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Aspects of language contact in Rioja Alavesa

Aiestaran, Jokin

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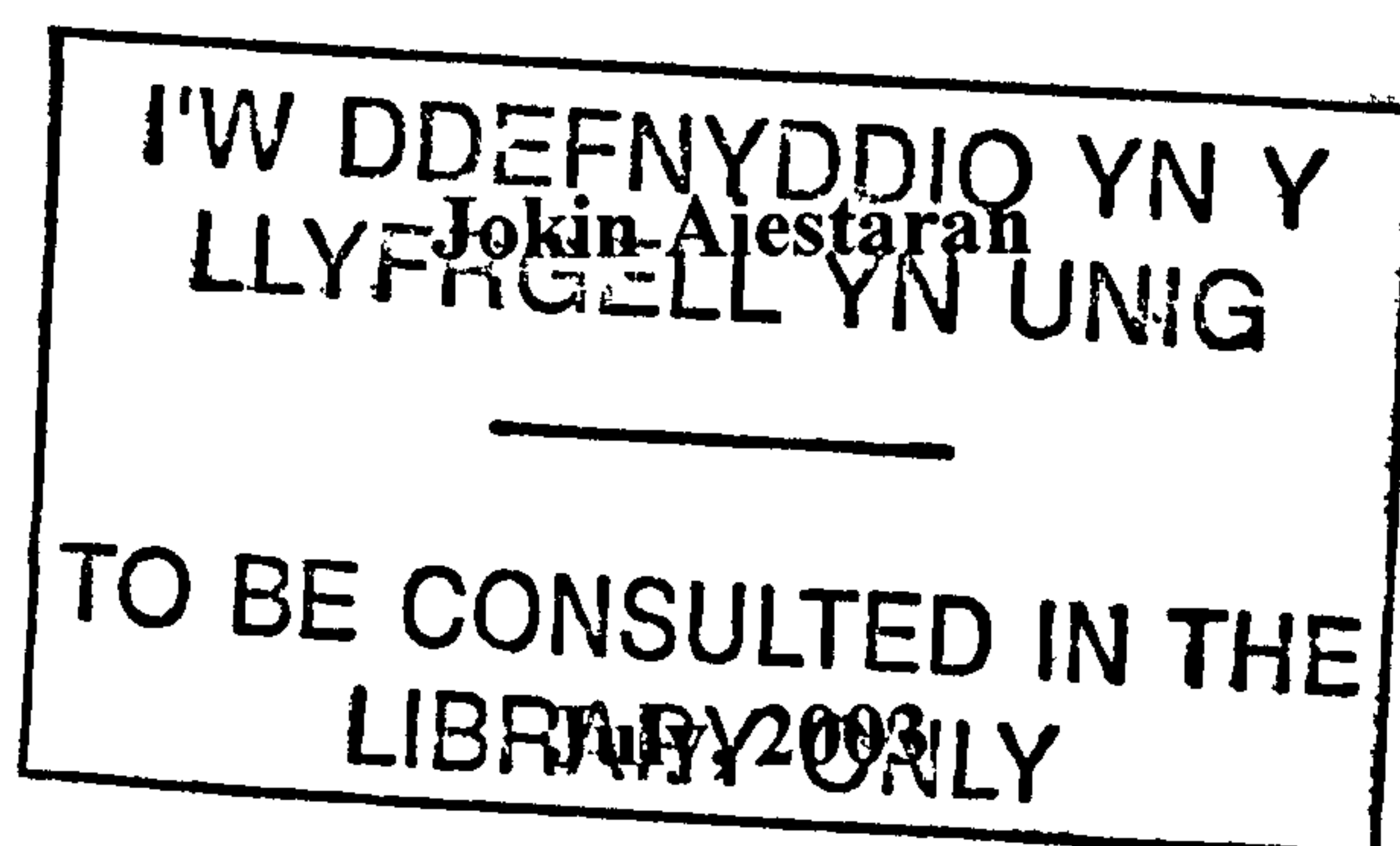
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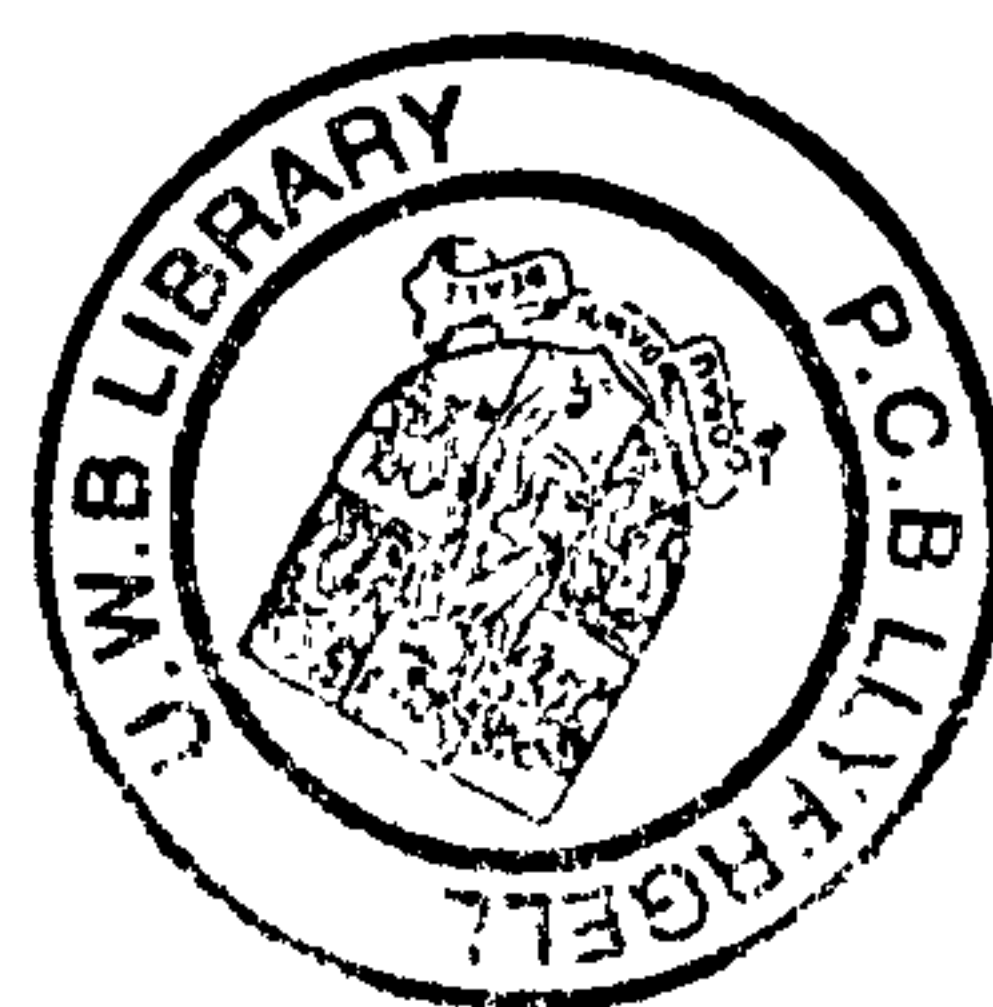
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Aspects of Language Contact in Rioja Alavesa



School of Education
University of Wales, Bangor

This thesis is submitted for the degree of Ph.D. of the University of Wales



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Abstract

Aspects of Language Contact in Rioja Alavesa

The aim of this dissertation is to provide a global perspective of language contact in the Basque region of Rioja Alavesa. In this largely Spanish-speaking monolingual community, an incipient process of language change is occurring. The Basque language is being reintroduced in the area, mainly through the education system. This research seeks to analyze the effects of such language revitalization efforts implemented by the regional government of the Basque Autonomous Community in a traditionally non-Basque speaking area. For that purpose, aspects such as language competence and use, attitudes towards bilingualism and Basque, perceptions of language vitality and identity issues are examined.

Chapter One introduces definitions and distinctions related to bilingualism and multilingualism. Terms and concepts relevant to this study are explained and discussed.

Chapter Two and Three describe the bilingual situations in the Basque Country and Wales respectively. In chapter Two the geographical, linguistic and historical background is provided, and the situation of the Basque language is examined in detail. This supplies a contextualization for the research. The description of bilingualism in Wales serves as a comparison with the Basque situation, with the aim of providing a wider perspective to the issues examined in this thesis.

Chapter Four presents the methodology and procedures employed in the research investigation. The research tools include quantitative and qualitative methods. Individuals' perceptions of the situation of language contact in Rioja Alavesa were analyzed through interviews and observation work. Questionnaires were used to assess secondary and upper-secondary school students from the region.

The results of the research investigation are examined in chapters Five, Six, Seven, Eight, Nine and Ten. Chapter Five introduces the interviews and the observation work carried out in the winter of 2001 in Rioja Alavesa. Chapter Six presents the overall results of the questionnaires, and sets the foundation for further research. In chapters Seven, Eight and Nine, comparisons between students are made, according to their bilingual teaching model, gender, age, and ability to speak Basque. Chapter Ten introduces a model of language contact in Rioja Alavesa.

Chapter Eleven provides a summary of this thesis. It reviews the main aims of the thesis, and determines the originality of the research. Moreover, it discusses the major finding of the research and makes suggestions for further research. The limitations of the research are described next. Finally, the chapter examines implications of the research for language change in Rioja Alavesa.

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INTRODUCTION

The term bilingualism is widely used in everyday language. It is a phenomenon common to many countries and peoples in the world. It is also a complex and multidimensional concept. This thesis analyzes some aspects related to language contact and bilingualism.

The first aim of this thesis is to present the concepts of bilingualism and multilingualism. The intention is to clarify relevant terminology in this field and to establish the theoretical foundation for this thesis. To supplement this, the bilingual situation in the Basque Country, where the research study was conducted, is introduced, as well as that of Wales, which provides a comparison with the Basque context.

The research investigation was conducted in Rioja Alavesa. This is a largely Spanish-speaking monolingual region in the Basque Autonomous Community, in which a process of language change is occurring. The Basque language is being reintroduced in the area, mainly through the education system. The aim of the dissertation research is to examine the effects of language revitalization efforts in Rioja Alavesa by providing a holistic picture of language contact in the region.

The thesis consists of eleven chapters. In the first three chapters, background information to the research investigation is given. Chapter One introduces important terms, definitions and distinctions related to bilingualism and multilingualism. The chapter is structured around a major distinction between individual and societal bilingualism. It seeks to reflect the complexity of the concept, and to discuss and explain terminology relevant to this thesis.

Chapter Two introduces bilingualism in the Basque Country. It discusses the origins of Basque and supplies a brief description of the language. The chapter also provides a description of the geographical, linguistic and historical background of the Basque

Country in connection with the Basque language. Particular attention is given to the current situation of Euskara, the Basque language.

Chapter Three examines bilingualism in Wales. The structure of the chapter is similar to that of chapter Two. After explaining the origins of Welsh, a general overview of its history is provided. Subsequently, different aspects of the current bilingual situation in Wales are considered. One aim of this chapter is to provide a comparison with bilingualism in the Basque Country, in order to offer a wider view of some aspects analyzed in this thesis.

Chapter Four presents the methodology and procedures used in the research investigation. The chapter begins by indicating the aims of the research. Subsequently, a general description of Rioja Alavesa is provided, and the context in which the research was conducted is introduced. The general procedure is explained next, including the passage of the research and the research diary. The chapter also presents the research tools used in this study. In the research investigation, quantitative and qualitative methods were employed. Questionnaires were used to assess secondary and upper-secondary students from the region. The chapter specifies the structure of the questionnaire, the research sample and the research procedure. Qualitative methods were also used to include interviews, observation work and documentary sources. All research methods are described in this chapter, which concludes by indicating the limitations of the research.

Chapter Five introduces the interviews and the observation work carried out in Rioja Alavesa. The intention of this chapter is to provide a general introduction of the region and supplement the quantitative data on which this thesis is primarily based. For that purpose, local peoples' perceptions of the situation of language contact in Rioja Alavesa are analyzed. The chapter is structured in five sections, which include perceptions about the evolution of Basque recovery in the region, the current situation of the Basque language in the region, mothers' views about bilingual education in the area, attitudes and ideologies accompanying language revitalization in the region, and the singularity of Rioja Alavesa as a borderland community.

Chapter Six presents the overall results from all students, and introduces basic trends in the data. The results from the questionnaire are organized in six parts: students' language profile, students' social network, language use and language domains, attitudes towards bilingualism and Basque, perceptions of language vitality and ethnolinguistic and ethnocultural identity and intergroup relations. The chapter offers a first foundation of the research investigation.

Chapter Seven introduces comparisons between bilingual teaching models. The structure of the chapter is similar to that of chapter Six. The six sections of the questionnaire are examined to detect possible differences between students in the different models.

Chapter Eight continues to present comparisons between students, this time according to their gender and their age. Again, the six sections of the questionnaire are examined in each group.

Chapter Nine concludes the comparisons made to detect possible differences between groups. In this chapter differences between students according to their ability to speak Basque are sought.

Chapter Ten presents a model of language contact in Rioja Alavesa. An initial testable model of cause and effect is introduced. This model attempts to reflect the relationship between items of the questionnaire directly related to Basque. A latent variable analysis was done to detect possible underlying patterns and define closely related groups. The chapter shows the results of this analysis and introduces a second version of the model, in which the factors extracted are included. The next section displays the correlation analysis that shows the strength and direction of the relationships between factors. The model was finally analyzed using Structural Equation Modelling. This technique permits the examination of inter-relationships among a set of variables. After the relationships between latent variables are shown, a final version of the model is presented. Finally, the discussion section reviews the outcomes and assesses the fit of the model.

In chapter Eleven, a summary of this thesis is provided. It outlines the aims of the thesis, and explains the originality of the research. The chapter proceeds to indicate the major findings of the research, which are integrated in the literature review. The main limitations of the research are presented, and suggestions for further research are made. The chapter concludes by discussing the implications of the research.

Chapter One

BILINGUALISM: DEFINITIONS AND DISTINCTIONS

1.1. Introduction

Bilingualism is a worldwide phenomenon. As such, it has increasingly attracted the academic interest of specialist groups, while at the same time it is amply used in everyday language. However, bilingualism is complex in essence. For example, the question “who is a bilingual?” has no simple answer. This chapter aims to capture and explain the multidimensional nature of bilingualism, as well as to clarify some of the key definitions and distinctions related to its study. For that purpose, the concepts more closely connected to the issues examined in this thesis have been selected. Therefore, no claim to comprehensive coverage is made.

The chapter is structured by beginning with a major distinction between individual bilingualism and societal bilingualism. Bilingualism can be analyzed as an individual characteristic, as a phenomenon experienced by individual people. Likewise, it can be examined at a wider, societal level, in the context of a social group, a community, a region or a country. The conjunction of both approaches helps to understand the notion of bilingualism in a holistic way. It should be noted that the distinction between both types is not clear-cut, and the same terminology is sometimes used in both fields (e.g. language domain). Such overlapping seems inevitable, as there are important connections between the individual and societal levels of bilingualism.

1.2. Individual bilingualism

It has often been argued that many definitions of bilingualism that have been provided are remarkably nebulous and even contradictory (Hoffmann, 1991: 15). One reason may be that a narrow definition of bilingualism may not be appropriate to apprehend the whole complexity of the word. Bilingualism can be examined from many viewpoints, and each viewpoint will surely offer a different perspective of the term. For example, bilingualism can be defined in terms of degree of competence. In this

respect, a *maximalist* approach would define bilingualism as the “native-like control of two languages’ (Bloomfield, 1935: 56). On the other extreme, from a *minimalist* stance, bilingualism would begin “at the point where a speaker can first produce complete meaningful utterances in the other language” (Haugen, 1953: 7). This would be similar to Diebold’s (1964) concept of *incipient bilingualism*.

However, bilingualism can also be defined in terms of function or use. Weinreich (1953: 1) simply states that bilingualism is “the practice of alternating two languages”, and the person involved is a bilingual. Similarly, Mackey (1970: 554) notes that “bilingualism is not a phenomenon of language; it is a characteristic of its use. It is not a feature of the code but of the message. It does not belong to the domain of *langue* but of *parole*”.

Baetens Beardsmore (1986) offers a comprehensive set of definitions and typologies around bilingualism. At the same time, he warns readers against the risk of excessive generalizations (1986:2). In the subsequent lines, pertinent terminology connected with language and bilingualism will be examined.

1.2.1. Language-related terminology

This section will present a variety of language-related terms which are relevant to the study of bilingualism. These terms are at times used synonymously or in an interchangeable manner. Indeed, while conceptual distinctions can be made, total separation is neither always possible nor desirable.

1.2.1.1. Language competence and language performance

Language competence is a general term, widely used by academics, which refers to an inner, mental representation of language, while language performance is the outward evidence for language competence (Baker, 2001: 4). Probably the most influential formulation of the competence-performance relationship is the one proposed by Chomsky (1965: 4):

“We thus make a fundamental distinction between competence (the speaker-hearer’s knowledge of his language) and performance (the actual use of language in concrete situations)”

In Chomsky’s definition, linguistic competence refers to the speaker’s knowledge of grammaticality (Hymes, 1997: 12), while performance is related to the use of language. Hymes (1972) introduced the notion of communicative competence in the belief that linguistic competence does not properly capture the process of language use or the forms occurring in actual language use (Verhoeven and Vermeer, 1992: 163).

Communicative competence involves knowing not only the language code, but also what to say to whom, and how to say it adequately in a particular situation. It refers to the social and cultural knowledge speakers need to possess in order to use linguistic forms (Saville-Troike, 1982: 22). It includes both aspects of knowledge and aspects of performance, or what Hymes calls ‘ability for use’ (McNamara, 1995: 162). Therefore, the notion of “communicative competence” encompasses the more restricted notion of “language competence”, rather than opposing it (Titone, 1996: 163). As Titone (1996: 163) states, “no communication is possible without the use of linguistic (and non-linguistic) tools. Language as performance (*parole*) prerequisites the existence and availability of language as a system (*langue*).”

The concept of communicative competence is of particular interest in the field of bilingualism. Indeed, the notion covers not only the speaker’s knowledge of the formal code of a particular language or languages, but also the social implications of choice within and across the languages involved. Both aspects are relevant when analyzing bilingual behaviour, since they allow an examination of the structure – the basic goal of the pure theoretician – together with the use, and more specifically the context in which one speaker may use more than one language. (Baetens Beardsmore, 1986: 44).

Based on Hymes’ work, various models of language competence have been developed (see McNamara, 1995). Canale and Swain (1980) and Canale (1983, 1984) characterize communicative competence in terms of four sub-competencies: linguistic

competence (e.g. syntax and vocabulary); sociolinguistic competence (e.g. use of appropriate language in different situations); discourse competence (e.g. ability to initiate and participate in sustained conversations and read sizeable written texts); and strategic competence (e.g. improvisation with language when there is difficulty in communication). Canale and Swain's model has been criticized, among others by Canale himself (1983: 12), because it fails to show whether or how the four components are connected.

Another valuable model of language competence has been suggested by Bachman (1990). This model is particularly pertinent in this discussion as it considers the interrelation between knowledge and use, competence and performance. In his 'communicative language ability' model such relationship is defined thus:

"Communicative Language Ability can be described as consisting of both knowledge, or competence, and the capacity for implementing, or executing that competence in appropriate, contextualized communicative language use" (Bachman, 1990: 84).

1.2.1.2. Language aptitude

Traditionally, aptitude has been regarded as a dimension that makes people progress faster or more slowly in language learning. Research into aptitude has been directed to ascertain whether there is a particular talent for learning languages, and if so, what is the structure of such a talent (Skehan, 1998: 186). The concept of aptitude tends to be used as a factor to explain differential success among second language learners (see, for example, Larsen-Freeman and Long, 1991), and has become a popular explanation for failing to acquire a second language (Baker, 2001: 122).

Carroll (1981) provided a classic definition of language aptitude:

"Aptitude as a concept corresponds to the notion that in approaching a particular learning task or program, the individual may be thought of as possessing some current state of capability of learning that task –if the individual is motivated, and has the opportunity of doing so. That capability is

presumed to depend on some combination of more or less enduring characteristics of the individual.” (Carroll, 1981: 84).

Carroll (1981: 105) confined those ‘enduring characteristics’ to four independent abilities:

1. Phonemic coding ability –the capacity to identify, analyze and retain distinct sounds.
2. Grammatical sensitivity –the capacity to identify the functions of words in sentences.
3. Associative memory –the capacity to make associations between sounds and meaning.
4. Inductive language learning ability –the capacity to infer the principles governing a set of language material and make generalizations about other language materials.

In an attempt to update Carroll’s (1981: 105) concept of aptitude, Skehan (1998: 201) reduced the four components of aptitude to three: auditory ability, memory ability and linguistic ability. The former two abilities essentially correspond to Carroll’s phonemic coding ability and associative memory, while linguistic ability encompasses grammatical sensitivity and inductive language learning ability.

The connection between language aptitude and second language learning can be measured by language aptitude tests. One limitation of such tests is that they reveal the linguistic rather than the communicative side of language learning. Thus they are more valuable to predict whether somebody becomes proficient in the more formal aspects of a second language (e.g. correct grammar) rather than the kinds of skills necessary to develop simple interpersonal communication in everyday life (Baker and Jones, 1998: 656). In this sense, aptitude tests have been criticised for being methodology dependent, and relevant only when used in formal learning context (see Krashen, 1981). Skehan (1998: 197) disputes this view and argues that aptitude is likely to be more important in informal settings since, unlike in formal learning contexts, the ground has not been prepared to make generalizations and patterns salient.

Neufeld (1978) suggests that every person is equipped to command basic language skills, but people differ in their mastery of higher-level skills, which is determined by an individual's intelligence. Therefore, according to Neufeld, language aptitude does not exist as a specific faculty. Oller and Perkins (1978) also contest the existence of a special aptitude for language acquisition. They argue that there is a general factor which explains most of the variance in a wide variety of language proficiency measures, and that this factor is the same as a general factor of intelligence. Skehan (1998: 208) accepts that aptitude and intelligence are related and to some extent overlap, but he states that they are different concepts, and each make different contributions to the prediction of successful language learning.

1.2.1.3. Language proficiency and language achievement

Language proficiency is an 'umbrella' term, sometimes used instead of language competence, and in other occasions as a definite, measurable outcome from language testing (Baker, 2001: 4). It refers to "the degree of skill with which a person can use a language, such as how well a person can read, write, speak, or understand language" (Richards, Platt and Platt, 1992: 204). Proficiency is viewed as a result of different mechanisms such as formal learning, informal language acquisition and of individual features such as intelligence. On the other hand, achievement is usually considered as proficiency in a language as a result of formal language instruction (Baker and Jones, 1998: 702).

Cummins (1984, 2000) has developed a theory of bilingualism in which the relationship between language proficiency and language achievement is explored. The author postulates that there are two types of language proficiency, each of them having a differential relevance for academic achievement: basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS) and cognitive/academic language proficiency (CALP). BICS occurs in 'context embedded' (e.g. on the street) and cognitively undemanding situations, while CALP occurs in 'context reduced' (e.g. in the school) and cognitively demanding conditions. According to Cummins' model, CALP is the more highly predictive of academic achievement, and therefore it should be the basis of decisions concerning bilingual school programs (Genesee, 1984: 20).

Cummins' theory has been criticized for different reasons. Romaine (1989: 239) expresses her disagreement with Cummins' 'compartmentalized' view of language proficiency, and doubts that the BICS/CALP distinction can be tested (see also Troike, 1984). It has also been argued that social factors have been neglected when examining context-reduced communication (Genesee, 1984: 21-22; Wald, 1984). On the other hand, Baker considers that undue criticism is unfair. While acknowledging the theory's boundaries and limitations (see 2001: 170-171), he claims that the distinction has been useful and effective for policy and practice, and it helps explain the relative success or failure of many minority language students in different school language programs (2001).

1.2.2. Various forms of bilingualism –dichotomies

In this section, different aspects of individual bilingualism are examined. The different terminology is presented in form of dichotomies in order to make potential connections or distinctions more apparent.

1.2.2.1. Balanced bilingualism and semilingualism

Bilingualism has often been linked with a number of negative and positive phenomena. Negative considerations were dominant in the earlier research. It was suggested that bilingualism was psychologically damaging, it could provoke mental confusion and even schizophrenia, and made bilingual people lazy, stupid and undependable (see Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981: 66f). However, since the 1960s the majority tendency has associated bilingualism with cognitive, social and psychological benefits (García, 1998: 409) such as creative thinking, metalinguistic awareness (e.g. Vygotsky, 1962; Bialystok, 1987 and 1991; Ben-Zeev, 1977) and communicative competence (Cenoz and Genesee, 1998: 23-26).

Bilingualism can have both positive and negative cognitive effects. Regarding competence, one of the major theories aimed at explaining the cognitive effects of bilingualism is the Threshold Level Hypothesis (Toukomaa and Skutnabb-Kangas, 1977; Cummins, 1976, 1979). Cummins states that a certain level of competence must be attained in the second language for the potential benefits of becoming bilingual to

influence cognitive development. According to Cummins, the attainment of this lower level “would be sufficient to avoid cognitive retardation, but the attainment of a second, higher level of bilingual competence might be necessary to lead to accelerated cognitive growth” (1976: 24). Therefore, if bilingual competence falls below the lower level, negative cognitive effects will follow (low levels in both languages, semilingualism). At the middle level, bilinguals are expected to have neither positive nor negative effects (high level in one of the languages, dominant bilingualism). Finally, if the higher level of bilingual competence is achieved, bilingualism will have positive cognitive effects (high levels in both languages, more balanced bilingualism).

Nevertheless, there are different approaches to the concept of balanced bilingualism, which, in turn, reflect different views of bilingualism. Thus, according to Baetens Beardsmore (1986: 9), balanced bilingualism “occurs when a speaker’s mastery of two languages is roughly equivalent and where this ability may match that of monoglot speakers of the respective languages if looked at in broad terms of reference”. This definition follows what Grosjean (1985, 1992) calls the monolingual or fractional view of bilingualism, to which he opposes the bilingual or holistic view. Grosjean states that the bilingual is not the sum of two monolinguals, but is a fully competent speaker-hearer. The problem emerges when the ideal speaker-listener of theoretical linguistics is regarded as a model of competence for all language users (Cenoz and Genesee, 1998: 18). Indeed, bilingual competence cannot be measured in terms of monolingual standards. A bilingual often uses the two languages in different contexts, with different people and for different purposes. As a consequence, it is difficult for the bilingual person to have complete fluency in both languages in all domains. The bilingual person has a unique linguistic configuration, a complete language system (Grosjean, 1985, 1992).

Grosjean’s holistic view is captured by Hamers and Blanc (1989: 8):

“Balanced bilinguality should not be confused with a very high degree in the two languages; it is rather a question of a state of equilibrium reached by the levels of competence attained in the two languages as compared to monolingual competence. Equivalent competence should not be equated with the ability to use both languages for all functions and domains. Dominance or balance is not

equally distributed for all domain and functions of language; each individual has his own dominance configuration.”

This definition suggests that the notion of dominance is too simplistic, since a bilingual person may be dominant in one language for some topics and some social domains, but not in others (Philips, 1983: 89). Moreover, Dodson (1985: 326) argues that the term ‘dominant’ can be confusing, as it can be applied not only to a person, but also to the language spoken by a language majority. Therefore, he proposes the term *preferred language*, defined as “that language in which a bilingual, whether developing or developed, finds it easier to make individual utterances in discrete areas of experience at any given moment” (1985: 326-7). In this vein, Schiffman (1987) regards balanced bilingualism as a hardly achievable idealised situation. She argues that, due to the close association between language and culture, a balanced bilingual would have to be also bicultural. However, most bilinguals have acquired both their languages within one dominant culture, preventing them from having an equal exposure in the different domains of language use.

The term ‘semilingualism’ is used to refer to low levels of competence in both languages. A semilingual has been described as an individual who displays a small vocabulary and incorrect grammar, consciously thinks about language production, finds it hard to think and manifest emotions in either language, and is unnatural and uncreative in each language (Baker, 2001: 9). However, this notion, far from being neutral, has provoked considerable argument (see Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981: 248f). First, this term is partially tarnished for the way it was used originally. Semilingualism, or double semilingualism, was used by Scandinavian linguists to describe the language of Finnish minority children in Sweden. These linguists compared the children of Finnish immigrants with Swedish children, and implied that the former showed signs of retardation in their linguistic ability (Hoffmann, 1991: 28).

One of the problems with this approach is that the blame is put directly on the internal individual possession of bilingualism, while the external, societal factors that influence bilingualism are neglected (Baker, 2001: 9-10). Moreover, many scholars argue that semilingualism does not exist, or at least has never been empirically

demonstrated (Paulston, 1982: 54). This led Skutnabb-Kangas (1981: 248-9) to state that semilingualism is not a linguistic or scientific concept, but a political one.

1.2.2.2. Additive and subtractive bilingualism

When members of majority language groups become bilingual by learning a second language, bilingualism has “additive” linguistic consequences. In contrast, bilingualism has “subtractive” consequences when members of the minority-language group learn a second language and such language replaces their first one.

Lambert (1974) referred to both additive and subtractive bilingualism in the context of second language learning. In Lambert’s model, additive and subtractive bilingualism are the alternative outcomes of the second language learning process. This model is valuable because it shows that both types exist at both individual and societal levels. A positive self-concept of the bilingual individual may favour additive bilingualism, as would a situation in which positive attitudes towards bilingualism are dominant in society. On the contrary, subtractive bilingualism may prevail in a society where one language is denigrated at the expense of the other, more prestigious, language. This situation may, in turn, provoke a negative self-concept. Moreover, subtractive bilingualism can generate sociopolitical tensions in communities where linguistic identification and language loyalty are significant (Baetens Beardsmore, 1986: 23).

Some types of bilingual education promote additive bilingualism, and some others may favour a subtractive outcome. Corson (1990) defines additive bilingual education as “a form of schooling in which the student’s (majority or minority) mother tongue is maintained while adding competence in another language” (1990: xi). Subtractive bilingual education would be “a form of schooling in which the student’s (minority) mother tongue is used as a bridge to learning the majority language but without mother tongue maintenance” (1990: xiii).

There are different types of bilingual education. ‘Weak’ forms would be submersion, withdrawal classes and transitional programmes, which contain bilingual children but do not favour bilingualism. A ‘strong’ form of bilingual education is immersion, whose intended outcome is bilingualism. Overall, immersion bilingual education has

been regarded as a successful and increasingly popular educational experiment, as the over 1000 research studies on this subject testify. (Baker, 2001: 204f). The immersion movement originated in Montreal, in St. Lambert, Montreal, in 1965 (Lambert and Tucker, 1972; Genesee, 1988). Some parents set up an experimental school in which their unilingual English-speaking children were instructed completely in French. The aim was that they should acquire full competence in French while retaining their original English language. In the following years immersion programmes spread across the world, and took different over-lapping forms: immersion in a foreign language (e.g. English in Europe), immersion for majority-language students in a minority language (e.g. Swedish immersion program in Finland), immersion for language support and for language revival (e.g. Basque, Catalan and Welsh immersion programs), and immersion in a language of power (e.g. promoting a language as a lingua franca in former colonies, such as English in Hong Kong) (Swain and Johnson, 1997).

The growth in immersion programs has been particularly important for the maintenance and promotion of minority languages such as Welsh (see Baker, 1993; Baker and Jones, 2000), Catalonia (see Artigal, 1991, 1997) and the Basque Country (see Arzamendi and Genesee, 1997; Gardner, 2000). Evaluations in these countries show that the students who speak a majority language demonstrate the same linguistic and academic achievement as other students, while at the same time they achieve higher levels of proficiency in the minority language than other students. Similarly, instruction through the minority language has been shown to have positive linguistic and academic outcomes when students are native speakers of heritage indigenous languages (Cenoz and Valencia, 1994: 196). In chapter Two, an overview of bilingual education in the Basque Country is provided.

Additive multilingualism occurs when bilingualism evolves into the acquisition of new languages. In recent years, *school multilingualism* (Lasagabaster, 1998: 121), i.e. third language acquisition in the school context and trilingual education, has grown. In European countries there are specific multilingual schools in which several languages are used (Baker and Jones, 1998; Hoffmann, 1998), and double immersion programs have been implemented in Canada (Genesee, 1998). Likewise, learning English as a third language is common in many bilingual communities where a

majority and a minority language previously coexisted. Examples of an increasing implementation of trilingual education can be found in the Basque Country (Valencia and Cenoz, 1992; Cenoz, 1998; Lasagabaster, 2000) and Catalonia (Muñoz, 2000), among others. In countries like Ireland, Wales and Scotland languages such as French and German are usually learned as third languages (Cenoz, Hufeisen and Jessner, 2001: 1). An overview of studies into trilingualism can be found in Hoffmann (2001).

1.2.2.3. Natural and secondary bilingualism

Bilingualism is often discussed by considering the context in which two languages are acquired. In this respect, a fundamental distinction can be made between natural and secondary bilingualism. Baetens Beardsmore (1986: 8) defines a natural bilingual as

“someone who has picked up two languages by force of circumstances, either in the home as a child or by moving to a community where the speaker is obliged to work with more than one language, but where no systematic instruction in two languages has been provided”.

Natural bilingualism is also termed ‘primary bilingualism’ (Houston, 1972), as opposed to secondary bilingualism. A secondary bilingual is the person who becomes bilingual “through systematic or structured instruction” (Hoffmann, 1991: 19). Adler uses the term ‘ascribed bilingualism’ (1977: 113) to refer to the bilingual competence of the pre-school child. Small children become bilingual naturally; they receive both languages from their parents within the family. Hoffmann (1991: 18-19) adds that a child can become bilingual because two languages are spoken around him or her in the locality, as frequently occurs in multilingual societies. On the contrary, ‘achieved bilingualism’ (Adler, 1977: 120) occurs when a child learns a second language at school, after the age of five, as a result of a conscious effort.

Skutnabb-Kangas (1981: 95f) makes a distinction between natural and school/cultural bilingualism. According to this author:

“school bilingualism is the result of learning a foreign language at school by formal teaching, and it implies that the learner has not had much opportunity,

or indeed any, to use the language as a natural means of communication. The language has, so to speak, remained within the four walls of the school” (1981: 95).

This definition confines school bilingualism to the learning of a foreign language, and does not, therefore, extend to a societal use of the language. School and cultural bilingualism are rather similar. However, while the former involves formal language teaching at school, the latter often refers to language learning by adults, who learn the second language because of the cultural value they attach to it and for reasons of work, travel or leisure (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981: 95-96).

Age is another factor usually taken into account when describing bilingualism. In this case, the major distinction is between ‘early bilingualism’ and ‘late bilingualism’. Although a clear-cut line cannot be set between both types, it is believed that children who come into contact with two languages at an early age become bilingual with relative ease (Siguán, 1991: 91). There are no critical periods of language learning, but early childhood and school days seem two appropriate periods for a person to become competent in two languages (Baker, 2001: 98).

1.2.2.4. Productive and receptive bilingualism

Earlier in the chapter language ability, or language proficiency, was defined as the degree of skill with which one person can use a language. Macnamara (1967) proposes that a bilingual is anyone who possesses a minimal competence in one of the four language skills, i.e. speaking, listening, reading and writing in a language other than his or her mother tongue. He goes on to suggest that bilingualism should be treated as a continuum which varies among individuals along a variety of factors (Hoffmann, 1991: 22).

However, some points can be marked along that continuum. In the bilingual context, the distinction between receptive and productive skills, and that between oracy and literacy, are particularly relevant. The following table illustrates the relationship between the four linguistic abilities and the dimensions mentioned above:

Table 1.1. Forms of Language Skills

	Oracy	Literacy
Receptive skills	Listening	Reading
Productive skills	Speaking	Writing

A receptive (or passive) bilingual is able to understand and read a second language, but cannot speak or write in that language. On the other hand, a productive (or active) bilingual is able to use all the four language abilities (Baker and Jones, 1998: 705). These four basic skills encompass a range of sub-skills, such as pronunciation, extent of vocabulary, correctness of grammar, ability to communicate exact meanings in different situations and stylistic variations (Baker, 2001: 5).

The relationship between productive and receptive abilities is a difference between monolinguals and some bilinguals (Baetens Beardsmore, 1986: 120). The normal monolingual who is able to understand a language is also able to speak it (although not maybe read or write it). In contrast, some receptive bilinguals do not develop into productive bilinguals. There are many reasons that explain this occurrence. For example, if a child has minimal contact with a language, or if such contact is confined to the home, receptive bilingualism may be the outcome. Other reasons can be purely affective, such as fear of ridicule or insecurity to use the language competently.

In this respect, it is important not to regard bilingualism in terms of ‘success’ or ‘failure’, ‘all’ or ‘nothing’. Any degree of bilingual ability can be a valuable asset, and competence in a language may be achieved with greater exposure to that language (Baker and Jones, 1998: 43). Bilingualism is rarely stable, either in an individual or in society. Upwards and downwards shift is common in society just as fuller acquisition and loss are common in individuals.

1.3. Societal bilingualism

It is not easy to calculate the number of languages spoken in the world today. On the one hand, it is simply unknown what languages are spoken in some places (Li Wei, 2000: 3). On the other hand, the answer to the question 'What counts as a language' is far from simple (Crystal, 1997: 286). As a consequence, estimates of the number of languages spoken in the world today vary greatly. For example, in India, the world's second-most-populous country, "there are 1,652 mother tongues. Depending on how people count, there are between 200 and 700 languages" (Pattanayak, 1989: 379). At any rate, most reference books (e.g. Baker and Jones, 1998; Nettle and Romaine, 2000) give a figure of around 6,000.

Bilingualism is present worldwide. In most nations there are people who speak more than one language. Hundreds of millions of people throughout the world use two or three or four languages in their daily lives. Edwards (1994: 1) has pointed out that to be multilingual is not the aberration supposed by many, but rather, "a normal and unremarkable necessity for the majority in the world today". Moreover, even in societies where the majority of the society is monolingual, this condition is never absolute, "because no speech community is either linguistically homogeneous or free from variation" (Bhatia, 1983: 24). Nevertheless, in such societies there is often the assumption that monolingualism represents an ideal natural state, whereas multilingualism represents a temporarily abnormal condition (Wiley, 1996: 105).

A varied array of attitudes and perceptions surround bilingualism. For that reason, bilingualism must be examined in its social context, as a proper understanding of the bilingual phenomenon can only be derived if the social factors that influence it are considered (Appel and Muysken, 1987: 102). In sum, it needs to be understood "what linguistic forces are present in a community, their interrelationship, the degree of connections between political, economic, social, educative and cultural forces and language" (Baetens Beardsmore, 1986: 4).

1.3.1. Diglossia

The term diglossia was originally used by Ferguson to describe

“a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation”. (Ferguson, 2001: 75)

The term ‘diglossia’ was thus firstly used to refer to the relationship between two or more varieties or dialects of the same language. Ferguson states that diglossia is a relatively stable phenomenon. He refers to some diglossic contexts, such as in the Arabic-speaking world, where this situation has persisted for centuries (2001).

The notion of diglossia was extended by Gumperz (1971) to multilingual situations, and fundamentally by Fishman (1967, 1972, 1980), who changed the focus from dialects to languages. Although etymologically diglossia is simply the Greek version of bilingualism (Edwards, 1994: 83), Fishman distinguished between the two terms, the former referring to the social distribution of functions, the latter to an individual’s ability to make use of more than one code. Thus, diglossia is the “stable societal counterpart to individual bilingualism” (1980: 3). While bilingualism is a characterization of individual linguistic versatility, diglossia represents “a well understood and widely accepted social consensus as to which language is to be used between which interlocutors, for communication concerning what topics or for what purposes” (1967: 34). To sum up, Fishman defines diglossia as “an enduring social arrangement, extending at least beyond a three-generation period, such that two ‘languages’ each have their secure, phenomenologically legitimate and widely implemented functions” (1980: 3).

Fishman’s attempt to extend the concept of diglossia sparked considerable debate about the appropriate definition of diglossia, and numerous attempts were made to produce suitable typologies of the different uses of the word (Hudson, 1992: 617; see also Berruto, 1989). For example, Kloss coined the terms ‘in-diglossia’ and ‘out-diglossia’ to refer to diglossia between genetically related and unrelated codes, respectively. Pauwels (1986: 13) created the words ‘intralanguage diglossia’ and ‘interlanguage diglossia’ to make that same distinction of diglossia between dialects and languages, while Myers-Scotton (1986: 409) used the simpler ‘narrow’ and ‘broad’ diglossia terms. Such efforts to clarify the notion of diglossia have brought valuable contributions to its understanding, but they have also, at times, created some terminological confusion.

Ferguson (1959) originally distinguishes between a high language variety (H) and a low variety (L). Following Fishman’s extension of the diglossia concept, the same distinction can be made between a majority (H) and minority language (L). Such distinction has been criticised for its rather discriminatory connotations (Baker, 2001: 45; Williams, 1992). Fishman and Ferguson differ in their approach to the concept of diglossia, and their interpretation of it is also different, but they agree on the functional distribution of language varieties in society (Hoffmann, 1991: 169). Indeed, function is ‘the very heart and soul of the diglossia concept’ (Fasold, 1984: 53). The concept of ‘diglossia’ is closely related to that of ‘domain of use’, as understood by Appel and Muysken (1987: 23-24): ‘a clustering of characteristic situations or settings around a prototypical theme that structures the speakers’ perceptions of these situations’.

Table 1.2. Contexts of Language Use

Context	Majority Language (H)	Minority Language (L)
1. The home and family		x
2. Schooling	x	
3. Mass Media	x	
4. Business and commerce	x	
5. Social and cultural activity in the community		x
6. Correspondence with relatives and friends		x
7. Correspondence with government departments	x	
8. Religious activity		x

Source: Baker, 2001

The above table shows the majority and the minority languages being used in different contexts. The low variety is more likely to be used in informal, homely and leisure contexts, while the high variety is more commonly used in formal situations. To use the wrong variety in an inappropriate context can be socially unacceptable and a cause of embarrassment (Fasold, 1984: 35). This specialisation of registers is often associated to the instrumental or affective value attached to each code. In this sense, Cadiot (1989: 572) makes the distinction between *lingua del cuore* (language of the heart) and *lingua del pane* (language of the bread), referring to the low and high varieties, respectively. The majority language, usually perceived as more prestigious than the minority language, is often regarded as the door to achieve both educational and economic success (Baker, 2001: 45).

We have seen before that the relationship between diglossia and bilingualism is complex. Indeed, these concepts can only be separated in a theoretical way (Hornby, 1977: 7). However, the notion of diglossia can be usefully examined alongside the notion of bilingualism. Fishman (1972, 1980) combines the terms bilingualism and diglossia to portray four language situations where bilingualism and diglossia may exist with or without each other. This relationship is portrayed in the following table.

Table 1.3. Individual Bilingualism and Diglossia

		DIGLOSSIA	
		+	-
INDIVIDUAL BILINGUALISM	+	Bilingualism and Diglossia	Bilingualism without Diglossia
	-	Diglossia without Bilingualism	Neither Diglossia nor Bilingualism

Source: Fishman, 1980

Bilingualism and diglossia exist in a language community where most people are able to use both the high language or variety and the low language or variety. The uses of the high and low codes are compartmentalized into differentiated sets of function. Fishman (1972: 93-4) gives the example of Paraguay as an approximated example of this situation (see also Rubin, 1968; Gynan, 2001). In that country, Spanish is primarily used in connection with matters of education, religion, government and high culture. From its part, Guarani is used in connection with matters of intimacy and primary group solidarity (Fishman, 1972), although efforts are being made for

Guarani to be represented in areas such as education, in which it has historically being absent (Gynan, 2001).

The opposite situation, *neither diglossia nor bilingualism*, is quite rare. Countries with few or no indigenous minorities with relatively little immigration, such as Korea, are an approximate example of this situation, as well as countries like Argentina or Cuba, where the indigenous languages have been exterminated. However, Fishman (1980) argues that, strictly speaking, there are very few, if any, examples that fit this category, as even in linguistically homogenous societies there may be different varieties of the language.

The third situation is *diglossia without bilingualism*. In such a context, two or more different monolingual groups coincide in one political entity. Fishman (1972, 1980) defines this particular type as ‘political or governmental diglossia’. Through political arrangements, languages are distributed in a particular geographical area according to the territoriality principle (McRae, 1975). Two often cited European models of this linguistic composition are found in Belgium (see De Vrient and Willemyns, 1987; Beheydt, 1995; Nelde, 1995) and Switzerland (see Rash, 1998; Stotz and Andres, 1990). In Switzerland, four different language groups (German, French, Italian and Romansch) are located in different areas. The languages theoretically share equal status and fluent individual bilingualism is rather the exception than the rule (Baker, 2001: 45). In the Belgian capital, Brussels, a federalistic model has been implemented, in which two official language communities have been recognized. This model encourages monolingualism, although trends towards individual bilingualism have developed among the population (Baetens Beardsmore and Witte, 1987: 8). Nevertheless, Baetens Beardsmore and Witte (1987: 8) argue that to describe Brussels as an area made up by Dutch and French speakers and bilinguals is simplistic, as it fails to capture the subtlety of language use. The argument will be returned to later in the discussion. Diglossia without bilingualism also occurs in most forms of colonialism (Fishman, 1972, 1980). The ruling power would speak a high language (e.g. Spanish in Peru or Bolivia), while the local population would speak indigenous languages.

The fourth category is *bilingualism without diglossia*. In this situation, most people are bilingual and use both their languages in almost all domains. Fishman (1967, 1972, 1980) considers this context as unstable and transitional. When the functions attributed to each language are redundant, the majority language will, according to Fishman (1980), occupy all domains of use and the minority language will undergo a process of language shift. This is not inevitable. For example, in Wales, bilinguals sometimes use both languages in specific domains (e.g. employment, schooling, home).

Indeed, diglossia has often been regarded as a factor in language shift, especially in communities where a minority language and a majority language coexist in a diglossic relationship (Schiffman, 1997: 208). In the Basque Country, for example, efforts are being made for Basque, the minority language, to gain access to domains of use (e.g. media, education, administration) historically occupied by Spanish and French, the majority languages. It is believed that a functional distribution of languages in which Basque has a restricted access to the most prestigious domains will lead to the decline of the language. In the Basque Country, diglossia has been related to Basque-to-Spanish shift (Flinspach, 1989: 29).

Shridar (1996: 52) introduced the concept of an *asymmetric principle of multilingualism* to imply that not all the languages in a multilingual community are equal in terms of power, prestige, vitality, or attitude. This could lead to a situation of 'languages in competition' (Wardaugh, 1987). Indeed, since the inception of the diglossia concept, authors differ in the extent in which the situation is described as conflictual or nonconflictual (Landry and Allard, 1994: 18). Fishman has been accused of depicting language change in terms of inevitability, as a mechanical process in which conflict is absent (Williams, 1992). In an overall critique of the nonconflictual approach of both Ferguson and Fishman, Williams argues that this discourse implicitly claims that "the elimination of minority languages is a natural, evolutionary process which makes struggle irrelevant" (1992: 100).

Conversely, the concept of diglossia has also been described as a quasi-political dichotomy between dominant and dominated languages (Mackey, 1993: xx). This

approach is clearly endorsed by Sánchez Carrión, an influential figure in Basque sociolinguistics, who defines diglossia as

“La distorsión social del poder lingüístico destinada a producir la compartimentación lingüística en función del prestigio en los individuos a ella sometidos, en base a una identificación del prestigio (lingüístico) con el poder (político). De manera que la minoría que monopoliza el poder monopolice también el prestigio”. (Sánchez Carrión, 1974; cited in Sánchez Carrión, 1991)

[The social distortion of linguistic power aimed at producing linguistic compartmentalization according to the prestige in the individuals subjected to it, based on the identification of (linguistic) prestige with (political) power. This way the minority who monopolise power also monopolise prestige].

Sánchez Carrión (1991: 344-345) argues that political power exerts this social distortion on the language community at three levels:

- At the level of the language, functions are usurped, leading to glotophagy.
- At the level of the language community, the native sociolinguistic groups are disbanded, as they are forced to learn the foreign language and prevented from using their own, while the social groups from the invading language remain structured, that is, as monoglots.
- At an individual level, the result is transitional bilingualism, which in turn leads to denativization and to the extermination of one's original linguistic identity.

Sánchez Carrión (1991) defines the diglossic relationship between Basque and Spanish/French as *total or territorial diglossia*. Some of the traditional domains of Basque have been invaded by Spanish or French; the latter majority languages are used, inside and outside the Basque-speaking territory, for all functions. In this situation, the asymmetric relationship between the minority and majority languages can only be reversed (apart from conquering the usurped domains of use) by restructuring, as *exclusive*, an assimilated linguistic territory.

The ‘conflict’ discourse around diglossia argues that the conception of bilingualism involving free choice of languages is erroneous, as the influence of power in this choice is ignored (Williams, 1992: 107). In this sense, there is agreement with Fishman that bilingualism leads to the decline of the low-status language. However, while Fishman regards this process as natural and inevitable, many minority language activists aim at changing language groups’ relations through political struggle (see e.g. Odriozola, 1998).

Fishman’s classification has been criticised as being inadequate to include all contexts combining bilingualism and diglossia (Francescato, 1986). However, while certain situations may escape categorization, Hoffmann (1991: 177) indicates that the notion of the functional distribution of varieties in society included in both Ferguson’s and Fishman’s framework provide a valuable tool to classify the different patterns found in societal bilingualism.

1.3.2. Language planning

At its simplest, language planning is *deliberate* language change (Rubin and Jernudd, 1971: xvi). Haugen defines language planning as “the evaluation of linguistic change” (1972a: 162), and includes in this term all the normative work of language academies and committees, as well as the proposals for language reform and standardization (1972b: 287). However, the consideration of language planning as an exclusively linguistic activity has been disputed by many authors (e.g. Jernudd and Das Gupta, 1971; Rubin, 1971), who argue that any intervention in languages must be considered in relation to the social, political, economic, cultural and/or religious situation. Cooper (1989) goes further and argues that the primary motivations for language planning are non-linguistic. Thus, language planning in itself is an example and a consequence of social change. Accordingly, Cooper (1989) defines language planning as an attempt to influence language behaviours, rather than an effort to solve language problems:

“Language planning refers to deliberate efforts to influence the behavior of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their language codes.” (p. 45).

Language planning has been described as a management ideal, a mechanical operation “whereby all needs are rationally addressed, means carefully detailed, goals explicitly stated and results systematically monitored” (Cooper, 1989: 40). Tauli defines language planning as “the methodical activity of regulating and improving existing languages or creating new common regional, national or international languages” (1974: 56). Tauli’s instrumental approach to language planning stems from his consideration that language fundamentally is a tool, “a system of signs, the main purpose of which is communication” (1968: 9). Therefore, language can and should be corrected and improved, as any other instrument, for it to adequately perform its communicative task. In Tauli’s approach, language is deprived of any symbolic or affective connotations. Haugen (1971) criticises this instrumental view of language, arguing that language is, among other things, “an expression of personality and a sign of identity” (1971: 288).

The notion of language planning as a mechanical activity has also been proposed by Neupstuný, who defines such activity as “a systematic, theory-based, rational, and organized societal attention to language problems” (1983: 2). Cooper (1989) points out that this description is more predictive than descriptive, and adds that language planning in reality can be “a messy affair” (p. 41). Indeed, language planning is inevitably future-oriented (Eastman, 1983: 3). It not only predicts the future, but attempts to deliberately influence it (Haugen, 1972c: 133). Language planning is a middle-term or long-term undertaking, and any real, deep planned change would at least take a generation (Maurais, 1997: 154). This ‘effect lag’, as defined by Laporte (1984: 61), complicates attempts at assessing change.

The literature on language planning has generated a wide range of terms which are often used as synonymous, interchangeable or overlapping. This array of terms is often more confusing than clarifying. However, a distinction should be made between language planning and language policy, two terms often used indistinctly, as defined by Winsa (1999: 377):

“Language policy is the outcome of conscious ideologies based on an underlying discourse carried out by the government, public authorities, religious institutions, and educational systems in various forms, while language

planning relates to the practical implications of these explicit and implicit planning.”

Cooper (1989: 98) provides a classic scheme for understanding language planning by asking a series of key questions:

- Which *actors* (e.g. elites, counter-elites, influential people, non-elite policy implementers)
- attempt to influence which *behaviours* (e.g. the purposes or functions for which planned behaviour is to be used)
- of which *people* (e.g. individuals or organizations)
- for which *ends* (e.g. overt (language-related behaviours) or latent (non-language related behaviours, the satisfaction of interests)
- under which *conditions* (e.g. political, economic, social, cultural, environmental)
- by which *means* (e.g. authority, force, promotion, persuasion)
- through which *decision-making process* (e.g. formulation of goals or means)
- with which *effect*?

Traditionally, language planning involves three basic inter-dependent, overlapping and interacting operations: corpus planning, status planning and acquisition planning (Daoust, 1998; Dogancay-Aktuna, 1997; Hornberger, 1994; Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997; Wiley, 1996). Such division has brought wide criticism, especially that proposed by Kloss (1969) between corpus and status planning. It has been argued that presenting both activities as separate does not help explain the link between the linguistic and social factors related to language planning (Williams, 1992; Odriozola, 1998). Fishman (1983: 382) points out that the distinction between status planning and corpus planning is clearer in theory than in practice. However, in this section such division will be used, because, as indicated by Daoust (1998: 448), “it emphasizes the dual nature of language planning, that is, its concern with both the linguistic and social aspects of language”.

Corpus planning deals primarily with the internal linguistic aspects of language (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997: 38). This type of language planning is typical in emerging

languages which attempt to overcome precarious situations (Baker, 2001: 56). Ferguson (1968) suggests three main activities related to corpus planning by which the development of languages can be compared. The first one, *graphization* (e.g. designing a writing system for a language previously transmitted orally), is considered the first step towards language normalization (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997: 40). The second activity is *standardization*, defined by Nahir (1977: 114) as “a process whereby one language or dialect spoken in a region becomes accepted as the major language of the region for general usage”. A recent example of standardization is that of Basque (see chapter Two). The historical fragmentation of the Basque language into a number of dialects, enriching as diversity might be, was seen as a threat for its survival. Awareness of the need to favour a unified standard version led, through a process initiated at the beginning of the past century and accelerated in the 1960s, to the creation of *euskara batua* (unified Basque). The case of Basque standardization is a story of success, since in a relatively short period of time the unified Basque has become a widely accepted reality, despite occasional discrepancies (see Rotaetxe, 1996). Finally, the third activity, *modernization*, affects both majority and minority languages, as all of them need to modernize their vocabulary in areas such as science or, more recently, the Internet.

Status planning refers to “deliberate efforts to influence the allocation of functions among a community’s language” (Cooper, 1989: 99). It is intrinsically political, as it seeks recognition and widening the functions of a language and its capacity (Baker, 2001: 55). Indeed, the term ‘status’, which has often been interchanged with that of ‘prestige’, is a relative and comparative concept. Typically, a language is defined as having ‘high’ or ‘low’ status with respect to other language(s). Thus, status planning relates to more than a language or a language variety (Williams, 1992: 124).

There is a variety of policies and categories that relate to status planning (see Kloss 1969; Cooper, 1989). Mackey (1989) distinguishes four types of status: linguistic (e.g. standardization and differentiation), demographic (the number of speakers of a language), cultural (e.g. the amount and diversity of cultural activity) and legal (the legal position of a language). Status has also been considered an important factor to evaluate language vitality (Giles, Bourhis and Taylor, 1977; see chapter Six).

In the context of minority languages like Catalan, Welsh or Basque, language planners continuously stress the importance of extending the functions of the language. It is believed that “the more people do what they can do with a language, the greater its functional load. The greater the importance of its functions the greater its status is likely to develop” (Mackey, 1989: 16; see also Ammon, 1989). In the case of Basque, for example, the idea of normalization is usually interpreted as extending the language to new speakers and to new domains (Gardner, Puigdevall i Serralvo and Williams, 2000: 326). It is argued that maintaining the use of the languages in its existing domains and spreading it to new ones (e.g. media, courts of law, regional and central administration) will prevent its decline and secure its revitalization.

However, the notion that a language needs to fulfil the uppermost functions of modernity in order to subsist has been contested. Fishman (1989, 1991), taking Basque as an example, doubts whether the use of the term ‘normalization’ is adequate for the efforts of the Basque government to expand the domains of the language, as Basque has rarely discharged the high functions it is currently aiming towards (1991: 152). He argues that, while such huge efforts represent major policy decisions, they attract few people who are willing or capable of using the language in such domains, and they do little to avoid the attrition of the language in the domains that secure the intergenerational transmission of the language (1989: 394). Therefore, he suggests that the fundamental intergenerational arena should be prioritised, instead of pursuing fashionable but ultimately ineffective goals.

Baker (2003: 107) suggests that a wider approach to status planning should be adopted, in which, beyond the official, infrastructural and domain factors, the psychological aspects of status are considered. A psychological approach would enable to connect with language users at a grounded level. Analyzing the Welsh context, Baker (2003) indicates that all aspects of Welsh language use are important to the status of the language. For example, supporting the use of Welsh in institutions or the securing of a modern status for the language (e.g. in Information Technology) help to raise its status. At the same time, the perceived prestige of Welsh will have an influence on parents when deciding whether their children are educated in English, bilingually or in Welsh, or on teenagers when deciding to use Welsh or English in the streets (Baker, 2003).

Cooper (1989) proposed a third major type of language engineering, **acquisition planning**. Acquisition planning mainly focuses on language reproduction in the family and language production in the school (Baker, 2001: 56). Indeed, family and education are considered the key institutions for the intergenerational transmission of a language (Fishman, 1991, 1993, 2000). Baker (2003: 93) identifies two basic reasons why languages die. First, languages die because parents who are able to speak a minority language choose instead to speak the majority language within the family. Second, languages die because education is implemented through the majority language. As a consequence, for minority languages such as Basque or Welsh, in which losses in the transmission of the language occur even within families in which both parents are speakers of the minority language, education is the principal means to ensure new speakers.

Zalbide (1998: 368), commenting on the Basque context, stresses the importance of what Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) call 'language-in-education planning' with a powerful statement: "Without a school system that Basquizes extensively and intensively, there is already no future for the Basque language". The referred weakness in the transmission of the language, together with the clear demographic and functional dominance of Spanish, have eroded the once linguistically compact communities and deprived the language of its traditional domains. Therefore any linguistic normalization effort in education needs to integrate both the traditional Basque-speaking community and the dominant one whose first language is exclusively Spanish. To focus the language planning efforts on the remaining Basque speakers would amount to "assume the battle is lost before having started it" (Michelena, 1977: 29; cited in Zalbide, 1998).

Baker (2003) adds a new category to the traditional corpus, status and acquisition types of language planning, based on his work with the Welsh Language Board: **Opportunity and incentive planning**. Such language engineering focuses on two main areas: the instrumental use of a language (e.g. economy), and its integrative use (e.g. culture, leisure, community, social use). In the Welsh context, attempts have been made to stress the economic value of Welsh among individuals (especially the young), small and medium-sized businesses, and larger public and private institutions.

Likewise, efforts have been made to increase the use of Welsh in many areas of culture and leisure. In this vein, it is worth mentioning the success achieved by community language initiatives such as *mentrau iaith*, which aim at providing social opportunities to use the language and revitalise them in the communities (see <http://www.bwrdd-yr-iaith.org.uk/>). Such initiatives are regarded as vital to ensure the intergenerational transmission of the language (Baker, 2003).

An example of opportunity and incentive planning can be found in the Basque Country. *Kontseilua*, an association that seeks to address the main projects and issues surrounding the planning of Basque, has launched the ‘Bai Euskarari’ (literally, ‘Yes to the Basque language’) campaign (see <http://www.kontseilua.org>). This campaign aims to engage as many social agents as possible in a process directed to extend the Basque language to all functions and domain of use. With that purpose, those who take part in the campaign attempt to normalise the use of Basque in their environment. This ongoing campaign has attracted more than 1000 social agents from a variety of fields, such as mass media, education, culture, industry, shops and supermarkets, trade unions, sports and social movements. Moreover, the initiative has spread across many towns and villages of the whole Basque Country.

Language planning is an activity in constant evolution. In a world of constant change, there is the need incessantly to reinterpret the economic and political effects of language contact. Mass migration, the establishment of the European Union, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the globalization of capitalism are examples of global events which have a direct impact in situations of language contact. Moreover, particular language groups are affected by events at regional or national levels. Language planning needs to adapt to these global or local movements in order to be effective. However, the question researchers have to address at any time in history remains virtually unchanged:

“Why do individuals opt to use (or cease to use) particular languages and varieties for specified functions in different domains, and how do those choices influence – and how are they influenced by – institutional language policy decision-making (local to national and supranational?” (Ricento, 2000: 208).

1.3.3. Language as a problem, language as a right and language as a resource

Language planners adopt different approaches to language planning, according to their basic philosophy or ideology. More specifically, what language planners pursue is fundamentally influenced by their perceptions of language change (Williams, 1992: 123). Ruíz (1984) suggests three major perspectives or orientations towards language planning: language as a problem, language as a right, and language as a resource. These three dispositions may be subconscious, but it is important to make them obvious, as they relate directly to language attitudes. By making certain attitudes acceptable and legitimate, they establish what is conceivable about languages in society.

