



You are accessing the Digital Archive of the Catalan Review Journal.

By accessing and/or using this Digital Archive, you accept and agree to abide by the Terms and Conditions of Use available at http://www.nacs-catalanstudies.org/catalan_review.html

Catalan Review is the premier international scholarly journal devoted to all aspects of Catalan culture. By Catalan culture is understood all manifestations of intellectual and artistic life produced in the Catalan language or in the geographical areas where Catalan is spoken. Catalan Review has been in publication since 1986.

Esteu accedint a l'Arxiu Digital del Catalan Review

A l' accedir i / o utilitzar aquest Arxiu Digital, vostè accepta i es compromet a complir els termes i condicions d'ús disponibles a http://www.nacs-catalanstudies.org/catalan_review.html

Catalan Review és la primera revista internacional dedicada a tots els aspectes de la cultura catalana. Per la cultura catalana s'entén totes les manifestacions de la vida intel·lectual i artística produïda en llengua catalana o en les zones geogràfiques on es parla català. Catalan Review es publica des de 1986.

The Valencian Linguistic Heterodoxy

Juan A. Sempere

Catalan Review, Vol. IX, number 2, (1995), p. 97-124

THE VALENCIAN LINGUISTIC HETERODOXY

JUAN A. SEMPERE

THE TIP OF THE ICEBERG

While navigating on the Internet, or more specifically on the World Wide Web, one can log onto information on the languages of Spain. There, in the short rundown on Catalan, we read: "In Valencia and the Balearic Islands, Catalan preserves special dialectal features, particularly in the first named, where there are schools of thought that call for a linguistic distinction."¹ In its own way, this anonymous piece of information reflects a view held by many in the south of the Catalan-speaking area. It harks back to an unyielding effort by activists to sever the Valencian dialect from the Catalan language.

We will not dwell here on the traditional practice of establishing linguistic affiliations through the comparative method, whose results are at any rate unambiguous: we may confidently rank Valencian as a dialect of Catalan like Mallorcan, Menorcan, *Barceloní*, and all other regional speeches. Instead, we will investigate attitudes toward language prevalent within the dissident Valencian speech community, and different attitudes encountered within the circle of Catalanist scholars. In addition, we will look at other areas of the world where similar controversies have arisen. In carrying out this investigation, we will draw on the medium of written communication and expression used most by the average person: the press. To gauge public opinion, I have made extensive use of letters, articles and columns from local, national, and international newspapers and magazines.²

Considering that linguistics is supposed to be a branch of science, and that analysts working by the scientific method are supposed to collect, compare, and analyze facts, it is surprising to realize how enclosed and oblivious to comparison Catalan authors have been on the topic of Valencian exceptionalism. When reading most articles and letters to the editor dealing with what we may call the Valencian linguistic heterodoxy, one would think that the domestic fight going

¹ To access, type "<http://www.civeng.carleton.ca:80/siSpain/language/language/catalan.html>."

² Thanks to Milton M. Azevedo, Richard Laurent and Paul O'Donnell for their invaluable editing aid, and to Josep S. Tormo of Alcoi and Josep J. Recasens of Barcelona, for providing local bibliography.

on right now within Catalan is unique to that area. Intuitively, one feels that the scrutiny of comparable disputes about language variation in other countries could not only help us understand the Valencian linguistic heterodoxy but also indicate some practical solutions arrived at elsewhere. True, one could hardly expect laypersons to be conversant with such disputes. Yet most scholars who have covered the topic make no mention of linguistic conflicts outside the Catalan domain. See Colón (1989:19-34), Coromines (1984:85-94), Duarte and Massip (1981:95-99, 117-120, and 137-139), Ferrando (1984:139-162) and (1986:117-133), and Nadal and Prats (1987:212-223).

During the rest of the article, we will discuss attempts made by some Valencians (and by some Balearic Islanders) to secede from the Catalan language. We will consider their attempts within a framework of linguistic exclusivism. As examples below will demonstrate, such exclusivism has been widespread in both the Old World and the New.

At the dawn of Romance Linguistics in the 18th and 19th centuries, conventional wisdom held that Catalan had sprung from Limousin or Provençal or, as it is now termed, Occitan.³ The view that Catalan had come into being north of the Pyrenees originated with Raynouard (1816), who considered Occitan to be the Romance language closest to Latin. Taken up by Diez (1836-1843), that view prevailed among linguists down to the turn of the last century. It was still espoused by certain early 20th-century Romanists like Meyer-Lübke (1914).⁴ Today, that view has lingered on among popular writers on language, if not among linguists, and still serves to buttress the bid for linguistic autonomy being made by Valencian secessionists. Nevertheless, by the

³ Witness some of the accounts culled from travelers to Spain: "There is a peculiar dialect used in this province [Valencia], much resembling the Patois Limosin" (Twiss 1775:209). "The ancient Limousine or Provençale forms the basis of the dialects of Catalonia and Valencia" (Laborde 1809:224). "The vulgar dialect is the Lemosin" (Murray 1845:433). "Eine unbekannte Sprache summt mir um die Ohren, denn das valencianische Limosin weicht in Wörtern und Wortbildung gar sehr von dem Castilianischen ab." (Roßmäßler 1854:144).

⁴ In the first volume of his *Grammaire des langues romanes* Meyer-Lübke wrote that Catalan: "qui n'est qu'un dialecte provençal transporté en Espagne au VIII^e siècle, pénétra de plus en plus vers le Sud pendant la lutte des rois d'Aragon contre les Arabes" (1890-1906:14, vol. I). The same line of thought appears in the subdivision found in his later work (1914:47). However, Meyer-Lübke changed his stand in the monograph devoted entirely to Catalan, which he acknowledged as being related to but not dependent on Provençal (1925:1). Traditionally, the concept of *mutual intelligibility* has been used to tell apart languages from dialects, in spite of the occasional relative degree of intelligibility found among speakers of different languages. (Chambers and Trudgill 1980:3-5). Following these authors, we may state that dialects "can be regarded as subdivisions of a particular language" (*ibid.* p. 3).

early 20th century, scholars were undertaking more accurate studies and becoming aware that Catalan stood on its own as an independent language. Their awareness did not however prevent heated arguments and prolonged exchanges of polemics about whether Catalan should be assigned to Ibero-Romance like Spanish and Portuguese, or to Gallo-Romance like Occitan and French.⁵

HYPERDIALECTALISM

Unsurprisingly, popular opinions about the status of dialects and languages often turn more on geography than on phonology or morphosyntax. The layperson's point of reference is often the place where a given language or dialect is spoken. Two incidents which I witnessed illustrate the point. A Catalan-speaker from Tarragona, conversing in his vernacular with a group of Valencians who had no trouble following him, told them that Valencians did not speak Catalan, but Valencian instead, whereas he, being from Tarragona, spoke Catalan. He never claimed to speak *Tarragoní*. In the same group, though, a teenager from Tortosa joined in the conversation, maintaining that he spoke *Tortosí*. On another occasion, I witnessed a Valencian woman praising her Valencian husband for his multilingualism: she said that he had mastered *Menorquí* during his military service in Maó, in the Balearic Islands, and had mastered Catalan during his three-month sojourn in Barcelona.

Such has been the reality of linguistic opinion on the street, frustrating as it may be to academicians, editors, and politicians alike.⁶ But as we will see, laypersons frequently express opinions like those cited above. Speakers may perceive each thread in a pattern of local speechways as "languages," while linguists see dialects that have not

⁵ Among the scholars who regarded Catalan akin to Ibero-Romance we find Morel-Fatio and Saroihandy (1904-1906:846) and Menéndez Pidal (1979:13-16). Favoring Catalan as Gallo-Romance were Guarnerio (1918:10), Griera (1922:34-53), and Bourciez (1946:288), among others. For a more recent assessment see Egert (1985).

⁶ Isabel-Clara Simó, a Valencian writer and former editor-in-chief of the Catalan magazine *Canigó*, reflects that frustration when she explains that a Valencian friend complained to her about the many Catalan words that sneak into her otherwise "Valencian" prose. In addition, she recalls how she was rebuffed on a train by a Valencian passenger who described a Valencian magazine—written in the Catalan standard—as being "estrangera, antipàtica i insuportable." Then she fancied that she must have been perceived as being a "Catalan imperialist" (*Revista de la Fiesta de Moros y Cristianos*, Alcoi, April 1989:162-163). A recent poll reveals that "[e]l 84,4 por ciento de los valencianos considera al catalán una lengua diferente" (*ABC*, 30 October 1995, p. 54).

drifted far enough apart to deserve any other name. Since the time when Castilian norms began to be imposed throughout Spain, the few centuries that Catalan dialects have existed in relative isolation from one another have had an effect on the attitude of their speakers that will not be reversed as easily as some optimistic language planners once hoped.

