aspects, or the fact that the last survey was commissioned by a different administration, we make the following interpretations:

- The non-dialectal linguistic consciousness of Valencians has been and is a sociological fact that can be proven.
- We understand that a large part of Valencians who identify themselves with the option that considers Valencian and Catalan as the same language, they do so from a **particularist** and non-annexationist position. The conclusions concerning the linguistic policy should be clear: Valencians, sociologically, demand an autochthonist or particularist linguistic model, but not an annexationist one. Based on this, we consider that the annexationist linguistic policies will have a detrimental effect on the use of Valencian, since they will be rejected by most of the Valencian society, except if they are camouflaged, progressive or with coercions.
- Although there is little recent information, the last study points to a reduction of the autochthonist linguistic consciousness, although for now it exceeds 50%. This is compatible with the fact that, since the 1980s, at no time the academic world and political parties with government responsibility have considered that

the linguistic autochthonism was a worthy of preservation identity characteristic of the Valencians; moreover, it has been considered as a defect to be corrected, acting from an ideology that starts with an apriorism: the relevancy of achieving the linguistic unity of the Valencian, Catalan and Balearic modalities, and the denial of any other possibility, which is branded as “ignorance” or “unscientifism”, when this is not only untrue, but also in other comparable linguistic communities, respectful solutions have been adopted with the autochthonism and the sociolinguistic consciousness of the speakers (see section 3 of this document).

I.b) Identity consciousness of Valencians

In some sections of the report, we have made reference, on one hand, to the relationship between annexationist positions in the linguistic plan and in cultural or national/identity annexation, and on the other hand to the rejection that causes in most Valencians any attempt of cultural annexation or subversion of the singular identity of the Valencian people.

In this section we will focus on the information of the study about values published in June 2017 by the *Generalitat Valenciana*⁶⁹, and in particular in two questions.

The first question refers to the Valencian and Spanish identity feeling, and says literally “Which of the following sentences would you say that expresses your feelings better?”, being the possible answers “I feel only Spanish”, “I feel more Spanish than Valencian”, “I feel as Spanish as Valencian”, “I feel more Valencian than Spanish”, “I feel only Valencian”, “None of the previous” and “Don’t know/No answer”.

The results are the following, in which an overwhelming coexistence of the Valencian and Spanish identities is observed:

	jun-17
I feel only Spanish	16,1%
I feel more Spanish than Valencian	9,5%
I feel as Spanish as Valencian	55,9%
I feel more Valencian than Spanish	10,8%
I feel only Valencian	1,5%
None of the previous	5,0%
Don't know/No answer	1,2%

Table 4. Identity of the Valencians

The second interesting question makes reference to the ties to other territories, and can give us some information on how Valencians identify (we understand that mostly at a

69 ENQUESTA DE VALORS DE LA COMUNITAT VALENCIANA (SURVEY OF VALUES OF THE VALENCIAN COMMUNITY), published in June of 2017, accessible in: http://www.argos.gva.es/fileadmin/argos/Documentos/Encuestas/201702A_Frecuencias_V.pdf [Retrieved 05/08/2018]

cultural level, although perhaps it could be extrapolated to an identity level too) with the proposed territories in the survey.

The asked question was “We all feel more or less tied to the land we live in, but some of us feel more closely linked to some areas than to others. To which extent do you feel identified with (several areas where proposed here)? To answer, use a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means that you don’t feel identified at all and 10 that you feel greatly identified”. The proposed areas were “The town or city where you live in”, “Valencian Community”, “Catalan-speaking territories”, “Spain”, “Europe”, “Spanish-speaking countries”, “Humanity as a whole”.

The results can be seen in the following table:

	Avg.	Not at all identified	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Greatly identified	DN/NA
The town or city where you live in	8.1	2.2%	0.7%	1.3%	2.7%	1.6%	8.2%	4.6%	8.7%	11.9%	9.9%	47.8%	0.2%
Valencian Community	8.1	2.2%	0.7%	0.9%	1.7%	1.9%	9.5%	5.3%	9.3%	12.3%	10.6%	45.2%	0.3%
Catalan-speaking territories	3.1	42.0%	5.1%	5.7%	4.2%	3.8%	14.7%	4.8%	4.4%	4.4%	2.9%	6.4%	1.5%
Spain	8.6	1.5%	0.6%	1.5%	1.2%	1.0%	6.6%	3.1%	6.1%	11.0%	9.6%	57.7%	0.1%
Europe	7.3	4.5%	1.6%	2.3%	2.4%	2.4%	13.6%	6.3%	8.8%	12.7%	10.2%	34.4%	0.6%
Spanish-speaking countries	6.5	6.8%	2.6%	3.9%	3.0%	2.9%	18.1%	8.0%	10.8%	12.0%	7.0%	23.7%	1.2%
Humanity as a whole	8.7	1.4%	0.4%	0.3%	0.8%	0.6%	8.1%	2.6%	4.5%	11.1%	11.5%	58.0%	0.7%

Table 5. Identification of the Valencians with several territories

As it can be seen in the table, the lowest identification percentage is with Catalan-speaking territories, with a 3.1 average score. More than 60% of people feel identified in a less than 5 degree with this option. Going to the extreme options, we have more than 40% of people who do not identify at all (the highest value of all the areas) compared to 6% that identify a lot (the lowest value of all the areas).

The interpretation that we give to these results is that the Valencians don’t have a strong feeling of unity with the Catalan-speaking territories. This fact is compatible with the non-dialectal linguistic consciousness that we have seen before, and can be extrapolated to the consciousness of being a singular people with their own culture and identity. This fact does not stop Valencians from feeling close to the territories we share history with, as members of the historic Crown of Aragon, and linguistic family; however, we think that this is an important aspect to consider as any action that can be perceived as a cultural or identity intrusion (such as those that can be done by annexationist associations that, with the argument of linguistic collaboration, exceed the linguistic field) will cause a strong rejection in the Valencian society, and in addition it will hinder the social recovery of the Valencian language.

In fact, this kind of actions (which attacked the name of the Valencian language, the linguistic model, the culture and the Valencian identity) unleashed in the late 70’s and early 80’s the so-called “Battle of València”, which spontaneously arose in the Valencian society, although it was finally used by the different political parties to establish positions. Even now, some people explain this conflict, in our opinion in a biased, interested and simplistic way, in terms of power struggles between right-Francoism and left-democracy, but the reality, as explained, is a lot more complex. And a little more recently, on June 13, 1997, more than 500,000 Valencians fled to the street

to defend the uniqueness of the Valencian language: not only its name, but also the RACV's autochthonist linguistic codification, as its slogan said "Yes to the Statute, yes to the Valencian language. RACV norms."



Image 1: Front page of Las Provincias newspaper of 14 June, 1997, with the following headline "Más de 500.000 valencianos salieron a la calle a defender nuestro Estatuto" (More than 500,000 Valencians fled to the street to defend our Statute)

Annex II - Compilation of texts on linguistic rights applicable to Valencian speakers

II.a) Declarations and conventions at the international level

II.a.1 *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights⁷⁰, of 1948, states in its preamble and in its article 2:

... their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women [...] without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, **language**, religion, **political or other opinion**, national or social origin, property, birth or other status...

And in article 26, the right of every person to education, which:

... Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

3. Parents have a prior right to choose the **kind of education** that shall be given to their children...

II.a.2 *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*

The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights⁷¹, of 1966 and in effect since 1976, in its article 27 established:

In those States in which ethnic, religious or **linguistic minorities** exist, persons belonging to such minorities **shall not be denied** the right, in community with the other members of their group, **to enjoy their own culture**, to profess and practise their own religion, or to **use their own language**.

70 <http://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/index.html> [Retrieved 05/08/2018]

71 <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CCPR.aspx> [Retrieved 05/08/2018]

II.a.3 International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights⁷², of 1966 and in force since 1976, after affirming in its preamble that:

... the ideal of free human beings enjoying civil and political freedom and freedom from fear and want can only be achieved if conditions are created whereby everyone may enjoy his civil and political rights, as well as his economic, social and **cultural rights**...

And in article 2 that:

2. Each State Party to the present Covenant undertakes to respect and to ensure to all individuals within its territory and subject to its jurisdiction the rights recognized in the present Covenant, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, **language**, religion, **political or other opinion**, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

It devotes as a right, in its article 13:

... the right of everyone to education. [The parties] agree that **education** shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and the sense of its dignity, and **shall strengthen the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms**. They further agree that education shall enable all persons to participate effectively in a free society, promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations and all racial, ethnic or religious groups, and further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace. [...] The States Parties to the present Covenant undertake to have respect for the liberty of parents and, when applicable, legal guardians to choose for their children schools, other than those established by the public authorities, which conform to such minimum educational standards as may be laid down or approved by the State and to ensure the religious and moral education of their children in conformity with their own convictions.

II.a.4 Convention against discrimination in education

The UNESCO Convention against Discrimination in Education⁷³, of 1960, states in its article 1 that:

1. For the purposes of this Convention, the term '**discrimination**' includes **any distinction, exclusion, limitation or preference which, being based on race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, economic condition or birth, has the purpose or effect of**

72 <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CESCR.aspx> [Retrieved 05/08/2018]

73 <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0011/001145/114583e.pdf#page=118> [Retrieved 05/08/2018]

nullifying or impairing equality of treatment in education and in particular:

- a. Of depriving any person or group of persons of access to education of any type or at any level;
- b. Of limiting any person or group of persons to education of any inferior standard;
- c. Subject to the provisions of Article 2 of this Convention, of establishing or maintaining separate educational systems or institutions for persons or groups of persons; or
- d. Of inflicting on any person or group of persons conditions which are incompatible with the dignity of man.

And in its 5th article that:

1. The States Parties to this Convention agree that:
 - a) Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; it shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace;
 - b) It is essential to respect the liberty of parents and, where applicable, of legal guardians, firstly to choose for their children institutions other than those maintained by the public authorities but conforming to such minimum educational standards as may be laid down or approved by the competent authorities and, secondly, to ensure in a manner consistent with the procedures followed in the State for the application of this legislation, the religious and moral education of the children in the conformity with their own convictions; and no person or group of persons should be compelled to receive religious instruction inconsistent with his or their convictions;
 - c) It is essential to recognize the right of **members of national minorities** to carry on their own educational activities, including the maintenance of schools and, depending on the educational policy of each State, the **use or the teaching of their own language**, provided however: i) That this right is not exercised in a manner which prevents the members of these minorities from understanding the culture and language of the community as a whole and from participating in its activities, or which prejudices national sovereignty; ii) That the standard of education is not lower than the general

standard laid down or approved by the competent authorities; and iii) That the attendance at such schools is optional.

2. The States Parties to this Convention undertake to take all necessary measures to ensure the application of the principles enunciated in paragraph 1 of this Article.

II.a.5 Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities

The Resolution 47/135 adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations, of 18 of December of 1992, approved the Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities ⁷⁴, which establishes in its article 1:

1. States shall **protect the existence and the national or ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic identity of minorities** within their respective territories and shall **encourage conditions for the promotion of that identity.**

In article 2 it is also established:

1. Persons belonging to national or ethnic, religious and **linguistic minorities** [...] have the **right to enjoy their own culture**, to profess and practise their own religion, and **to use their own language, in private and in public, freely and without interference or any form of discrimination.**

In article 4 it is stated:

1. States shall take measures where required to **ensure that persons belonging to minorities may exercise fully and effectively all their human rights and fundamental freedoms without any discrimination** and in full equality before the law.

2. States shall take measures to create favourable conditions to **enable persons belonging to minorities to express their characteristics and to develop their culture, language, religion, traditions and customs**, except where specific practices are in violation of national law and contrary to international standards.

3. States should take appropriate measures so that, wherever possible, **persons belonging to minorities may have adequate opportunities to learn their mother tongue or to have instruction in their mother tongue.**

74 <https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/minorities.aspx> [Retrieved 05/08/2018]

4. States should, where appropriate, **take measures in the field of education, in order to encourage knowledge of the history, traditions, language and culture of the minorities** existing within their territory. Persons belonging to minorities should have adequate opportunities to gain knowledge of the society as a whole.

5. States should consider appropriate measures so that persons belonging to minorities may participate fully in the economic progress and development in their country.

II.a.6 Declaration of the Rights of the Child

The Declaration of the Rights of the Child⁷⁵, of 1959, establishes in its article 30 that:

In those States in which ethnic, religious or **linguistic minorities** or persons of indigenous origin exist, a **child belonging to such a minority** or who is indigenous **shall not be denied the right**, in community with other members of his or her group, **to enjoy his or her own culture**, to profess and practice his or her own religion, **or to use his or her own language**.

II.a.7 Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights

In 1996, the Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights⁷⁶ was approved, in the context of an International Conference on Linguistic Rights held in Barcelona.

In its article 1, the concepts referred to in the whole Declaration are cited, such as the one of the linguistic community:

1. This Declaration considers as a **language community any human society established historically in a particular territorial space, whether this space be recognized or not, which identifies itself as a people and has developed a common language** as a natural means of communication and cultural cohesion among its members. The term **language specific to a territory refers to the language of the community historically established in such a space**.

2. This Declaration takes as its point of departure **the principle that linguistic rights are individual and collective...**

Article 2 establishes that:

1. This Declaration considers that, whenever various language communities and groups share the same territory, **the rights formulated in this Declaration must be exercised on a basis of mutual respect and in such**

75 <http://www.un.org/es/events/childrenday/pdf/derechos.pdf> [Retrieved 05/08/2018]

76 <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0010/001042/104267Eb.pdf> [Retrieved 05/08/2018]

a way that democracy may be guaranteed to the greatest possible extent.

2. In the quest for a satisfactory sociolinguistic balance, that is, in order to establish the appropriate articulation between the respective rights of such language communities and groups and the persons belonging to them, various factors, besides their respective historical antecedents in the territory and their democratically expressed will, must be taken into account. Such factors, which may call for compensatory treatment aimed at restoring a balance, include the coercive nature of the migrations which have led to the coexistence of the different communities and groups, and their degree of political, socioeconomic and cultural vulnerability.