Language as a problem

The consideration of language planning as an activity fundamentally focused on solving problems has been dominant in the past, especially in the earlier research on language planning (e.g. Rubin and Jernudd, 1971: xvi; Jernudd and Das Gupta, 1971: 211; Karam, 1974: 105). For example, Fishman regards language planning as “the organized pursuit of solutions to language problems” (1974: 79). One reason for this approach may be that language planning in the past has been conducted in contexts of national development (Ruíz, 1984), in which problem-solving was a fundamental aspect of cultural and social change. However, the consideration of language as a problem may also run at a subconscious level, inadvertently influencing perception. For example, Mackey, when referring to bilingualism, indicates that “far from being exceptional, [it] is a *problem* that affects the majority of the world’s population” (1967: 11). The notion of bilingualism as a problem is present even in contexts in which its positive aspects are underlined.

A minority language is often associated with problems such as poverty, underachievement in school and minimal social and vocational mobility. Moreover, members of the minority-language group are frequently accused of unwillingness to integrate into the majority culture. From that viewpoint, the minority language is perceived as the origin of social, economic and educational problems, rather than a consequence of such problems (Baker and Jones, 1998: 277). Another perspective

connects language minorities and multilingualism to a lack of social cohesiveness that may lead to social and political conflict. In this context, there is an identification of unity with uniformity (Fishman, 1978: 43), which, translated to the linguistic arena, leads to the consideration of monolingualism as the ultimate ideal. Therefore, such language-related problems are to be solved by the assimilation of minority languages and language minorities into the majority.

The notion of monolingualism as a desirable goal has attracted fierce criticism. Skutnabb-Kangas (1996: 175-204) passionately attacks three myths in which the “ideology of monolingual reductivism/naivety/stupidity” seems to be based: that monolingualism is normal, desirable and unavoidable. In her opinion, monolingualism is abnormal if we consider as normal what most countries and people are like. Similarly, monolingualism is not desirable for societies or individuals because it is inefficient and uneconomic and represents dangerous reductionism. Finally, she argues that bilingualism need not be a temporary phase from monolingualism in one language to monolingualism in another. She rejects the “either-or” solutions and favours the “both-and” approach. Paraphrasing two works of Haugen, the attention should turn from “The curse of Babel” (1975) to the “Blessings of Babel” (1987).

Ruíz (1984) indicates that the language-as-problem orientation may be more pervasive than we think. Indeed, while such orientation may reveal a will to eradicate differences between language groups via assimilation, it can also aim at improving the situation of language minorities. However, he points out that, “whether the orientation is represented by malicious attitudes resolving to eradicate, invalidate, quarantine, or inoculate, or comparatively benign ones concerned with remediation and “improvement”, the central activity remains that of problem-solving” (1984: 21).

Language as a right

An alternative perspective to that of ‘language as a problem’ is considering language as a basic, human right. In the past decades, the debate around the status of ethnolinguistic minorities has increasingly linked the protection of linguistic minority rights with fundamental human rights. Such association is in the origin of the concept of *linguistic human rights* (Hamel, 1997a: 1). The protection of linguistic minority

rights has become an increasingly salient concern, in the context of a global society in which some world languages are becoming increasingly dominant, while many others are being lost (Hornberger, 1997).

A distinction has been made between individual and collective linguistic rights (e.g. Phillipson, Skutnabb-Kangas and Rannut, 1994; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). At an individual level, they refer to the right of every person to “identify positively with their mother tongue, and to have that identification respected by others” (Phillipson Skutnabb-Kangas and Rannut, 1994: 2). At the level of linguistic communities, it implies the collective right of people to maintain their ethnolinguistic identity and to preserve their difference from the dominant society (1994: 2).

Kloss (1977) makes a distinction between tolerance-oriented rights and promotion-oriented rights. Some rights aim to protect languages from discrimination. Indeed, many minority languages have endured discrimination (e.g. Basque, Catalan, Welsh). For example, during the Franco regime, speaking in Basque in schools resulted in severe punishments, and informing on children speaking in Basque was encouraged. The same occurred in Wales, where Welsh speakers were banned from using their own language, and those caught speaking it were forced to wear a “Welsh not” placard around their necks. Both examples belong to the field of education, one of the crucial battlefields for linguistic human rights. Phillipson, Skutnabb-Kangas and Rannut (1994: 2) note the close connection between minority language education and the fundamental linguistic rights of individuals. Indeed, such education involves, among other things, the right of individuals to learn their mother tongue, to be educated through the medium of that language and to use it in socially significant situations.

At a promotion-oriented level, language rights tend to be more positive and constructive. Such rights are implemented particularly where individual and group self-determination is relatively stronger (Baker, 2001: 370). In many minority groups, language rights often evolve from claiming tolerance for the language to calling for its full promotion. For example, during the Franco regime, discrimination against Basque in education was fought with the creation of clandestine *ikastola* schools (Basque-medium schools, see chapter Two) in the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC).

Such schools were created thanks to the efforts of many individuals at a grass-root level. Later, as the local government gained in strength and took charge of the education policy, the *ikastola* schools became the heart of the bilingual education system in the BAC.

Recognizing linguistic rights can be a factor in reducing conflicts between different ethnic groups, and at the same time it can help to support minority languages (Hamel, 1997b: 107): After all, a ‘non-rights’, laissez faire approach tends to benefit the more dominant and prestigious languages (Baker, 2001: 370). Nevertheless, Ruíz (1984) indicates that the linguistic-rights approach can also create problems. He argues that certain terms related to the linguistic-rights approach, such as “enforcement”, “compliance”, “entitlements” or “requirements”, sound confrontational, and may turn groups against each other. The consideration of language rights should remain a central activity of language planners, but this orientation may be insufficient to address the problems and needs of language planning.

A final note should be made about certain politically correct expressions of alleged support for language rights. Liberal words about linguistic rights can hide little more than rhetorical emptiness, as no practical measures are considered to implement them, or they disguise assimilationist and menacing attitudes towards language minorities. In this vein, Skutnabb-Kangas (2000: 549-57) criticises what she calls ‘the hypocrisy of Western states’. She argues that behind an impeccable appearance, some states refuse to accept legally binding international charters on linguistic human rights, show latent biologically and culturally argued racism to exclude foreigners from enjoying these rights, or demand that other countries grant rights they do not grant to minorities in their own countries.

Language as a resource

A different orientation to ‘language-as-problem’ and ‘language-right’ is to consider language as a resource. Just as languages can be conceived of as bridges to build economic relationships, they can also be seen as social and cultural bridges to relate different groups and cultures. In this context, minority languages may be viewed as

cultural or social resources, and linguistic diversity can lead to tolerance and co-operation between groups (Baker and Jones, 1998: 283).

The notion of language as a resource is not new. For example, Jernudd and Das Gupta commented on the importance of language as a societal resource, on the basis of the “communicational and identification values attached by the community to one or more languages” (1971: 196-97). Ruíz (1984) identifies the limitations of the first two orientations, and suggests that the ‘language as a resource’ orientation attenuates some of the difficulties of the other two. This approach can have a positive influence on the status of minority languages. Furthermore, its non-confrontational nature can help alleviate frictions between majority and minority groups. It can also be useful to acknowledge the role of the lesser used languages. Finally, it encourages cooperative language planning.

Ruíz (1984) further explains the potential beneficial effects of the resource approach by analyzing an apparent paradox. In US, national educational programs encourage the study of foreign languages, and support for such courses is strong. At the same time, non-English speakers are expected to lose their languages. Recognizing the positive effects of multilingual ability in different fields (e.g. business, national security, diplomatic relations) can help to reshape attitudes about language and language groups.

Skutnabb-Kangas (2000: 653-54) points out that all the three orientations described have often been seen as competing views. She indicates that, as a consequence, many of those who regard languages as resources, not as problems, have dismissed the ‘language as a right’ approach as being in contradiction to regarding languages as a resource. On the other hand, Skutnabb-Kangas argues that both perspectives are complementary, and suggests that the ‘linguistic human rights’ approach can be integrated in the ‘language as a resource’ approach in two different ways. First, people need linguistic human rights so that their linguistic repertoire does not become a problem or does not cause them problems. Second, people need to be able to exercise language rights so that their linguistic repertoire is considered or develops into a positive, empowering resource.

1.3.4. The politics of language conflict

The ideological inclinations of language planners and politicians alike exert a great influence on both language planning and political theory, and consequently can lead to language conflict. We have seen before that language planning is not neutral, but political (Breton, 1996). Under certain socio-political, economic and linguistic conditions, language can be mobilized to achieve political goals and become a source of conflict. Language conflicts can take different forms. Dua (1996) points out that the nature of such conflicts varies depending on whether they involve a language of wider communication, a national indigenous language, a majority language, or a minority language, and the kind of interrelationship between the languages involved. This author identifies four features as potential sources of language conflict: language as a symbol, as instrumentality, as resource, and as power. These four features will be briefly examined now, with the main focus on the relationship between majority and minority languages.

First, Dua (1996: 6) indicates that the symbolic nature of language can be a source of conflict when it is used for ideological reasons (see also chapter Six). Language can be used to exacerbate or minimize ethnic, religious, or social divisions, and therefore encourage such social processes as mobilization, communication, modernization and nationality formation. In this sense, language can be both a unifying and a dividing force which generates such feelings as language loyalty and nationalism (Daoust, 1998: 438). Weinreich states that “language loyalty breeds in contact situations just as nationalism breeds on ethnic borders” (1953: 100). Connections between language loyalty and nationalism can be found, for example, in Catalonia and the Basque Country. In such regions, and in post-Franco Spain as a whole, the debate around linguistic rights and conflictive identities has become more polarised, partly because it is difficult to extricate language and culture from politics (Hoffmann, 2000: 425). Paulston (1986: 125) argues that language loyalty, though often romanticized by nationalist movements, is nothing but a deliberate strategy for survival. Nationalism has often been related to minority language movements, and especially to controversial aspects of language planning and policies. However, Wiley points out that “just as an analysis of language planning and language policies is important in the study of nationalism, so too it is significant in the study of imperialism” (1996: 126).

As indicated earlier in the chapter, a language can also create conflict because of its instrumental function (Dua, 1996). Conflict is likely to arise in language status planning, which is ultimately subject to language ideology (Cobarrubias, 1983). Hoffmann (2000), analysing the uneasy balance between Catalan and Spanish in Catalonia, provides a diagnosis that can be extended to the general linguistic situation in Spain. She argues that the conflict originates when languages are in competition with each other within the same territory and there is no agreement on a common hierarchy or status. The language debate may be eased if the long-term relationship between Spain's languages is addressed at a national level (Hoffmann, 2000).

A third cause of conflict can emerge from the way a language is treated as a resource (Dua, 1996). Ruíz (1984) indicates that viewing language as a resource, mainly because of the non-confrontational nature of this approach, can have positive effects on the status of minority languages. However, Dua (1996) points out that conflict can arise when a language is manipulated as a resource. For example, the creation of a writing system, while enhancing the potential resources of the language and contributing to the growth of a literary tradition and literacy skills, can in turn negatively influence the distribution of knowledge and power, and can function as a symbol of separate identity.

Finally, the consideration of language as power can be another source of conflict (Dua, 1996). A position of power can be identified by asking who is in the control of decision-making in language planning processes. In other words, the basic question is, 'who has the power to influence the behaviour of others'? (Baker and Jones, 1998: 209). In situations of languages in contact, some language groups have influence and power, while some other have a less advantageous position, and may suffer from an unequal distribution of power. Retaining the subordinate position of minority languages allows the majority groups to retain their own position of power and privilege. From this point of view, majority language monolingualism can be regarded as a strategy to maintain the power of the dominant elites (Baker and Jones, 1998: 209).

At other times, there may be a counter-elite that uses the promotion of a particular language to assert its own power. For example, it has been argued that language minority activists in the Basque Country, Catalonia and Wales have a hidden agenda which goes beyond the goal of language revitalization. According to this power-related interpretation, the minority language is a mere instrument to achieve political power and economic advantages (Baker and Jones, 1998: 209). However reductionist such interpretations may be, they show that the relationship between majority and minority languages can barely be explained by portraying a simplistic 'David vs. Goliath image' of one subjugated minority against a single dominant majority (Lambert, 1999: 7-8). The dominant-dominated juxtaposition can be a valuable tool to show the balance of power between language groups involved in any language contact situation, but it can often prove insufficient to capture the complexity of such situations.

Nevertheless, the dominant or dominated position of language groups may have an influence in their perception of language as an issue. Lo Bianco (1990) points out that it is necessary to 'see' language in order to 'act' on it. Language can be virtually invisible to the dominant sections of society. Language is just the medium through which they exercise their power in society. However, language is rarely an issue, since their language is neither marginalized, in a state of attrition or discriminated against. There is no problem, no situation that can lead them to consider language as a social issue that needs to be addressed. On the contrary, groups whose language is not dominant in society are acutely aware of the contrast between the capacity of conferring power, knowledge and access to information of the majority language vis-à-vis their own. For these groups, language is a very visible social issue that needs to be dealt with (Lo Bianco, 1990). In this respect, the lack of mutual understanding of these highly contrastive points of view around language can be a serious source of conflict.

We have seen before that political and economic considerations are rarely absent in relation to language issues. Ozolins (1996: 197) makes a point of vindicating the relative autonomy of language from politics. He argues that we rather too often assume that language is a tool to pursue non-linguistic political goals, and that the

relationship between language and politics should be analyzed from a different point of view. He quotes Pool to summarise his position in this respect:

“In each case, we can usually find ulterior goals if we look or ask, but in each case we may also find reasons to believe that the activist truly cares about the outcome that is being immediately pursued. As a working assumption, then, I prefer to treat the interdependence between language and politics as an interdependence of equals” (Pool, 1990: 242).

1.3.5. Language shift, language maintenance and language revitalization

Using two or more languages within one community is a common situation in the world today. Indeed, it is the rule rather than the exception. In bilingual or multilingual societies, the languages in contact are in an incessant state of change. Language maintenance and shift are the collective, long-term outcomes of consistent patterns of language choice (Fasold, 1984: 239). Language shift may be defined as the change from the habitual use of one language to that of another (Weinreich, 1953: 68). The term is normally used to refer to a downwards language movement. Thus language shift may refer to a reduction in the numbers of speakers of one language, a decrease in density of language speakers in a community, a loss in language proficiency, or a decreasing use of that language in different domains. Language maintenance occurs when there is a relative stability in number and distribution of speakers, its proficient usage by children and adults, and its retention in specific domains (e.g. home, school, religion). The opposite to language shift would be language revitalization and language spread, a situation in which there is an increase in the number and the functions of a language (Cooper, 1989: 33).

A variety of factors produce language maintenance or shift (e.g. see Giles, Bourhis and Taylor, 1977; Grosjean, 1982; Conklin and Lourie, 1983). For example, the industrialization and urbanization processes in the 20th century created migratory movements, and this had adverse consequences for many minority languages such as Basque and Catalan. Likewise, Nancy Dorian’s study (1981) of the disappearance of the Gaelic dialects spoken in East Sutherland, in Scotland, reveals the relationship between the decline of the local fishing industry and the language of the fishermen

(Gaelic). In this region, another factor that explains such shift is the different prestige of the languages involved. English has historically been the language of the ‘civilized’, while Gaelic was regarded as the language of the ‘savage’. In East Sutherland, the last speakers of Gaelic were the fishing community and the ‘crofters’ (farmers on small rented land).

In another study, Gal (1979) examined the process of language shift in Oberwart, in eastern Austria. In this town, Hungarian-German bilingualism remained relatively stable for 400 years, but German started to replace Hungarian in business, in the local life and within the families. Gal explained linguistic change in Oberwart as correlated with other social changes. However, she was not interested in isolating a set of factors producing language shift. Rather than the relationship between industrialization and language shift, for example, she analyzed “what intervening processes does industrialization, or any other social change, effect changes in the uses to which speakers put their languages in everyday interactions” (1979:3).

The last levels of language shift are called language death. Crystal defines language death in a straightforward manner: “A language dies when nobody speaks it any more” (2000: 1). However, the way they die may not be that straightforward. In this vein, Edwards asks a pertinent question: “Languages may die: are they murdered or do they die?” (1994: 103). Skutnabb-Kangas (2000: 365f) suggests that the answers to this question fit in two main paradigms: the language death paradigm and the linguistic genocide paradigm.

The first paradigm argues that languages have a life-span, just as everything living in nature. Concepts such as ‘language attrition’, ‘language decay’, ‘language death’ and ‘language loss’ do not necessarily imply a causal agent, other than the speakers themselves. Skutnabb-Kangas (1996, 2000) is one of the fiercest advocates of the second paradigm, which claims that most of the languages do not die a ‘natural’ death. Terms like ‘linguicide’ imply that there are agents involved in provoking the death of languages. Following Cobarrubias (1983), Skutnabb-Kangas indicates that linguicide can be either active (‘attempting to kill a language’) or passive (‘letting a language die’, or ‘unsupported coexistence’). In both cases, such policy can lead to the death of minority languages. Dorian (1994: 118) suggests that we should avoid

‘loaded terms’ like “murder” and “suicide” because they are not really helpful. Likewise, Edwards pleads for avoiding such emotive terms and emphasizing “the complexities of social situations in which these phenomena occur” (1985: 53).

Language shift should not necessarily be regarded as a unidirectional, almost inevitable language change. Many minority language activists are engaged in serious, organized attempts of language revitalization. Such efforts are usually focused on a strong commitment to reversing language shift (Jones and Williams, 2000: 48). Fishman (1991, 2001) provided a valuable framework for the reversal of language shift. As discussed in the ‘language planning’ section in this chapter, Fishman argues that setting the right priorities is a fundamental aspect for the success of language planning. In that sense, Fishman’s (1990, 1991, 1993, 2001) Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) serves as a guide to measure how threatened a language is, and suggests which aspects of language planning should be prioritized for a particular language, according to its situation. The higher the position on the scale, the more a language is endangered. The idea of stages implies that there is little use attempting later stages if success has not been achieved in earlier stages. In the following table, the eight stages are briefly summarised, together with the priorities proposed for each of them:

Table 1.4. Fishman’s Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale for Threatened Languages

- ❑ Stage 8: Social isolation of the few remaining speakers of the minority language. Need to record the language for later possible reconstruction.
- ❑ Stage 7: Minority language used by older and not younger generation. Need to multiply the language of the younger generation.
- ❑ Stage 6: Minority language is passed on from generation to generation and used in the community. Need to support the family in intergenerational continuity (e.g. provision of minority language schools).
- ❑ Stage 5: Literacy in the minority language. Need to support literacy movements in the minority language, particularly when there is no government support.
- ❑ Stage 4: Formal, compulsory education available in the minority language. May need to be financially supported by the minority language community.
- ❑ Stage 3: Use of the minority language in less specialized work areas involving interaction with majority language speakers.
- ❑ Stage 2: Lower government services and mass media available in the minority language.
- ❑ Stage 1: Some use of minority language available in higher education, central government and national media.

Source: Fishman (1990, 1991)

Another important contribution to reversing language shift is by Colin Williams (1994). He proposes five overlapping, interdependent stages for language revitalization: idealism (e.g. to construct a vision of language revival); protest (e.g. to mobilize people to change the use or status of a minority language); legitimacy (e.g. to attain language rights for the minority language, in order to secure its survival and

enhance its status); institutionalization (e.g. to secure the presence of the language in key agencies of the state, such as public administration, law, education, employment and commercial activity); and parallelism (e.g. to extend the minority language to as many social domains as possible, such as sport, media, entertainment, public services, private industry).

Language revitalization efforts across the world have obtained different results. For example, Paulston and Chen (1993) compare the cases of Finnish and Irish as the two sides of the same coin, the former a successful attempt at restoring a language, the latter a failure. Nevertheless, the case of Irish is interesting because it poses the question of what a language revitalization process can be expected to achieve. In this respect, among others Bentahila and Davies (1993) present examples of opposing views around the efforts to enliven the Irish language. Thus, while Hindley (1990) significantly entitled a book on Irish *The Death of the Irish Language*, Ó Riagáin speaks of ‘some measure of revival’ (1988: 7). Indeed, revitalization attempts can be regarded as a failure if the set goal is that Irish becomes the everyday language of a significant percentage of the population. However, a certain sense of achievement can be found in the fact that whole new generations of people have attained a certain level of competence in Irish through the education system. Bentahila and Davies suggest that greater realism should be exercised in the discussion on “what may constitute a revival, what methods may be used to achieve it, and whether it can be seen as a viable enterprise or not” (1993: 372).

1.4. Summary of the chapter

This chapter has sought to reflect the multidimensional nature of bilingualism and multilingualism. With the fundamental distinction between individual bilingualism and societal bilingualism as its starting point, the chapter has offered a variety of definitions and distinctions related to such concepts. The aim of the chapter was not to provide a comprehensive account of terms connected with bilingualism and multilingualism, but to clarify and analyze some relevant aspects related to the issues examined in this thesis.

The chapter has been structured under the assumption that bilingualism and multilingualism must be analyzed both at individual and societal levels, in order to have a full understanding of their complex essence. In the first part of the chapter, individual bilingualism has been examined. For that purpose, language-related terms relevant to the study of bilingualism have been addressed first. As such terms are often used synonymously, an attempt has been made to indicate the distinctions, and also the connections, between them. Subsequently, various aspects of bilingualism have been presented in the form of dichotomies, in order to make the possible differences and similarities more perceptible.

The second part of the chapter has focused on the analysis of societal bilingualism. Bilingualism and multilingualism need to be analyzed within their social context, as such phenomena can only be properly understood in connection with the political, economic, social, educative and cultural factors that influence them. Therefore, important aspects concerning bilingualism and multilingualism in society which are relevant in the context of this thesis have been examined.

Chapter Two

BILINGUALISM IN THE BASQUE COUNTRY

2.1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to introduce the Basque language and the bilingual situation of the Basque Country. The chapter will provide a geographical, linguistic and historical background of the Basque Country and its language, Euskara.

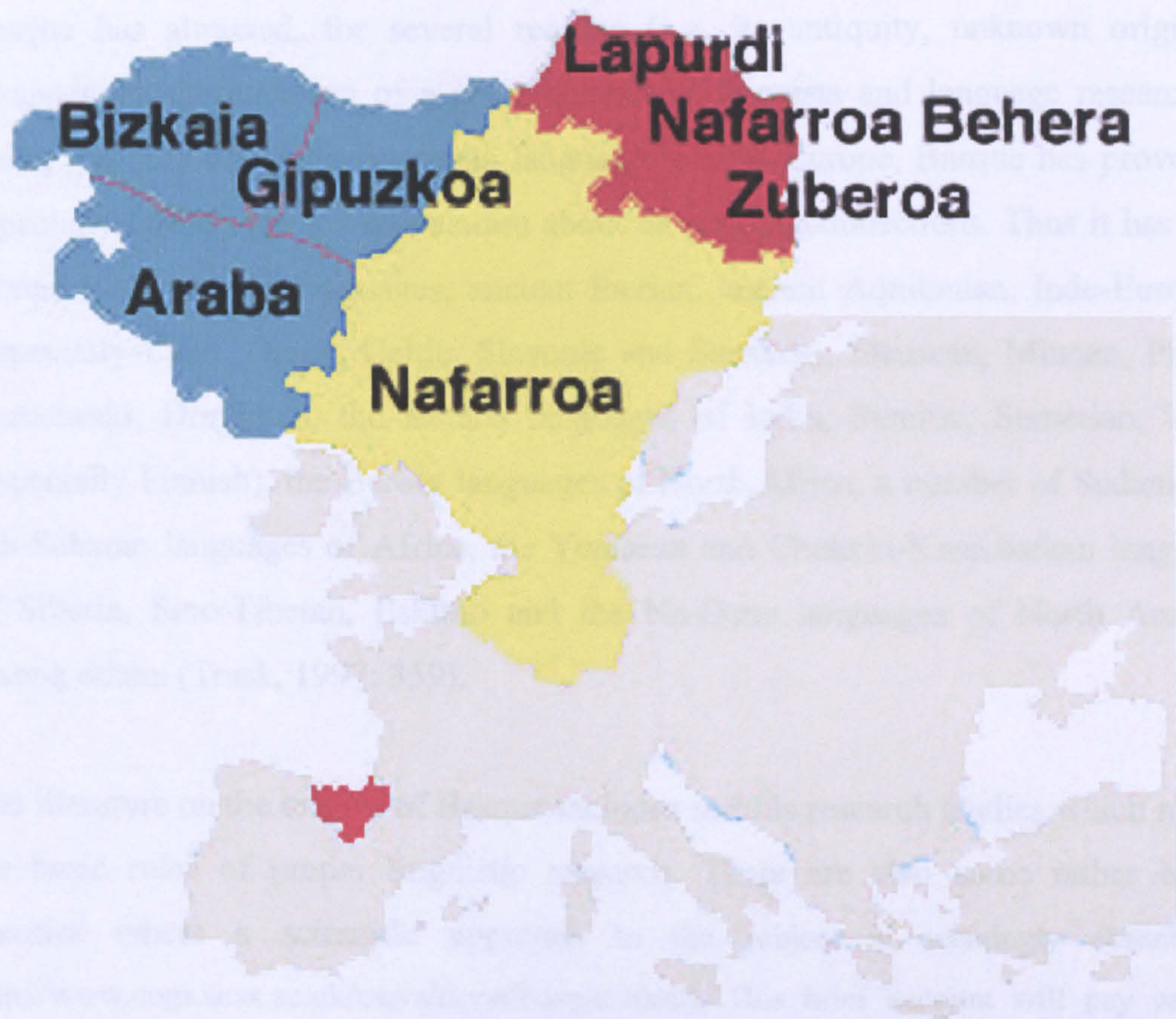
Basque is an ancient language, the only non Indo-European in Western Europe. That fact has attracted the curiosity of many scholars around the world. Nevertheless, from undocumented early times, the language has made a long and mostly tortuous journey throughout history. Today, the language remains a dynamic and at times controversial reality in the Country of Basque. These issues will be discussed in this chapter, which seeks to offer a general analysis of the Basque language.

2.2. Geography and politico-administrative organization

The Basque Country runs along the Bay of Biscay. It extends from Baiona in the north-east to just west of Bilbao and, straddling both sides of the Pyrenees, cuts inland some 200 km. Covering slightly more than 20.000 km², 2.9 people live in the territory, of whom about 90% live in the Spanish side and the remainder in the French side.

The Basque Country, the country of Euskara, has been traditionally the term used by the Basque people to refer to the area occupied by the Basque speech community. Spanish and French may call Basque Country (El País Vasco in Spanish; le Pays Basque in French) only to a part of the country, not the whole territory, for political rather than ethnocultural reasons. Traditionally, the Basque Country encompasses seven provinces: Bizkaia, Gipuzkoa, Araba and Nafarroa on the Spanish side, Lapurdi, Nafarroa Beherea and Zuberoa on the French side.

Figure 2.1. Map of Basque Country



Source: <http://www.geocities.com/Athens/9479/basque.html>

These provinces are divided among three politico-administrative structures. Two are within the Spanish State: the Basque Autonomous Community (formed by Araba, Bizkaia and Gipuzkoa, blue on the map above) and the Autonomous Community of Navarre (Nafarroa alone, yellow on the map). The three provinces within the French State (red on the map) are not autonomous. They form, along with Bearn, the French department of Pyrenees Atlantiques (capital Pau, in Bearn), which is part of the region of Aquitaine (capital Bordeaux).

2.3. Origins of the Basque language

Basque has attracted, for several reasons (e.g. its antiquity, unknown origin or persistence), the attention of a great number of linguists and language researchers. Being the only non Indo-European language in west Europe, Basque has proved an especially fertile land for speculation about its genetic connections. Thus it has been related to Caucasian languages, ancient Iberian, ancient Aquitanian, Indo-European (especially Latin, Greek, Celtic, Slavonic and Sanskrit), Etruscan, Minoan, Pictish, Burushaski, Dravidian, the Munda languages of India, Semitic, Sumerian, Uralic (especially Finnish), the Berber languages of North Africa, a number of Sudanic and sub-Saharan languages of Africa, the Yenisean and Chukchi-Kamchatkan languages of Siberia, Sino-Tibetan, Eskimo and the Na-Dene languages of North America, among others (Trask, 1997: 359).

The literature on the origins of Basque includes serious research studies which respect the basic rules of proper linguistic research. There are also some rather bizarre theories where a scientific approach to the subject is seemingly absent (see <http://www.cogs.susx.ac.uk/users/larryt/basque.html>). This brief account will pay especial attention to the attempts made to relate Basque to three languages or linguistic groups, due to the large mass of research these connections have received and the prestige attributed to some of these theories. The language groups are Iberian, the Caucasian languages and Aquitanian.

2.3.1. Iberian

One theory is that Basque derives from Iberian. Iberian is an ancient non Indo-European Hispanic language recorded in a number of inscriptions in the south-east of Spain and in southern France (Michelena, 1988a: 60). These inscriptions date back from about the sixth to the first centuries BC, and most of them are written in an indigenous script, although some are inscribed in the Greek alphabet (Trask, 1997: 376).

The theory christened by Caro Baroja as “Basque-Iberism” dates back to the Middle Ages, and has since provoked both enthusiastic support and antagonism. The initial grounds of this hypothesis state that Basques were the first settlers in the Iberian Peninsula. The Basque language was, therefore, the first language in Spain. This belief was related to the historiographic tradition inaugurated by historians like Flavio Josefo (*Antigüedades Judaicas*) and Saint Hyeronimus, suggesting that Thobel, grandson of Noah, arrived in the Peninsula with his people, Arameans and Iberians, after the language confusion in Babel (Castaños Garay, 1979: 3).

In the subsequent centuries, this theory was promulgated by a number of Basque apologists, such as Garibay, Moret and Astarloa. The most salient of these apologists was Larramendi, who, in his *La antigüedad y universalidad del Bascuenze en España*, proposed explicitly that Iberian was an ancestral form of Basque, based on very arguable etymologies. The Basque-Iberian relationship was subsequently widely popularized in linguistic realms by Wilhem von Humboldt in his 1821 book *Prüfung der Untersuchungen über die Urbewohner Hispaniens vermittelt der Vaskischen Sprache* (Trask, 1997: 379). His disciple Emile Hübner, in his *Monumenta linguae ibericae*, collected all the known Iberian material (Gómez Moreno, 1949: 247), providing future researchers with a very useful information source. More significantly, Hugo Schuchardt attempted a reconstruction of the Iberian nominal declension in his 1908 book *Die iberische Deklination*, but his conclusions were at best precipitous (Michelena, 1985a: 369-70). Moreover, once the Iberian was deciphered, it was made clear that a number of the Iberian endings compared to the Basque ones were not Iberian but clearly Indo-European, and a great deal of authentic Iberian could not be read in the way Schuchardt proposed (Michelena, 1988a: 61).

Up until the middle of the XX century, the work on Basque and Iberian had reached no conclusion. On one hand, a group of linguists were misguided by “*the obsession of a specific kinship that has to be proved at any price*” (Estornés, 1967: 268). On the other hand, the comparative methods used for research were far from rigorous. As Michelena points out (1988a: 57), the genetic connection between two languages can only be examined through structural material coincidences, and not through formal similarities.

In 1949, after several previous partial attempts, the Spanish linguist Manuel Gómez Moreno succeeded in deciphering the Iberian alphabet, although it still cannot be completely understood (see Michelena, 1985b). Interest in Iberian studies increased dramatically, and eminent scholars like Michelena and Tovar turned their attention to the subject. Their conclusions were not, however, very supportive of the Basque-Iberian connection theory. They found a number of remarkable coincidences in the phonological, syllabic and, most strikingly, the morphological system, alongside some not very convincing lexical concordances. Nevertheless, these common elements could be easily explained by the active interchange between the two languages in proto-historic stages (Tovar, 1959: 38-39). Authors such as Michelena (1985b: 355) argue that Basque and Iberian had formed a sort of “onomastic pool”: they had a common stock of elements and language formation procedures. No evidence could be found, though, of any historical coincidence that would lead to a common Basque-Iberian inheritance. Moreover, the fact that the Iberian inscriptions can be read but not understood could hardly occur if the Iberian language was an ancient form of Basque or, at least, a language closely related to it (Michelena, 1988a: 60).

Ultimately, practically all the scholars seriously devoted to this issue have reached the same conclusion: that Iberian is not genetically related to Basque (Txillardegui, 1996: 62-63). Therefore, it can be said that the Basque-Iberian thesis is now dead, apart from a few fanciful and weird conjectures still circulating (Trask, 1997: 387).

One last footnote should be added here. Iberian has for a long time been perceived as an African language. Accordingly, some supporters of the Basque-Iberian connection, starting with Schuchardt in his book *Die iberische Deklination* (1908), attempted to find relatives of Basque in Africa. The hypothesis, though, was borne out of error and confusion. To begin with, Iberian and Basque, as stated before, are not related. Subsequently, there is no evidence of Iberian being an African language. Finally, the Hamito-Semitic languages are far from forming a unitary group. The internal connections among the Hamitic language are still to be clarified, as well as the external relations between Hamitic and Semitic languages, before venturing any further associations (Michelena, 1988a: 61-62).

Ultimately, it can be concluded, as Michelena (1985a: 370) argues, that “*today we are, in the sound sense of the word, wiser, that is to say, more ignorant, than ever.*”

2.3.2. Caucasian languages

The hypothesis of a Basque-Caucasian relation has been the only one subjected to a serious, continuous and careful study (Michelena, 1988a: 62). Since the beginning of the century, a theory was developed which maintained that the two isolated territories located at both extremes of the Mediterranean were the only surviving elements of what Trombetti called a “continent linguistique” (Txillardegui, 1996: 68). The theory was sustained by the chronicles of the classic authors, who used the noun of Iberia to refer to the Caucasian region as well as to the present Iberian Peninsula.

Many linguists felt attracted to the Basque-Caucasian thesis by the typological similarities between both languages. Indeed, Basque shares its ergative morphology and its elaborate system of verbal agreement in varying measure with most of the Caucasian languages. The theory was inaugurated by Schuchardt, who limited himself to some Caucasian parallels. The Dutch linguist Uhlenbeck pursued the Basque-Caucasian connection throughout his career, and Trombetti and Marr produced a large but inane body of work on the subject. However, the first serious efforts were made by Georges Dumézil, Karl Bouda and René Lafon, who shared a deep knowledge of the Caucasian languages. Dumézil devoted the last chapter of his book *Introduction à la grammaire comparée des langues caucasiennes du Nord* (Paris, 1933) to citing a number of supposed cognates to Basque. Karl Bouda, for his part, presented nearly 500 putative cognates. But it was Lafon who attempted to identify some systematic correspondences following the standards normally expected in establishing genetic relationships (see Michelena, 1985c; Trask, 1997).

Nevertheless, these scholars start from the assumption of the common origin of the Caucasian languages, and this belief has not been proven. The Caucasian languages may be divided into two main groups: the Southern and the Northern Caucasian languages. Although it seems clear that the Southern languages come from the same root, there is much more discussion around the connections among the Northern ones, not to mention the relationship between the Southern and the Northern languages.

Furthermore, early researchers tended to compare words and morphemes from different languages at random, when, according to their theory, it seems more appropriate in terms of comparison to use only pan-Caucasian forms. (Michelena, 1988a: 70).

Nowadays, it is widely assumed that there is no genetic connection between Basque and Caucasian, following the conclusions of Michelena. Still, the Basque-Caucasian thesis is not dead. Michelena himself admits that some approaches, after a severe scrutiny, continue to look attractive (1988a: 72). Tovar talks about “countless parallelisms”, and some authors like Txillardegi (1996: 74), although adopting a cautious stance, have encouraged further research in that direction, suspecting something valuable could come out of it. Recently, some further research has suggested some kind of relation. The Polish linguist Jan Braun (1981), for instance, considers that the Basque language shows particularly close connections with the southern group of the Caucasian languages. For the time being, we should conclude with Trask (1997: 397) that “*there is no evidence at all for a genetic link between Basque and any of the Caucasian languages*”. Further systematic research is required.

2.3.3. Aquitanian

The first reference to the Aquitanians was made by Julius Caesar in his account of the conquest of Gaul. He describes them as entirely distinct from their Celtic neighbours. Strabo added that they spoke a totally different language (Gorrochategui, 1984). The Aquitanian language is attested in the form of about 400 personal names and 70 names of divinities embedded in Latin texts. These texts are mostly votive and funerary inscriptions, but there are also a few of a literary nature. There are no connected texts in Aquitanian, but most of the names are compound in form or contain derivational suffixes, and some of them exhibit what appear to be indigenous case-endings in place of Latin ones. Given the nature of these texts, it is unsurprising that they frequently stress the gender, age and parentage of a named individual (Trask, 1997).

That the Aquitanian fragments might reveal a language related to Basque was suspected for a long time by linguists and researchers. As early as 1877, Luchaire

pointed out that a number of anthroponyms from the medieval cartularies followed some Aquitanian inscriptions, even with the same type of inflexion. Caro Baroja propounded the same idea. Gerard Bähr pointed out the abundance of the phoneme /h/ in the Aquitanian names, an important marker, since there is no aspiration either in Celtiberian nor in Iberian or in Gaulish. Moreover, he noticed that the more plausible correspondences were found in the semantic field of kinship and sex relations. (Gorrochategui, 1984).

In 1954, two important works on the Aquitanian language were published. Lafon, in his book *Étude...*, noticed the existence of some Aquitanian sequences of phonemes that can be related to similar sequences in the present Basque. But it was with the monograph *De onomástica aquitana* by Michelena (1985d), who surveyed and catalogued the entire corpus of Aquitanian material, that it became possible to weigh up the evidence (Trask, 1997: 398). In this work, he obtained, based on a combinatory method, a complete list of stems and suffixes. Likewise, he verified that the pattern of word-formation in Aquitanian is identical to that in Basque, and proposed new Basque-Aquitanian correspondences.

A few new inscriptions were discovered in the following years, notably the Lerga stele found in 1960 (see Michelena, 1985e), which confirmed Michelena's conclusions. Some of them were located in zones which were historically Basque but where no inscriptions were encountered before, thus denying the hypothesis that Basque was once only spoken to the north of the Pyrenean mountains (Gorrochategui, 1984).

As a conclusion, it can be said, together with Tovar (1959: 90), "that the Aquitanian language is nothing else than Basque."

2.3.4. Some other theories

Finally, it seems appropriate to mention some of the attempts to relate Basque to a number of linguistic theories. In recent years, for example, there has been growing interest in analyzing the possibility of linguistic super-families, large agglomerations of existing families and language isolates stretching across two or three continents.

Some of the most publicized groups are Eurasiatic, Austric, Amerind, Nostratic and Dene-Caucasian. Although Basque has attracted little interest in these attempts, it has been recently related to Dene-Caucasian (see Bengtson and Ruhlen, 1994). Not surprisingly, these investigations, full of methodological simplicity, have proved a failure. The same can be said about the Basque and the “Proto-World” theory. According to this hypothesis, the remnants of a single ancestral language of all humankind can still be identified in the languages of the world, including Basque (Trask, 1997).

2.4. A brief description of the language¹

The Basque language uses the Roman alphabet without diacritics, except the *ñ* which it shares with Spanish. However, it retains a distinctive appearance to the surrounding Romance languages in written form. The phonology is remarkably simple and fairly similar to that of Spanish, probably due to the mutual influence of one language over the other throughout history. Nevertheless, it should be noted that there is no standard pronunciation of Basque, and the phonological differences among dialects are apparent. Word accent remains to be examined properly, but most varieties show a pitch accent characterised by a sudden fall at some point in the word.

One of the most publicized traits of Basque morphology is its ergative nature, which has led a number of scholars to connect the Basque with some other languages that share the same characteristic, chiefly the Caucasian languages. Both case marking and verb agreement are ergative, that is, the subject of a transit verb takes the ergative case *-k* and is marked in the verb by a suffix, while the subject of an intransitive verb and direct objects take the absolutive case *-ø* and are marked in the verb by prefixes. The morphology of Basque is highly agglutinating and predominantly suffixing. More than one suffix can be attached to a single word under certain conditions. Noun phrases show an elaborate system with 12-15 cases, depending on the variety and the analysis. Verbs are overwhelmingly inflected periphrastically, with the aid of an auxiliary, and can contain reference to the subject, object and indirect object of the sentence and, in certain cases, even the marker for the gender of the person spoken to.

¹ For a brief description of the language, see *The Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*, vol. 1, 1994: 313-314. For more detailed information, see Trask, 1997.

The unmarked word order of Basque is usually SOV –subject, object, verb–, though many utterances do not adjust to this pattern and the order of major phrases is rather free. However, the usual order of elements within noun phrases is rigid: Complex Modifier-Noun-Adjective-Determiner-Number-Case. Basque is exclusively postpositional, that is, postpositions are placed after the nouns to which they refer.

As far as the vocabulary is concerned, Basque has borrowed widely from the languages it has been in contact with, at the beginning especially from Latin and afterwards chiefly from Spanish and, to a lesser extent, from French. Derivation and compounding have been, and still are, catalysts in coining new words.

Basque has a number of dialects, some of them clearly distinct from each other, although the differences are more external than structural. This is hardly surprising in a minority language which is still undergoing a process of standardization and does not enjoy political unity in its territory. As the issue deserves further consideration, it will be taken up again more extensively further on in this chapter.

2.5. History of the Basque language

In this section, a chronological history of Basque will be provided, starting from prehistoric times until today. This historical account endeavours to display the circumstances through which the language has undergone in the past and, at the same time, to offer an explanation for its current situation.

2.5.1. From prehistory to the fall of the Roman Empire

Basque was spoken on both sides of the Pyrenee Mountains since prehistoric times. When Basque was first spoken remains unknown, but the majority of historians, anthropologists and linguists believe it was in use at least three thousand years ago, before Indo-European tribes arrived. Although it is not possible to know the exact form and structure of this language, it was certainly the ancestor of present Basque (Tovar, 1959).

Throughout their long history, the Basque people have been in contact with many tribes and cultures. At the beginning, before the Romans took over, they lived together with their neighbours in the Iberian Peninsula, the Iberians, and later with the Celtic and Indo-European tribes arriving from the North. All these tribes carried their own language with them. We know little about the relationships between these different cultures. However, following the toponymy and the inscriptions found in the area, circa 1000 BC the Iberian Peninsula and the land to the North of the Pyrenees was a multilingual territory, which included the following languages (see Gorrochategui, 1984; Michelena, 1987a; http://www.euskadi.net_historia/HISIIIIEU.pdf):

- 1) Basque was used in a much wider area than at present, spreading to the north and east of the present-day territory.
- 2) Iberian extended along the Mediterranean fringe, spreading from the Herault river in Gaul downwards to Andalucía. Basque might have had a contact area with Iberian in the Eastern Pyrenees.
- 3) Lusitanian: Situated to the West of the Peninsula, roughly in part of the present-day Portugal, it is believed to have been a pre-Celtic Indo-European language.
- 4) Celtiberian: This language established the closest contact with Basque. Initially spread over the territories around Burgos and Soria, at some point it entered the southern Basque Country upwards from the Ebro Valley.
- 5) To the North, Basque might have been in contact with Gaulish, around the River Garona.

Basque was, therefore, not only surrounded by different languages, but was also in contact with them within its own territory. However, the nature of the contact, as stated before, remains unclear, as well as the exact disposition of the languages over the territory (Villasante, 1988: 163).

The arrival of the Romans circa II BC brought a new powerful Indo-European language, Latin, which put a virtual end to the previous multilingual setting. All the languages cited except Basque succumbed to the vitality of the new one.

When the Romans arrived, the language of Basques was spread approximately over the present-day Basque Country, Aquitaine and Upper Aragón. As noted earlier, the first written accounts of the Basque language were made at this time by historians such as Strabo, Julius Caesar and Plinius (Gorrochategui, 1984).

There is much discussion about the extent to which Romanization affected the Basque Country. Two main areas can be distinguished varying in their degree of assimilation. On the one hand, the so-called *ager vasconum*, the wide valleys to the South and East of the territory, made for easier communications and was economically attractive. On the other, the mountainous *saltus vasconum*, made communications less easy and was economically poorer (Villasante, 1988: 163).

The Roman conquerors and subsequent colonists benefited from the assimilation tactics common to all Roman settlements to impose their rule: the Roman Army, Roman roads, economic relations, Roman citizenship and Latin as the new cultural and linguistic instrument. Nevertheless, Rome did not impose Latin through laws or decrees, but in the new political and socio-cultural structure set up by the Empire, Latin was the only language (http://euskadi.net/euskara_historia/HISIIIIEU.pdf).

One particular question arises from the situation described: how did the Basque language manage to survive the Roman invasion? Three main factors are proposed as a response:

- 1) Romanization was not uniform throughout the Basque territory. It was weaker in the *saltus vasconum*, a small and poor land with rather inaccessible regions. In this area, Basques remained relatively socio-culturally unified.

- 2) As early as the third century AD, the control machinery of the Empire became increasingly weaker, until it was totally destroyed two centuries later.
- 3) The nature of Basque language itself, very different from Latin, acted as a barrier.

However, the Basque Country underwent a deep process of Latinization in part of its territory. Firstly, an early Latinization process occurred in the most open lands: around Ebro Valley, in Aquitaine, in the outer Pyrenees and in the previously Celticized territories. Secondly, bilingualism was established in the cities created by the Roman road, which would later shift into Latin monolingualism. Moreover, cities offered the comfort of the Roman life, the political rights derived from Roman citizenship and the refinement of a cultivated language. The new Roman rulers succeeded in transmitting the advantages of the new cultural proposals to the upper classes, thus benefiting the spread of Latin (http://euskadi.net/euskara_historia/HISIIIIEU.pdf; see Caro Baroja, 1990; Lacarra, 1957).

Regarding the Basque language itself, it is not easy to determine what Basque directly borrowed from Latin. The continuity between Latin and the Romance languages makes it very difficult to establish a chronology of the borrowings (Michelena, 1988a: 35).

2.5.2. Basque in the Middle Ages

The collapse of the Roman Empire, completed in the IV-V centuries AD, offered valuable historical opportunities to the Basque language. In the absence of a superior power, in the high Middle Ages (V-XI centuries) the Basque Country advanced in articulating a politically structured territory, gaining land through repopulation and military conquests and forming new local political institutions (the Duchy of Vasconia in Aquitaine, the Kingdom of Pamplona in Navarre). Basque recovered territories under the influence of Latin and expanded. Thus Basque speakers settled in the south of Araba and in Rioja, Burgos and Soria, as well as in the mid-south of Navarre, where Arabic still remained an influential language. However, the Romance-speaking

population moved to the west of Bizkaia, displacing Basque and provoking its disappearance in the area. The Latinized Roman cities grew weaker as the population moved to rural areas. In this way Latin lost its most powerful social instrument, the city, and the process of bilingualism initiated in the Basque Country came to an end (http://euskadi.net/euskara_historia/HISIVEU.pdf).

Romanization was followed by another process that also posed a significant threat to the survival of Basque: Christianity. The historical moment in which the Basque Country became Christian is subjected to fierce debates among historians: some contend that the process began as early as II AD, while others place it in the XI Century. At any rate, Latin became a symbol of the unity of the Church (Michelena, 1988a: 15), and this language expanded rapidly through the territories conquered by the new religion. Basque was the only survivor language among the rich myriad of languages that covered the ancient Iberian Peninsula. Two main reasons may be given to explain this: the much-discussed late Christianization of the Basque territories and the solid social structure Basques had provided themselves by then, which prevented total assimilation (see Lacarra, 1957).

In the Late Middle Ages (XII-XV), the Basque historical territories were formed. Many boroughs were also founded at that time, sheltering a mainly local population but also attracting foreign people. Therefore, Basque came in contact with many surrounding Romance languages that originated from Latin, which was dominant in the most formal domains: in the north, Gasconian; in the north-east, Aragonese and Navarrese; in the south-west, Spanish (http://euskadi.net/euskara_historia/HISIVEU.pdf).

Moreover, Basque was not the only language spoken within its historical territory. The pilgrims' road to Santiago de Compostela, together with some other political and historical factors, attracted many people with different languages. The Franks introduced their trading tradition into the cities, bringing with them different dialects of Occitane. There were also several Jewish neighbourhoods, especially in southern Navarre, where Hebraic was spoken and, as the Reconquest extended southward, some Arabic speaking zones remained within the growing Basque Country (http://euskadi.net/euskara_historia/HISIVEU.pdf).

In the areas where Basque and Romance languages were in contact, different types of bilingualism appear to have emerged. Unfortunately, little is known about this. It can be said that Basque was in the lowest position among languages in terms of prestige. Although King Sancho the Wise recognised Basque as “lingua navarrorum” or the language of the Navarrese, Basque was left out of official and administrative functions. Latin was used in cultivated circles and, as its strength diminished, Romance took its place. Basque, therefore, failed to develop a written tradition. Nevertheless, the Basque people remained remarkably loyal to their original language (<http://euskadi.net/euskara-historia/HISIVEU.pdf>).

Overall, Basque gained territory during the Middle Ages, especially to the south, although it underwent some noticeable losses in Aquitaine and the Pyrenees (http://euskadi.net/euskara_historia/HISIVEU.pdf).

2.5.3. Basque in the Modern Age (1545-1789)

Basque entered the Modern Age with the publication of the first book written in Basque: Bernat Etxepare’s *Linguae Vasconum Primitiae* (1545) (see Michelena, 1988b: 48-52). Meanwhile, in Europe, the big European Monarchies of the Middle Ages had imposed their official languages through political-linguistic decisions directed to favour monolingualism. These decisions moulded both the official policies and the attitudes of people towards languages for the next centuries (http://euskadi.net/euskara_historia/HISVEU.pdf).

Nevertheless, Renaissance and Humanism brought a new attitude to minority languages, since they were regarded as valuable tools to spread the new cultural values. Moreover, the Reformation movement in Europe considered the translation of the Bible into as many languages as possible a crucial pastoral and missionary necessity. A consequence of this was the publication of the Basque version of the *New Testament* (1571) by Joannes Leizarraga (Michelena, 1988b: 52). In the same year, Esteban de Garibai published an apology of the Basque language in Spanish, inaugurating a long-lasting and rather fruitless tradition of Basque apologists writing

in Spanish. Leizarraga himself published a Catechism aimed at teaching the population to read and write in Basque (Michelena, 1988b).

Furthermore, Basque had some official support. It was used in the Court of Navarre for celebrations, and the translation of the Bible by Leizarraga received the sponsorship of Queen Joana Albret (in Northern Navarre). In those years, Basque seemed to be paving the way towards a solid written tradition, but it failed to fulfil its own expectations, due to the following factors, among others: the failure of Reformation in the Basque Country, the detachment of the upper classes from the language and the limited support offered by the Church (http://euskadi.net/euskara_historia/HISVEU.pdf).

In the XVI century, Basque society largely remained monolingual Basque. Only around the bordering areas and in certain urban social environments did bilingualism occur. The use of Basque, however, was limited in certain areas such as international trade or administration, where Spanish was compulsory. Spanish was also the language of education, and it became a valuable instrument for social and professional improvement (http://euskadi.net/euskara_historia/HISVEU.pdf).

If the XVI century witnessed the birth of the Basque literature out of the Reformation, in the XVII century it flourished under the inspiration of the Counter-Reformation. The literary production was, however, confined to the Northern Basque Country, where a group of priests created a group whose main leaders were Pedro Axular and Joanes Etxeberri Ziburukoa. This group was followed by a new generation of writers, some of them laymen, who took Basque out of strictly religious issues to wider cultural subjects. Through the guidance of writers such as Arnaut Oiherart and Joanes Etxeberri Sarakoa, a new linguistic awareness was aroused, alongside a global vision of the Basque Country as an autonomous entity (Michelena, 1988b).

Nevertheless, in this period, Basque institutions mainly excluded the use of the local language. In Bizkaia, for example, Basque monolinguals were expelled from the Assembly between 1613 and 1632. Help was denied for the publication of Basque books, and the language was deprived of a strong literary presence. Some exceptions to this general attitude may be found in Lower Navarre, where royal officials were

recommended to learn Basque, and in the Church, which authorized some oral and written uses for Basque (http://euskadi.net/euskara_historia/HISVEU.pdf).

Meanwhile, Basque society remained overwhelmingly monolingual, and Basque did not suffer any territorial losses.

The Age of Enlightenment in Europe brought an array of pre-nationalist thinkers who turned their attention to minority cultures and languages, including Basque. However, the monarchies in Spain and France followed a repressive linguistic policy aimed at establishing monolingualism in their territories. In the Basque Country, the main representatives of Enlightenment gathered around the *Real Sociedad Bascongada de Maigos de País* (Royal Basque Society of Friends of the Country). Language was not the main concern of the Society, but they stressed the need to promote Basque and provoked a debate about the role of the Basque language in education (http://euskadi.net/euskara_historia/HISVEU.pdf).

In the XVIII century, Basque literature finally flourished in the Southern Basque Country, in a context of socio-economic growth. With Manuel de Larramendi as the main catalyst, efforts were made to regulate the language and provide it with valuable tools such as grammars and dictionaries. At the same time, written works in Basque became more ideological and popular, opening up new subjects and concerns. Thus from 1760 onwards, publications developed both in quantity and content, and a new generation of Bascophile writers emerged: for example, Kardaberaz, Ubillos, Barrutia, Mendiburu (Michelena, 1988b).

As for the maintenance of Basque, the geographic borderline kept for centuries around the Ebro Valley moved back, most significantly in the province of Araba and, later on, in Navarre, initiating a process of language loss that only recently has been interrupted. These may be considered the first signs of breakdown of the traditional diglossic arrangement in the Basque society (Gardner, 2000: 27; see chapter One on diglossia).

On the other hand, as a consequence of the French Revolution (1789), Basque *fueros* were abolished in the Northern Basque Country and, subsequently, the law which

established the obligation to use French came into force. In this century Basque was not taken into consideration by Basque institutions, and it failed to gain official status (http://euskadi.net/euskara_historia/HISVEU.pdf).

2.5.4. Basque in contemporary times

The XIX and the XX centuries were particularly turbulent in the history of the Basque Country, and the Basque language reflected this. The wars, the industrial revolution, the migratory movements, the schooling, the urbanisation of society and, importantly, the demographic revolutions altered the social conditions of Basque.

At the eve of the industrial era, around 1860, the percentage of the Basque population by territories was as follows:

Table 2.1. Population in the Basque Country (1860)

COMMUNITIES	POPULATION	BASQUE SPEAKERS	%
NORTHERN BASQUE COUNTRY	123.000	80.000	65.04
SOUTHERN BASQUE COUNTRY	780.000	391.000	50.11
NAVARRRE	300.328	60.000	19.97
ARABA	120.494	12.000	9.95
GIPUZKOA	176.297	170.000	96.42
BIZKAIA	183.098	149.098	81.43

Source: (http://www.euskadi.net/euskara_historia/HISVIEU.pdf)

At that time, Basque speakers were already in a minority in Araba and Navarre (9.95% and 19.97%, respectively), following the process of language loss initiated in the XVIII century in Araba and in the first half of the XIX century in Navarre. In Bizkaia, Gipuzkoa and, to a lesser extent, Northern Basque Country, Basque speakers formed a clear majority.

A considerable demographic growth came as a consequence of the industrial revolution in the coastal southern provinces of the Basque Country, Bizkaia and Gipuzkoa. In one hundred years (1877-1970), the population in the Southern Basque

Country moved from 754.883 to 2.343.503 (http://www.euskadi.net/euskara_historia/HISVIEU.pdf). The demographic change was as follows in the Southern Basque Country:

Table 2.2. Evolution of the population in Southern Basque Country (1857-1910)

YEAR	BIZKAIA	GIPUZKOA	ARABA	NAVARRE
1857	160.579	156.494	96.398	297.422
1877	189.954	167.207	93.538	304.184
1897	290.665	191.822	94.622	302.978
1910	349.923	226.684	97.181	312.235

Source: (http://www.euskadi.net/euskara_historia/HISVIEU.pdf)

According to the above table, Bizkaia more than doubled its population, and the increase was also impressive in Gipuzkoa. For example, between 1876 and 1900, in Bilbao and its surrounding industrial areas, the population grew from 25.000 to 230.000, with immigrants totalling 60.000 (Fusi, 1984: 43). The industrial revolution did not reach the provinces of Araba and Navarre until around 1960, and the population remained rather stable in these territories, as it did in the Northern Basque Country (Zuazo, 1988: 22).

The economic structure of the Southern Basque Country started to change rapidly, and the new situation worked against Basque. The considerable immigration attracted by the flourishing mining and iron industries did not aid the maintenance of the Basque language, especially given the established socio-cultural system. At the same time, as the overwhelmingly Basque speaking rural and fishing communities lost their central position in the Basque economy, the population in those areas moved to the urban areas to make a living in industry. Furthermore, emigration to America was the only alternative left in some of those territories, especially in the Northern Basque Country, where 80.000 people were forced to emigrate between 1832 and 1884 (Camblong, 1969: 67-86, cited in Zuazo, 1988: 19). In the whole Basque Country, around 200,000 people headed for America in those years, most of whom were Basque monolinguals (http://www.euskadi.net/euskara_historia/HISVIEU.pdf).

After a long pause, the second significant demographic change came soon after the end of the Spanish Civil War (1936-39) in the Southern Basque Country, from 1950 onwards and especially between 1960 and 1965. Most of these post-war immigrants settled in the industrial areas of Bizkaia and Gipuzkoa. From 1960 onwards, immigrants started to become established in Navarre and Araba.

Table 2.3. Migration in the Southern Basque Country (1951-1980)

	Araba	Bizkaia	Gipuzkoa	Navarre
1951-60	+7.053	+96.399	+48.754	-20.499
1961-70	+42.547	+148.804	64.845	+18.127
1971-80	+30.428	+15.388	-3.619	+3.077

Source: Adapted from EGIN, 1982: 172; cited in Zuazo, 1988: 22).

The percentage of the Basque speaking population in the Basque Country decreased from 52% in 1879 to 20.05% in 1973, but has since experienced a remarkable recovery. Immigration played a pivotal role in this linguistic shift, alongside repressive politics against Basque, especially during Franco’s dictatorship (this and some other factors that will be analyzed later in this chapter).

In the XIX century, Spain made its first serious attempts to impose a nationalistic literacy and schooling systematically. Following the French educational model, the Moyano Law (1857) imposed a centralist and homogenizing system that deprived local powers of any control of education. This model proved an ideological instrument to eliminate regional peculiarities, and Basque was, accordingly, totally ignored and its use even persecuted through physical punishment (Fernández, 1994: 11-15).

The Moyano Law (1857) was part of a political-legislative context. The loss of the historical Basque liberties *-fueros-*, together with the increasing interest of a cultural elite for Basque history, culture and language, and the emergence of nationalism provoked a reaction in the Basque society, weak at the beginning, but irreversible in the long run (Fernández, 1994: 16). This new awareness was culturally reflected in the first three decades of the XX century, when a so-called Basque Renaissance took place. Literature bloomed once again, many new publications appeared whose main

goal was the promotion of the Basque culture, and some local initiatives attempted to preserve the language (see Michelena, 1988b).

Some incipient endeavours to establish Basque schools were made at that time, but they did not crystallize until the advent of the Republic (1931-36). This short period represented a brief oasis in the difficult history of the Basque language. Basque was made official for the first time in history (1936), and bilingualism was, if not promoted, at least accepted by the central powers. Between 1932 and 1936, the first official Basque schools or *ikastolas* were set up (Fernández, 1994). This schooling model would become a key institution in the Basque speaking contemporary culture, as it succeeded in synthesising the values of the modern Basque culture and in defining collectively accepted cultural patterns (Arpal, Asua and Dávila, 1982: 44). In those years, nine *ikastolas* were opened, taking 802 students. The real importance of this movement, however, was the fact that this new model set the theoretical and practical basis for a model which was to be developed in the post-war Basque Country (Fernández, 1994: 29).

At the beginning of the XX century, another initiative developed that proved vital for the unification of the Basque language (see Zuazo, 1988): the creation in 1918 of *Euskaltzaindia*, the Academy of the Basque language. Basque has been divided into different dialects since ancient times. Awareness and concern about this dialectal fragmentation of Basque was present even among the earliest Basque writers: Leizarraga in 1571, Oihenart in 1638 or Axular in 1643. The first linguistic attempt to classify the dialects may be attributed to Larramendi in his book *El imposible vencido* (1729), but we wait until the XIX Century to obtain the first complete and scientific classification of the Basque dialects. Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, father of the Basque dialectology, distinguished eight main dialects, establishing a classification which has remained untouched until today (see Pagola, 1991).

Despite the diversity of dialects, differences among them are, from a comparative point of view, “*despairingly small*” (Michelena, 1987b: 39). However, in the absence of a standard variety of Basque the dialectal differentiation widened throughout history, due to the fact that Basque was excluded from certain domains (e.g. administration, education and media) and substituted by the surrounding languages

and due to the political division of the Basque Country (Zuazo, 1988: 409). In the late XIX century, within a context of growing concern for the survival of Basque in the new socio-economic situation, the goal of a standard version of the language was considered to be of the utmost importance by Bascophile intellectuals such as Campi3n, Azkue and the founder of Basque nationalism Arana Goiri. With the creation of *Euskaltzaindia*, the process towards *euskara batua* (unified Basque) finally took off (Zuazo, 1988). In those first years of existence, the Academy already noticed that the most daunting task to be faced was dialectal unification. Plenty of ideas and suggestions related to this issue were discussed, but the models based on the Gipuzkoan dialect prevailed.