In the south of the Catalan-speaking area, hyperdialectalism has been thriving. Fairly often, evidence of a drive for linguistic separatism appears in letters to the editor, which along with radio talk shows constitute one of the few public outlets open to the layman. Such letters typically stress points of divergence, mainly lexical, from the Catalan standard. Hyperdialectalism has also resulted in sporadic outbursts of protest against alleged Barcelonan hegemony, mainly in the city of Valencia, with demonstrators marching down the streets waving signs in Castilian or in local spelling. Again, long lists of words highlighting contrasts between Valencian and Catalan have been published now and then in the Valencian press.⁷ Some ten years ago, militant defenders of Valencian linguistic autonomy went so far as to boycott the late David H. Rosenthal's presentation of his English translation of the medieval epic *Tirant lo Blanc*. Rosenthal, who had called the book a classic of Catalan literature, was accused by the demonstrators of being a "Catalanist manipulator" and hence "anti-Valencian."⁸ Extremists have also maligned Valencian linguists who maintain the unity of Valencian and Catalan, and reportedly, they have even resorted to violence.⁹

At the official level, the Autonomous Valencian Government has regulated the use and teaching of its vernacular, citing the third chapter of the Spanish Constitution and the seventh chapter of the Valencian Autonomous Statute. The only official name recognized was "Valencian."

1. "Els dos idiomes oficials de la Comunitat Autònoma són el valencià i el castellà. Tothom té dret a conèixer-los i a usar-los."¹⁰

In August 1989, as Valencian television was being set up to go on the air in October of that year, the Spanish government announced that Catalan television out of Barcelona would be preempted from

⁷ For a sample see *Las Provincias*, Valencia, 22 April 1975.

⁸ *El País*, 26 January 1985, p. 26.

⁹ See *El País*, 20 July 1993, p. 12, and Kremnitz 1989:201.

¹⁰ *Llei d'ús i ensenyament del valencià* 1984:8.

broadcasting to Valencia, as the channel used until then by the Catalan network would be taken over by the new Valencian network. Owing to protests from philo-Catalanist groups like *Acció Cultural*, the proposed takeover never happened: nowadays, programs from both the Valencian (*Canal Nou*) and the Catalan (*TV3*) stations are seen all over the Valencian region. But the controversy has not subsided. As a result of the Spring 1995 elections in Spain, the *Partido Popular (PP)* won a majority of seats in many autonomous regions, including Valencia. In the aftermath of its victory, the *PP* issued reports and stipulations about cultural and linguistic policies to be followed. One resolution from the *PP* in Catalonia would authorize teachers from Catalonia and the Balearic islands to teach Catalan in Valencia. However, leaders of the Valencian *PP*, breaking ranks with their fellow party members, and supported by the conservative party *Unió Valenciana*, continue to reject that proposal. For them, Catalan and Valencian are two separate languages.

Consequently, leaders of the *PP* have asked Jorge Fernández Díaz, in charge of policies toward autonomous regions in that party, to prepare a report on the linguistic unity of Catalan. Fernández Díaz has announced that there is a "lack of scientific unity in this polemic" and gone on to say that "[e]l *Institut d'Estudis Catalans* y la *Universidad valenciana* defienden la lengua pero otras instituciones valencianas sostienen posturas contrarias."¹¹ Obviously, the political overtones are unavoidable, and they must be reckoned with if we are to have a thorough understanding of the Valencian linguistic heterodoxy.¹²

ICONIC SPLITTING

As we have seen, separatists within the Catalan-speaking area have promoted hyperdialectalism by concentrating on the fairly slight differences that exist between their local dialect and the standard language.

Another result of hyperdialectalism may be iconic splitting. Around the world, varieties of a language that sound the same, or

¹¹ *El País*, 14 June 1995, p. 1.

¹² Regionalist politicians are currently trying to change the names of some autonomous departments into a more "Valencian sounding" terminology. Besides referring to standard *Hisenda*, 'Treasury,' as "Facenda," Vicente González Lizondo, president of the Valencian Parliament, calls the former *Afers Socials*, 'Social Services', "Asunts Socials" and *Medi Ambient*, 'Environment,' "Mig Ambient" (*El País*, 28 September 1995, p. 1).

nearly so, may be written quite differently. Across Pakistan and northern India, Hindi and Urdu speakers communicate in what sounds like the same language, but citizens of northern India claim to speak Hindi and citizens of Pakistan claim to speak Urdu. Yet in India Urdu is considered a dialect or "form" of Hindi ("Hindusthani" in Chatterji 1960:161). Visually, what makes Hindi and Urdu seem to stand apart is that Urdu is written in the Arabic alphabet as adapted to the Persian language, while Hindi is written in the Devanagari alphabet or syllabary entrenched in the Sanskrit tradition. Moreover, as Chatterji notes, Urdu-speakers may try to distinguish themselves from Hindi-speakers in another way:

[The] vocabulary [of Urdu] is sometimes deliberately made highly Persianized, and in what is called "high-flown Urdu," a sentence may be made up of Persian and Arabic words entirely, with a native Indian, i.e. Hindi, particle or word thrown in here and there: so that it becomes unintelligible to Hindus" (1960:162).¹³

Another case of iconic splitting may be seen in the Slavic language Serbo-Croatian —or Serbo-Croat according to Corbett (1990:391)—dialects of which are spoken across most of the former Yugoslavia. Eastern dialects are written in the Cyrillic alphabet because of the influence of Byzantium and Eastern Orthodoxy; western dialects are written in the Latin alphabet because of the influence of Rome and Roman Catholicism. Aside from the current political and ethnic strife that will perhaps hypercharacterize existing idiosyncrasies in each dialect, the use of two alphabets in the former Yugoslavia reinforces differences rather than similarities between western and eastern dialects of Serbo-Croat.¹⁴

¹³ Meillet and Cohen labelled Urdu a variety of "Hindoustani," in the 1st ed. (1924:32) and the 2nd ed. (1952:23) of *Les langues du monde*. More recently, Kachru called Urdu "a language closely related to Hindi" (1990:470).

¹⁴ Many Croats are quick to voice their disagreement with the label "Serbo-Croatian," which most regard as an imperialist creation of former Yugoslavia. The layman's emphasis on the lexicon as a differentiating factor appears sometimes in letters to the editor, as in one facetiously labelled "The Camel and the Virgin." In it the writer remarks that "[a] Serb referring to a nursing baby as *odojce* will have called the child a pig in Croatian. A Serbian train, *voz*, is a Croatian hay cart. *Deva*, a camel in Croatian, is the Virgin Mary in Serbian!" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, Sunday, 10 March, 1991). We also read that in a booklet from the Serbian Ministry of Information "One section mocks a Croatian law that mandates providing Serbian translators for Serbs in Croatian courts so that they can understand the proceedings. This would be like providing a translator in Charleston, S. C., for a defendant who spoke Yankee." As an indicator of how politics may encroach on attitudes to language, the same item notes that "At UC

Further examples of iconic splitting are provided by *Aljamiado*, a late medieval form of Spanish written in Arabic script by Spanish Muslims, and also by *Ladino* or Judeo-Spanish, the dialect spoken by descendants of Sephardic Jews expelled from Spain in 1492. Sometimes written in Hebrew letters, *Ladino* today is often written in the Roman alphabet, but its spelling does not follow that of standard Spanish. See Azevedo (1990:327-330).

Iconic splitting is often fueled by regional politics and a desire to underscore local divergences from an established literary norm. In the Spanish province of Murcia, there has emerged a movement to promote the so-called *Llengua murciana*, with an association calling itself *L'Ajuntaera pa la plática, el esturrie y'el escarculle la llengua murciana*. Likewise, a dictionary entitled *Parablero murciano* (Molina Fernández 1991) gives definitions for the entries in *llengua murciana*, in an impressionistic spelling of what the author believes to be the pronunciation of the Spanish dialect in that region (See Sempere 1992 for Murcian linguistic exclusivism, and Vaz de Soto 1981:105-108 for an attempt to write in *Andalusian*). Another example of iconic splitting, this time justified in part by far greater divergences between two varieties, would be Haitian creole. While educated Haitians speak and write standard French, the local creole is also used in its written form, no doubt with the intention not only of facilitating communication with the less educated but also asserting Haitian nationalism and identity (cf. Holm 1989:384-385). Since independence, Chile, Mexico, and Fidel Castro's Cuba have witnessed unsuccessful attempts to modify standard Spanish spelling through politically motivated iconic splitting (Haensch 1991:55, Quesada 1922:13 and *El País*, 5 June 1995, p. 36). The x in Mexico and Oaxaca attests to a small but highly symbolic token of orthographic self-assertion in Mexico, since under the Spanish norm those names would be spelled with a j. (For the historical reasons of this change see Azevedo 1990:16).¹⁵

Berkeley, Serbo-Croatian has become Serbian/Croatian." (*San Francisco Chronicle*, Friday, 21 July, 1995). The punch line concludes: "But you don't get double credit: It is still just one course."

¹⁵ Orthographic secessionism was especially active in Latin America in the 19th century, as Domingo F. Sarmiento's reforms demonstrate (Quesada 1922:13). However, the levelheadedness of figures like Andrés Bello in the first half of the 19th century and Rufino José Cuervo in the second half helped keep intact the unity of written Spanish in the Americas. Cuervo accepted the mother country's linguistic leadership without reservation: "Pero ¿y cuál será la norma á que todos hayamos de sujetarnos? Ya que la razón no lo pidiera, la necesidad nos forzaría á tomar por dechado de nuestro hablar á la lengua que nos vino de Castilla, donde nació y, llevando su nombre, creció y se ilustró con el cultivo de eminentísimos escritores, envidia de las naciones extrañas y encanto de todo el mundo" (1885:III).