Article 3 lists the linguistic rights of individuals and groups, expressing them in the following way:

1. This Declaration considers the following to be inalienable personal rights which may be exercised in any situation:

the right to be recognized as a member of a language community;

the right to the use of one's own language both in private and in public;

the right to the use of one's own name;

the right to interrelate and associate with other members of one's language community of origin;

the right to maintain and develop one's own culture;

and all the other rights related to language which are recognized in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights of 16 December 1966 and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights of the same date.

2. This Declaration considers that the collective rights of language groups may include the following, in addition to the rights attributed to the members of language groups in the foregoing paragraph, and in accordance with the conditions laid down in article 2.2:

the right for their own language and culture to be taught;

the right of access to cultural services;

the right to an equitable presence of their language and culture in the communications media;

the right to receive attention in their own language from government bodies and in socioeconomic relations...

Articles 9 and 10, part of the First Title that includes the General Principles, establishes:

Article 9

All language communities have the right to codify, standardize, preserve, and promote their linguistic system, without induced or forced interference.

Article 10

1. All language communities have equal rights.
2. **This Declaration considers discrimination against language communities to be inadmissible, whether it be based on their degree of political sovereignty, their situation defined in social, economic or other terms, the extent to which their languages have been codified, updated or modernized, or on any other criterion.**
3. All necessary steps must be taken in order to implement this principle of equality and to render it effective.

The different sections of the Second Title deepen in the rights of the linguistic communities in relation to the public Administration and the official organs, the Education, the Onomastics, the Media and the new technologies, the Culture, and the Socio-economic area.

In the view of the things mentioned above, the concept of linguistic community is subjected to different interpretations, as, in the case of communities with neighboring linguistic modalities, **“self-identification as a people”** in a given territory can take different forms, giving place to different consciousnesses of being a “linguistic community” within the same population. In these cases, the interpretation that offers more guarantees for the linguistic rights of a group (and of individuals) would be the one that recognizes the minimum linguistic community that identifies itself as such, without prejudice to the fact that these “minimum linguistic communities” agree, without interference, to establish a coordinated linguistic codification.

Sometimes it is forgotten that the linguistic rights are of individuals and groups, and not of languages, as languages are living elaborations of human communities and not subjects with their own entity.

II.a.8 Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions

The Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions⁷⁷, of 2005, indicates in its article 1 that:

Els objectius de la present Convenció són:

The objectives of this Convention are

- a) to protect and promote the **diversity of cultural expressions**;
- b) to create the conditions for cultures to flourish and to freely interact in a mutually beneficial manner;
- c) to encourage dialogue among cultures with a view to ensuring wider and balanced cultural exchanges in the world in favour of intercultural respect and a culture of peace;
- d) to foster interculturality in order to develop cultural interaction in the spirit of building bridges among peoples;;
- e) **to promote respect for the diversity of cultural expressions** and raise awareness of its value at the local, national and international levels;
- f) to reaffirm the importance of the link between culture and development for all countries, particularly for developing countries, and to support actions undertaken nationally and internationally to secure recognition of the true value of this link;
- g) **to give recognition to the distinctive nature of cultural activities, goods and services as vehicles of identity**, values and meaning
- h) to reaffirm the sovereign rights of States to maintain, adopt and implement policies and measures that they deem appropriate for the **protection and promotion of the diversity of cultural expressions on their territory**;
- i) to strengthen international cooperation and solidarity in a spirit of partnership with a view, in particular, to enhancing the capacities of developing countries in order to protect and promote the diversity of cultural expressions.

In article 2 it states that:

⁷⁷ <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0022/002253/225383E.pdf> [Retrieved 05/08/2018]

1. Principle of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms

Cultural diversity can be protected and promoted only if human rights and fundamental freedoms, such as freedom of expression, information and communication, as well as the ability of individuals to choose cultural expressions, are guaranteed. No one may invoke the provisions of this Convention in order to infringe human rights and fundamental freedoms as enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights or guaranteed by international law, or to limit the scope thereof.

2. Principle of sovereignty

States have, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of international law, the sovereign right to adopt measures and policies to protect and promote the diversity of cultural expressions within their territory..

3. Principle of equal dignity of and respect for all cultures

The protection and promotion of the diversity of cultural expressions presuppose the recognition of equal dignity of and respect for all cultures, including the cultures of persons belonging to minorities and indigenous peoples...

II.b) Declarations and conventions at European level

II.b.1 *European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR)*

The **European Convention on Human Rights** (ECHR), of 1950⁷⁸, contains in its article 14 a general prohibition of discrimination clause:

The enjoyment of the rights and freedoms set forth in this Convention shall be secured without discrimination on any ground such as sex, race, colour, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, association with a national minority, property, birth or other status.

After, this clause will be collected in a specific way, although not in more specific terms in relation to linguistic rights, in the article 1 of the Additional Protocol No. 12 to the ECHR, which establishes:

1. The enjoyment of any right set forth by law shall be secured without discrimination on any ground such as sex, race, colour, language,

78 https://www.echr.coe.int/Documents/Convention_ENG.pdf [Retrieved 05/08/2018]

religion, **political or other opinion**, national or social origin, **association with a national minority**, property, birth or other status.

2. **No one shall be discriminated against by any public authority** on any ground such as those mentioned in paragraph 1.

In article 2 of the Additional Protocol to the ECHR, reference is made to education and respect for the convictions of parents:

No person shall be denied the right to education. **In the exercise of any functions which it assumes in relation to education and to teaching, the State shall respect the right of parents to ensure such education and teaching in conformity with their own religious and philosophical convictions.**

II.b.2 European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages

The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages⁷⁹, of 1992, in his preamble indicates:

... Considering that the right to use a regional or minority language in private and public life is an inalienable right [...] Stressing the value of interculturalism and multilingualism and considering that the protection and encouragement of regional or minority languages should not be to the detriment of the official languages and the need to learn them...

Based on this reflection, this instrument defines what is understood by a regional or minority language, and in its different parts it indicates the Objectives of the Charter, the Measures to promote the use of these languages in the public life, and the procedures for the application of the Charter.

The definition of regional or minority language for the purposes of the Charter is detailed in its article 1:

Article 1. Definitions.

For the purposes of this Charter:

- a) “regional or minority languages” means languages that are:
 - i) traditionally used within a given territory of a State by nationals of that State who form a group numerically smaller than the rest of the State’s population; and
 - ii) different from the official language(s) of that State;

⁷⁹ <https://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list/-/conventions/rms/0900001680695175> [Retrieved 05/08/2018]

it does not include either dialects of the official language(s) of the State or the languages of migrants;

b) “territory in which the regional or minority language is used” means the geographical area in which the said language is the mode of expression of a number of people justifying the adoption of the various protective and promotional measures provided for in this Charter;

c) “non-territorial languages” means languages used by nationals of the State which differ from the language or languages used by the rest of the State’s population but which, although traditionally used within the territory of the State, cannot be identified with a particular area thereof.

This definition would leave the local variants or the different dialects of the official languages of the State outside the denomination of “regional or minority language”. According to Yves Lejeune in his presentation at the international congress held in Bilbao in 2009 under the title “The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages: Profits and Challenges”⁸⁰:

“... This ambiguity is deliberate.

The explanatory report of the Charter affirms that the instrument ‘does not pronounce on the question, frequently controversial, of the extent to which the different forms of expression are constituted in separate languages. [...] Consequently, it is left to the authorities involved within each State that determine, in accordance with their own democratic processes, at which point a form of expression is constituted in a language.’

It will be up to each involved State to indicate at what point a dialect is constituted in a separate language. However, in a State with different Legislatures, contradictory solutions can be adopted regarding the recognition of endogenous languages. This is what has happened in Belgium, where only the French Community has granted the status of endogenous language to the main dialects that are used in its geographical area.”

It should be said that in the case of the Spanish State, since the accession to the Charter until the last of the reports on the application of the Charter presented in February 2018 (corresponding to the period 2014-2016), the official languages that are treated as regional or minority are as many as they are recognized as such in the respective Statutes of Autonomy: Valencian in the Valencian Community, Occitan (Aranese) in

80 Presentation retrieved from the publication *La protección de las lenguas minoritarias en Europa: hacia una nueva década* (The protection of the minority languages in Europe: towards a new decade), p. 57. Digital version: http://www.euskadi.eus/contenidos/informacion/ikerketa_soziolinguistikoak/eu_def/adjuntos/Lenguas%20Minoritarias.pdf [Retrieved 05/08/2018]

Catalonia, Galician in Galicia, Basque in the Basque Country and the autonomous community of Navarra, and Catalan in Catalonia and the Balearic Islands. Therefore, this distinction between language and dialect does not apply in the Valencian case.

Annex III - Status of Valencian in the legislation of the Spanish State and the Valencian Community

III.a) Official use of Valencian in the preautonomic stage

Before and during the Spanish democratic transition, the civil society and the authorities of the moment launched initiatives for the recognition of Valencian as a co-official language, as well as for the inclusion of Valencian teaching in the educational system.

III.a.1 Creation of the “Valencian Linguistics” Department in the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters of the University of Valencia

The Ministry of Education and Science decreed on February 6, 1975 the creation of the “Valencian Linguistics” Department in the University of Valencia⁸¹, in response to the proposal of the Rector of this university.

III.a.2 Regulation of the incorporation of native languages into preschool and basic education

The Ministry of Education and Science decreed on May 30, 1975 the incorporation of native languages into the programs of Preschool and General Basic Education Centers⁸².

This decree does not specify which shall be those *native languages*.

III.a.3 Petitions and positioning of the civil society for the recognition of Valencian as a native language

After the decree cited in the previous point, on the incorporation of native languages into teaching, many entities demanded the recognition of Valencian as a *native language* for all purposes.

We wish to highlight the following requests:

- Letter from the **Center of Valencian Culture** (currently *Real Acadèmia de Cultura Valenciana*, co-elaborator of this report) to the Minister of Education and Science⁸³, of June 2, 1975. It states that “*It is especially interesting that*

81 *DECREE 499/1975, of the February 6, creating the Department of Valencian Linguistics in the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters of the University of València.*
<https://www.boe.es/boe/dias/1975/03/21/pdfs/A05828-05828.pdf> [Retrieved 05/08/2018] (it can also be found in the [Documentary Appendix - Document 7](#))

82 *DECREE 1,433/1975, of May 30, regulating the incorporation of the native languages into the programs of Preschool and General Basic Education Centers.*
<https://www.boe.es/boe/dias/1975/07/01/pdfs/A14249-14250.pdf> [Retrieved 05/08/2018]

83 Giner, J. *Aportacions bibliogràfiques entorn a la identitat de la llengua valenciana* (Bibliographic contributions regarding the identity of the Valencian language). Grup d'Acció Valencianista, València c., 1979, p. 65-67.

These pages feature a letter from the *Centre de Cultura Valenciana* to the Minister of Education and Science, of 02/06/1975. It can be found in the [Documentary Appendix - Document 8](#).

Valencian-speaking students of the Kingdom of València [...] they are taught, with vocabulary, phonetics, morphology and syntax typical of their native Valencian language, and that Valencian cultural manifestations are also the ones that must be taught to these students”, and that, therefore, “the books and teaching materials should be adjusted to the previous purpose”.

It is also interesting to note that this letter emphasizes the convenience that the Ministry “*requests the collaboration of the University of València, Provincial Councils, City Councils, Centers of Valencian Culture, Institute of Alicante’s Studies, Society of Castellon’s Culture, Lo Rat Penat and other suitable centers*”.

- Request from **all the National Counselors and Solicitors in the Spanish Courts from the Valencian Region** to the Government⁸⁴, of June 14, 1975, in which it is manifested that the decree of the inclusion of *native languages* in education does not define what is meant by “native language”. Thus, based on the fact that “*the Kingdom of València [...] is a perfectly defined entity with its own personality, culture and bilingualism*”, **they request the Government “that the VALENCIAN LANGUAGE shall have such consideration and shall be one of the recognized ones [as native languages] for all purposes”.**

This petition was answered in the Official Gazette of the Spanish Courts, in its number 1,466 of November 4, 1975, stating that “*the Valencian language perfectly fits into this consideration of native*”.

- Statement from *Lo Rat Penat* (co-elaborating entity of this report)⁸⁵, of June 28, 1975, which **defends the Valencian identity** as a nationality that historically has never depended from Castile or Catalonia, and **the denomination “Valencian language” and its particular lexicon.**
- Request of the **Governing Board of the Chroniclers of the Kingdom of València, integrated into the Center of Valencian Culture** (now known as Royal Academy of Valencian Culture, RACV) to the Minister of Education and Science⁸⁶, of July 30, 1975, in which it is emphasized that in most of the municipalities of the Kingdom of València “*they have as its native language the one known as, at least since the XIV century, Valencian language, with its own lexicon, its own morphology, its peculiar twists and modisms, its verbal flexion and its phonetics*”. Therefore, **they request the Minister to “recognize as a**

84 Giner, op. cit., p. 62-64.

These pages feature a request to the Spanish government: That Valencian becomes considered as a native language for all purposes), of 14/06/1975. It can be found in the [Documentary Appendix - Document 9](#).

85 Giner, op. cit., p. 66-67.

These pages feature a declaration of *Lo Rat Penat* on the Valencian language, of 28/06/1975. It can be found in the [Documentary Appendix - Document 10](#).

86 Giner, op. cit., p. 64-65.

These pages feature the letter to the Minister of Education and Science: *La Llengua Valenciana i els Cronistes del Regne* (The Valencian Language and the Chroniclers of the Kingdom), of 30/07/1975. It can be found in the [Documentary Appendix - Document 11](#).

native language of the provinces that were part of the Kingdom of València, the universally known as ‘Valencian language’, with all its rich particularisms and excluding anything that might be strange to its rich and endearing linguistic reality”.

It can be seen that the requests make mention more or less explicitly to the existence of threats towards the name and entity of the Valencian language (that shouldn't lose its particular characteristics), or even towards the Valencian identity, coming from the annexationist sectors. This clash of positions triggered the “Battle of València” presented in Annex I.b.

III.a.4 Agreement of the City Council of València requesting the co-officiality of Valencian (06/04/1977)

In this agreement, after revealing the bilingualism of the “Valencian Region, former Kingdom of València”, it is decided that:

First. To request the Government of the Nation the declaration of co-official status of the Valencian and Spanish languages in the Valencian Region.

Second. The development and way to put into practice the declaration of co-officiality shall be carried out by the Valencian people through its legitimate representatives in its own government organs.