After the Civil War, the Academy revived the issue of unification, and some proposals were made to adopt the classic Lapurdian dialect, that is, the model set by Leizarraga for his translation of the Bible in 1571. In the 1960s, the process of normativization (Kn3rr, 1988: 13) gained speed, under the influence of a new generation of Basque intellectuals and the socio-cultural effervescence that followed the dark post-war period. Passionate debates on all the aspects of the language followed, leading to a meeting which would determine the future direction of the unified language: the meeting of Arantzazu in 1968. Through the leadership of Michelena, a combination of the central literary dialects (see Pagola, Peillen and D3ez de Ulzurrun, 1992) of the Basque Country was adopted as the base for a unified Basque language (Kn3rr, 1988: 24; Zuazo, 1988: 370). This model, apart from being the result of a deep linguistic knowledge of the language, was also chosen for pure sociolinguistic reasons: the main body of the Basque speakers was concentrated in this area, and the future of the language was inevitably linked to it (Michelena, 1968: 204; Txillardegui, 1959: 159).

The unification project focused basically on the written language, deciding on fields like orthography, declension or word formation. In the subsequent years, *Euskaltzaindia* has stuck to the programme previously defined. Much controversy and dispute has been arisen since then, but the *euskara batua* is nowadays a widely accepted reality. There is still much to be done but, regarding corpus planning, three main goals for the future seem to be worth mentioning: to set the patterns for the spoken language (pronunciation, accent, intonation), to finish the historical dictionary

of Basque and to attract marginalized speakers, who may at times feel excluded, to the standard language, adapting it to all the rich vibrant dialects in the Basque Country.

These initiatives to maintain and recover Basque were developed within a hostile context of animosity against the Basque Country in general and the Basque language in particular. The Spanish Civil War (1936-39) and the subsequent post-war period halted for years much cultural enterprise in the southern Basque Country. They were years of persecution and prohibition. Many language loyalists were killed or arrested, others were forced into exile. Public use of Basque was forbidden. Through laws and punishment, Basque was expelled from public life (Basque names of people, shops, hotels, for example, were banned), official life (e.g. registry office), the church (e.g. services, doctrine), the streets (use of Basque was forbidden in the market, the bars or the bus) (see Euskaltzaindia, 1978). Spanish was imposed as the sole language through the institutional tools of the dictatorship: the administration, the media and the school (Fernández, 1994: 50) Basque was mainly confined to rural areas, and it failed to create a wide urban base of speakers in the cities.

In the latter half of the 1950's, though, Basque society started to show signs of recovery. A new enthusiasm and activity in defence of Basque emerged, and the Basque culture flourished. Efforts were made to merge the oppressed Basque traditional culture with new European artistic tendencies. Moreover, in the 1960s culture became a vehicle to transmit political claims and views. For the first time, a group of avant-garde artists was formed, which included names such as Sáenz de Oiza, Oteiza, Chillida, Basterretxea and Zumeta. In literature, writers like Aresti, Txillardegui and Saizarbitoria rescued the language and tried to modernize an obsolete writing tradition (Michelena, 1988b). From 1956 onwards, the musical movement called "Ez dok amairu" made a huge impact in Basque society. Singers like Mikel Laboa, Benito Lertxundi, Xabier Lete or Lourdes Iriondo, combining the Basque traditional repertoire with American folk music or French and Catalan protest-music, aimed at creating a new Basque singing style that would represent all the Basque society.

Likewise, in the late fifties, the idea of re-establishing Basque schools was discussed. Elbire Zipitria created the first *ikastola* in this period in San Sebastian, answering the

expressed needs of a small number of Basque speaking parents to provide mother tongue education for their children (Fernández, 1994: 43). Apart from the incessant administrative obstacles created by the Spanish Department of Education, the *ikastolas* had to face many problems, mostly related to the lack of resources: money was scarce, school materials home-made, the teachers were fully committed but often not properly qualified, and the schools were arranged in private houses, garages and attics. Moreover, the schools lacked a suitable legal status, although as time went by they were grudgingly tolerated (Gardner, 2000: 40). In the Northern Basque Country, the first *ikastola* was opened in 1968, in Arcangues. The classes were entirely financed by the parents, gathered around a federation of schools, Seaska (Etxeberria, 1999: 70). However, the strength of the *ikastola* movement in the northern territories was much more limited than in the south.

In these years, the *ikastolas* underwent a deep process of modernization. While at first they reflected the ideological parameters of the pre-war nationalism, soon they managed to adapt to the socio-cultural values of the times (Fernández, 1994: 43), at a time when the Basque language was gaining a broader social prestige in society. In that context, the importance of the *ikastola* transcended the purely educational reality. In the words of the sociologist Ander Gurrutxaga (1985: 434-35), “*the ikastola is the crux that vertebrates the social discourse on the language. Significant discourse, where the linguistic and rational-educational terminology superimposes to the ikastola as a producer of social sense and reproducer of the collective communal we*”.

In numbers, the evolution of the *ikastola* schools was as follows:

Table 2.4. Evolution of the number of pupils in the *ikastola* schools

	Gipuzkoa	Bizkaia	Navarre	Araba	NBC	Basque Country
64/65	520	54		22		596
70/71	8.181	2.591	765	334	14	11.885
75/76	21.325	8.634	2.158	1.429	305	33.851
81/82	39.128	19.107	5.727	5.509	564	70.035

Source: Adapted from Fernández, 1994: 198-199.

At the height of the movement, in 1986, the *ikastolas* had 80.000 pupils, containing 12.8% of the students in the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC) (http://www.euskadi.net/euskara_historia/HISIIEU.pdf). In the subsequent years, most of them were integrated in the public system, although in many cases they retained their original name as well as some of their original peculiarities.

2.6. Concluding remarks on the historical evolution of Basque

The Basque language has made considerable progress in recent years. Basque has gained legal protection and widespread access to education. In the Basque Country (especially in the BAC), 'language-in-education' planning (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997) is playing a key role in language revitalization. The language is being put to new uses. Two public radio stations and one public television channel broadcast entirely in Basque. A completely Basque-written newspaper entitled *Egunkaria*² has also settled in the media market. Likewise, Basque has entered the administration, although not much has necessarily been done to ensure a welcoming attitude on the part of the administration to encourage the use of Basque by citizens. The new generations of native speakers are often fully literate, a new phenomenon which is giving rise to a new wave of printed materials. More books are now printed in Basque per year than in the whole of the previous 400 years (http://www.euskadi.net/euskara_historia/HISIIEU.pdf).

Nevertheless, Basque still has to face major challenges in order to secure its future. For example, relatively little has been done to introduce Basque in the work sphere. There are several original Basque companies, such as small rural farms and industries, fishing boat crews and small town shops and workshops, as well as a number of modern cultural service companies working in Basque, which include record and book shops, dictionary writing groups, small Basque publishers, church groups and cultural organizations. However, few jobs in the private sector have a formal language requirement. A 1996 survey of vacancy advertisements for degree holders published

² *Egunkaria* was closed in February 20th 2003, under accusations of being controlled by ETA. This measure provoked widespread outrage in large sections of the Basque society. The newspaper was temporarily replaced by *Egunero* (<http://www.egunero.info>). This newspaper, conceived as a temporary solution until the creation of a new newspaper, disappeared the same day in which *Berria* (<http://www.berria.info>) was first published. The first issue of *Berria* was published in June 22nd 2003.

in the local press of the BAC suggests that Basque was required or positively valued in just 10% of the vacancies. On the other hand, English was required or valued for 57% of the posts (Gardner, 2000: 36). In the last years, the government has launched a few pilot projects to promote Basque in private firms, but the effort seems insufficient. Recently, however, some other initiatives have been taken in this direction. For example, the organization *Kontseilua*, within a campaign to encourage the use of Basque in the private sector, has recently signed an agreement with 260 private companies and associations to promote the use of the language in every aspect of their working life (Euskaldunon Egunkaria, 15-VII-1999) (see chapter One on opportunity and incentive planning).

The current situation of Basque and its future prospects will be treated in more detail in the following section.

2.7. The Basque language today

This section aims at analyzing certain aspects of bilingualism in the “Country of Euskara”, as defined by Etxeberria (1999). The data gathered here have been collected mainly from the 1991 Sociolinguistic Survey (Eusko Jaurlaritza/Gobierno Vasco and Nafarroako Gobernua/Gobierno de Navarra, 1991), and the subsequent 1996 Sociolinguistic Survey of the Basque Country (Eusko Jaurlaritza/Gobierno Vasco, Nafarroako Gobernua/Gobierno de Navarra and Euskal Kultur Erakundea/Institut Culturel Basque, 1996).

2.7.1. Language competence

According to their relative language competence, the population can be divided into four groups:

- Bascophone monolinguals: they speak Basque “well” and cannot speak any other language “well”. They represent 0.5 % of the Basque population, 12.400 people in absolute numbers.

- Bilinguals: They speak “well” or “rather well” both Basque and Spanish or French. This group represents 22% of the population, around 534.100 speakers.
- Passive (or receptive) bilinguals: Although they speak little or no Basque, they understand or read it “well” or “rather well” (14.5% of the population, about 352.900 people).
- Non-Basque speaking monolinguals: they know Spanish or French only (63% of the population, around 1.528.700 people).

Likewise, bilinguals can be divided into three groups, according to their competence in Basque and Spanish or French:

- Bilinguals with Basque as their dominant language (29.9% of the bilinguals, around 159.600 people).
- Balanced bilinguals: their competence in Basque and Spanish or French is similar (32.1% of the bilinguals, around 171.500 people).
- Bilinguals with Spanish/French as their dominant language (38% of the bilinguals, around 203.000 people).

Table 2.5. Language competence by communities

	BASQUE COUNTRY		BAC		NAVARRE		NBC	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
TOTAL	2.428.100	100	1.778.500	100	437.200	100	212.400	100
Bascophone monolinguals	12.400	0.5	9.800	0.6	1.100	0.2	1.500	0.7
Bilinguals	534.100	22.0	438.400	24.7	41.000	9.4	54.700	25.7
Basque pred.	159.600	29.9	128.500	29.2	13.400	32.7	17.600	32.2
Balanced	171.500	32.1	141.700	32.3	11.800	28.9	18.000	33.0
Spanish/French pred.	203.000	38.0	168.200	38.4	15.800	38.4	19.000	34.8
Passive bilinguals	352.900	14.5	290.200	16.3	42.800	9.8	19.800	9.3
Spanish/French monolinguals	1.528.700	63.0	1.040.000	58.5	352.300	80.6	136.400	64.2

Source: 1996 Sociolinguistic Survey

Spanish/French monolinguals are in a majority in the three communities, but there are significant differences. One person out of four is bilingual in the Northern Basque Country (25.7%) and in the BAC (24.7%), whereas in Navarre just one out of ten is bilingual. Passive bilinguals represent 16.3% in the BAC, and almost one tenth of the population in Navarre (9.8%) and the NBC (9.3%). Bascophone monolinguals represent less than 1% in the three communities.

Four sociolinguistic areas can be distinguished in the Basque Country, according to the language competence of the inhabitants (1991 Sociolinguistic Survey):

- 1) Areas where Basque speakers are more than 80% of the locality. 5% of the Basque population live in such areas. 10% of them are monolingual Bascophones, and 80% are bilinguals. The remaining 10% are Spanish/French monolinguals or passive bilinguals. 61% of such bilinguals have Basque as the predominant language. These areas, characterised as being relatively homogeneous, are mainly rural. Only one of the 50 towns with more than 10.000 inhabitants in the Basque Country forms part of this grouping.
- 2) Areas where the number of Basque speakers is between 45% and 79%. These areas are inhabited by 15% of the population. 2% of them are monolingual Basque speakers, and 80% are bilingual. In such areas, the number of balanced bilinguals (32%) and bilinguals who have Basque (33%) or Spanish/French (35%) as the predominant language is similar. Most of the towns with a population between 10.000 and 20.000 inhabitants (15 out of 27) are in these areas. These towns are mainly rural but they also include the major regional towns in Gipuzkoa and Bizkaia.
- 3) Areas where Basque speakers are between 20% and 40% of the population. Such areas account for 16% of the Basque population. Spanish/French monolinguals are more than twice as numerical as bilinguals, and most of bilinguals speak Spanish/French rather than Basque. These sociolinguistic areas are very divided and heterogeneous. There is only one city with more than 100.000 inhabitants

(San Sebastian), four with a population between 20.000 and 100.000 inhabitants, four towns between 10.000 and 20.000 and around 30 towns with less than 10.000 inhabitants.

4) Most of the Basque population (64%) live in areas where Basque speakers are less than 20%. Bilinguals represent 7% and the majority of them have Spanish/French as their predominant language. These areas are also rather heterogeneous, as they shelter all the towns in southern Araba and Navarre, most of which are rural, all the cities with more than 100.000 inhabitants except San Sebastian (Barakaldo, Bilbao, Vitoria and Pamplona), most of the municipalities with 20.000 to 100.000 inhabitants (12 out of 18), and some towns with 10.000 to 20.000 inhabitants (7 out of 27).

Table 2.6. Language competence according to age by communities (%)

	AGE GROUPS					
	TOTAL	≥65 1931 or bef.	50-64 1932-1946	35-49 1947-1961	25-34 1962-1971	16-24 1972-1980
BAC	100	100	100	100	100	100
Bascophone monolinguals	1	3	0	0	0	0
Bilinguals	25	26	21	21	25	33
Passive bilinguals	16	5	6	11	27	37
Spanish/French monolinguals	58	67	73	68	48	30
NAVARRRE	100	100	100	100	100	100
Bascophone monolinguals	0	1	0	0	0	0
Bilinguals	9	9	9	9	9	11
Passive bilinguals	10	3	5	14	14	12
Spanish/French monolinguals	81	87	86	77	77	77
NBC	100	100	100	100	100	100
Bascophone monolinguals	1	2	1	0	0	0
Bilinguals	26	35	31	27	14	11
Passive bilinguals	9	6	9	9	13	13
Spanish/French monolinguals	64	56	60	64	73	75

Source: 1996 Sociolinguistic Survey

According to the table, Basque is recovering relatively rapidly and constantly in the BAC but far more slowly in Navarre. In comparison, Basque is experiencing a decline in the Northern Basque Country.

In the BAC, Spanish monolinguals are decreasing significantly among young people, due to the increase of bilinguals and especially passive bilinguals. Thus bilinguals represent 26% among the population over 64 and 21% among people between 35 and 64. However, the percentage of bilinguals increases as age decreases. 25% of the population between 25 and 34 and 33% between 16 and 24 are bilingual. Balanced bilinguals are also predominantly young. Consequently, whereas only 6% of the population over 50 are bilingual, 27% of the people between 25 and 34 and 37% between 16 and 24. Finally, around 70% of the population over 35 are Spanish/French monolingual, but the number decreases as age does: there are 48% of people between 25 and 34 and 30% of the population between 16 and 24. This tendency seems to be consolidating, according to the information gathered from children's parents.

In Navarre, the growth of bilinguals and passive bilinguals among the young is less spectacular. Bilinguals are 25% of people over 25 and 11% among people between 16 and 24. Passive bilinguals are just 4% of the population over 50 and 14% among people below that age. Likewise, Spanish monolinguals represent 86% of the people over 50 and 77% of those below that age.

The tendency in the Northern Basque Country is the opposite. Bilinguals decrease significantly and French monolinguals increase among the young. In this territory, subtractive bilingualism is occurring. The percentage of bilinguals declines in a moderate way from the population over 64 (35%) to that between 35 and 49 (27%). However, the percentage of bilinguals decreases among the population below 35. Thus only 14% of the people between 25 and 34 and 11% of those between 16 and 24 are bilingual. French monolingualism follows the opposite direction: 60% among the population over 35 and 75% below that age.

Basque monolinguals, from their part, are disappearing in the three communities, as most of them are over 64.

Finally, the general characteristics of the four groups previously described according to their language competence in Basque and the languages in contact with Basque can be summarised (as broad generalizations) as follows (1996 Sociolinguistic Survey):

- 1) Basque monolinguals: They are born in the Basque Country, their parents are Basque and their first language is Basque. Likewise, their family and nearby community are entirely Basque. All of them are over 50 years old, and most of them over 64. They have very few qualifications and live mainly in rural areas. They show a great interest in the Basque language and they support its promotion.
- 2) Bilinguals: They are born in the Basque Country and most of their parents are Basque. The first language of most of them is Basque, although 17% of them have Spanish/French as their first language. Their family is mainly Basque speaking, but often not their friends and work colleagues. They show a great interest towards the Basque language and they support its promotion. The majority of them live in towns with fewer than 25.000 inhabitants, although one third live in urban or semi-urban areas.
- 3) Passive bilinguals: They are predominantly young, as two thirds of them are below 35. Most of them have Spanish or French as a first language, although it is Basque or both Basque and Spanish/French for 17%. Their family and nearby community is mainly non-Basque speaking. They show interest towards Basque and over half of them support its promotion. Most of them live in urban or semi-urban areas. One tenth are immigrants and more than one third have immigrant parents. Their level of qualifications is above the average. Most of them have studied in Spanish and two thirds have tried to learn Basque outside the education system.
- 4) Non-Basque monolinguals: They represent 63% of the population. Despite their characteristics being similar to those of the Basque population in general, they show some distinctive traits. Basque is not their first language. Their family and nearby community is mainly non Basque-speaking. One third are immigrants and almost another third have immigrant parents. One fourth support the promotion of Basque, another fourth are against it and the rest do not have a clear opinion about

it. Most of them live in municipalities with more than 25.000 inhabitants. They are a little older than the average of the population.

Table 2.7. Bilinguals according to age by communities (%)

	AGE GROUPS					
	TOTAL	≥65 1931 or bef.	50-64 1932-1946	35-49 1947-1961	25-34 1962-1971	16-24 1972-1980
BAC	100	100	100	100	100	100
Bilinguals	25	26	21	21	25	33
Basque bilinguals	29	49	44	27	12	19
Balanced bilinguals	32	28	32	34	34	33
Spanish/French bilinguals	38	23	24	39	54	47
NAVARRRE	100	100	100	100	100	100
Bilinguals	9	9	9	9	9	11
Basque bilinguals	33	44	49	32	19	21
Balanced bilinguals	29	32	25	34	25	27
Spanish/French bilinguals	38	23	25	34	57	52
NBC	100	100	100	100	100	100
Bilinguals	26	35	31	27	14	11
Basque bilinguals	32	52	38	16	9	4
Balanced bilinguals	33	29	41	31	36	29
Spanish/French bilinguals	35	20	20	53	55	67

Source: 1996 Sociolinguistic Survey

The type of bilingualism is a factor to be taken into account, as the facility bilinguals have to speak each of the two languages they know will influence their language choice a great deal, as we will see further on. In the Basque Country as a whole, 38% of the bilinguals have Spanish or French as their predominant language, 32.1% show the same facility in both languages and 29.9% feel more comfortable with Basque (1996 Sociolinguistic Survey).

The number of Basque bilinguals decreases as age decreases. In the BAC, while almost half (49%) of bilinguals over 65 have Basque as their predominant language, just one out of ten (12%) have more facility in Basque among the population between 25 and 34. This tendency, however, seems to be changing. Thus 19% among the young between 16 and 24 are Basque bilinguals, despite 35% of them having Spanish as their first language. Navarre shows the same tendency, although the recovery is much slower (19% of the population between 25 and 34 and 21% of that between 16

and 24). On the contrary, in the Northern Basque Country there are barely any signs of recovery. Basque bilinguals are decreasing, to the extent that there are almost no Basque bilinguals among the young between 16 and 24.

Table 2.8. Language mobility by communities

	BASQUE COUNTRY		BAC		NAVARRE		NBC	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
TOTAL	2.428.100	100	1.778.500	100	437.200	100	212.400	100
GAINS	92.800	3.8	81.400	4.6	9.200	2.1	2.200	1
LOSSES	87.300	3.6	62.700	2.1	11.600	2.6	13.000	6.1
DIFFERENCE	+5.000	+0.2	+18.700	+2.5	-2.400	-0.5	-10.800	-5.1

Source: 1996 Sociolinguistic Survey

All in all, in the period between 1991 and 1996, 92.800 people have learnt Basque (3.8% of the population), whereas 87.300 (3.6%) have lost it. According to the above table, Basque has gained 5.000 speakers between 1991 and 1996. However, 16% of the people whose first language was Basque have lost the language totally or partially, whereas only 5% of the population with Spanish or French as their first language have learnt Basque, and none of them have lost their first language. The losses continue to occur in what Fishman (1991) considers the basics of transmission: the family-home-neighbourhood-community sphere.

Moreover, if we analyze the situation by communities, the results are significantly different. In the BAC, those who have learnt Basque, 81.400 people (4.6%), are far more than those who have lost it, 62.700 people (3.5%). In Navarre, those who have lost Basque, 11.600 people (2.6%), are slightly more than those who have learnt it, 9.200 people (2.1%). In the NBC, the situation looks ominous: 13.000 people (6.1%) have lost the language, whereas just 2.200 people (1%) have learnt it.

Among the young, loss of Basque is decreasing and gains increasing in the BAC and Navarre, whereas in the NBC the tendency is the opposite. In the BAC, 7.2% of the population over 64 have lost the language, while 1.7% of the young between 16 and 24 have lost it. In addition, gains are almost imperceptible in the eldest generation

(0.8%), whereas they represent 6.4% among the people between 25 and 35 and 12.4% among the people between 16 and 24. The tendency is similar in Navarre. 3.3% of the population over 64 have lost the language, and just 0.6% of the young between 16 and 24 have lost it. The gains represent 0.3% in the former group, and 4.2% in the latter. In the NBC, losses are impressive and gains practically non-existent. 3.8% of the population over 64 have lost the language, while 10.5% of the young between 16 and 24 have lost it. The situation is aggravated by the fact that there is a loss of 50% in family language transmission (1996 Sociolinguistic Survey).

2.7.2. Basque in education

In recent years, education has had a great impact in the evolution of Basque in the Basque Country, and will continue to influence it in the near future (Zalbide, 1998). Indeed, the differential education systems in the BAC, Navarre and the NBC partly explain the success or failure of language revitalization efforts in each territory.

In the southern Basque Country, the situation of the language changed dramatically for the better after the death of Franco and the arrival of democracy. The recovery experienced by the Basque language in the subsequent years was based on two fundamental pillars: law and education.

The 1978 Spanish constitution declared that Spaniards must know Spanish and that they have the right to use it. At the same time, it indicated that each regional community could declare its local language official. So, in the following years, both the BAC (1979) and Navarre (1982) declared Basque to be an official language in their respective territories (Gardner, 2000: 33).

In the BAC, the right to use Basque was turned into a personal right throughout the three provinces. The BAC law (1982) states some of the consequences for the individual right to use Basque. These include the right to choose the language in dealings with the administration, in education and with the courts. The right to receive cultural products (e.g. press, radio, TV) in either language is also guaranteed (Gardner, 2000: 33; see also Bergara, 1996).

The corresponding language law was not enacted in Navarre until 1986. Three different language zones were distinguished, with different personal rights in each regarding Basque. In the area in the north of Navarre where Basque is natively spoken, citizens' rights are similar to those of citizens in the BAC. In the southernmost areas Basque speakers have practically no language rights. Pamplona and the surrounding area are treated as a special case. In this intermediate zone citizens have the right to address the administration in Basque and the option, not the obligation, of having their offspring taught either Basque or in Basque (Gardner, 2000: 34).

As far as education is concerned, in the BAC the Decree of Bilingualism, published in July 1983, defined the bilingual teaching models to be used in the future. Three main models were established (the fourth one, the Spanish-only model called X, takes less than 1% of the pre-university students) (see Etxeberria: 1999):

- Model A: Almost all teaching is completed in Spanish. Basque is taught as a subject.
- Model B: Teaching is completed half in Spanish and half in Basque. Both languages are thus medium as well as subject.
- Model D: Almost all teaching is completed in Basque.

The evolution of these models in the last twenty years has been as follows (Note: There is no Model C as C is not a letter in the Basque language):

Table. 2.9. Evolution of the distribution of students in primary and secondary schools in the BAC (%)

	1982-83	1998-99
Model A	61	41
Model B	8	20
Model D	12	38
Model X	19	1

Source: Adapted from Gardner, 2000: 66.

In Navarre, due to the linguistic division of the territory, the possibility of obtaining a Basque language medium and subject education varies from the north to the south.

The models are similar to those in the BAC. Models B and D are available in the most northerly area. In the mixed zone, model D is optional, subject to parental demand and government approval. In the southernmost zone, the Basque language as a subject is optional, but Basque medium teaching is not available. Model G, the most popular of all, is equivalent to model X in the BAC. Currently, the distribution of pre-university students according to the language models is as follows:

Table 2.10. Percentage of students by model in Navarre in the school year 1998-99

	Model A		Model D (and B)		Model G	
	Nº	%	Nº	%	Nº	%
Pre-primary	3.872	28	3.629	26	6.334	46
Primary	5.869	20	6.175	21	17.105	59
Secondary	2.517	6	5.217	13	33.249	81
Total	12.258	15	15.021	18	56.688	68

Source: Gardner, 2000: 72.

Please notice that model B is almost non-existent in Navarre. Model D is available in the Northern and Central areas (*zona vascófona* and *zona mixta*) both in public schools and private *ikastola* schools. The difference between these two areas is that in the Northern area Basque has to be either a compulsory subject or the language of instruction, that is the same as in the Basque Autonomous Community (in practice model B is very unusual). In the mixed area you can have G (the most popular), A, B (almost non-existent) and D.

In the South, Basque is not available even as a subject in the public system and Basque medium teaching is available only in private *ikastola* schools, that is only model G is available unless children attend a private *ikastola*.

In the NBC, the situation is entirely different. In France, French is still the only official language. Education is under the total control of the Republic, despite some timid attempts of decentralization in the 1980s. The 1951 Deixonne Law, which promoted, albeit in a limited way, the teaching of the Basque language and culture, seemed to have opened some possibilities to advance Basque language revitalization. However, the pro-Basque movement has never overcome its initial difficulties. The

ikastolas have historically suffered from economic problems, and that fact has deprived them of developing a truly autonomous policy. In 1986, for example, the *ikastolas*, included initially in the private sector, had to adopt the public model (12 hours in Basque and 12 hours in French) in order to survive. Nevertheless, some advances have been made in the public schools. In 1983, following the actions of the parents gathered around *Seaska*, the Federation of Basque Schools, the first public bilingual class was opened in Sara. This initiative was developed in some other locations, and in 1986, the parents' association of students in the bilingual education, *Ikas Bi*, was created (Etxeberria, 1999: 68-72). Although there is a lack of resources, the parental demand for bilingual models of education is on the increase.

If we consider pre-primary and primary education (ages 3-11) in the school year 1998-99, the students are distributed in the following way (It must be noted that the referred models are not called A, B and D as in the BAC, but they roughly correspond to them):

Table 2.11. Pupils by model in primary education in the Northern Basque Country in the school year 1997-98

Model	Number of pupils	%
A	2.700	11
B	2.726	11
D	1.287	5

Source: Gardner, 2000: 72.

2.7.3. Basque and identity

One of the key issues to be taken into account when the maintenance and revitalization of Basque concerns individuals' sense of identity. To the question "what do you consider yourself" in terms of identity, the answers were the following (1996 Sociolinguistic Survey):

Table 2.12. Ethnocultural identity in the Basque Country (%)

	BASQUE COUNTRY	BAC	NAVARRE	NBC
Only Basque	28	32	23	7
Basque and Spanish/French	49	51	33	59
Only Spanish/French	15	8	35	30
----	8	9	9	3

Source: 1996 Sociolinguistic Survey

In the BAC, one citizen out of three consider themselves as only Basque, half of them Basque and Spanish and 8% only Spanish. In Navarre, one fifth of the population consider themselves as only Basque, one third both Basque and Spanish, and the remaining third only Spanish. Finally, in the NBC more than half of the population regard themselves as both Basque and French, one third only French and 7% only Basque.

To the question “is it necessary to speak Basque to be Basque”, the following answers were given:

Table 2.13. Basque language and Basque identity

	BASQUE COUNTRY		BAC		NAVARRE		NBC	
	1991		1996		1996		1996	
	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO
Is it necessary to speak Basque to be Basque?	43	47	33	53	48	36	62	29

Sources: 1991 and 1996 Sociolinguistic Surveys

In the BAC, one third of the population consider that it is necessary to speak Basque in order to be Basque, while half do not. In Navarre, almost half the population consider that it is necessary to speak Basque in order to be Basque, whereas 36% think it is not necessary. Finally, in the NBC 62% of the population associate being Basque with speaking Basque, while 29% do not.

These results should be, however, interpreted carefully. In the BAC, the percentages of the population who speak Basque and those who consider that to speak Basque is a necessary condition to be Basque are very similar. Thus it could be presumed that those who consider that to speak Basque is necessary in order to be Basque are roughly those who speak the language. However, in a study conducted by Ros, Cano and Huici (1987), it was concluded that the citizens of the BAC see the Basque identity as based on speaking the language, although many of them do not master it, showing an “unsatisfied militant” attitude. Basque seems to be a symbol of their social identity (Ugalde, 1979; cited in Ros, Cano and Huici, 1987: 245).

In Navarre and in the NBC, the higher percentage of people who report themselves as speaking Basque and being Basque seems to be the result of the combination of those who consider themselves as only Basque and those who, not regarding themselves as Basques, consider the language as something related to the “others” (Etxeberria, 1999: 106).

The differences are even higher when relating identity to origin and language competence. Thus, among the native population the people who consider themselves as only Basque (45%) are slightly more than those who regard themselves as both Basque and Spanish or French (40%). However, of those whose father or/and mother is/are immigrant, 60% consider themselves as both Basque and Spanish or French, and 20% as only Basque. Among the immigrants, 59% regard themselves as both Basque and Spanish or French and 29% as only Spanish or French. Finally, the percentage of bilinguals who consider themselves as only Basque increases as their language competence does (1996 Sociolinguistic Survey).

2.7.4. Attitudes towards Basque

Identification with a language and positive attitudes towards it do not guarantee its maintenance (Romaine, 1989: 43; Sánchez Carrión, 1991: 43) Attitudes, though, may act both as a predisposing factor in language achievement and as an outcome (Baker, 1992: 12). Thus attitudes may indicate that the health of a language, and knowledge about it is necessary to formulate an effective language policy (Baker, 1992: 30).

The 1996 sociolinguistic survey carried out by the Basque Government does not provide information about general attitudes towards Basque, but it examines the attitudes of the population towards the promotion of the acquisition and use of the language. For that purpose, different aspects have been considered, such as the educational system, public administration and the mass media. The answers given can be summarised as follows:

Table 2.14. Attitudes to language planning in the Basque Country (%)

	BASQUE COUNTRY	BAC	NAVARRRE	NBC
Very favourable	14	14	13	11
Favourable	31	32	25	38
Indifferent	37	38	30	39
Unfavourable	15	14	22	12
Very unfavourable	3	2	10	1

Source: 1996 Sociolinguistic Survey

The percentages are very similar in the Basque Country, the BAC and the NBC, where nearly half of the population show favourable attitudes to the promotion of Basque, whereas around 15% are against it. The situation is different in Navarre. Almost one third of the population (32%) express unfavourable attitudes towards the promotion of Basque, whereas favourable attitudes amount to 38%. However, the percentage of the population who shows very favourable attitudes is similar to the rest of communities.

According to age, there are few significant differences between the groups, although that which is most favourable to the promotion of Basque is more strongly found among the young than the rest. Moreover, Basque is the first language of around half of those who show very favourable attitudes towards the language, whereas Spanish or French is the language of eight or more out of ten of the remaining groups. The Spanish or French monolinguals are a majority in all age groups except in the group with most favourable attitudes towards the promotion of Basque, where they are about 30%. As favourable attitudes decrease, so does the percentage of the population who regard themselves as Basque. Thus the majority of those who are very unfavourable to the promotion of Basque do not consider themselves as Basque, while nine out of ten

who show very favourable attitudes towards the language consider themselves as Basque. Finally, the interpersonal network of linguistic contact is basically non-Basque in all the domains of use, except in the case of the group with the most favourable attitude towards Basque. The social network becomes more Bascophone as attitudes towards Basque become more positive (1991 Sociolinguistic Survey).

A recent study analyzed the general attitudes towards language of students in the last year of Primary School (13-14), including the three communities of the Basque Country (Larrañaga, 1995; see also, for different ages, Perales, 1989, and Madariaga, 1994). The students' answers were classified into three groups:

2.15. Nature of attitudes to Basque among students in the Basque Country (13-14 year olds) (%)

Motivation	BASQUE COUNTRY	BAC	NAVARRE	NBC
Integrative	30	40	18	45
Instrumental	21	23	15	12
Negative	16	15	20	23

Source: Larrañaga, 1995

All in all, positive attitudes prevail, although negative attitudes are definitely present. Among the positive ones, attitudes are more integrative than instrumental (see, e.g., Gardner and Lambert, 1972; Gardner, 1985). However, students' attitudes are different in each community. In the BAC, integrative attitudes are nearly double in ratio to the instrumental attitudes, whereas the percentage of negative attitudes is lower than in the other two communities. In Navarre, integrative attitudes are slightly more present than instrumental ones, and one out of five of the students show negative attitudes towards Basque. In the NBC, positive attitudes are mainly integrative (45%), whereas instrumental attitudes are less present. It seems that students of this community concede that Basque has a highly symbolic value. Negative attitudes are also important (23%).

2.7.5. Language use

Bilingualism can be defined in terms of use as well as ability and attitude (Weinreich, 1953; Mackey, 1970). The bilingual speaker is supposed to be able to communicate in both languages, and that entails that (s)he must have a minimal competence in both of them. Use can indicate whether a bilingual person is more or less dominant in one or the other of his or her languages (Hamers and Blanc, 1989: 11-12). For Sánchez Carrión (1991), when a bilingual person achieves a sufficient level of use, the nativization process to become a “complete speaker” starts. At this point, use connects with the knowledge acquired and the motivation to learn the language.

In the Basque Country, Basque was spoken more than ten or twenty years ago in many environments such as the schools, administration or the media, and in daily life in general. However, the increase in the number of Basque speakers has been not translated into a parallel increase in its use by those who consider themselves as “euskaldun” and are able to speak the language without difficulty. This issue deserves further consideration.

In the sociolinguistic surveys carried by the Basque Government, the use of Basque has been analyzed in three main areas: the family, the nearby community and wider society. The results are as follows:

Table. 2.16. Use of Basque (%). Only Basque speakers (1991-1996)

	BASQUE COUNTRY		BAC		NAVARRE		NBC	
	1991	1996	1991	1996	1991	1996	1991	1996
Within the family								
- Being all together	53	47	53	48		46		35
- With the partner	51	50	52	51		48		45
- With the children	61	67	67	73	59	65	30	37
Within the nearby community								
- With friends	44	49	44	49	48	51	20	44
- With work colleagues	37	44	38	45	48	51	25	32
In more formal environment								
- In the local council offices	48	56	51	59		49		31
- In the health services	23	30	24	33		34		9

Source: 1996 Sociolinguistic Survey

Comparing the results of 1991 and 1996 surveys, the progress in the use of Basque has been considerable. All in all, Basque speakers use mainly Basque in the family and in the nearby community, and also in some formal environments. Nevertheless, as the domains become more formal, Spanish or French prevail. Within the family, the use of Basque with children has increased, and the use between the parents maintained. Parents speak Basque with their children significantly more than between themselves, apparently trying to secure the transmission of the language to them. Outside the family, the use of Basque has increased in the nearby community, and even more in more formal domains. In conclusion, the use of Basque has been maintained within the family and has increased outside the family.

The BAC and Navarre more or less conform to the aforementioned characteristics. In general, Basque is slightly less used in Navarre, although slightly more used in the nearby community. On the contrary, use of Basque has notably decreased in the NBC, where French is the dominant language in all domains except the most traditional ones. Within the family, it is especially noticeable that only one out of three parents (37%) speak Basque with their children. Outside the family, Basque is still more used than French in the nearby community and in the most traditional domains and French is dominant in the rest, especially in the most formal environments.

The surveys also examined the factors that have the greatest influence in the use of Basque, which can be summarized as follows:

1) Socio-structural factors: density of the Bascophones in the Interpersonal Network of Linguistic Contact (see Landry and Allardt, 1994). The density of Basque speakers has a pivotal influence in its use. It can be said that, regardless the domain of use, it is necessary for “everybody or almost everybody” to know Basque in order to use it. Thus when at home “everybody or almost everybody” can speak Basque, 73% of the people mainly use it, while when “half or more than half” know Basque, the percentage of those who speak Basque is just 13%. In the nearby community, 75% of the people speak Basque with their friends when “everybody or almost everybody” can speak Basque, and only 38% if those who can speak it are “half or more than half” Basque speaking (1996 Sociolinguistic Survey).

Consequently, it can be said that, with respect to the density of Basque speakers, there is a minimum threshold, under which the use of Basque is not guaranteed. In the family, this threshold is clear: everybody has to know Basque. Among friends, the limit is not that clear. However, if not everybody, almost everybody has to know Basque in order to guarantee its use.

The quality of this interpersonal network depends to a great extent on the sociolinguistic area which, at the same time, is very closely related to the ethno-linguistic vitality of Basque. Thus the more Bascophone an area is, the higher the use of Basque will be. In the first sociolinguistic area (more than 80% know Basque), Bascophones mainly speak Basque in both the family and the nearby community. In the second area (the percentage of Bascophones is between 45% and 80%), people talk more Basque than Spanish or French. In the third area (between 20% and 45%), people speak as much Basque as Spanish or French. Finally, in the fourth sociolinguistic area, Spanish or French are spoken more than Basque.

2) Psycholinguistic factors: the relative language competence of bilinguals in using Basque or Spanish/French. The relative competence has a similar influence in the three domains of use: family, nearby community and the more formal environment. In short, the behaviour of the different groups of bilinguals is the following (1991 Sociolinguistic Survey):

- Basque bilinguals: they speak mainly in Basque in the family, the nearby community and, to a lesser extent, in the more formal environments.
- Balanced bilinguals: although less than the first group, they speak Basque in the family, the nearby community and, to a much lesser extent, in the more formal environments.
- Spanish/French bilinguals: they speak more in Spanish or French than in Basque in all domains except the most traditional ones, such as the market.

In a recent study conducted by EKB (Commission of Basque Culture), the use of Basque in the streets (and not in the polls) has been examined, with reference to 1989, 1993 and 1997. The result in the towns with more than 5.000 inhabitants were as follows (EKB, 1998; cited in Etxeberria, 1999: 111):

Table 2.17. Use of Basque in the streets (%) (1989, 1993 and 1997)

	1989	1993	1997
Basque Country		11,6	13,1
BAC	8,72	13,19	15,25
Navarre	5,57	5,7	6,4
NBC	4,34	4,9	4,6

Source: EKB (1998)

According to the data gathered in 1997, the use of Basque in the streets represents 13.1%. Taking into account that the bilingual population of the Basque Country amounts to 22.5%, the use of Basque is relatively high, since approximately half of the people who are able to speak Basque make use of it. Basque is much more spoken in the BAC (15.25%) than in Navarre (6.4%) and the NBC (4.6). Finally, whereas between 1989 and 1997 the use of Basque has almost doubled in the BAC, it has increased slightly in Navarre and decreased a little in the NBC.

Table 2.18. Use of Basque in the streets according to age (%)
(1989, 1993 and 1997)

	1989	1993	1997
Total	7.6	9	10
Children (2-14)	11.2	12.9	14.7
Young people (15-24)	5	7.6	9.7
Adults (24-65)	6.5	7.7	8.7
Elderly people (≥65)	10.7	9.9	9.2

Source: EKB (1998)

According to age, language use has increased in all ages except in the population over 65, being especially significant among children (from 11.2% to 14.7%) and young people (5% to 9.7%). The increase is more moderate in adults (from 6.5% to 8.7%).

Nevertheless, it can be said that, at least as far as the young population is concerned, the progress out of school is smaller than expected by the advance in education.

2.8. The 2001 Sociolinguistic Survey

In recent months, the results of the 2001 Survey (The Continuity of Basque III) have started to be published on the World Wide Web (http://www.euskadi.net/euskara_inkestak/3encu/inicio.pdf#page=5). At the moment of writing, only the results regarding the Basque Autonomous Community have been presented. In this section, a brief comment will be made about these partial results, and some basic trends will be identified:

- According to the 2001 Census, 29.4% – around 530,900 – of the population can speak Basque. The percentage of speakers has steadily increased in the last decade (24.1% in 1991 and 27.7% in 1996). In absolute numbers, the number of speakers has increased by over 110,000 between 1991 and 2001. A further 206,100 citizens (11.4%) understand Basque either well or fairly well, even though they do not speak it.
- The level of competence in Basque according to age is encouraging for the future. Indeed, practically half the young people in the BAC (48%) aged between 16 and 24 can speak Basque.
- Basque use increased between 1991 and 1996, and has stabilised over the last five years. On the positive side, young people tend to speak Basque more often.
- The evolution of first languages has hardly varied at all over recent years. For three out of every four (76.1%) inhabitants in the BAC, Spanish is their first language. For 18.8% of the population, Basque is their first language and the remaining 5.1% speak both Spanish and Basque as joint first languages.
- Practically all those for whom Basque is their mother tongue have also learnt Spanish (98%). However, 7.5% partially lost their ability to speak Basque, and 6.8% lost their ability altogether. Therefore, the Basque language continues to register losses. Nevertheless, gains outnumber losses. 11.6% of those who have Spanish as their mother tongue are currently bilingual, and a further 12.6% are passive bilinguals.

- Losses in the transmission of the language from parents to children are extremely small when both parents speak Basque. Significant losses occur when only one parent speaks the language. When only one parent speaks Basque, 59% of children have Spanish as their only language, one third (33%) speak both Basque and Spanish, and only 8% speak Basque as their only language.

2.9. Discussion

The case of Basque illustrates the importance of language planning in the revitalization of a language. The results in this chapter reflect a very different situation and evolution of Basque in the three communities that form the Basque Country. Whereas during the last few years the number of Basque speakers has grown remarkably in the BAC and, to a lesser extent, in Navarre, the situation in the NBC looks worrying. The number of bilinguals is decreasing among the youth, and at present shows no signs of recovery. Although many factors may explain the situation, it is evident that Basque has recovered where an adequate language policy has been developed. The absence of a unified language policy is another consequence of the political and administrative division of the Basque territories.

Acquisition planning (Cooper, 1989) is a major type of language planning (see chapter One). Its most important aspects are language reproduction in the family and language production in the school (Baker, 2001). In this chapter, it has been seen that losses in the transmission of the language within the family continue to occur. Therefore, education is a key element to secure new speakers. In the Basque Country, the education system has become the most important tool of language planning.

Another important type of language engineering is status planning. In the Basque Country, status planning has often been associated with the concept of *normalization*, meaning the spread of the language to new speakers and new domains of use (Gardner, Puigdevall i Serralvo and Williams, 2000). In chapter One, the effectiveness and adequacy of extending the language to as many domains of use as possible has been discussed. On the one hand, extending the functions is important in terms of status, (Mackey, 1989) which in turn can have a positive influence in language choice (Baker, 2003). On the other hand, Fishman (1989, 1991) indicates that putting

excessive focus on trying to allocate high functions to Basque does little to attract new speakers or to avoid the weakening of the intergenerational transmission of the language. He argues that efforts should mainly focus on the latter aspect. In any case, it is important to set priorities and clarify the fundamental goals of language planning.

The third classic type of language planning is corpus planning. In this chapter, the process towards the unification of the Basque language has been explained. Important steps have been taken towards the unification of the language. One challenge for the immediate future should be to further integrate the rich variety of Basque dialects into the standard, unified language.

This section has sought to offer a global view about the situation of Basque today. The Basque speaking community is experiencing a radical transformation, due to the constant evolution of the characteristics and distribution of the Basque speakers. In this period of effervescence and movement around the language, it seems appropriate to underline some of the major changes it has undergone:

- The number of “euskaldunberri”, the Basque speakers whose first language is not Basque, is growing rapidly. Therefore, their relative influence in the Basque speaking community is on the increase. In some towns and cities, most Basque speakers are “euskaldunberri”.
- If until recently the Basque speaking population was mainly concentrated in the rural areas, in the last few years Basque has notably increased its presence in the urban areas. Thus nowadays many Basque speakers live in major towns and cities of the Basque Country.
- As said before, Basque has gained new fields of use but, at the same time, Spanish and French have found new uses in the most Basque speaking areas, entering domains where until recently Basque was the only language. Many language loyalists have insisted on the necessity of preserving the traditional Basque heartland in order to secure its future natural development. In the same vein, Sánchez Carrión (1999: 52) has stressed the importance of creating a compact community of Basque speakers.

On the other hand, Basque is not used as much as might be expected. The reasons for this need to be analyzed carefully, but some critical comments can be made:

- One of the two main factors that influence the use of Basque is the capacity and confidence of the speakers when speaking the language. Given that there seems to be a close connection between language competence and having Basque as the first language, the role of the “euskaldunberri” in the future is again important. By transmitting the language to their children from the early childhood, they can provide them with the conditions to attain a proper competence of the language.
- Having a Basque-speaking network, especially within the family and the nearby community but also in more formal environments, is another basic condition for the use of the language. Within the family, Basque is only spoken when all or almost all the members know the language, while most of the people need to know Basque among friends or work colleagues for the language to be used. Thus a special effort should be made to promote the transmission of the language and prevent losses in the family-home-neighbourhood-community sphere. Moreover, the presence of Basque in the media and culture should be encouraged for status purposes.
- In the BAC, the three bilingual teaching models are supposed to guarantee a command on the language. Unfortunately, it seems that the D model, the entirely Basque-medium one, is the only one that fulfils these expectations (Etxeberria, 1999). It seems that these teaching models be reassessed.

2.10. Summary of the chapter

This chapter has offered a global view of Basque, an ancient non Indo-European language whose origins remain unclear. In the first part, the main theories regarding the relationship of Basque with a number of languages, which range from the neighbouring Iberian to the remote Caucasian languages, have been analyzed. Nevertheless, despite all the generous efforts made by researchers throughout the world to cast some light on its origin, no hypothesis has yet succeeded in such an enterprise. The second part consists of a brief description of the language, which presents some peculiar characteristics, like its ergative nature.

Subsequently, the chapter concentrated on the history of the Basque language. The Basque Country has been multilingual for at least two thousand years. Moreover, historically its territory has been surrounded by many different languages, some of them as powerful and influential as Latin and, more recently, Spanish and French. In this complex linguistic setting, Basque has managed to survive, despite being ignored and even persecuted. The attachment Basques have shown to their language has ensured its maintenance and its current revitalization.

Recently, attempts have been made to secure the future of the language, and some remarkable achievements have been made. It seems that the efforts towards reversing language shift have had some positive results, although some dark clouds threaten the horizon. The territorial division of the Basque Country leaves different futures for the language, most worryingly in the territories where allegiance to Basque is weaker. Thus, whereas in the BAC the language has shown clear signs of recovery, the advance has been much slower in Navarre, and Basque is declining in the NBC. These issues and others have been analyzed in the final section of this chapter.

Chapter Three

BILINGUALISM IN WALES

3.1. Introduction

This chapter seeks to introduce the Welsh language and examine the bilingual situation in Wales. The chapter begins by explaining the origins of Wales. Subsequently, the evolution of Welsh throughout history is examined. This helps to contextualize the current situation, which will be examined next.

This chapter follows a similar structure to Chapter Two, in which bilingualism in the Basque Country was analyzed. Indeed, one of the aims of this chapter is to provide a comparison with the Basque situation. It is hoped that differences and similarities in the bilingual situation between these two countries provide a wider perspective to the issues analyzed in this thesis.

3.2. Origins of Welsh

Welsh is an Indo-European language. It is therefore part of a vast family of languages which are related and which are supposed to have had a common ancestor language, called “Proto Indo-European” (Richards, Platt and Platt, 1992: 177). Indo-European was spoken by a semi-nomadic people living in the steppe regions of southern Russia around 4000 BC (Crystal, 1997: 298), who spread eastwards and westwards at an early stage, reaching the Danube area by 3500 BC and India by 2000 BC (Davies, 1993: 3). Nowadays, Indo-European languages “can be found from Iceland and the Hebrides to the mouth of the Ganges, even before taking into account the historically more recent migrations to the Americas, Africa and the Antipodes” (Russell, 1995: 2).

The Celts were probably the first Indo-European population to extend across Europe. The term Celt is, in the first place, linguistic. The first mentions of them are to be found in the writings of Greek and Roman historians and ethnographers, who referred to them as a separate people speaking a distinctive variety of language. The original

homeland of the Celts was somewhere in central Europe. From there they spread in different migrations over the whole Europe: east and south through the Balkans to Asia Minor, south into Italy, west into the Iberian Peninsula, north to the Atlantic coast and across Britain and Ireland (Macaulay, 1992: 1-2). Around the year 300 BC, they were the most powerful people in Europe, expanding through a territory which extended from Ireland to Anatolia (Davies, 1994: 25).

In the last centuries of the pre-Christian era, three forms of Celtic were spoken on the European mainland and in Asia Minor: the Galatian of central Anatolia, the Celtiberian of Spain and the Gaulish of France and Northern Italy (Davies, 1993: 6). The most commonly held opinion dates the arrival of the Celtic language and the essentials of Celtic culture into Britain in the centuries after 600 BC, introduced “by small groups of migrants who were not large enough to change the basic racial composition of society but were powerful and confident enough to be culturally dominant” (Davies, 1994: 22). The variety of dialects spoken on the Continent has been labelled Continental Celtic, whereas those which came to be spoken in Britain and Brittany are referred to as Insular Celtic (Crystal, 1997: 304).

The language introduced in Britain was similar to that spoken in Gaul. Indeed, the Celtic speech of Gaul and Britain at the start of the historic era can be considered as one language, frequently referred to as Gallo-Brittonic. A different form of Celtic – Goidelic- became dominant in Ireland and, later on, in Scotland and the Isle of Man (Davies, 1993: 6). Linguistically, Goidelic, the ancestor of Irish, Scots Gaelic and Manx, is known as Q-Celtic, because it retained the /kw-/ sound of Proto-Indo-European. Gallo-Brittonic, the ancestor of Welsh, Cornish and Breton, is referred to as P-Celtic, because /kw-/ developed into /p-/. The distinction is apparent in the Irish *ceathair* and Welsh *pedwar* (four) (Crystal, 1997: 304).

Outside Britain and Ireland, Celtic speech seems to have died by 500 AD (Macaulay, 1992: 2). Celtiberian succumbed to the pressure of Romans Latin at the beginning of the Christian era. Galatian is reported to have been still in use in the fifth century AD (Campbell, 1991: 274). From its part, Gaulish had been supplanted by German speakers and Latin by about 500 AD. The only surviving variety of Celtic is Breton,

but it was reintroduced into the continent as a result of migration to Brittany from Britain over a period spreading from about 450 to about 650 AD (Davies: 1993: 6).

Britain remained Brittonic-speaking in Roman time, although Latin became the language of law and administration. However, after the fall of the Roman Empire, Anglo-Saxons established themselves in the eastern regions, bringing their language, Old English, with them. The advance of English created wedges between the Brittonic-speaking kingdoms of the north, the west and the south-west, which ultimately led to the creation of three different languages: Cumbric in southern Scotland and north-west England, Cornish in south-west Britain and Welsh in Wales. The Welsh adopted the name *Cymry* to describe themselves, and *Cymraeg* to refer to their language. Brittonic became Welsh somewhere between 400 and 700 AD, the most evident sign of the change being the loss of the final syllables of nouns (e.g. *abona* [river] for *afon*) (Davies, 1993).

Welsh is the last living Brittonic language developed in Britain. Cumbric disappeared around the turn of the first millennium AD, when it came under pressure from the English settlers in Northumbria and the Goidelic speakers coming from Ireland. The disappearance of Cornish as an everyday language is more recent. Dorothy Pentreath, who died in 1777, is usually considered to be the last native speaker of Cornish, although efforts to revive the language are being made (Davies, 1993). Breton, the only Brittonic language spoken in the continent, is spoken in Northwest France. This language continues the westward retreat initiated in the thirteenth century, despite vigorous attempts to reverse the situation. Nowadays, Breton speakers are confined at the extremity of the peninsula of Brittany (Nettle and Romaine, 2000: 136).

As regards Goidelic languages, their history is one of decline and struggle for survival. Manx, spoken for 1,500 years on the island between Scotland and Ireland, was moribund by the second half of the nineteenth century. During the next century, the language languished together with its ageing speakers, until the last native speaker, Ned Maddrell, died in 1974 at the age of 97. Scots Gaelic disappeared from the southern lowlands of Scotland a long time ago and retired to its strongholds in the remoter parts of the north and the west, with a few tiny areas along the east coast of Sutherland (see Dorian 1981). By 1971 fewer than eighty thousand people were able

to speak the language. Finally, Irish, after being the language of ordinary people for centuries, is struggling to reverse the linguistic collapse initiated around the beginning of the nineteenth century. Now mostly heard as an everyday language in its Gaeltacht in the western coast, Irish is an official language in the independent Republic of Ireland and is widely taught in schools, but is gaining little ground as a mother tongue (Nettle and Romaine, 2000: 133-135).

3.3. A brief historical account

3.3.1. Welsh in its first millennium

The period in the history of the language stretching from its beginnings to around 850 is referred to as Early Welsh. Only a few inscriptions and notes survive from this time, the most interesting of which is located in the Church of Tywyn (Davies, 1993: 3). Carved in about 810, it is probably the earliest surviving text entirely in Welsh (Price, 1984: 94-5). However, the origins of Welsh literature probably date back to the sixth century. It is believed that the heart of the work of the first *Cynfeirdd* (the Early Poets), Aneirin and Taliesin, considered to be the founders of the Welsh poetic tradition, was composed in that time, although what has arrived to us could have been written much later (Davies, 1993: 14).

Old Welsh, the succeeding phase in the history of the language, extends from about 850 to 1100. Although the evidence is scarce, it is believed that a considerable body of literature was produced in this period (Davies, 1993: 13). During the subsequent centuries, Welsh literature reached its zenith with outstanding contributions to the European medieval literature, namely the collection of stories collectively known as Mabinogi and the poetry of Dafydd ap Gwilym (Price, 1984: 96). Nevertheless, the richness of Welsh language was not exclusively confined to the realms of literature. The Law of Wales, codified by Hywel Dda (Hywel the Good) is one of the most splendid creations of the culture of the Welsh, and for centuries a powerful symbol of their unity and identity (Davies, 1994: 88).

As early as at the end of the 11th century, in the transition from Old to Middle Welsh, “Welsh was a rich, supple and versatile language” (Davies, 1993: 16). Welsh was

deeply rooted in the territory and it was uniformly distributed throughout the population. In the medieval centuries, the written language had achieved a remarkable degree of homogeneity and the domains of its use were many and variegated. Indeed, Welsh was not merely the language “of Celtic romance and magic, of archaic legalism, heroic praise poetry and love lyrics, but a complex mixture of philosophy, religion, science, music and grammar which enriched the native literary genres associated with the period” (Owen, 1992; quoted in Smith, 1997: 23).

Despite the massive presence of Welsh, medieval Wales was also a linguistically mixed society. The Anglo-Norman invasion in the eleventh century opened the gate to French and English. However, these languages penetrated the Welsh territory in different ways. French was the language of the Norman rulers, and a competence in the language was a social and professional accomplishment obtained by conscious and persevering insistence. English, from its part, was the language of the greatest part of the colonists who arrived in Wales with the Normans, and soon became the common speech of South Pembrokeshire. It was, by the twelfth century, a natural mother tongue in Wales (Smith, 1997: 27-30). In subsequent years, the Gower peninsula, some parts of Gwent and the Vale of Glamorgan were also anglicized (Davies, 1993: 18; Aitchison and Carter, 1994: 2; see Mathias, 1973). At the other end of Wales, royal boroughs were established after 1284 –as at Beaumaris, Caernarfon and Harlech. Although there appeared temporarily to be a danger that such settlements might become the foci of a more widespread anglicization (Mathias, 1973: 38), most of these colonies were re-Cymricized in the following centuries.

The Anglo-Norman invasion was the first major episode of the slow and complex westward retreat of the Welsh language (Aitchison and Carter, 1994: 23). As Llinos Smith (1997: 53) states, “unlike the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, early Wales did not experience a remorseless, dispiriting erosion of the Welsh language. Language communities and boundaries were far more durable and the westward progress of the English language was less a march than a sluggish plod which could, and often did, grind to a halt or even retreat”. Wales continued to be overwhelmingly Welsh-speaking throughout the Middle Ages and beyond. Indeed, possibly as many as 70 per cent of the population was still monolingual Welsh by 1800 (Jenkins, Suggett and White, 1997: 48).

The dominance of Welsh certainly diminished in the areas where the Anglo-Normans were established, but perhaps the crucial damage was not in the restriction of geographical extension but in the limitation of domain and consequent loss of status (Aitchison et al., 1994: 24; see Jenkins, Suggett and White, 1997: 62-98). The retreat of Welsh from legal and administrative affairs was a major blow for the language. The distinctive legal system of Wales, codified in the Law of Hywel, was a powerful symbol of the identity of the Welsh people (Davies, 1993: 16) in a time when “lack of unity was the essence of the Welsh experience” (Davies, 1994: 162). The Law of Wales, however, was essentially customary, and the formal language of administration was either Latin or French. With time, these languages were replaced by English, which became the official language of law, government and administration in Wales (Jenkins, Suggett and White, 1997: 62).

The Act of Union of 1536, which incorporated Wales into England and made the inhabitants of Wales subjects of the English crown, is frequently alluded to as the first decisive landmark in the erosion of the Welsh language. However, as suggested above, it merely formalized certain forces which had been quietly at work for some years. The Act of Union accelerated rather than initiated the intrusion of English on domains which had traditionally been Welsh medium. The immediate impact of the Act over the Welsh language was not as dramatic as was commonly believed. Nevertheless, it was the first official pronouncement to regard the Welsh language as being inferior to English, and its future repercussions proved far-reaching (Jones, 1993: 539):

“Also be enacted by the authority aforesaid that all justices, Commissioners, sheriffs, coroners, escheators, stewards and their Lieutenants, and all other officers and ministers of the law, shall proclaim and keep the sessions, courts ... in the English tongue, and all oaths of officers, juries and inquests and all other affidavits ... to be given and done in the English tongue; and also that from henceforth no person or persons that use the Welsh speech or language shall have or enjoy any manner office or fees within this realm of England, Wales or other the King’s Dominion upon pain of forfeiting the same offices or fees, unless he or they use and exercise the English speech or language.”

Under the new law, English was to be the only language of the courts of Wales, and no person using the Welsh language was to receive public office. It may be doubted that the authorities sought the demise of Welsh. Cromwell, the framer of the Act, aimed at a uniform administration, and it was believed any formal recognition of the Welsh language would have hindered that purpose (Davies, 1994: 235). Under the law, the Welsh were granted equality with the English, and new opportunities were open to them, but it implied that equal right would be acquired if and when they abandoned their own language and learnt English (Mathias, 1973: 40). The clause sought to lure the gentry away from Welsh and into English as soon as possible. Eventually, the Welsh ruling class abandoned the language which had been its medium since the birth of the nation (Davies, 1994: 236).

The Welsh language was being relegated to a low status. English became the language of public life and the professions, of commerce and progress, of prosperity and advancement (Jenkins, Suggett and White, 1997: 62). Negative attitudes towards the Welsh language became dominant. The native tongue of the Welsh was “rough, difficult, tied up, hard to be understood, unpleasant, without delectation, had no pleasant fashion of words”, according to the invectives listed by John Davies (Jenkins, Suggett and White, 1997: 65). For its part, the common stereotype of the Welsh in the early modern period is, as Jenkins, Suggett and White themselves (1997: 64) put it, of a “patriotic, impulsive, credulous, mendacious people who wore coarse frieze, devoured leeks, toasted cheese and flummery, quaffed metheglin, strummed harps, and kept flea-ridden goats and sheep”. Welsh was in full decline, and there seemed to be nothing in view to change its grim fortune.

Two movements helped to rescue the language from linguistic extinction, namely, the Reformation and the Renaissance (Jones, 1993: 541). The advance of the Reformation among the bulk of the Welsh people was very slow. However, a small but committed band of Welsh Protestant humanists, led by William Salesbury, and later, by William Morgan, fought for the Welsh to embrace the Reformation in their own language (Williams, 1997: 228). Salesbury himself helped to gain the support of the Welsh bishops and, through them, the Parliament, for a Welsh translation of the Bible. With Europe split by religious conflict, the government came to comprehend that religious

conformity was more important than linguistic uniformity (Davies, 1993: 24). In 1563, an Act of Parliament was passed which ordered the Welsh bishops to prepare a sound translation of the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer into Welsh. The Prayer Book first appeared in May 1567, and was followed by William Morgan's complete translation of the Bible in 1588 (Jones, 1973: 65). In 1620, a second edition of the Bible, revised by John Davies, was published. This version, with few modifications, has been reprinted hundreds of times, and its influence on the sociolinguistics of Welsh as well as on its literary language has been immense.