In the United States, some of Noah Webster's spelling reforms for American English (*center* for *centre* and *harbor* for *harbour*, if not *soop* for *soup*) have been generally adopted and have, no doubt, acted as pennants of iconic Americanism in a country that chose to break away from Britain not only politically but, to a certain symbolic degree, also linguistically. In contrast with such spelling differences born of revolution, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand gained independence through a slow process of decolonization and hence have strictly adhered to the British writing standard.

As for the opposite force, iconic merger, perhaps the most remarkable case has to do with the so called Chinese dialects like Mandarin, Cantonese, Taiwanese and Hakka. Mutually unintelligible, the main unifying feature of these "dialects," aside from their historical relationship and similar structure, is the logographic system shared by all of them. Until the French arrived ca. 1860, Chinese ideographs were also used to write Vietnamese, and many of them are still used to write Japanese. However, visual divergences among different areas have increased through time. Thus, the Japanese have to some extent gone their own way in reconfiguring the ideographs they borrowed from China; they have also developed two syllabaries and borrowed *Romanji* or Roman letters. Among speakers of "dialects" of Chinese, divergences in the writing system have arisen recently: wide-ranging simplifications of the characters promulgated in China under Mao Ze dong, with the aim of making it easier to attain literacy, have never been accepted by the Taiwanese or by Chinese expatriates living in Southeast Asia.

In Western Europe, writing systems based on the Roman alphabet have been adapted to differentiate dialects from a standard language rather than to make separate languages look alike on the page. We find in Valencia an attitude toward iconic splitting and a nativistic emphasis of the vernacular similar to what we have encountered in parts of the Americas. Certain Valencians have evolved spelling conventions that depart from the Catalan norm. In 1915 Lluís Fullana, a Valencian linguist, published his *Gramàtica elemental de la llengua valenciana*, with a spelling that departed noticeably from the standard set forth by Pompeu Fabra and the *Institut d'Estudis Catalans* in 1913. But whereas Fullana's spelling was made deliberately archaic, other orthographic experiments, like that of Josep M^a Bayarri appear downright eccentric (Sanchis Guarner 1980b:186-188).

Even Antoni Maria Alcover, another linguist from the periphery of the Catalan domain, the Balearic Islands, and coauthor of the *Diccionari català-valencià-balear*, resisted the established Catalan *Normes Ortogràfiques* and changed the original title of his planned work, *Diccionari de la Llengua Catalana*, to include the other two

main Catalan speaking regions. It was only after Alcover's death in 1932 that Francesc de B. Moll, who finished the work, adopted the official spelling from the *Institut d'Estudis Catalans*, beginning with the letter "C" (Catalán 1974:196, note 534; Kremnitz 1989:193; Duarte and Massip 1981:185).¹⁶ In the late 1970's, when polemics about the status of Valencian were appearing regularly in the local press, another unsuccessful spelling reform known as *Les Normes del Puig* was promoted by linguistic separatists.

As things stand now, the great majority of Valencian writers still follow the *Normes de Castelló* of 1932, which in effect favored the already established Catalan standard of 1913, with a few concessions allowing for some features of the Valencian dialect. In Kremnitz's rather condescending assessment:

"[A]lgunes particularitats del valencià hi són explícitament reconegudes com a variants de la norma del català, encara que algunes siguin tan poc importants que són, més que cap altra cosa, una demostració de la bona voluntat de la part barcelonina" (1989:193).

THE APOLOGISTS

All of that wrangling over the decades has provoked two types of reaction: many non-Catalan scholars have been reluctant to give any opinion at all about the status of Valencian, while Catalanists have rallied to support the unity of all dialects of their language. For instance, Entwistle, discussing the possibility of Valencian exceptionalism, hypercharacterized Valencian by noting a fairly minor divergence in pronunciation from the standard:

The language has separated from the pattern of Barcelona, and the region had always enjoyed a certain local independence. As derived from western Catalan the *llengua valenciana* distinguishes a from e... (1936:105).

Posner also deals with the question (1993 95-97), and so does Geipel, who states that "[e]ven within the Catalan-speaking area,

¹⁶ Moll explained how the dictionary was made and why Alcover decided to change its title: "Pour gagner la sympathie des régions valencienne et baléare vis-à-vis de l'aversion des catalans, il a changé le nom de *Diccionari de la llengua catalana* en le remplaçant par celui de *Diccionari Català-Valencià-Baleàr*, un nom certainement impliquant des confusions; mais jamais on n'aura pu dire avec plus de raison que le nom ne fait rien à la chose: ce dictionnaire au nom si expressif d'une idée de fragmentation est devenu l'ouvrage le plus efficace pour faire ressortir l'unité essentielle de la langue catalane dans tout ce domaine linguistique politiquement si incohérent." (1965:823).

Valencians insist that theirs is a language distinct from that of Catalonia" (1992:10-12). A consequence of this situation is that practically any linguistic publication dealing with Catalan as a whole, and especially as it relates to Valencian, includes an explanation on the unity of Catalan and its dialects.¹⁷ Meanwhile, in Valencia the language taught at schools continues to be referred to as "valencià,"¹⁸ although most textbook prologues contain an explanatory note on the unity of Catalan. Thus Valor starts off by explaining the title *Curso de lengua valenciana*, which he uses due to tradition. After noting that in 1489 the Valencian Joan Esteve already referred to "latina et valentiana lingua," Valor ponders that the case is not unique in the Iberian peninsula: "El galaico-portugués es 'gallego' en Galicia y 'portugués' en Portugal. Al español se le llama especialmente 'castellano', y también 'aragonés', 'leonés', 'andaluz', según las regiones donde es hablado, sin que se trate de idiomas diferentes, aunque sí a veces de modalidades muy distintas entre sí" (1966:9). In the preface to his Valencian dictionary, Ferrer Pastor appears more apologetic: after pointing out that it is hardly constructive to dwell upon localisms, and after emphasizing the "ethnic and linguistic unity of Catalan speakers," he asks "catalans estrictes" not to get upset about the disparity in the name of the language. Then Ferrer Pastor goes on to remark that "university scholars and educated people not involved in extraneous interests do not refuse the fitting term -i.e. Catalan-."¹⁹ Another Valencian scholar, the leading lexicologist Germà Colón, calls the first chapter of one of his books "El problema onomástico": he proceeds to review Valencian localism, and "particularismo" and concludes by reaffirming the unity of Catalan with a systematic display of erudition (1989:19-34). Elsewhere Martí i Castell *et al.* start a chapter on southern

¹⁷ There have also been monographs expressly dedicated to proving the unity of the Catalan language on grounds more concrete than divergences between a verb ending or two (See Tavani *et al.*, 1989, Ferrando 1980, and Fuster *et al.* 1984).

¹⁸ From Castelló to Alacant only the term "valencià" is used. Cf. Soler Godes's *Beceroles valencianes* (1971), Valor's *Curso de lengua valenciana* (1966), and Ferrer Pastor's *Vocabulari valencià-castellà* (1970). The regional and national media also refer to "valencià" or "valenciano". After the headline "El príncipe hablará en valenciano durante su visita [a Valencia]," readers are reminded that "Los Reyes u otros miembros de la Familia Real han utilizado el catalán, el euskera o el gallego en sus desplazamientos a esas comunidades autónomas bilingües, pero nunca han hablado en valenciano más allá de frases protocolarias." (*El País*, 28 September 1995, p. 1).

¹⁹ "Sense la denominació de 'valenciana' a la portada del llibre no s'empassa la píndola d'una normalització lexicogràfica i ortogràfica. I la píndola ha d'estar voltada de matèria agradable per tal que no resulte revulsiva. Aquesta és la raó, i no altra, del gentilici denominatiu de la portada." (1970:vii).

Catalan with the subtitle "El nom de la llengua" (1985:189).²⁰ At a popular level, Germà Colón has attempted to highlight the ravages of Valencian linguistic exclusivism by exposing the flaws in its assumptions and ridiculing the incompetence of its supporters.²¹ Not without a hint of sarcasm, Casanova concludes that: "El valenciano, idioma que trajeron los repobladores catalanes en el siglo XIII, a causa de factores sociolingüísticos y políticos ha actuado desde el siglo XVI, libremente sin relación con los otros dialectos catalanes" (1985:33).

MOZARABISM AND VALENCIAN NATIVISM

Another powerful source of linguistic exclusivism has been nativism: in quest of prestige for local speechways, linguistic separatists have sought to bedeck a dialect with the ornaments of substratum, archaisms, neologisms, or slang. By doing so, they hope to distance that dialect from other dialects and hence from the standard language. Most often, political motivations underlie these attempts. Across the ocean from Spain, upon independence, Latin American countries yearned to break their post-colonial shackles and distance themselves culturally and linguistically from Spain. In the Southern Cone, especially in Chile, the indigenous substratum was overemphasized; dialecticisms were deliberately sought in Argentina, glossing over the local flavor in order to depart as much as possible from the Castilian standard (Quesada 1922:6). Still in an Argentinian article from 1943 we read: "[y] sí, como parece, la más abundante contribución ha de recibirla de las lenguas indígenas americanas ¿no será nuestro idioma cada vez menos neolatino, lo que es como decir, cada vez menos español?" (Banchs 1943:39). Thus, if a country can draw upon its local sources that differ from the known norm of five thousands miles away, be it substratum or slang, perhaps then the country, or province, can claim linguistic independence. And although the movement towards linguistic exclusivism points often toward substratum, in Quebec we find evidence for the second outlet: local slang. Leandre Bergeron, the author of the *Dictionary of the Quebec Language*, appeals to the common *Quebecois* when he defends *Joual*, the local popular speech: "This is the language of the people. But it's

²⁰ For a sample of apologetic explanations on the name of the language and on Valencian linguistic exclusivism see Gulsoy (1959-1962:110), Sanchis Guarner (1980b:21-63), Badia i Margarit (1984a:51-55), Nadal and Prats (1987:212-223), and more recently Abad Merino (1994:89-91).