Third. To render account of the present agreement to His Majesty the King.

Fourth. To transmit the present agreement to all the City Councils and Provincial Councils of the Valencian Region.⁸⁷

III.a.5 Authorization of teaching in the Valencian language in the first year of High School, with an experimental nature

On February 9, 1979, the Ministry of Education and Science authorizes the teaching of the Valencian language in the first High School year, with an experimental nature⁸⁸. This authorization was requested by 4 centers from the Province of Alacant, 7 centers from the Province of Castelló and 14 centers from the Province of València.

87 *Acuerdos del Excmo. Ayuntamiento sobre la Región Valenciana* (Agreements of the City Council on the Valencian Region). València c., 1977, p. 7-9.

These pages feature the reproduction of a CERTIFICATE issued by D. Rafael A. Arnanz Delgado, General Secretary of the City Hall of València, on 26/04/1997. It can be found in the [Documentary Appendix - Document 12](#).

88 *ORDER of January 9, 1979 on the authorization of the teaching of the Valencian Language in the first year of High School, with an experimental nature*. <https://www.boe.es/boe/dias/1979/02/24/pdfs/A04996-04997.pdf> [Retrieved 05/08/2018]

III.a.6 Regulation of the use of the own language in Local Corporations

On May 10, 1979, the Ministry of Territorial Administration regulated the use of the different languages in the actions done by Local Corporations⁸⁹.

III.b) Spanish Constitution (1978)

The Spanish Constitution, in its article 3, specifies:

Article 3

1. Spanish is the official language of the State. All Spaniards have the right to know it and the right to use it.
2. **The other Spanish languages will also be official in the respective Autonomous Communities in accordance to their Statutes.**
3. **The richness of the different linguistic modalities of Spain is a cultural heritage that will be subject to special respect and protection.**

Therefore, in essence, the Autonomous Communities are responsible for determining which language is also official in them, apart from Spanish. It should be noted that the Constitution emphasizes the richness that constitutes the linguistic diversity, including to that diversity the linguistic modalities.

III.c) Statute of Autonomy of the Valencian Community (1982)

The Statute of Autonomy of the Valencian Community of 1982, in article 7, specified:

Article 7

One. The two official languages of the Autonomous Community are Valencian and Spanish. Everyone has the right to know and use them

Two. The *Generalitat Valenciana* will guarantee the normal and official use of both languages and will adopt the necessary measures to ensure their knowledge.

Three. No one can be discriminated against because of their language.

Four. Special protection and respect for the recovery of Valencian will be granted.

89 ROYAL DECREE 1,111/1979, of May 10, regulating the use of the different Spanish languages in the actions of the Local Corporations.
<https://www.boe.es/boe/dias/1979/05/14/pdfs/A10813-10814.pdf> [Retrieved 05/08/2018]

Five. The Law will establish the criteria for applying the own language in the Administration and in the Education.

Six. Laws will delimit the territories in which the use of one or more languages prevails, as well as those that can be exempted from the teaching and use of the own language of the Valencian Community.

This Statute was first published in the Official Gazette of the Valencian Government (DOGV) using the autochthonist codification for Valencian of the RACV, in effect in 1982 (see section 3.1, and in particular note 5).

III.d) Law on the Use and Teaching of Valencian (1983)

The Law on the Use and Teaching of Valencian (Law 4/1983, of November 23, on the Use and Teaching of Valencian, LUEV) is a law in effect, promoted by the Socialist government of the *Generalitat Valenciana* in that moment, chaired by Joan Lerma, and approved by the *Les Corts* (Valencian parliament), which regulates the rights of citizens to use Valencian and the obligation of the institutions to ensure that these rights are complied. It also addresses the teaching of Valencian.

Based on what is established in the Statute of Autonomy, in article 2 it is reaffirmed that:

Valencian is the own language of the Valencian Community and, as a result, all citizens have the right to know it and to use it, orally and in writing, both in the private relations and in the relationships of those with public organisms.

In articles 4 and 5, it is pointed out that there should be no discrimination due to the use of language, indicating that:

Article 4

In no case may discrimination be done because of the use of any of the two official languages.

Article 5

The Administration will adopt how many measures are still needed to prevent discrimination against citizens or activities due to the use of any of the two official languages, as well as guaranteeing the normal use, promotion and knowledge of Valencian.

Article 17 refers to the normalization of the use of Valencian in the following terms:

All citizens have the right to express themselves in Valencian at any meeting, as well as to develop their professional, commercial, labor, trade union, political, religious, recreational and artistic activities in Valencian.

In article 20, reference is made to non-discrimination, in this case in the field of education:

The Administration will adopt how many measures are still necessary to prevent discrimination against students due to the language they are used to use.

Article 25 refers to the use of Valencian in the media and other cultural manifestations, indicating that the *Consell de la Generalitat Valenciana*:

[...]

3. It will promote how many cultural and artistic manifestations are done in both languages, receiving special consideration for those developed in Valencian.

4. The *Generalitat Valenciana* will support how many actions will be aimed at the edition, development and promotion of Valencian books, and all of this without undermining the language used, but in specific treatment to those that are printed in Valencian.

In article 30.1, the possibility of fiscally benefiting acts and manifestations of Valencian culture is foreseen:

1. The *Generalitat Valenciana* and the Local Corporations may exempt and discount on tax obligations to those acts and manifestations related to the promotion, dissemination and extension of the Valencian culture, with special regard to those that entail the use of Valencian.

It should be noted that at no time this law, nor any of the subsequent legislative initiatives in relation to the use of Valencian until the creation of the AVL in 1998, nothing is determined regarding the consideration of the Valencian language as an independent language or as a variant of another language (with the exception of the consideration of “language” given to Valencian in the Statute of Autonomy), nor anything is said on which strategy should be applied to the codification of the Valencian language, or on the norms of which institution should be the official or the reference one.

However, since the adoption of the LUEV, the successive governments have used, and restored in education, the proposals of the *Institut Interuniversitari de Filologia Valenciana* (IIFV), which applies to Valencian the codification of the *Institut d’Estudis Catalan* (IEC) for standard Catalan, with a few concessions.

III.e) Law of creation of the Valencian Academy of the Language (AVL) (1998)

In 1998, based on the recommendations of the Resolution of the Valencian Council of Culture (CVC) approved in the plenary session of July 13 of that same year, it was approved the Law 7/1998, of September 16, of the *Generalitat Valenciana*, of the Creation of the Valencian Academy of the Language [1998/7973]⁹⁰.

By means of this law it is decided to create an official normative entity for Valencian, that would need to overcome what the Resolution, mentioned in the preamble of that law, defines as:

... **A conflict over the name, nature and language regulation** of the own language of Valencians, that impedes its health and accumulates the difficulties in the process of recovery of the language that should identify and unite us as Valencians, instead of separating us...

It is to be noted that the CVC's Resolution acknowledges that **the conflict is not circumscribed to the name of the language, but it also comprises the nature of the language and its codification model.**

Based on that, the *Academia Valenciana de la Llengua*, (AVL) is created, with the objectives that are detailed below:

Article 3

The *Academia Valenciana de la Llengua* is the institution that has the purpose of determining and elaborating, if appropriate, the linguistic norms of the Valencian language. As well as looking after Valencian based upon the lexicographical and literary tradition, and genuine Valencian linguistic reality, as well as the consolidated linguistic regulation, based on the known as Norms of Castelló (*Normes de Castelló*).

Article 4

The principles and criteria that should inspire the action of the Academia are those that follow from the Resolution approved by the Valencian Council of Culture on July 13, 1998, and that appear in the Preamble of this Law.

Article 5

The decisions of the AVL, in the exercise of its functions, must be observed by all the Institutions of the *Generalitat*, the Public Authorities, the rest of Public Administrations, the educational system and the communication media, the entities, organisms and companies, publicly owned or having public financing.

90 http://www.dogv.gva.es/datos/1998/09/21/pdf/1998_7973.pdf [Retrieved 05/08/2018]

As indicated in the preceding article, the official regulations must be observed by the Public Administrations and other public entities or with public financing. This last paragraph opens up the possibility of considering it lawful to exclude from subsidies any entity that uses Valencian not following the official regulations (see the cases collected in Annex IV). It must be said that this rigorous interpretation has never taken effect until 2015.

In 2002, the AVL agreed to approve an official Valencian normative referent, valid as long as the Grammar and the Dictionary, or other prescriptive texts of this institution, weren't approved. These normative works were published in successive years: Orthographic and Pronunciation Dictionary of Valencian (2006), Valencian Normative Grammar (*Gramàtica Normativa Valenciana*, GNV) (2006), Valencian Normative Dictionary (*Diccionari Normatiu Valencià*, DNV) (2014) and Basic Valencian Grammar (*Gramàtica Valenciana Bàsica*, GVB) (2016).

III.f) Resolution of the Valencian Academy of the Language (AVL) on the principles and criteria for the defense of the denomination and entity of Valencian (2005)

The Valencian Academy of the Language drew up in 2005 a resolution with its opinion on the principles and criteria for the defense of the denomination and entity of Valencian⁹¹ (hereinafter, the RESOLUTION).

This document **was expected since the law of creation of the AVL was approved in 1998, since the creation of this entity was precisely motivated by the social conflict in relation to Valencian**, not only with respect to the name but also to the entity of Valencian, and to the linguistic model that was to be proposed to Valencian speakers (see section 3 of this document).

From the autochthonist sector –and also, we think, from particularist sector– **a defense of the denomination “Valencian language”** (and also “Valencian”, or in Valencian “*llengua valenciana*”, “*valencià*” or “*idioma valencià*”) **was expected. But, above all, a defense of the entity of Valencian was expected, in which an autonomy of the linguistic modality would be recognized**, although it would be coordinated with other similar modalities. **The main practical consequence of this linguistic autonomy should be reflected in a linguistic codification of Valencian, by the AVL, faithful to the Valencian linguistic tradition and reality**, without subordination to other similar modalities.

This position was already stated by the RACV, on behalf of the linguistic autoctonism, before the creation of the AVL, when the Valencian Culture Council (CVC) received the

91 *Dictamen sobre els principis i criteris per a la defensa de la denominació i l'entitat del valencià* (Resolution on the principles and criteria for the defense of the denomination and entity of Valencian), approved by the AVL in the plenary of February 9, 2005, and published in the Resolution 2/2005, of March 29 by the Presidency of the Valencian Academy of the Language: <https://www.avl.gva.es/documents/31983/0/Dictamen+sobre+els+principis+i+criteris+per+a+la+defensa+de+la+denominaci%C3%B3+i+l%E2%80%99entitat+del+valenci%C3%A0/986f8d4d-89b2-4a12-826c-c7386f92f289> [Retrieved 05/08/2018]

command to elaborate the Resolution on the Valencian language that ended with the proposal to Les Corts for the creation of a normative entity for Valencian⁹².

However, **the RESOLUTION establishes for the first time an official position** regarding the name and entity of the Valencian, as well as respect to the codification strategy for Valencian, **an opinion we autochthonist entities disagree with.**

As a sign of this disagreement, again the RACV responded to the RESOLUTION in a letter dated February 14, 2015, in which it concluded:

9.- We consider that if the creation of the AVL was an attempt to bring together a consensus that would end with the Valencian linguistic conflict, due to its composition, with the presence of an absolute majority of supporters of linguistic annexationism and contrary to the existence of a Valencian language with its own orthography and grammar, has served to promote discord and confusion among the Valencians, fueling the linguistic war, now more present than ever in public life.

Therefore the derogation of the Law of Creation of the AVL and its dissolution are demanded with respectful energy⁹³.

We will now analyze some of the points of the RESOLUTION, showing the aspects we are disagree with, and also, to what extent the tendentious observance of this resolution has been used to depersonalize Valencian, setting it apart from its speakers, discouraging its use and discriminating a part of Valencian speakers.

III.f.1 Entity of Valencian

Regarding the entity of Valencian, the RESOLUTION states that:

1. [...] **the own and historical language of Valencians**, from the point of view of philology, **is also the one that share the autonomous communities of Catalonia and the Balearic Islands and the Principality of Andorra** [...] The different speeches of all these territories **constitute a language, that is to say, the same ‘linguistic system’...**

That is, **the AVL decides to enshrine the unification of the Valencian, Catalan and Balearic linguistics modalities, considering that they are the same linguistic system or language.** We say “decide” because the consideration of different modalities as one or many languages is a question that goes beyond the description that philology can make of a linguistic system.

92 Both the report sent to the CVC on 12/03/1998 and a declaration of principles, once known the text of the Resolution from the CVC, can be consulted on the web site of the Language Section of the RACV: https://www.llenguavalenciana.com/documents/la_racv_i_el_consell_valencia_de_cultura [Retrieved 05/08/2018]

93 The response from the RACV to the RESOLUTION can be found in: <https://www.llenguavalenciana.com/media/documents/informes/resdictamen.pdf> [Retrieved 05/08/2018]

In fact, the RESOLUTION recognizes the existence of a “particularist tradition” (equivalent to the autochthonism described in section 3 of this document), but it is minimized, in a self-interested way, in comparison to “the consciousness of having a shared language”, that, in our opinion, has not been such a consciousness of a *common language* but rather of a *linguistic familiarity*, always based on respect to the peculiarities of each linguistic modality.

4. [...] **Although there is a Valencian particularist tradition** with respect to its own language (annex 3), **the consciousness of having a shared language** with other territories of the former Crown of Aragon **has remained constant until the contemporary time** (annex 4)...

As the RACV already answered to the RESOLUTION (see note 93):

6.- [...] From the point of view of philology, the statement is incorrect since, as did the Catalans Pompeu Fabra –who was not a philologist– and Joan Coromines, **mutilates the linguistics system in an unscientific and interested manner**, in a way that no prestigious philologist can accept this **approach that leaves all the Oc’s lands, who give the name of Occitano-Romance to our system**. Curiously the resolution speaks of a system but does not say which this system is, not to make the error obvious.

The resolution confuses things that in philology are well defined as the concept of language, speech and linguistic system or diasystem. All the territories mentioned plus all of Occitania are part of a linguistic system, the Occitano-Romance system, and within it, some variants rose to the category of language with a literary prestige, first of all Occitan with the troubadour literature, in second place Valencian with the Golden Age (*Sigle d’Or*) in the XV century and in the third place the Catalans with the *Renaixença*, the other ones, without a literary tradition, remain as variants and some, like Majorcan, have assumed their annexation to Catalan, according to the Balearic Statute of Autonomy.