The translations represented an outstanding scholarly and literary accomplishment but, as Parry-Bell (1955:195-6; quoted in Price, 1984: 99-100) suggests, "perhaps the greatest service of the Bible to Welsh literature was that it gave the nation a standard language superior to any dialect. In a country which lacked a university or any cultural institution to act as a centre for its literary vitality and to foster that enlightened conservatism which is indispensable to the continuance of a tradition, there would have been a risk that the language might degenerate into a number of disconnected dialects". Welsh escaped from the ill fate of other minority languages such as Basque (see chapter One on corpus planning, and chapter Two) and Occitan, which are still struggling to develop a generalized standard variety.

The Bible and the Prayer Book gave way to a whole new vein of Welsh prose in the years that followed (Williams, 1997: 219). In the centuries to come, Welsh was established firmly as the language of literacy. It is estimated that between 1545 and 1695 a total of 170 books were printed in Welsh. The publication of Welsh books continued to increase and reached its zenith in the nineteenth century. In 1896 it is estimated that 32 periodicals and 25 newspapers were published in Welsh (Jones, 1993: 543).

The Renaissance of the Welsh language in the XVIII century was closely intertwined with the Methodist revival. The predominantly English-medium schools established by the SPCK (Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge), an organization conceived to spread the Anglican faith, failed to serve the religious needs of the rural-based, Welsh-speaking population (Jenkins, Suggett and White, 1997: 89). In view of this fact, in 1731 Griffith Jones, rector of Llanddowror, began establishing schools

with the idea of teaching both children and adults to read the Bible and to learn the catechism of the Anglican Church. Although he claimed to be concerned with the salvation of the Welsh people, rather than with the future of the language, he showed considerable affection for it, and defended it on the grounds of its purity and its antiquity (White, 1997: 326). Janet Davies (1993: 31-32) describes the characteristics of these schools and assesses the importance they had in spreading literacy among Welsh-speakers:

“The schools were held mainly in winter when the demands of agricultural work were less. When the pupils had grasped the essentials of reading and had learnt the Catechism, the teacher moved to another parish. They were therefore circulating schools and were cheap, flexible and efficient; above all they were, outside the English-speaking enclaves, conducted in Welsh... Between 1731 and his death in 1761, Griffith Jones established a total of 3,325 schools in nearly 1,600 different locations; they were attended by perhaps as many as 250,000 pupils, a figure representing over half the population in Wales. Thus, by the 1760s, a majority of Welsh-speakers may have been literate in their mother-tongue. Literacy gave Welsh a new prestige and enormously stimulated publications in the language. In the period between the translation of the Bible and the Industrial Revolution, the circulating schools were undoubtedly the most crucial happening in the history of the Welsh language”

Efforts to educate the people of Wales continued through the Sunday schools associated with Thomas Charles. Like Jones, Charles was determined to win souls and to capacitate even greater numbers of children and adults to attain reading skills. From around 1785 onwards he began establishing circulating day schools, but from 1797 onwards he began converting them into Sunday schools. From their early beginning, the Sunday schools went from strength to strength and, by 1818, 315 Sunday schools attended by 25,000 pupils had been instituted in Wales (White, 1997: 337-9).

However, Renaissance was much more than a Methodist movement. During the XVIII century Welsh language and culture flourished. A number of Welsh dictionaries and grammars were published, the *eisteddfodau* (see <http://www.eisteddfod.org.uk/>) regained power, Welsh debating societies grew notably, and scholarly history rose to

replace the old myths almost at the same pace as Iolo Morganwg made up his amazing forgeries (see Jenkins, 1997). A fresh breeze seemed to be breathed into the language.

The movements of the eighteenth century expanded and enriched the domains in which Welsh was already used, and it preserved the language because of that; but the newer domains of what can be called 'polite society', and of science, remained fundamentally English (Aitchison and Carter, 1994: 31-32). These two authors (1994: 32) summarize this period by concluding that "the dilution of language which had occurred largely by the Anglicization of the gentry, and in the towns, together with domain limitation which was intimately associated with it, left the language particularly vulnerable to the massive transformations of the next century".

3.3.2. XIX and XX centuries: fundamental geolinguistic changes

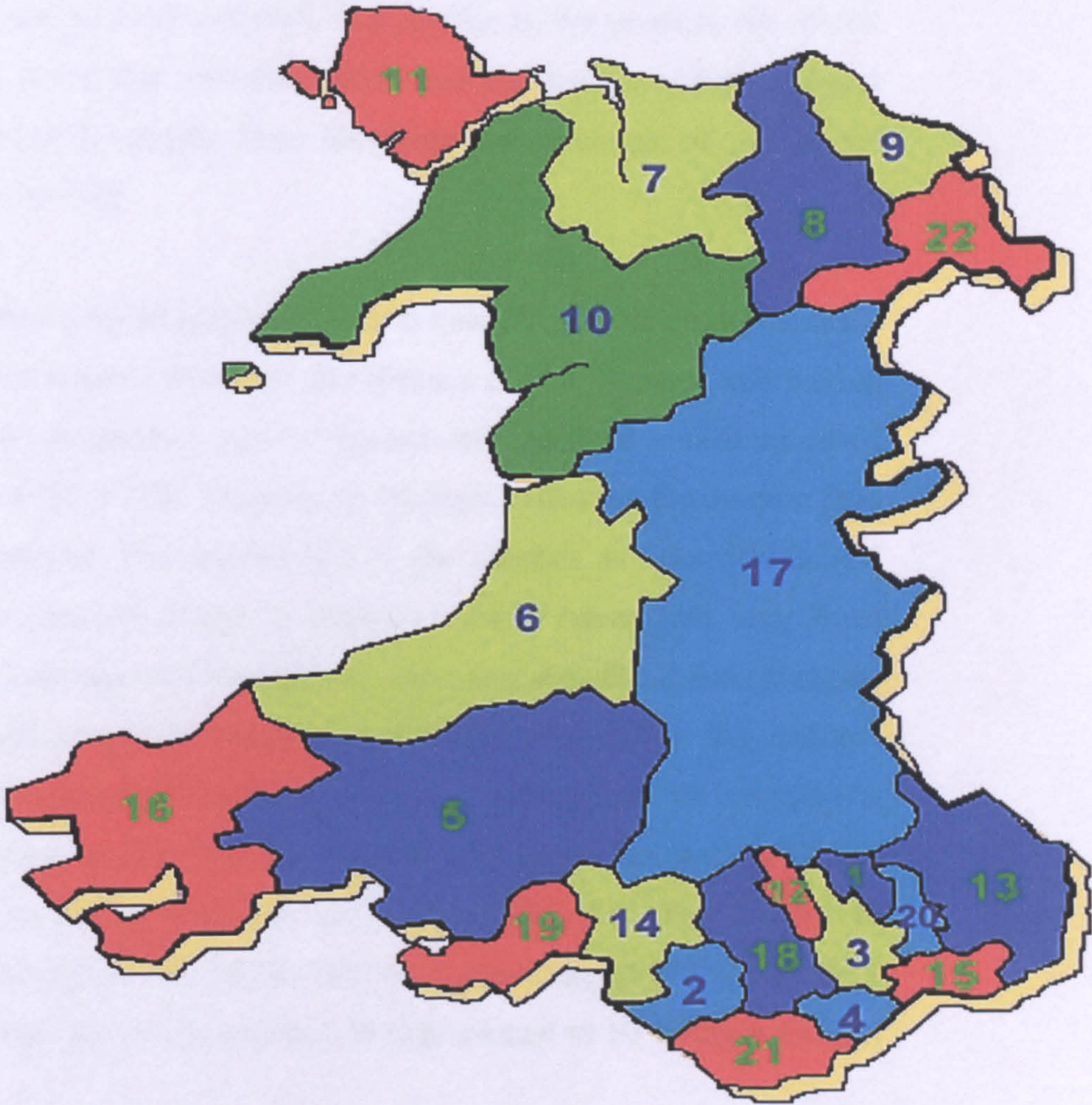
At the turn of the eighteenth century, the Welsh language was the most distinctive marker of Welsh identity. Nine out of ten of the population spoke Welsh and seven of every ten were monoglot Welsh speakers. During the nineteenth century, however, the composition of local communities changed appreciably as demographic growth, migration, industrial development and urbanization dramatically altered the map of Wales. As a result, the Welsh language had no alternative but to adjust to new social and economic forces as well as to deep changes in attitudes towards its role and significance (Jenkins: 1998: 1-2).

The most important phenomenon associated with linguistic change in the nineteenth century was unprecedented demographic growth, derived from the massive economic changes brought by industrialization. Between 1801 and 1851 the population practically doubled, increasing from 601,767 to 1,188,914, while between 1851 and 1911 it more than doubled again, swelling to 2,442,041. The population of Monmouthshire increased more than fivefold, rising from 54,750 in 1801 to 275,242 in 1891 and that of Glamorgan more than ninefold, rising from 74,189 in 1801 to 693,072 in 1891. By 1891 more than half of the population of Wales lived in the counties of Monmouth and Glamorgan (Jenkins, 1998: 1). Such a change had a major impact on language distribution, especially in the creation of Welsh-speaking communities in Glamorgan, Camarthenshire and Monmouthshire, as well as in the

counties of Denbigh and Flint. At the same time, all the rural counties were experiencing actual population loss, initiating a process which would last over the next hundred years (Aitchison and Carter, 1994: 32). As a consequence, the balance of population between town and country shifted. This process affected the counties with the highest proportion of Welsh speakers – Anglesey, Merioneth, Cardigan and Carmarthen - which mainly corresponded to agricultural communities in north and west Wales.

Figure 3.1. Map of Wales

- 1. Blaenau Gwent
- 2. Bridgend
- 3. Caerphilly
- 4. Cardiff
- 5. Carmarthenshire
- 6. Ceredigion
- 7. Conwy
- 8. Denbighshire
- 9. Flintshire
- 10. Gwynedd
- 11. Isle of Anglesey
- 12. Merthyr Tydfil
- 13. Monmouthshire
- 14. Neath Port Talbot
- 15. Newport
- 16. Pembrokeshire
- 17. Powys
- 18. Rhondda Cynon Taff
- 19. Swansea
- 20. Torfaen
- 21. Vale of Glamorgan
- 22. Wrexham



Source: <http://www.walesdirectory.co.uk/countries.html>

That industrialization in the nineteenth century changed the fate of the Welsh language for good is obvious, but its role remains unclear. Was it, to paraphrase Brinley Thomas, the hero or the villain of the piece? The answer of this author admits little doubt (2000: 82): “The unrighteous Mammon in opening up the coalfields at such a pace unwittingly gave the Welsh language a new lease of life and Welsh Nonconformity a glorious high noon”. The Welsh “captured the cauldron of demographic rebirth from industrial capitalism”, thus preventing the Welsh nation from becoming “an aged society surviving in a small rural bunker, a *casa geriatria*, instead of a large youthful urban society which can afford cultural institutions to express and strengthen the national identity”, and saving, in the process, the Welsh language. Thomas also stated that industrialization had enabled the redundant rural population to be absorbed internally, thus favouring the retention of the Welsh language and culture (2000: 97).

Moreover, industrialization created surplus wealth in quantities sufficient to maintain the necessary cultural institutions which, in the absence of state finance and having few capitalists or landed proprietors, had to depend on individual contributions of ordinary people (Jones, 1992: 57-58). Kenneth O. Morgan, reflecting the opinion held by most historians, described the cultural life in the eighties as “flourishing and vigorous”. Welsh was securely based in terms of daily intercourse and, most importantly, it was the language of contemporary argument and discussion (Morgan, 1982: 18-21). The prestige of the cultural manifestations such as the national *eisteddfod* was extremely high. In 1896 there were 32 periodicals and 25 newspapers published in Welsh and at least £100,000 was spent every year on literature in Welsh. (Edwards, 1987: 122; quoted in Aitchison and Carter, 1994: 34). The number of Welsh speakers rose from below 600,000 in 1801 to a maximum of 977,366 in 1911 (Jenkins, 1998: 3). At the turn of the century, Welsh seemed to be living a Golden Age.

However, a number of researchers have counterbalanced this positive vision with a less optimistic interpretation about the impact of social changes in the nineteenth century on the Welsh language. For example, although there were more people who could speak Welsh in 1901 than in 1801, the percentage of speakers came plummeting

from 80% in 1801 down to 54% in 1891 and 49.9% by the end of the century. For the first time in history, there were more people in Wales who couldn't speak Welsh than those who could (Jones, 1992: 56; Aitchison and Carter, 1994: 35-36).

The point made by Brinley Thomas arguing that industrialization and urbanization averted massive demographic haemorrhage by giving the surplus rural population the opportunity to migrate within its own country and thus preventing the Welsh language and culture from being confined to remote rural areas, like Irish, is generally accepted. Nevertheless, Jenkins (1998: 11) claims that this point can only be applied to the period before c. 1870. From that period onwards, the inflow of English-speaking migrants from non-Welsh-speaking areas and from England was so large that it undermined the foundations of the Welsh language in the Coalfields before it had time to take root and reinforced the westward territorial advance of the English language. Furthermore, the line of argument of Thomas took for granted that Welsh-speaking migrants who settled in the Coalfields stuck to their language and appeared reluctant to adopt the English language, underestimating the strong social, ideological and psychological pressures that worked in favour of English. Welsh was considered an inferior language, a hindrance for material progress in the new industrial society. It had a low social-mobility profile and this favoured language erosion and shift (Jones, 1993: 545-546; see, for example, Gal, 1979).

The massive pressures encouraging the Welsh to abandon their own language and embrace English throughout nineteenth century have been symbolized on the Report of the Royal Commission in 1847, commonly and significantly referred to as the 'Treachery of the Blue Books'. The report was asked by William Williams in 1846 to examine the state of education in Wales, and the conclusions reached by the commissioners were devastating:

The Welsh language is a vast drawback to Wales and a manifold barrier to the moral progress and commercial prosperity of the people. Because of their language the mass of the Welsh people are inferior to the English in every branch of practical knowledge and skill... Equally in his new or old home his language keeps him under the hatches being one in which he can neither acquire nor communicate the necessary information. It is the language of old

fashioned agriculture, of theology and of simple rustic life, while all the world about him is English... He is left to live in an underworld of his own and the march of society goes completely over his head! (Part II: 66; quoted in Jones 1993: 547).

It needs to be stated that such indictments were not made exclusively of Wales. Indeed, they were common to almost all the industrial areas in England as well. However, as Gareth Elwyn Jones points out (1997: 27), "it was the immediate context, linguistic religious, national, that gave the Blue Books their peculiar capacity to insult in Wales. The educational condemnation was justified." Ironically, what mostly enraged the Welsh were not the degrading references to the Welsh language, but the comments on their morals. It seems that the belief in the inferior condition of Welsh in relation to English, continuously promoted throughout history, was ultimately ingrained in their minds and reflected in their attitudes and perception (Jones: 1993: 547). The straw that broke the camel's back was to put the blame for the deficient education in Wales in the existence of the Welsh language and the prevalence of Nonconformity. As Ieuan Gwynedd Jones, in his extensive and accurate examination of the Blue Books (1992: 103-165), puts it, "in the minds of the Commissioners and their political masters the two [the Welsh language and Nonconformity] were connected, and it was in the connection that evil resided." (Jones, 1992: 137). This was utterly unacceptable for, inadequate as education in general might be in Wales, it proved rather successful in the field of religious education, as we have seen before. The reports had devastating consequences, as it exacerbated Church/Chapel relations and poisoned all hope of educational co-operation (Williams, 1979: 105). Some have said that it was the furore over their publication which fanned the flames of a growing nationalism, while others have blamed the Blue Books for the great advance of English in the later nineteenth century (Morgan, 1984: 199). In Ieuan Gwynedd Jones' opinion (1992: 165), 'Brad y Llyfrau Gleision' had become an inspiration rather than a symbol of defeat, a weapon rather than an instrument of shame."

As a direct result of the reports, the Elementary Act of 1870, which laid the foundations of the whole system of State education in England and Wales, ignored the

existence of the Welsh language. Welsh was, consequently, completely displaced from the schools (Price, 1984: 104).

The reports contributed to the further loss of domains which have historically accompanied the Welsh language. Because the Welsh language equated with ignorance, poverty and backwardness, in the new industrial society it was excluded from the developing domains of technology, science and business (see Hughes, 2000: 405-30 Jenkins). As David Davies of Llandinam, the exemplar of a self-made man, rather eloquently expressed:

“Os ydych am barhau i fwyta bara tywyll a gorwedd ar wely gwellt, gwaeddwch chwi eich gorau, ‘Oes y byd i’r iaith Gymraeg’: ond os ydych chwi yn chwennych bwyta bara gwyn a chig eidon rhost, mae yn rhaid i chwi ddysgu Saesneg”. (quoted in Jones, 1992: 70).

[If you wish to continue to eat black bread and to lie on straw beds, carry on shouting ‘Long life to the Welsh language’. But if you wish to eat white bread and roast beef you must learn English’.]

Moreover, working-class people in the Coalfields to some extent turned their back to the Welsh language and embraced English. As the Welsh language appeared to be inextricably tied to old-fashioned chapel-going and *eisteddfodau*, shifting to English expressed their confidence in the new urban, industrial culture. To paraphrase from Jones (1992: 78):

“The language of socialism was English... To abandon Welsh became not only a valuational but also a symbolic gesture of rejection and of affirmation – the rejection of the political philosophy and the sham combination of Lib-Labism and the affirmation of new solidarities and new idealisms based upon a secular and anti-religious philosophy”.

Much has been written about the effects industrialization had on the Welsh language. As we have seen before, it remains unclear whether this process deserves the role of the hero or that of the villain of the piece. Among this fiery debate, some writers use

more moderate words to describe the impact of industrialization on Welsh. For example, Philip N. Jones (1988, quoted in Jenkins 1998: 9), summarized its impact on Glamorgan in a way that, looking ahead, could be applied to the whole Welsh territory: "The industrialization of the county did not perform miracles for the preservation of the Welsh language and culture but it did create a vibrant bilingual society characterized by stable and unstable linguistic groups which were increasingly receptive to English-language acculturation."

Despite all the changes affecting the Welsh language, it needs to be emphasized its strength in the physical core of Wales. At the turn of the century, there was a large area, virtually all of Wales, except for South Pembrokeshire, west of a line extending north-south from the Conwy estuary to that of the Tawe, where over 90 per cent of the population spoke Welsh. However, the heartland was being eroded at its edges (Aitchison and Carter, 1994: 37). 'Outer Wales' was increasingly encroaching on the linguistic core of the north-west counties or 'Inner Wales', as the geographer E.G. Bowen christened them. The bilingual zone along the borderlands of east Wales was nudging further westwards into Welsh-speaking strongholds. The territorial advance of English was accelerated by improved communications, notably the railway system (Jenkins, Parry and Williams: 462-63; see Jones, 2000: 131-49). This posed a direct threat to the Welsh language since, as W.T.R. Pryce (2000: 66-67) explains,

"it seems that bilingualism was a transitional stage in the one-way process towards complete Anglicization. Given the conditions and attitudes which prevailed throughout the nineteenth century, once a community had become bilingual, the next generation failed to retain Welsh as a spoken language."

For Pryce, "the bilingual zone between Inner Wales and Outer Wales, the transitional zone between *Cymru Gymraeg* [Welsh-speaking Wales] and *Cymru ddi-Gymraeg* [non-Welsh-speaking Wales]" is of the utmost significance in the case of Wales, since it was "the Anglicizing zone where, from 1800 onwards, the greatest threats to the long-term survival of the core Welsh areas further inland were being mustered." (2000: 69). Bilingualism, in this case, is seen as an unstable stage towards monolingualism in the majority language (Fishman, 1967, 1972, 1980).

During the first decades of the twentieth century the displacement of Welsh by English continued apace, although the statistical evidence up to 1911 still showed that the absolute number of Welsh-speakers was rising. The 1921 census brought, as Kenneth O. Morgan (1981: 242) puts it, “a rude awakening”. By that time the social and economic impact of the First World War was becoming apparent. Thomas (2000: 98-99) argues that

“a major cause of the decline of the Welsh language was the collapse of the Welsh economy after the First World War... Because of the dazzling heights reached just before the Great War, the subsequent fall was all the more disastrous. The class war in the coalfields intensified, and the clarion call was Marxist not Methodist. What the potato famine did to the Irish economy, the great depression did to the Welsh economy. In the twentieth century, economic and demographic contraction, the decline of Nonconformity, severe unemployment and emigration... have been a curse to the language.”

The impact of the post-war depression on the coal industry of South Wales proved devastating. Unemployment rose dramatically, and some 390,000 people were forced to emigrate from Wales. The districts worst affected by the depression were the valleys of the eastern half of the coalfield, where the Welsh language was already in retreat. By the 1930s, there were communities in the coalfield in which Welsh-speakers constituted three-quarters of those over sixty-five, but less than a quarter of those under eleven (Davies, 1993: 59-60). The intergenerational transmission, crucial for the survival of any language (Fishman, 1991), halted. Migration became the main option for the younger generation, ensuring that command of Welsh seemed irrelevant.

The depression of agriculture hastened rural depopulation, affecting the age structure of the rural communities. In the counties of Anglesey, Caernarfon, Cardigan and Meirionnydd deaths exceeded births in every year of the late 1920s and the 1930s. As they were the counties where Welsh-speakers were most dominant, the consequences for the language were grave (Davies, 1993: 58-59).

Nevertheless, while the Welsh language world in the inter-war period was experimenting a growing sense of difficulty and decline, Welsh culture, especially in the 1920s, was surprisingly vigorous and inventive. The promoters of the language proved notably active and enthusiastic. In this context, in 1922 Ifan ab Owen Edwards founded a new organization, *Urdd Gobaith Cymru* (The Welsh League of Youth) (see <http://www.urdd.org/>). The Urdd sought to provide the young with cultural and leisure activities within a framework of Welshness, giving the Welsh language a fresh chance. The Urdd had a massive influence on the Welsh cultural world of the time, and by 1934 it already claimed 50,000 members (Morgan, 1981: 252-53).

However, the declining use of Welsh, the contraction of Welsh-language publishing and the diminishing influence of the chapels led a growing number of patriots to give a more political response to the situation. As a result, in 1925 *Plaid Genedlaethol Cymru* (The National Party of Wales) (see <http://www.plaidcymru.org/>) was created. With Saunders Lewis as its leading figure, the preservation of the Welsh language was central to the politics of the new party. Although Plaid Cymru attracted the allegiance of a remarkable number of the intellectual élite, its grass-root support was minimal. As the years went by, the defence of the Welsh language lost its central position to claims of sovereignty for the Welsh (see Morgan, 1981: 253-58).

The impact of the social and economic depression of the 1930s on the Welsh language cannot be exactly measured because, with the Second World War at its zenith, no census was held in 1941. The impact of the war itself over Welsh proved less negative than feared, but the erosion of the language in those years continued unrelentingly. In 1931, 36.8 per cent of the population of Wales were able to speak Welsh; by 1951, the percentage decreased to 28.9. Almost 200,000 Welsh-speakers were lost in the process –from 909,261 people in 1931 to 714,686 in 1951 (Davies, 1993).

The erosion of the language was less dramatic in the north, while in the industrial communities in the south the damages of depression were more apparent. In 1951, except for an area north of Llanelli and Swansea in the western part of the south Wales coalfield and a group of parishes in the quarrying zones of the north-west, all areas with high percentages of Welsh-speakers were rural. In Cardiff, less than 10 per cent of the population spoke Welsh, although the city had 10,000 Welsh-speakers (Davies, 1993: 65).

By the middle of the twentieth century, the pattern of language change in Wales can no longer be discussed in terms of a westward retreating border. *Y Fro Gymraeg*, as the Welsh-speaking core came to be called, ceased to be the unbroken fortress of the Welsh language. Instead of a compact, Welsh-speaking block, there was a series of separate nuclei, surrounded by areas of substantial Anglicization –a feature which was to become more noticeable in the future (Davies, 1993: 65; Aitchison and Carter: 39-41).

As we have seen, the first half of the twentieth century brought fundamental changes for the Welsh language. It can be said, together with Colin H. Williams (1980: 223), that

“this period constituted the definite stage in the transition from a vital and dynamic Welsh culture to one experiencing erosion and cultural penetration by the competitive Anglo-Wesh culture. Transitional processes of language replacement lead ultimately to the eradication of group distinctiveness as traditionally defined.”

Table 3.1. Percentage of the population able to speak Welsh, 1901-1951 (pre-1974 counties)

	1901	1911	1921	1931	1951
Anglesey	91.7	88.7	84.9	87.4	79.8
Breconshire	45.9	41.5	37.2	37.3	30.3
Caernarfonshire	89.6	85.6	75.0	79.2	71.0
Cardiganshire	93.0	89.6	82.1	87.1	79.5
Carmarthenshire	90.4	84.9	82.4	82.3	77.3
Denbighshire	61.9	56.7	48.4	48.5	38.5
Flintshire	49.1	42.2	32.7	31.7	21.1
Glamorgan	43.5	38.1	31.6	30.5	20.3
Merioneth	93.7	90.3	82.1	86.1	75.4
Monmouthshire	13.0	9.6	6.4	6.0	3.5
Montgomeryshire	47.5	44.8	42.3	46.7	35.1
Pembrokeshire	34.4	32.4	30.3	30.6	26.9
Radnorshire	6.2	5.4	6.3	4.7	4.5
WALES	49.9	43.5	37.1	36.8	28.9

Source: Aitchison and Carter, 1994

3.3.3. The critical years: 1960-2000

In the mid-twentieth century, Welsh had practically no public status. The language was hardly ever seen on any official form, and most public notices were wholly in English. Post offices ostracized the language, public servants made no use of it whatsoever and numerous Welsh place-names were awkwardly anglicized on road signs (Davies, 1993: 94). Some timid attempts were made to reverse the situation, but they only appeared to outline the sorry condition of the Welsh language.

On 13 February 1962, the veteran activist Saunders Lewis (1983: 127-141) re-emerged from relative obscurity and, in a radio broadcast entitled '*Tynged yr Iaith*' (The Fate of the Language), inaugurated a new era in the struggle to defend and advance the Welsh language. In an incendiary manner, Lewis presented an apocalyptic picture of the situation, exposed the severity of the crisis facing the language in all crudeness and urged the people of Wales to stir their apathy and engage in the fight for the survival of the Welsh language. 'To revive the Welsh language in Wales is nothing less than a revolution. Success can only come through revolutionary methods', he declared.

This appeal for a more militant, committed approach to the defence of the language made a huge impact, especially among the younger generation, and led to the foundation of *Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg* (The Welsh Language Society) (see <http://www.cymdeithas.com/>). From the very beginning, the group developed a frenetic activity. They started with a campaign to secure court summonses in Welsh, they climbed up television masts, they defaced public buildings, they placarded the studios of the BBC, and so on. Most familiar of all, in the late 1960s they led a large-scale campaign against monolingual road-signs, first daubing them with paint and then removing them entirely. In this thriving atmosphere, a myriad of organizations concerned to engage people in activities in favour of the Welsh language mushroomed, particularly in the field of arts but encompassing wide sectors of society. For example, *Merched y Wawr*, a women's organization, was established as a reaction to the refusal of the Women's Institute to allow the use of Welsh at an official level. All these movements coincided with the upsurge of political

nationalism, at the time closely associated to the struggle for the Welsh language (see Morgan 1981: 383-85; Davies, 1993: 96).

Thus by 1968, the Welsh language had become, in the words of Morgan (1982: 384), “political dynamite in a manner inconceivable six years earlier at the time of Saunders Lewis’s historic lecture”. In the next decade, the issue which kept the fuse of conflict going was to be the campaign to win a television channel in Welsh, led once again by *Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg*. Although by the early 60s there were some popular Welsh-language programmes, they represented a very small proportion of the total received in the Welsh households. By the early 1970s English monoglots who did not want their viewing to be interrupted by programmes they did not understand joined with those who wanted Welsh programmes at more convenient hours and demanded a separate television service in Welsh. After incessant demands, the movement managed to set the project on foot, but the Conservatives halted it when they returned to power in 1979. As a consequence, the activists of *Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg*, some of whom had been imprisoned in their campaign to obtain the channel, decided to exacerbate the protest. On 5 May 1980 Gwynfor Evans declared that he would fast to death unless the government agreed to fulfil its initial pledge. In view of the wide support and publicity aroused by the action, the government yielded on 17 September 1980. Two years later, *Sianel Pedwar Cymru* was launched (see Davies, 1993: 92-94).

In these decades, the Welsh language was returned to public life. At official levels, local governments such as the Gwynedd County Council and Dyfed County Council adopted a bilingual policy for all aspects of their activity. Such status planning efforts had positive consequences for Welsh. Pressure from society helped to raise consciousness of the value of language, and the general prestige of the language was thus enhanced.

Despite all the efforts to encourage the use and promote the status of the language, the situation worsened from 1960s onwards. Powerful demographic forces came into play in this period which had a remarkable yet problematic impact on the Welsh language. Out-migration of the young continued apace, while in-migration of non-Welsh-speakers into the *Bro Gymraeg* altered the linguistic patterns in the area. At the same time, Welsh-speakers from rural communities migrated in great numbers to the

administrative towns in the south. In these decades, the percentage of the population able to speak Welsh declined considerably, especially between 1961 and 1971 (see table below). The fall in the absolute numbers of Welsh speakers proved more spectacular. Between 1961 and 1971 the number of Welsh speakers declined by a massive 17.3 per cent, from a total of 656,002 to 542,425. The decline continued in the decade that followed, but at a much reduced rate. By 1981 the number of speakers fell by 6.3 per cent to a total of 503,549 (Aitchison and Carter, 1994).

Rural depopulation is a long process which had a huge impact upon the *Bro Gymraeg* during the first half of the twentieth century. Although it did not significantly alter the percentage of Welsh-speakers in the area, it had a negative effect on the absolute numbers of speakers, and it left an ageing population. Consequently, the Welsh language maintained its dominant position but suffered a notable loss of vitality. Such a loss was all the most apparent when from 1960 onwards migratory flows turned around as a result of counter-urbanization and rural retreat (Aitchison and Carter, 1994: 46). The numbers of retired monoglot English immigrants in the traditional Welsh-speaking areas gradually increased, followed by second-home buyers who distorted property markets and made it difficult for local, first-time buyers to keep up with the prices. Finally, post-industrial young immigrants who rejected the urban lifestyle and sought a new life in a friendlier environment established themselves in the area. Immigration into the *Bro Gymraeg* became a major issue, and language activists reacted in varied forms. *Meibion Glyndŵr* (Sons of Glyndŵr) turned to expeditious methods, burning second or holiday homes, whereas *Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg* campaigned for a property law to regulate matters in favour of Welsh-speaking communities (Aitchison and Carter, 1999: 179). Nevertheless, such explanations relating language decline to suburbanisation should be taken with caution, since they are inferred rather than gathered directly from the analyses (Baker, 1985: 10).

In general, the *Bro Gymraeg* continued to weaken during the 1961-91 period. Although a dominant Welsh-speaking heartland was still visible, its defining limits had to be readjusted in terms of proportions of Welsh speakers. While a threshold of 90% could serve to delimit the core in 1901, by 1991 the defining figure for broadly the same area had reduced to 50% (Aitchison and Carter, 1999: 169). Moreover, to the

traditional westward retreat of the language an eastward-moving frontier starting from the west coast followed, squeezing the central heartland of the language (Aitchison and Carter, 1991: 64-65). The heartland ceased to be a monolithic Welsh-speaking block, and the patterns of decline fitted the following description of language decline made by Bowen and Carter (1974: 39): “The decline and eventual disappearance of the language can be compared to the drying up of a lake. The continuous expanse of water has disappeared and there remains a series of separate pools, patchy and uneven, slowly drying out.”

In contrast, the language was timidly but continually re-emerging in some areas of urban and sub-urban Southeast Wales and in parts of the borderland. Two fundamental and parallel processes, de-industrialisation and the rise of the transactional city, changed the economy and society of Wales as well as the attitudes towards the language itself. The service sector grew rapidly and the traditional heavy industry collapsed. Consequently, coalfield communities where Welsh was still a distinctive element were undermined. In complete contrast, the administrative towns such as Carmarthen or Mold and Cardiff, epitome of the transactional cities, benefited from migration of Welsh-speakers from *Y Fro Gymraeg*, as employment opportunities for Welsh speakers increased. All these economic and demographic changes resulted in the formation of a new Welsh-speaking bourgeoisie who largely came from the University of Wales and its associated colleges. The advancement of radio broadcasting in Wales (*Radio Cymru*, in 1979) and especially the inauguration of a Welsh language television (*Sianel Pedwar Cymru* or *S4C*) created the base for this new elite strongly involved in language planning and promotion. The main aims of this elite were to increase the status of the language and provide the language with the necessary means for its maintenance and development in vital areas such as education (Aitchison and Carter, 1994; Aitchison and Carter, 1999). A ‘quiet revolution’ was under way (Davies, 1993: 73).

Table 3.2. Percentage of the population able to speak Welsh, 1961-81

County (pre-1974)	1961	1971	1981
Anglesey	75.5	65.7	61.1
Breconshire	28.1	22.9	19.3
Caernarfonshire	68.3	62.0	59.7
Cardiganshire	74.8	67.6	63.2
Carmarthenshire	75.1	66.5	60.0
Denbighshire	34.8	28.1	24.2
Flintshire	19.0	14.7	13.5
Glamorgan	17.2	11.8	10.0
Merioneth	75.9	73.5	68.2
Monmouthshire	3.4	2.1	2.7
Montgomeryshire	32.3	28.1	24.0
Pembrokeshire	24.4	20.7	18.1
Radnorshire	4.5	3.7	5.0
WALES	26.8	20.8	18.9

Source, Aitchison and Carter, 1994

By 1981, clear patterns of change were apparent over the territory of Wales. Aitchison and Carter (1994: 52-55) summarised them in the following way:

- (i) In Anglesey the growth of tourism and the popularity of the region as a rural retreat contributed significantly to the Anglicization of the coastal communities, encroaching on the strong central Welsh-speaking core area.
- (ii) Anglicizing influences continued to operate throughout the period along the coast of north Wales, associated once again to retirement and tourism, as in Conwy, where from 1961 to 1981 the proportion of Welsh speakers fell from 42.0 per cent to 30.4 per cent.
- (iii) In Snowdonia, the wedge of Anglicization which entered the massif from the lower Conwy valley both widened and deepened, as in Capel Curig, where from 1961 to 1981 the proportion of Welsh speakers fell sharply from 45.7 per cent to 28.6 per cent.

(iv) The proportions of Welsh-speakers in many communities along the coast of west Wales, from Harlech in the north to the St. David's Peninsula in the south, fell very considerably, giving way for this coastal fringe to be considered as a new frontier of language dilution.

(v) At various points along the eastern edge of the Welsh-speaking heartland there were clear signs of a softening of the once sharp language gradients, as in the communities across the eastern edge of Mynydd Hiraethog.

(vi) In central Wales, the wedge of Anglicization which followed the upper sections of the Severn had clearly strengthened, pervading almost to the coast. In the hinterland of Aberystwyth community percentages were declining, and the Welsh-speaking areas of Meirionnydd and Dyfed were being separated further apart.

(vii) The 'Landsker', for a long time a linguistic border of surprising tenacity, was declining in terms of the Welsh-speaking proportions. Unlike in 1961, where it was the norm rather than the exception, none of the communities taken across Pembrokeshire from Llandeloy recorded percentages over 80 in 1981.

(viii) Along the southern and eastern edges of the main Welsh-speaking core area of Dyfed similar patterns of relative decline were apparent, as in Llanelli Rural, where the percentage of Welsh-speakers fell from 69.2% to 46.7% in 1981.

3.3.4. The role of education in Welsh language revitalization

It has been already indicated that, in the last 100 years, the Welsh language has shown a pattern of decay, although recently (e.g. 2001 Census results) there has been an upturn. In the last five decades, bilingual education has grown considerably in Wales. Far from being contradictory, these two realities are closely connected. Indeed, the development of bilingual education in Wales can be seen as an attempt to reverse the downward trend of Welsh. Thus, bilingual education has become a fundamental component in language revitalization efforts (Baker, 1993: 7-8).

The recent history of bilingual education in Wales has been one of growth and success. Before the Second World War, Welsh was practically excluded from the education system. The first Welsh medium primary school was opened in 1939 and the first Welsh medium secondary school started in 1959. Since then, bilingual education has rapidly grown at both the primary and secondary levels, as well as recently (if slowly) in further and higher education. In the primary sector, there are currently 446 Welsh-medium or bilingual schools out of a total of 1,673 schools, while fifty out of 228 secondary schools are defined as Welsh-medium or bilingual (Baker and Jones, 2000: 129). Welsh has become a compulsory subject within the curriculum in the primary and secondary schools throughout Wales. Moreover, all the subjects in the curriculum can now be taught through the medium of Welsh (Baker, 1997: 131).

The growth and current strength of bilingual education in Wales is due to a wide array of interacting causes. At one level, language activists demanded, through protests and non-violent action, the implementation of bilingual schooling. Such campaigns were frequently supported by both Welsh speaking and non-Welsh speaking parents wanting their children to become bilingual, share two cultures, have a Welsh identity and belong to a Welsh Wales. This integrative motivation was accompanied by economic motivation and other instrumental considerations. Many pupils and parents believe, for example, that bilingual education leads to better employment prospects and provides more chances of promotion and wealth. Indeed, bilingualism is required in an increasing number of jobs in Wales. In some areas such as North West Wales most jobs in local government, and increasingly in the private sector where direct contact with the public is necessary (e.g. supermarkets, public relations, marketing) require fluency in Welsh and English (Baker, 1997: 132).

A series of institutional support systems have also contributed to the success of bilingual education in Wales. An important role has been played by Her Majesty's Inspectors for Education in Wales, local authority advisors and inspectors, pioneering headteachers and teacher trainers, as well as institutions like the Welsh Language Board, the Welsh Joint Education Committee (WJEC) and the Schools Council in Wales and its subsequent transformations. Such institutions have produced a thoroughly Welsh-language curriculum, many opportunities for Welsh language

education from pre-school to University, with modern language status symbols such as Welsh language compact discs and computer software being made widely available (Baker and Jones, 2000: 120).

Another important factor in the development and success of bilingual education in Wales has been the ethos of Welsh-medium schools, especially in the early years when pioneering teachers and pupils showed a strong commitment and dedication to the cause of bilingual education. The importance of the school ethos cannot be underestimated, since bilingual education typically depends for its success on grounded activity in the classroom, interactions between students and teachers, and the provision of attractive and interesting curriculum resources (Baker, 1997: 133).

While the development of bilingual education in Wales can generally be regarded as a story of success, the current discontinuity that exists in such education is a cause of concern. In primary education, 19.9% of the students are in schools where Welsh is the sole, main or part medium of instruction in the class. However, out of every twenty children who leave the primary school capable of receiving bilingual education at secondary level, only twelve do so. In other words, about 40 per cent of the children who are capable of taking secondary education through Welsh and English opt for English language instruction throughout the curriculum. Moreover, this discontinuity extends to further and higher education where only around two percent of students in each sector take modules through the medium of Welsh (Baker and Jones, 2000). If the growth of Welsh-medium education is to be maintained, the issue of continuity becomes crucial.

One strategy to ensure language revitalization through bilingual education in Wales could also be to establish a 'language continuum' from early Welsh second language learning to full fluency in Welsh, and moving from the current separation of Welsh first language and second language lessons towards a concurrent use of Welsh and English. A bilingual approach could be adopted, rather than language separation (Baker and Jones, 2000: 135).

The importance and strength of bilingual education in Wales is related to the plight of the Welsh language. It could be said that, without the development of bilingual

education, the survival of Welsh would have been in great danger. Nevertheless, bilingual education alone cannot invert language trends. There needs to be other support mechanisms for the language, such as an economic basis in Welsh heartland communities. For that reason, there is a danger in placing too much reliance on bilingual education as the sole saviour of the language. Another danger is that Welsh is a school-only phenomenon, and English the language of the street. The Welsh language needs to be present in children's whole way of life and in their everyday interactions. Formal education alone cannot deliver a reversal of language shift. The distinction between language competence gained in school and language use outside school is not only conceptual but also reflects a reality that endangers many minority languages, not least Basque and Welsh.

3.4. The Welsh language today

This section seeks to analyze certain relevant aspects directly or indirectly related to the Welsh language and bilingualism in Wales at the present day, in the hope that it will offer a global picture of the situation.

3.4.1. Language competence

The data exposed here has been mainly obtained from the 1991 Welsh language Census (OPCS, 1994). Although differences in the definition of households, in the form of published tabulations and, most crucially, in the boundaries of administrative areas make precise quantitative analyses of patterns of change extremely difficult (Aitchison et al., 1994: 88), an attempt will be made to identify the most important trends affecting the language in recent times (The most recent data, which are just being published now, will be discussed in section 3.4.6).

The 1991 census registers a total Welsh-speaking population of 508,098, which represents 18.7 per cent of the population over the age of three (Welsh Language Board, 1999: 9). As the table below reveals, the distribution of Welsh-speakers at county level shows remarkable differences. The counties of Gwynedd and Dyfed remain the principal strongholds of the language. However, as Baker (1985: 39-40) put it for the 1981 census, "one castle is standing firm despite the constant threat of

invasion. The other is under attack and in danger of crumbling to the majority language. Gwynedd appears to be defending successfully, Dyfed less successfully.” These two counties account for over half of all Welsh-speakers, with a combined total of 283,411 (55.7%). In complete contrast, the counties of Mid Glamorgan, Gwent and South Glamorgan record less than 10% of Welsh-speakers. In the latter two counties, together with Powys, the Welsh-speaking populations are in each case less than 25,000.

Table 3.3. Distribution of Welsh-speakers
at county level (1991)

County	1	2	3
Clwyd	392812	71405	18.2
Dyfed	331528	144998	43.7
Gwent	423794	10339	2.4
Gwynedd	226862	138413	61.0
Mid Glamorgan	511656	43263	8.4
Powys	113335	22871	20.2
South Glamorgan	375857	24541	6.5
West Glamorgan	347779	52268	15.0
WALES	2723623	508098	18.6

KEY

- 1. Resident population aged 3 years and over
- 2. Population able to speak Welsh
- 3. Percentage of the population able to speak Welsh

By the late twentieth century, a new phenomenon had emerged, which is likely to continue at an increased pace: the majority of Welsh-speakers are living in areas where the language is not that of the majority. In terms of absolute numbers and densities, the majority of Welsh-speakers are already living in mainly urban or suburban areas, dispersed over the districts round Wrexham, Aberystwyth, Llanelli, Swansea, Cardiff and parts of Mid Glamorgan, all of them areas where less than half the inhabitants speak Welsh. The other main clusters of Welsh-speakers cover the quarrying districts of Arfon and the old industrial heartland of south-west Wales, where the language is very much part of everyday life (Davies, 1993: 70).

The districts with the highest proportions of Welsh-speakers remain in the western inland area of Wales, the so-called *Bro Gymraeg* (heartland of the Welsh language), although its geographical extension has continuously contracted over the years. In the following lines, the situation of the core area will be explained in some detail, in the widespread belief that its future evolution is closely related to the future of the Welsh language itself.

Y Fro Gymraeg (Heartland)

The heartland of the Welsh language has been identified by many as crucial for the survival of the Welsh language. Following Saunders Lewis' famous radio lecture on February 13th 1962, when he stressed the need to establish the primacy of Welsh in many administrative areas in Wales, a number of language activists, led by *Mudiad Adfer* (Recovery) and supported by academic research studies, urged the taking of special measures to preserve the Welsh-speaking core. In this way, the maintenance of a strong linguistic area where the language forms part of everyday life is deemed fundamental for its survival and ultimate spread over other parts of the territory. Mártín O Murchú (1970: 30; quoted in Betts, 1976: 182), referring to the Irish language, writes:

"The home-neighbourhood domains are certainly as fundamental and crucial in the sociolinguistic pattern of our society as they are in others. The traditionally Irish-speaking areas are, accordingly, of the utmost importance for the development of a nationally distinctive language pattern throughout the country, since they are characterised by the Irish language's being dominant in these critical domains and, as a consequence, are centres and symbols of the vitality of the language. As a result, they will continue to be the ultimate source of the bilingualism of other sectors of the population."

It is precisely because of the importance attached to these heartland areas that their linguistic erosion has caused such deep concern. Indeed, the linguistic decline of the core area throughout the twentieth century in Wales, summarized by Professors Aitchison and Carter (1994: 95) appears worrying:

- 1901 A clear and dominant core could be identified where over 90% of the population spoke Welsh.
- 1931 The situation was as it was in 1901, but the qualifying proportion for the core had to be reduced to 80%.
- 1951 The core area was still identifiable, but the qualifying threshold was nearer 75%. Internal fracture lines were becoming more and more evident.
- 1961 In order to justify a clear core the qualifying proportion had to be reduced yet again, this time to 65%. Four main fracture lines could be discerned:
- (i) the Menai Straits
 - (ii) the Conwy-Porthmadog 'trench' across Snowdonia
 - (iii) the Severn-Dyfi break
 - (iv) the 'depression' between rural and industrial Dyfed
- 1971 The fracture lines had become so apparent that, to retain the 65% threshold, it was necessary to recast interpretation in the form of a series of separate sub-cores. They were:
- (i) Anglesey
 - (ii) Llŷn and Arfon
 - (iii) Meirionnydd-Nant Conwy
 - (iv) Rural Dyfed, north of the Landsker
 - (v) Industrial east Dyfed and western parts of West Glamorgan
- 1981 The processes which had been evident since 1951 continued apace, and the heartland was now deeply severed. The sub-cores of 1971 had become a series of peaks rising from a low ridge.

Between 1981 and 1991, the *Bro Gymraeg* continued to retract and decline in strength, following the trends described in the above summary. Increased anglicization of the coastal fringes and along the eastern margins in north Wales is

constraining this bastion of the language, although percentages of Welsh-speakers in excess of 65 per cent are recorded in large parts of this area. The same cannot be applied to rural Dyfed, where the process of fragmentation of the core has left isolated islands with more than 65 per cent of the population able to speak Welsh (Aitchison et al., 1994: 95-97).

Beyond the core areas, the linguistic change in Cardiff and its surrounding areas is a major source of hope for the advancement of the Welsh language. The number of Welsh-speakers in the capital rose from 9,623 in 1951 to 17,171 in 1991, and similar changes occurred in the surrounding towns and cities. The aforementioned processes of de-industrialisation and emergence of the transactional city were reflected in the Welsh language in the form of a quiet revolution. By 1991, over 10 per cent of the Welsh-speaking population lived within twenty-five kilometres of Cardiff, compared with less than 5 per cent forty years earlier. However, doubts have been raised whether, in the absence of significant clusters of Welsh-speakers, the language will ever become part of the community's everyday life (Davies, 1993: 72-74).

To sum up, the 1991 census invites cautious optimism. Between 1981 and 1991, while there was a slight decrease in the percentage of Welsh speakers, the decline of the number of Welsh speakers was 1.4%. If we compare these results to the decreases of 17.3% between 1961 and 1971 and of 6.3% in the following decade, there is reason for hope: the situation of the Welsh language has stabilised and the general pattern of decline which has characterized the twentieth century has been altered (Welsh Language Board, 1996).

3.4.2. Oracy and literacy of Welsh speakers

In a survey report conducted by Beaufort Research for the Welsh Language Board in March/April 2000 (<http://www.bwrdd-yr-iaith.org.uk/pdf/beaufortenglish.pdf>), some information about oracy and literacy in Welsh is provided. To the question 'Are you able to speak Welsh at all?', 11% of the respondents perceived themselves as being fluent speakers, 5% spoke fairly well, 2% spoke some Welsh, 27% spoke just a few words and 55% spoke no Welsh. Of those speaking at least some Welsh, nearly two thirds (63%) were fluent and around a quarter (26%) spoke Welsh fairly well.

Relative language competence is a factor to be taken into account, since confidence in the ability to speak a language favours its use, as we will see later on.

Not surprisingly, fluency was highest in the more obvious Welsh speaking areas such as Gwynedd/Anglesey (82%), Ceredigion/Carmarthenshire (71%) and Denbigh/Conwy (60%). In no other region did over half of the Welsh speakers regard themselves as fluent. If those speaking only some Welsh are excluded, the proportions become 89%, 75% and 73% respectively (<http://www.bwrdd-yr-iaith.org.uk/pdf/beaufortenglish.pdf>).

Finally, fluency tends to increase. Thus, around half (52%) of the Welsh speakers between 16 and 24 perceive themselves as being fluent speakers, compared to 71% between 25 and 44, 76% between 45 and 64 and 75% of the Welsh speakers who are 65 and over (<http://www.bwrdd-yr-iaith.org.uk/pdf/beaufortenglish.pdf>). The explanation here lies mainly in the growth in the number of young Welsh speakers who have acquired the language in the school.

Oracy and literacy often go closely intertwined. In the case of Welsh, for example, the gap between oracy and literacy is regarded as a predictor of areas where future decrease may be likely (Baker, 1985: 21). Indeed, as Baker himself (1985: 21) puts it, “the expectation is that Welsh oracy without literacy is like a body devoid of limbs. It may have life, but, because of limited usefulness, survival may be difficult.” As a consequence, in areas high density of speakers literacy tends to be higher. The personal cost-benefit balance for Welsh speakers who are in a minority may act against literacy (Baker, 1985: 25).

This is confirmed by the 1991 census data (see table below), since the main Welsh speaking county of Gwynedd registers the highest levels of literacy, with 82.5% of the Welsh speaking population being able to read and write the language. Central parts of Anglesey, much of Dwyfor, and the central core of Meirionnydd form a firm and very dominant cluster, defining what might be termed the ‘articulate heartland’ of the language (Aitchison and Carter, 1994: 102). Dyfed records a notably lower percentage (72.9%), although literacy rates are significantly higher in some areas of the county, and similar proportions are recorded, rather surprisingly, in Clwyd (71.0%) and South

Glamorgan (71.7%). This may be explained by the increase in the number of young Welsh speakers who have been educated in Welsh-medium schools and, particularly in South Glamorgan, the overall high socio-economic status of Welsh speaking families (Aitchison and Carter, 1994: 98).

In contrast, the lowest percentages correspond to West Glamorgan and Gwent, where just 57.7% and 61.2% of the Welsh speaking population is able to read and write the language, respectively. The main factor behind these low ratings is the age structure of Welsh speakers in both counties, although not for the same reasons, as we will see below.

Table 3.4. The Welsh language in 1991: literacy categories

County	1	2	3
Clwyd	21.5	7.5	71.0
Dyfed	19.1	8.0	72.9
Gwent	30.6	8.2	61.2
Gwynedd	13.5	4.0	82.5
Mid Glamorgan	22.2	9.9	67.9
Powys	23.4	8.8	67.8
South Glamorgan	21.4	6.9	71.7
West Glamorgan	29.2	13.1	57.7

KEY
 1. % only able to speak Welsh
 2. % able to speak and read, but not write Welsh
 3. % able to speak, read and write Welsh

In absolute numbers, 546,551 persons are able either to speak, read or write Welsh. Of this total, 67.6% are fully literate and can speak, read and write the language (369,609). This percentage increases to 72.7% if related to the Welsh speaking population. Just over 100,000 people can speak, but not read or write Welsh (Aitchison et al. 1994: 98).

In the State of the Welsh Language 2000 survey report commissioned by the Welsh Language Board respondents able to speak at least some Welsh were asked about their reading and writing skills. 62% perceived themselves as able to read Welsh very well and 26% fairly well. There was a clear distinction between those speaking the language fluently and those doing so fairly well: of the former group 83% read Welsh

very well (and 15% fairly well), while for the latter respondents the corresponding proportions were 29% and 53% (<http://www.bwrdd-yr-iaith.org.uk/pdf/beaufortenglish.pdf>).

The ability to write in Welsh is less prevalent than being able to read the language although again a quarter of those speaking at least some Welsh can do it fairly well. However, ‘only’ 53% thought they could write the language very well. The difference between the fluent speakers and the ‘fairly wells’ are again pronounced (<http://www.bwrdd-yr-iaith.org.uk/pdf/beaufortenglish.pdf>).

The age trends in literacy seem encouraging, as the younger generation, undoubtedly favoured by educational practice in Welsh, have overturned the declining tendency observed in 25 to 44 year old respondents. Both reading and writing of Welsh drop for that age and then climbs thereafter, as the table below shows:

Table 3.5. Literacy in Welsh in 2000 (%)

	16-24	25-44	45-64	65+
Reading	57	54	63	72
Writing	55	46	56	56

Source: Welsh Language Board

Overall, it is estimated that just over half of Welsh speakers are fluent speakers who read and write Welsh very or fairly well. This group represents about 10% of adults resident in Wales aged 16 or over (<http://www.bwrdd-yr-iaith.org.uk/pdf/beaufortenglish.pdf>).

3.4.3. Use of Welsh

To promote and facilitate the use of a language is the ultimate objective of any language planning strategy, and that is the main function of the Welsh Language Board created in December 1993 under the terms of the Welsh Language Act 1993 (Welsh Language Board, 1999: 33). In the Survey directed by Beaufort Research for the Board in March/April 2000 (<http://www.bwrdd-yr-iaith.org.uk/pdf/beaufortenglish.pdf>), use of Welsh in different situations is analysed.

In this section, I will focus on the use of Welsh in everyday situations, that is, in the home-family-neighbourhood-community domains which constitutes the heart of the whole intergenerational transmission (Fishman, 1991).

All respondents answering ‘fluently’, ‘fairly well’ or ‘some’ to the question about their ability to speak Welsh were included in the survey. As the table below shows, there is a marked difference between fluent speakers and the rest, with the former more likely to use the language. A relatively high percentage of Welsh speakers use Welsh at mealtimes, especially among fluent speakers. The percentages are somewhat lower when speaking to the partners, children and parents. Use of Welsh with parents depends very much on whether the parent is alive and speaks Welsh him or herself (<http://www.bwrdd-yr-iaith.org.uk/pdf/beaufortenglish.pdf>).

Table 3.6. Speaking Welsh at home (%)

Situation	Always	Often	Sometimes	Total	Fluent speakers
During a meal	39	9	20	68	84
With your partner	31	5	10	46	59
With your children	32	8	15	55	63
With your mother	32	4	8	44	54
With your father	26	4	5	35	45

Source: Welsh Language Board

The data for speaking Welsh at school or college refers to the 16-24 age group only. As the table below presents, around half of respondents use the language when they are at school or college.

Table 3.7. Speaking Welsh at school or college (16-24 years) (%)

Situation	Always	Often	Sometimes	Total
With your teachers/tutors	21	13	17	51
With your friends	15	12	28	55

Source: Welsh Language Board

Outside home and school, speaking Welsh with friends is fairly common, as can be seen in the table below. Thus, 85% of Welsh speakers use the language with Welsh friends, and the percentage rises to 97% among fluent speakers.

Table 3.8. Speaking with friends outside school (%)

Situation	Always	Often	Sometimes	Total	Fluent speakers
With Welsh friends	33	22	30	85	97

Source: Welsh Language Board

Outside home and the workplace, over half of the Welsh speakers use Welsh at least some of the time and between 20 to 30% all of the time. Around two thirds (69%) of Welsh speakers use the language at least some of the time in the local shop and over half (60%) ordering a drink or contacting local council (54%). Among the fluent speakers these percentages rise to 86%, 86% and 77%, respectively (<http://www.bwrdd-yr-iaith.org.uk/pdf/beaufortenglish.pdf>).

By areas, the use of Welsh outside home and school is highest in Gwynedd/Anglesey, followed by Ceredigion/Carmarthenshire and, at some distance, by Denbighshire/Conwy (see next table).

Table 3.9. Speaking Welsh outside home and school by regions (%)

	Always	Total
Gwynedd/Anglesey	49	80
Ceredigion/Carmarthenshire	39	72
Denbighshire/Conwy	12	40
WALES	27	54

Source: Welsh Language Board

3.4.4. Attitudes towards Welsh

In the ‘State of the Welsh Language 2000’ by the Welsh Language Board, questions about the attitude towards Welsh were asked (<http://www.bwrdd-yr-iaith.org.uk/pdf/beaufortenglish.pdf>). The results showed widespread support for the use of the Welsh language. Around two thirds (67%) of the population of Wales were strongly or mostly favourable to its use, while 5% opposed its use, this proportion being highest in the South East. By regions, the western areas are more supportive of the use of Welsh, with 83% in the South West and 87% in the Northwest. In the eastern regions, the percentage decreases somewhat in the North (72%) and

considerably in the South (54%). Interestingly, among those who spoke very little or no English a clear majority supports the use of the language (61%), whereas 26% remain indifferent.

The survey also addressed to those not fluent in Welsh regarding their willingness to learn the language by attending lessons or evening classes. According to the results, half of the respondents were not interested in learning Welsh and just over a quarter would go to an evening class (19%) or a class at work. As for those who spoke some Welsh, nearly half would contemplate improving their Welsh, whereas 16% of those who claimed to speak Welsh fairly well would. Inclination to learn or improve was highest in the 25-34 age- group (39%), those with children (34%) and those living in the West of Wales, both North and South (31%). Overall, were were slightly more inclined to learn or improve (<http://www.bwrdd-yr-iaith.org.uk/pdf/beaufortenglish.pdf>).

3.4.5. Welsh and identity

The State of the Welsh Language 2000 survey report (<http://www.bwrdd-yr-iaith.org.uk/pdf/beaufortenglish.pdf>) also asked respondents what they considered themselves to be, regardless of birthplace. However, it should be noted that three quarters of respondents (74%) were born in Wales. Among fluent Welsh speakers Wales was the birthplace of 91%, and this percentage declines as the ability to speak Welsh does, ending at 71% of those not speaking Welsh or only a few words. Being born in Wales is more prevalent in the south than in the north. Thus, over three quarters of the people living in the south (79% in the east and 77% in the west) were born in Wales, while Wales was the birthplace of 61% of the respondents in the north east and 58% in the north west.

As the table below shows, three quarters (76%) of the respondents perceived themselves as Welsh, half (51%) as British, and one out of five as European (20%) and English (19%). By regions, the Southeast recorded the highest percentages of both perceived Welshness and Britishness. Interestingly, Welsh identity is more prevalent in the south and British identity in the east.

Table 3.10. Perceived identity of residents in Wales by areas (%)

	Welsh	British	English	European
South East	81	58	18	27
South West	79	36	15	11
North East	63	64	26	20
North West	67	38	23	10

Source: Welsh Language Board

According to the results, Welsh speakers regard themselves as more Welsh than non speakers: 96% consider perceive themselves as Welsh and 29% as British, compared with 73% and 56% of non speakers, respectively. Finally, Welshness increases in the younger age groups.

3.4.6. The 2001 Census

Recently (July, 2003) the results of the 2001 Census have started to be published. As regards language competence, the main results are the following:

- Around 20.5% - some 580.000 - of the population can speak Welsh. In 1991 the percentage of Welsh speakers was 18.7% - 508.000.
- 16% can understand, speak, read and write Welsh.
- 5% can understand spoken Welsh only, having no other skills in the language.
- 72% had no language skills in Welsh, while 28% indicated that they had a skill or some skills.

Compared to the 1991 Census, the rise in the number of Welsh speakers – of over 70.000 – is a positive result. Moreover, one important aspect to be considered is the level of competence according to age. In this sense, the Welsh language is showing clear signs of recovery. The increase in the number of speakers especially large among the 10-14 age gap. One major influence in the speaking competence in the younger ages is education. In the last decade, the growth of speakers in primary and secondary school ages has been remarkable.

Table 3.11. Evolution of the proportion of Welsh speakers according to ages (%)

	1921	1931	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001
3 to 4	26.7	22.1	14.5	13.1	11.3	13.3	16.1	18.5
5 to 9	29.4	26.6	20.1	16.8	14.5	17.8	24.7	36.2
10 to 14	32.2	30.4	22.2	19.5	17.0	18.5	26.9	42.6
15 to 24	34.5	33.4	22.8	20.8	15.9	14.9	17.1	24.1
25 to 44	36.9	37.4	27.4	23.2	18.3	15.5	14.5	15.0
45 to 64	44.9	44.1	35.4	32.6	24.8	20.7	17.3	15.5
65 and over	51.9	49.9	40.7	37.2	31.0	27.4	22.6	19.4
All Ages 3+	37.1	36.8	28.9	26.0	20.8	18.9	18.5	20.5

The figure below shows the regional pattern in terms of speaking Welsh. In general, an east-west divide is apparent. In the whole western area of the country – Isle of Anglesey, Gwynedd, Ceredigion and Carmarthenshire –, except in Pembrokeshire, at least half of the population is able to speak Welsh. In Conwy and Denbighshire, the proportion of Welsh speakers is above average, and in Powys and Pembrokeshire around the average. In absolute numbers, Carmarthenshire still has the largest Welsh speaking population – 84.000 –, above Gwynedd – 77.000 –, which has the highest proportion of speakers.