²¹ *El País*, 8 April 1993, p. 4.

our language. The norm of the Quebec language should not be in Paris. It should be here."²²

In Valencia, both aspects of nativism, the popular idiom and a substratum, have been used by writers trying to promote independence from Barcelonan norms.²³ The daily *Las Provincias*, whose former editor crusaded for Valencian linguistic exclusivism, has served as a springboard for opinions on this matter. An article signed by Vicente Giner emphasized the role of Aragonese on the lexis of Valencian, and by positing several sources, (some of them quite unlikely), the author tried to minimize the Catalan contribution: "La lengua valenciana tiene sus raíces y sus vocablos en otros que nos trajeron los que vinieron de Francia, de Castilla, de Hungría, de Inglaterra, de la Provenza, de Lérida (que entonces era Aragón), de los condados catalanes, y sobre todo, de Aragón."²⁴ It will be noted that Giner wrote the article in Castilian. Elsewhere, Miguel Navarro Sala turns the tables on the Catalanists and proclaims that Valencian, which he regards as a fusion between Limousin and Mozarabic, is the origin of Catalan: "Fue la poderosa Valencia del Renacimiento la que dio a los míseros y feudalizados condados catalanes su actual estructura idiomática, superponiéndoles a su provenzal la lengua valenciana" ... "Es aberrante querer llamar 'catalán occidental' al valenciano -de Andorra hasta Alacant-, porque lo científico sería llamar 'valenciano oriental' al catalán hablado desde Salses hasta Tarragona."²⁵ Some researchers have discerned features of Valencian exceptionalism going back to the High Middle Ages: a few writers back then seem to have thought they were writing in something other than Catalan. For instance, at the end of the 14th century Antoni Canals translated a Latin text "en nostra vulgada lengua materna valenciana," even though a Catalan translation already existed (Nadal 1989:175), and in 1521 Joan Bonllavi published Ramon Llull's *Blanquerna* in "llengua valenciana" (Colón 1989:31).

But those who promote nativism in Valencia rely most of all on the substratum theory. If there were already Romance speakers living

²² *International Herald Tribune*, 25-26 April, 1981.

²³ Simbor refers to the Valencian feuilleton and the pseudo-folkish literary genre in Valencian popular literature: "La vindicació d'una llengua valenciana diferent de la catalana i l'ús literari del nivell de llenguatge popular són criteris compartits per la pràctica globalitat dels col·laboradors de les diferents col·leccions de contes. La conseqüència d'aquest punt de partida no podia ser altra que el conreu d'una llengua síntesi de dos processos complementaris, dialectalització i castellanització, que en feien una eina difícilment idònia per a un ús literari culte i matisat." (1986:136-137).

²⁴ *Las Provincias*, Valencia, 20 October 1997.

²⁵ *Información*, Alacant, 22 April, 1979.

in Valencia before the Catalonians arrived in 1238, nativists say, then Valencian must be a continuation of the Latin spoken there since before the fall of Rome and therefore not a mere southern offshoot of Catalan. That local continuation would then be Mozarabic, the poorly attested Romance language spoken by the Christians who lived along with the Spanish Muslims. Early in this century, Carreras Candi had already stated in an encyclopedia that Valencian was an offshoot of the early Romance spoken in Valencia (1920-1927:570-585). Although no serious linguist gave any credence to that assertion at the time, later on a few scholars have espoused that idea.

Traditionally, linguists have posited the existence of Mozarabic speakers in Valencia at the time of the Christian Reconquest. In addition, some have also suggested a substrative influence from Mozarabic on the Catalan brought to Valencia.²⁶ Yet the tendency nowadays is to minimize the Mozarabic presence at the Catalan arrival. Thus Galmés de Fuentes believes that whereas in Zaragoza and Toledo there was a considerable Mozarabic population at the time of the Christian Reconquest, in Valencia, Córdoba and Seville the Mozarabic minority had practically disappeared (1987:17), and Alarcos Llorach doubts that the Mozarabic language had survived in Valencia until the Catalans arrived (1983:75). An influential historical study by Robert Burns contends that the Valencians found by the Catalano-Aragonese troops could not communicate with the Christian newcomers, which suggests that they no longer spoke a Romance language, but rather Arabic. Nevertheless, Burns is not categorical and leaves some leeway in mentioning that "[l]es masses de parla romànica, si és que existien, eren gairebé invisibles en els afers públics; devien tenir, almenys, una comprensió bilingüe de l'àrab vulgar." (1979:33).

Yet in 1984 Joan Coromines lectured at the University of Valencia on some Mozarabisms peculiar to Valencia, conceding, therefore, at least a lexical influence of the Mozarabic substratum on the Catalan of Valencia (1987:21-27). But Coromines's etyma have been impugned

²⁶ Cf. Sanchis Guarnier's assessment: "Els mossàrabs valencians conservarien el parlar romànic en major o menor grau, fins llur reintegració en els estats cristians de Jaume I, i aquest parlar romànic valencià, malgrat el seu esmorteïment, havia de contribuir activament per a la transformació de l'idioma català importat del Nord pels reconquistadors, i convertir-lo en la seua modalitat regional valenciana." (1961:99 and 103-147). See also Sanchis Guarnier (1980b:118-123) and (1980a:91-101). Notice also that Badia i Margarit regards Mozarabic and Catalan as being very much alike: "Llur participació [the Mozarabic speakers'] havia d'ésser, en el terreny idiomàtic, de favorejar la consolidació de la llengua dels repobladors, que trobava, en la d'ells, una afinitat pràcticament total." (1984b:168-169). For similar but less committed views see Veny (1980:104-105) and Gulsoy (1986:440).

lately by Colón, who claims that most if not all of the alleged Mozarabisms in Catalan are just loanwords from Aragonese or Castilian. According to Colón, perhaps the only genuine Mozarabisms could just be some toponyms, and even with them one must be cautious (1993:275). Colón also warns that philologists should be aware of findings by historians that seem to indicate that at the time of the *Reconquest* there were no longer any Mozarabic speakers in Valencia or Mallorca (Colón 1993:259). Llobregat (1986:33-35) and Epalza (1986:69-71) have come to the same conclusion.²⁷

It would be unfair to claim that only amateurs stood for the theory of Valencian as a continuation of Mozarabic. At least two scholars have fought to advance this belief: Ubieto Arteta, a historian (1977:Chap. IX) and Peñarroja Torrejón, a philologist (1990:447-467). According to Colón (1989:42), Ubieto's historical arguments are inconclusive and his linguistic assessment is confusing.

Leaving aside the historical approach, favored by Ubieto, one should be able to solve the issue satisfactorily on linguistic grounds alone, but even rigorous phonetic laws are of no avail here if the data are unreliable. Peñarroja concludes, based on an impressive array of data from Latin and Arabic sources, that the current phonetic and lexical characteristics of Valencian "estaban presentes en el estrato mozárabe valenciano; y no fueron, pues, traídas ni resultaron de una suplantación." (1990:466-467, Peñarroja's emphasis). However, Galmés de Fuentes sets out four reasons why Valencian is not a continuation of Mozarabic.

First (and foremost), at the time of the *Reconquista* there were no Mozarabic speakers left, due to the onslaught of Moorish invasions. Secondly, since the many Mozarabic speakers living in Toledo at the

²⁷ Those who believe that Valencian is a continuation of Mozarabic have found historical references to Mozarabic speakers dating from the first third of the 13th century. One speaker of Valencian would be St. Peter Pasqual or Pascual, whose Latinized name appears as Petrus Paschasius, a self-identified bishop of Jaén in his alleged work *Biblia Parva* or *Flor de la Biblia*. José Ombuena, former editor of the newspaper *Las Provincias* of Valencia, chastised Sanchis Guarnier for doubting that Sant Pere Pasqual was Valencian (*Las Provincias*, 10 April, 1975). After all, even Menéndez Pidal had acknowledged that the saint played a role in dealing with the Christian conquerors (1979:41). But lately Riera i Sans has even questioned the existence of that saint, attributing its invention to a Mercedarian monk, Fra Pedro de San Cecilio, who in 1629 published a work entitled *Historia de la vida y martirio de don fray Pedro de Valencia, obispo de Jaén, de la orden de Ntra. Sra. de la Merced, redención de cautivos* (Riera i Sans 1986:45-60). See also Laurent (1993). Politicians continue to insist on the Mozarabic nature of Valencian. Vicente González Lizondo, president of the Valencian Parliament, has declared that Valencian was spoken in Alacant "un siglo antes de Jaime I" (*La Verdad*, Alacant, 2 October 1995, p. 4).

time of the Castilian Reconquest were quickly assimilated linguistically to Castilian, the same would have happened to any Valencian Mozarabic speakers, with respect to Catalan. Third, since the *Moriscos* (the descendants of the Valencian Muslims, eventually expelled in 1609) did not speak Mozarabic, one must conclude that this speech was already extinct before the Christians' arrival. Finally, the Mozarabic speech of Valencia that we know through medieval documents appears to be very different from the Valencian speech we have known from the Reconquest until today (Galmés de Fuentes 1987:37-38).