We have repeated on several occasions that **we don’t need to go very far to find similar cases**, such as the Galician-Portuguese one that the RAE [*that stands for Real Academia Española, the normative entity for Spanish*], defines as ‘a group of Romance languages used in the Galician and Portuguese linguistic dominions’. **Nobody denies that Galician and Portuguese form a linguistic system, but also nobody denies that they are considered two languages. Our case doesn’t have to be different.**

In conclusion, the autochthonist linguistic Valencianism disagrees with the decision of the AVL, since we understand that **Valencian is the strictly Valencian linguistic modality** –although framed in a broader linguistic family, the Occitano-Romance

diasystem–, according to the non-dialectal (and not annexationist towards other modalities) linguistic consciousness of the Valencians.

We consider that **the determined support of the AVL to the project of linguistic unification moves it away from the objective for which it was created**, and to the will of the majority of the Valencians (see the analysis of the surveys on the linguistic consciousness of the Valencians in Annex I.a), **having, in addition, serious consequences for the survival of the Valencian linguistic modality**, as it conditions the codification strategy of Valencian –subordinating it to Catalan– and legitimates the absence of textual or audiovisual content in a Valencian model.

III.f.2 Name of Valencian

Regarding the name of Valencian, the RESOLUTION determines that “Valencian” (as well as “Valencian language”, or in Valencian “*valencià*”, “*llengua valenciana*” or “*idioma valencià*”) and “Catalan” are two equally valid names for the same language:

4. In the territory of the current Valencian Community, **the own language of Valencians has received mainly the name of Valencian or Valencian language** [...] Therefore, **the historical denomination of Valencian has coexisted with that of Catalan, documented in certain Valencian sources** (annex 5), and widespread in the field of the Romance studies and the Valencian university of recent decades. Likewise, **there are not few testimonies** in which the name of one of the parts has been avoided to designate the whole language system through **composite or syncretic formulas such as Valencian and Catalan language** (annex 6), or in which integrating and overcoming denominations of the onomastic diversity are proposed (annex 7).

5. The denomination of Valencian is, in addition, the one established in the Statute of Autonomy of the Valencian Community. Therefore, in accordance with the tradition and statutory legality, **the AVL considers that the most appropriate term to designate the own language in the Valencian Community is Valencian**, a name that has been preserved legally, **since it is one of the main signs of identity of our People**. This name **can designate the whole of the language** that we share with the territories of the former Crown of Aragón already mentioned, as well as, with a more restricted semantic scope, **the idiomatic modality that characterizes us within that same language...**

In our opinion, **the onomastic solution** presented in points 4 and 5 of the RESOLUTION **tries to close a conflict intentionally reduced to the name of the language**: if most of the Valencians do not admit the name of “Catalan” for their language, it is determined that the names “Valencian” and “Catalan” are equally valid to refer to the *common language*. But the **onomastic duality is not a social reality**: as we

have said, Valencians don't have the consciousness that the denomination "Valencian" refers to Valencian and Catalan as a whole.

The approach of the AVL allows and recommends the use of the name "Valencian" or "Valencian language" in the Valencian territorial area, but point 4 recognizes that in the Romance studies and Valencian academic fields the name "Catalan" has been selected for the linguistic system –we believe that in order to avoid doubts about the alleged linguistic unity, but also because of annexationist fervor in relation to language, culture and identity–. That is why the RESOLUTION makes the following proposal:

6. [...] For this reason **the AVL considers it necessary** that the autonomous governments involved, in collaboration with the Spanish Government, take the appropriate measures (enablement of syncretic or similar formulas, for example) so that, specially outside of that linguistic area, **the onomastic duality of our language is harmonized** with the projection of it as a cohesive and non-fragmented entity. In this way, it could be **coherently guaranteed the legitimate presence of the Valencian demonym outside our Community** and, at the same time, reconcile the philological reality with the Valencian legal and sociological reality.

To Valencian autochthonist speakers, this idea of promoting solutions that respect at the same time both the onomastics duality and the projection of a cohesive and non-fragmented language **seems unacceptable on the basis of principles**, but it is also doomed to failure: it could only work in a scenario in which the linguistic particularism was be the predominant position in the academic world and the rulers of *all* the territories involved.

In the current scenario –with a strong annexationist position in these fields both in València and in Catalonia– it is a utopia, as evidenced by the fact that no action has been verified in that direction from those who have the capacity to act: **the denomination of "Valencian" is a concession to the Valencians**, but to maintain a cohesive projection of the language the name "Catalan" is used, which is a declaration of intentions over the Valencian linguistic model as we shall see later.

For example, we can mention the case of the Departments of Catalan Philology in the Valencian universities (renamed like this in 1993; before they were called of "Valencian Linguistics" or "Valencian Philology"). Although the RESOLUTION dates from thirteen years ago, there seems to be no intention of recovering the "Valencian" demonym in the academic world of the Valencian Community, nor of promoting a change towards syncretic or similar formulas in the universities of Valencian and Catalan territories.

Moreover, the annexationist association *Acció Cultural del País Valencià* (ACPV) presented in April 2018 a document, written with the collaboration of the Valencian public universities, which demanded the creation of a "Linguistic Equality" law that should contemplate for the language, along with the name "Valencian" used in the Statute of Autonomy, *"the equivalence with the name 'Catalan'"*; thus, "overcoming

the disparity of names we will avoid that the State, and diverse public and private entities, treat Valencian and Catalan as if they responded to two different linguistic communities”⁹⁴. We, the autochthonist entities that have prepared this report, consider that the name “Valencian” must be preserved in the context of the Valencian Community (in accordance with point 5 of the RESOLUTION), and that it should be used to refer to the strictly Valencian linguistic modality, so that the State and public or private entities can treat Valencian and Catalan differently, allowing the availability of different content versions for the speakers of the different modalities.

We would like to point out yet another case, in relation with the selective disrespect for some points in the RESOLUTION. Recently, the Department of Justice of the Valencian government released a web site to submit articles for the juridic electronic magazine *Drets*, the scope of which is the Valencian Community. The users of this platform could select their preferred language between Spanish, English and Catalan, not including Valencian (neither the name nor the Valencian linguistic model)⁹⁵. This fact caused protests, and the Department of Justice changed the submission form, replacing “Catalan” with “Valencian”, but leaving the text in standard Catalan untouched⁹⁶.

III.f.3 Codification model of Valencian

Regarding the codification model for Valencian –we remind that by law the AVL has the purpose of determining and elaborating, if appropriate, the linguistic regulations of the Valencian language–, the RESOLUTION states:

1. [...] Within that set of speeches, **Valencian has the same hierarchy and dignity** as any other territorial modality of the linguistic system, **and presents its own characteristics that the AVL will preserve and leverage in accordance with the own lexicographical and literary tradition, the Valencian linguistic reality** and the consolidated normalization based on the Norms of Castelló (Normes de Castelló).

[...]

7. Regarding the language codification model, it must be kept in mind that **not all the languages of culture have followed unique and exclusive guidelines** [...] there are others [language codification models], still, **that respect the different modalities within the unity** (as in the case of Portuguese from Portugal and Brazil). **This last possibility, given the rich**

94 https://www.abc.es/espana/comunidad-valenciana/abci-universidades-publicas-valencianas-piden-ley-oficialice-catalan-y-obligue-conocimiento-201804111141_noticia.html [Retrieved 05/08/2018] 05/08/2018]

95 https://www.abc.es/espana/comunidad-valenciana/abci-gobierno-valenciano-oficializa-catalan-pagina-201809041727_noticia.html [Retrieved 05/08/2018]

96 <http://revistes.gva.es/ojs/index.php/drets/user/register> [Retrieved 16/09/2018] (it can also be found in the [Documentary Appendix - Document 13](#)).

The text in the form features standard Catalan expressions such as “teva” for “teua”, “aquest/aquesta” determiners for “este/esta”, “tenir/contenir” verbs for “tindre/contindre”, as well as Catalan verb inflections instead of the Valencian ones.

linguistic and literary tradition of Valencian within the shared language, is the one that the AVL considers to be the most suitable for our language, since it allows the respect for diversity within the unity. What is proposed, for the whole of the language, is, therefore, a polycentric whilst at the same time convergent codification.

Regarding these points, the RACV expressed the disapproval of the autochthonism in its response to the RESOLUTION (see note 93):

3.- The historical reality is distorted when it is repeated that the Bases – not norms– of 1932 were a historical overcoming that meant the unification of the Valencian orthography, because in 1932 there was no debate or study, simply the signature of people and entities that, according to this bases, ‘maintain their scientific points of view’, so much so that the only philologist that signed them, Lluís Fullana, republished in 1933 its Valencian Orthography, and the main entities that signed them, like *Lo Rat Penat* and the Center of Valencian Culture, nowadays called the RACV, stopped using them, since these Bases are a simple summary, full of incorrectness, of the spelling that the Institut of Catalan Studies elaborated for Catalan and that catalanize and dialectize Valencian.

4.- The statement again distorts the reality or ignores part of it when it repeats that there has been a consolidated normalization based on the Norms of Castelló of 1932. We have already explained on many occasions that **those Bases were put aside in a short time and the party in favor of the annexation to Catalan used the Catalan spelling directly [...]**

But the authors of the resolution aren’t unaware that the normalization during the last 25 years has also been done thanks to a spelling that they never mention, the Valencian Spelling of the RACV. In this spelling, many writers have written their works and it was official and published by the General Technical Secretary of the Department of Education of the Valencian government and, following it, the Statute of Autonomy of the Valencian Community was published in the Official Gazette of the *Generalitat Valenciana*); the first textbooks for the teaching of Valencian were also written following them, until the first socialist government imposed, without debate or consensus and without formalizing it, the Catalan spelling proclaiming that those were the Bases of 1932.

5.- The statement [...] compares incomparable cases, since the **linguistic consciousness of Valencians has always been that of speaking a different and distinct language with the proper name of ‘Valencian language’, not as in Brazil, the USA or Latin America** where we don’t find the existence of dictionaries and own grammars as happen in the Valencian case since the XV century [...] **following by the clear differential**

consciousness emanating from all classical and postclassical Valencian writers (not found in any known dialect or modality) with respect to their own Valencian language and **sociolinguistically confirmed by the general consciousness of an own and substantive language**, the Valencian one, that reflects, in the XX century, the *Linguistic Atlas of the Iberian Peninsula*.

In summary, the autochthonist linguistic Valencianism disagrees with the arguments of the AVL because **it is aimed at justifying the predetermined choice of a convergent polycentric coding model** “for the whole of the language” that:

- It is based on incorrect statements –the alleged historical consensus of the Bases of Castellón⁹⁷ and the subsequent normative consolidation–.
- It ignores the existence and the contribution of the RACV’s linguistic norms, which had an official status, to normalize the use of Valencian.
- It doesn’t give enough importance to Valencians’ differential linguistic consciousness, which suggests the convenience of a completely *autonomous* model (autochthonism) –or at least a *coordinated* one (particularism)–. Instead, a polycentric but *convergent* model is proposed, showing a subordinate position from Valencian to Catalan, and a desire to reach a Catalan-centric model (annexationism).
- It makes a proposal “for the whole of the language” that the AVL is not in a position to guarantee, because it requires two things that we have not seen to date: willingness to “coordinate between peers” that depends on other codification entities, and the determination of the AVL in defending its position.

The confirmation that the proposal of a convergent polycentric coding is harmful to the Valencian modality can be found in the fact that the respect for “the lexicographical, literary tradition, and the genuine Valencian linguistic reality”, which demands the law of creation of the AVL, is very often conditioned by the “convergence with the solutions that have been adopted in the other territories that share our language, in order to guarantee the pertinent cohesion”⁹⁸, and without finding a clear criteria of which Valencian language forms should be prioritized and which forms should be subordinated to the Catalan equivalent ones.

97 The Bases of Castelló 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](#))

In the signatures of the document of the Bases, collected at different times, the spirit of concord is manifested by some signers, who signed the document attending to the provisional nature of it

98 V.VAA. *Gramàtica Normativa Valenciana* (Valencian Normative Grammar). Col·lecció Textos Normatius, 2 (2006), p. 14. Publicacions de l’Acadèmia Valenciana de la Llengua. Online version in: <https://www.avl.gva.es/documents/31987/65233/GNV> [Retrieved 05/08/2018]

In fact, the RACV sent the AVL a document with some ‘revalencianization’ proposals, denouncing that:

We are observing lately that are being considered the most recent lexicographical works of Francesc Ferrer Pastor, Galmar dictionary, Enric Valor’s Basic Vocabulary, above all, the Dictionary of Catalan Language, of the Institute of Catalan Studies and the Valencian dictionary of the Inter-university Institute of Valencian Philology; but we note that **the lexicographical works of Valencian entities such as *Lo Rat Penat*, the Royal Academy of Valencian Culture, *València 2000*, *Grup d’Acció Valencianista* and so many others who, for a long time and during adverse historical moments for the language, have worked and continue to work for the Valencian language and follow a strict criterion of linguistic valencianity. We also note that there is more interest in introducing the Catalan phonetics, syntax, verbal and nominal morphology, spelling and lexicon, following prescriptive criteria, rather than in recovering and leveraging Valencian forms –many of them classical– or Valencian patrimonial and traditional language, for which they do absolutely nothing.**⁹⁹

As the previous citation denounces, the normative works of the AVL do not describe all of the own Valencian characteristics, when they describe them they are not always included in the norms, and when they are included they are often relegated, prioritizing the equivalent Catalan solutions, which are the prescribed ones.

A last aspect of the RESOLUTION that we want to highlight is related to the desirable existence of Valencian versions of textual and audiovisual contents:

8. Based on these criteria, in the Valencian territorial area, **the codification has been done and it is done in accordance with a model that incorporates the own characteristics of the Valencian speeches**, as reflected in the normative agreements adopted so far by the AVL. **This makes it possible to have own Valencian versions (media, audiovisual products, computer applications, publishing market, liturgical and religious texts...)**, which should not be interpreted as a sign of linguistic fragmentation, **but as a way of promoting the use of the language through the closeness of the Valencian language model to its users...**

9. [...] This desirable convergence must be perfectly compatible with **the possibility of using the language models of each territory** in the uses that affect private relationships between institutions outside our linguistic sphere (rest of Spain, European Union...), on one hand, and institutions and

99 *Informe sobre la llengua valenciana i propostes de revalencianisació* (Report on the Valencian language and proposals for revalencianization), paragraph 3. It can be consulted in: https://www.llenguavalenciana.com/documents/informes/informe_sobre_la_llengua_valenciana_i_propostes_de_revalencianisacio [Retrieved 05/08/2018]

individuals and legal entities of the autonomous communities that share the same language, on the other.