A new phenomenon emerging from the 1991 Census is confirmed a decade later. The numerical majority of Welsh speakers are living in areas where Welsh is not the language of the majority. In a number of southern areas the percentages of speakers are growing rapidly. In contrast, losses in Welsh speakers are relatively significant in some traditional Welsh-speaking areas, as shown in the following table:

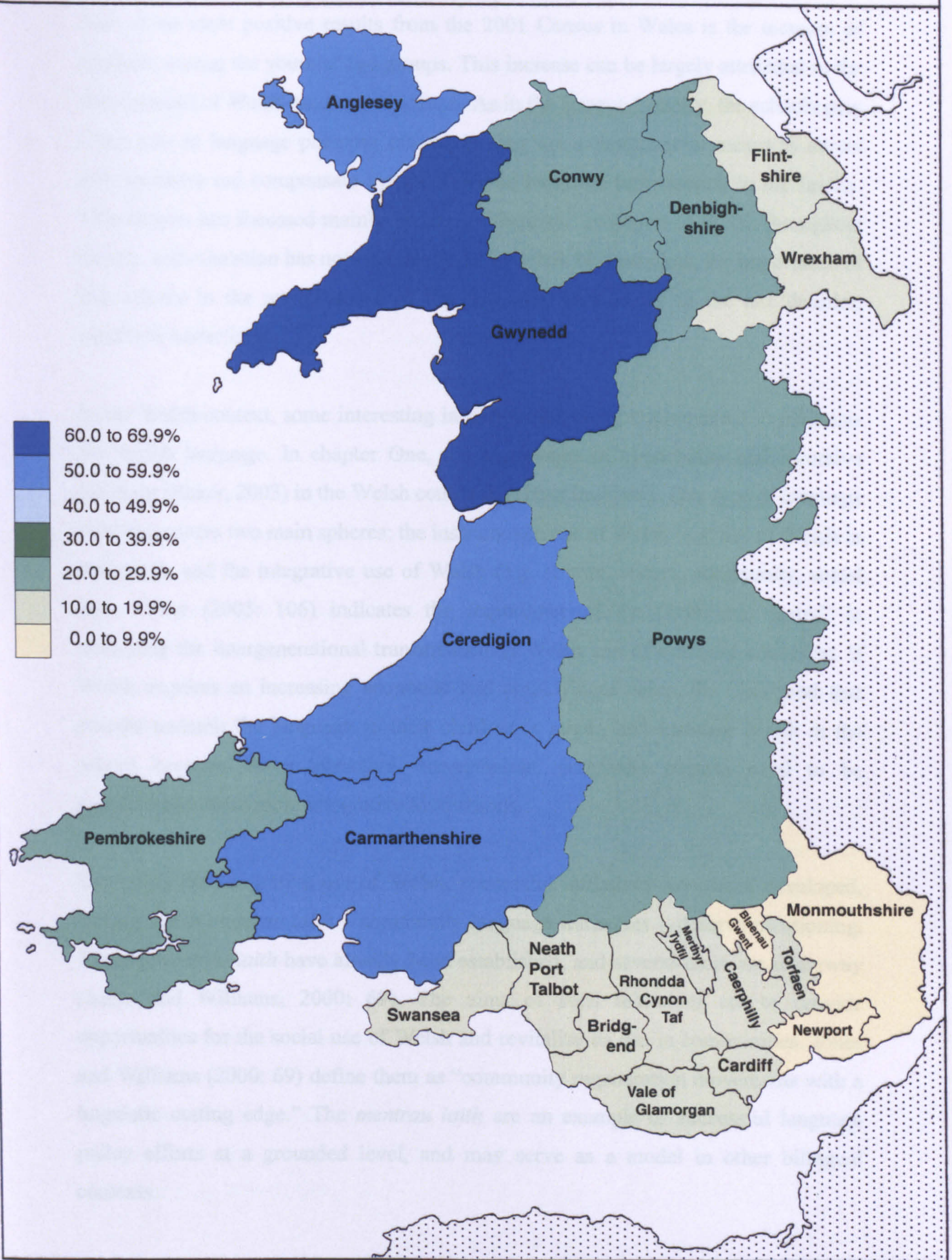
Table 3. 12. Proportion of Welsh speakers by local authority area (over 3 years)

Census figures	2001 Census	1991 Census	Change from 1991
Gwynedd	69	72	-3
Isle of Anglesey	60	62	-2
Ceredigion	52	59	-7
Carmarthenshire	50	55	-5
Conwy	29	31	-2
Denbighshire	26	27	-1
Pembrokeshire	22	18	+4
Powys	21	21	0
Wales	20.5	18.5	+2
Neath Port Talbot	18	18	0
Wrexham	14	14	0
Flintshire	14	13	+1
Swansea	13	13	0
Rhondda Cynon Taf	12	9	+3
Vale of Glamorgan	11	7	+4
Caerphilly	11	6	+5
Torfaen	11	3	+8
Cardiff	11	7	+4
Bridgend	11	8	+3
Merthyr Tydfil	10	8	+2
Newport	10	2	+8
Blaenau Gwent	9	2	+7
Monmouthshire	9	2	+7

Source: Welsh Language Board

All in all, Welsh is growing more in areas where the ability to speak it is lowest, such as Newport, Blaenau Gwent, Monmouthshire and Torfaen. In contrast, losses are most significant in the *Bro Gymraeg*, the traditional heartland of the language. The decline of Welsh speakers in Gwynedd, Anglesey and, especially, Ceredigion and Carmarthenshire appears worrying. The language is weakening in areas in which it is an integral part of everyday life.

Percentage who Speak Welsh, 2001 Census



3.5. Discussion

One of the most positive results from the 2001 Census in Wales is the increase of speakers among the younger age groups. This increase can be largely attributed to the development of Welsh-medium education. As in the Basque Country, the schools play a key role in language planning efforts, as they are a fundamental means to attract new speakers and compensate for the losses in language reproduction in the family. This chapter has focussed mainly on the geolinguistic evolution of Welsh throughout history, and education has not been analyzed in detail. Nevertheless, the importance of the schools in the revitalization of the language, particularly in the last decades, should be underlined.

In the Welsh context, some interesting initiatives are being implemented to revitalize the Welsh language. In chapter One, the importance of opportunity and incentive planning (Baker, 2003) in the Welsh context has been indicated. This type of language planning covers two main spheres: the instrumental use of Welsh (e.g. use of Welsh in economy), and the integrative use of Welsh (e.g. culture, leisure, community, social use). Baker (2003: 106) indicates the importance of the “economic carrot” in marketing the intergenerational transmission of Welsh and of bilingual education. If Welsh acquires an increasing economic and employment value, the likelihood that parents transmit the language to their children is larger, and learning Welsh in the school becomes more attractive. Nevertheless, pragmatic reasons need to be supplemented with more integrative motivations.

Regarding the integrative use of Welsh, successful initiatives have been developed, among which *mentrau iaith* – community language initiatives – deserve mentioning. Twenty *mentrau iaith* have already been established, and several more are underway (Jones and Williams, 2000: 69). The aims of such initiatives are to provide opportunities for the social use of Welsh and revitalize its use in communities. Jones and Williams (2000: 69) define them as “community regeneration movements with a linguistic cutting edge.” The *mentrau iaith* are an example of successful language policy efforts at a grounded level, and may serve as a model in other bilingual contexts.

3.6. A comparison of Basque language and Welsh language histories

This chapter has examined bilingualism in Wales, following a similar structure as the previous chapter in which the bilingual situation in the Basque Country was analyzed. The historical evolution of the Basque language and the Welsh language, as well as the current bilingual situations in the Basque Country (especially in the BAC) and Wales, provide many points of comparison. In this section, some of the major similarities and differences between both contexts will be outlined, with a special focus on the most recent history.

One important process positively changed the fate of both the Basque and the Welsh languages: industrialization. This process was accompanied by demographic growth and immigration. In Wales, the changes created by industrialization gave the rural population the opportunity to ‘emigrate’ within their own country, thus averting mass migration, but valuably spreading the Welsh language and culture across the territory. However, in a second period, the influx of English-speaking migrants was so large that it eroded the foundations of the language. Thus, the percentage of speakers decreased from approximately 80% in 1801 to 49.9% in the 1901 Census. The decline of the Welsh language continued unrelentingly throughout most of the twentieth century, and this was partly attributable to industrialization, urbanization and the rise of English as a ‘common denominator’ language.

In the Basque Country, the industrial revolution in the second half of the nineteenth century brought fundamental geolinguistic changes. In the provinces of Gipuzkoa and Bizkaia, the coal and mining industries attracted a large number of Spanish-speaking migrants. At the same time, many people in Basque-speaking rural and fishing areas were forced to migrate, mainly to North America. These changes often undermined the socio-cultural basis of the Basque language and culture. In the 1960s, a second wave of immigrants became established in the Basque Country, first in the industrial areas of Bizkaia and Gipuzkoa, and later in Navarre and Araba. In one hundred years, the population of the Southern Basque Country increased from 754.883 to 2.343.503 people. In the period between 1879 and 1973, the percentage of Basque-speakers decreased from 52% to 20%.

Nevertheless, the process of erosion of both the Basque and Welsh languages follows a historical evolution that started much earlier. We have seen that until the nineteenth century, Wales remained fundamentally Welsh-speaking. However, the progressive loss of status inflicted a crucial damage to the Welsh language. In the Middle Ages, Welsh was the language of literature, philosophy, religion or science, and it was present in the administration and the legal system. Gradually, the language retreated from important domains of use. The Act of Union of 1536 reflected the loss of status of the language. For the first time, Welsh was declared as inferior to English, which became the language of progress and prosperity. Throughout history, the Welsh-speaking people suffered constant pressures, sometimes in the form of punishment, to abandon Welsh and embrace English.

Unlike Welsh, Basque remained as a low-status language throughout its recent history, and it was excluded from all administrative and official functions. In general, the history of Basque is one of suppression and repression. The language was suppressed from functions of prestige, and politically repressed by centralized governments that implemented policies aimed at establishing a monolingual society. However, the persecution of the language reached new heights during the dictatorship of Franco (1939-75). After the Civil War (1936-39), public use of Basque was forbidden. Through laws and punishment, Basque was excluded from the streets, offices, churches, shops and bars. Many language loyalists were killed or forced into exile, and whole generations of Basque-speakers were deprived of expressing themselves in their own language.

The previous text has shown certain similarities – and differences – in the histories of Welsh and Basque. The present situation regarding both languages also has significant parallels. Indeed, Welsh and Basque seem to go, in many aspects, hand in hand in their language revitalization efforts. In both countries, the process of reversing language shift has gone through a similar path, following the five interdependent stages proposed by Colin Williams (1994; see pages 44 and 45): idealism, protest, legitimacy, institutionalization and parallelism.

In both cases, the battle for the survival of the language was injected with new enthusiasm in the 1960s, although in the case of Basque it reached its peak after

Franco's death. They were years of frantic activity in defence of the Basque and Welsh languages, years of protests and campaigns led by language loyalists and organizations created at the time. In those years, the movement in favour of both languages gained increasing support among the population, and cultural activities related to both languages emerged. In Wales and in the Southern Basque Country, such movements coincided with a revival of political nationalism. In those years of effervescence, the seeds for future language revitalization attempts were planted.

As regards language planning, one major aspect stands out in Wales and in the Basque Country: the importance of bilingual education. Both the Welsh language and the Basque language have suffered losses in the transmission of the language within the family, in a context in which English – in the case of Welsh – and Spanish/French – in the case of Basque – are clearly dominant. Zalbide (1998; see page 31) states that without a school system that educates in Basque, there is no future for the language. The same can be applied to Wales. For minority languages such as Basque and Welsh, education plays a major role in ensuring new speakers.

3.7. Summary of the Chapter

In this chapter, the past and the present position of the Welsh language have been described. The history of Welsh provides a general overview of the evolution of the language. It shows its past glories and the progressive weakening of its status vis-à-vis the increasing strength of English, with the subsequent loss of important domains for the language. It also illustrates the influence of social changes on languages. Social processes such as industrialization, demographic growth and immigration changed the fate of Welsh, as they did in the Basque Country with the Basque language. In more recent times, the emergence of language support groups and associations show the importance of social movements in re-establishing the language in society.

Special attention has been given to the geolinguistic changes of Welsh in recent decades. In this sense, the 1991 Census provided important data to analyze the recent development of Welsh. General data from the 2001 Census have also been included. However, as data from this latest Census have only started to be published, the analysis provided here is mainly based on the 1991 Census.

In general, the results show that Welsh has stopped its decline, and signs of recovery are apparent. In the last decade, the language has attracted 70.000 new speakers. In this respect, the increase of young speakers is encouraging for the future of the Welsh language. Moreover, Welsh is making rapid progress in the areas where its presence has been historically lower. One downside in the results is the continuing erosion of the *Bro Gymraeg*, as mentioned before. The decline in the core areas of the language is cause of concern, as maintenance of Welsh in these areas is essential to ensure its survival and to ultimately spread the language over other parts of the country. In sum, the results show shadows and lights, but the overall picture is positive. The general pattern of decline has been stopped, and reasons for prudent optimism are justified.

Chapter Four

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1. Introduction

This chapter concerns the methodology and procedures of the thesis research conducted in the Basque Country from January 2001 to March 2001. The research was carried out in Rioja Alavesa, to the south of the Basque province of Alava.

The chapter initially specifies the aims of the study. The main goal was to create a global representation of the linguistic situation in the area. For that purpose, many aspects were examined, such as language competence and language use, language attitudes, ethnolinguistic and ethnocultural identity and the role of education in Basque maintenance and recovery.

A description of the area where the research was conducted is provided so as to contextualize the study. Rioja Alavesa is a borderland region which forms part of the Ebro River valley, a fertile zone internationally known for the excellence of its wines. As in the Basque Autonomous Community, two languages are spoken in Rioja Alavesa: Spanish and Basque. Spanish is the everyday language of the clear majority of the population. Basque was lost in the area by the end of the Middle Ages, but in the last twenty years it has experienced a remarkable recovery, mainly through the schools in the area.

The research tools employed in the study are presented in this chapter. For reasons which are specified later, it seemed convenient as a means to increase validity to combine different methods to conduct the research. Survey questionnaires were used to assess secondary and upper-secondary school students. Such questionnaires were supplemented with interviews, observation methods and documentary sources, all of which are described in this chapter.

The general procedures and limitations of the study are also explained. Initial plans to conduct the study were partially changed. These pragmatic changes are discussed. An increased knowledge of the area and the limitations found when engaging in the research required flexibility in the research operation.

4.2. Aims of the research

In the last twenty years, the regional government of the Basque Autonomous Community has implemented policies designed to reverse the decline of the Basque language and restore its use throughout the territory. This research aims to examine the effects such policies have had in traditionally non-Basque speaking areas. For that purpose, the borderland area of Rioja Alavesa was selected. In this region, Basque disappeared in the Middle Ages and has been reintroduced through the education system. Thus it provides a fertile context to study language revitalization.

The study intends to engage a holistic, global picture of language contact in the region. Accordingly, many different aspects of Basque language revitalization in Rioja have been taken into consideration. One aim of the study was to analyse, especially among the younger generations, a number of linguistic issues such as self-reported language competence, language use, networks of language contact, as well as language shift across generations. Another aim was to examine attitudes towards bilingualism and towards the Basque language. Ethnolinguistic vitality in both the Basque Autonomous Community and Rioja Alavesa was also evaluated. Moreover, ethnolinguistic and ethnocultural identity was examined in this frontier zone where the emergence of plural identities and of ethnic and linguistic boundaries were to be expected. Finally, some other important aspects in language revival were analysed, such as the role of education in Basque maintenance and intergroup relations.

4.3. A general description of the area – Arabako Errioxa / Rioja Alavesa

Rioja Alavesa belongs to Araba, the southernmost province of the Basque Autonomous Community. Its location, encapsulated among the Toloño and Cantabria mountain ranges to the north and river Ebro to the south, has determined the singularity of its land and has lent this territory a unique character. The population of

Rioja Alavesa is around 10.000. Within its 316 km², the area encompasses fifteen villages and seven administrative juntas (or districts). This rural region has two main centres, Biasteri / Laguardia, the administration centre, and Oion / Oyón, the industrial centre.

Figure 4.1. Map of Araba



Source: <http://www.alavaturismo.com/PARQUES/parq-main.html>

During this research study, the villages in Rioja Alavesa will be often mentioned. Most of them have different names in Basque and in Spanish. For the sake of clarity, a list of the fifteen villages, with their denominations in Basque and Spanish, will be provided next. To avoid confusion, the researcher will consistently use the Basque denominations to refer to the villages. However, the name Rioja (Alavesa) will be

employed, and not the Basque Arabako Errioxa. The name Rioja is more recognizable, mainly because it gives its name to the internationally known Rioja wine. On the other hand, in the interviews the Basque or Spanish denominations will be chosen according to the language in which the interviewee was speaking at the moment.

Table 4.1. Villages of Rioja Alavesa (in Basque and Spanish)

BASQUE	SPANISH
Bastida	Labastida
Bilar	Elvillar
Ekora	Yécora
Eltziego	Elciego
Biasteri	Laguardia
Kripan	Kripan
Lantziego	Lanciego
Lapuebla de Labarca	Lapuebla de Labarca
Leza	Leza
Mañueta	Baños de Ebro
Moreda de Álava	Moreda de Álava
Navaridas	Navaridas
Oion	Oyón
Samaniego	Samaniego
Eskuernaga	Villabuena de Álava

Rioja Alavesa is a borderland region, and River Ebro is its natural frontier (see figure 4.2). The name ‘Rioja’ is shared by two other territories: the non-Basque Autonomous Community of La Rioja, to the south of the river, and the Navarrese Rioja, in the Basque province of Navarre, to the east. All these regions are mostly know by the quality of their wines, widely exported throughout the world.

Figure 4.2. Map of Rioja Alavesa



Source: <http://www.alava.net/agroturismo/riojai.html>

The nearest city from Rioja Alavesa is Logroño, capital of the Autonomous Community of Rioja. It is located around 15 kilometres from Biasteri and 3 kilometres from Oion. The capital city of the province, Gasteiz-Vitoria, is situated around 50 kilometres from Biasteri and 65 kilometres from Oion.

The main industry in the region is wine, present in almost every aspect of the social life of the area. Grape and wine growing has replaced virtually all the other crops, such as cereal and rye, in this mainly agricultural region. The increase of the price of grapes and the growing presence of Rioja wine in the national and international markets has led to a radical transformation of the socio-economic status of the area. In the last fifteen to twenty years, Rioja Alavesa has forgotten its past as an economically poor region and has become one of the richest areas in the Basque Autonomous Community. Apart from wine, there are several small businesses in Oion, an expanding town benefited by its proximity to Logroño. Finally, the hospital located in the small village of Leza employs a significant number of local people.

Schools are also an important source of employment in the area. In Biasteri complete pre-university education (from two to eighteen years) is offered through two different schools: “V́ctor Tapia” nursery and primary school, and “Samaniego” secondary and upper secondary school. Likewise, “Assa” *ikastola* school in Lapuebla de Labarca provides integral pre-university education. There are both *ikastola* and state-funded schools in Bastida and Oion, all of which offer nursery and primary education (2-12 years). The state-funded school in Eltziego and the *ikastola* school in Lantziego also provide nursery and primary education. Finally, the nursery schools in Samaniego, Eskuernaga and Mañueta, which are organically linked to “Assa ikastola”, provide education children between two and five. These schools employ a considerable number of teachers, many of whom, especially those who teach through the medium of Basque, come from some other regions in the Basque Country.

In the following Internet addresses, interesting information about Rioja Alavesa is provided:

<http://www.rioja-alavesa.net/>

<http://www.alava.net/agroturismo/riojai.html>

http://www.euskolabel.net/english/frames_prod_i.asp?shtml=rioja01_i.htm

<http://www.alavaturismo.com/NewFiles/Laguardia/lagu-main.html>

<http://www.alavaincoming.com/castellano/incentiv-paraiso.html>

<http://www.aytoelciego.com/geografia/geografia.htm>

<http://www.iespana.es/labarca/castellano.htm>

<http://www.laguardia-alava.com/en/index.html>

4.4. Context of the research

In the Basque Autonomous Community, two official languages coexist: Basque and Spanish. The educational system of the Basque Autonomous Community requires both languages to be taught at pre-university school levels. There are three main

bilingual teaching models (A, B and D), differentiated according to the balance and use of each language. A more detailed explanation of the status of Basque and the education system in the Basque Autonomous Community is provided in chapter Two.

Historically, Rioja Alavesa has been a land of historic, geographic and linguistic crossroads. River Ebro has marked the borderland and battleground for Christians and Moors, for Castilians and Navarrese, and a Spanish and Basque linguistic borderland for centuries. As for the antiquity of the Basque language in the area, two main theories have been presented. The first one suggests that Basque arrived in Rioja in pre-Roman times, as Basque people from the north spread to the south and to the other side of river Ebro. The second theory states that Basque expanded towards the west and the south in times of the Reconquest, around the tenth century, reaching part of the Community of La Rioja and Burgos (see Velilla 1971, Merino Urrutia 1978, Echenique Elizondo 1984, Intxausti, 1994). The long-standing linguistic frontier around River Ebro, however, broke before the end of the Middle Ages: the retreat of Basque from Rioja started as early as in the XIII century, as described by Odon Apraiz in 1876 (see Urgell, 1996).

At present, the population in Rioja Alavesa is overwhelmingly monolingual Spanish-speaking, but in the last twenty years Basque has made some impressive advances. In 1981 there were 80 Basque-speaking bilinguals in Rioja; by 1986 there were 307, and by 1991 662 (Intxausti, 1994). According to the latest data (<http://www.eustat.es/english/estad/tablas/tbl0000800/tbl826.html>), there are 978 Basque speakers in Rioja Alavesa, accounting for 10.31% of the population. Another 8.76% have some knowledge of the language, while 80.92% remain Spanish-speaking monolinguals.

Basque has been absent in everyday life in Rioja Alavesa for around seven centuries, and it remains fundamentally so. Being the mother tongue of just 1.6% of the population, the recovery of Basque in the region is essentially being delivered through the education system. At present, around half of the students in the nursery and primary levels (52.4%) are enrolled in model D (almost all teaching is completed in Basque), a quarter (26.3%) in model B (teaching is completed half in Spanish and half in Basque; both languages are thus medium as well as subjects) and one fifth (20.6%)

in model A (almost all teaching is completed in Spanish; Basque is taught as a language). As for the students in secondary and upper-secondary levels, almost half of them (48.2%) are completing their studies in model D, and the rest in models A (39.5%) and B (12.2%). Moreover, in towns like Samaniego, Eskuernaga and Mañueta, where only one bilingual teaching model is on offer, all the children start the nursery school in model D. Apart from that, 162 students are enrolled in *euskaltegi* schools (Adult Basque Schools).

All members of the youngest generations have, therefore, access to a knowledge of Basque and a significant number of students are enrolled in bilingual teaching models where the Basque language is, to different degrees, the medium of instruction. At the same time, most of the parents of these students are monolingual Spanish-speaking. In this changing linguistic situation, the present research aims to examine how these attempts at language revitalization, mainly delivered through the schools in the area, are regarded by both the young and their parents in Rioja Alavesa. In this respect, attitudes towards bilingualism and the Basque language are analyzed, as well as whether language recovery is considered a threat or a desirable force in terms of ethnolinguistic and ethnocultural identity.

The Basque-speaking population, thus, is predominantly young. Few people over 40 claim to have any knowledge of Basque. Young generations are increasingly acquiring competence in the language, but everyday use of Basque in the region is minimal. Closely associated to the school environment, it has not yet set roots as a communication tool for social, cultural, economic or leisure activity.

4.5. General procedure

The research study described here is based on a stay of nearly three months (from January the 8th 2001 to the end of March 2001) in Rioja Alavesa. I remained flexible in terms of the length of time required to complete my research, as I did in terms of the methodology to be employed for it to be maximally successful.

The initial plans were to combine questionnaire surveys for students in secondary and upper-secondary levels with structured interviews for the rest of respondents. The

interviews were to be very similar to the questionnaires, although they were adapted to the respondent's characteristics (e.g. age, marital status). For that purpose, a sample of 200 people was to be used, divided into four age groups (13-18, 19-35, 36-55 and 56+). Each group would consist of around 50 people, around half of them being males and the other half females. The study was to be completed with the collection of secondary data (e.g. public documents and official records, data concerning local schools, mass media and other studies) and qualitative methods such as observation by the researcher.

4.5.1. The passage of the research

As I gained a deeper knowledge of the region to be studied at the commencement of the research, I began to experience limitations when initially conducting the research the way it was planned. Therefore, some rearrangement became necessary, the most important of which are the following:

1) The structured interview did not seem to be the most adequate method to elicit information, in view of the reactions provoked by some of the questions among respondents. "These questionnaires are nothing but politics", or "There is no way you are going to fill these questionnaires. The only ones who are going to fill them are people from HB (Herri Batasuna, a political party close to ETA which supports independence of the Basque Country from Spain and France)". Another respondent added that I probably came at a bad moment, as people are reluctant to talk about these issues, as the political situation is rather in conflict. On the other hand, while respondents with a certain allegiance to the Basque language or to Basque nationalism were willing to participate, difficulties in contacting respondents with different points of view soon became apparent. Moreover, a number of the people consulted claimed a lack of interest or ignorance, and hence avoided being interviewed. Apathy or lack of opinion on the subject proved to be a serious obstacle in the first month of the research.

2) During the initial stages of the research, the possibility of handing out the questionnaires to all age groups was envisaged, and some attempts to do so were made. It was seen as a good way to save time and as a comprehensive way to collect

data. In addition, anonymity was guaranteed. Again, reactions of people suggested the necessity of employing a different approach. Some well-known people in Rioja Alavesa whom I contacted during my stay helped me distribute the questionnaires, assuming that respondents would feel more comfortable and secure that way. However, the response rate was very poor (around 30%). A combination of some factors might have contributed to a low response rate, the principal of which might have been that some respondents' suspicions had not apparently been placated. Indeed, one of my aides, after having returned to me two questionnaires completed, transmitted to me the reservations of the respondents towards the use I would make of the questionnaires. Hence, to maintain the highest ethical standards, I decided to give them back. Moreover, practical literacy difficulties in filling in the questionnaire by some of the respondents and the aforementioned lack of interest might also have played a part.

3) As a consequence, it seemed that unstructured interviews would better serve the purpose of the study. Those interviewed would not be selected at random, but the interviews would be directed to people closely related to the subject of the research or in a position that would enable them to communicate well-founded opinions about it: teachers, parents, town councillors, priests, and people from different towns involved in cultural or linguistic affairs. Especial attempts were made to make respondents feel comfortable and at ease during the interviews, which were conducted in a mainly informal conversational manner. Accordingly, no tapes were used during the interviews, as they might have restrained respondents from talking freely. The significant parts of the interviews were transferred to a tape in my own words or written down as quickly as possible after they were complete. Making notes during the interviews may also have appeared as 'taking evidence against a person'. Moreover, it would have not allowed me to concentrate on the interview, both verbally and in terms of non-verbal communication.

4) Finally, some variations were made from the original questionnaires. Certain questions did not seem to fit in the context, and they were removed. A particular effort was also made to shorten the questionnaires, as they appeared inadequately long and time-consuming. Moreover, the ordering of the questionnaire was altered. Some sensitive issues were included in the questionnaire, and the possibility of them

detering respondents to co-operate was considered. The main aim was to avoid creating a mood-set or a mind-set early on in the questionnaire (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000: 257). For this reason questions deemed as most sensitive by the researcher, such as those regarding identity issues and intergroup relations, were placed at the end of the questionnaire.

5) Without altering the general research aim of offering a global picture of language contact and its implications in Rioja Alavesa, it seemed convenient to place more stress on the younger generations. After all, people below 40 are the protagonists of the language change and receptors of language planning carried out in Rioja Alavesa in the last twenty years. In terms of language reproduction, especially at family level, these young people (their attitudes, expectations, choices and behaviours) are important in language revitalization.

The next section attempts to provide a detailed portrayal of the research process, so that replication is possible. It is written in the form of a diary so as to express detail, change and development.

4.5.2. Research diary

Week 1 (8-14 January)

I arrived in **Biasteri** on Monday morning. In the first two days, I solved the problem of accommodation, moving from the hostel to a flat. I would be living in **Biasteri** during my stay in Rioja Alavesa. I met a family known to my father in **Leza** who were interested in the research. They introduced me to a person in **Biasteri**, *Maribel* [names of real people have been changed to pseudonyms to ensure confidentiality], who offered to help me in anything I needed. On Wednesday I went to the secondary school in **Biasteri** to talk with the director. He posed no problems to the use of the school for the research, although the questionnaires seemed too long for him. We arranged everything to hand out the questionnaires next week. I went to the *euskaltegi* school in **Biasteri** and talked to the teacher there to introduce myself, explain the research and ask for further co-operation.

Week 2 (15-21 January)

On Monday, I went to the secondary school in **Biasteri** again. The director asked me to postpone the handing out of the questionnaires, as some teachers were busy that week. I got in contact with some teachers in the secondary school of **Biasteri**. I conducted my first interview. It was structured. There was a tense reaction on the part of the respondent. He predicted people would feel reluctant to answer some of the questions, as they seemed too political. He said it was also too long. I discussed the questionnaires with *Maribel*; she thought some questions didn't fit. I needed to have a further look at them. I visited **Lapuebla de Labarca** with my flatmate.

Week 3 (22-28 January)

On Monday, I handed out the first questionnaires in the secondary school in **Biasteri**, in a classroom with students in model B. I returned to the school on Wednesday. The questionnaires were distributed in two classrooms with students in model D. All the students were in their last year of secondary school. On Tuesday I went to **Oion**. I talked to two priests. One of them is currently serving in this town and the other served in the area some years ago. They put me in contact with the priest in **Biasteri**. On Thursday I interviewed the priest in **Biasteri**. I met *Maribel* and gave her some questionnaires to be distributed among villagers. I went to **Leza** and gave some other questionnaires to an aid in the town.

Week 4 (29 January-4 February)

On Monday I called to the *ikastola* school in **Lapuebla de Labarca**. I talked to the director. I was meeting him on Tuesday to explain him my study and fix the dates to hand out the questionnaires. I went to the *ikastola* school in **Lapuebla de Labarca** and talked to the director. We held a very interesting conversation about the role of the schools in the recovery of Basque in Rioja and the general situation of Basque in the area. He recommended me to talk with *Txema*, a teacher in the *ikastola* school, about these issues. We talked about the dates for the distribution of the questionnaires on some other occasion, but people in the *ikastola* school were willing to participate. I

met *Maribel* in **Biasteri**. She told me about the difficulties of handing out the questionnaires. People were suspicious about the real intentions of the questionnaire and refused to fill them in. I went out with teachers and socialised with people in **Biasteri**, in order to informally gain understanding and perceptions about the Basque language in the area.

Week 5 (5-11 February)

On Monday I went to the *euskaltegi* school in **Oion**. I talked to *Peru*, responsible for the *euskaltegi* school, and I arranged to meet him on Wednesday. On Tuesday I went to **Lapuebla de Labarca** to talk with *Txema*. He arrived late and we didn't have a lot of time to talk. Instead, he invited me to have dinner with some friends. They gather every Tuesday for dinner. Usually there are seven people: four teachers in the *ikastola* school (including *Txema* and the director), a former president of the *ikastola* school and the mayor of the town. From that night on I met them every Tuesday night for dinner. On Wednesday morning, I went to **Oion** and had a conversation with *Peru*. He recommended me to talk to *Josetxu*, responsible for the local radio in Rioja Alavesa. I hitch-hiked there, because I didn't have any means of transport. That was a problem, as public transport is very limited there. I was considering the possibility of using my brother's motorbike. In **Biasteri** I went to the local radio and met *Josetxu*. I interviewed him. I visited the villages of **Bilar** and **Kripan**. On Saturday I had lunch with the two priests of **Oion** in **Fuenmayor** (Autonomous Community of La Rioja).

Week 6 (12-18 February)

I visited **Samaniego** with my flatmate. I went to **Lapuebla de Labarca** to have dinner on Tuesday. I asked if it was possible to talk to local teachers from the *ikastola* school. I was told to come back the following day. On Wednesday I was back in **Lapuebla de Labarca**. I had an interview with three teachers from the *ikastola* school, one of them born in the village, the other living there for a long time and married to a local man, and *Txema*, who has been teaching in the *ikastola* school since its beginning in 1984. We had a conversation of about two hours. I arranged the handing out of the questionnaires in the school. Afterwards, I went to the centre of the village with *Txema* to have a drink, and we socialised with men in the village. There

was a group of around ten people, who were keen to talk with me. The following day, in **Biasteri**, I met *Asun*, wife of *Jose txu*, who is a teacher in the *ikastola* school of **Oion** and in the *euskaltegi* school. We talked for about one hour. She was then teaching a group in **Logroño**, the capital of the Autonomous Community of La Rioja. I told her I was interested in contacting these people in **Logroño**, and she invited me to meet these people.

Week 7 (19-25 February)

On Monday I visited **Mañueta** with my flatmate. On Tuesday and Wednesday I handed out questionnaires in the *ikastola* school in **Lapuebla de Labarca**. I handed them out in two classrooms. The following week I would be coming back to distribute them in the remaining two classrooms. On Tuesday I had dinner in **Lapuebla de Labarca**, as usual. On Thursday I went to **Oion**, and had a lengthy conversation with *Peru*. As I had rearranged the research and decided to hand out more questionnaires in the schools, I asked for permission to hand them out in more classrooms in the Secondary School of **Biasteri**. Permission was given, but I was asked to wait for two weeks, as it was examination time for students and teachers were very busy. Later, I went out and socialized with local people.

Week 8 (26 February – 4 March)

I went to **Samaniego** to interview *Mertxe Imaz*, a person involved in cultural activities and a supporter of Basque in the village. On Tuesday morning I was due to go to **Lapuebla de Labarca** to hand out the questionnaires. My motorbike didn't start and I called to apologize and say I would not be able to arrive in time. We arranged the handing out for the following day. In the afternoon, the motorbike started without problems, and I went to the dinner in **Lapuebla de Labarca**. I was back in the village on Wednesday and handed out the questionnaires. The following day I went to **Eskuernaga** to talk with an EH (Euskal Herritarrok, independentist nationalist coalition then, recently made illegal for its alleged links with ETA) councillor and her husband, both involved in activities to support Basque in the area. I had lunch in their house and spent the afternoon in the town. I visited **Eltziego**.

Week 9 (5-11 March)

I handed out more questionnaires in two classrooms in the secondary school of **Biasteri**. I interviewed the local priest. After the interview, the priest recommended that I contact a councillor from PNV, who might be interested to talk with me. I contacted the PNV (Basque Nationalist Party, moderate and currently governing the Basque Autonomous Community) councillor and I had a short conversation with her. She suggested that I go to the town hall on Thursday, where there was a plenary session, if I wanted to talk to councillors. On Tuesday I went to **Lapuebla de Labarca** and interviewed two women in the village square. Afterwards, I had dinner in the village. The following day, I went to **Logroño** with *Asun*, where I talked to four students and *Asun* herself in the *euskaltegi* school and later on in a pub. On Thursday I went to the town hall after the plenary session was over. I talked to the three councillors of PNV and a fourth person that same night. I talked to the mayor of **Biasteri**, from PP (right-wing Spanish party opposed to Basque nationalism), to arrange a meeting with him. He asked me to meet him in the town hall the following week.

Week 10 (12-18 March)

On Monday morning I arranged the handing out of the questionnaires with *Asun* in the *ikastola* school in **Oion**. On Tuesday I went to **Oion**. I handed out the questionnaires in the *ikastola* schools. In between, I had lunch with *Asun* and another five teachers from the *ikastola* school and the public school in **Oion**. In the afternoon, I had a group interview with mothers of children in the *ikastola* school. I went to the public school and asked for a meeting with some mothers there. I gave them my telephone number to contact me. I had dinner in **Lapuebla de Labarca**. On Wednesday I went to **Lantziego**. I interviewed the director of the *ikastola* school there. Afterwards, I talked to some mothers outside the *ikastola* school. The following day I handed out the last questionnaires in the secondary school of **Biasteri**. I tried to arrange a meeting with the mayor or councillors from PP in **Mañueta**, but they didn't appear to be very interested. I contacted the Association of Students' Mothers of Victor Tapia Primary School in **Biasteri** to arrange a meeting with them. They asked me to call back next week.

Week 11 (19-25 March)

I went to the *ikastola* school in **Bastida**, where I talked to a teacher there. I contacted one member of the Association of Students' Mothers in **Biasteri**. We arranged a meeting for the following day. We had the meeting on Tuesday afternoon. At night I had dinner in **Lapuebla de Labarca**. I also arranged a meeting with the mayor for the following week. I spoke with two groups of women in the town square in **Lapuebla de Labarca**. On Saturday afternoon I met members of *Oiongo Gazteak*, a youth association in **Oion**.

Week 12 (26 March -1 April)

I interviewed the mayor of **Biasteri**. On Tuesday I had dinner in **Lapuebla de Labarca**. The following day I went to **Eltziego**, where I talked to three teachers of the primary school there. During the week I met and said goodbye to the people I had dealt with during my stay in Rioja Alavesa.

Week 13 (2-4 April)

I went to Rioja Alavesa to say goodbye to those dining with me every Tuesday in **Lapuebla de Labarca**, and had the last dinner there. I witnessed the crossing of *Korrika* (literally running, a non-stop two-week race across the Basque Country to support the Basque language) through **Biasteri**. I went back home to Zarautz (Gipuzkoa) on Wednesday.

4.6. Research tools

4.6.1. Quantitative methods: survey questionnaires

The methodology employed in this study involved the use of questionnaires (see Appendix 1). Using questionnaires is widely regarded as a standard method of collecting information. It intends to generate information in a systematic fashion by presenting all informants with questions in a similar manner, and recording their

responses in a methodical way. It addresses the issue of reliability of information by attenuating and eliminating differences in the way in which questions are asked, and how they are presented. However, it is argued that this may affect the validity of the data so obtained. Responses to set questions may be relatively reliable, but they might not adequately cover the concept that the researcher is interested in (Hall and Hall, 1996: 97-98).

Questionnaires elicit written information provided by people in response to questions asked by the researcher. In this respect, the kind of data is distinct from that which could be gathered from interviews, observation or documents. Questionnaires tend to extract two types of information –‘facts’ and ‘opinions’- and it is important that the researcher is clear about whether the information being sought is to do with facts or to do with opinions (Denscombe, 1998: 89).

Though there is a large range of types of questionnaires, a simple rule generally applies: the larger the size of the sample, the more structured, close and numerical the questionnaire may have to be, and the smaller the sample, the less-structured, more open and word-based the questionnaire may be. When measurement is sought then a quantitative approach is required; when rich and personal data are sought, then a word-based qualitative approach might be more suitable (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000: 247-48).

A closed and structured questionnaire was employed in this occasion. This type of questionnaire is useful in that it can generate standardized answers amenable to statistical treatment and analysis. It also permits comparisons to be made across groups in the sample. A major advantage from this is that it allows fairly rapid analysis of data by the researcher. (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000: 248). However, the preparation of such questionnaire is notably time-consuming. In general, questionnaires, as Denscombe (1998: 89-90) puts it, tend to be ‘one-offs’, and there is, consequently, a lot of pressure to *get it right first time*. The foremost care should be taken to avoid mistakes, as it is likely that there will be no opportunities to make amendments or corrections once the questionnaire has been printed and distributed. Moreover, in the case of highly structured, closed questionnaires, they

need to be refined so that the final version contains as full a range of possible responses as can be reasonably foreseen (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000: 248).

The validity of questionnaires depends heavily on the attitude of respondents when completing them. In this respect, the potential disadvantages of closed and structured questionnaires often go along hand in hand with the potential advantages. For example, on the one hand, the fact that pre-coded questions merely require the ticking of appropriate boxes from respondents might encourage participation. On the other hand, respondents might find this restricting and frustrating, and thus they might refuse to answer. Furthermore, the researcher has no other choice but to assume that the answers given are genuine, especially if the questionnaires are anonymous (Denscombe, 1998: 106).

Questionnaires were used to obtain information from third and fourth year secondary school and upper-secondary school pupils (14-18 years). They totalled 232 students. The total numbers of students who completed the questionnaires supplied above refer to those regarded as valid for the purposes of this study. A total of 41 questionnaires from the first group were discarded. Twenty-four of them did not comply with an eliminatory condition for them to be considered in survey: to live in Rioja Alavesa. The number of questionnaires discarded for this reason was particularly high in the *ikastola* school in Oion, where 17 out of the 31 students who filled in the questionnaire were living in nearby areas outside Rioja Alavesa (14 of them in Viana, a village in the Navarrese Rioja, and the remaining three in Logroño, the capital city of the Community of La Rioja). The remaining 17 questionnaires were excluded because they were not completed in an adequate manner.

Items taken from instruments used in previous studies were employed to design the questionnaires. The general structure of the questionnaire was drawn from Azurmendi and Bourhis (1998) and Bourhis, Giles and Rosenthal (1981), whereas the attitude statements were adapted from Baker (1992). Questions concerning language use and language networks were taken from the Welsh Attitude Survey (Welsh Language Board, 2000). The questionnaire consisted of 31 questions (see Appendix 1).

The questionnaires started by asking the respondents for some personal information, including gender, year of birth, place of birth and the language the respondent learnt first. Information about their father and mother was required next, including their place of birth, occupation, languages they can speak and language(s) they learnt first.

Some questions regarding personal details of parents were ultimately not included in the research analysis. Parent's occupation was requested in order to elicit information about social class. However, this is a highly complex variable in itself, and the simple question did not provide data that was felt reliable or valid. Students were also asked about the place of birth of their parents, and how long had they been living in the BAC, in case they were not born there. A rather high percentage (36.7%) of students did not answer these questions. One explanation may be that they considered these questions intrusive, or not pertinent in a language questionnaire.

Questions 1 to 9 deal with linguistic issues concerning language competence (1), network of language contact (2-3) and language use (4-9) from the respondents. Questions 6 to 9 (e.g. question 6: "At home, how often do you speak Basque in the following situations?") were not applicable to respondents who couldn't speak Basque or never spoke Basque, and respondents who could not or never spoke Basque were asked to go to question 10.

Question 10 is divided in two parts, A and B. The first part investigates pupils' attitudes towards bilingualism with 23 statements such as the following:

- "It is important to be able to speak Spanish and Basque."
- "To speak one language in the BAC is all that is needed."
- "Children get confused when learning Basque and Spanish at the same time."

The second part investigates pupils' attitudes towards the Basque language. Statements such as following were included:

- "Basque is a difficult language to learn."
- "It is more important to know English than Basque."
- "Basque is a language worth learning."

In questions 11 to 21 perceptions of ethnolinguistic vitality are examined. Respondents were asked about how prominent Basque, Spanish, English, French and other languages are in both the Basque Autonomous Community and Rioja Alavesa. Similarly, they were asked about how strong Spanish-speaking monolinguals and Basque-speaking bilinguals are today, were 20 years ago and will be 20 years from now in both the Basque Autonomous Community and Rioja Alavesa.

Questions 23 to 28 investigate the ethnolinguistic and ethnocultural identity of respondents. They are asked how they perceive themselves with regard to their culture and to the languages they use to speak and think in, and how they would like to be regarded in the future. Likewise, they are asked about the conditions for a person to be able to feel Basque or Spanish, and whether it is possible to be Basque and Spanish at the same time. Such questions thus encompass language, culture and identity.

Finally, questions 22, 29, 30 and 31 examine intergroup relations between Spanish speaking monolinguals and Basque speaking bilinguals. Students are asked to what extent they would like to have Spanish speaking monolinguals or Basque speaking bilinguals as best friends, classmates and neighbours.

4.6.1.1. Research sample

The sample was drawn from the three schools offering secondary and upper-secondary levels in Rioja Alavesa, located in three different towns: Biasteri, Lapuebla de Labarca and Oion. In the “Samaniego” secondary school of Biasteri A and B bilingual teaching models are taught. The schools in Lapuebla de Labarca (“Assa ikastola”) and Oion (“San Bizente ikastola”) are *ikastola* schools, where only model D is on offer.

In the *ikastola* school in Lapuebla de Labarca, education is provided at nursery, primary, secondary and upper-secondary levels (from 2 to 18 year old students). The *ikastola* school in Oion offers nursery, primary and secondary levels (2-16 years old students), and finally, the school in Biasteri provides secondary and upper secondary school levels (12-18 year old students).

To make this study as fully representative as possible, all pupils in the third and fourth year of secondary levels and upper-secondary levels present in the schools at the time of the study completed the questionnaire. In Biasteri, one group from the Oenology module was not used, as a considerable number of the students in the module were not born in Rioja Alavesa.

“Samaniego” Secondary School (Biasteri)

A total of 133 students completed the questionnaire. 45 students (34 in model A and 11 in model B) from the third year secondary school filled in the questionnaire, 25 students (15 in model A and 10 in model B) from the fourth year, 41 from the first year upper-secondary school and 22 from the second year. All the students in the upper-secondary level were taught in model A. The number of females answering the questionnaires was 85, and the number of males 48.

“Assa ikastola” (Lapuebla de Labarca)

A total of 85 students filled in the questionnaire. The number of students from the third year secondary school who completed the questionnaire was 21. 19 students from the fourth year filled in the questionnaire. In the upper-secondary level, 25 students from the first year and 20 from the second completed the questionnaire. Of the 85 students who completed the questionnaire, 47 were males and 38 females.

“San Bizente ikastola” (Oion)

A total of 14 students completed the questionnaire, 7 of whom were in the third year of secondary school, and the remaining 7 in the fourth year. 8 of the respondents were females and 6 males.

In the following tables, the percentages of the distribution of pupils by schools, grade and bilingual teaching model are provided.

Table 4.2. Distribution of pupils by schools

School	% of pupils	N
Samaniego	57.3	133
Assa	36.6	85
San Bizente	6.1	14

Table 4.3. Distribution of pupils by grade

Grade	% of pupils	N
3 rd secondary school	31.5	73
4 th secondary school	22.0	51
1 st upper-secondary school	28.4	66
2 nd upper-secondary school	18.1	42

Table 4.4. Distribution of pupils by teaching model

Model	% of pupils	N
A	48.2	112
B	9.1	21
D	42.7	99

4.6.1.2. Research procedure

Initial enquiries with all three schools were made in October 2000. Permission was requested to distribute the questionnaire in the schools and no objection was made. Later on, once present in Rioja Alavesa, I made personal contact with the directors of the schools, and authorisation to hand out the questionnaires was confirmed. The questionnaires were handed out in February and March 2001 in all three schools. The researcher was present when the pupils were completing the questionnaire, except in one case (in the secondary school in Biasteri) when two different groups were filling in the questionnaire at the same time. In that case, the researcher gave the pertinent instructions to the students before they started to complete the questionnaires, and returned to them once the students had completed the questionnaire in order to allow them to express any doubts or make enquiries about it.

Teachers from the schools were contacted before the questionnaire was administered, and a brief explanation about its nature was given to them, as well as an estimate of time required (about 30 minutes) to fill the questionnaire. A number of teachers asked me to occupy the whole hour and to supply the students with more information about the character of my research, as well as about post-graduate studies and the history and sociolinguistics of Wales.

The pupils were requested to fill in all the parts of the questionnaire (see Appendix 1). At the beginning of the questionnaire, it was explained that the questionnaire aimed at obtaining information related to language. It was particularly stressed that the questionnaire was anonymous and confidential, and that there were no right or wrong answers. The instructions also requested respondents to tick the box next to the option they considered to be the most fitting. In the first part of the questionnaire, where personal details were asked, respondents were requested to write a few words (see Appendix 1).

Before the questionnaire was handed out, a brief oral explanation (about 5 minutes) was given to the respondents, which included introducing myself and defining the purpose of the study. Respondents were also encouraged to fill in the questionnaire freely and as honestly as possible. Finally, they were invited to address to the researcher any doubts or questions they had regarding the completion of the questionnaire.

Most of respondents posed few or no questions while filling in, and after having completed the questionnaire. A number of students showed interest in the study and about Wales, and a few of them showed some reservations about the adequacy of some particular questions, as they considered them to be not pertinent or sufficiently politically charged.

4.6.1.3. Language and translation

The questionnaires were first composed in English while studying in Bangor and then translated into Basque and Spanish as accurately as possible. However, some changes were necessary in translation. One of the main changes concerns questions 11 to 21, where perceptions of ethnolinguistic vitality are investigated. The questionnaire in English sought to acquire the opinion of informants by asking questions (e.g. number 11: “How highly regarded are the following languages in the BAC?”). Questionnaires in both Basque and Spanish requested informants to give their opinions in the form of affirmative sentences (e.g. number 11 in Basque: “Baloratu ezazu hizkuntza hauek EAEn duten prestigioa”; number 11 in Spanish: “Evalúe el prestigio de las siguientes lenguas en la CAV”). The wording of the sentence seemed more natural in the way of an affirmative sentence. Moreover, some minor changes were necessary where English words did not have exact parallels in Basque or Spanish. For example, the word ‘fluently’ in the scale of knowledge of language was changed to ‘oso ongi’ (very well) in Basque. In the Basque version of the questionnaire, the word ‘euskaldun’, which means both Basque-speaker (literally) and Basque in terms of identity, was only used in the latter sense, and the expression ‘euskal hiztun’ (speaker of Basque) was employed in the former.

Likewise, some words seem to have different connotations in Basque and in Spanish, as with the Basque ‘baserritar’ and the Spanish ‘casero’. The item ‘Basque is a language for farmers’ sounds more derogatory in Spanish (‘La vasca es una lengua de caseros’ that in the Basque version (‘Euskara baserritarrentzako hizkuntza bat da’). The different implications of this sentence in each language may have influenced students’ responses.

Initially, questionnaires were meant to be bilingual, and it was to be left to the students to choose one language or another. Practical reasons meant the questionnaires were in one language, as they resulted in too voluminous amounts of paper otherwise. Teachers from D and B bilingual teaching models asked me to distribute the version in Basque among their students, whereas general little

knowledge of Basque of students in model A led them to complete the questionnaires in Spanish.

4.6.2. Qualitative methods

4.6.2.1. Interviews

It has been mentioned before that the initial design of the research involved interviewing a number of people from different age groups. Difficulties made this method not pragmatically possible due to reluctance, lack of interest and ignorance. Once the specific nature of the region and the practical problems were analysed, it seemed most sensible to mainly interview people who, because of their profession, position or personal interest, were in a privileged situation to comment on the different issues examined in the study. As for the people selected for interviews, two main groups can be defined: people related to the schools, especially teachers and parents, and people with a certain social position or significance, such as mayors, town councillors and priests. Likewise, people from different towns involved in cultural or linguistic affairs were interviewed.

Interviews are frequently used when depth rather than breadth is sought. Such approach might suit projects where the researcher wishes to investigate emotions, experiences and feelings rather than more straightforward facts. Using interviews may also be the best choice when covering sensitive issues that need careful handling and even some persuasion in order to elicit honest and open responses (Denscombe, 1998: 111). Such considerations were taken into account when opting for the use of interviews in the present study.

The problem of validity is widespread when dealing with interviews. Avoiding bias creeping into interviews is probably the most practical way of obtaining greater validity (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000: 121). Interviews are interpersonal, and therefore it is inevitable that the researcher will have some influence on the interviewee and, consequently, on the data. The sources of bias are the characteristics of the interviewer, the characteristics of the respondent and the content of the questions. More particularly, these may include, as Cohen, Manion and Morrison

(2000: 121) point out, the attitudes, opinions and expectations of the interviewer, a tendency for the interviewer to see the respondent in her/his own image, a tendency for the interviewer to seek answers that support her/his preconceived notions, misconceptions on the part of the interviewer of what the respondent is saying and misunderstandings on the part of the respondent of what is being asked.

One main advantage of interviews is that they allow the interviewer to guide the informants through the questions while being flexible to the interviewee's needs and direction. Likewise, the interviewer is able to request further information or explain misunderstandings. Interviews depend on developing some kind of rapport with the interviewee. Perceived characteristics –gender, ethnic group, age, social class- may influence the information given, as informants give the answers they think the interviewer wants to hear, or whitewash less reputable aspects of their own behaviour, or refuse to answer. Conversely, interviews permit more open-ended questions, where the answers are not pre-coded. Interviews take time, and they require the full concentration of the interviewer. Moreover, finding people who want to take part and are willing to answer is not straightforward, as this research showed (Hall and Hall, 1996: 101-102).

Interviews carried out during the research will come somewhere between the completely structured and the completely unstructured. In this study, unstructured conversational interviews were mainly used. Nevertheless, some loose structure was used to ensure all topics which are considered crucial to the research were covered, while allowing the respondent to talk about what is important to him or her rather than to the interviewer. This type of interview is usually termed as guided or focused (Bell, 1999: 138).

Group interviewing was also employed in the present study. This method can generate a wider range of responses than interviews, since they have the potential for discussions to develop (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000: 287). On their part, discussions discourage habitual or mechanical responses. Since these responses may be challenged by other members of the group, individuals tend to be more perceptive and reflective (Breakwell, 1990: 75). The downside of this is that certain views, especially those of the quieter members of the group, might never come to the surface.

Certain individuals might adopt a dominant role during the conversation, drowning the opinions of the rest in the group. Furthermore, groups are subject to conformity pressures, and therefore only the opinions perceived to be 'acceptable' within the group might be expressed (Denscombe, 1998: 115).

The reasons why unstructured interviews were chosen to carry out the research have already been discussed above. Both one-to-one interviews and group interviews were employed, as circumstances allowed or dictated. However, when obtaining detailed information and knowledge, one-to-one interviews were mostly used, as with teachers in the schools. Nevertheless, sometimes the opportunity to do an interview would come unexpectedly, and decisions were necessarily made at that moment. For example, in a meeting in the *ikastola* school of Lapuebla de Labarca to fix the dates to distribute the questionnaires among pupils, the occasion presented itself to engage in a conversation with three teachers who were gathered in a room. They agreed to it, and a very enriching exchange of opinions resulted from it. Group interviews were preferred when general attitudes and opinions were sought. This method was systematically employed when interviewing school children's parents.

Most of the interviews were conducted in agreed settings. However, some of the interviews took place in informal and improvised settings. For example, two group interviews with school children's mothers were conducted in the main square of Lapuebla de Labarca. Having made enquiries for a formal meeting with them, I was told that no such measures were necessary. When the weather was good, school children's mothers gather around the square and keep an eye on their children while they play in the square. Another group interview with school children's mothers was held outside the *ikastola* school of Lantziego.

The interviews were conducted in Basque and Spanish, depending on interviewees' linguistic competence or preferences. The significant parts of the interviews were put on to a tape in my own words or written down as soon as possible after they were finished. Basque was mostly employed to do this, although certain literal phrases in Spanish were transcribed in their original language.

4.6.2.2. Observation

The nature of the study carried out in Rioja Alavesa required an extended stay in the field during which the researcher observed language life in everyday settings. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2000: 305) observe that “all research is some form of participant observation since we cannot study the world without being part of it”.

A classic definition of participant observation provides the basic characteristics of this approach:

By participant observation we mean the method in which the observer participates in the daily life of the people under study, either openly in the role of the researcher or covertly in some disguised role, observing things that happen, listening to what is said, and questioning people, over some length of time. (Becker and Geer, 1957: 28; cited in Denscombe, 1998: 148).

There are numerous variations of participant observation, depending on the extent of such participation and its openness. In the present study, the researcher participated as mere observer. His identity as a researcher was openly recognized and, having the advantages of gaining informed consent from those involved, was able to witness first hand and in intimate detail the culture/events of interest (Denscombe, 1998: 150).

Observation offers a good platform to gain insights into social processes and is suited to the examining of complex realities (Denscombe, 1998: 156). Moreover, it can often reveal characteristics of groups or individuals which would have been impossible to discover by other means. In this sense, while interviews reveal how people perceive what happens, observation reveals what actually happens (Bell, 1999: 157). On the other hand, because participant observation relies so crucially on the researcher as the instrument of research, its reliability is open to doubt (Denscombe, 1998: 156).

To address issues of validity and reliability, triangulation of data sources and methodologies has often been suggested. Indeed, in the context of the present study, observation is regarded as a valuable complement to the interviews and

questionnaires. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2000: 112) define triangulation as “the use of two or more methods of data collection in the study of some aspect of human behaviour”. They mention two advantages of this multimethod approach. First, exclusive reliance on method may bias or distort the researcher’s picture of the particular slice of reality she/he is investigating. Second, the use of triangular techniques helps to overcome the problem of ‘method-boundedness’, as it has been termed (Cohen, Manion and Morrison 2000: 112-113).

In the time spent in the region, opportunities to take part in its social life were sought to capture a holistic sense of language life in the region. Pubs and cafeterias are obvious and excellent gathering places to obtain information about all linguistic issues concerning the community. More generally, conversations in the streets or local shops provide valuable insights into the everyday language behaviour of people. Moreover, long stays favour the possibility to establish personal relationships with local people. In this case, friends and acquaintances made during the period of research offered precious insights and understanding of the surrounding linguistic reality. In that respect, the weekly dinners held in Lapuebla de Labarca with some teachers and local people, the relationship with teachers in Biasteri and Lapuebla de Labarca, and the continuous contacts with many people interested in the research were of inestimable value. As with the interviews, these conversations were written down or put into a tape in my own words as soon as possible after they were finished.

4.6.2.3. Documentary sources

Finally, other sources of information were employed to supplement the research methods detailed above, namely:

- Public documents and official records: results of different elections, composition of municipal governments.
- Data concerning local schools: their history, number and distribution of pupils, outward activities arranged by the schools.
- Other studies: about the recovery of Basque in the region and the local youth.
- Mass media (media in general, local magazine, local radio and regional TV).

These sources are not reported in the research results chapter but provided general background information that helped contextualize the research.

4.7. Limitations of the research

In the section named ‘Passage of the research’ limitations encountered when initially conducting the research have been described, and the changes done to overcome them specified. In this section, other limitations observed when dealing with the questionnaires and interviews will be outlined.

Regarding the questionnaires, some students made clear that they found them too long, though they went on to complete the questionnaires. Teachers also remarked that some of the pupils had difficulties in reading. In this respect, the time students in a same classroom needed to fill in the questionnaires varied substantially in some instances. Before starting the questionnaires, students were reminded by the researcher that questionnaires were personal, so they were asked to complete them alone and in silence. Nevertheless, some students, especially those from secondary school, seemed to find it difficult to concentrate on their task and turned their attention to fellow students. In some classrooms, warnings from teachers were necessary to restore order and allow students to carry on with the questionnaire.

With respect to interviews, the principal problem, as stated before, was the reluctance of some people, mainly those who held somewhat negative attitudes towards the Basque language, to take part in the study. Lack of interest and ignorance were also claimed when declining to be interviewed. Finally, no tapes were used to record the interviews. Although the researcher was aware of the limitations this posed to gather information, it was considered that the use of tapes might have restrained some interviewees from talking freely or might have discouraged from talking at all, given the sensitive nature of some of the research issues.

4.8. Summary of the chapter

This chapter has introduced the research carried out in the Basque region of Rioja Alavesa from January to March of 2001. In this rural region, famous for the excellence of its wines, Basque has experienced a remarkable recovery in the last twenty years. While in 1981 there were 80 Basque-speaking bilinguals in Rioja, according to the latest data available the number of Basque speakers has risen to 978, accounting for 10.31% of the population. The area still remains fundamentally monolingual Spanish-speaking, but Basque has made clear headway in a region where it is believed to have disappeared as early as the thirteenth century. Recovery of Basque in the region is essentially being delivered through the education system.

The main aim of the research has been defined: to evaluate the effects that efforts made for the recovery of Basque have had in a traditionally non-Basque speaking area. Linguistic issues such as language competence, language use and language network contact were analyzed, together with issues concerning attitudes towards bilingualism and towards the Basque language. Likewise, the relationship between language change and ethnolinguistic and ethnocultural identity is examined in this borderland area where the emergence of plural identities and of ethnic and linguistic boundaries are to be expected.

The methodology employed to conduct the research has been presented in this chapter. The initial research design had to be altered, in view of the especial characteristics of the area and the limitations encountered when actually conducting the research. A combination of different research methods (questionnaires, interviews and observation) appeared to be the most sensible way to engage a global image of language contact in the region.

Chapter Five

THE BILINGUAL SITUATION IN RIOJA ALAVESA: PERSPECTIVES

5.1. Introduction

This chapter is based on the interviews and the observation work carried out during a three-month stay (from 8 January to the end of March 2001) in Rioja Alavesa. In the wider context of the research, the main aim of this chapter is to offer a general introduction to the issues examined in this study, and at the same time provide a contextualization to interpret the quantitative data of the research. For the methodological and pragmatic reasons explained in the previous chapter, it was decided to mainly focus the attention of the study on the younger generations, because as they are the principal protagonists of language change and receptors of language planning. Likewise, the use of survey questionnaires was preferred as the chief research tool. In this context, the qualitative methods presented in this chapter are employed to supplement the quantitative ones on which this study is mainly based.