Of all these points only the fourth seems to lend itself to empirical scrutiny. The Mozarabic data available to us come from names in medieval charters (transcribed by Catalan scribes in Valencia), from Romance words found in treatises by Arab authors (written in the Arabic alphabet, with vowels normally not marked, and from toponyms which have been preserved more or less in the form they had in the Middle Ages, judging from their spelling in medieval documents.

According to Peñarroja, in the 13th century the speech of Valencia was practically identical to the speech of Barcelona. Peñarroja's view would lead us to draw one of two startling conclusions: either that Catalan was spoken in Valencia before the Catalonians arrived there, or else that something like Mozarabic—which would be the same as Catalan—had been spoken in Catalonia since at least 711 AD.²⁸ Regrettably, the interpretation of data made by Galmés de Fuentes and that of Peñarroja are often at odds. Consider the following important features in the Mozarabic of Valencia (found in almost the same order in both authors' works):

²⁸ Although Peñarroja has drawn from an impressive variety of sources, he leaves several questions unaddressed. For lack of space, I will mention only one such question here. How do we account for the final *o* in *cuquello* 'cuckoo', and *llomello* 'sirloin' if the loss of *-o* was generalized in Valencia? (1990:465). Peñarroja makes allowance for "formas conservadoras que no justifican en conjunto una ley fonética de conservación," but never explains how those forms could have survived from an earlier stage of the language (1990:460). Thus the author opens the door to a relativity that can be expanded or contracted at will, depending on one's pet theory.

CONTROVERSIAL PHONETIC FEATURES OF VALENCIAN MOZARABIC

Diphthongization of tonic Latin E and O (e. g. CASTELLUM and PONTEM; cf. Cat. *castell* 'castle', and *pont* 'bridge').

Galmés de Fuentes (henceforth GF): Yes (1987:22).

Peñarroja (henceforth P): No (1990:459, 152-201).

Maintenance of -o < U (e. g. CUNICULUM, LUMBUM, COLUMBUM; cf. Cat. *conill* 'rabbit', *llom* 'loin', and *colom* 'pigeon', respectively).

GF: Yes (1987:25)

P: No, with residual exceptions
(1990:459-460, 202-231).

Maintenance of the diphthongs [ai] and [au] (e. g. FURNARIUM, AURICULAM;

cf. Cat. *forner* 'baker', *orella* 'ear').

GF: Yes, with occasional raising to ei (1987:26).

P: No, with residual exceptions
(1990:460, 243-276).

G- and J- > [j] (e. g. JACET, GELUM; cf. Cat. *jau* 'he lies down', *gel* 'ice').

GF: Yes (1987:27).

P: No: it must have been [dΩ] (1990:288).

Maintenance of -MB- and -ND- (e. g. LUMBUM, COLUMBUM, ROTUNDAM;

cf. Cat. *rodona* 'round').

GF: Yes (1987:30-31).

P: No (1990:461, 392-408).

Maintenance of -TR- and -DR- (e. g. PETRAM, CATHEDRAM;
cf. Cat. *pedra* 'stone', *cadira* 'chair').

GF: Yes (1987:31-32).

P: No (1990:462, 409-412).

DEMONIZING THE OPPOSITION

To fight populist distortions of linguistic truth, the defenders of Catalan linguistic unity counterattacked with their own powerful arguments. Some resorted to the opposition's preferred outlet, the press,²⁹ while others enlisted the support of academicians such as Dámaso Alonso, Manuel Alvar, Fernando Lázaro Carreter, Emilio Alarcos Llorach or from authors such as Vicente Aleixandre, Miguel Delibes, Antonio Buero Vallejo, Camilo José Cela, top notch historians: the Marquis of Lozoya, José Antonio Maravall, and even of the Cardinal-Archbishop of Madrid-Alcalá, Vicente Enrique y Tarancón. All of these intellectuals, among others, signed a manifesto in 1975 affirming the linguistic unity of Catalan. Indeed "truth," "scientific truth" to be more specific, is on the side of the unionists, whose travails sometimes lead them to envision themselves as crusaders in a righteous cause. Almost inevitably, the opposition has been demonized.³⁰ Thus Pompeu Fabra joins in the martyrology of persecuted scientists like Galileo and Darwin when Peretó and Domínguez, two biology professors from the University of Valencia, paraphrase Galileo stating "*e pure* [sic] és una única llengua" and equate Valencian secessionists with creationists in the United States: "Ens trobem amb un cas semblant al dels creacionistes, aquells *blavers* irracionals dels EUA que martiritzen els mestres d'escola i els persegueixen judicialment perquè expliquen Darwin i no la Bíblia en la classe de ciències naturals."³¹ Other ways to denigrate the nativists

²⁹ See Sanchis Guarner's four articles: "Sobre el parlar romànic valencià d'abans de Jaume I" (*Las Provincias*, April 3, 4, 5 and 6, 1975) and the letter from Agustín Ventura, more modest in scope, entitled *Opinión de un filólogo sobre "La nostra llengua"* (*La Verdad*, Murcia-Alacant 5 June, 1975).

³⁰ Lest the reader think this an exaggerated characterization, consider the following cites from Catalanist defenders of linguistic unity: "Cal recordar ue enguany es compleix el cinc-cents aniversari de l'establiment de la Inquisició castellana al País Valencià?" (Ferrando 1984:141), concerning the negative influence of Castile upon Catalan linguistic unity. "El poble valencià, de molts anys ençà, ha estat treballat per superiors criteris impositius que li han fet creure, com deia ja Jaume Roig, 'del cel paella'" (Ferrer Pastor 1970:preface) about those Valencians who loathe calling their language "català." "La nostra llengua és una. El valencià és el català dels valencians: els fets i la voluntat són comuns. No deixem que els arbres ens tapin el bosc. *I no esperem que el Diable ens dugui enlaire, cap al Paradís*" (Coromines 1984:94, my emphasis).

³¹ *El Temps*, Valencia, 12 July, 1993, p. 37. The strongly derogatory neologism *blaver*, *blavero*, or *blauero* is applied to Valencian anti-Catalanists. Cf. "A València només hi ha *blaveros*." (Vicent Pitarch in *El Temps*, Valencia, April 29, 1991:68). "Tot això son falòrnies fruit de la suma de poca faena i d'incultura històrica, que sovintegen entre els elements de la fauna *blavencianera*." (Llobregat Conesa 1986:25). "Això del mossàrab fa

have been to characterize them as marginal, small in numbers and unintelligent. Thus Martí i Castell *et al.* state that "A banda d'aquests *grupets*, tots els intel·lectuals són seguidors de la normativa fabriana" (1985:190). However, Jaume Vidal Alcover, a Balearic author referring to Mallorcan sectionalism, attributes greater importance to the number of dissidents and gives a more realistic perspective to the problem: "Aquests arguments dels científics, dels entesos, no són escoltats. Això demostra que l'anticatalanisme d'aquesta facció –molt nombrosa, val a dir– de mallorquins és visceral, sense cap fonament racional, i és per tant, com dic, mal d'explicar i més mal encara de fer desaparèixer, d'anul·lar."³²

Likewise, nativists have been described as deriving their anti-Catalanism from a political platform whose ultimate goal is the Castilianization of Valencia (Pitarch *et al.* 1981:167), Ferrando (1984:156), Ferrando (1986:131). But once again, Vidal Alcover rejects that view, at least for Mallorca: "Aquest mallorquinisme a ultrança no té res a veure, en principi, o no hi ha raó perquè tenguí res a veure amb la castellanització patida pel mallorquí al llarg del anys" (*ibid.*).

Otherwise nativists are seen as a reactionary "Castilianized bourgeoisie" (Ros and Strubell 1984:9), right wing Francoists (Sabater 1984:34) or as belonging to the "better-off classes" and motivated by "biased psychosocial mechanisms" (Torres 1984:61). Finally, the populists' incompetence at designing a Valencian spelling system provokes scorn in Kremnitz: "Alguns d'aquests assaigs fan riure més aviat, sens dubte involuntàriament." (1989:192). Germà Colón, commented on the *Diccionari valencià-castellà* de la *Real Academia de Cultura Valenciana*: "Si su meta era demostrar que el valenciano y el catalán son dos lenguas diferentes, han fracasado en sus esfuerzos y fracasarán siempre, no provocarán más que la risa y el caritativo desprecio de la comunidad científica internacional."³³

més mal que una pedregada perquè és fer un favor als *blaveros*." (Colón, *El Temps*, Valencia, 10 November, 1987, p. 55). The origin of the term *blavero* etc. may be found in the flag of the city of Valencia. Originally identical to the Catalan flag, four red bars on a yellow background, a blue piece of cloth was added in 1377, when Peter the Ceremonious granted to the city two initials and crowns (Pitarch *et al.* 1982:310). That variation has been seized upon by some Valencians who wish to emphasize a different *senyera* or flag than that of Catalonia.