The AVL considers the possibility of having own Valencian versions of both textual and audiovisual content in any field, but we observe that both public administrations (Valencian and Spanish) and some private companies tend to ignore this possibility, whether by annexationist conviction or because of a supposed *cost efficiency*.

As we have indicated in the section 5.2 of this document, **the current Valencian autonomic government is considering that it fulfills the commitments in the Charter in those cases in which the Valencian citizens have versions in standard Catalan**, but from our point of view –we believe that shared with Valencian particularist speakers– **these Catalan contents are distant from the living Valencian linguistic modality** –and also distant from the AVL norms, the more Valencian solutions are taken–, **which causes that Valencian speakers do not consider those contents suitable for them, thus opting for the versions in Spanish.**

III.f.4 Conclusions

To conclude this section on the RESOLUTION of the AVL, we would like to emphasize that the entities that have prepared this report regret that this entity is not complying properly with the purpose for which it was created:

- It has not built an effective solution to the linguistic problem –as it has not taken into consideration the different sensitivities in a proportional way–.
- It has defined a norm that allows the annexationism to use an identical linguistic model to the standard Catalan, while the most particularist possible model remains distant from the Valencian vernacular variant –as it does not cover all the Valencian particularities, and although some of them are considered, they hardly ever are the prescribed forms–.
- It has not acted against challenges towards its authority as a normative entity, when the Valencian government institutions have taken advantage of the points in the RESOLUTION that best fit their intentions –such as the declaration of the identity between Valencian and Catalan, and the consequent validity of the expressions of the entire linguistic dominion– to set aside the points that don't fit their project of linguistic annexationism.
- It has served as a justification to condemn to marginality those Valencian speakers –entities, authors, citizens- that legitimately disagree with the views of the AVL, and that consider it preferable to have a linguistic model constructed from the criteria of a strict linguistic valencianism, such as the one of the RACV. It must be remembered that the AVL norms impose no obligation on individuals or groups not contemplated in the Law of Creation of the AVL or in the Statute of Autonomy, unless a restrictive reading of the legislation is made, which the

“Sindic de Greuges” (Valencian Ombudsman), for example, does not share (see the Anex IV.k).

Due to all this, we, the entities that have prepared this report:

show our absolute discrepancy with the Valencian legislation currently in effect in the field of linguistic matters;

- defend our right to continue using the Valencian language in coherence with our linguistic consciousness;
- assert that we are not represented at all by the normative work of the AVL;
- and we demand that the norms of the RACV have official recognition for all purposes, at the same time that we demand that individuals, creators, associations and companies may use the norms that they consider most appropriate in equal conditions as the Valencian speakers of other sensibilities and without any discrimination. This legislative change can be easily done if there is a will from the part of the political forces with parliamentary representation, since it consists in nothing more than generalizing those rights that, at this time, only a part of the Valencian speakers has guaranteed, so that all of them, without exception, can enjoy the same rights.

We have to admit, however, that not every Valencian will agree with our autochthonist sensitivity (a consideration, by the way, that they never show towards our sensitivity), and we are aware, in addition, to the legal obligations that, in accordance to the legislation currently in effect, unfortunately affect all the Valencians. Lawful obligations that, being realistic, can only be modified (since we completely discard that the AVL modifies on its own initiative its current positions) by political pacts, which would require a majority of three fifths of the Valencian Courts to modify the Law of Creation of the AVL, (according to article 44.5 of the Statute), and two thirds of the Valencian Courts, with later approval by the Spanish Courts and ending with a referendum, to modify the consideration of the AVL as an official normative entity in the Statute of Autonomy (art. 81).

For this reason, we demand to all the Valencian political parties with government responsibilities, at least and as a provisional minimum solution, that, for the time being and as long as it is not carried out, as is desirable, a major reform of the current legislation in the above indicated direction, they encourage the public administrations to use the closest linguistic model to the living Valencian language that allows the current norms of the AVL; which, without violating the legislation currently in effect, will imply the existence and transmission of versions in a Valencian linguistic model in all fields; with the conviction that all action that separates from the annexationist drift of Valencian into Catalan will result in a greater use of the language. A solution necessarily provisional, imperfect but realistic, waiting for a future where there are new socio-

political majorities which are adequate to finally recognize, officially, a purely Valencian linguistic codification.

III.g) Statute of Autonomy of the Valencian Community (2006)

The Statute of Autonomy of the Valencian Community, after the reform of 2006, clarifies some aspects of the Statute of 1982 and includes the Valencian Academy of the Language (AVL) as a statutory entity:

Article six

1. The Valencian Community's own language is Valencian.
2. The Valencian language is the official in the Valencian Community, as is Spanish, which is the official language of the State. Everyone has the right to know and use them and to receive the teaching of, and in, the Valencian language.
3. The *Generalitat* will guarantee the normal and official use of both languages, and will adopt the necessary measures to ensure their knowledge.
4. No one can be discriminated against because of their language.
5. Special protection and respect for the recovery of Valencian will be granted.
6. The law will establish the criteria for the application of the own language in Administration and Teaching.
7. The territories in which the use of one or the other language are predominant will be delimited by law, as well as those that may be exempt from the teaching and use of the Valencian Community's own language.
8. The Valencian Academy of the Language is the normative institution of the Valencian language.

Similarly, the same Statute of Autonomy, in its article 41, specifies:

Article 41

The Valencian Academy of the Language

The Valencian Academy of the Language, institution of public nature of the *Generalitat*, has as a function to determine and elaborate, if appropriate, the linguistic norms of the Valencian language.

The linguistic norms of the Valencian Academy of the Language will be mandatory in all the public administrations of the Valencian Community.

With regard to the procedure for the appointment of its members, functions, powers, status and duration of the mandate, it must adjust to what is required by the Law of *Les Corts* that regulates it.

The wording of the Statute contemplates the obligation to follow the AVL regulations only for the public administrations of the Valencian Community, without any reference to individuals or private entities, entering into a contradiction with the Law of creation of the AVL that extends this obligation to other cases that, according to the strict interpretation of the current Valencian government, can justify the denial of subsidies to Valencian cultural entities with a different sensitivity to that of the governing authorities.

Annex IV - Evolution of the recognition or discrimination against autochthonist Valencians in the last thirty years. Some significant facts

IV.a) 1982-83. Officialization and subsequent loss of the official validation of the Valencian titles of *Lo Rat Penat*, which follow the autochthonist linguistic norms (*Normes d'El Puig*)

In 1949, *Lo Rat Penat* officially opens the Section of Valencian Language and Culture Courses (*Secció de Cursos de Llengua i Cultura Valencianes*). During all these years the purpose of the courses has remained valid: to teach and to spread the Valencian language. The language titles of *Lo Rat Penat* were official in the early 80's. The teachers who had this title had the official qualification to teach Valencian in the schools. However this titles stopped being official a short time later, as in the autonomic elections of 1982 the governing political party changed and they removed the officiality of them because of ideological reasons.

IV.a.1 Officialization of the titles of *Lo Rat Penat* (DOGV 30/08/1982)

In this Official Gazette of the Valencian Government (DOGV) are enumerated the conditions that teachers must meet to be able to teach classes of Valencian for the course 1982-1983.

One of the necessary requirements is to be in possession of the qualification for teaching of Valencian, that could be obtained in *Lo Rat Penat* or the *Grup d'Acció Valencianista* (according to the autochthonist linguistic codification, the Norms of El Puig, or *Normes d'El Puig*) and in other entities such as the *Institut de Ciències de l'Educació* (annexationist linguistic model).

It can be noticed how, at the moment of the introduction of the Valencian language in schools, the two language codifications of Valencian coexist, without discrimination towards any of them.

Source: Document of the Official Gazette of the Valencian Government of 30/08/82. The decree is specifically on page 4, in the section “*DECRETO de 19 de julio de 1982 por el que se establece qué profesores estarán facultados para la enseñanza del idioma valenciano*”¹⁰⁰ (DECREE of July 19, 1982, which establishes which professors will be entitled to teach the Valencian language).

100 http://www.dogv.gva.es/datos/1982/08/30/pdf/dogv_0077.pdf [Retrieved 05/08/2018]

IV.a.2 Derogation of Lo Rat Penat titles (DOGV 18/12/1982)

After the change of government that took place as a result of the autonomic elections at the end of 1982, the new government changes some of the requirements that teachers must meet in order to teach Valencian classes. For political and ideological reasons, a few months after the officialization of the titles of *Lo Rat Penat*, this title become invalid for the teaching of Valencian, which meant that suddenly, in a short period of time, the Valencian teachers following the autochthonist linguistic model lose their qualification to teach Valencian. Therefore it was completely imposed the annexationist linguistic model.

It therefore began the discrimination towards the autochthonist linguistic norms. For those political reasons, people who decide to use the *Normes d'El Puig* could no longer obtain the qualification for teaching Valencian, and the children and young people in favor of (or whose parents are in favour of) this linguistic model are forced to change against their will the model for Valencian used in schools. This difficults the generational succession in the use of the autochthonist linguistic norms since it has never been used again in schools.

Source: Document of the Official Gazette of the Valencian Government, of 18/12/1982¹⁰¹.

IV.a.3 Protests against the derogation of the official titles of the entities that use Normes d'El Puig

Due to the derogation of the official titles of Valencian using the *Normes d'El Puig*, some affected professors who had lost their qualification to teach Valencian, and some people who use this norms, protest the decision that discriminates them in comparison to the ones that use the other norms.

Source: Article “*Profesores de valenciano piden enseñar la nueva ortografía*”¹⁰² (Valencian teachers demand teaching the new ortography). *El País*, edition of 09/01/1983.

101 http://www.dogv.gva.es/datos/1982/12/18/pdf/dogv_0086.pdf [Retrieved 05/08/2018]

102 https://elpais.com/diario/1983/01/09/sociedad/410914809_850215.html [Retrieved 05/08/2018]

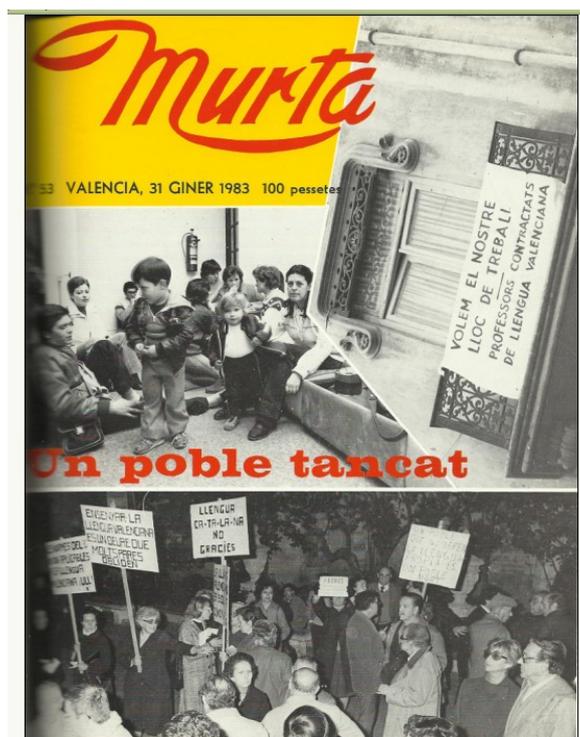


Image 2. Front page of *Murta* magazine, number 53 (January 1983) which offers news on the sit-in of the teachers in the Department of Education

IV.b) 1996. The High Court of Justice of València acknowledges that autochthonist publishing houses were discriminated against by the Valencian government

In 1996, the High Court of Justice (*Tribunal Superior de Justícia*, TSJ) of València acknowledged that several autochthonist publishing houses, particularly *Promocio de Cultura Valenciana del Cenja al Segura S.L.*, had been discriminated against by the Department of Education and Science of the Valencian government led by the PSPV-PSOE.

As stated in Annex III, before the creation of the AVL there was no official normative entity for Valencia, and before AVL's first codification activities –a normative referent approved in 2002, and the two normative works published in 2006– there was no official codification for the Valencian language. However, an aid to these publishing houses was denied by claiming that the published works weren't written "*in accordance with the orthographic and grammatical regulations adopted as their own by the government of the Generalitat Valenciana, and which are used in its written communications*". The TSJ dictated that, given the lack of regulation on the official codification of Valencian, the government cannot replace the legislator's powers, and cannot deny an aid based on the breach of some criteria that haven't been stated.

Source: Article "*El Consell, obligado a dar una subvención*"¹⁰³ (The *Consell* [Valencian government] forced to give a subsidy). *Levante-EMV*, edition of 18/01/1996.

¹⁰³ It can be found in the [Documentary Appendix - Document 15](#).

Source: Article “*El TSJ reconoce que el Consell discriminó a editoriales por no ajustarse a ‘su valenciano’*”¹⁰⁴ (The TSJ acknowledges that the *Consell* [Valencian government] discriminated against publishing houses for not using ‘their Valencian’). *ABC*, edition of 23/01/1996.

IV.c) 1998. *Les Corts* (Valencian parliament) paralyze a law that would designate the RACV as the linguistic normative authority

Proposed by the Valencianist deputy in *Les Corts* Rafael Ferraro, the law that would designate the RACV as the official Valencian authority to set the norms of Valencian remained paralyzed for a year.

The deputy argued that the Regulation of *Les Cortes* had been violated, as it stated that after 30 days without the Council having expressly denied its agreement to the processing of the law, this kind of proposal should have been included in the agenda to be taken into consideration in *Les Corts*. But the reality is that half a year passed since the end of this deadline and part of the autonomic chamber blocked its processing.

A subsequent reading of the facts suggests that this law was blocked because the creation of the Valencian Academy of the Language was being worked upon, and its supporters tried to gain time not to give the normative authority to the RACV.