From a dynamic perspective of the language processes of the changes that occur in situations of language contact, it is not enough to explain the rules that dictate language behaviour, that is, who speaks what language, to whom, in which context, when and with what purpose. The individuals' social representations of languages and the social values, attitudes and perceptions they attach to them may be, to a considerable extent, related to fundamental changes in language behaviour. In this respect, 'subjective' perceptions of a particular situation may be as important as the 'objective' situation itself (Bourhis, Giles and Rosenthal, 1981). In this chapter, individuals' perceptions of the situation of language contact in Rioja Alavesa will be examined.

The social images of the situation of Basque among the population in Rioja Alavesa vary considerably. Some believe that "the future of Basque is safe", while some others argue that

“Basque won’t be spoken here for a long time”. For some, the process of Euskara recovery in the area has been too hasty, causing a backlash or even a “Euskara dictatorship”, and some others consider that not enough has been done in that direction. This array of perceptions and opinions, far from being casual, seem to reflect different attitudes and ideological stances regarding the linguistic situation in the region.

The chapter is structured in five sections. In the first section, the perceptions of the people in Rioja Alavesa about the evolution of Euskara recovery in the last twenty years will be examined. The second part aims to describe the situation of Basque in the region, focusing mainly on two fundamental aspects: language competence and use. For that purpose, the views of the teachers and professionals working in the local schools will be analyzed. The third section explores the views of the local mothers about Basque and the education system in the area. Indeed, parental choice is a fundamental factor in the understanding of the evolution of the bilingual teaching models in the Basque Autonomous Community and, presumably, in Rioja Alavesa. The fourth section seeks to summarise the attitudinal and ideological positions surrounding Basque and bilingualism in the region. Lastly, the final part will attempt to explain the singularity of this borderland area and its complex array of interacting identities.

5.2. Euskara recovery in Rioja Alavesa: divergent views

The first steps in the current process of Basque revitalization in Rioja Alavesa were made in the post-Franco years, in a context of great cultural and political effervescence across the whole Basque Country. The days of fierce repression under the Franco regime gave way to a period of resurgence of Basque consciousness. In such a context, the Basque language became a symbol for cultural and political restoration. Euskara, deprived of substantial pragmatic values, sought refuge in symbolic values to escape its social weakness and attempted to reclaim its place in society (Martínez de Luna and Jausoro, 1998: 107). In Rioja Alavesa, the process of language revitalization was also inextricably linked to cultural and political restoration:

“Franco hil ostean, bertako zenbait gaztek abertzaletasuna eta euskaltzaletasuna sustatzeari ekin zioten. Hasieran oztopo ugari izan zuten, baina pixkanaka aurrera egin zuten. Prozesu bat izan zen, gauzak ez ziren berehalakoan lortu. Urte horietan hemen, Lapueblan, gertatu zenak prozesu horren berri ematen du. 1978. urtean Lapueblan ikurrina jartzeko erreferenduma egitea lortu zen. Tirabira handiak izan ziren, artean hemen horrelako gauzen kontrako jarrera oso indartsua zen eta. Baina agintariek, proposamena aurrera ez zela aterako pentsatuta, onartu egin zuten. Baiezkoa atera zen, eta hori hemen garaipen handia izan zen. Segidan, gazte horiek botere politikoa eskuratzea jarri zuten helburu. Eta hemengo alkatetza lortu zuten. Behin boterea eskuratuta, euskara eta euskal kultura indartzeko ekimenak bultzatu zituzten. Hor, zalantzarik gabe, proiektu garrantzitsuena herrian ikastola jartzearena izan zen. Eta azkenean ikastola jartzea lortu zen. Gauza horiek denak lotuta zeuden, bata bestea gabe ezin dira ulertu” (male, middle age).

[After Franco's death, some local young people set to promote nationalism and the Basque language. At the beginning they faced a lot of difficulties, but little by little they went ahead. It was a process, things weren't achieved overnight. In those years, what happened here, in Lapuebla (de Labarca), illustrates that process. In 1978, the celebration of a referendum to put the *ikurriña* (Basque flag) in Lapuebla was achieved. There were a lot of problems, because here unfavourable attitudes towards that kind of things were still very strong. But the authorities, thinking that the proposition wouldn't go ahead, agreed to it. The result was favourable (to put the Basque flag), and that here was a big victory. Then, those young people set to get the political power. And they won the mayoralty. Once they were in power, they promoted initiatives to strengthen Basque and the Basque culture. In that respect, without a doubt, the most important project was to get an *ikastola* school in the village. And at the end they succeeded in getting it. All those things were related to each other, one cannot be understood without the others]

As the passage above suggests, tension and difficulties were not absent in this process, especially at the beginning. Indeed, the reintroduction of Euskara in Rioja Alavesa was, and still is, received by many with suspicion, in an area with a strong linguistic and cultural Spanish identity. Controversies were particularly rife at the time when bilingual schools were established in the region. For example, the establishment of model B in Biasteri and the ikastola school in Lapuebla de Labarca were the result of a long struggle. Indeed, supporters of Basque came to realize the importance of schools as leading agents for the Basquisition of the area. In a region like Rioja Alavesa, where the second language is not acquired in the community, the school is the major institution expected to produce second

language learning (Baker, 2001: 94). Moreover, the establishment of an *ikastola* school had an added value, as these schools, apart from their main educational commitment through Basque, had a marked social significance: they were the symbol of a culture in a deep identity crisis, the code of a common identity and the symbolic refuge of the repressed Basque identity (Martínez de Luna and Jausoro, 1998: 107). In this respect, the *ikastola* school transcends the linguistic and educational realms and acquires a political and ideological dimension (Tejerina, 1998: 287). Accordingly, reactions in favour (and against) the establishment of bilingual schools in the area were passionate:

“Aquí la ikastola la queremos más que lo nuestro, más que si fuera propio, más que nuestras viñas.” (male, older age)

[Here we love the *ikastola* school more than our own things, more than if it belonged to us, more than our vineyards]

“Esto lo hemos hecho aquí empezando de cero, porque aquí antes no había nada, ¡pero nada! ¡Si tú supieras lo que hemos pasado por la ikastola! Aquí nos hemos dejado la salud, el dinero y lo que hiciera falta. Pero te digo una cosa, tener una escuela como la que tenemos, aquí al borde del Ebro, eso a mi me llena de orgullo.” (male, older age)

[This we have done starting from scratch, because there was nothing here before, absolutely nothing! If you knew all we have suffered because of the *ikastola* school! Here we've put our health, our money and whatever it was necessary. But I tell you one thing, to have a school like the one we have, here at the border of (river) Ebro, that fills me with pride]

However, the view that ‘things were made rather hastily’, especially at the beginning, appears to be widely held in the streets of Rioja. For a minority, the process of Basquisition has been forcibly imposed, rather than gradually implemented, and continues to do so to this day:

“Aquí no ha habido término medio. Hemos pasado de una dictadura a otra.” (female, older age)

[Here there has been no midway. We've gone from a dictatorship to another one]

“Los oprimidos oprimen” (male, younger age)

[The oppressed oppress]

While a majority would not agree with such blunt statements, complaints about the excesses committed in the past abound:

“Hombre, cuando se murió ‘el de las patas cortas’, pues claro, aquél destruyó todo, y luego han querido hacer como demasiado, igual un poco demasiado deprisa.” (male, older age)

[Well, when ‘the short-legged man’ (Franco) died, of course, he destroyed everything, and afterwards they’ve wanted to do like too much, maybe a bit too hastily]

“Los pro-euskera vinieron en plan conquistador, queriendo dominar sobre tierra arrasada y sin conocer la idiosincrasia de la Rioja. Las cosas se deberían haber hecho más despacio, sin imposiciones. Ahora las cosas se están haciendo más calmadamente, pero al principio avasallaron. Me acuerdo de una vez que vinieron a Laguardia, a celebrar un día del euskera o algo así, y se emborrachaban, pusieron el pueblo perdido, no respetaban a los de aquí. Luego, mezclaron el tema de la política con el euskera, y la gente no pasaba por ahí. Quisieron imponer y así fueron las cosas, sobre todo en Laguardia.” (male, older age)

[The pro-Basque people came here as conquerors, wanting to dominate over devastated land and without knowing the idiosyncrasy of Rioja. Things should have been done at a much slower pace, without impositions. Now things are being done in a calmer way, but at the beginning they steamrollered. I remember once when they came to Biasteri, to celebrate one day of the Basque language or something like that, and they used to get drunk, they let the town filthy, they didn’t respect local people. Moreover, they mixed politics and Basque, and people didn’t put up with that. They tried to impose things and things went accordingly wrong, especially in Biasteri]

Some of the most frequently voiced complaints about the policies implemented for the recovery of the Basque language throughout the Basque Autonomous Community have revolved around the perceived excessive pace in their implementation (see Jakin, 2001), and their lack of regard for the specific characteristics of each region. Such a line of criticism is widely echoed in Rioja Alavesa. A councillor in Biasteri explained:

“Mira, eso es cuestión de ritmos. Yo siempre digo lo mismo, si de aquí a 80 años, cuando todos los que estamos ahora estemos muertos, y poco a poco entren generaciones nuevas y poco a poco el euskera se vaya introduciendo, pues se hablará naturalmente, pero, por ejemplo, dentro de 20 años aquí todavía no se hablará euskera, eso seguro. Es un tema de ritmos y plazos. Aquí no se va a hablar como lo hablan los ‘vascos’; bueno, los vascos me refiero a los de Bizkaia y Gipuzkoa, los del norte. Al principio desde luego yo creo que se forzó el ritmo. Ahora, bueno, mientras se mantengan los modelos, etc. yo creo que vamos bien. Yo creo que si se respetan las características y la personalidad de cada zona algo se podrá hacer, pero a malas... Por eso aquí hay que ir muy despacio y sin mezclar las cosas, sin imponer” (male, middle age).

[Look, that’s a matter of pace. I always say the same thing: if 80 years from now, when all of us are dead, and little by little new generations come and Basque is introduced little by little, then the language will be spoken naturally, but, for example, 20 years from now here Basque will not be spoken, no doubt about that. It’s a matter of pace and rate. Here Basque won’t be spoken in the way the ‘Basques’ speak it; well, when I say Basques I mean those in Bizkaia and Gipuzkoa (provinces), those in the north. At the beginning I certainly believe that the pace was strained. Now, well, as long as the (bilingual) models, et cetera, are kept the way they are, I think we’re doing well. I think that if the characteristics and personality of each area are respected, something could be done, but if you force things... That’s why we have to go slowly here, and without mixing, imposing things]

On the other hand, a majority of the people directly involved in the promotion of Basque, plus those with a ‘stronger’ Basque identity, appear disheartened with the slow evolution of Basque-recovery in the region. The ‘spark’ around Basque and the Basque culture has abated, in the words of a local villager from Biasteri:

“La gente a favor del euskera se movía más antes, había más ganas para todo. Bueno, ahí igual tendría que incluirme yo misma, porque yo empecé a aprender euskera y lo dejé. No sé decirte por qué, te entra como desgana, aunque yo siempre lo he apoyado, jeh! Pero aquí, en Laguardia, cuando yo era joven, hace quince o veinte años, había 18 mujeres aprendiendo euskera, se veía movimiento, entusiasmo con el euskera. Ahora, en el euskaltegi de Laguardia hay cuatro alumnos, ahí ves el bajonazo que ha habido.” (female, middle age)

[People in favour of Basque used to mobilize more in the past. Well, maybe I should include myself there, because I started to learn Basque and abandoned it. I couldn’t tell you why, you get sort of disinclined, although I’ve always supported it, eh! But here, in Biasteri, when I was young,

fifteen or twenty years ago, there were 18 women learning Basque, you could see movement, enthusiasm around Basque. Now, in the *euskaltegi* school in Biasteri there are four students, there you see the decline]

The apparent ‘loss of excitement’ around Basque and the Basque culture is frequently explained by the socio-political changes that occurred in the Basque Country during the last two decades. A member of the cultural association ‘Ttiki-Ttaka’, set up to promote the Basque language and culture in the area, expresses frustration at the lack of engagement of large sections of the population in Basque-related activities in the region:

“Hemen betikoak gaude, badakizu, ez pentsa orain hogei urte euskararen inguruan jende mordoa zebilenik. Hala ere, nabari da sua pixka bat itzali egin dela. Garai batean, 80ko hamarkadan eta, jendea oso inplikaturatuta zegoen, eta ilusio handiarekin. Orain ikusten da, adibidez bileretan, jende gutxiago agertzen dela, eta euskarekiko gogo hori apaldu egin da. Franco hil ondorengo urteetan euskarak estimazio handiagoa zuen, baina neurri batean hori normala da. Orduan frankismoa borrokatu izanaren legitimitatea zegoen, eta orain, berriz, euskara beste gauza batzuekin lotzen da, biolentziarekin eta abar, eta mezu horrek indarra hartu du hemen.” (female, younger age)

[Here we are the same people as always, don’t think that twenty years ago there were a lot of people around Basque. However, it’s clear that the fire has put out a bit. During one period, around the 80s, people were very engaged, and very enthusiastic. Now you can see, for example in the meetings, that less people show up, and the devotion for Basque has diminished. In the years after Franco’s death Basque was more highly regarded, but to some extent that’s normal. Then there was the legitimacy of having fought Francoism, and now, on the contrary, Basque is linked with some other things, with violence and so on, and that message has gathered strength here]

5.3. Competence and use of Basque in Rioja: the teachers’ views

A special case is that of the teachers and the professionals working in the education system. Their strategic situation provides them with an inner knowledge of the language situation and, at the same time, allows them to distance themselves as privileged witnesses, occupying a particular position to critically analyze language contact in the region from both an internal and external point of view. Maybe partly due to this dual position, teachers’ opinions convey a certain ambivalence towards language recovery. On the one hand, they

admit to different extents that progress has been made in the right direction. On the other hand, a certain degree of frustration emerges, especially when the efforts made and the tangible results obtained are compared.

To correctly assess the evolution of language revitalization in the area, it is necessary to look back twenty years, before the policies designed by the regional government of the Basque Country to restore language use throughout the territory were implemented. A teacher of one *ikastola* school who has been working in the area for the last twenty years illustrates the change:

“Hemen euskara mailan aldaketa izugarria izan da. Orain dela hogeit hamar urte euskararen usainik ere ez zuten, ideiarik ez zuten. Anekdotak bat kontatuko dizut: garai hartan ‘andereño’ esaten ere ez zekiten, zaila egiten zitzaien, eta kasik entzuna zuten euskal hitz bakarra ‘ikurrina’ zen. Hortaz, herritik eta nentzen, agurtzen nindutenean esaten zuten: “Adiós, ikurrina”. Pentsa gero. Bazekiten euskal hitz batekin deitu behar nindutela, baina zeinekin ez.” (female, middle age).

[Here the change around Basque has been huge. Twenty years ago they didn’t have the slightest sniff of Basque, they had no idea at all. I’ll tell you a story: at that time they didn’t even know how to say ‘andereño’ (female teacher), and almost the only Basque word they had heard was ‘ikurrina’ (Basque flag). So, when I was wandering around the village, when they saluted me they would tell me: “Adiós, ikurrina” (Bye, ikurrina). So imagine. They knew they had to address me with a Basque word, but they didn’t know with which one.]

From those days, the situation has changed considerably. Basque has ceased to be an alien language in the region. More importantly, the new generations in the area have had, to a higher or lesser degree, access to Basque through the education system. Although everyday relationships are still almost exclusively conducted in Spanish, the notion of bilingualism and its promotion have to a certain extent permeated the local population. In this respect, Basque has gone a long way in Rioja, in terms of knowledge and acceptance. In this process, the importance of certain institutions which are nowadays taken for granted cannot be underestimated. For example, a teacher stresses the impact of television:

“Lehen esan dizudan bezala, aldaketa gauetik egunekoa izan da, noski, kontuan izan behar duzu hutsetik abiatu ginela, duela hogeit hamar urte hemen ezer ez baitzegoen. Hor, niretzat, Euskal Telebistak

berebiziko garrantzia du. Izan ere, hauek euskara sekula entzun gabeak ziren, eta orain etxe bakoitzean Euskal Telebista sartuta dago, eta euskal programak ikusteko aukera daukate. Gu saiatzen gara, eskolan-eta, haurrak Euskal Telebistako programak ikustera animatzen, marrazki bizidunak eta horrelakoak, eta haurrek ikusi egiten dituzte.” (female, middle age)

[As I've told you before, the change has been like from night to day, you need to have into account that we started from scratch, as twenty years ago there was nothing here. There, in my opinion, the Basque TV has had an enormous importance. People around here had never heard Basque spoken, and now the Basque TV is inside every home, and they have the opportunity to watch programs in Basque. We try, at school, to encourage children to watch programs in the Basque TV, animation series and the like, and children do watch them]

However, as much as the aforementioned improvements need to be acknowledged, the presence of the Basque language in Rioja remains minimal. The language is rarely to be heard, and its place in most everyday relationships could only be termed as marginal. In that respect, the streets of Rioja Alavesa could well be confounded with those of the Community of Rioja, where Spanish is the only official language. Traces of Basque can be found in the street names –bilingual in most of the villages–, as well as in the names of certain shops and institutional buildings. Children are called by their mothers in their usually Basque names, and it is common that locals greet each other with ‘agur’ (bye, in Basque) or ‘gero arte’ (see you). Favourable attitudes towards Basque are reflected in its symbolic use, especially among young people:

“Hombre, ahora que lo dices, la verdad es que así en palabras sueltas sí se usa el euskera. Nosotros aquí para saludarnos decimos ‘arratsaldeon’, y ‘agur’, y ‘gero arte’ y a los padres ‘aita’ y ‘ama’. Entre nosotros, la gente joven, la mayoría usamos esas palabras en euskera. Luego los nombres también, yo me llamo Iker, y este Aitor, un montón de gente tenemos nombres vascos. Nombres de perro también, no sé por qué pero mogollón son vascos (jajajaja): ‘Beltza’... Y las cuadrillas de aquí, de Oion, todas tienen nombre vasco también.” (male, younger age)

[Well, now that you say, it's truth that we use Basque in loose words. Here we say ‘arratsaldeon’ (good afternoon, in Basque), and ‘agur’ (bye), and ‘gero arte’ (see you) to greet each other, and we call ‘aita’ (dad) and ‘ama’ (mum) to our parents. And also the names, my name is Iker, and this is Aitor, a lot of people here have Basque names. Dog names too, I don't know why but an awful lot

of them are Basque (hahahaha): ‘Beltza’ (Black)... And the ‘cuadrillas’ (groups of friends) here, in Oion, all also have Basque names]

The street language of Spanish has barely changed in all these years. While all children have access to the Basque language through education and around half of them follow Basque-medium immersion programs, this has generally failed to produce a change in community or out-of-school language behaviour. It can be argued that students in model A, or even in model B, do not reach a sufficient level of competence in Basque for them to be able to use it, but this does not seem the case of model D students. Teachers in *ikastola* schools generally agree that children reach a good level of Basque, sufficient to be able to use it. A teacher at a local primary school, where children are educated in model B, admits that children may not reach ideal levels of fluency, but considers that the problem lies elsewhere:

“Beno, ikasten dute eta moldatzen dira. Hori bai, naturaltasunez ez dute hitz egiten, euskara nolabait esateko jatorrean. Egitura dena gaztelerarena dute, hitz-ordena eta. Haurrak txikiak direnean, haur hezkuntzan, euskaraz asko hitz egiten dute, baina laugarren mailatik-edo gora gaztelerara pasatzen dira. Gero oso gutxi egiten dute euskaraz. Batzuetan guri ere gazteleraz hitz egiten digute, asike kontuak atera.” (female, younger age)

[Well, they do learn and they manage. I have to say that they do not talk naturally, using ‘proper’ Basque. The whole structure, the word order and so on, is that of Spanish. When children are small, in pre-school level, they talk a lot in Basque, but around fourth grade in primary school they change into Spanish. After that they speak Basque in very few occasions. Sometimes they even talk to us in Spanish, so you can imagine]

Indeed, bilingual ability is not the same as being functionally bilingual (Baker, 2001). The teachers interviewed in this study, especially those in *ikastola* schools, fundamentally agree when pointing the major challenge for the future: to turn competence into use. One of the limitations of immersion bilingual education is that, for many students, the second language can be a school-only phenomenon. Outside the school walls, immersion students tend to not use the second language any more than ‘drip feed’ students (Swain and Johnson, 1997). A local teacher explains the problem:

"Bai, inolako zalantzarik gabe, euskara kontuetan eskola irla bat duk, hemen bakarrik egiten duk. Gu eskolaren hesi hori gainditzen saiatzen gaituk. Hesi hori hesi mentala ere baduk ordea, euskara eskolarekin lotzen duena. Euskara-eskola, eta hortik kanpo gaztelera." (male, younger age)

[Yes, there is no doubt about it, with respect to Basque the school is like an island. We try to jump the school walls. But that wall is also mental, and it links Basque with school. Basque-school, and out of it Spanish]

To help, a number of extra-curricular activities are carried out to expose children from an early age to environments in which Basque is used in normal, everyday life. The objective is to show the Basque language as a natural, living language, rather than as a laboratory language to be used exclusively within the four walls of the school. Indeed, one of the weaknesses of immersion programs is that, while being strong on language, they are weak on widening students' cultural horizons and weak on sensitizing them to second language culture and values (Stern, 1984). An *ikastola* school teacher explain the importance of such initiatives:

"Hemen ez da euskararik batere hitz egiten, hemendik ibili bazara konturatuko zinen. Zergatik? Beno, nik uste dut arazo bat dela beraiek euskara nola ikusten duten. Gu saiatzen gara euskara hizkuntza bizi bat dela erakusten, baina ez da erraza horretaz konturatzea. Inoiz barnetegietara eta joan gara, eta herri euskaldunetan egun-pasak ere egiten ditugu. Gogoratzen naiz, behin, Bermeora joan ginenean, han harrituta geratu ziren hiru urteko ume bat euskaraz ari zela ikustean, zeharo natural, eta esaten zuten: 'begira, euskaraz ari da!'. Harrituta zeuden, eta, oro har, harritu egiten ziren euskara kalean normal, leku guztietan hitz egiten dela ikustean. Nik uste dut hori inportantea dela. Horrelako gauza gehiago egiten saiatzen gara." (female, middle age)

[Here Basque is not spoken at all, if you've been around you must have noticed. Why? I think one problem is how they perceive Basque. We try to show them that Basque is a living language, but it's not easy for them to notice. Occasionally we've been 'barnetegi' schools, and we've done day trips to Basque-speaking villages. I remember once, we went to Bermeo, and they were surprised to see a three year old child speaking Basque in a totally natural way, and they would say: look, he's speaking in Basque! They were surprised, and they would get surprised, in general, to see Basque

is spoken naturally, everywhere in the streets. I think that's important. We try to organize more things like this]

However, the efforts to reduce the gap between the knowledge of Basque and its everyday use in the street appear to bear little fruit for the moment. In Rioja Alavesa, as in many areas where the majority language is clearly dominant, the reality is that the minority language is used in the classroom, less so in the playground, and very little in the wider community. Thus the culture of the classroom and school may aim to reflect the second language, but the latent peer culture is often that of the first language community. A teacher in the *ikastola* school of Bastida reveals his personal experience:

“Gazteek paso egiten dute, galdetuz gero aldeko jarrera dute, baina gero gutxi inporta zaie. Ikasleak nahiko euskara maila onarekin ateratzen dira, baina inolako ohiturarik ez daukate, eskolako gauza bat bezala ikusten dute, ez euren bezala. Guk umetan ikasi genuen euskara, eta gure hizkuntza zen. Nik, adibidez, sei urte izan nituen arte ez nuen gaztelerarik ezagutu, eta hauen kasua justu aurkakoa da, tiratzen diena bestea da, ezinbestean. Adibidez, pote batzuk hartzerarekin ateratzen naizenean, ikasle ohiekin, euskaraz dakien koadrila batekin elkartzeko naizenean euskaraz egiten dugu, baina nik alde egiten dudanean segituan gaztelerara bueltatzen dira. Nik zaila ikusten dut hori aldatzea. Nik uste dut horretarako ama-hizkuntza euskara duten haurrak iritsi zain egon beharko dugula.” (male, younger age)

[The young don't care, if you ask them they have a favourable attitude, but then they show little interest. Students get out of school with a good level of Basque, but they don't have any habit, they see it as something related to the school, not to them. We learnt Basque when we were children, it was our language. For example, I didn't know any Spanish until I was six, and the situation for these students is just the opposite, what attracts them is the other (language), inevitably. For example, when I go out to have some drinks, when I meet with ex-students, with a group of friends who can speak Basque, we speak in Basque, but when I leave they immediately go back to Spanish. I think it will be difficult to change that. I think that we will have to wait until children whose mother-tongue is Basque arrive]

All in all, the evolution of Basque-recovery in the region is observed with a mixture of patience and frustration. Although aware of the fact that without schools that Basquize there is little or no future for the Basque language (Zalbide, 1998: 368), teachers escape from the 'school can solve it' approach (Fishman, 1989: 369):

“Egiten den lanaren emaitza ebaluatzea ez da erraza. Askotan, egiten den ahalegina eta lortzen diren emaitzak bat ez datozela dirudi. Astiro ibili beharra dago. Emaitzak oso pixkanaka datoz, baina gauzak ezin dira behartu. Pazientziaz jokatu behar dugu.” (female, middle age)

[It's not easy to evaluate the results of the work we do. It often seems that the effort made and the results obtained don't match. We need to go slowly. Results come very little by little, but things can't be forced. We have to be patient]

“Hemen gutxienez beste 20 urte beharko dira, ezer lortzerako. Esperantza da orain ikastolan dabiltzan haurrek beren seme-alabei euskaraz egitea. Dena dela, ni ez naiz oso baikorra. Haurrek, eta jendeak oro har, ez dute euskara ikasteko edo hitz egiteko motibazio handirik, ez zaie bizitzeko beharrezko egiten, ez da beraien bizitzaren zati bat. Azkenean, askok pentsatzen dute ‘zertarako euskara’, eta horietako askok pentsatzen dute: ‘ezertarako ez’.” (male, middle age)

[Here we will need at least another 20 years, before achieving anything. The hope is that the children who are now in the *ikastola* schools talk to their children in Basque. In any case, I'm not very optimistic. Children, and people in general, don't have a strong motivation to learn or speak Basque, it's not necessary to live, it's not part of their lives. At the end, many think ‘what's Basque for’, and many of those answer, ‘for nothing’]

5.4. Bilingual education in Rioja Alavesa: the mothers' views

In the context of this research, it was considered important to gather the views of parents regarding the role of schools in the promotion of Basque and its influence in their children's education. Indeed, parents' views have played a very important role in the evolution of the bilingual teaching models in the Basque Autonomous Community (see Gardner, 2000). One of the most unexpected features in this evolution has been the continued increase in the parental demand for the more Basque bilingual teaching models, including non-native speakers who value a Basque language education for their offspring. Meanwhile, in many areas, model A schools are battling for survival. In Rioja Alavesa, all three models are on offer, although, for geographical and demographic reasons, schools are mainly concentrated in the bigger towns like Biasteri, Oion, Bastida and Lapuebla de Labarca (see chapter Four).

The interviews suggest that parental choice depends on many factors. Some parents may favour the more intensive bilingual models because they think being bilingual is an advantage for their children to compete in the labour market. Others will make the same choice for ideological reasons, because they consider Basque as an important element of their ethnocultural identity. Other parents may doubt the benefits of a bilingual education, or they might think the re-introduction of Basque in the area is a political operation to erode their Spanish identity. On the other hand, some parents opt for a particular school simply because it is the only one in their village, and they do not want their children to go elsewhere. All these aspects, and many others related to language(s) and education, were considered during the interviews.

In order to reflect the plurality of views around this issue, a special effort was made to gather the opinions of parents who have opted for different bilingual models. With that purpose, three group interviews were arranged with parents of children in model A, B and D. In addition, informal interviews were made when the occasion presented itself (see chapter Four). In these improvised meetings, *ikastola* school parents were mostly interviewed, as they appeared to have a relatively positive disposition to respond. In the following texts, responses of mothers will be analyzed.

‘Model A’ mothers

‘Model A’ mothers interviewed in Oion were generally satisfied with the education their children receive. Regarding Basque, they considered their children learn the language properly and ‘with a nice accent’. In Oion, only models A and D are on offer, while model B is absent. While mothers would not object to enrolling their children in model B, the possibility of having them educated in an *ikastola* school is widely rejected. When issues around Basque were prompted, criticism of Basque-medium schools took centre stage. Comments on the perceived excessive importance given to Basque abounded:

“Es que en la ikastola el euskera es el centro de todo. Está bien que se enseñe euskera, pero no que sea el centro del universo.” (mother, middle age)

[The thing is that in the *ikastola* school Basque is the centre of everything. To teach Basque is okay, but not that it be the centre of the universe]

“Tanto euskera, tanto euskera, y al final no aprenden otra cosa.” (mother, middle age)

[Basque and more Basque, and at the end they learn nothing else]

“Yo el euskera lo veo bien que lo enseñen, que lo apoyen y todo eso. Ahora, si con eso descuidas todo lo demás, pues, ¿adónde vamos? Al niño así se le hace más daño que bien, y al final eso es lo que queremos todos, ¿no?, el bien de nuestros niños.” (mother, middle age)

[For me it's good that they teach Basque, they promote it and all that. However, if when doing that you neglect all the rest, well, what's the point? You do more harm than good to the child, and at the end of the day that's what we all want, the good for our children, isn't it?]

One mother argued that, when wanting to move to higher education, many children in the *ikastola* school got worse results than the rest, “and that's a fact”. In general, there was a widespread belief that children in the *ikastola* schools achieve a lower competence in Spanish:

“Los niños de la ikastola aprenden el castellano peor que los demás; especialmente hacen un montón de faltas de ortografía. Es que claro, les mezclan las cosas y así no hay forma de que se aclaren.” (mother, younger age)

[Children in the *ikastola* school learn Spanish worse than the rest, especially, they do a lot of orthographical mistakes. Of course, they get things mixed and in that way there is no way they'll make things clear]

No mother objected to her children learning Basque. In general, mothers appeared keen to emphasize that criticism of certain teaching methods does not imply rejection of the Basque language itself.

“Y ojo, a mí me gusta que mi hijo hable euskera, me gusta oírle cuando habla.” (mother, middle age)

[Don't take me wrong, I like that my son speaks Basque, I like listening to him when he speaks it]

“Yo estoy orgullosa de que mi hija hable euskera.” (mother, middle age)

[I’m proud that my daughter speaks Basque]

However, while some mothers unequivocally support the teaching of Basque, some others appeared less enthusiastic:

“A mí no me parece mal que se enseñe euskera, pero si no lo enseñaran tampoco me importaría. Aquí la lengua que hay que aprender es el inglés, eso sí que es importante. En el futuro lo importante será saber inglés, no euskera.” (mother, middle age)

[I don’t object to the teaching of Basque, but I wouldn’t mind if they didn’t teach it either. Here the language to be learnt is English, that’s really important. In the future the important thing will be to know English, not Basque]

Comparisons over the value of Basque and English became a recurring discussion point during all the group interviews with mothers, probably reflecting a wider debate within the education circles in the area. In general, mothers who favoured the teaching of Basque showed an integrative attitude towards the language, while those who preferred the teaching of English stressed its instrumental value. One mother expressed her view thus:

“Yo, por supuesto, si me dan a elegir, prefiero que hable euskera que inglés, porque es nuestro patrimonio. Somos de aquí, ¿no? Mira, si no hay que darle muchas vueltas. Ahí el tema es de los que tienen raíces vascas y los que no, los que se sienten de aquí y los que no.” (mother, younger age)

[I, of course, if they give me the choice, prefer that (my child) speak Basque rather than English, because that’s our heritage. We are from here, aren’t we? Look, it’s easy to explain. The issue there is whether a person has Basque roots or not, whether (s)he feels from here or not]

Mothers favouring English also agreed that “it is a matter of feelings”:

“Mira, ahí te doy la razón. Para qué no vamos a engañar: yo el euskera no lo veo como algo propio. Pero es que, además, se quiere imponer el euskera por la fuerza, y ese no es el camino,

sobretudo en una zona como la que estamos. Si es que se quieren cargar al castellano! Mira, te voy a poner un ejemplo: yo soy auxiliar de enfermería, y me pedían el euskera para trabajar. ¡Aquí! Digan lo que digan, a mí eso no me entra en la cabeza.” (mother, middle age)

[Look, in that respect I think you're right. There is no point fooling ourselves: I don't see Basque of something of my own. But, besides, they want to impose Basque by force, and that's not the right way, especially in an area like this one we are in. They want to kill Spanish! Look, I'm going to give you an example: I'm a nursing auxiliary, and they asked me (to know) Basque for work. Here! Whatever they say, I can't understand that at all]

In general, mothers agree that it is not logical to apply the same measures to promote the Basque language “in the north, in Gipuzkoa and Bizkaia”, and in Rioja Alavesa, which has always been a Spanish-speaking area. A sharp contrast is made between the relatively Basque-speaking north and the relatively Spanish-speaking south. Moreover, mothers' speech is interspersed with expressions referring to a stronger Basque identity in the northern areas, relating to ethnolinguistic and ethnocultural identities:

“Dar esa preponderancia al euskera en las zonas vascas-vascas igual sí tiene sentido, pero aquí no.” (mother, middle age)

[To give such a predominance to Basque in Basque-Basque areas may make sense, but not here]

“Los que son verdaderamente vascos pues sí tienen ese sentimiento, pero nosotros...” (mother, middle age)

[Those who are truly Basque do have that feeling (towards Basque), but we...]

‘Model B’ mothers

The ‘model B’ mothers interviewed had their children educated in the “Víctor Tapia” Primary School of Biasteri. In this school, models A and B are at offer. Mothers who opted for model B showed an integrative attitude towards the learning of Basque. The future value of the language in the job market was regarded as an added value:

"Yo si tuviera el modelo D en el pueblo, metería a mi hijo en el D. Pero como no lo hay, lo he metido en el B. En el A no lo metería, porque yo quiero que mi hijo acabe aprendiendo euskera. Al fin y al cabo es nuestra cultura, ¿no?, la de Euskal Herria." (mother, younger age)

[If I had model D in the village, I would put my son in (model) D. But there isn't, so I've put him in model B. I wouldn't put him in model A, because I want my son to end up learning Basque. At the end of the day, it's our culture, isn't it, that of Euskal Herria (Basque Country, in Basque)]

"Yo estoy contenta con el modelo B, primero porque quiero que mis hijos aprendan euskera, pero tambien porque les va a venir bien en el futuro. La verdad es que aquí no hace mucha falta, pero hacia Vitoria más, y yo creo que en el futuro cada vez se valorará más." (mother, younger age)

[I'm happy with model B, because I want my children to learn Basque, but also because it's going to be useful for them in the future. The truth is that here it's not very necessary, but in Vitoria more, and I think in the future it's going to be valued more and more]

Most mothers expressed their satisfaction with model B, in the belief that it offers a balanced language education to their children. Children's achievement of bilingual competence in both Basque and Spanish was regarded as a highly valuable goal. However, during the group interview, doubts about the benefits of the 'half-Basque, half-Spanish' bilingual education were frequently voiced. The main concern was that children could mix both languages and learn neither of them properly. A conversation held by three mothers reflects such views:

"- Yo quiero que mi hija aprenda bien los dos, vasco y castellano, a mí me parece que mitad y mitad esta bien, así se manejara bien en los dos idiomas. Ahora, yo no se, yo el euskera no lo entiendo y no te puedo decir, pero cuando veo sus deberes en castellano, veo que escribe con muchas 'k's, 'z's..."

- Si, yo Me acuerdo de lo que dijo mi hija un día. Ha salido el 'eguzkia'. Me hizo gracia, pero no se si eso en el futuro le va a perjudicar.

- A mí eso no me preocupa demasiado. Cuando vayan creciendo ya distinguirán, ¿no? ¿Tú qué crees?" (mothers, middle age)

[I want my daughter to learn both languages, Basque and Spanish, properly, I think that half and half is okay, that way she will manage in both languages. But, I don't know, I don't understand Basque and I can't tell, but when I see her homework, I see that she writes with many 'k', 'z'...

-Yes, I remember what my daughter told me one day. The sun ('eguzkia', in Basque) has come out (in Spanish). I found it funny, but I don't know if in the future that's going to be damaging for her.

- That doesn't worry me too much. As they grow up, they will distinguish, won't they? What do you think?]

Such comments seem to respond to a genuine and widely held concern in the area. During the meeting, the interviewer was requested to express his opinion and explain the advantages and disadvantages of the different bilingual teaching models. However, a mother expressed her suspicion that a false debate was created around bilingualism in order to disguise unfavourable attitudes towards the teaching of Basque:

"Es que aquí hay madres que dicen que si los idiomas confunden a los niños para aprender y tal, y meten a sus hijos en el modelo A, pero no les importa nada que aprendan inglés, hasta para después de clase les ponen profesores particulares. El tema está más claro que el agua. Lo que no quieren es que aprendan euskera, y se inventan esas historias para eso." (mother, middle age)

[There are mothers here that say that languages confuse children when learning and so on, and they enrol them in model A, but they don't mind them learning English, they even provide them with private teachers after school. The issue is crystal clear. What they don't want is that they learn Basque, and they make up stories (to justify that)]

Nevertheless, all mothers agree that the teaching of English should be an important part of the school curriculum. English is regarded as a language of international prestige, the knowledge of which will be increasingly important in the future. As with 'model A' mothers, opinions are divided between those who favour the learning of Basque for affective and identity reasons, and those who stress the practical value of English:

"Por supuesto que quiero que mi hija aprenda inglés, todo lo que sea aprender... El saber no ocupa lugar. Si quieres que te diga la verdad, yo creo que les va a hacer más falta. Aquí el euskera, qué quieres que te diga..." (mother, younger age)

[Of course I want my daughter to learn English, all learning is good... If you want me to tell the truth, I think that it's going to be more necessary for them. Basque here, what do you want me to say...]

“Yo quiero que aprenda euskera porque mi hija es euskaldun, vasca, y quiero que aprenda su idioma. El inglés es otro tema.” (mother, younger age)

[I want my daughter to learn Basque because she is euskaldun (Basque or Basque-speaker, in Basque), Basque, and I want her to learn her language. That of English is a different issue]

In general, the issues surrounding Basque are regarded as conflicting, both in their village – Biasteri– and inside the school. In the middle of the interview, a mother, albeit jokingly, interrupted the conversation and said: “I hope there are no microphones here; with all the things we’re saying...” I lightly responded that nothing out of the ordinary was being said, and another mother replied:

“Tú no conoces este pueblo. Aquí hay mucho facha, eh, ¡pero mucho! Todavía hay que andar con cuidado al hablar de estos temas, hay que mirar con quién estás hablando. Es que nos ha tocado un pueblo, majo, el más cerrado de todos. En Lapuebla, por ejemplo, son diferentes, pero aquí todavía... Es que aquí los del PP mandan mucho, y el tema del euskera no lo quieren ver ni en pintura.” (mother, middle age)

[You don’t know this town. Here there are a lot of fascists, a lot! Here you still have to be careful when talking about these things, you have to look who you’re talking to. We have a town, boy, the most narrow-minded of all. In Lapuebla, for example, they are different, but here still... The thing is that here the people of PP have a lot of power, and they can’t stand this issue]

Conflict is also reflected inside the school walls. Some ‘model B’ mothers expressed their frustration about model A mothers’ and certain teachers’ attitude towards the Basque language. Indeed, the group interview was initially arranged to include ‘model A’ and ‘model B’ mothers, in the hope that a constructive discussion would result from it. However, ‘model A’ mothers declined to attend, and a ‘model B’ mothers group interview was organized instead. In general, the mothers described a situation of a problematic coexistence between models A and B in the school:

“Aquí en la escuela también siempre están poniendo trabas. Son como el perro del hortelano: ni comen, ni dejan comer. Cuando queremos montar algo en euskera, teatro y cosas así, siempre nos vienen con historias. Pero bueno, ellos aquí son minoría, nosotros somos mayoría por mucho.”

Algunos profesores también están en contra, no creas. También por motivos laborales, porque se les puede acabar el chollo, pero algunos el euskera no lo pueden ni ver. Cualquier cosa que tenga que ver con el euskera y ya empiezan a sudar. ¡Paranoia pura! Y claro, eso crea tensión todo el tiempo.” (mother, middle age)

[Here at the school they're always putting obstacles. They're like the gardener's dog: they don't eat nor allow anyone to eat. When we want to arrange something in Basque, a play or something similar, they always come out with tales. Anyway, they are the minority here, we are the majority by far. Some teachers are also against (Basque), mind you. For work reasons as well, because they may risk losing their jobs, but some of them can't even hear about Basque. Anything that has to do with Basque makes them sweat. Pure paranoia! And, of course, that creates constant tension]

'Model D' mothers

'Model D' mothers were interviewed in Oion, Lantziego and Lapuebla de Labarca. In Oion, a pre-arranged group interview was held with seven mothers, and six women agreed to take part in an improvised meeting outside the *ikastola* school in Lantziego. Finally, four women were individually interviewed in the plaza in Lapuebla de Labarca. Model D mothers were expected to express the most favourable attitudes towards the teaching of Basque. Indeed, pro-Basque sentiment is strongly felt by many of these mothers. During the group interview with *ikastola* mothers in Oion, one of them summarized the view, when asked why she enrolled her children in the model D *ikastola* school:

“Porque yo quiero que mis hijos aprendan euskera. Yo no tuve la ocasión, pero no creas, ya me hubiera gustado. Y ahora tenemos esta escuela en el pueblo, pues es una cosa grande que mis hijos tengan la oportunidad de aprender, cosa que nosotras no tuvimos. Además, yo estoy muy contenta con la escuela, creo que enseñan bien.” (mother, middle age)

[Because I want my children to learn Basque. I didn't have the opportunity, but believe me that I would have liked to. And now we have this school in the village, it's a great thing that my children have the opportunity to learn, which we didn't. Besides, I'm very happy with the school, I think they teach well]

Nevertheless, a considerable number of mothers, especially those in Lantziego, believe that Basque can become of excessive importance in the *ikastola* schools:

"Yo no sé para qué tanto euskera. Yo no digo que esté mal que lo aprendan, es bueno para ellos, pero creo que se le da demasiada importancia." (mother, younger age)

[I don't know why we need so much Basque. I don't say it's bad that they learn it, it's good for them, but I think they give it too much importance]

"Hombre, el euskera como asignatura sí mantendría, pero dando la mayoría de las clases en castellano. O bueno, mitad y mitad también estaría bien, sí." (mother, younger age)

[Well, I would keep Basque as a subject, but giving most of the lectures in Spanish. Or, half and half would also be okay, yes]

The general views of model D mothers in Oion around bilingual education differ from those in Lantziego and, to a lesser extent, Lapuebla de Labarca. The reason behind the discrepancy may lie in the schools on offer in their respective villages. There is only one primary school in both Lantziego and Lapuebla de Labarca –the *ikastola* school–, while in Oion parents can choose between the public school and the *ikastola* school, which provide education in model A and model D, respectively. Despite distances being short in Rioja Alavesa, geographical convenience seems to play a part in parental choice of school:

"Hombre, yo también veo bien que aprendan euskera, sobretodo porque les va a hacer falta el día de mañana. Lo que también está claro es que la escuela esté aquí en pueblo, pues es mucho mejor, no quiero que mis críos anden de un lado para otro, siendo tan pequeños ... Pues yo creo que si hubiera otra escuela en el pueblo, en vez de la ikastola, pues igual les habría llevado allí, es que es mucho mejor tenerlos en el pueblo. Luego, yo estoy contenta con la ikastola." (mother, middle age)

[Well, I also want them to learn Basque, above all because they will need it in the future. Obviously, the fact that the school is here, in the village, is much better, I don't want my children going here and there, being as young as they are ... I think that if there were another school in the village, instead of the *ikastola* school, maybe I would take them there, it's much better to keep them in the village. Apart from that, I'm happy with the *ikastola* school]

Many model D mothers expressed, as model B mothers did, concern about their children's competence in Spanish. While general education is evaluated satisfactorily, it is widely believed that the excessive focus on Basque undermines the proper learning of Spanish:

"Yo estoy contenta con cómo aprende mi hijo en general, las matemáticas y lo demás lo aprenden bien. Ahora, sí que me preocupa un poco las faltas de ortografía que hacen. Porque no es sólo mi hijo, eh. Es que en vez de 'q' ponen 'k', en vez de 's' 'x', y así. Yo me lo estoy pensando, dónde llevar a mi hijo cuando salga de aquí, a Laguardia o a Lapuebla. Pero ahora mismo me tira más Laguardia, porque prefiero que mi hijo se defienda bien en castellano." (mother, younger age)

[I'm happy with the way my son is learning things, they learn maths and of the rest properly. However, I'm a bit worried about the spelling mistakes they make. Because it's not my son only, eh. Indeed, instead of 'q' they put 'k', instead of 's', 'x', and so on. I'm thinking over where to take my son when he finishes here, whether to Biasteri (model A or B) or Lapuebla (model D *ikastola* school). But in this moment I fancy more Biasteri, because I prefer that my son manages properly in Spanish]

The discussion around the practicality of learning Basque and comparisons about its value vis-à-vis that of English also emerged among model D mothers. Again, two main positions prevailed, as with model A and model B mothers: while some mothers –a clear majority among the *ikastola* school group in Oion– stressed the integrative value of Basque, some others favoured the instrumental benefits of learning English. Both views are gathered in the following comments:

"Yo, es que a veces alucino. Es que me vienen con que el inglés es más necesario, más importante que el euskera. ¿Más importante? Todos queremos que nuestros hijos aprendan cuanto más inglés mejor, pero, ¿cómo va a ser más importante el inglés que el euskera en Euskal Herria?" (mother, middle age)

[Sometimes I get absolutely amazed. They tell me that English is more necessary, more important than Basque. More important? We all want our children to learn as much English as possible, but but how come can English be more important than Basque in Euskal Herria (Basque Country, in Basque)?]

"Hombre, está claro que el inglés es más importante, el euskera al fin y al cabo se habla sólo en el País Vasco, y el inglés es universal, Además, aquí hay más relación con Logroño que con Vitoria, y en Logroño el euskera no vale para nada. En cambio, el inglés se necesita en todas partes."
(mother, middle age)

[Well, it's clear that English is more important, at the end of the day Basque is only spoken in the Basque Country, and English is a universal language. Besides, here there is more relationship with Logroño than with Vitoria, and in Logroño Basque is useless. On the other hand, English is necessary everywhere]

The debate around the utility of Basque and English appears to be highly significant for mothers with children in all models. Discussions about these issues reflect awareness among them of the importance of these languages in society. However, the debate seems to be approached with a subtractive perspective, in which English and Basque compete with, rather than complement, each other.

5.5. Attitudes to bilingualism and Basque in Rioja Alavesa

Attitudes of individuals and groups to languages are significant because they indicate community thoughts, beliefs, preferences and desires. As Baker and Jones (1998: 174) put it, attitudes are "an important barometer, providing a measure of the climate of the language." In the life of a language, attitudes may be an influential factor in language restoration, preservation, decay or death. If a community shows a very unfavourable attitude to bilingual education or attempts are made to impose a 'common' national language, language policy implementation is unlikely to be successful (Baker, 1992: 9).

In the previous chapter (chapter Four), the difficulties encountered in the interviewing process were described. Some people avoided being interviewed claiming ignorance or lack of interest. Some other people appeared reluctant to express overt views on certain issues, arguing that they were intrusive, political in nature or simply too conflictive. Unwillingness to respond was most manifest among people with unfavourable attitudes towards Basque and those with a weaker Basque identity. For that reason, reluctance to respond may in

some instances be interpreted as an attitudinal stance in its own. A resident of Biasteri graphically explained:

“Aquí, en Laguardia, el asunto del euskera es muy serio, muy conflictivo. Por eso, la gente en un principio no te va a hablar claro. Es un tema que cuesta mucho hablarlo, la gente no quiere líos. Mira, si quieres sacar algo, tienes que hacer como con las cebollas: ir quitando capas poco a poco, y al final puede que te digan algo.” (male, older age)

[Here, in Biasteri, the subject of Basque is very serious, very conflictive. For that reason, at first people won't talk clearly to you. It's a difficult issue to talk about, people don't want to get into a jam. Look, if you want to get anything, you have to do like with onions: take out the layers little by little, and at the end they may tell you something]

Lack of interest and ignorance on the subject were also given as reasons for declining to give interviews. While such reasons may to a certain degree express unwillingness to respond, in many cases they reflect a genuine sentiment. A teacher in the primary school of Eltziego indicates this:

“Gainera, nola euskara kalean ez dagoen, inon ez den ikusten, eta lanerako arazoa ez den, eskolako kontua da. Beraz, euskara arazo bezala, edo auzi bezala, amek ikusten dute gehienbat, haurrak eskolan dauzkatelako eta hori bizi dutelako, baina gainerako jendeak askotan kontu honetaz pentsatu ere ez du egiten, ez die ezertan eragiten. Hori adineko jendearekin garbiago ikusten da.” (female, younger age)

[Moreover, as Basque is not present in the streets, it's nowhere to be seen, and it's not a problem to be able to work, it's just a matter associated to the school. So, Basque is seen as a problem, or as an issue, only by the mothers, because they have their children in the school and they live that experience, but the rest of the people often do not even think about it, it doesn't affect them at all. That's all the most evident with older people]

In the Basque Country, attitudes towards Basque and bilingualism are inextricably linked with an explicit ideology that has always exhorted the process of Euskera recovery (Azurmendi, Bachoc and Zabaleta, 2001: 249). Martínez de Luna and Jausoro (1998) use the term ‘allegiance community’ when analyzing the symbolic universe and identity strategies around Basque, preferring it to the classical concept ‘language community’.

Indeed, in the allegiance community of Basque two language communities are included: the Basque-speaking and the Spanish-speaking (or French-speaking) communities. Broadly speaking, the allegiance community of Basque is formed by those who love Basque and support its recovery. From its part, the allegiance community of Spanish is formed by one language community, that of Spanish-speakers who show little interest in the promotion of Basque. Each allegiance community has developed its own discourse around language. Thus, the allegiance community of Spanish has elaborated a ‘reality discourse’, while the allegiance community of Basque has developed a ‘wish discourse’ (Martínez de Luna and Jausoro, 1998). This explanatory model seems appropriate to explain the different attitudinal stances in Rioja Alavesa. In the following text, the development of the above-mentioned community discourses in the region will be detailed.

In the reality discourse, a minority attaches no value whatsoever to Basque, neither at a personal nor at a societal level. In Rioja Alavesa, though still in a minority, expressions of contempt or disdain towards the use of Basque are not uncommon. Basque-speakers in the area recall insults thrown at them for speaking in Basque:

“Quítate el chicle de la boca”

[Take the chewing gum out of your mouth]

“¿Agur? ¿Qué agur y qué hostias?”

[Agur (bye in Basque)? What the hell with agur? (when addressing someone)]

“Habla en cristiano...”

[Speak in the Christian way (properly)]

“Ahí está el etarra ese”

[There he goes the ETA member]

A local priest recalls some incidents in the past in church because Basque was used at mass:

“Hace algunos años, al empezar a dar misa, o una parte de ella, en euskera, alguna gente se iba directamente. A mí me ha tocado que gente en la primera fila se marchara de la iglesia porque se cantaba o decía alguna oración, como el “Gure aita”, en euskera.” (male, older age)

[Some years ago, when saying mass, or part of it, in Basque, some people used to leave directly. It has happened to me that people in the first row leave the church because a song as sung or a prayer, like the ‘Gure Aita’ (‘Our Father’), was said in Basque]

Nevertheless, such extreme views are not shared by a majority in the allegiance community of Spanish. The ‘reality discourse’ is a pragmatic one: Basque is one language in the Basque Country, not the most important one, nor a marker of identity. For that reason, it is nonsensical to make efforts at a societal level to guarantee its use:

“Nada, aquí no se habla nada, y creo que no se hablará en bastante tiempo. En las escuelas, con los modelos bilingües y tal, aprender claro que aprenden, pero hablar no. Lo que pasa es que el euskera no es de aquí, y ahí no hay que darle más vueltas. Mira, yo tengo familiares censados aquí desde el año 1500, y quitando una abuela que era originariamente de Lekeitio, el euskera no lo hablaba nadie. Fíjate, desde el año 1500!” (male, middle age)

[Not at all, here (Basque) is not spoken at all, and I think it won’t be spoken for a long time. In the schools, with the bilingual models et cetera, of course they do learn, but they don’t speak. The point is that Basque doesn’t belong here, end of story. Look, I have family members in the local census since 1500, and except for a grandmother who was originally from Lekeitio (Bizkaia), nobody spoke Basque. Listen, since 1500!]

The reality discourse (Martínez de Luna and Jausoro, 1998) relies on the present, as it intends to reassert the current *statu quo*. However, in a region like Rioja Alavesa, where Basque has been absent for centuries, the defence of Spanish monolingualism seeks justification also in the past. Past and present are linked to stress the alien nature of Basque in the area:

“Eso de que el euskera ha estado aquí desde hace no sé cuántos años, no sé... Fíjate, aquí hay muy pocos topónimos vascos. Además, esta es una tierra fronteriza, y aquí han estado los romanos, los celtíberos, los árabes, los berones, la Corona de Navarra... Y me parece que lo vascones no anduvieron por aquí... Por aquí han pasado muchas culturas. Yo creo, además, que nosotros tenemos mucho más que ver con los romanos que con los vascos, históricamente hemos tenido mayor relación. Por ejemplo, cuando Laguardia se convirtió en Villa, el rey de Navarra escribió el decreto o lo que sea en castellano antiguo, no en vasco... Nuestra área de influencia es lo que se

llama la cuenca del Ebro, y ahí nunca se ha hablado vasco. Hay que tener en cuenta que, ahora también, el área de influencia económica es Logroño. Si a mi me hace falta una máquina para el vino, o si se me estropea una máquina o si me falta un tornillo, pues voy a Logroño, porque en Vitoria no hay esa cultura del vino, eso lo compartimos con Logroño. Y otras muchas cosas las hacemos en Logroño, salimos a dar una vuelta a Logroño, de compras también.” (male, middle age)

[That claim that Basque has been around here since I don't know when, I don't know... Look, here there are very few Basque place-names. Besides, this is a borderland, and here there have been the Romans, the Celtiberians, the Arabs, the Berons, the Crown of Navarre... And I think that the Vascons hadn't been around much... A lot of cultures have passed through here. Besides, I think that we have much more to do with the Romans than with the Basques, historically we've had a much more intense relationship with them. For example, when Biasteri became a Borough, the King of Navarre wrote the decree or whatever it was in Old Spanish, not in Basque... Our influence area is what's called the Ebro basin, and Basque has never been spoken there. It needs to be taken into account that, even today, the area of economic influence is Logroño. If I need a machine to make wine, or if a machine gets damaged or if I lack a screw, I go to Logroño, because in Vitoria that wine culture doesn't exist, we share that with Logroño. And we do many more things in Logroño, we go out, or shopping, to Logroño]

Basque, as one of the languages that form part of the culture of the Basque people, needs to be protected, not just as a language of communication, but as cultural heritage. In this respect, the standard Basque, or 'batua', is often regarded as a jumble that has altered the fundamental nature of the original Basque. It is noteworthy, however, that many of those who despise 'batua' as a formless hybrid have no knowledge of Basque themselves (see Jakin, 2001). This view was expressed by a local councillor in Biasteri:

“Lo del batua no se sabe ni lo que es. El euskera de verdad es el que se hablaba en los pueblos. Pero claro, es que antes dos vascos de pueblos vecinos no se entendían en euskera, y han hecho este sofrito, este invento... Y no te creas, eso me lo han dicho, y lo dicen, gente que sabe mucho de euskera, euskaltzales de toda la vida. Como el euskera de la tele. Eso es un invento que han sacado, pero no es el euskera real. De todas formas, aquí la ETB no se ve. Bueno, cuando hay fútbol y así, pues se pone la ETB, se baja el volumen y se oye la radio. Y en pelota igual. Hombre, en pelota además algo ya se entiende, cuando dicen 'hiru' pues sabes que es 'tres', y así... De ahí para adelante, aquí, euskera, nada. Y ya pueden decir misa, que eso es así y va a seguir así.” (male, middle age)

[This batua (standard) Basque nobody knows what it is. The true Basque was the one that was spoken in the villages. But see, in the past two Basque-speakers of neighbouring villages couldn't understand each other in Basque, so they have created this concoction, this invention... And, mind you, people who know a lot of Basque have told me that, and they say that, lifelong Bascophiles. That's like the Basque on TV. That's an invention they've made, but it's not the true Euskera. Anyway, here we don't see ETB (Basque TV). Well, when there is football or something like that, we put the volume down and listen to the radio. In pelota (Basque sport) something can be understood, when they say 'hiru' you know it means 'three', et cetera. But apart from that, here, Basque, nothing. And they can say whatever they want, that's the way it is and it will remain so]

In the 'reality discourse', individual bilingualism is widely accepted and even celebrated, but its implementation in society provokes fierce opposition. Indeed, the need to know Basque or its valuation in order to get certain jobs has added an instrumental value to it. However, regardless of the real importance of Basque in the job market –statistically very limited–, in certain social sectors Basque has turned into a scapegoat for personal professional frustrations. Thus, “the language becomes an illegitimate mechanism that introduces distortions in a hypothetical natural situation of equality of opportunities” (Tejerina, 1992: 216). These sentiments are widely shared in Rioja, despite the social irrelevance of Basque in the region. A mother in Biasteri summarised this position thus:

“Yo estoy encantada de que mi hija hable euskera. No le entiendo nada, pero habla de maravilla. Ahora, es que aquí hay cosas que no me entran en la cabeza. A mí no me parece normal que para hacer la limpieza, para pasar la fregona, por ejemplo, te exijan saber euskera. Hombre, aquí eso no pasa, pero en Vitoria parece que sí. Yo no sé, creo que se están pasando, y si hacen eso aquí la gente no lo va a tragar.” (female, middle age)

[I'm delighted that my daughter speaks Basque. I don't understand what she says at all, but she talks very well. However, there are things here I cannot understand. I don't think it's normal that to work as a cleaner, to mop, they demand you to know Basque. That doesn't happen here, but it seems that in Vitoria it does. I don't know, I think they're going too far, and if they do that here people won't put up with it]

In the 'wish discourse' (Martínez de Luna and Jausoro, 1998), the Basque language is an important marker of identity. For that reason, it becomes fundamental to make amends for a

fundamental deficiency in the Basque Country: the lack of use of the Basque language in society. The past is of particular importance, because there it holds the reasons for its social weakness. On the other hand, hopes for a wider social use of Basque are placed in the future generations.