³² *Serra d'Or*, April 1982, p. [209] 17.

³³ *El País*, 8 April, 1993, p. 4. The Catalan linguist Antoni Badia i Margarit has also voiced his opinion in the press, complaining against Valencian linguistic scission and forecasting cultural self-destruction: "Lo que asusta es que, como decía antes, las incitaciones a la escisión sean alentadas impunemente desde puestos de gobierno y difundidas por medios de comunicación. Fenómenos como el *lunifardo* argentino, que se

OF COMPROMISERS AND PERIPHERALS

Some linguists who support the unity of Catalan concede a considerable margin of dialecticism. Witness Enric Valor's *La flexió verbal* (1987), for the Valencian market, where the 1st p. s. of *parlar* ends in *-e* (in contrast to standard Catalan *-o*), or the singular forms of the subjunctive in *anar* (go): *que jo vaja, que tu vages, que ell vaja* vs. normative Catalan *que jo vagi, que tu vagis, que ell vagi*. Valor's pedagogical work has been praised as being fully supportive of unity and yet not accepting an ironclad Catalan uniformity, let alone the Barcelonan standard (Solà 1977b:228). A need for compromise is reflected in Kremnitz's comments, which illustrate an awareness that the sensibilities of "peripheral speakers" should be taken into account. "Això sí, cal procurar que els habitants de les regions més perifèriques no se sentin 'dirigits' pels del Principat."³⁴ Moreover, Montoya Abad, a Catalanist from southern Alacant, denies that all anti-Catalanists have a hidden agenda: "L'anticatalanisme militant que hi ha en sectors més o menys importants del País Valencià i les Illes Balears es nodreix en part d'aquest rebuig a un estàndard català massa allunyat del seu parlar quotidià." (1993:9).

It appears that the periphery of the Catalan domain teems with dissidence. In the Catalan enclave of Alghero (Sardinia), Carles Sechi's statement "Som la catalanitat dins l'estat italià" did not prevent him from accusing the *Països Catalans* 'Catalan Countries' of "too much paternalism" toward Alghero.³⁵ Another voice of dissent came recently from Marie Claude Gregoire, the mayor of Salses in southern France, who, at a celebration of the sisterhood of peripheral Catalan speaking cities, warned against both French Jacobinism and centralism from Barcelona, stating that "res és més trist que la uniformitat."³⁶ On the western Catalan-Aragonese border, the so called *Franja de Ponent* has come under fire by locals who perceive in that name a peripheral viewpoint from Catalonia, for which they prefer to call it *Franja de Aragón*.³⁷

dan en ocasiones y un poco por doquier, denotan una sociedad desquiciada, que ha perdido el norte y la identidad" (*El País*, 11 October 1995, p. 13).

³⁴ *Serra d'Or*, May 1980, n° 248, p. [321] 15.

³⁵ *El Temps*, Valencia, 5 September, 1994, p. 26.

³⁶ *El Temps*, Valencia, 26 December, 1994, p. 42.

³⁷ Furthermore, "En general los catalanohablantes evitan denominar catalán a su lengua, y usan apelativos como *xapurreau*, *fragatí* y *patuès*. Lo revela un estudio del Instituto de Sociolingüística Catalana." (Teresa Cendrós in *El País*, 29 March, 1995; See also Martí García Ripoll's "Conflicte lingüístic i ideologia a la Franja de Ponent" in *Serra d'Or*, 1982, pp. 609-611).

Finally, we should refer to the populist strife in the Balearic Islands known as the *Polèmica d'En Pep Gonella*. In the summer of 1972 *Diario de Mallorca* published a series of letters to the editor, with the usual rebuttals and counterattacks in these cases, which started with a defense of the local dialect against the standard imposed from Catalonia. The first broadside was launched by a reader whose *nom de guerre* was Pep Gonella in a letter published on June 30, "amb un català infecte, vergonyós: inqualificable" according to Solà (1977a:287). Gonella also confronted a list of Mallorcan verbal forms with their standard Catalan counterparts. In addition, Gonella praised the work of Alcover who, as we pointed out above, broke away from the Catalan norm, and disparaged Moll for conforming to that standard or as he said elsewhere "al integrisme barceloní" (*Polèmica d'En Pep Gonella* 1972:64). That letter was followed not only by Moll's enraged response, but also by others from both "gonellistes" and "antigonellistes." The affair revealed a nativistic element among the Balearic unionists who, while defending the linguistic unity of Catalan, also played to the dialectal gallery. Thus in one of his letters, Moll used the dialectal variants *tenc* for *tinc* 'I have' and *sebre* for *saber* 'to know', whereas Massot i Muntaner wrote *oblidam* for standard *oblidem*, *trob* for *trobo*, and *cercam* for *cerquem*, among other Balearic forms (*Polèmica d'En Pep Gonella* 1972:152 and 158-160). Was this an iconic-morphological concession to Gonella's first letter?

THE POLITICAL ANGLE

The fears of Valencians who declare that admitting the Catalan affiliation of Valencian is tantamount to admitting a common nationality are not devoid of certain validity. To them the concept of *Països Catalans* suggests an imperialistic nominal annexation analogous to the feelings of many Latin Americans when peninsular speakers refer to their cultural community as "Hispanoamérica."³⁸ As Woolard puts it "How is the Catalan nation to be distinguished from

³⁸ Haensch illustrates thus this point: "Así, por ejemplo, numerosos españoles siguen protestando aún hoy día, oralmente y en cartas al director en la prensa, contra el uso de las palabras *América latina*, *latinoamericano* o simplemente *latino* para designar a Hispanoamérica y a los hispanoamericanos. Lógicamente estos españoles tienen toda la razón, porque el término *América latina* debería incluir a los hispanoamericanos, brasileños y los francófonos de América. Ahora bien, en el lenguaje manda el uso, y si los hispanoamericanos usan con frecuencia las palabras *América latina*, *latinoamericano* y *latino*, me parece absurdo que los hispanohablantes del otro lado del Gran Charco quieran impedirselo. Aquí se trata de una reacción subjetiva." (1991:56).

Spain if not by its language?" (1985:98). Let us not forget that Johann Gottfried Herder's concept of *Volksgeist* and his tenets that language is at the basis of nationhood have reverberated in Europe since the early 19th century in what George Kennan referred to as "romantic linguistic nationalism," or the idea that a common language equates to a common nation. One can discern in the politicized linguistic nativism of Catalanists and Valencianists the concept laid out by Johann Gottlieb Fichte when he said that "Wherever a separate language is formed, there a separate nation exists, which has the right to take independent charge of its affairs and to govern itself." (In Birch 1989:19).

Clearly, language and politics have gone hand in hand throughout modern history. In 1789 the American patriot Noah Webster was promoting the idea of an "American language" and applying to it some symbolic measure of iconic splitting.³⁹ In 1825, three years after its independence, in Brazil there were already talks about an "idioma brasileiro," and in 1826 in Colombia unsuccessful attempts were made to create an "Academia de la Lengua Americana" (Pérez Martín 1964:224-226). Still, in Mexico, study plans refer to the language taught in primary school as "lengua nacional," shunning thus the term "español." The same applies to South American countries like Argentina and Chile where the euphemism "castellano" or "idioma nacional" also substituted the more politically loaded "español" (Pérez Martín 1964:225). More recently, the autonomous government of the Canary Islands has laid out a plan that will implement the use of its "lengua propia."⁴⁰

In this regard, the Valencians' aversion to calling their language Catalan is intimately related to their fear of being subordinated culturally and administratively to Catalonia. After all, many of the theorists of linguistic standardization or "normalització" define themselves politically as being pan-Catalanists. Pitarch, for instance, after stating that the political legitimacy of Valencians is grounded not

³⁹ Although in the early 19th century some Anglo-Americans and Latin-Americans had predicted the separation of American English and American Spanish from their mother languages, this obviously has not occurred yet. Nevertheless, there are indications that the dialect barrier is strong enough as to warrant the dubbing of movies from overseas. In Mexico, films from Spain are customarily dubbed into Mexican Spanish. As for American English, some popular Australian movies like *Mad Max* have been adapted to the American public for commercial reasons in what a reviewer perceives as being "Idiotically dubbed to smooth the cast's Australian accents" (*Television, The Mercury News*, San Jose, California, 25 June, 1995, p. 16). I am not aware that the Valencian media dub films made in Barcelona.