Source: Article “*Las Cortes tienen paralizada una ley que otorga a la RACV la autoridad normativa sobre el valenciano*”¹⁰⁵ (The Valencian parliament have paralyzed a law that grants the RACV the normative authority on Valencian). *Las Provincias*, May 1998.

IV.d) 2015-16. A new law grants *Lo Rat Penat* and the RACV the status of consultive institution of the *Generalitat Valenciana* and recognizes its teaching capacity. A year later, the new autonomous government invalidates it and withdraws its recognition

IV.d.1 *Approval of the Law on Valencian People Identity*

After 20 years of claims of idiomatic Valencianism, and facing the negative electoral perspectives for the governing party in the Valencian government, the PP, it was presented a law on Valencian People Identity Traits (*Llei de Senyes d’Identitat del Poble Valencià*), which recognized *Lo Rat Penat* as an advisory institution of the *Generalitat Valenciana* regarding cultural heritage. The recognition of the “teaching capacity” of *Lo Rat Penat* also appears as a novelty, although it does not officially recognize the validity of its titles. This law tries to solve the still open linguistic conflict, by placing the two normative sensibilities at the same level, without discrimination towards any of them

¹⁰⁴ It can be found in the [Documentary Appendix - Document 16](#).

¹⁰⁵ It can be found in the [Documentary Appendix - Document 17](#).

and in equal conditions, so that the Valencians can choose the norm that want to follow without any obstacle and in full freedom.

Source: Article “*El PP valenciano convertirá a Lo Rat Penat en institución consultiva*”¹⁰⁶ (The Valencian PP will convert *Lo Rat Penat* into a consultative institution). *El Mundo*, edition of 20/02/2015.

IV.d.2 The new Government after the autonomic elections derogates the Law on Valencian People Identity Traits

The plenary of *Les Corts* votes in favour of the derogation of the “Law of Identity Traits” that had been approved a few months before in the same Valencian parliament. Now, after changing the sign of the Valencian government in the recent autonomic elections, some laws such as the one mentioned before are derogated. This, due to ideological concerns and political affinity, the official recognition of centenary institutions such as *Lo Rat Penat* and the *RACV* is once again withdrawn. It is the beginning of a revival of the linguistic conflict, shortly after the users of the *Normes d’El Puig* (of the *RACV*) were hoping that their norms could, in the near future, return to have the same status and official recognition as the other norm.

Source: Artículo “*Las Cortes valencianas derogan la ley de señas de identidad del PP*”¹⁰⁷ (The Valencian parliament repeals the law on identity traits of the PP). *El Periódico*, edition of 14/01/2016.

IV.e) 2017. Homologation of the titles of standard Catalan as official titles of Valencian, but without homologating the Valencian titles of *Lo Rat Penat*

The Department of Education of the Valencian government takes the political decision of homologating as titles of Valencian the titles of Catalan that are provided in other territories (such as Catalonia or the Balearic Islands). However, the titles of Valencian provided by *Lo Rat Penat* are not homologated. Thus, people from other territories that study the Catalan standard of the *Institut d’Estudis Catalans* in universities and entities outside the Valencian territory are considered to be qualified to teach Valencian, but people who study the autochthonist standard, in the entities whose titles were officially in 1982, aren’t considered to be qualified.

It can be observed that, as in the 1982 government change, the autonomic government of 2015 only respects the annexationist linguistic model and pursues the autochthonist linguistic model. This contrasts with the conciliatory spirit of the laws published in August 1982, which respected both linguistic sensibilities.

106 <http://www.elmundo.es/comunidad-valenciana/2015/02/20/54e754f9ca474137168b4573.html>
[Retrieved 05/08/2018]

107 <https://www.elperiodico.com/es/politica/20160114/corts-valencianas-derogan-ley-senas-identidad-partido-popular-4816084> [Retrieved 05/08/2018]

Source: Article “*Marzà valida el catalán de Andorra y excluye el valenciano de Lo Rat Penat*”¹⁰⁸ (Marzà validates the Catalan of Andorra and excludes the Valencian of *Lo Rat Penat*). *Las Provincias*, edition of 09/03/2017.

IV.f) Imposition of the linguistic norms of the AVL (currently mandatory only for the Valencian public administration) in the world of Fallas (cultural associations of civil society). Recognition of this discrimination by the “Síndic de Greuges” of the Valencian Community

Since 1903, *Lo Rat Penat* holds the traditional contest of *Llibrets* (satirical and festive publication linked to the Fallas festival), making the annual call to Fallas associations and poets to participate in this competition where humor, ingenuity and wit, as well as the rhyme and the technique on their verses are the protagonists of this fundamental part of Valencian language and culture, and of our most universal Festival. UNESCO declared the Valencian Fallas Festivity as an Intangible Heritage of Humanity, and among the aspects to be protected that appear in the declaration file, **it is expressly mentioned the work done by *Lo Rat Penat* in the celebration of the contest of *Llibrets***, stating that in the past, the festivity was also a way of preserving the Valencian language when it was prohibited.

IV.f.1 Attempt of censorship to the collaborators of the Official Fallas Book because of the Valencian linguistic norms used

The new government resulting from the municipal elections decided that no writer in the Valencian language autochthonist norms could participate in the Official Fallas Book (*Llibre Oficial Fallero*), contrary to the decades-long custom of coexistence of writers using different norms. In particular, the councilman of Festive Culture decided not to keep the tradition that the winner of the extraordinary prize “*Bernat i Baldoví*” awarded by *Lo Rat Penat* in the contest of *Llibrets* of the previous year was the one who wrote the poem devoted to the *Falleres Majors* (Fallas’ ladies of honour) in the Official Fallas Book. This decision was taken because the winner of the 2014 “*Bernat i Baldoví*” prize, Ampar Cabrera, used the Valencian linguistic normative of the RACV in her literary creation.

Source: Article “*El Libro Oficial Fallero suprime la poesía de Lo Rat Penat por su valenciano no normativo*”¹⁰⁹ (Official Fallas Book suppresses the poem of *Lo Rat Penat* for its non-normative Valencian). *Levante-EMV*, edition of 21/11/2015.

108 <https://www.lasprovincias.es/politica/201703/09/marza-valida-catalan-andorra-20170309004643-v.html> [Retrieved 05/08/2018] (it can also be found in the [Documentary Appendix](#) - **Document 18**)

109 <https://www.levante-emv.com/fallas/2015/11/21/libro-oficial-suprime-poesia-rat/1344381.html> [Retrieved 05/08/2018] (it can also be found in the [Documentary Appendix](#) - **Document 19**)

Source: Article “*Fuset excluye los poemas de Lo Rat Penat del libro fallero*”¹¹⁰ (“Fuset excludes the poems of *Lo Rat Penat* from the Fallas publication”). *Las Provincias*, edition of 21/11/2015.

IV.f.2 *The councilman of Festive Culture of the City Council of València doesn’t agree to publish poems because of the linguistic norm used*

Due to widespread protests at the social level, the councilman of Festive Culture of the City Council of València, Pere Fuset, proposes to the winner of the “*Bernat i Baldoví*” price of *Lo Rat Penat* in 2014, Ampar Cabrera, that, if she wants her work to be published, the currently official linguistic Valencian entity for public administrations (AVL) should correct her poems, as, according to him, “they contain spelling mistakes”. Actually, this statement about “spelling mistakes” is intended to obviate the existence of a different linguistic norm, the RACV’s one, which is mainly followed in the world of the Fallas, being the one that the winning author freely chose to express herself and to make her literature creation on. The author resists political pressures and refuses to modify her work.

Source: Article “*Fuset propone a Ampar Cabrera que la AVL le corrija los poemas en el libro fallero*”¹¹¹ (“Fuset proposes to Ampar Cabrera that the AVL corrects the poems in the Fallas publication”). *Las Provincias*, edition of 26/11/2015.

IV.f.3 *The Fallas broadly support the publication of the poems that are intended to be suppressed from the Official Fallas Book*

After the decision of the Department of Festive Culture of the City Council of València that the poems of Ampar Cabrera wouldn’t appear in the Official Fallas Book, because of the Valencian norm used, the Fallas world reacts. On one hand, the President of the *Intergrupació de Falles* (a group of Fallas associations) affirms that his organization is collecting signatures so that the councilman of Festive Culture, Pere Fuset, reconsiders his decision. Also, some Fallas show their support to poet Ampar Cabrera and offer the *Llibrets* of their Fallas to publish the censored poems on them.

Source: Article “*Una decena de fallas aprueba incluir los poemas vetados de Amparo Cabrera en sus llibrets*”¹¹² (A dozen Fallas approve to include the prohibited poems of Amparo Cabrera in their *llibrets*). *Las Provincias*, edition of 19/12/2015.

110 <https://www.lasprovincias.es/fiestas-tradiciones/201511/21/fuset-excluye-poemas-penat-20151121004308-v.html> [Retrieved 05/08/2018] (it can also be found in the [Documentary Appendix - Document 20](#))

111 <http://www.lasprovincias.es/valencia-ciudad/201511/26/fuset-propone-ampar-cabrera-20151126130553.html> [Retrieved 05/08/2018] (it can also be found in the [Documentary Appendix - Document 21](#))

112 <http://www.lasprovincias.es/fiestas-tradiciones/201512/19/decena-fallas-aprueba-incluir-20151219003207-v.html> [Retrieved 05/08/2018]

IV.f.4 The Assembly of Presidents of Fallas, the highest democratic decision organ in the Fallas, obliges the City Council of València to publish the poems in Valencian by Ampar Cabrera in the Oficial Fallas Publication

Finally, the conflict generated by the municipal politicians motivated a voting in the assembly of presidents of Fallas on December 22, 2015, in which, by a conclusive majority of 127 votes in favor by 9 against, it was approved that:

“We, the undersigned, support the principle of tolerance and plurality of our festivity that until now has reflected the Official Fallas Book, and we demand the president of the Fallas Central Board (Junta Central Fallera) that he respects the linguistic criteria that each contributor freely chooses for their work, which must be published without modification.

We also demand that, as to date, the poems, done in honor of the Falleres Majors, continue to be done by the winner of the highest prize in the contest of ‘Llibrets de falla’ hold by Lo Rat Penat, for being this the one of greater recognition from the Fallas world.”

Finally, pressed by that voting, the councilman agreed to publish the poems previously censored in the Official Fallas Book, at the meeting of presidents of January 26, 2016.

Source: Article “*Votación aplastante de las fallas contra el intervencionismo del Ayuntamiento*”¹¹³ (Overwhelming vote of the Fallas against the interventionism of the City Hall). *Las Provincias*, edition of 23/12/2015.

IV.f.5 The Department of Culture will require that the llibrets must follow the norms of the AVL to be able to opt for economic aid

The Department of Culture of the Valencian government requires, for the first time in history, that the *llibrets* of the festive associations must follow the norms of the AVL to opt for financial aid, leaving out of the financial aid possibility the users of the norms of the RACV.

Once the change of government took place, the Department of Culture updated the rules and regulations for financial aid for the Fallas associations in order to discriminate and exclude from any economic support autochthonist writers and cultural entities, for being users of the RACV norms. Where until 2015 the Fallas were asked that the *llibrets* must be “written in Valencian”, without further conditioning, it is now obligatory to use the AVL norms (which is required only for public administrations, but not for private users or private entities, according to the legislation currently in effect).

¹¹³ <https://www.lasprovincias.es/fallas-valencia/201512/24/votacion-aplastante-fallas-contra-20151223234638-v.html> [Retrieved 05/08/2018] (it can also be found in the [Documentary Appendix - Document 22](#))

From the Fallas world it is seen as an ideological blackmail as, since the creation of the AVL in 1998, the publication of the first normative criteria in 2002 or the publication of the first normative works in 2006, never until this moment the Valencian government had forced the cultural associations to use a certain norm to be able to opt for aids and public support. Many of the main representatives of the Fallas disagree with this new criteria. They want the previous situation to continue, without discrimination to the Valencian language model or the linguistic norm that each association wishes to use, and that all Fallas associations can receive financial aid.

Source: Article “*Cultura exigirá que los llibrets sigan las normas de la AVL para optar a ayudas*”¹¹⁴ (Culture will require that the *llibrets* must follow the AVL norms to opt for aids). *Las Provincias*, edition of 30/12/2015.

IV.f.6 *The City Council of València tries to create a new contest to avoid the centenary contest of Lo Rat Penat*

From the Department of Festive Culture of the City Council of València, it is decided, without consensus with the Fallas world, to change the tradition that the winner of the Extraordinary Prize “*Bernat i Baldoví*” of the previous year would be the one in charge of making the poems of praise to the *Falleres Majors* in the Official Fallas Book, edited by the Fallas Central Board (which depends on the aforementioned Department).

A new contest is created for political reasons, in which poets are obliged to write their poems following the AVL norms (compulsory only for public administration), discriminating authors that based on the freedom of expression and creative freedom decide to use the norms of the RACV, as before they had the option (in the contest held by *Lo Rat Penat*, poets aren’t forced to use any specific linguistic norms, although the majority of the contestants participate using the autochthonist norms of the RACV, or *Normes d’El Puig*).

This contest was unsuccessful and the Fallas democratic representatives vote again by majority that the Official Fallas Book publishes poems by the authors chosen following the traditional system.

Source: Article “*Fuset crea un concurso para evitar los poemas de Lo Rat Penat en el libro fallero*”¹¹⁵ (Fuset creates a contest to avoid the poems of *Lo Rat Penat* in the Fallas book). *Las Provincias*, edition of 26/10/2016.

114 <http://www.lasprovincias.es/fallas-valencia/201512/31/cultura-exigira-llibrets-sigan-20151230235000-v.html> [Retrieved 05/08/2018] (it can also be found in the [Documentary Appendix - Document 23](#))

115 <http://www.lasprovincias.es/valencia-ciudad/201610/26/fuset-crea-concurso-para-20161026175408.html> [Retrieved 05/08/2018] (it can also be found in the [Documentary Appendix - Document 24](#))

IV.f.7 *Withdrawal of awards already granted to the Fallas of Camp de Morvedre region which don't use the AVL norms for Valencian*

In the VI Fallas Congress, a new regulation was adopted for the Fallas belonging to the region of Camp de Morvedre which estipulated that the Fallas belonging to this area are obliged to use the AVL regulations for Valencian in order to be able to opt for the economic awards in the various competitions. In this way, the ones using the RACV norms will be excluded from these awards.