In Rioja Alavesa, the loss of Basque occurred some seven centuries ago. Accordingly, references to the past are more commonly used by those who refute the legitimacy of Basque recovery in the region. Nevertheless, some Basque promoters insist on the importance of providing the local community with a sense of belonging to a wider Basque-speaking community which for historical circumstances fell apart. A local teacher in the *ikastola* of Lapuebla de Labarca expressed such view thus:

“Euskararen inguruan pedagogia hobea erabili behar da. Adibidez, Unidad Alavesako web orrian ageri den leloa: “Alava vasca no, vasconizada”. Arabak bi kolonizazio ezberdin jasan omen ditu, bata historikoa, baskoiak Arabara hedatu zirenekoa, eta bestea egungo funtzionarioenena (Gasteiz aldean aplikagarriagoa agian). Esaten dutena da euskara hemen ezarri egin zaiela, baina berez hizkuntza arrotza dela. Bada, mezu horrek jarraitzaile ugari ditu bai Araban bai Arabako Errioxan, mezu hori sartzea lortu dute eta jende pilo batek sinetsi egiten du. Guk mezu horiei aurre egingo dien pedagogia bat garatu behar dugu, euskara hemengoa ere badela transmitituko duena. Jendeak oso gutxi ezagutzen du hemengo historia, euskarak hemen izan duen presentzia eta abar. Horrek euskal sentimendua ere piztu egingo luke.” (male, middle age)

[A better pedagogy needs to be used around Basque. For example, there is a web-page of Unidad Alavesa (anti-nationalist political party operating in the province of Araba), which says: “Alava vasca no, vasconizada” (Araba not Basque, but Basquisized). According to this web-page, Araba has suffered two different colonizations, one historical, when the Vascons arrived in Araba, and a recent one, that of the civil servants, especially around Vitoria. What they say is that Basque has been imposed to them here, but in truth it doesn’t belong here. Well, that message has a lot of followers here in Araba and in Rioja Alavesa, they’ve managed to put that message across and a lot of people believe it. Thus, we need to develop a pedagogy that will confront that kind of message, one that transmits that Basque belongs also here. People have very little knowledge of history here, they don’t know the historical presence of Basque in the region, et cetera. If we managed to explain this, that would also stir pro-Basque feelings]

In this region, where Basque has been mainly introduced through the education system in the last twenty years, few people over 40 speak the language. Among these older generations, the more pro-Basque people express their regret for not being able to speak a language they feel as a strong symbol of their own identity, and transfer their wishes to their offspring. Thus, their lamentation for not being able to speak the language is mixed with pride in their descendants' competence:

"Yo tengo esa pena de que no haya llegado a hablar euskera. Lo que pasa es que a mí la oportunidad de aprender me llegó tarde, nosotros somos de otra época. Pero yo tengo tres hijas, y las tres saben euskera, y una es andereño en la ikastola de Labastida. Y para mí ése es mi mayor orgullo." (male, older age)

[I regret that I haven't been able to speak Basque. The opportunity to learn it came late to me, we are from a different period. But I have three daughters, and the three know Basque, and one is a teacher in the *ikastola* school in Labastida. And that's my biggest pride]

"Yo cuando era joven ya intenté aprender euskera, pero por lo que sea no lo conseguí. Pero bueno, yo me he empeñado en que mis hijos lo aprendan, y ya lo hablan. Ahora hace falta que se use más." (female, middle age)

[When I was young I tried to learn Basque, but for whatever reason I couldn't. But I've been determined that my children learn it, and they already speak it. Now we need Basque be more widely used]

Pride may sometimes lead to unjustified optimism. Indeed, a significant number of local pro-Basque people manifest their confidence in the future use of Basque in the region. Nevertheless, the majority of people adopt a more cautious, and often even a pessimistic, approach. Both perspectives are gathered in the following comments:

"Aquí todos los jóvenes de menos de 26 años saben euskera, al menos un poco. Ahí no hay problemas. Otra cosa es que no lo usen, pero el futuro está asegurado." (male, older age)

[Here all the young people under 26 know Basque, at least a bit. There is no problem there. A different thing is whether they use it or not, but the future is secure]

“Uf, para que aquí se hable euskera hará falta mucho tiempo, pero nuestros hijos saben euskera, y a sus hijos les podrán hablar. Otra cosa es que lo hagan, porque el mío por lo menos no habla nunca, así que no sé si lo hablará luego con sus hijos. Pero bueno, si aquí algún día se habla euskera, vendrá de los jóvenes, eso seguro.” (female, middle age)

[Uf, a long time will be needed for Basque to be spoken here, but our children know Basque, and they will be able to speak (Basque) with their children. Whether they do it or not is a different matter, because mine never speaks Basque, so I don't know if he will speak it with his children. But if here one day Basque is spoken, that will come from the young, that's for sure]

In the wish discourse (Martínez de Luna and Jausoro, 1998), the ultimate goal is the normalisation of the use of Basque in society. In this respect, some members in the allegiance community of Basque offer some contradictory stances, appearing to feel more comfortable with the promotion of individual bilingualism than with its implementation in society. The social weakness of Basque in the area may be a reason for this. To sustain this position, certain strategies of the reality discourse are adopted, such as magnifying the real influence of Basque –nearly non-existent– in the job market in the area:

“Un médico tiene que ser primero un buen médico, y si sabe euskera, mejor, pero en estas cosas no hay que exagerar. Al euskera se le ha hecho mucho daño con cosas así.” (male, older age)

[A doctor has to be a good doctor first, and if he knows Basque, all the better, but in this matters there is no need to exaggerate. Basque has been very damaged with this sort of things]

“Me han dicho que en Vitoria te piden saber euskera hasta para ser barrendero. ¿Un barrendero para qué va a saber euskera, para hablar con la escoba? A mí me parece bien que se pida el euskera en algunos trabajos. Hombre, pero no hay que caer en el ridículo. Es que yo creo que pidiendo esas cosas se hace más mal que bien.” (female, middle age)

[I've been told that in Vitoria they ask you to know Basque to be a sweeper. What does a sweeper need to know Basque for, to talk to the broom? I think it's good that Basque be asked for certain jobs. But let's not be ridiculous. Indeed, I think that by asking such things you do more damage than good]

Moreover, the language use-norms in the Basque Country that tend to linguistically accommodate non-Basque speakers –the generosity of Basque’, as termed by Tejerina (1992) –, meaning that if there is only one person who does not speak Basque, the rest will switch to Spanish, are at full strength in Rioja Alavesa. In a region where use of Basque is minimal, the conscientiousness in respecting this social rule may hide unfavourable attitudes to Basque. A local resident illustrated this view with a personal incident:

“Begira, gogoratzen naiz egun batean alabarekin euskaraz hitz egiten ari nintzela, igerilekuan, udaran. Han inguruan zeuden haurrak ikastolara eramaten dituzten beste pertsona batzuk, erdaldunak noski. Sinetsiko al didazu atentzioa deitu zidatela, euskaraz hitz egitea edukazio txarrekoa zela esanez, inguruan hizkuntza ulertzen ez zuen jendea bazegoen! Nire, alabarekin ari nintzen gero, ez pentsa! Bueno, ba igerilekuan bazegoen jatorriz ingelesa zen edo behintzat haurrari ingelesez egiten zion beste ama bat, eta horiei miresmenaz begiratzen zioten, esanez: ze ondo hitz egiten duen haur horrek ingelesez, eta abar. Kontuak atera!” (female, middle age)

[Look, I remember one day that I was speaking in Basque with my daughter by the swimming pool, in summer. There were some people around –non-Basque speaking, of course– who take their children to the *ikastola* school. Will you believe me if I tell you that they rebuked me, saying that it was ill-mannered to speak in Basque when there are people around who can’t understand the language! Mind you, I was talking with my daughter! Well, in the swimming pool there was a person who was originally English or at least spoke in English to her child, and they looked at them in awe, saying: how well does that child speak English, and so on. You draw your own conclusions!]

5.6. Rioja Alavesa: A borderland community

As described in chapter Four, Rioja Alavesa is a borderland region, a land of historic, geographic and linguistic crossroads. Its location, its particular viti-vinicultural lifestyle and its internal diversity have lent this territory a unique character. Hendry (1997) detects three main contexts of local identity converging in Rioja Alavesa: identity with the pueblo, with the wine, and linguistic identity. The singularity of this land needs to be understood in order to put the issues examined in this study into perspective.

Rioja Alavesa is the last region of the Basque Autonomous Community to the south. The nearest city is Logroño, the capital of the Autonomous Community of Rioja, located to around 15 kilometres from Biasteri and 3 kilometres from Oion, while the capital city of the province, Gasteiz-Vitoria, is situated around 50 kilometres from Biasteri and 65 kilometres from Oion. As the locals say, “aquí se vive hacia Logroño” (‘here we live towards Logroño’). The lack of a nearby environment in which relationships can be developed in Basque is regarded as an obstacle by a local teacher:

“Hemen erreferentzia Logroño da, eta ez Gasteiz. Erosketak eta denak han egiten ditugu, enkarguren bat egin behar dugunean normalean Logroñora joaten gara, hemengoak hango jendearekin erlazionatzen gara. Egia esan, pena da Gasteiz hurbilago ez egotea. Han euskara askorik ez da entzungo, baina zenbait gunetan giro euskalduna dago, liburu-dendak dituzu, euskal kultura eskaintzen dutenak... Hemengo gazteek euskaraz hitz egiteko aukera izango balute, Gasteizen bezala, txoko batzuetan besterik ez bada, hori oso ona izango litzateke.” (female, middle age)

[Here the reference is Logroño, not Gasteiz (Vitoria). We do the shopping and everything there, when we have to run errands we usually go there, people from here get to know people from there. To say the truth, it’s a pity that Gasteiz is not nearer. There Basque may be not much heard, but in some circles there is a Basque environment, you have bookshops, where they offer Basque culture... If the young people here had the opportunity to speak Basque, like they have in Gasteiz, even if it’s only in certain circles, it would be very good]

The biggest town in Rioja Alavesa is Oion, with a population of around 2.000. The 10.000-strong global population of the region is scattered in fifteen villages and seven administrative districts. Such internal geographical dispersion makes it difficult to create social networks in which Basque is the dominant language. Moreover, much of the leisure opportunities (pubs, cinemas, discos, sport) for the local young are based in Logroño and some other towns in the Community in Rioja. Finally, attitudes towards Basque within Rioja Alavesa and, especially, the community of Rioja, discourage communication in Basque:

“Sakabanaketa geografikoa arazo handi bat da, gauzak antolatzeke eta; baita, handia izan gabe 5.000 pertsona inguruko herri bat egongo balitz, eskola pare bat eta ikastola egongo lirateke, giro

euskalduna sortzeko aukera egongo litzateke, koadrila euskaldunak, konpetentzia moduko bat, bata besteari akuilatzeko... Herriak txikiak izatean, horretarako aukerarik ez dago. Gainera, herri txikietan norbaitek akaso euskaraz hitz egiteko konpromiso pertsonala du, baina bere herrian ez du bere modukorik aurkitzen. Agian beste herriren batean berak bezala pentsatzen duenik badago, baina ez dago pertsona horrekin kontaktatzeko, giro bat, talde bat sortzeko aukerarik. Borondatea egon liteke, baina borondate hori errealitatera pasatzea zaila da. Dena dela, hemen oraindik konpromiso ideologiko bat behar da euskaraz egiteko, euskara ikasteko eta abar. Adibidez, hemen kalean koadrila batean sei pertsona badaude eta bik edo hiruk euskaraz jakin eta euskaraz hitz egiten hasten badira, ez dakit, agresio bezala ikusten dute, edukazio txarra bezala. Bestalde, hemen gazteak asko Nájera aldera joaten dira parrandara, eta Fuenmayor edo Logroñora, eta toki horietan jada pixka bat ausarta izan behar da, "háblame en cristiano" eta horrelako gauzak asko entzuten dira, baita Fuenmayor-en ere, zubia pasata. " (female, younger age)

[Geographical dispersion is a big problem, to organize things and so on; besides, if here there were a town, not very big, but of around 5.000 inhabitants, with a couple of schools and an *ikastola* school, there would be the possibility to create a Basque environment, Basque-speaking groups of friends, a kind of competition, to liven each other up... The villages being small, there is no possibility for that. Moreover, in small villages a person may have the personal compromise to speak Basque, but that person doesn't find any other alike. Maybe in another village there is a person thinking like him/her, but there is no chance to contact that person, to create an environment, a group. The will may be there, but it's difficult to turn that will into behaviour. In any case, here it's still necessary to have an ideological commitment to speak Basque, to learn it and so on. For example, if here there is group of six people and two or three of them start speaking in Basque with each other, I don't know, they see it as an aggression, as bad manners. On the other hand, here the young people go out a lot to Nájera, and to Fuenmayor or Logroño, and in those places you need to be a bit brave, you listen 'háblame en cristiano (talk to me in Christian way)' and the like very often. Even in Fuenmayor, (which is) just past the bridge]

The conditions are very hard in Rioja Alavesa for turning motivation into behaviour. However, the very difficulty of communicating in Basque in the area may encourage the use of the language when circumstances are more favourable. A teacher in the *ikastola* school in Lapuebla de Labarca supports this view, based on his personal experience:

"Ikasleak hemendik (ikastolatik) atera eta erdal giroan murgiltzen dira, eta askok euskara ahaztu egiten dute. Baina gauza kuriosoa da, hemen ikasketak bukatu eta unibertsitatera doazen gazteek gehienbat euskaraz ikasten dute. Horrek zerbait esan nahi du, bonbila pizten zaie edo ez dakit,

baina euskararekiko atxikimendu hori badute. Adibidez, Gasteizko Olabide ikastolako ikasle gutxiagok egiten ditu unibertsitateko ikasketak euskaraz, horretarako baldintza hobeagoak dituztenean. Hor konpromiso maila bat ikusten da, baina oso zaila da konpromiso hori hemen islatzea, jarrera hori portaera bihurtzea, hemen (euskararen inguruan) oso baldintza gogorrak ematen direlako. Unibertsitatean errazagoa da, euskal adarrean sartu eta giro euskaldun batean murgil zaitezkeelako. Hemen, aldiz, hori ezinezkoa da.” (female, younger age)

[When the students leave (the *ikastola* school) they immerse in a Spanish-speaking environment, and many of them forget it (Basque). But there is a curious thing, a majority of the young who finish their studies here and go to university study in Basque. That means something, the penny drops or I don't know, but they have that allegiance to Basque. For example, fewer students of the Olabide *ikastola* school of Vitoria have their university studies in Basque, when their position to do so is much better. There you see a certain degree of commitment, because here the conditions (around Basque) are very hard. In the university it's easier, because you can get into the Basque branch and you can immerse in a Basque environment. Here, on the contrary, that is impossible]

Nevertheless, indifference is a term often used when assessing youngsters' commitment to Basque. As an *euskaltegi* school teacher in Oion put it, “apathy is our worst enemy, not rejection”. In a conversation in Biasteri, the alleged lack of interest to Basque of the younger generation is examined from a wider socio-economic and educational perspective. It is argued that the *boom* in the grape- and wine-growing sector, while bringing economic stability and prosperity to the region, has discouraged personal initiative and undermined the value of education as a means for social improvement, especially among boys:

“- Aquí la juventud en general está a favor del euskera, desde luego están mucho más a favor que los mayores. Y ven el euskera de una forma mucho más natural, yo creo que ahí si ha habido cambios.

- La juventud es buena, sana, no se meten en líos. Les gusta la juerga, el deporte y salir con la novia. De ahí en adelante muchas inquietudes no tienen: andan bien de dinero y trabajo, y no se preocupan de mucho más. Que al euskera no le dan importancia? Es que yo creo que eso hay que verlo en un contexto más amplio, yo creo que ese pasotismo se extiende a todos los ámbitos. Por ejemplo, a nivel de escuela el fracaso escolar aquí es alucinante. Aquí algunos saben justo justo leer y escribir, y sumar y restar, pero bueno, creen que saben lo suficiente y ya está.

- De todas formas, yo creo que las chicas se manejan mejor en la escuela. No sé si es porque crecen y se espabilan antes que los chicos, pero en general son como más maduras. Yo creo que en los estudios superiores hay más chicas, igual también porque les hace más falta

- *¿Sabes lo que pasa aquí? Pues, para decirlo pronto y claro, que hay mucha mentalidad de nuevo rico, dinero sí hay pero no saben que hacer con él.*” (female, middle age; male, older age)

[-Here young people in general are in favour of Basque, obviously they are much more in favour than the older. And they see Basque in a much more natural way, I think in that sense there have been changes.

- Young people are good, healthy, they don't get in trouble. They like to go out for a good time, sport and go out with the girlfriend. Apart from that they don't have many worries: they have money and work, they don't worry about much else. That Basque is not important to them? I think that must be considered in a wider context, I think that lack of care extends to all spheres. For example, at school level school failure here is incredible. Here some barely know reading and writing, and adding and subtracting, but they think they know enough and that's it.

- In any case, I think girls manage better than boys at school. I don't know if it's because they grow and wake up before boys, but in general they are, like, more mature. I think that in higher education there are more girls, probably because it's more necessary for them.

- Do you know what happens here? To say it clearly, here there is a lot of 'new rich mentality', there is money around but they don't know what to do with it]

The area's borderland status makes it a feasible site for the examination of changing perceptions of regional and ethnic identity (Hendry, 1992). Identity issues are frequently controversial in the Basque Country, and Rioja Alavesa is no exception. The sensitive nature of the subject hindered in many occasions an overt discussion over it. For that reason, the testimonies that follow are frequently indirect, and they aim to tentatively describe the complexity of question, rather than to draw plain conclusions.

The term 'Rioja' is used to describe two other territories: the non-Basque Autonomous Community of La Rioja, to the south of the river, and the Navarrese Rioja, in the Basque province of Navarre, to the east. All these regions share, as well as the name, the same wine culture and lifestyles. In this territory of porous frontiers, local residents were asked if this terminological conjunction also extends to a common cultural identity. In general, the idea of sharing a common cultural identity with 'the other Riojas' is firmly rejected by a clear majority:

“Mira, la Rioja verdadera la marca lo que podríamos llamar la geografía del vino. Y ahí todos compartimos una forma de vida, y un mismo paisaje... Pero estoy hablando de geografía. En términos culturales, o políticos, o como lo quieras poner, yo creo que aquí la muga está muy clara. Quitando igual alguna gente mayor que se identifica más con los ‘logroñeses’, como los llamo yo, los demás tienen muy claro que esto es Rioja, pero Rioja Alavesa.” (male, middle age)

[Look, the true Rioja is defined by what we could call the geography of wine. And in that sense we all share a way of life, and one landscape... But I’m talking about geography. In cultural, political terms, or however you want to define it, I think here the border is very clear. Except for maybe some elderly people who identify themselves more with the ‘logroñeses’ (residents of Logroño), as I call them, the rest have it very clearly that this is Rioja, but Rioja Alavesa]

However,

“Si aquí sale algún día un decreto que diga que esto pasa a ser parte de la Comunidad de La Rioja, bastante gente se alegraría, o por lo menos no les importaría nada.” (male, older age)

[If one day a decree is approved which says that this is going to be part of the Community of Rioja, quite a few people would be glad, or at least wouldn’t mind at all]

The usual speech of the people in Rioja Alavesa is rich in terms designed to differentiate themselves from ‘the others’. Thus, residents in the Community of La Rioja are named as generically ‘riojanos’, or ‘logroñeses’, or simply ‘those to the other side of the (Ebro) river’. On the other hand, for the people in the Community of La Rioja they are ‘the Basques’. Indeed, the willingness to express distinctiveness has occasionally led to peculiar initiatives, as recalled by a local councillor:

“Normalean, hemen denak sentitzen dira Arabakoak, euskaldunak ja... batzuk ez hainbeste, baina dena dela Logroñoko jendearekiko ezberdinak. Gero nahaste mota moduko bat ere eman da, Errioxaren kontzeptu geografikoarekin. Adibidez, EGIko gazteek garai batean jarri zuten kartel bat, ‘Hau ez da Errioxa’ zioena, pixka bat beste “riojanoekin” desberdindu nahian, baina modu baldar samarrean. Riojanoek, hain zuzen, mugarena garbiago dute. Eurek badakite hau ezberdina dela, EAE dela. Baliteke hori gertatzea, muga hain zehatz bereiztearena, oso anti-baskoak direlako.” (male, younger age)

[In general, here everybody feels that they are from Araba (province), Basque I don't know... some not very much, but anyway they feel they are different from the Logroño people. Then there has been some confusion with the geographical concept of Rioja. For example, the young people from EGI (the youth section of PNV, the Basque Nationalist Party) put posters that said 'This is not Rioja', an attempt to make a distinction with the other "riojanos", but in a rather clumsy way. They (people of the Community of Rioja) know very well that this is different, that this is the BAC (Basque Autonomous Community. For them the border is very sharp, probably because they are very anti-Basque]

While local identity is strongly vindicated, a feeling of displacement is often expressed. As a woman in Biasteri puts it, they seem to be perceived as people "between two worlds", that of the 'Basque-Basque' in the north, and the Community of La Rioja to the south of River. She conveys this sense of uneasiness thus:

"Yo ya no sé ni dónde estamos. Es que aquí nos sentimos un poco marginados. Cuando vamos hacia el norte, a Bilbao o San Sebastián, somos los 'riojanos', y para los riojanos de Rioja, en cambio, somos 'los vascos'. Así que estamos en la mitad y en el culo del mundo" (female, middle age)

[I don't even know where we are. Here we feel a bit excluded. When we go to the north, to Bilbao or San Sebastian, we are the 'riojanos', and, instead, for the Riojan people we are 'los vascos'. So we are in between and in the backside of the world]

Rioja Alavesa is a region that, mostly due to the excellence of its wines and the benign climate of the summer, attracts many tourists, many of whom come from some other Basque regions in Gipuzkoa and Bizkaia. Many people from such provinces have second homes in the area. While tourism is an important source of revenue for the region, the relationship with the 'northern' neighbours is often complex. An *ikastola* teacher in Lapuebla de Labarca considered that, on the whole, contact with other Basque regions helps to strengthen common bonds. Moreover, with the arrival of Basque-speaking people during the summer months, the Basque language can be heard, although to a limited extent, in villages such as Bastida. However, he explains that some of the 'Basque-Basque' people display a somewhat demeaning attitude towards the people in Rioja Alavesa, questioning the degree of their 'Basqueness' or even their belonging to the Basque Country:

“Hona etortzen den bilbotar ugarik ere inpresio hori transmititzen dute. Errioxa ez dute askotan Euskal Herriko zati kontsideratzen, hona etorri eta gauza horiek esaten dituzte, eta horrek kalte handia egiten du. Hemen bada ustea basko-baskoak edo iparralderagoko horiek direla, eta horrelako komentarioek uste hori sendotzen dute. Bestalde, errioxarrek gazteleraz azentu berezia dute, Aragoi estilokoa, eta Gipuzkoa edo Bizkaitik etorri eta hemengoei horrelako azentua nabaritzen dieten pertsonak askotan barre egiten diete, eta oso espainoltzat jotzen.” (male, middle age)

[On the other side, a lot of people from Bilbao who come here convey that impression. They often don't regard Rioja as part of the Basque Country, they come here and say that kind of thing, and that's very damaging. There are people here that the Basque-Basque people are those more to the north, and that kind of comment favour such view. Moreover, people from Rioja have especial accent when speaking Spanish, similar to that in Aragon, and some people coming from Gipuzkoa edo Bizkaia that notice the accent laugh at them, and consider them as being very Spanish]

In the previous section, the pro-Basque and anti-Basque ideologies operating within the Basque Country have been examined. Such ideologies are influenced by the generally anti-Euskaldun ideology coming from voluntary, official and semi-official initiatives originating outside the Basque Country. Ideologies are, therefore, both intra- and intergroup (Azurmendi, Bachoc and Zabaleta, 2001: 249). In Rioja Alavesa, the anti-Basque ideology coming from outside the Basque Country is channelled through the region's close connections with the bordering Community of La Rioja. Indeed, marriages between people from the two communities are not uncommon, and the impact of personal relationships is often mentioned as a factor influencing ideology in the region. A woman from Samaniego ponders about this aspect:

“En Samaniego tenemos mucha relación con La (Comunidad de) Rioja, y eso se nota un montón en el tema del euskera. Aquí hay unas madres, que han venido de La Rioja, que son de película, antivascos 100 por cien. De todas formas, tampoco se puede generalizar, pero la verdad es que se nota en el pueblo. No quieren saber nada de nada que tenga que ver con el euskera. Y luego, pues lo de siempre, mezclan el euskera con la política, ya sabes .” (female, middle age)

[In Samaniego we have a close relationship with (the Community of) Rioja, and that has a big influence on the Euskara issue. Here, some mothers who have come from Rioja are unbelievable, a

100 percent anti-Basque. In any case, we shouldn't generalize, but the truth is that it has an influence in the village. They want to know nothing about anything that has to do with Euskara. And then, as always, they mix Euskara with politics, you know]

Such views are shared by a mother in Mañueta, who explains the recent ideological evolution in this village:

"Azken urteetan Mañuetako gizon asko Riojara ezkondu dira, Nájerara eta inguruko herrietara. Emakume horietako gehienak, Riojan jaioak, euskararen aurka daude, eta horrek giroa pixka bat aldatu egin du. Gainera, PP Udalerara heldu denetik, dena aldatu egin da. Hori azken urteotan gertatu den prozesu bat da. Baina bueno, herri bakoitzak esperientzia ezberdina du, bere bideari jarraitzen dio." (female, middle age)

[In the last years a lot of people from Mañueta have married to (the Community of) Rioja, to Nájera and nearby villages. Most of those women, born in Rioja, are against Euskara, and that has changed the mood a bit. Moreover, since PP (right-wing, non-nationalist Popular Party) got to the council, everything has changed. That's a process that has gone on in these last years. But each village has its own experience, it follows its own way]

Indeed, differences between villages reflect, to a certain extent, the power of local identity or, as Hendry (1992) put it, 'the identity with the pueblo'. The strength of the different ideologies around Basque varies from village to village.

"Kanpotik etorrita agian hemen dena berdina irudituko zaizu, baina herri bakoitzak bere nortasuna du, ez dira denak berdinak, eta hori euskararen auzian ere igarri egiten da. Herri batzuk, adibidez, beste batzuk baino nazionalistagoak dira, eta hor euskararen aldeko jarrera nabarmenagoa da. Adibidez, Kripanen nazionalistak gerra zibilaren aurretik ere nagusi ziren, eta orain ere bai. Eta Samaniego, edo Lapuebla (de Labarca) bera, edo Leza beti izan dira euskararen aldekoagoak. Beste herri batzuetan, berriz, euskararen aurkako joera dago, eta horren adibide garbiena Biasteri da." (male, middle age)

[Coming from outside everything here may seem the same to you, but each village has its own personality, they are not all the same, and that's easy to notice in the Euskara issue as well. For example, some villages are more nationalist than others, and in those favourable attitudes towards Basque are more evident. In Kripan, for example, nationalist were a majority even before the Civil War, and they still are. And Samaniego, or Lapuebla (de Labarca), or Leza have always been more

in favour of Basque. In contrast, in some other villages the general attitude is against Euskara, and the clearest example of this is Biasteri]

In this last comment, nationalism and allegiance to the Basque language are clearly linked. In Rioja Alavesa, as in the Basque Country as a whole, pro-Basque and anti-Basque ideologies are roughly, and often unfairly, associated with nationalist and non-nationalist options, respectively. In this region, political power is almost equally distributed between nationalist and non-nationalist political parties, the former options governing eight villages (all of them by the moderate nationalist party PNV), while the latter rule over the remaining seven (six by right-wing PP and the other one by the socialist PSE-PSOE). This situation, and possibly the influence of local identity, leads to many locals to define entire villages as pro-Basque or anti-Basque. In this sense, many pro-Basque local people see Biasteri as the prime example of anti-Basque feeling. A person of Lapuebla de Labarca defined Biasteri thus:

“Mira, ese es un pueblo de fascistas. En Laguardia nunca han aceptado el euskera. Al principio también, cuando querían poner la ikastola allí, armaron la de dios. Los de Laguardia siempre han sido muy cerrados, muy suyos.” (male, older age)

[Look, that's a village full of fascists. In Biasteri they have never accepted the Basque language. At the beginning as well, when they wanted to put the *ikastola* school there, they broke mayhem. People in Biasteri have always been very close, very peculiar”.

In contrast, a person in Bisteri derides Lapuebla de Labarca, where the *ikastola* school is located, for the opposite reasons:

“Esos se creen ahora más vascos que los vascos. En ese pueblo, de todas formas, siempre han sido muy chaqueteros. Es que ahora, porque lo dice no sé quién, resulta que hay que ser vasco por decreto. Ya pusieron su ikastola, ¿no? Pues ya estarán contentos. Aquí que nos dejen en paz, a nuestro aire, que nosotros ya nos arreglaremos.” (male, middle age)

[Those people think now that they are more Basque than the Basques themselves. Anyway, in that town they've always been changing sides. Now, because I don't know who says so, we have to be Basque willy-nilly. They put their *ikastola* school, didn't they. So they must be happy. So they should let us alone, our own way, and we'll manage]

These examples reflect widely held views, and reveal the conflicting identities operating in the area. In Rioja Alavesa, intergroup relations seem to be guided by a perceived mutual threat. Liebkind (1989) indicates that majorities, as well as minorities, can be psychologically secure or insecure, and these psychological states influence intergroup relations. Conflict seems to emerge in the relationship between an insecure majority and an increasingly secure minority. Both the insecure majority and the secure minority show a strong defensive ingroup identification. The majority group shows a general rejection of the minority demands, while the latter group seeks social recognition.

In Rioja Alavesa, as in many areas in the Basque Country, the conflict around Basque has focused especially on the education system. Indeed, the implementation of bilingual teaching models in the local schools is the most salient aspect of the language revitalization efforts in the area. Curiously, those who broadly support such efforts and those who, overtly or covertly, oppose them, agree that the influence of ideological forces outside the region has had negative effects. However, they put the blame in different places. Those opposed mainly blame, in general terms, 'the nationalists' and the 'Basque government' (of the BAC):

"Es que aquí los nacionalistas nos meten un bombardeo impresionante. Desde el gobierno vasco nos han metido que el euskera es nuestra lengua, que nuestra cultura es la vasca, que el euskera ha estado oprimido y que ahora hay que recuperarlo, y esto y lo otro. Y con ese bombardeo nos han convencido, nos han metido presión para que apoyemos el tema del euskera, la ikastola..."
(female, younger age)

[Here nationalists are bombarding us badly. From the Basque government they are constantly telling us that Basque is our language, that our culture is the Basque that Basque has been oppressed and now we must revitalize it, and so on. And with this bombardment they have convinced us, they have put pressure on us to back the issue of Basque, the *ikastola* school...]

In such sectors, there is a deep suspicion that language planning efforts, with the excuse of promoting Basque, follow a hidden political agenda. In this sense, the introduction of Basque in the schools and, more specifically, the establishment of *ikastola* schools in the

region, are widely perceived as a Trojan horse for the introduction of nationalist ideas. A mother in Oion illustrated such view by explaining her personal experience:

“Yo amo el euskera, y te digo la verdad: yo llevaba a mi hijo a la ikastola, pero lo saque de allí, porque vi unas cosas que no podían ser. Te podría contar mil cosas, pero todas del mismo estilo. Por ejemplo, en los libros de historia no se enseña quién era Isabel La Católica, a los niños no se les enseñan cosas así de la historia de España. Tampoco se les enseña el mapa de España, y esto, que yo sepa, es España, ¿no? Yo me siento vasca, muy vasca, esto es Euskal Herria, pero también España. El problema es que la política está muy metida en la ikastola. Todo es política, sino el 100%, el 99%” (female, middle age)

[I love Basque, and I'll tell you the truth: I used to take my son to the *ikastola* school, but I took him out, because I saw some things that weren't right. I could tell you a thousand things, but all of them of a similar character. For example, in history books children aren't taught who Queen Isabel the Catholic was, they don't learn things like that of the history of Spain. They are not taught the map of Spain either, and this, as far as I know, is Spain, isn't it. I feel Basque, very Basque, this is Euskal Herria (the Basque Country), but also Spain. The problem is that politics is very much inside the *ikastola* school. Everything is politics, if not 100% then 99%]

The education system in the BAC is an oft-treated topic in the Spanish media, most of times on a highly negative tone. The general criticism is that schools, and especially the *ikastola* schools, are used to ideologically influence students in favour of nationalist ideas. It is argued, for example, that history is manipulated to show the Basque Country as a nation historically oppressed by the Spanish State. In this sense, the schoolbooks have come under close scrutiny, and their contents are regularly displayed in the Spanish media as the ultimate proof of nationalist manipulation. The most excitable opinions describe *ikastola* schools as instigators of violent separatism and even hotbeds of ETA (see Jakin, 2001). Language loyalists generally see such attacks as desperate attempts to stop the promotion of Basque by linking the language with potentially damaging political considerations. A model B teacher in Eltziego describes the effects of such attacks thus:

“Hemen beste gauza bat dago oso inportantea, azken aldiko eraso mediatikoa. Euskararen kontrako eraso horrek oso eragin handia izan du. Hori oso deskaratua izan da, eta testu-liburuen

kontua, ikastolen aurkako kaka guztiak eragin handia izan du inguru honetan.” (male, younger age)

[Here there is another very important thing, the recent media attacks. Those attacks against Basque have had a great influence. That has been blatant, and attacks against schoolbooks, and all the rubbish against the ikastola schools, have had a massive influence here]

In Rioja Alavesa, conflict around certain aspects of language policies often conceals wider ideological and political clashes. The bitterness of the debate on education seems to reflect the atmosphere of increasing political tension in which the Basque society in general is immersed.

5.7. Summary of the Chapter

In recent times, Rioja Alavesa is experiencing a slow but steady process of language change. In this largely Spanish-monolingual region, attempts to reintroduce Basque are being made, especially through the education system. In this chapter, perceptions of the local population about the evolution of Basque in the area have been analyzed.

The situation of the Basque language in Rioja Alavesa has been explored, mainly focusing on the knowledge of Basque and its use. In this region, Basque is chiefly a school phenomenon, and its presence is minimal in the wider community. Local teachers express a certain degree of frustration for the lack of use of Basque, but they also recognize the difficulties of changing language behaviour, given the dominance of Spanish in all social domains.

Parental choice has a large influence in the evolution of the bilingual teaching models in the BAC. In this chapter, opinions of local mothers with children in all models – A, B and D – were sought. Mothers expressed their views about the presence in Basque in education. Some of them also voiced their doubts and concerns about the effect of children being taught in two languages on their academic development. While attitudes towards the

teaching of Basque were variegated, most mothers expressed favourable attitudes towards the teaching of English.

In this chapter, particular emphasis has been given to the singularity of the region. For example, geographical dispersion, as well as the lack of a nearby area in which relationships can be developed in Basque, is seen as a hindrance by local Basque promoters. The capital city of the province, Gasteiz-Vitoria, is around 50 km. away, and the nearest city, Logroño, is the main area of economic influence in the region. In this city, which belongs to the Autonomous Community of La Rioja, anti-Basque feelings are particularly strong in some sectors. All these factors have an impact in Rioja Alavesa.

In the BAC, attitudes to Basque are often associated with explicit ideologies that accompany language revitalization. Pro-Euskara and anti-Euskara attitudes have been examined through the discourses developed by each group. As defined by Martínez de Luna and Jausoro (1998), the pro-Basque group has elaborated a 'wish discourse', while those more unfavourable to the language have developed a 'reality discourse'.

This chapter has attempted to capture the complex nature of the process of language change in Rioja Alavesa. Many different issues have been analyzed, which need further consideration. An assessment of the successes and failures of language recovery in Rioja Alavesa will be made in the final chapter.

Chapter Six

ANALYSYS OF THE RESULTS: FREQUENCIES

6.1. Introduction

This chapter seeks to analyse the overall results obtained from all respondents of the questionnaire as a way of understanding basic trends in the data. Presenting the frequencies at this stage is important because they provide a portrayal of all students in relation to the research issues. The results will be presented under separate subheadings, each of which correspond to a different area researched: language profile of students, students' social network, language use and language domains, attitudes towards bilingualism and Basque, perceptions of language vitality in the Basque Autonomous Community and Rioja Alavesa, and ethnolinguistic and ethnocultural identity and intergroup relations.

The results of this chapter derive from a univariate statistical analysis of the data from the questionnaire. The statistical analyses were performed using SPSS version 10 (The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) on a PC.

6.2. The frequencies

6.2.1. Students' language profile

Students were asked to evaluate their linguistic abilities in Basque, Spanish, English and French, and in any other language(s) they might command. They were requested to self-report their abilities to speak, understand, read and write in each of those languages on a five point scale (fluent; quite well; some; a little; none). A language profile of the students might help investigate the potential interdependence in the competence of the different languages. The results are shown in percentages in the following table:

Table 6.1: Frequencies of linguistic abilities (%)

	Fluent	Quite well	Some	A little	None
I am able to speak Basque	27.2	46.6	19.8	4.7	1.7
I am able to understand Basque	49.1	37.1	9.1	3.4	1.3
I am able to read in Basque	49.8	38.1	9.5	1.3	1.3
I am able to write in Basque	33.6	49.1	13.4	2.6	1.3
I am able to speak Spanish	84.5	14.7	0.9	0.0	0.0
I am able to understand Spanish	91.8	7.8	0.4	0.0	0.0
I am able to read in Spanish	87.1	12.1	0.9	0.0	0.0
I am able to write in Spanish	78.9	19.8	1.3	0.0	0.0
I am able to speak English	2.2	19.0	45.7	26.7	6.5
I am able to understand English	5.6	26.3	37.9	25.4	4.7
I am able to read in English	7.8	31.5	40.9	16.8	3.0
I am able to write in English	3.9	26.7	43.5	21.1	4.7
I am able to speak French	1.3	5.2	12.5	24.1	56.9
I am able to understand French	3.9	4.3	12.9	21.6	57.3
I am able to read in French	3.9	7.3	12.1	19.0	57.8
I am able to write in French	2.6	6.9	9.5	23.3	57.8
Other languages					
I am able to speak...	0.9	0.0	0.0	1.3	97.8
I am able to understand...	1.3	0.4	0.9	1.7	95.7
I am able to read in...	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.4	97.0
I am able to write in...	0.0	0.4	1.3	1.3	97.0

Over 70% of students consider they speak, understand, read and write in Basque ‘fluently’ or ‘quite well’. Nearly half of them understand (49.1%) and read (49.8%) Basque ‘fluently’ and over another third ‘quite well’. These percentages have parallels with the ability to speak and write in Basque. Around half of the students are able to speak (46.6%) and write (49.1%) in Basque ‘quite well’, while 27.2% and 33.6% of them respectively speak and write it ‘fluently’, respectively. Around one tenth of students are able to understand or read ‘some’ Basque and a slightly higher percentage (13.4%) claim to be able to write ‘some’ Basque, whereas one fifth of students (19.8) speak ‘some’ Basque. Very few students claim to speak (6.4%), understand (4.7%), read (2.6%) and write (3.9%) only ‘a little’ or ‘none’ of Basque. Not surprisingly, nearly all students claim to be able to speak, understand, read and write in Spanish ‘fluently’ or ‘quite well’. No student claimed to know ‘a little’ or ‘none’ of Spanish.

When reporting their linguistic abilities in English, the students claim a moderate command of the language. The highest percentages correspond to those who report speaking, understanding, reading and writing some English (45.7%, 37.9%, 40.9% and 43.5%,

respectively). Almost a fifth (19%) report speaking English quite well, a fourth understanding (26.3%) and writing (26.7%) it quite well, and nearly a third (31.5%) reading it quite well. Around one third of the students report speaking and understanding a little or no English (33.2% and 30.1%). 25.8% and 19.8% of the students claim to be able to write and read a little or no English respectively. Finally, a small minority report being fluent in English, ranging from the 2.2% who are able to speak English to 7.8% who are able to read it. Regarding French, around 80% of students claim to have little or no ability to speak, understand, read or write in French, and another 10% report having some ability in French. The presence of other languages is almost non-existent, therefore no further research on this will be done.

The results in table 6.1 reveal that a notable percentage of students regard their competence in Basque to be rather high. This outcome seems somewhat surprising. In the area where the research was conducted, Spanish is the language of everyday life. Intergenerational transmission of Basque is nearly non-existent, as few people over 40 declare having any knowledge of Basque. Under such conditions, a knowledge of Basque is mostly confined to the younger generations who have acquired competence in the language through the education system. Likewise, the teaching model in which students have been educated has a considerable influence in the level of competence they achieve.

In the present study, 48.3% of the pupils were studying in model A, 9.1% in model B and 42.7% in model D. Etxeberria (1999), after analysing some forty studies on pre-university education in the last twenty-five years in the BAC, drew some alarming conclusions. Only model D guarantees a good enough level of competence to be able to go on studying under model D in secondary education. Model B ensures a quite good level of competence in the primary school, but it does not ensure a conversational level of Basque. Finally, students in model A barely reach a rudimentary colloquial level of Basque and are generally incapable of using Basque as a learning tool in the classroom. These results are all the more significant in the case of Rioja Alavesa, where, given that the social context does not favour the use of Basque, the language is closely associated with the school environment. Thus, in

this research students were expected to claim a lower competence of Basque, in accordance to the teaching model in which they are being educated.

One explanation to this may rest on the limitations frequently encountered with measuring language competence. Baker (2001: 28-30) lists these limitations, some of which appear relevant to this study:

- 1) Social desirability: respondents may consciously or unconsciously give an up-lifting version of themselves for self-esteem or status reasons.
- 2) Questions about proficiency can be regarded as political referendum or attitudinal questions.
- 3) Acquiescent response: respondents might prefer to answer positively rather than negatively.
- 4) Self-awareness: a self-rating depends on sound knowledge about oneself. In this case, for example, classmates who are not so fluent may have acted as the frame of reference. When compared to children in another community, apparent fluency may be less. A person may also self-rate on surface fluency and not be aware of much less fluency in cognitively demanding language tasks, or vice versa (see Cummins, 2000).

The results in table 6.1 also show that respondents rate their receptive skills higher than productive skills (see Baker, 2001). Almost half of the respondents claim to be able to read (49.8%) and understand (49.1%) Basque 'fluently', whereas 33.6% are able to write and 27.2% to speak in Basque 'fluently'. The results may suggest that those who claim to speak, understand, read and write in Basque 'fluently' or 'quite well' include bilinguals and passive bilinguals. Indeed, the characteristics ascribed to passive bilinguals in the 1996 Sociolinguistic Survey (Eusko Jauriaritza/Gobierno Vasco, Nafarroako Gobernua/Gobierno de Navarra and Euskal Kultur Erakundea/ Institut Culturel Basque, 1996) coincide with those of many bilinguals in the Rioja area: they are predominantly young, most of them have Spanish as their first language, and their family and nearby community is mainly non-Basque speaking.

As an important part of their language background, students were also asked about the language they learnt first (Spanish, Basque, both or others). The responses are shown in the table below.

Table 6.2: Frequencies of first language of students (%)

Basque %	Spanish %	Both %	Others %
4.3	81.9	12.5	1.3

Four out of every five of the students (81.9%) have Spanish as their first and only language, while 4.3% have Basque. 12.5% claim to have both Basque and Spanish as their first language, and 1.3% have another language as their first language. If the percentages of students whose first language is only Basque or Basque and Spanish (16.8%) and the linguistic competence of their parents is compared (see tables 6.3 and 6.4), the results reflect that parents are aware of the importance of the intergenerational transmission of Basque.

6.2.2. Students’ social network

Relationships with other individuals operate through language. A network is constituted by a group of people within a community who are regularly in contact and who communicate with each other in a relatively stable and enduring manner (Baker and Jones, 1998: 704). Thus the individual’s social network could be defined as ‘the sum of all the interpersonal relations one individual establishes with others over time’ (Hamers and Blanc, 1989: 70). These networks provide functional and formal linguistic models and transmit societal values, attitudes and perceptions connected with language and its users (Hamers and Blanc, 1989).

Respondents were asked to assess the linguistic competence of those within their most immediate circle of relations. Information was required about what, according to Fishman (1991), remains the backbone of language transmission: the family-home-neighbourhood-community interactions.

6.2.2.1. Parents and family profile

The language profile of parents and other family members was requested. Special attention was accorded to the language competence of parents, as it may largely determine the language background of the family and condition intergenerational transmission. Therefore, students were asked to report on their parents’ abilities to speak Spanish, Basque, English and other languages on a five point scale. The choices were ‘fluently’, ‘quite well’, ‘some’, ‘a little’ and ‘none’. The results are shown below (table 6.3). Additionally, information about the parents’ first language was requested, in an attempt to gain insights into language transmission across different generations in the family (table 6.4).

Table 6.3. Frequencies of linguistic competence of parents (%)

	Fluently	Quite well	Some	A little	None
FATHER					
Spanish	84.4	12.6	3.0	0.0	0.0
Basque	1.7	2.6	2.6	28.6	64.5
English	0.4	0.9	2.2	12.6	84.0
Others	1.7	4.3	2.2	9.5	82.3
MOTHER					
Spanish	87.1	12.9	0.0	0.0	0.0
Basque	3.9	4.3	9.5	25.0	57.3
English	1.3	1.3	3.4	9.9	84.1
Others	2.6	2.6	3.9	6.5	84.5

Table 6.4. Frequencies of first language of parents (%)

	Basque %	Spanish %	Both %	Others %
Father	0.9	95.7	0.9	2.6
Mother	1.7	94.4	1.3	2.6

Practically all parents speak Spanish fluently or quite well. Those who speak Basque fluently or quite well are small in number, being 4.3% of fathers and 8.2% of mothers. Over 30% of the fathers (31.2%) and the mothers (34.5%) speak some or a little Basque. 64.5% of the fathers and 57.3 of the mothers know no Basque at all. There are no big differences

in competence in Basque between fathers and mothers, but the latter rate is slightly higher. This tendency can also be seen in the responses to table 4. While 1.8% of the fathers had Basque as their first language, that percentage rises to 3.0% in the case of mothers.

Competence in English and other languages is generally low. As in the case of Basque, most parents know no English or other languages. Compared to Basque, the main difference lies in that the percentage of parents who know some or a little English and other languages is relatively lower (14.8% and 11.7% of fathers, and 13.3% and 10.4% of mothers, respectively).

Students were also asked which family members are able to speak Basque. The purpose of the question was to assess language competence within the family as a predictor of further language choice and usage. Thus, the language ability of father, mother, siblings and grandparents (father’s mother; father’s father; mother’s father; mother’s mother) was requested. The results are shown below.

Table 6.5. Frequencies of ability to speak Basque of family members (%)

	Fluent	Quite well	Some	A little	None
Mother	3.9	4.3	9.5	25.0	57.3
Father	1.7	2.6	2.6	28.6	64.5
Siblings	32.9	28.6	22.5	5.6	10.3
Grandparents					
Father’s mother	2.6	0.4	0.9	4.0	92.1
Father’s father	1.8	0.9	1.4	3.2	92.7
Mother’s father	4.1	0.5	0.5	5.1	89.9
Mother’s mother	3.6	0.5	0.5	5.9	89.6

The results show a constant increase in a knowledge of Basque across generations. Thus, while around 90% of grandparents knew no Basque at all, that percentage decreases to around 60% in the parents (57.3% of mothers and 64.5% of fathers). One fourth of the parents are able to speak a little Basque. The percentage of parents who speak Basque fluently or quite well is still rather small (8.2% of mothers and 4.3% of fathers). However, a

remarkable change has occurred in the younger generation. 61.5% of the respondents' siblings are able to speak Basque fluently or quite well, while only 10.3% of them know no Basque.

The table (6.5) also shows a higher ability to speak Basque by mothers than by fathers. Among parents, 17.7% of mothers speak Basque fluently, quite well or some, whereas less fathers (6.9%) show the same level of competence. This data may be significant, since mothers have been traditionally more involved in the upbringing and education of their children than fathers, and have therefore a larger potential influence in the transmission of languages.

6.2.2.2. The nearby community

Students were asked about the ability of their friends, neighbours, classmates and people who served them in local shops and pubs in speaking Basque. Specifically, they were asked how many of them were able to speak Basque. The choices were 'all or almost all of them', 'the majority of them', 'around half of them', 'a few of them' and 'none or almost none of them'. The results are presented in percentages in the table below.

Table 6.6. Frequencies of ability to speak Basque of the nearby community (%)

	Friends	Neighbours	Classmates	Local shops and pubs
All or almost all of them	37.0	1.3	62.3	1.8
The majority of them	31.3	4.8	20.6	1.8
Around half of them	12.2	17.1	6.1	5.7
A few of them	13.0	46.5	5.7	30.3
None or almost none of them	6.5	30.3	5.33	60.5

Most of the respondents claim that 'all or almost all' or 'the majority' of their friends and classmates are able to speak Basque (68.3% and 82.9%, respectively). 62.3% of the respondents state that 'all or almost all' of their classmates are Basque-speaking. In

comparison, the majority of respondents consider that only a few or none or almost none of their neighbours (76.8%) and the people who serve them in the local shops and pubs (90.8%) speak Basque.

The results reflect the generation difference regarding competence in Basque and its close connection with the school environment. The highest percentages of Basque speakers are found in the younger generations, represented in this case by the friends and classmates of the respondents. It may be presumed that these two categories superimpose to a large extent on each other, as many of the respondents' friends are, at the same time, classmates, and vice versa. Respondents regard the majority of neighbours and people in local shops and pubs as non Basque-speakers, especially the latter. 46.5% of respondents claim that a few of the former speak Basque, and a 17.1% that around half of them do, whereas 90.8% of respondents consider than 'none or almost none' or few in the local shops and pubs speak the language. Neighbours include members of the younger generations who have been educated, to different extents, in Basque, while people in charge of local shops and pubs represent their parents' generation.

6.2.3. Language use and language domains

In the above sections, the situation concerning knowledge of Basque and other languages has been described. This is important, since without knowledge it would be impossible to use the language. However, knowledge without use would also be incomplete. As Sánchez Carrión (1991) states, a sufficient level of use is necessary for a person to become a "complete speaker".

Not all bilinguals have the possibility to use both their languages on a regular basis. That is the case in Rioja Alavesa, a largely monolingual community where there is little choice to use Basque in everyday life. The previous section has described a situation of a low density of Basque speakers. Having a Basque-speaking network, especially within the family and the nearby community but also in more formal environments, is a most influential factor affecting use of Basque, according to results of the 1996 Sociolinguistic Survey. Relatively

higher or lower linguistic competence in Basque with respect to Spanish comes second in importance to living in a Basque-speaking environment. This factor also needs to be taken into account when analyzing the results, since most of respondents report a higher competence in Spanish as compared to Basque. As a consequence, a general low level in the use of Basque is expected.

In this section, the extent of domain use of Basque will be analyzed. The notion of ‘social domain’ relates to a particular aspect, area or activity of a person’s life and experience. Different language domains may influence which language a bilingual uses (Baker and Jones, 1998: 52).

Respondents were asked how often they spoke Basque in three main contexts: within the family, at school and outside home and school. They were also asked about their willingness to use Basque, and confidence in their ability to use Basque, in different situations outside home and school. Finally, they were requested to report how much time they spend watching Basque/Spanish TV programs.

First, students were asked how often they used Basque at home with their mothers, fathers, siblings and grandparents, and at mealtimes. The choices were ‘always’, ‘often’, ‘sometimes’ and ‘never’. The results are presented in the table below.

Table 6.7. Frequencies of use of Basque at home (%)

	Always	Often	Sometimes	Never
With your mother	0.9	1.5	15.9	81.5
With your father	0.4	1.7	10.0	87.8
With your siblings	1.4	12.0	43.8	42.9
With your grandparents	0.9	1.3	7.1	90.7
At mealtimes	0.4	1.3	17.1	81.1

Over 80% of the respondents never speak Basque with their parents and grandparents, and at mealtimes. Around 2% of the students speak Basque always or often, and the remainder do so sometimes. In comparison, use of Basque is remarkably higher among siblings.

While 42.9% of the respondents never speak in Basque with their siblings, 43.8% of them speak sometimes in Basque, and 12.0% often. 1.4% of respondents claim to speak in Basque ‘always’ with their siblings.

According to the 1996 Sociolinguistic Survey, Basque is only spoken within the family when all or almost all the members know the language. Taking this information into account, and if we compare these results with those about the ability to speak Basque of family members (see table 6.5), the reported use of Basque within the family may be considered as higher than expected. In this sense, that 17.1% speak sometimes in Basque at mealtimes, when family members get together, seems especially relevant. However, only 1.7% of the students speak in Basque at mealtimes ‘always’ or ‘often’. Such a difference may indicate that among those respondents claiming to speak in Basque ‘sometimes’ at mealtimes, those who speak the language very occasionally or rarely are included.

Students were also asked how often they spoke Basque at school with teachers, with friends in the classroom, and with friends in the playground. The responses are shown in percentages in the table below.

Table 6.8. Frequencies of use of Basque at school (%)

	Always	Often	Sometimes	Never
With teachers	31.5	26.7	27.6	14.2
With friends (classroom)	0.4	11.2	48.7	39.7
With friends (playground)	0.0	1.3	26.7	72.0

31.5% of the students reported that they always speak in Basque with their teachers. A further 54.3% speak in Basque with them often or sometimes. Only 14.2% of the students never speak in Basque with their teachers. The results also show that 59.9% of the students speak in Basque with their friends in the classroom ‘often’ (11.2%) or ‘sometimes’ (48.7%). Almost 40% of them never speak in Basque with their friends in the classroom. In the playground, 72.0% of the students never speak in Basque with their friends, but 26.7% of them sometimes do. Only 1.3% of the students speak in Basque in the playground

‘often’, and nobody does so ‘always’. However, it should be remembered that this is verbal behaviour, which is not necessarily the same as actual behaviour.

The results show a gradation in the use of Basque in different spheres of the school life. Basque is used more when there is a sense of obligation to use it, or a classroom control in favour of its use. Thus, use of Basque is highest when speaking with teachers, many of whom, especially in the Basque-medium teaching models, only converse with students in that language. In such models, use of Basque is actively encouraged within the classroom, and over half of the students use it at some point. Basque is least used in the playground, where control over language use is less possible. Even so, over a quarter of the students speak in Basque ‘sometimes’ in the playground.

Students were requested to report how much time they spend watching TV programs in Spanish and in Basque. The choices were ‘all the time’, ‘most of the time’, ‘some of the time’ and ‘none of the time’. The results are shown in percentages in the table below.

Table 6.9. Frequencies of response to watching Basque/Spanish TV programs (%)

	All the time	Most of the time	Some of the time	None of the time
Programs in Spanish	51.7	43.5	4.3	0.4
Programs in Basque	1.3	19.0	71.1	8.6

According to the results, 95.2% of the students watch programs in Spanish all the time or most of the time. 71.1% of them watch programs in Basque some of the time, and a further 19.0% most of the time.

When analyzing the results, a note should be made about the TV offerings in both Basque and Spanish. There is only one TV channel – ETB1 – that offers all its programs in Basque, and viewers have free access to five channels in Spanish. It is interesting though that only 8.6% of them do not watch programs in Basque at all. In a non Basque-speaking area like Rioja Alavesa, where knowledge of Basque and the possibility of using it in social life is so limited, television is often a student’s main link with Basque outside school. It provides them with an opportunity to improve their ability to use the language and to engage in a

relatively informal linguistic experience. Furthermore, for many people it is a major means of acquiring a perception of the Basque language in society (Eusko Jauriaritza, 1998).

Students were also asked about their use of Basque outside home and school in different situations: with friends, with neighbours, in the pub or cafeteria, in leisure/sports/cultural activities, in the local shop, in the market, with the priest (in church), and with the local doctor or at the local hospital. They were asked how often they speak Basque in those situations on a four point scale (always; often; sometimes; never). Respondents who reported could not speak Basque or never spoke Basque were excluded. The results are presented in the table below.

Table 6.10. Frequencies of use of Basque outside home and school (%)

	Always	Often	Sometimes	Never
With friends	0.0	4.3	45.7	50.0
With neighbours	0.0	0.9	13.0	86.1
In the pub or cafeteria	0.0	0.4	16.4	83.2
In leisure/sports/cultural activities	0.9	3.5	26.0	69.7
In the local shop	0.0	0.0	1.3	98.7
In the market	0.0	0.4	2.2	97.4
With the priest (in church)	0.0	0.0	3.0	97.0
With the local doctor/ At the local hospital	0.0	0.9	3.0	96.1

On the whole, most of the students ‘never’ use Basque in the situations described above. However, half of them claim to use it with their friends sometimes (45.7%) and, to a much lesser extent, often (4.3%). Likewise, 30% of students speak Basque in leisure, sports and cultural, most of them sometimes (26.0%). Interestingly, only 0.9% of them report to speak Basque in those situations ‘always’, unlike in any other situation. Around 15% of respondents speak Basque with neighbours and in the pub or cafeteria. Students almost never use Basque in the local shops, in the market, with the priest, or with the local doctor or at the local hospital.

The results are consistent with a largely monolingual social milieu. It seems that, predictably enough, Basque is spoken to a certain extent only when the young gather together, and especially among friends. A third of students speak some Basque in leisure, sports and cultural activities, and 0.9% of them use it always. This last result is not surprising, as such activities are often promoted by schools in the area, where the presence of Basque is more noticeable. Moreover, some of those activities are directly aimed at encouraging the use of Basque or at promoting Basque culture in the region. Especial efforts are being made, especially in those around model D *ikastola* schools, to extend the use of Basque beyond the school environment. One main challenge for the future is to spread the use of Basque into the community, once the formal linguistic competence of students is partly secured in school.

It must be noted that the percentage of students who speak in Basque ‘always’ or ‘often’ in any of the situations described above is very small. Most of those who claim to speak the language do so ‘sometimes’, and it may be inferred that those who speak in Basque occasionally or rarely are included in this category. Indeed, during the three-month fieldwork period, the experience of the researcher was that, outside the school environment, the presence of Basque was practically non-existent.

The next question requested respondents to assess how often would they use Basque in the same situations, if they had the opportunity to do so.

Table 6.11. Frequencies of potential use of Basque outside home and school (%)

	Always	Often	Sometimes	Never
With friends	25.4	26.3	26.3	22.0
With neighbours	14.7	23.3	29.7	32.3
In the pub or cafeteria	17.0	21.7	29.6	31.7
In leisure/sports/cultural activities	20.8	22.1	32.5	24.7
In the local shop	17.7	17.2	27.2	37.9
In the market	15.1	17.2	26.3	41.4
With the priest (in church)	13.6	12.3	20.6	53.5
With the local doctor/ At the local hospital	15.1	17.7	26.7	40.5

The results are related to the reported actual use of Basque. The more Basque is used, the more it would be used if there were opportunities to do so. More than half of students would speak in Basque always or often with their friends, and around 40% would with their neighbours (38.0%), in the pub or cafeteria (38.7%) and in leisure, sports and cultural activities (42.9%). In all the situations described above, over a quarter of students would speak in Basque always or often if such opportunities were present.

Less than a quarter of the students would never use Basque with friends, and in the pub or a cafeteria. In contrast, around 40% of students would never speak the language in the local shop, in the market and with the local doctor or at the local hospital. More than half of the students (53.5%) would never speak Basque with the priest. This last result may reflect the attitude of some respondents towards the church itself as an institution rather than that towards the use of Basque in that domain.

The difference between actual use of Basque and the will to speak the language if there were the opportunity to do so shows both the precariousness of social networks in which Basque can be spoken naturally if there is a will to use it. However, the results may reflect general attitudes in favour of Basque rather than predicting linguistic behaviour in a more favourable environment.

Finally, respondents were asked about their confidence in using Basque. An additional choice was introduced here -don't know-, given that a number of students were expected to genuinely not know how confident they were in certain situations, as their ability to use Basque had probably not been tested in some of these contexts.

Table 6.12. Frequencies of confidence in the use of Basque outside home and school (%)

	Very	Fairly	Not very	Not at all	Don't know
With friends	39.8	25.1	9.5	8.7	16.9
With neighbours	10.1	18.4	12.7	29.8	28.9
In the pub or cafeteria	8.3	17.1	16.2	25.9	32.5
In leisure/sports/cultural activities	14.9	23.7	14.9	18.0	28.5
In the local shop	7.9	12.3	14.0	28.5	37.3
In the market	5.8	11.1	11.1	26.7	45.3
With the priest (in church)	6.3	9.4	8.5	24.2	51.6
With the local doctor/ At the local hospital	7.0	10.9	12.2	26.6	43.2

When analyzing the results, some prior considerations need to be stated. First, responses to the question may address two different but interrelated issues: the personal confidence with the interlocutor in the situations described, and the confidence in their ability to speak the language in those defined situations. Second, a high percentage of students did not know, as was expected, how confident they were in certain situations, especially in those were they actually made less use of Basque. However, to choose this option might be itself considered partly as a sign of low confidence to speak the language.

Students report being relatively confident in their ability to use Basque with their friends: 39.8% of them are very confident, and a further 25.1% fairly confident. Those students who were very or fairly confident in their ability to use Basque in leisure, sports and cultural activities and with neighbours account for 38.6% and 28.5% of responses respectively, while 25.4% of them are very or fairly confident in speaking Basque with their neighbours. In the remaining situations, less than a quarter of students are very or fairly confident in

speaking Basque. Again, students are least confident in their ability to use the language with a priest.

6.2.4. Attitudes towards bilingualism and Basque

Attitude is a term very widely used and, at the same time, a rather elusive one. A number of definitions have been attempted to capture the complex nature of attitude. In Allport's (1954: 45) classic definition, an attitude is "a mental and neural state of readiness, organized through experience, exerting a directive of dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related". Definitions of attitudes differ in terms of their generality and specificity (Gardner, 1985:9). In this respect, Ajzen (1988: 4) defines attitude as "a disposition to respond favourably or unfavourably to an object, person, institution, or event".

Baker (1992: 9-10) gives three reasons why attitudes are important. First, the term attitude is not a jargon word confined to specialist groups, but it is commonly used by the public. This allows bridges to be built between research and practice, theory and policy. Second, attitudes indicate community thoughts, beliefs, preferences and desires, and provide a measure of the health of the language. Attitude surveys may be useful to detect changing beliefs. Therefore, attitudes have to be taken into account in areas such as language policy. Third, the concept of attitude has proven its utility in theory and research, policy and practice over time.

In this section, an attempt to analyze both attitudes to bilingualism, involving Basque and Spanish, and attitudes to a language, in this case Basque, is made. The aim is to combine a holistic approach to bilingualism with a more specific one focused on a particular language, in order to offer a wider perspective regarding attitudes and language.

6.2.4.1. Attitudes towards bilingualism

The items presented in the table below (6.13) outline an integrated view, as opposed to a monolingual or fractional view of bilingualism. This approach is based on the assumption that “a bilingual is not two monolinguals in one frame, but a unity uniquely different from a monolingual” (Baker, 1992).

In this section, students were requested to give their opinion about a number of statements on a five-point scale (Strongly Agree = SA, Agree = A, Neither Agree nor Disagree = NAND, Disagree = D, Strongly Disagree = SD).