⁴⁰ (*ABC*, 27 November, 1995, p. 55).

so much in historical reasons but rather in its reality as a linguistic community (1993:184), has stated elsewhere that the national framework of Valencia falls within the *Països Catalans* (Pitarch *et al.* 1982:348). Already in 1925 Antoni Griera had embraced that concept referring to it in the singular "Le pays catalan."⁴¹ Elsewhere, but this time in the plural, Jordi Carbonell hammered on the political role of language: "Le point de départ, donc, au moment de la pleine indépendance des pays catalans était une situation de langue nationale achevée" (cited in Zimmermann 1989:207). Ros and Strubell also emphasized linguistic unity as the leading force "to favor the federation of all the *Països Catalans*" (1984:8). Vallverdú speaks of the "submission of the Països Catalans to the Crown of Castile" in the 15th century (1984:19), and Kremnitz writes about a conspiracy on the part of the Spanish Government to keep Navarre separate from the other Basque provinces and to prevent the consolidation of the *Països Catalans* (1989:197-198, 201). Some authors' sentimental search for an underlying Catalonia is reminiscent of the Italian *Irredenti* party, which in 1878 promoted the union of territories where Italian was or had been spoken. Witness the title of a chapter, "Múrcia també és Catalunya?," by Rodríguez-Bernabeu (1994:50), who has proposed on the basis of the medieval Catalan presence in Murcia that Murcians ought to "relearn" Catalan and thus become part of the *Comunitat Valenciana*. Consider also the title "Múrcia, un país català frustrat?" of Rosselló i Verger (1975), decrying the Castilianization in the land where according to Ramon Muntaner one could hear "del bell catalanes del mon."

WHAT'S IN STORE?

We have reviewed some aspects and some manifestations of linguistic exclusivism in Valencia with respect to Catalan. The manifestation of an exacerbated nativism that denies scientific truisms is neither restricted to linguistic matters nor by any means limited to Valencia. As long as the conflict remains centered around the dialectic language-politics, tensions are bound to continue. Despite the political Catalanization of many of the Valencian intelligentsia, there are conservative and populist Valencian forces that will continue to

41 "Le pays catalan, qui s'étend à l'ouest de la Méditerranée depuis Salses (étang de Leucate) jusqu'à Santa Pola (Alacant) et qui comprend les îles Baléares et la ville d'Alghero en Sardaigne, a une superficie de 60.853 kilomètres carrés, avec une population de 4.486.064 habitants" (1925:35).

oppose the process of linguistic standardization, mainly because it is perceived by some Valencians as a Trojan horse that threatens to unleash its power against the very fiber of Valencian idiosyncrasy.

We have also seen indications of grassroots dissension in other "peripheral" areas, such as the Balearic Islands, the Catalan speaking area of Aragon and in the Sardinian city of Alghero.⁴² Besides, whenever Valencians perceive a patronizing attitude from Barcelona, populists gain adepts for their sectionalism (Cf. Woolard 1985:100). Ultimately, it will probably be in the interest of Valencians to maintain a common written standard with Catalonia, if only for practical reasons—as has happened with other languages—with perhaps a few symbolic iconic but minor concessions. As for the political underpinnings, the rhetoric has become so circular that Valencian populists could at this point turn the tables on the unionists' discourse. Referring to Valencian ideologues Ferrando stated: "De fet s'hi persegueixen finalitats extralingüístiques" (1986:131), and Kremnitz specified: "Això mostra que no es tracta solament de qüestions filològiques: són, al capdavant, qüestions de poder" (1989:201). Paradoxically, similar statements could be turned around against those Catalanists who, from their linguistic platform, seek a political construct for a Greater Catalonia.

Indeed one of the greatest challenges for Catalan language planners in the near future will be to find ways to allay regional fears of political and cultural assimilation, while maintaining linguistic cohesiveness. Let us recall that once speakers of English and Spanish in the Americas no longer felt threatened by the linguistic hegemony of the colonizing country, they reduced their efforts to differentiate themselves linguistically from insular English and peninsular Spanish. In that sense, theorists should be able to draw inspiration from the paths followed by other languages in their development toward a commonly accepted standard. If we have contributed to a better understanding of the problem from a global perspective, our study will have achieved its main goal.

JUAN A. SEMPERE
SAN JOSÉ STATE UNIVERSITY

⁴² To the question "Is the city of Alghero part of the *Països Catalans*?" the otherwise unionist Carles Sechi replied "yes" from a cultural viewpoint, but then he went on to stress that politically it is part of the "Sardinian nation" (*El Temps*, Valencia, 5 September, 1994, p. 26). Elsewhere, we read about linguistic discord in the Balearic Islands: "...la presión que algunos grupúsculos pretenden para conseguir que la lengua catalana sea la única oficial en todos los ámbitos de la relación ciudadana, incluida la familiar, en detrimento de la lengua balear, con sus modalidades de mallorquín, menorquín e ibicenco" (*ABC*, 18 December, 1995, p. 57).

REFERENCES

- ABAD MERINO, Mercedes. *El cambio de lengua en Orihuela. Estudio sociolingüístico-histórico del siglo XVII*. Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 1994.
- ALARCOS LLORACH, E. *Estudis de lingüística catalana*. Ariel, 1983.
- Azevedo, Milton. *Introducción a la lingüística española*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1990.
- BADIA I MARGARIT, Antoni M. *Gramàtica històrica catalana*. Valencia: Tres i Quatre, 1984a.
- BADIA I MARGARIT, Antoni M. *La formació de la llengua catalana*. 3rd ed. Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1984b.
- BANCHS, Enrique. "Averiguaciones sobre la autoridad en el idioma." *Boletín de la Academia Argentina de Letras* Vol. XII.45 (1943): 29-55.
- BIRCH, Anthony H. *Nationalism and National Integration*. London: Unwin Hyman, 1989.
- BOURCIEZ, Édouard, with the collaboration of Jean Bourciez. *Éléments de linguistique romane*. 4th ed. Paris: Klincksieck, 1946.
- BURNS, Robert I. "La muralla de la llengua. El problema del bilingüisme i de la interacció entre musulmans i cristians al regne medieval de València." *L'Espill* 1/2 (1979): 15-35.
- CARRERAS CANDI, F. "El lenguaje valenciano." *Geografía General del Reino de Valencia*. Barcelona, 1920-1927. 570-585.
- CASANOVA, Emili. "El valenciano dentro del diasistema lingüístico catalán." *Revista de Filología Románica* Vol. III (1985): 25-34.
- CATALÁN, Diego. *Lingüística ibero-románica*. Madrid: Gredos, 1974.
- CHAMBERS, J. K. and Peter Trudgill. *Dialectology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.
- CHATTERJI, Suniti Kumar. *Indo-Aryan and Hindi*. Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1960.
- COLÓN, Germán. *El español y el catalán, juntos y en contraste*. Barcelona: Editorial Ariel, 1989.
- COLÓN, Germà. "Visió romàntica sobre alguns "mossarabismes" del català." *Actes del Novè Col·loqui internacional de llengua i literatura catalanes*. Ed. Rafael Alemany et al. Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1993. Vol. II: 253-299.
- CORBETT, Greville. "Serbo-Croat." *The World's Major Languages*. Ed. Bernard Comrie. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990. 391-409.
- COROMINES, Joan. "La unitat de la llengua com a fet científic." *Els Països Catalans: Un debat obert*. Ed. Eliseu Climent. Valencia, 1984. 85-94.
- COROMINES, Joan. "Uns brins de mossarabisme valencià." *Caplletra* Vol. I (1987): 21-27.

- CUERVO, Rufino José. *Apuntaciones críticas sobre el lenguaje bogotano*. 4th ed. Chartres, 1885.
- DIEZ, Friedrich. *Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen*. III vols. Bonn: Eduard Weber, 1836-1843.
- DUARTE I MONTSERRAT, Carles, and M^a Àngels Massip i Bonet. *Síntesi d'història de la llengua catalana*. Barcelona: Edicions de la Magrana, 1981.
- EGERT, Gottfried. *Die sprachliche Stellung des Katalanischen auf Grund seiner Lautentwicklung*. Vol. VI of *Mannheimer Studien zur Linguistik*. Frankfurt: Haag-Herchen, 1985.
- ENTWISTLE, William J. *The Spanish Language together with Portuguese, Catalan and Basque*. London: Faber and Faber, 1936.
- EPALZA DE, M. "Relacions de la cultura àrab i la cultura valenciana." *La cultura valenciana ahir i avui*. Ed. Rafael Alemany. Alacant: Universitat d'Alacant/Ajuntament de Benidorm, 1986. 65-76.
- FERRANDO, Antoni. *Consciència idiomàtica i nacional dels valencians*. Valencia: Institut de Filologia Valenciana, 1980.
- FERRANDO, Antoni. "La dialèctica unitat/diversitat en la història de la llengua catalana." *Els Països catalans: Un debat obert*. Ed. Eliseu Climent. Valencia, 1984. 139-162.
- FERRANDO, Antoni. "La gènesi del secessionisme lingüístic valencià." *La cultura valenciana ahir i avui*. Ed. Rafael Alemany. Alacant: Universitat d'Alacant/Ajuntament de Benidorm, 1986. 117-133.
- FERRER PASTOR, Francesc. *Vocabulari valencià-castellà*. Valencia, 1970.
- FUSTER, Joan, et al. *Els Països Catalans: Un debat obert*. Ed. Eliseu Climent. Valencia: 1984.
- GALMÉS DE FUENTES, Alvaro. *Dialectología mozárabe*. Madrid: Gredos, 1983.
- GALMÉS DE FUENTES, Alvaro. "El mozárabe de Valencia." *Las lenguas prevalencianas*. Alicante: Universidad de Alicante, 1987. 15-44.
- GEIPEL, John. "The Tyranny of Tongues." In *History Today* London, September (1992). 10-12.
- GRIERA, Antoni. "Afro-romànic o ibero-romànic?" *Butlletí de Dialectologia Catalana* Vol. X (1922): 34-53.
- GRIERA, Antoni. "Le Domaine Catalan." *Revue de Linguistique Romane* Vol. I (1925): 35-113.
- GUARNERIO, P. E. *Fonologia romanza*. Milan: Ulrico Hoepli, 1918.
- GULSOY, Joseph. "La lexicografia valenciana." *Revista Valenciana de Filologia* Vol. VI (1959-1962): 109-141.
- GULSOY, Joseph. "Fragmentació dialectal del català." *Actes del Setè Col·loqui Internacional de Llengua i Literatura Catalanes*. Ed. Joan Veny and Joan M. Pujals. Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1986. 425-440.