This is done to “end up with situations where some Commissions have received prizes despite spelling mistakes”. We find again the argument of the “spelling mistakes” when they know perfectly well that this is a conscious decision, agreed by the Fallas associations and their writers, of using a norm that they consider closer to the living Valencian language, and as if an author in its exercise of literary creation could not decide to skip the spelling rules consciously.

Source: Article “*La falla que no use las normas de la AVL perderá los premios ganados*”¹¹⁶ (The Fallas which don't use the AVL norms will lose won prizes). *Levante-EMV*, edition of 09/11/2016.

IV.f.8 *The Síndic (Valencian Ombudsman) suggests to respect the users of the RACV norms in the llibrets*

Due to the complaint of the cultural association *Casal Bernat i Baldoví* to the *Síndic de Greuges* (Valencian Ombudsman) for the discrimination suffered by the Fallas associations that use the RACV norms, which are not entitled, according to the discriminatory interpretation of the new autonomous government, to receive financial aid due to the use of this linguistic model, the Síndic speaks against this discrimination and suggests to the relevant organisms (in this case, the Department of Culture of the Valencian government and the City Council of València) not to penalize the granting of economic subsidies to the associations and their writers based on the linguistic norms used for the Valencian language¹¹⁷.

Source: Article “*El Síndic sugiere al Consistorio que respete el valenciano de los poetas en el Libro Fallero*”¹¹⁸ (The Valencian Ombudsman suggests to the Consistory to respect the Valencian of the poets in the Fallas book). *Las Provincias*, edition of 04/07/2017.

116 <https://www.levante-emv.com/morvedre/2016/11/09/falla-use-normas-avl-perdera/1489853.html>
[Retrieved 05/08/2018] (it can also be found in the [Documentary Appendix](#) - **Document 25**)

117 A more detailed reference can be seen to this important positioning of the Valencian Ombudsman in Annex A IV.k.

118 <http://www.lasprovincias.es/fallas-valencia/sindic-sugiere-consistorio-20170704004826-ntvo.html>
[Retrieved 05/08/2018] (it can also be found in the [Documentary Appendix](#) - **Document 26**)

IV.f.9 Discrimination against the use of the RACV norms increases in all the Valencian festivities

The President of the association *Casal Bernat i Baldoví*, Òscar Rueda, complains about the discrimination experienced by Valencians who use the RACV norms in Valencian festivities.

Discrimination in the world of the Fallas, the Festivities of Alacant and Castelló continues in 2018 despite the resolution of the Síndic (Valencian Ombudsman). In all of them, the mandatory use of AVL regulations is still required to obtain prizes. On the other hand, the festive associations that use the RACV norm at these festivities will not have the right to opt for these prizes, although in previous editions only the use of Valencian was required without forcing to follow any particular norms. Rueda criticizes that the suggestion of the Síndic, issued a year earlier, is not followed, stating that the principle of freedom of expression must be respected and that everyone should be able to opt for economic aid with no matter of the norms that are used.

Source: Article “*Rueda critica que el Consell discrimine a las fallas en el concurso de llibrets*”¹¹⁹ (Rueda criticizes that the Council discriminates against Fallas in the *llibrets* contest). *Las Provincias*, edition of 30/01/2018.

IV.g) Discrimination in other festivities or events

The vehicular language in the great majority of the celebrations done in the Valencian Community is Valencian. Valencians who use the *Normes d’El Puig* not only have been discriminated in the Fallas festivities, but also in other festivities or events that take place throughout Valencian territory. By the simple fact of using this norms, they cannot obtain economic subsidies or cannot organize some events.

IV.g.1 The Archbishop forbids saying a Mass in Normes d’El Puig

The presentation of a Missal in Valencian language, written using the autochthonist norms of the RACV (*Normes d’El Puig*) is forbidden in the church of Sant Esteve, as it is not written in the norms of the AVL.

Source: Article “*El Arzobispado prohíbe a Lo Rat Penat presentar un misal en valenciano no oficial en una iglesia*”¹²⁰ (The Archbishopric prohibits *Lo Rat Penat* the presentation of a Missal using an unofficial Valencian norms in a church). *Levante-EMV*, edition of 29/01/2008.

119 <http://www.lasprovincias.es/fallas-valencia/rueda-critica-consell-20180131235425-ntvo.html> [Retrieved 05/08/2018] (it can also be found in the [Documentary Appendix - Document 27](#))

120 <https://www.levante-emv.com/portada/3798/arzobispado-prohibe-rat-presentar-misal-valenciano-oficial-iglesia/400266.html> [Retrieved 05/08/2018]

IV.g.2 The language used in the festivity book of Albuixech creates a political crisis

The political party *Compromís* demands the councilman of Festivities of Albuixech (from PSPV) to resign for allowing texts written in “prenormative” Valencian in the *llibret* of the municipal festivity.

Source: Article “*Unas faltas de ortografía en el ‘llibret’ abren una crisis de gobierno en Albuixech*”¹²¹ (Some spelling mistakes in the *llibrets* open a government crisis in Albuixech). *Levante-EMV*, edition of 26/08/2014.

IV.g.3 The language used in the festivity book of Roca-Cuíper produces a political dispute

Riera, the Mayor of Meliana that (from political party *Compromís*), refuses to collaborate on the festivity book alleging that the Valencian used by the people in charge of this years celebration “is not the official one”.

Source: Article “*Riera rechaza escribir en el libro de fiestas por usar éste las normas del Puig*”¹²² (Riera refuses to write in the festivity book because of the use of the *Normes d’El Puig*). *Levante-EMV*, edition of 23/07/2015.

IV.g.4 Withdrawal of economic subsidies negatively impacts the festivity of the “May Crosses” festivity

The withdrawal of subsidies to *Lo Rat Penat* because of using a different linguistic norm to the official, has left no money for this association to be able to carry out other cultural activities of great importance in the Valencian society, such as the case of the May Crosses (“*Creus de Maig*”).

Source: Article “*Las cruces de mayo sin premio por los recortes a Lo Rat Penat*”¹²³ (The May Crosses without prize due to the economic cuts to *Lo Rat Penat*). *Las Provincias*, edition of 07/04/2017.

IV.g.5 Pressures on the subsidies for the representations of the “Miracles of Saint Vincent” because of the norm used

The Department of Culture of the Valencian government announces that it will not grant a subsidy to any *vicentine* altar that uses the autochthonist norms of the RACV (“*Normes d’El Puig*”) in their theatral representation of the Miracles of Saint Vincent, leaving out of public aid most of the altars.

121 <https://www.levante-emv.com/comarcas/2014/08/26/faltas-ortografia-llibret-abren-crisis/1154171.html> [Retrieved 05/08/2018]

122 <https://www.woowhee.com/somvalencians/som-valencians-lamenta-que-el-totalitarismo-del-alcalde-de-meliana-y-que-no-apoye-la-lengua-valenciana/> [Retrieved 05/08/2018]

123 <https://www.lasprovincias.es/valencia-ciudad/201704/07/cruces-mayo-premio-recortes-20170407005218-v.html> [Retrieved 05/08/2018] (it can also be found in the [Documentary Appendix - Document 28](#))

Source: Article “Els ‘milacres’ de Sant Vicent ja son ‘miracles’”¹²⁴ (in english, “The ‘milacres’ [in Valencian standard] of Sant Vicent are now ‘miracles’ [in Catalan standard]”). *ActualitatValenciana.com* digital, edition of 11/12/2017.

IV.g.6 Denial of the presence of Lo Rat Penat in ExpoJove

For the second time the Department of Festive Culture of València City Council has not allowed the presence of *Lo Rat Penat* in the fair for young people “ExpoJove”, without any explanation. The entity believes that there are ideological reasons, such as the use by *Lo Rat Penat* of a different linguistic norms than the one of the AVL.

Source: Article “El Ayuntamiento deja sin espacio a Lo Rat Penat por segundo año en Expojove”¹²⁵ (The City Hall leaves without space *Lo Rat Penat* for the second year in Expojove). *Las Provincias*, edition of 04/01/2018.

IV.g.7 Denial of the use of the theater “Teatre Principal” to Lo Rat Penat for the celebration of the “Jocs Florals” (floral games)

The Provincial Council of València (“*Diputació de València*”) doesn’t allow the use of the theater “*Teatre Principal*” for the celebration of **the oldest Valencian language literary competition**, that except due to force majeure reasons had been held in that place during the last 140 years. The alleged reason is a change in the regulation governing the assignment of the theater, which would now prevent the holding of awards ceremonies. However, as can be seen in the referenced news, it is not entirely clear if the application of the new criterion is correct and adjusted to the law. In fact, from the political environment of the Provincial Council it is said that *Lo Rat Penat* could have the right to conduct the event in the “*Teatre Principal*”.

Due to the position of both the political leader who originally took the decision and his party about the norms of the RACV (used mostly by the participants in this competition held by *Lo Rat Penat*, it is suspected that this change of regulation was carried out with the purpose of not preventing this event from being celebrated there.

Source: Article “La Diputación da portazo a los Jocs Florals de Lo Rat Penat tras acogerlos durante 140 años”¹²⁶ (The Provincial Council rejects the “Jocs Florals” of *Lo Rat Penat* after embracing them for 140 years). *Las Provincias*, edition of 12/04/2018.

Source: Article “Lo Rat Penat denunciará a Garijo por prevaricación al no dejarle el Principal”¹²⁷ (*Lo Rat Penat* will denounce Garijo for prevarication for not leaving them the Principal). *Las Provincias*, edition of 06/01/2018.

124 <http://actualitatvalenciana.com/milacres-miracles-sant-vicent/> [Retrieved 05/08/2018] (it can also be found in the [Documentary Appendix - Document 29](#))

125 <http://www.lasprovincias.es/valencia-ciudad/ayuntamiento-deja-espacio-20180104001944-ntvo.html> [Retrieved 05/08/2018] (it can also be found in the [Documentary Appendix - Document 30](#))

126 <https://www.lasprovincias.es/politica/diputacion-portazo-jocs-20180412004306-nt.html> [Retrieved 05/08/2018] (it can also be found in the [Documentary Appendix - Document 31](#))

127 <https://www.lasprovincias.es/politica/penat-denunciara-garijo-20180106132505-nt.html> [Retrieved 05/08/2018]

IV.h) Cases of public contempt towards the users of the RACV norms

Valencians who use the linguistic norms of the RACV (popularly known as *Normes d'El Puig*) to express themselves in their day to day, often see how they are discriminated by this fact. A large percentage of these discriminations come from people close to linguistic annexationism. They think that their norms the only possible option and treat with contempt Valencians who do not follow their thesis.

Also, they tag these autochthonist Valencians as right-wing extremists, fascists and illiterates. This is very distant to reality. The Valencian autochthonist movement is a transversal, moderate social movement that includes highly qualified people, from all political signs and sexual orientations. Although that part of the annexationist Valencian population thinks in a supremacist and totalitarian way, we demand equality of conditions for Valencians who do not think like them and we want to have the right to express ourselves as we like without any kind of discrimination for linguistic reasons.

IV.h.1 An example. Graffiti at the “Chiqueta Meua” bar

The picture shows a restaurant whose signs are written in Valencian according to the RACV norms (“*Chiqueta Meua*” means “My little girl”), which suffers from vandalism. The graffiti aims to modify the establishment’s label so that it is written in the AVL norm (changing the “Ch” for an “X”).

Paradoxically, this specific graffiti was done during the demonstration for gender equality of March 8, 2018.

Place: City of Valencia

Date: 08/03/2018



Image 3. Graffiti on a restaurant sign

IV.h.2 The Culture Deputy Xavier Rius publicly despises Valencians who use the RACV norms

Xavier Rius, a member of the political party *Compromís*, which in this legislature is responsible for Culture in the Provincial Council of València, and who made the decision not to grant economic subsidies to the centenary entity *Lo Rat Penat* for not using the AVL norms¹²⁸, expressed himself in the social networks regarding the resolution of the Síndic (Valencian Ombudsman) that suggested to the Department of Culture of the Valencian government and the City of València that they should not discriminate cultural associations and literary authors for the Valencian norms they used.

At the end of his statement, he disqualifies the users of the RACV norm, saying that “this is not freedom of expression but writing with spelling mistakes”, which he attributes to “incapacity, little culture and/or educational deficiencies”.

The tone of the comment seems inappropriate for a person who is responsible of Culture in a public administration, that has to treat all Valencians in equality and respect. A person of his level is presupposed to know the existence of the RACV norms. But in this case, as in other similar cases, there seems to be a strategy of marginalization and defamation in which it suits better to treat with contempt people who differ with those who are in power rather than to act with respect for the ideas of others.

Place: Xavier Rius’ Facebook public wall¹²⁹

Date: 25/07/2017

IV.i) Withdrawal of subsidies by the new government aimed at economically stifling autochthonist entities

In previous Valencian governments, entities of all Valencian sensitivities (annexationists, particularists and autochthonists) received public subsidies, although in a very different quantity between them (the most significant went to the annexationists tendency). At least, although not in a fair and sufficient way, there was economic help for autochthonist entities such as *Lo Rat Penat* or the RACV.

With the change of the Valencian government in 2015, the situation has changed in a considerable way. On one hand, the subsidies to annexationist entities have risen clearly, receiving some of them more than 500,000 € year after year (see notes 23 and 24). However, those of the autochthonist entities have been reduced very remarkably and do not at this time reach 40,000 € per year in the best case. This reduction is so big that some cultural activities (concerning or not the defense and promotion of the Valencian language) have been severely affected, and the continuity of many of them is at risk in

128 <https://www.diarilaveu.com/noticia/75381/rat-penat-rius-diputacio> [Retrieved 05/08/2018] (it can also be found in the [Documentary Appendix - Document 32](#))

129 https://m.facebook.com/story.php?story_fbid=10212513080093521&id=1578390858 [Retrieved 05/08/2018] (it can also be found in the [Documentary Appendix - Document 33](#))

the near future if this strategy of persecution and denial of public aids to entities of an autochthonist profile continue.

It is also important to note that, additionally, from the Government of Catalonia, year after year huge amounts of money are invested to subsidize Valencian organizations with an annexationist profile. There is also Valencian reciprocity now, as since the last change of government, the new one every year invest a large amount of money which subsidize entities based in Catalonia, who expand their activities in the Valencian Community.