- HAENSCH, Günther. "La lexicografía del español de América en el umbral del siglo XXI." *Presencia y destino. El español de América hacia el siglo XXI*. Santafé de Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo, 1991. Vol. I: 41-77.
- HOLM, John. *Pidgins and Creoles*. Vol II. Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- KACHRU, Yamuna. "Hindi-Hurdu." *The World's Major Languages*. Ed. Bernard Comrie. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990. 470-489.
- KREMnitz, Georg. "Llengua i societat." *Segon Congrés Internacional de la Llengua Catalana. Llibre blanc sobre la unitat de la llengua catalana*. Barcelona: Editorial Barcino, 1989. 171-205.
- LABORDE, Alexander de. *A View of Spain*. Vol. I. London: Longman et al., 1809.
- LAURENT, Richard. "Attribution of the *Biblia Parva* or *Flor de la Biblia*: Did St. Peter Pascual Write it while in Jail in Granada?" Paper read at the NACS Colloquium in Berkeley, 3 June 1993. Forthcoming in the proceedings of the 7th Colloquium of the North American Catalan Society.
- Llei d'ús i ensenyament del valencià*. Valencia: Servei de Publicacions de la Conselleria de Cultura, Educació i Ciència, 1984.
- LLOBREGAT CONESA, E. A. "Els prevalencians." *La cultura valenciana ahir i avui*. Ed. Rafael Alemany. Alacant: Universitat d'Alacant/Ajuntament de Benidorm, 1986. 23-39.
- MARTÍ I CASTELL, Joan, et al. *Coneguem els nostres parlars*. Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 1985.
- MEILLET, Antoine, and Marcel Cohen. *Les Langues du Monde*. 1st ed. 1924; 2nd ed. 1952, II vols. Paris: Édouard Champion.
- MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, Ramón. *El idioma español en sus primeros tiempos*. 9th ed. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1979.
- MEYER-LÜBKE, Wilhelm. *Grammaire des langues romanes*. Vol. I. Trans. Eugène Rabiet. IV vols. Paris: E. Welter, 1890-1906.
- MEYER-LÜBKE, Wilhelm. *Introducción al estudio de la lingüística romance*. Madrid: CEH, 1914.
- MEYER-LÜBKE, Wilhelm. *Das Katalanische*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1925.
- MOLINA FERNÁNDEZ, Patricio. *Parablero Murciano*. Murcia: Ediciones Mediterráneo, 1991.
- MOLL, Francesc de B. "Comment a été fait le *Diccionari Català-Valencià-Balear*." *Linguistique et Philologie Romanes. Xe Congrès International de Linguistique*. Ed. Georges Straka. Paris: Klincksieck, 1965. Vol. II: 819-830.
- MONTOYA ABAD, Brauli. "Contra un català (r)estret." *Escola catalana* Vol. 302 (1993): 9-11.

- MOREL-FATIO, A. and J. SAROIHANDY. "Das Catalanische." *Grundriß der romanischen Philologie*. Ed. Gustav Gröber. 2nd ed. Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1904-1906. 841-877.
- MURRAY, John. *Handbook for Travellers in Spain*. London, 1845.
- NADAL, Josep M. "Dir lo latí en so de romanç." *Caplletra* Vol. VI (1989): 171-177.
- NADAL, Josep M., and Modest Prats. *Història de la llengua catalana*. Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1987.
- PEÑARROJA TORREJÓN, Leopoldo. *El mozárabe de Valencia*. Madrid: Gredos, 1990.
- PÉREZ MARTÍN, Norma. "El problema de la lengua nacional en los primeros románticos argentinos." *Universidad* (Santa Fe, Argentina) Vol. 60 (1964): 221-241.
- PITARCH I ALMELA, Vicent. "Llengua i consciència col·lectiva." *Quaderns de Migjorn. Revista d'estudis comarcals del sud del País Valencià* Vol. I (1993): 183-186.
- PITARCH, Vicent, et al. *Penyagolosa*. Vols. I and II. Valencia: Papers bàsics 3 i 4, 1981 and 1982.
- Polèmica d'En Pep Gonella*. Palma de Mallorca: Editorial Moll, 1972.
- POSNER, Rebecca. "Language conflict or language symbiosis?" *Hispanic Linguistic Studies in Honour of F. W. Hodcroft*. Ed. David Mackenzie and Ian Michael. Oxford: The Dolphin Book Co., 1993. 89-106.
- QUESADA, Ernesto. *La evolución de la lengua nacional*. Buenos Aires, 1922.
- RAYNOUARD, François. *Grammaire de la langue romane*. Paris, 1816.
- RIERA I SANS, Jaume. "La invenció literària de Sant Pere Pasqual." *Caplletra* Vol. I (1987): 45-60.
- RODRÍGUEZ-BERNABEU, Emili. *Alacant contra València*. Barcelona: Curial, 1994.
- ROS I GARCÍA, María, and Miquel Strubell i Trueta. "Introduction to 'Catalan Sociolinguistics'." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* Vol. 47 (1984): 5-11.
- ROSSELLÓ I VERGER, Vicenç. "Múrcia, un país català frustrat?" *Miscel·lània Pau Vila. Biografia. Bibliografia. Treballs d'homenatge*. Granollers: 1975. 375-385.
- ROßMÄBLER, Emil Adolf. *Reise Erinnerungen aus Spanien*. Vol. II. Leipzig: Otto Bursürst, 1854.
- SABATER, Ernest. "An approach to the situation of the Catalan language: social and educational use." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* Vol. 47 (1984): 29-41.
- SANCHIS GUARNER, Manuel. *Els parlars romànics de València i Mallorca anteriors a la Reconquesta*. 2nd ed. Valencia: Institución Alfonso el Magnánimo, 1961.

- SANCHIS GUARNER, Manuel. *Aproximació a la història de la llengua catalana*. Barcelona: Salvat S. A., 1980a.
- SANCHIS GUARNER, Manuel. *La llengua dels valencians*. València: Sèrie "La Unitat," 1980b.
- SEMPERE, J. A. "¿Panocho, murciano, o llengua?" *La Opinión*. Murcia, 29 and 30 January, 1992: p. 2.
- SIMBOR, V. "La lluita per la normalització de la narrativa valenciana durant el primer terç del segle XX." *Actes del Setè Col·loqui Internacional de Llengua i Literatura Catalanes*. Ed. Joan Veny and Joan M. Pujals. Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1986. 127-157.
- SOLA, Joan. *A l'entorn de la llengua*. Barcelona: Editorial Laia, 1977a.
- SOLA, Joan. *Del català incorrecte al català correcte*. Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1977b.
- SOLER GODES, Enric. *Llegir i escriure. Beceroles valencianes*. Castelló de la Plana, 1971.
- TAVANI, G. et al. *Segon Congrés Internacional de la Llengua Catalana. Llibre blanc sobre la unitat de la llengua catalana*. Barcelona: Editorial Barcino, 1989.
- TORRES, Joaquim. "Problems of linguistic normalization in the Països Catalans, from the Congress of Catalan Culture to the present day." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 47 (1984): 59-62.
- TWISS, Richard. *Travels through Portugal and Spain in 1772 and 1773*. London, 1775.
- UBIETO ARTETA, Antonio. *Orígenes del Reino de Valencia. Cuestiones cronológicas sobre su reconquista*. 3rd ed. València: 1977.
- Vallverdú, Francesc. "A sociolinguistic history of Catalan." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 47 (1984): 13-28.
- VALOR, Enric. *Curso de lengua valenciana*. València: 1966.
- VALOR, Enric. *La flexió verbal*. València: Papers bàsics 3 i 4, 1987.
- VAZ DE SOTO, José M^a. *Defensa del habla andaluza*. Seville: Edisur, 1981.
- VENY, Joan. *Els parlars. Síntesi de dialectologia catalana*. 2nd ed. Barcelona: Dopesa 2, 1980.
- WOOLARD, Kathryn A. "Catalonia: The Dilemma of Language Rights." *Language of Inequality*. Ed. Nessa Wolfson and Joan Manes. Berlin: Mouton, 1985. Vol. 36: 91-109.
- ZIMMERMANN, Marie Claire. "La unitat de la llengua. Algunes proposicions sobre el català com a llengua 'unitaria i una' per a la poesia." *Segon Congrés Internacional de la Llengua Catalana. Llibre blanc sobre la unitat de la llengua catalana*. Barcelona: Editorial Barcino, 1989. 207-216.