In conclusion, in the last years the autochthonist organizations have seen how the continuation of their cultural activities are in danger because of the reduction or withdrawal of public subsidies they have suffered, while the annexationist entities have seen how their public subsidies have risen in an excessive quantity, not only from the Valencian government, but also from the enormous subsidies given from the Catalan Government.

IV.i.1 *Lo Rat Penat suffers a budget cut of a 50%*

The new government reduces *Lo Rat Penat*'s subsidy by 50%.

Source: Article “*El tripartito quita la mitad de las ayudas a Lo Rat Penat y el Cabildo y refuerza la Semana Santa*”¹³⁰ (The tripartite removes half of the aid to *Lo Rat Penat* and to the Cabildo and reinforces the Holy Week). *Levante-EMV*, edition of 08/04/2016.

IV.i.2 *Pressures on the subsidy granted by the Provincial Council of València to the RACV*

The Provincial Council of València threatens the RACV (the normative reference entity of the linguistic autochthonism) to withdraw a subsidy of 33,000 € if it does not use the AVL norms.

Source: Article “*La Diputación da 33.000 euros a la RACV pero se los quitará si ignora la norma de la AVL*”¹³¹ (The Provincial Council donates 33,000 euros to the RACV but will withdraw if it ignores the AVL norms). *Levante-EMV*, edition of 03/08/2016.

130 <https://www.levante-emv.com/valencia/2016/04/08/tripartito-quita-mitad-ayudas-rat/1401257.html> [Retrieved 05/08/2018] (it can also be found in the [Documentary Appendix](#) - **Document 34**)

131 <https://www.levante-emv.com/comunitat-valenciana/2016/08/03/diputacion-da-33000-euros-racv/1451964.html> [Retrieved 05/08/2018] (it can also be found in the [Documentary Appendix](#) - **Document 35**)

IV.i.3 Economic asphyxia to centenary entity Real Acadèmia de Cultura Valenciana (RACV)

The *Real Acadèmia de Cultura Valenciana*, the entity that created the autochthonist reference norms (popularly known as *Normes d'El Puig*), in official use during some time in the 80s of the past century, is forced to reduce its staff by 50% due to the lack of subsidies after the change of government.

These actions can be interpreted as part of a strategy of drowning and persecution of the autochthonist entities, in order to make them disappear or take control over them. In the case of the RACV, as a normative reference entity for the autochthonist cultural and civic entities, the intention is clear: force the RACV to renounce to its status as a normative entity for the codification of the Valencian language.

Source: Article “*La asfixia económica aboca a la RACV a hacer despidos y lanzar un SOS a sus socios*”¹³² (The economic asphyxia forces the RACV to make layoffs and launch an SOS to its partners). *Levante-EMV*, edition of 07/02/2017.

IV.i.4 The Provincial Council of València blocks a subsidy to Lo Rat Penat

Lo Rat Penat regrets the blocking of the subsidy by the Provincial Council of València, explaining that it generates them concern and insecurity, leaving them without possibility of planning their activity because they can not close the budget. They suspect that it is an attempt to hurt the historic entity and cause its disappearance because of the abandonment and uncertainty about its financial future.

The article emphasizes that other entities such as *Acció Cultural del País Valencià* (ACPV) receive subsidies, although they do not respect the linguistic recommendations of the AVL, not even the official name of “Valencian” applied to the language.

Source: Article “*La Diputación de València mantiene bloqueada la ayuda a Lo Rat Penat pero sí paga a Acció Cultural*”¹³³. (The Provincial Council of València has blocked the aid to *Lo Rat Penat* but it pays to *Acció Cultural*). *Las Provincias*, edition of 30/06/2017.

IV.i.5 Withdrawal of a previously granted aid to Lo Rat Penat

The responsible for Culture in the Provincial Council of València, Xavier Rius, leaves centenary entity *Lo Rat Penat* without a previously granted subsidy, justifying this denial by the creation of new regulatory bases to receive aid, being mandatory to use the AVL's norms to be benefit from those public subsidies.

132 <https://www.levante-emv.com/comunitat-valenciana/2017/02/07/asfixia-economica-aboca-racv-despidos/1525518.html> [Retrieved 05/08/2018] (it can also be found in the [Documentary Appendix - Document 36](#))

133 <http://www.lasprovincias.es/politica/diputacion-mantiene-bloqueada-20170630172410-nt.html> [Retrieved 05/08/2018] (it can also be found in the [Documentary Appendix - Document 37](#))

The decision was based on the report of a linguistic technician that concluded that *Lo Rat Penat* was manifestly contrary to the official Valencian Academy of the Language (AVL) and its norms, just because some critical posts in the association's web site.

Source: Article “*La Diputación de València niega una subvención a Lo Rat Penat por no usar las normas de la AVL*”¹³⁴ (The Provincial Council of València denies a subsidy to *Lo Rat Penat* for not using the AVL norms). *ElDiario.es*, edition of 21/07/2017.

Source: Official document of the denial of the subsidy to *Lo Rat Penat*¹³⁵.

Source: Technical report on which the denial was based, that includes some posts in *Lo Rat Penat*'s web site as evidence of its insubordination towards the AVL¹³⁶.

IV.i.6 The Department of Culture of the Valencian government denies subsidies to autochthonist entities in 2017 only because they do not meet the criteria of the linguistic norms used

Three autochthonist entities that had enrolled to opt for the subsidies granted by the Department of Culture for the year 2017, aimed at the promotion of Valencian, do not have access to these aids. The resolution of the Department denies the aids to the *Associació d'Escriptors en Llengua Valenciana*, *Lo Rat Penat* and *Foment de les Lletres Valencianes*. The only reason is that none of the three complies with the base 4.10, which specifies that entities must obligatorily use the AVL norms to be able to opt for them, although the Statute of Autonomy states that it is only mandatory for public administrations to use them.

Thus, although the subsidies are meant for the promotion of Valencian, these three associations that use Valencian in all their activities, promote the publication of books in Valencian and that even do only have a Valencian version in their respective web pages, will not be entitled to those subsidies for purely ideological reasons from the current autonomous government (held by the political parties *Compromís*, *PSPV* and *Podemos*), with a highly marked annexationist trend.

Paradoxically, a less known autochthonist cultural association, *Casal Bernat i Baldoví*, was granted an aid in this call for 2017 but not in the following years, thus showing the arbitrariness and ideological nature of the decisions of the Department of Culture.

Source: Official document of the criteria¹³⁷ in the call for aid to the promotion of Valencian for 2017, granted by the Department of Education, Investigation, Culture and Sport.

134 https://www.eldiario.es/cv/valencia/Diputacion-Valencia-Rat-Penat-AVL_0_667384001.html [Retrieved 05/08/2018] (it can also be found in the [Documentary Appendix - Document 38](#))

135 It can be found in the [Documentary Appendix - Document 39](#).

136 It can be found in the [Documentary Appendix - Document 40](#).

137 https://www.dogv.gva.es/datos/2016/10/20/pdf/2016_8252.pdf [Retrieved 05/08/2018] (it can also be found in the [Documentary Appendix - Document 41](#))

Source: Official document of the resolution¹³⁸ of the call for aid to the promotion of Valencian for 2017, granted by the Department of Education, Investigation, Culture and Sport, excluding the aforementioned cultural entities.

IV.i.7 The Provincial Council of València denies economic aid to Lo Rat Penat due to the linguistic norms used

Lo Rat Penat is out of the economic subsidies given by the Provincial Council of València due to the use the RACV norm, while the entities that use the AVL norms (including those that do not follow the recommendations of this official regulatory entity but instead use the Catalan standard directly) receive quantious aids.

Source: Article “*La diputación deja fuera de las ayudas otro año a Lo Rat Penat por su valenciano*”¹³⁹ (The Provincial Council leaves *Lo Rat Penat* out of aids another year because of its Valencian). *Levante-EMV*, edition of 05/01/2018.

IV.i.8 Lo Rat Penat files a lawsuit against the Provincial Council of València for withdrawing a 112,000 euros aid

Lo Rat Penat files a lawsuit against the Provincial Council of València for withdrawing the 112,000 euros aid referred to in section IV.i.5.

Source: Article “*Lo Rat Penat denuncia a la Diputación por retirarle una ayuda de 112.000 euros*”¹⁴⁰ (*Lo Rat Penat* files a lawsuit against the Provincial Council of València for withdrawing a 112,000 euros aid). *Las Provincias*, edition of 07/10/2018.

IV.j) Discrimination against Lo Rat Penat by the Valencian government at an institutional level

Since the last change in the Valencian government in 2015, the centenary association *Lo Rat Penat* has tried unsuccessfully to meet with the President of the *Generalitat*. In contrast, annexationist associations such as *Acció Cultural del País Valencià* (ACPV) have a preferential treatment, not only in terms of economic aid but also in terms of institutional relationship.

Source: Article “*Puig recibe a Acció Cultural pero aún no ha encontrado tiempo para Lo Rat Penat*”¹⁴¹ (Puig [the Valencian President] receives *Acció Cultural* but hasn’t yet been able to find time for *Lo Rat Penat*). *EsDiario*, edition of 05/09/2018.

138 https://www.dogv.gva.es/datos/2017/01/05/pdf/2016_10339.pdf [Retrieved 05/08/2018] (it can also be found in the [Documentary Appendix - Document 42](#))

139 <https://www.levante-emv.com/comunitat-valenciana/2018/01/06/diputacion-deja-fuera-ayudas-ano/1662832.html> [Retrieved 05/08/2018] (it can also be found in the [Documentary Appendix - Document 43](#))

140 <https://www.lasprovincias.es/politica/penat-denuncia-diputacion-20181007000238-ntvo.html> [Retrieved 07/10/2018] (it can also be found in the [Documentary Appendix - Document 47](#))

141 <https://www.esdiario.com/688992716/Puig-recibe-a-Accio-Cultural-pero-aun-no-ha-encontrado-tiempo-para-Lo-Rat-Penat.html> [Retrieved 05/08/2018] (it can also be found in the [Documentary Appendix - Document 44](#))

IV.k) Resolution of the Síndic (Valencian Ombudsman) on the discrimination against Fallas associations because of their use of the autochthonist linguistic norms (*Normes d'El Puig*)

The Síndic de Greuges is the name given to the Valencian Ombudsman. This institution expressly requested that no writers using the RACV norms should be discriminated in the granting of aids or in festive publications.

IV.k.1 Resolution to the complaint presented by the cultural association Casal Bernat i Baldoví about the discrimination against Valencians due to the use of the RACV norms (popularly known as Normes d'El Puig)

The cultural association *Casal Bernat i Baldoví* presented a complaint to the *Síndic de Greuges* to study the possible linguistic discrimination against Valencians who use the RACV norms in Valencian festivities, as, from a few years ago to present date, they no longer have the same rights and opportunities as people who use the AVL norms. Specifically, reference is made to the case of the refusal to publish in the Official Fallas Book any literary work because of being written in the RACV norms.

It also mentions the possible discrimination that may occur in the other Valencian festivities, since the new autonomous government has changed the bases of public aids and now requires that the literary works should be written in the AVL norms to opt for prizes and economic subsidies, which the association understands is contrary to the freedom of expression and literary creation that protects the Spanish Constitution, and constitute fundamental rights.

The *Casal Bernat i Baldoví* association considers that from 2015 has begun a rigorous and interested interpretation of the Law of Creation of the AVL from 1998 (see Annex III.e) when interpreting that granting an aid or subsidy to a private entity is reason to consider it “in public financing” and therefore subject to the obligation to use the norms of the AVL for Valencian.

In the resolution to the complaint, the *Síndic de Greuges* suggests to the AVL to cooperate to solve the linguistic conflict around the Valencian, and demands both the Autonomous Government and the City of València to maintain the tolerance and plurality that always have been present in the main Valencian festivities, as an area of preferential expression in the Valencian language. It is suggested that the Fallas Central Board (*Junta Central Fallera*) should respect the linguistic norms that each one wishes to use to express themselves, so the freedom of expression and the literary creation are respected.

Finally, it should be noted that any cultural association (festive in this case), independently of the linguistic sensibility and the norms used, should be able to opt for financial aid for the promotion of the use of Valencian in the Fallas world.

Source: Official resolution to the complaint “Discriminació als valencians per l’ús de les normes de la RACV” (Discrimination to Valencians due to the use of RACV norms).¹⁴²

IV.k.2 In response, Councillor Marzà (Compromís) invites the President of Les Corts, Enric Morera (Compromís), to act against the Síndic de Greuges for his resolution in the case of the linguistic norms used in the Fallas llibrets

After the resolution of the *Síndic de Greuges* in reference to the complaint presented by *Casal Bernat i Baldoví* on discrimination against Valencians that use the RACV norms, members of the current regional government and of the annexationist sector of the AVL are upset. They don't agree with Valencian Ombudsman calls for tolerance and plurality, and consider that people are being encouraged to “skip the law” (that would oblige individuals and private entities to follow the regulations of the AVL, according to the interested interpretation, restrictive and contrary to the rights of Valencian speakers that support these responsible politicians).

Some people, including the Councillor of Culture, demand that it should be studied if actions can be taken against the *Síndic*, José Cholbi, for its resolution in favor of tolerance and plurality, and of non-discrimination due to the linguistic norms used. Finally, from the Valencian parliament it is reminded to these political leaders, of an annexationist tendency, that the *Síndic de Greuges* is an independent statutory entity, and that José Cholbi cannot be sanctioned.

Source: Article “*Marzà invita a Morera a actuar contra el Síndic por no apoyar el valenciano de la AVL*”¹⁴³ (Marzà invites Morera to act against the *Síndic* for not supporting the Valencian of the AVL). *Levante-EMV*, edition of 20/07/2017.

142 <http://www.elsindic.com/Resoluciones/10866319.pdf> [Retrieved 05/08/2018] (it can also be found in the [Documentary Appendix - Document 45](#))

143 <https://www.levante-emv.com/comunitat-valenciana/2017/07/20/marza-invita-morera-actuar-sindic/1595528.html> [Retrieved 05/08/2018] (it can also be found in the [Documentary Appendix - Document 46](#))

Annex V - Documentary Appendix (external link)

All the documents referenced throughout the report have been collected in a Documentary Appendix that can be found in:

http://bit.ly/2018_ECRML_LRP-RACV_DocAppendix