Table 6.13. Frequencies of attitudes towards bilingualism (%)

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. It is important to be able to speak Spanish and Basque.	62.5	26.3	9.5	0.4	1.3
2. To speak one language in the BAC is all that is needed.	6.9	15.2	23.8	26.8	27.3
3. Children get confused when learning Basque and Spanish at the same time.	6.5	14.2	22.0	21.6	35.8
4. Speaking both Spanish and Basque helps to get a job.	56.0	28.0	12.5	2.2	1.3
5. Being able to write in Spanish and Basque is important.	51.5	29.4	15.6	3.0	0.4
6. All schools in the BAC should teach pupils to speak in Basque and Spanish.	47.2	21.6	19.9	6.1	5.2
7. Road signs should be in Spanish and Basque.	33.2	18.5	30.6	8.2	9.5
8. Speaking two languages is not difficult.	44.8	30.2	18.5	3.4	3.0
9. Children in the BAC should learn to read in Basque and Spanish.	48.9	24.9	19.7	3.1	3.5
10. There should be more people who speak both Spanish and Basque in the government services.	38.5	26.0	30.3	3.5	1.7
11. People know more if they speak in Spanish and Basque.	22.5	18.6	27.7	16.0	15.2
12. Speaking both Spanish and Basque is more for younger than older people.	8.8	9.2	18.9	23.2	39.9
13. The public advertising should be bilingual.	31.4	25.3	30.6	7.4	5.2
14. Speaking both Basque and Spanish should help people get promotion in their job.	27.8	25.7	28.3	10.9	7.4
15. Young children learn to speak Spanish and Basque at the same time with ease.	48.9	27.7	15.6	5.6	2.2

16. Both Basque and Spanish should be important in the BAC.	41.3	36.1	14.8	4.3	3.5
17. People can earn more money if they speak both Spanish and Basque.	15.7	16.6	39.7	15.3	12.7
18. In the future, I would like to be considered as speaker of Basque and Spanish.	35.4	27.4	27.4	5.3	4.4
19. All people in the BAC should speak Spanish and Basque.	32.0	21.5	22.8	14.9	8.8
20. If I have children, I would want them to speak both Basque and Spanish.	56.8	21.8	16.6	2.2	2.6
21. Both the Spanish and the Basque languages can live together in the BAC.	50.9	28.7	13.9	3.5	3.0
22. People only need to know one language.	8.3	6.1	17.9	23.1	44.5
23. All the civil servants in the BAC should be bilingual.	35.4	18.3	33.2	5.7	7.4

The results show that general attitudes towards bilingualism are highly positive. Most of the students (88.8%) ‘strongly agree’ or ‘agree’ with the statement that it is important to be able to speak both Basque and Spanish. Likewise, a slightly lower percentage of students (79.9% combining ‘strongly agree’ and ‘agree’) consider that it is important to be able to write in Spanish and Basque. A large majority (77.4%) supported the statement that both Basque and Spanish should be important in the BAC, as well as that both the Spanish and the Basque languages can live together in the BAC (79.6%). Moreover, students disapproved of negative statements to bilingualism. Statements such as ‘people only need to know one language’ and ‘to speak one language in the BAC is all that is needed’ were objected to by the majority of students (77.6% and 54.1% respectively, combining ‘disagree’ and ‘strongly disagree’).

The table (6.13) also suggests that the attitudes in favour of learning Basque and Spanish are dominant. Students disagreed with the statement that ‘children get confused when learning Basque and Spanish at the same time’ (57.4% combining ‘disagree’ and ‘strongly disagree’). On the contrary, they considered that ‘young children learn to speak Spanish and Basque at the same time with ease’ (76.6%). Similarly, the majority of students (75.0%) believed that ‘speaking two languages is not difficult’. Likewise, the importance of the role of schools in promoting bilingualism was also acknowledged. The majority of students (68.8%) thought that ‘all schools in the BAC should teach pupils to speak in

Basque and Spanish'. In the same vein, most of them (73.8%) considered that 'children in the BAC should learn to read in Basque and Spanish'.

Statements concerning bilingualism in the wider society were also presented. A large majority of students (84.0%) believed that 'speaking both Basque and Spanish helps to get a job'. Nevertheless, only 32.3% of them considered that 'people can earn more money if they speak both Spanish and Basque'. The apparent contradiction in these responses may be due to the special socio-economic characteristics of the area in which the research was conducted. Rioja is a rich winemaking region where knowledge of languages has rarely been an issue in terms of getting a job. The first response may express a general belief, while the second may refer to a reality or a specific economic environment.

Significantly, the option 'neither agree nor disagree' was most widely chosen when students were asked about their opinion about favouring a bilingual society. Around 30% of respondents made use of this option in each statement, possibly reflecting certain attitudinal ambivalence. Students appear to have generally positive attitudes on this issue, but show some reservations around its social consequences. Thus, despite the majority considering that being bilingual helps to get a job, just over half of students (53.5%) believe that 'speaking both Basque and Spanish should help people get promotion in their job'.

Overall, favourable attitudes towards the implementation of bilingualism in society prevail. The majority of respondents considered that 'road signs should be in Spanish and Basque' (51.7%), 'there should be more people who speak both Spanish and Basque in the government services' (64.5%), 'public advertising should be bilingual' (56.7%), and that 'all the civil servants in the BAC should be bilingual' (53.7%).

Bilingualism was favoured on items regarding the future. 62.8% of students declared that, in the future, they would like to be considered as speakers of Basque and Spanish, and 88.6% of them stated that, if they had children, they would want them to speak both Basque and Spanish.

6.2.4.2. Attitudes towards the Basque language

In this section attitudes towards the Basque language are examined. Attitudes to a specific language comprise a major sphere of activity with a long tradition of research. The research usually focuses on the favourable or unfavourable nature of attitudes towards a specific language. Here the focus is on attitudes of second language speakers to their minority language. In this case, attitudes towards learning the minority language gain special relevance.

As previously, students were presented a number of statements, and they were asked to give their opinion about them on a five-point scale (Strongly Agree = SA, Agree = A, Neither Agree nor Disagree = NAND, Disagree = D, Strongly Disagree = SD).

Table 6.14. Frequencies of attitudes towards Basque (%)

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. Basque is a difficult language to learn.	10.0	21.6	21.2	24.2	22.9
2. It is more important to know English than Basque.	22.2	18.3	23.9	16.5	19.1
3. Basque is a language worth learning.	52.8	36.8	8.2	0.9	1.3
4. There are far more useful languages to learn than Basque.	15.2	18.3	35.2	15.7	15.7
5. I don't want to learn Basque as I am not likely to ever use it.	3.5	3.0	13.9	27.3	52.4
6. I would like to be able to speak Basque if it were easier to learn.	19.3	24.3	35.3	8.3	12.8
7. I like to hear Basque spoken.	43.5	27.0	20.0	4.3	5.2
8. It is particularly necessary for the children to learn Basque in the schools to ensure its maintenance.	48.0	27.8	19.8	1.8	2.6
9. Basque is an obsolete language.	9.6	8.3	23.5	23.5	35.2
10. I should like to be able to read books in Basque.	36.0	28.4	27.5	3.6	4.5
11. Learning Basque is boring but necessary.	7.9	10.1	31.6	25.0	25.4
12. I would like to learn as much Basque as possible.	54.5	26.0	15.2	2.6	1.7
13. The learning of Basque should be left to individual choice.	36.9	26.7	20.0	7.6	8.9
14. I like speaking Basque.	41.9	29.3	20.5	4.4	3.9
15. Basque is a language for farmers.	6.5	11.3	17.7	19.9	44.6
16. I would like to learn Basque because my friends are doing that.	14.0	10.4	30.3	22.2	23.1
17. Learning Basque is a waste of time.	3.5	3.5	10.9	19.1	63.0

18. Basque should be used more in the government services.	32.6	27.8	25.1	10.1	4.4
19. I dislike learning Basque.	5.8	4.9	16.4	26.5	46.5
20. I am learning Basque because my parents want me to.	8.3	8.3	16.2	21.1	46.1
21. I enjoy learning Basque.	36.7	24.5	28.8	3.9	6.1
22. Basque is a language to be spoken only within the family and with friends.	1.8	1.3	10.1	34.6	52.2
23. The Basque language is something everybody should be proud of.	40.9	25.7	24.3	6.1	3.0
24. I like listening to TV/radio programs in Basque.	30.4	32.6	27.0	4.8	5.2

The dominant attitude is one of favourability towards the Basque language. A vast majority of pupils (89.6% combining ‘strongly agree’ and ‘agree’) considered that ‘Basque is a language worth learning’ and the statement that ‘learning Basque was a waste of time’ was rejected by most of the students (82.1%). 73% disagreed with the statement ‘I dislike learning Basque’(combining ‘disagree’ and ‘strongly disagree’). 61.2% of pupils enjoyed learning Basque, despite the percentage of those who disagreed with the statement that ‘Basque is a difficult language to learn’ being somewhat lower (47.1%). Students rejected the notion that they were learning Basque because of parents and friends.

Nevertheless, there were more students (40.5%) who supported that ‘it is more important to know English than Basque’ than those who disagreed with it (35.6%). Moreover, slightly more people (33.5%) believed that ‘there are far more useful languages to learn than Basque’ than objected to it (31.4%). These results suggest that Basque is seen as less advantageous a language than others, particularly English, in utilitarian contexts. However, promotion of Basque is supported, and the statement that ‘Basque should be used more in the government services’ is clearly supported (60.4%).

Positive attitudes to Basque seem to be related more to integrative, rather than to instrumental, attitudes. For example, a clear majority of students agreed with the statements that ‘it is particularly necessary for the children to learn Basque in the schools to ensure its maintenance’ (75.8%) and ‘the Basque language is something everybody should be proud of’ (66.6%). Students objected to negative statements about the Basque language, such as

‘Basque is an obsolete language’ (58.7%) ‘Basque is a language for farmers’ (64.5%) and ‘Basque is a language to be spoken only within the family and with friends’ (86.8%).

Students showed positive attitudes towards the use of Basque. There was a clear support for statements such as ‘I like to hear Basque spoken’ (70.5%), ‘I should like to be able to read books in Basque’ (64.4%), ‘I like speaking Basque’ (71.2%) and ‘I like listening to TV/radio programs in Basque’ (63.0). Especially noticeable is the fact that over 70% of the students reported to like speaking Basque, taking into account that use of Basque is very low among them.

Attitudes towards the use of Basque in the future were also favourable. The majority (79.7%) of students disagreed with the statement that ‘I don’t want to learn Basque as I am not likely to ever use it’, and they agreed that they would like to learn as much Basque as possible (80.5%).

6.2.5. Language vitality

Individuals partly relate to others as members of a group. These relations are influenced by a range of sociostructural and situational factors that can affect intergroup contact between speakers of contrasting ethnolinguistic groups. The notion of “ethnolinguistic vitality” was introduced in the late 1970s and provided a conceptual tool to examine the sociostructural variables that influence the strength of ethnolinguistic communities in intergroup contexts (Harwood, Giles, Bourhis, 1994). The vitality of an ethnolinguistic group was defined as “that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and collective entity in intergroup situations” (Giles, Bourhis & Taylor, 1977: 308). According to this theory, the vitality of ethnolinguistic groups was most likely to be influenced by three broad ranges of structural variables: these were demographic, institutional support, and status factors. It was proposed that groups’ strengths and weaknesses in each of these domains provide an approximate classification of ethnolinguistic groups as having low medium or high vitality. Low vitality group members are most likely to assimilate linguistically or cease to exist as a

distinctive collectivity. High vitality group members are most likely to survive as a distinctive collectivity in multilingual settings (Sachdev, Bourhis, Phang & D'Eye, 1987).

The formulations of Giles *et al.* (1977) focussed chiefly on an 'objective' analysis of ethnolinguistic vitality based on available sociological and demographic information. In a further development, the issue was raised whether groups members' subjective perceptions coincided with those suggested by 'objective' accounts. It was proposed that group members' subjective vitality perceptions may be as important as the group's objective vitality (Bourhis, Giles & Rosenthal, 1981). This approach was based on the notion that intergroup behaviour is mediated by individuals' cognitive representations of the intergroup situation they find themselves in (Moscovici, 1984). The Subjective Vitality Questionnaire (SVQ) (Bourhis, Giles & Rosenthal, 1981) was proposed as a way of measuring group members' estimations of in/outgroup vitality on each of the items constituting the demographic, institutional support, and status dimensions of the objective vitality framework. Finally, Allard and Landry (1986) proposed that subjective vitality perceptions could predict ethnolinguistic behaviour more accurately by considering not only (1) "general beliefs" about what exists presently regarding the relative vitality of ethnolinguistic groups (the SVQ), but also (2) "normative beliefs" about what should exist in relation to the vitality situation; (3) "self-beliefs" concerning respondents' present behaviour or situation; and (4) "goal beliefs" as regards respondents' own desires to behave in certain ways with respect to key aspects of vitality.

In this questionnaire, a number of items from the SVQ were used to elicit information about the demographic, institutional support, and status factors mentioned above. All three dimensions affecting vitality were included, but only the items considered most relevant to the research and closest to the experience of respondents were selected. Thus, the items selected were: (1) demography: the strength in numbers of the ethnolinguistic groups in question; (2) institutional support: the presence of the different languages within the education system, and (3) status: social status of the linguistic groups and internal status of the language. An adjustment was made in the questionnaire regarding the demographic

factor, and questions were made about the past and future strength of languages groups, as well as the present.

In this section, two geographical areas were examined: the Basque Autonomous Community and Rioja Alavesa. It was considered that responses about both local community and the broader BAC would provide a deeper insight into students' overall perceptions of vitality. The language contexts and knowledge about vitality issues differ notably in these two areas, and it was believed that this might lead to interesting comparisons. For that reason, the same questions were made to students about the BAC and Rioja Alavesa, with one exception: the question about the presence of the different languages within the education system in Rioja Alavesa was considered unnecessary, because no significant differences in perception were expected in this case. A five-point scale was used in all items. The choices were 'not at all', 'not very', 'fairly', 'quite a lot' and 'very much'.

6.2.5.1. The Basque Autonomous Community

The following table captures the perceptions of respondents about the evolution of the Spanish-speaking monolingual and Basque-speaking bilingual groups in terms of their presence in the BAC. Students were asked how strong they felt the mentioned groups were 20 years ago (1), at that moment (2) and 20 years from now (3).

Table 6.15. Frequencies of strength of linguistic groups in the BAC (%)

	Not at all			Not very			Fairly			Quite a lot			Very much		
	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	0.4	0.4	4.4	5.3	5.7	12.3	11.9	20.1	16.7	30.1	38.4	27.8	52.2	35.4	38.8
Basque-speaking bilinguals	5.8	0.0	2.6	20.8	3.5	4.8	23.9	17.0	12.8	25.7	41.5	26.9	23.9	38.0	52.9

The analysis of the results shows different tendencies in the evolution of the perceived strength of the groups mentioned above. The presence of Spanish-speaking monolinguals is generally believed to be strong, but it shows a slight downward direction. While 82.3% consider that 20 years ago they were strong (combining ‘quite a lot’ and ‘very much’), 73.8% believe that they are strong now, and the percentage of those who think they will be strong 20 years from now falls to 66.6%. In comparison, Basque-speaking bilinguals are believed to have been strong 20 years ago by less than half (49.6%) of the students. However, 79.5% regard them to be strong now and 79.8% in the future.

The most surprising result is the strength respondents attribute to the Basque-bilingual group. Indeed, students considered this group to be slightly stronger than the Spanish-speaking monolingual group. Cognitive and motivational factors may have caused this remarkable perception, which deserves further consideration later.

Subsequently, students were asked about the prestige they attached to Basque, Spanish, English and French. The results are presented in the table below.

Table 6.16. Frequencies of prestige of languages in the BAC (%)

	Not at all	Not very	Fairly	Quite a lot	Very much
Basque	1.7	2.6	11.7	35.1	48.9
Spanish	0.4	1.7	6.9	36.4	54.5
English	4.3	10.8	29.0	34.6	21.2
French	11.3	38.1	29.9	16.5	4.3

The students considered that both Basque and Spanish are very highly regarded in the BAC. Combining the choices ‘quite a lot’ and ‘very much’, Basque was highly regarded by 84.0% of the students, while Spanish reached 90.9%. The prestige of English is somewhat lower, although 55.8% rate it highly. Finally, French is highly regarded by 20.8% of the students.

It was also requested that students gauge the social status of Spanish-speaking monolinguals and Basque-speaking bilinguals in the Basque Autonomous Community. Specifically, they were asked how highly regarded were these groups in the BAC. The results are shown in the table below.

Table 6.17. Frequencies of prestige of linguistic groups in the BAC (%)

	Not at all	Not very	Fairly	Quite a lot	Very much
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	2.2	6.9	31.6	33.8	25.5
Basque-speaking bilinguals	2.2	0.9	10.8	37.7	48.5

As expected, both Spanish-speaking monolinguals and Basque-speaking bilinguals were highly regarded. However, students attached a different status to each of the groups: Spanish-speaking monolinguals were highly regarded by 59.3% of the students, while 86.2% considered the prestige of Basque-speaking bilinguals to be high.

Finally, an additional question was asked about the presence of Basque, Spanish, English and French in the education system in the BAC. Students were asked how well represented are, in their opinion, these languages in the education system in the BAC. The results are presented in the table below.

Table 6.18: Frequencies of response to presence of languages in the education system in the BAC (%)

	Not at all	Not very	Fairly	Quite a lot	Very much
Basque	1.3	4.0	15.4	38.3	41.0
Spanish	0.4	0.4	5.2	33.6	60.3
English	3.1	11.8	26.6	41.0	17.5
French	8.4	33.0	42.3	13.2	3.1

Not surprisingly, the results reflect the fact that Basque and Spanish are well represented in the schools in the BAC. The presence of Spanish is higher (93.9% combining ‘quite a lot’

and ‘very much’) than that of Basque (79.3%). English is quite well represented for 41.0% of the students, and very well for a further 17.5%. Finally, 42.3% believe that French is fairly represented, and a further 16.3% think that it is well represented. The results are consistent with the actual presence of language in schools.

6.2.5.2. Rioja Alavesa

In this research, opinions about the strength of the Spanish-speaking monolingual and Basque-speaking bilingual groups in Rioja were elicited. Students were asked how strong they felt the mentioned groups were 20 years ago (1), at the moment (2) and 20 years from now (3). The results are presented in the table below.

Table 6.19. Frequencies of strength of linguistic groups in Rioja (%)

	Not at all			Not very			Fairly			Quite a lot			Very much		
	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	0.4	0.4	1.8	3.1	3.5	8.8	8.8	9.7	16.3	22.4	23.5	22.5	65.4	62.8	50.7
Basque-speaking bilinguals	12.7	3.5	6.2	31.1	13.3	8.4	24.6	35.0	18.1	21.1	28.8	28.2	10.5	19.5	39.2

Spanish-speaking monolinguals clearly emerge as the dominant group in Rioja Alavesa. Over 80% of students consider the Spanish-monolingual group to have been ‘quite’ or ‘very strong’ 20 years ago (87.8%) and to be ‘quite’ or ‘very strong’ today (86.3%). They believe it will continue to be strong 20 years from now, but in this case, the percentage decreases slightly (71.2%). In comparison, the Basque-speaking bilingual group follows an upward tendency. It was regarded to have been ‘quite’ or ‘very strong’ 20 years ago by only 31.6% of the students, while 43.8% of them considered it to have been rather weak (combining ‘not at all’ and ‘not very’). Almost half of the students (48.3%) considered it to be quite or very strong today, while 67.4% believed it will be quite or very strong 20 years from now.

These results show a similar pattern as found with the BAC. The Basque-speaking bilingual group is given more pre-eminence than expected. Moreover, it is believed that its strength will increase in the future. However, the Spanish-monolingual group is expected to be still dominant in the future. A number of reasons may explain these results, which will be considered later when other results have been presented. At this point, the crucial importance of the context of comparison in order to understand the formation of intergroup vitality profiles should be stressed (Harwood, Giles and Bourhis, 1994). This theme will be returned to later.

Table 6.20. Frequencies of prestige of languages in Rioja (%)

	Not at all	Not very	Fairly	Quite a lot	Very much
Basque	5.2	19.0	37.2	28.1	10.4
Spanish	0.0	0.0	3.5	21.6	74.9
English	9.6	22.2	28.3	29.1	10.9
French	25.7	37.8	26.5	9.1	0.9

Spanish is believed to be the most prestigious language in Rioja. As many as 96.5% of the students consider that Spanish is quite or very highly regarded. In comparison, the social status of Basque in Rioja is much lower, similar to that of English. Around 40% of students think that Basque and English have a high prestige, although those who think they are very prestigious account for 10% of the students. 24.2% consider that Basque has none or very little prestige, while those who regard it as having none or very little prestige account for 31.8% of the students. Finally, the social status of French is thought to be rather low, as 63.5% of students consider it to be ‘not at all’ or ‘not very’ prestigious.

Table 6.21. Frequencies of prestige of linguistic groups in Rioja (%)

	Not at all	Not very	Fairly	Quite a lot	Very much
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	0.4	2.6	10.0	29.7	57.2
Basque-speaking bilinguals	3.1	13.1	28.4	30.1	25.3

According to the results in table 21, students consider that Spanish-speaking monolinguals and, to a lesser extent, Basque-speaking bilinguals, are highly regarded. The social status of Spanish-speaking monolinguals is thought to be very high for 57.2% of the students, and quite high for a further 29.7%. Only 3.0% believe the prestige of Spanish-speaking monolinguals to be low (combining 'not at all' and 'not very'). With respect to Basque-speaking bilinguals, 55.4% of students consider the status of this group to be quite or very high. 16.2% of students gave answers of 'not at all' and 'not very' prestigious.

Overall, students consider that Basque and Spanish are rather strong in the BAC, and both languages are highly regarded. The status of language groups is also highly rated, although students perceive the status of Basque-speaking bilinguals to be significantly higher than that of Spanish-speaking monolinguals. In Rioja Alavesa, Spanish-speaking monolinguals are clearly perceived as a very strong group, and the Basque-speaking bilingual group is rather weaker. While the status of Spanish is very high, the prestige of Basque is much lower, comparable to that of English. Students expect significant changes in the future. The Basque-speaking bilingual group will be stronger than the Spanish-speaking monolingual group in the BAC, although both groups are expected to remain strong in the future. As regards Rioja Alavesa, a big increase in the number of Basque-speaking bilinguals is predicted. In twenty years time, students expect their local region to be largely bilingual.

6.2.6. Ethnolinguistic and ethnocultural identity and intergroup relations

The language spoken by somebody and his or her identity as a speaker of this language are often strongly linked. Language acts are symbolically acts of identity (Le Page, 1986). This simple assertion cannot hide the great complexity surrounding the relationship between language and identity. For example, Isajiw (1980) analyzed 65 studies of ethnicity, and found that 52 of them gave no explicit definition of the term itself. In an attempt to clarify such confusion, Edwards (1985, 1988) provided a definition of identity which considered four major points: (1) ethnic identity need not be a minority phenomenon; (2) perceived group boundaries can continue across generations even though the cultural context within these boundaries may have changed dramatically (see Barth, 1969); (3) objective, material

trait descriptions do not totally encompass the phenomenon –a sense of ‘groupness’ may be fundamental here; (4) the power of so-called ‘symbolic’ ethnicity can be strong (see Gans, 1979). Edwards’ definition of ethnic identity is as follows:

Ethnic identity is allegiance to a group –large or small, socially dominant or subordinate- with which one has ancestral links. There is no necessity for a continuation, over generations, of the same socialization or cultural patterns, but some sense of group boundary must persist. This can be sustained by shared objective characteristics (language, religion, etc.), or by more subjective contributions to a sense of groupness, or by some combination of both. Symbolic or subjective attachments must relate, at however distant a remove, to an observably real past (Edwards, 1985: 10).

According to this definition, the continuity of group identity does not necessarily rely on any particular objective marker. However, language is frequently a salient feature of ethnic identity and can become a most important symbol. This is so even if that language is barely used (e.g. Irish in Ireland). Ethnic groups differ in the importance they attribute to their native tongue as part of their ‘core values’ (Smolicz, 1984, 1991). In the end, the connection between language and identity depends on the social context in which the language groups in question operate (Liebkind, 1999: 144).

The connection between language and identity often becomes more apparent in contexts of language and culture contact. In the 1970s, a new approach to the study of language and ethnicity was attempted, in which inter-group and intra-group diversity in language and ethnic attitudes, speech repertoires and strategies, and structural features of groups in contact were examined (Giles and Johnson, 1981). This socio-psychological approach was based on Tajfel’s (1978) social identity theory, and was built around concepts such as ethnolinguistic vitality, group boundaries, interethnic comparisons, status, and social and ethnic identity. This approach has also been used to analyze the situation in the Basque Country and in the bilingual Autonomous Communities in Spain (e.g. Ros, Cano and Huici,

1987; Azurmendi, 1998; Azurmendi, Bourhis, Ros and García, 1998), and will be returned to in the final chapter.

Students were requested to report on a question that tries to partially encapsulate their ethnolinguistic identity regarding Spanish and Basque. They were asked how they regarded themselves considering the language(s) they use to speak, think and read. Subsequently, they were asked how would they like to be in the future. The options were ‘Only Basque-speaking’, ‘More Basque-speaking than Spanish-speaking’, ‘Basque-speaking and Spanish-speaking alike’, ‘More Spanish-speaking than Basque-speaking’ and ‘Only Spanish-speaking’.

Table 6.22. Frequencies of ethnolinguistic identity (%)

	Now	In the future
Only Basque-speaking	1.7	6.9
More Basque-speaking than Spanish-speaking	3.9	26.3
Basque-speaking and Spanish-speaking alike	37.2	49.1
More Spanish-speaking than Basque-speaking	48.1	15.1
Only Spanish-speaking	9.1	2.6

Almost half of the students (48.1%) regard themselves as more Spanish-speaking than Basque-speaking, while 37.2% consider they are ‘Basque-speaking and Spanish-speaking alike’. Only 9.1% of them feel they are only Spanish-speaking. Those who feel they are more Basque-speaking than Spanish-speaking account for 3.9% of respondents, while a mere 1.7% regard themselves as only Basque-speaking. The results relate closely to the students’ previous self-reports of language competence. The expected dominant position of Spanish over Basque is reaffirmed, while just over 5% of students regard Basque as their dominant language. However, the fact that over a third of students consider they are Basque-speaking and Spanish-speaking alike appears more symbolic than real in a region where Basque is almost absent in everyday life.

When asked about how they would like to become in the future, the preferred option of almost half of the students (49.1%) is ‘Basque-speaking and Spanish-speaking alike’.

17.6% favoured Spanish to be their dominant language in the future, and Basque was preferred by 33.2% of students. Balanced bilingualism is the aim of a half of the students. The results also reflect a certain amount of dissatisfaction regarding students' present linguistic ability. In general, a desire for Basque to gain a more dominant position in the future is preferred. Moreover, the percentage of those who favour Basque as their main language in the future is double of those who opt for Spanish. Nevertheless, bilingualism is supported by a vast majority of students. Less than 10% of them choose monolingualism as their preferred option for the future (6.9% would like to be 'only Basque-speaking', and a further 2.6% 'only Spanish-speaking').

Subsequently, students were asked how they regarded themselves according to their culture (way of thinking, behaviour, values and beliefs). The options were 'Only Spanish', 'More Spanish than Basque', 'Basque and Spanish alike', 'More Basque than Spanish' and 'Only Basque'. The results are presented in the table below.

Table 6.23. Frequencies of ethnocultural identity (%)

Only Spanish	2.7
More Spanish than Basque	9.9
Basque and Spanish alike	38.1
More Basque than Spanish	20.6
Only Basque	28.7

Over a third of the students (38.1%) regarded themselves as 'Basque and Spanish alike'. A fifth (20.6%) considered themselves as 'more Basque than Spanish', while 'only Basque' was the preferred option for 28.7%. On the other hand, almost a tenth of students (9.9%) regarded themselves as 'More Spanish than Basque', and a further 2.7% as 'only Spanish'.

According to these results, almost half of the students (49.3%) feel predominantly or exclusively Basque, while 12.6% feel predominantly or exclusively Spanish. Those who to different extents regard themselves as both Spanish and Basque account for almost 70% of students. 31.4% consider they are either only Basque or Spanish, 28.7% of them Basque and 2.7% Spanish.

Table 6.24. Frequencies of compatibility
of Basque/Spanish identity (%)

Yes	No
71.1	28.9

As expected, a large majority of students (71.1%) considered that it is possible to be Basque and Spanish at the same time. The percentage of those who see being Basque and Spanish as incompatible nearly coincides with that of students who regard themselves as only Basque and, to a much lesser extent, only Spanish (see table 24). This coincidence may suggest an exclusive vision of identity, or may indicate the reaffirmation of one's own identity. Further analyses (bivariate and multivariate) presented in the following chapters will investigate this further.

In a further attempt to examine the relationship between languages and identity, students were asked about the conditions for a person to be able to feel Basque and Spanish. They were requested to give their opinion about the items presented below, on a five-point scale (Strongly Agree = SA, Agree = A, Neither Agree nor Disagree = NAND, Disagree = D, Strongly Disagree = SD). The question was as follows: In your opinion, which are the conditions for a person to be able to feel Basque (and Spanish)?

Table 6.25. Frequencies of conditions for ethnocultural identity (%)

BASQUE					
	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
To live in the Basque Country	40.9	23.6	23.6	5.8	6.2
To have been born in the BC	35.9	25.6	24.2	8.1	6.3
To speak the Basque language	48.4	24.9	18.2	3.6	4.9
To be of Basque descent	32.3	30.5	23.9	7.5	5.8
To be a Basque nationalist	22.0	17.0	38.6	7.2	15.2
To engage in the Basque culture	47.3	26.1	19.9	3.5	3.1

SPANISH					
	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
To live in Spain	40.9	21.3	20.0	8.4	9.3
To have been born in Spain	40.0	20.0	22.7	7.6	9.8
To speak Spanish	45.3	27.1	15.1	5.8	6.7
To be of Spanish descent	36.6	21.9	25.0	8.5	8.0
To be a Spanish nationalist	22.8	15.2	36.6	8.0	17.4
To engage in the Spanish culture	40.0	27.6	21.8	4.4	6.2

Before analyzing the results, some observations about students' responses should be made. First, a tendency to opt for the same responses (strongly agree, agree, etc.), regardless of the items, was observed in a number of respondents. Second, the acquiescent response seemed to have some influence, as all the positive options presented were supported by a majority of students. In that sense, even the option 'to be a Basque/Spanish nationalist', which provoked some students' protests when filling in the questionnaire, was more agreed with than disagreed, although in that case the most favoured answer was 'neither agree nor disagree'. In general, students' reactions when completing the questionnaire suggest that some of them found the items difficult and, to a lesser extent, possibly political. Moreover, some students wrote in the margins of the questionnaires, implying that the main condition to be able to feel Basque or Spanish is the will to be so. In the case of Basque, this coincides with the results obtained by Azurmendi (1998), although most of the previous studies stressed the centrality of the connection between language and identity. Nevertheless, the results provide some interesting insights.

Regarding Basque, the preferred options regarding the conditions for a person to be able to feel Basque were 'to engage in the Basque culture' (73.4% combining 'strongly agree' and 'strongly disagree') and 'to speak the Basque language' (73.3%), followed by 'to live in the Basque Country' (64.5%), 'to be of Basque descent' (62.8%), 'to have been born in the Basque Country' (61.5%) and, to a lesser extent, 'to be a Basque nationalist' (39.0%). The results show a strong connection between Basque identity and the Basque language and culture. This may be considered rather surprising in a region where the population is

overwhelmingly Spanish monolingual. Some other factors, such as the influence of ideological traditions which have historically related the Basque language to Basqueness and nationalism, might have played a part. However, the idea that it is necessary to be a Basque nationalist to be able to feel Basque is approved by less than 40% of students.

The set of items concerning the conditions required to be able to feel Spanish was introduced fundamentally for comparative purposes. The results are very similar to those about Basque. Speaking Spanish and engaging in Spanish culture remain the most salient markers of identity, with students' responses showing 72.4% and 67.6% support. Around 60% of students agree with the items 'to live in Spain' (62.2%), and 'to have been born in Spain' (60.0%) and 'to be of Spanish descent' (58.4%). Again, 'to be a Spanish nationalist' (38.0%) was the less supported option.

Subsequently, social distance between the groups was assessed. For that purpose, students were requested to report to what extent would they like to have Spanish-speaking monolinguals or Basque-speaking bilinguals as best friends, classmates, neighbours and husband or wife. The choices were 'not at all', 'not much', 'no difference', 'quite' and 'very much'. The results are presented in the table below.

Table 6.26. Frequencies of intergroup relations (%)

	Not at all	Not much	No difference	Quite	Very much
FRIENDS					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	3.5	3.1	59.0	10.0	24.5
Basque-speaking bilinguals	2.2	0.4	36.1	14.3	47.0
CLASSMATES					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	4.4	4.8	55.9	12.2	22.7
Basque-speaking bilinguals	1.3	1.7	37.0	17.0	43.0
NEIGHBOURS					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	3.0	2.2	61.6	10.9	22.3
Basque-speaking bilinguals	1.3	0.9	43.0	13.9	40.9
HUSBAND/WIFE					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	5.8	12.1	50.2	10.3	21.5
Basque-speaking bilinguals	2.2	0.4	32.5	19.7	45.2

The responses show some clearly identifiable patterns. First, when reporting their considerations about Spanish-speaking monolinguals, over half of the students regard the group to which their friends, classmates, neighbours and husbands or wives belong as unimportant. One third would 'quite' or 'very much' like to have Spanish-speaking monolinguals in their social circle. Second, a majority of students would 'quite' or 'very much' like to have Basque-speaking bilinguals as friends, classmates, neighbours and husbands or wives, although one third of the students gave no importance to this. Third, those who report not to like having friends, classmates, neighbours and husbands of either group form a very small minority. However, the percentage of students who would not like to have a Spanish-speaking monolingual husband or wife is 17.8%.

The results reflect a non-conflictive situation where intergroup distance is not particularly significant. Basque-speaking bilinguals are generally preferred as friends, classmates, neighbours and husbands or wives, but that does not turn into rejection of Spanish-speaking monolinguals.

6.3. Summary of the Chapter

This chapter has provided a first approximation of the issues analyzed in this study. Students' language profile has revealed rather high self-reports of competence in Basque. Likewise, students claimed a moderate competence in English, as a consequence of this language being taught as a foreign language in the schools.

Students' social networks are mainly Spanish speaking. However, a generation change regarding competence in Basque is apparent, as ability in Basque is highest among students' friends and classmates. This also confirms that competence in Basque is closely related to the school environment, as well as use of the language. Indeed, Basque is spoken to a limited degree outside the school. Inside the school, Basque is used more when a sense of obligation is apparent – with the teacher – and in relatively formal and controlled

environments –in the classroom –, but little in the playground, where control over its use is less visible and an informal register is needed.

In the fourth section of the chapter, attitudes towards bilingualism and Basque have been analyzed. In general, students showed highly positive attitudes to both. Positive attitudes towards the learning of Basque and Spanish are dominant, as well as towards the implementation of bilingualism in society. Moreover, students seem to support a future bilingual society. Regarding Basque, integrative attitudes towards the language appear to be more influential than instrumental attitudes. Interestingly, a slightly higher percentage of students attach more instrumental value to English than to Basque.

Perceptions of language vitality in the BAC and Rioja Alavesa have been examined next. Students consider that Basque and Spanish are rather strong in the BAC, and their status is also high. In Rioja Alavesa, Spanish is perceived as clearly dominant in terms of strength and status. The Basque-speaking group is perceived as rather weaker, and the prestige of Basque is equated to that of Spanish. Students expect important and mainly positive changes in the future. Both the Basque- and the Spanish-speaking groups are predicted to be strong in the future in the BAC. More significantly, students expect a large increase of Basque-speaking bilingualism in Rioja Alavesa. If their predictions are confirmed, Rioja Alavesa may become largely bilingual in twenty years.

The final section has examined the ethnolinguistic and ethnocultural identity of the students, as well as intergroup relations. According to the results, the dominant language of most students is Spanish. Nevertheless, many of them express the desire for Basque to become more dominant in their individual bilingualism in the future. As regards ethnocultural identity, the results show a stronger sense of Basque identity vis-à-vis Spanish identity. In the following chapters, the issues introduced in this chapter will be analyzed in more detail.

Chapter Seven

ANALYSIS OF THE RESULTS: COMPARISONS BETWEEN TEACHING MODELS

7.1. Introduction

In this chapter, comparisons are made to detect possible differences among groups. Frequencies between teaching models are introduced to analyze different aspects of the questionnaire. Differences are considered as statistically significant if the confidence level is equal to, or less than 0.05 (i.e. the minimal level used is 95% confidence). Substantive significance will also be considered when analyzing the results, and this can occur when statistically significant differences are absent and present. Similarly, statistically significant differences are sometimes unimportant.

7.2. Comparisons between teaching models

Subjects in this study were educated in three different bilingual teaching models. In the “Samaniego” secondary school of Laguardia, Model A (almost all teaching is completed in Spanish; Basque is taught as a language) and Model B (teaching is completed half in Spanish and half in Basque; both languages are thus medium as well as subjects) bilingual teaching approaches are both used. The schools in La Puebla de Labarca (“Assa ikastola”) and Oion (“San Bizente ikastola”) are *ikastola* schools, where only model D (almost all teaching is completed in Basque; Spanish is taught as a language) is on offer. It seems appropriate to compare the questionnaire answers and find out if there are any statistically significant differences between them. Such comparisons may reveal if teaching models are associated with different aspects related to language, although cause and effect are nigh impossible to establish.

It is predicted that differences will emerge between groups according to the teaching model, especially regarding linguistic abilities in Basque. Various studies carried on in the last two

decades in the Basque Country (see Chapter Six) indicate that the teaching model in which students are educated has an identifiable influence in the level of competence in Basque they achieve. In the present study, a similar outcome is expected. Indeed, in an area where Basque has been introduced mainly through the education system, the expectation is that the influence of this dimension will extend to psycho-social factors related to language such as attitudes, perceptions of vitality and ethnolinguistic and ethnocultural identity.

While causality is not going to be simple or easily detectable, it is believed that the educational context may be an influencing factor. In this study, students in model D attend *ikastola* schools, where the nurturing of the Basque language and culture is a prime *raison d'être*. Students are immersed in an environment of strong commitment and motivation to promote the Basque language and Basque cultural activities (e.g. in extra curricular activity). Students in model A and B attend a school where stress on promotion of Basque is not such a primordial factor.

7.2.1. Students' language profile

In this section, differences in linguistic abilities between students in different bilingual teaching models are sought. Self-reports of their abilities to speak, understand, read and write in Basque, Spanish, English and French were requested. The results are shown in percentages in the following table.

Table 7.1: Comparison between teaching models in students’ language profile (%)

Basque					
	Fluent	Quite well	Some	A little	None
Model A					
I am able to speak Basque	13.4	37.5	36.6	8.9	3.6
I am able to understand Basque	31.2	42.0	18.7	5.4	2.7
I am able to read in Basque	29.5	49.1	17.8	0.9	2.7
I am able to write in Basque	18.8	49.1	24.0	5.4	2.7
Model B					
I am able to speak Basque	28.5	61.9	4.8	4.8	0.0
I am able to understand Basque	38.1	52.4	0.0	9.5	0.0
I am able to read in Basque	42.9	42.9	4.8	9.4	0.0
I am able to write in Basque	33.3	52.4	14.3	0.0	0.0
Model D					
I am able to speak Basque	42.4	53.5	4.1	0.0	0.0
I am able to understand Basque	71.7	28.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
I am able to read in Basque	74.5	24.5	1.0	0.0	0.0
I am able to write in Basque	50.5	48.5	1.0	0.0	0.0
Spanish					
	Fluent	Quite well	Some	A little	None
Model A					
I am able to speak Spanish	76.8	21.4	1.8	0.0	0.0
I am able to understand Spanish	85.7	13.4	0.9	0.0	0.0
I am able to read in Spanish	81.2	17.0	1.8	0.0	0.0
I am able to write in Spanish	76.8	20.5	2.7	0.0	0.0
Model B					
I am able to speak Spanish	81.0	19.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
I am able to understand Spanish	100	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
I am able to read in Spanish	81.0	19.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
I am able to write in Spanish	61.9	38.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Model D					
I am able to speak Spanish	93.9	6.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
I am able to understand Spanish	97.0	3.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
I am able to read in Spanish	94.9	5.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
I am able to write in Spanish	84.8	15.2	0.0	0.0	0.0

English					
	Fluent	Quite well	Some	A little	None
Model A					
I am able to speak English	2.7	15.2	39.3	34.8	8.0
I am able to understand English	4.5	24.1	33.9	32.1	5.4
I am able to read in English	7.1	25.9	42.0	20.5	4.5
I am able to write in English	3.6	24.1	42.8	24.1	5.4
Model B					
I am able to speak English	9.5	23.8	47.6	14.3	4.8
I am able to understand English	14.3	23.8	47.6	9.5	4.8
I am able to read in English	23.8	14.3	52.4	9.5	0.0
I am able to write in English	14.3	23.8	52.4	9.5	0.0
Model D					
I am able to speak English	0.0	22.2	52.5	20.2	5.1
I am able to understand English	5.1	29.3	40.4	21.2	4.0
I am able to read in English	5.1	41.4	37.4	14.1	2.0
I am able to write in English	3.9	26.7	43.2	21.1	5.1
French					
	Fluent	Quite well	Some	A little	None
Model A					
I am able to speak French	0.9	0.0	10.7	28.6	59.8
I am able to understand French	0.9	0.9	8.9	31.3	58.0
I am able to read in French	0.9	5.4	9.8	23.2	60.7
I am able to write in French	0.0	4.5	5.3	30.4	59.8
Model B					
I am able to speak French	0.0	9.5	9.5	33.3	47.7
I am able to understand French	4.8	4.8	19.0	19.0	52.4
I am able to read in French	4.8	0.0	14.3	33.3	47.6
I am able to write in French	4.8	0.0	19.0	23.8	52.4
Model D					
I am able to speak French	2.0	10.1	15.1	17.2	55.6
I am able to understand French	7.1	8.1	16.1	11.1	57.6
I am able to read in French	7.1	11.1	14.1	11.1	56.6
I am able to write in French	2.6	6.9	9.4	23.3	57.8

First language of students				
	Basque %	Spanish %	Both %	Others %
Model A students	2.7	84.8	10.7	1.8
Model B students	0.0	76.2	23.8	0.0
Model D students	7.1	79.8	12.1	1.0

Table 7.2. Significance Tests and Correlations for Table 7.1

	Chi-Square	df	Significance	Cramer's V
I am able to speak Basque	64.273	8	0.0001	0.372
I am able to understand Basque	54.759	8	0.0001	0.344
I am able to read in Basque	61.608	8	0.0001	0.365
I am able to write in Basque	46.453	8	0.0001	0.316
I am able to speak Spanish	64.273	8	0.012	0.166
I am able to understand Spanish	54.759	8	0.026	0.154
I am able to read in Spanish	61.608	8	0.033	0.150
I am able to write in Spanish	46.453	8	0.058	0.140
I am able to speak English	64.273	8	0.024	0.195
I am able to understand English	54.759	8	0.276	0.146
I am able to read in English	61.608	8	0.015	0.202
I am able to write in English	46.453	8	0.203	0.154
I am able to speak French	64.273	8	0.028	0.192
I am able to understand French	54.759	8	0.002	0.229
I am able to read in French	61.608	8	0.027	0.193
I am able to write in French	46.453	8	0.008	0.212
First language of students	6.590	6	0.360	0.119

The table above shows statistically significant differences in most of the dimensions analyzed. Regarding Basque, differences between educational models are significant in all linguistic abilities. Students in model D claim the highest competence in all language abilities. Nearly all of them report being able to speak, understand, read and write in Basque ‘fluently’ or ‘quite well’. Nobody claims to know ‘little’ or ‘none’ of Basque. A large majority of students (over 80%) in model B also claim to have mastered Basque ‘fluently’ or ‘quite well’ in all language abilities. The rest know ‘some’ or ‘a little’ Basque, and no students claim to command no Basque. Finally, students in model A claim a lower competence in all language abilities. Nevertheless, a majority of students regard themselves as ‘fluent’ or ‘quite fluent’ on all linguistic abilities. Over 70% of them are able to

understand, read and write in Basque 'fluently' or 'quite well', while half of students (50.9%) speak Basque 'fluently' or 'quite well'. The rest command 'some' or 'a little' Basque, and around 3% 'none'. In all models, receptive skills are rated higher than productive skills. Students regard themselves as highly competent in their ability to understand and read Basque. To a lesser extent, they also claim a high competence in writing in Basque. The lowest percentages are found regarding responses on ability to speak Basque, especially in model A.

The results show a gradation in the level of competence according to the different models. In general, the majority of students in model D regard themselves as 'fluent' in Basque, while students in model B favour the option 'quite well' when describing their linguistic skills. This same option is also preferred by students in model A, although, in this case, the percentage of those who claim to know only 'some' Basque is higher. The biggest differences between models are found in responses to ability to speak Basque. 90% of students in model B and D are able to speak Basque 'fluently' or 'quite well', whereas only half of students in model A claim the same level of fluency. Results show a relatively strong correlation between teaching models and language skills in Basque, especially regarding the ability to speak Basque ($r=0.372$) and the ability to read in Basque ($r=3.65$).

With respect to Spanish, significant differences were found regarding the abilities to speak, understand and read this language. As expected, nearly all students claim to be highly competent in all Spanish language abilities. Students in model A and B gave similar responses. Around 80% of model A students were able to speak, understand and read Spanish 'fluently', and the rest 'quite well', and similar percentages were found among model B students. All students in model B regard themselves as fluent in their ability to understand Spanish. Overall, the highest fluency rates were found in model D students. Around 95% of them are able to speak, understand and read Spanish 'fluently', and the rest 'quite well'.

These results are somewhat surprising, as no differences were predicted regarding the linguistic abilities in Spanish between students in different bilingual teaching models. The

fact that model D students claim a higher competence in Spanish makes the results potentially contradictory. In some circles *ikastola* schools have been criticised for laying too much emphasis on the learning of Basque and, conversely, neglecting the learning of Spanish. Such views have been supported by some parents in the area (see chapter Five). Nevertheless, several studies confirm that pupils studying through the medium of Basque do not manifest a lower ability in Spanish (see Etxeberria, 2000). The higher fluency reported by model D students might respond to a general higher confidence in their linguistic abilities. Students may also be aware of the criticism model D has attracted regarding the learning of Spanish, and may have reported such high command of the language as an act of reaffirmation.

As regards English, significant differences were found in the ability to speak and read the language. Overall, students in model A claim a lower competence in English. 18% of them speak English fluently or quite well, while 42% speak little or no English. One third of students in model B and 22.2% in model D claim to speak English fluently or quite well, whereas one fifth and one fourth of students, respectively, speak little or no English. On the other hand, model D students claim higher ability to read English. Nearly half of them (46.5%) read English fluently or quite well. The percentage is somewhat lower in students in model B (38.1%) and model A (33.0%).

Regarding French, significant differences were found on all dimensions examined. As a whole, model D students claim a higher competence in French. Around 10% speak and write and around 15% understand and read French ‘fluently’ or ‘quite well’. 5% of model A and model B students read and write French ‘fluently’ or ‘quite well’. A little fewer than 10% of model B students speak and understand French ‘fluently’ or ‘quite well’, while nearly none in model A speak or write French ‘fluently’ or ‘quite well’.

Significant differences were unexpected concerning French, as the learning of this language does not form part of the educational curriculum in the schools examined. These results, together with those regarding abilities in Spanish and English, might relate to a more confident approach towards languages of students in the more intensive bilingual methods,

rather than to actual competence in such languages. It might be noted, though, that correlations are relatively weak concerning language skills in Spanish, English and French.

7.2.2. Students’ social network

In this section, students were asked to assess the linguistic competence of people within their everyday circle of relations. They were asked to report their parents’ abilities to speak Spanish, Basque, English and other languages, as well as their first language(s). Students were also asked about their family members’ ability to speak Basque: father, mother, siblings and grandparents (father’s mother; father’s father; mother’s father; mother’s mother). Finally, they were asked about the ability of their friends, neighbours, classmates and people who served them in local shops and pubs to speak Basque. Specifically, they were asked how many of them were able to speak Basque. The results are presented in percentages in the table below.

Table 7.3. Comparison between teaching models in students’ social network (%)

Linguistic competence of the students’ parents					
Parents of model A students					
	Fluently	Quite well	Some	A little	None
Father					
Spanish	75.0	20.5	4.5	0.0	0.0
Basque	0.9	0.9	0.9	28.6	68.8
English	0.0	0.9	2.7	12.5	83.9
Others	0.9	4.5	3.6	7.1	83.9
Mother					
Spanish	77.7	22.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
Basque	1.8	0.9	6.3	25.0	66.1
English	0.9	0.9	4.5	8.0	85.7
Others	2.7	0.9	1.8	4.5	90.2

Parents of model B students					
	Fluently	Quite well	Some	A little	None
Father					
Spanish	85.7	14.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
Basque	0.0	4.8	0.0	28.6	66.7
English	0.0	0.0	0.0	23.8	76.2
Others	0.0	9.5	0.0	23.8	66.7
Mother					
Spanish	90.5	9.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
Basque	0.0	9.5	9.5	28.6	52.4
English	0.0	4.8	4.8	19.0	71.4
Others	4.8	19.0	4.8	14.3	57.1
Parents of model D students					
	Fluently	Quite well	Some	A little	None
Father					
Spanish	94.9	3.1	2.0	0.0	0.0
Basque	3.1	4.1	5.1	28.6	59.1
English	1.0	1.0	2.0	10.2	85.8
Others	3.1	3.1	1.0	9.2	83.7
Parents of model D students					
	Fluently	Quite well	Some	A little	None
Mother					
Spanish	97.0	3.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Basque	7.1	7.1	13.1	24.2	48.5
English	2.0	1.0	2.0	10.1	84.8
Others	2.0	1.0	6.1	7.1	83.8
First language of parents					
	Basque %	Spanish %	Both %	Others %	
Parents of model A students					
Father	0.9	96.4	0.0	2.7	
Mother	1.8	96.4	0.0	1.8	
Parents of model B students					
Father	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	
Mother	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	
Parents of model D students					
Father	1.0	93.9	2.0	3.1	
Mother	2.0	90.9	3.1	4.0	

Ability to speak Basque of family members					
Relatives of model A students					
	Fluent	Quite well	Some	A little	None
Mother	1.8	0.9	6.2	25.0	66.1
Father	0.9	0.9	0.9	28.6	68.7
Siblings	13.2	23.6	39.6	10.4	13.2
Grandparents					
Father's mother	0.9	0.0	0.9	4.6	93.6
Father's father	0.0	0.0	0.9	5.6	93.5
Mother's father	1.0	1.0	0.0	6.7	91.3
Mother's mother	1.8	1.0	0.0	6.7	90.5
Relatives of model B students					
	Fluent	Quite well	Some	A little	None
Mother	0.0	9.5	9.5	28.6	52.4
Father	0.0	4.8	0.0	28.6	66.6
Siblings	47.4	31.6	15.7	0.0	5.3
Grandparents					
Father's mother	14.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	85.7
Father's father	0.0	4.8	4.8	0.0	90.4
Mother's father	5.0	0.0	0.0	10.0	85.0
Mother's mother	5.6	0.0	0.0	5.6	88.8
Relatives of model D students					
	Fluent	Quite well	Some	A little	None
Mother	7.1	7.1	13.1	24.2	48.5
Father	3.1	4.1	5.1	28.5	59.2
Siblings	53.4	34.1	3.4	1.1	8.0
Grandparents					
Father's mother	2.1	1.0	1.0	4.1	91.8
Father's father	4.3	1.1	1.1	1.1	92.4
Mother's father	7.5	0.0	1.1	2.2	89.2
Mother's mother	5.1	0.0	1.0	5.1	88.8
Ability to speak Basque of the nearby community					
Of model A students					
	Friends	Neighbours	Classmates	Local shops and pubs	
All or almost all of them	39.6	2.7	42.7	3.6	
The majority of them	28.9	4.6	29.1	3.6	
Around half of them	9.9	12.6	10.0	10.9	
A few of them	10.8	43.2	9.1	30.0	
None or almost none of them	10.8	36.9	9.1	51.9	

Of model B students				
	Friends	Neighbours	Classmates	Local shops and pubs
All or almost all of them	45.0	0.0	35.0	0.0
The majority of them	10.0	5.0	40.0	0.0
Around half of them	10.0	10.0	10.0	0.0
A few of them	30.0	50.0	10.0	45.0
None or almost none of them	5.0	35.0	5.0	55.0
Of model D students				
	Friends	Neighbours	Classmates	Local shops and pubs
All or almost all of them	32.3	0.0	89.9	0.0
The majority of them	38.4	5.2	7.1	0.0
Around half of them	15.2	23.7	1.0	1.0
A few of them	12.1	49.5	1.0	27.6
None or almost none of them	2.0	21.6	1.0	71.4

Table 7.4. Significance Tests and Correlations for Table 7.3

	Chi-Square	df	Significance	Cramer's V
Linguistic competence of parents				
Father				
Spanish	16.937	4	0.002	0.191
Basque	9.206	8	0.325	0.141
English	4.903	8	0.768	0.103
Others	11.429	8	0.179	0.157
Mother				
Spanish	17.608	2	0.0001	0.275
Basque	16.476	8	0.036	0.188
English	6.607	8	0.580	0.119
Others	32.258	8	0.0001	0.264
First language of parents				
Father	3.634	6	0.726	0.089
Mother	6.322	6	0.388	0.117
Ability to speak Basque of family				
Mother	9.206	8	0.036	0.188
Father	16.937	4	0.325	0.141
Siblings	65.566	8	0.0001	0.555
Grandparents				
Father's mother	14.739	8	0.064	0.180
Father's father	15.904	8	0.044	0.190
Mother's father	10.732	8	0.217	0.157
Mother's mother	4.226	8	0.836	0.098
Ability to speak Basque of nearby community				
Friends	18.285	8	0.019	0.199
Neighbours	12.236	8	0.141	0.164
Classmates	57.549	8	0.0001	0.355
Local shops and pubs	23.800	8	0.002	0.228

The previous table presents a number of statistically significant differences. Regarding the linguistic competence of parents, differences were found, rather unexpectedly, concerning the linguistic competence in Spanish of both parents. Nevertheless, such differences, though statistically significant, appear to be unimportant. Indeed, almost all students in all models report that their parents speak Spanish ‘fluently’ or ‘quite well’. Responses only differ in that the percentage of fluent speakers is slightly lower among parents of model A students (75.0% of fathers and 77.7% of mothers) than among parents of students in model B (85.7% and 90.5%, respectively) and model D (94.9% and 97.0%).

Responses also differ regarding the linguistic competence of the students’ mothers in Basque and in ‘other’ languages. As with fathers, most of the mothers of students in all models know ‘a little’ or ‘no’ Basque: 91.1% in model A, 81.0% in model B and 72.7% in model D. However, these results reveal that knowledge of Basque is relatively higher among mothers of model D students, 14.2% of them speaking Basque ‘fluently’ or ‘quite well’ and a further 13.1% speaking some Basque, relatively lower among mothers of model B students (9.5% and 9.5%, respectively), and lowest among mothers of model A students (2.7% and 6.3%).

Differences were also found in the linguistic competence of mothers in ‘other’ languages. While percentages of mothers who speak other languages is minimal among model A and model D students (3.6% and 3.0%, respectively), nearly one fourth (23.8%) of the mothers of students in model B speak another language ‘fluently’ or ‘quite well’. The results are rather surprising, especially considering that Spanish is reported to be the first language of all mothers of model B students. One explanation could be that a higher percentage of these mothers have learnt a ‘culture language’ other than English.

Nevertheless, the strongest correlations were found in the ability of siblings to speak Basque ($r=555$) and classmates ($r=355$). According to these results, the more intensive the teaching model of students, the higher the ability to speak Basque of their siblings. Thus, while 87.5% of students in model D claim that their sibling(s) speak Basque ‘fluently’ or

‘quite well’, the percentage gradually declines among students in model B (%79) and, more sharply, students in model A (%36). This result was highly predictable, considering that the students and their siblings share a similar language background and, possibly and more importantly, have been schooled in the same bilingual teaching models. The influence of school also explains the relatively strong correlation between teaching models and ability to speak Basque of classmates.

7.2.3. Language use and language domains

In this section, differences in the use of Basque between students in different bilingual teaching models are examined. Students were asked to report their use of Basque at home, at school, watching TV and outside home and school. In the latter context, students were also requested to assess how often would they use Basque if they had the opportunity to do so, and how confident they were in using Basque. The results are presented in the table below.

Table 7.5: Comparison between teaching models in students’ use of Basque (%)

At home				
	Always	Often	Sometimes	Never
Model A				
With your mother	0.0	0.9	17.0	82.1
With your father	0.0	0.9	8.0	91.1
With your siblings	0.9	7.4	36.7	55.0
With your grandparents	0.0	0.9	5.5	93.6
At mealtimes	0.9	0.0	9.9	89.2
Model B				
With your mother	0.0	0.0	28.6	71.4
With your father	0.0	0.0	23.8	76.2
With your siblings	5.6	27.7	50.0	16.7
With your grandparents	5.3	5.3	0.0	89.4
At mealtimes	0.0	5.0	30.0	65.0
Model D				
With your mother	2.0	3.0	12.2	82.8
With your father	1.0	3.1	9.3	86.6
With your siblings	1.1	14.4	51.1	33.4
With your grandparents	1.0	1.0	10.4	87.6
At mealtimes	0.0	2.1	22.7	75.2

At school				
	Always	Often	Sometimes	Never
Model A				
With teachers	3.6	18.8	51.7	25.9
With classmates (classroom)	0.0	0.9	26.8	72.3
With classmates (playground)	0.0	0.9	12.5	86.6
Model B				
With teachers	19.0	61.9	14.3	4.8
With classmates (classroom)	4.8	19.0	66.7	9.5
With classmates (playground)	0.0	4.8	33.3	61.9
Model D				
With teachers	65.7	28.3	3.0	3.0
With classmates (classroom)	0.0	21.2	69.7	9.1
With classmates (playground)	0.0	1.0	41.4	57.6
Watching TV				
	Always	Often	Sometimes	Never
Model A				
Programs in Spanish	68.8	26.7	3.6	0.9
Programs in Basque	1.8	25.0	60.7	12.5
Model B				
Programs in Spanish	33.3	57.2	9.5	0.0
Programs in Basque	4.8	9.5	85.7	0.0
Model D				
Programs in Spanish	36.4	59.6	4.0	0.0
Programs in Basque	0.0	14.1	79.8	6.1
Outside home and school				
Use of Basque				
	Always	Often	Sometimes	Never
Model A				
With friends	0.0	2.7	40.2	57.1
With neighbours	0.0	0.9	7.1	92.0
In the pub or cafeteria	0.0	0.0	17.9	82.1
In leisure/sports/cultural activities	0.0	0.9	32.1	67.0
In the local shop	0.0	0.0	0.9	99.1
In the market	0.0	0.0	0.9	99.1
With the priest (in church)	0.0	0.0	1.8	98.2
With the local doctor/ At the local hospital	0.0	0.0	2.7	97.3
Model B				
With friends	0.0	9.5	66.7	23.8
With neighbours	0.0	4.7	14.3	81.0
In the pub or cafeteria	0.0	0.0	14.3	85.7
In leisure/sports/cultural activities	0.0	14.3	33.3	52.4
In the local shop	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
In the market	0.0	0.0	4.8	95.2
With the priest (in church)	0.0	0.0	9.5	90.5
With the local doctor/ At the local hospital	0.0	0.0	4.8	95.2

Model D				
With friends	0.0	5.2	47.4	47.4
With neighbours	0.0	0.0	19.4	80.6
In the pub or cafeteria	0.0	1.0	15.2	83.8
In leisure/sports/cultural activities	2.0	4.1	17.4	76.5
In the local shop	0.0	0.0	2.0	98.0
In the market	0.0	1.0	3.0	96.0
With the priest (in church)	0.0	0.0	3.1	96.9
With the local doctor/ At the local hospital	0.0	2.1	3.0	94.9
Potential use of Basque				
	Always	Often	Sometimes	Never
Model A				
With friends	15.2	24.1	28.6	32.1
With neighbours	8.0	20.5	25.1	46.4
In the pub or cafeteria	8.1	22.5	25.3	44.1
In leisure/sports/cultural activities	15.2	19.6	32.1	33.1
In the local shop	11.6	13.4	25.0	50.0
In the market	9.8	12.5	25.9	51.8
With the priest (in church)	10.8	9.0	20.7	59.5
With the local doctor/ At the local hospital	8.9	11.6	25.0	54.5
Model B				
With friends	42.9	23.8	28.5	4.8
With neighbours	33.3	23.8	33.4	9.5
In the pub or cafeteria	28.6	19.0	33.3	19.1
In leisure/sports/cultural activities	38.1	9.5	42.9	9.5
In the local shop	28.6	23.8	23.8	23.8
In the market	23.8	28.6	19.0	28.6
With the priest (in church)	19.1	14.3	9.5	57.1
With the local doctor/ At the local hospital	23.8	33.3	14.3	28.6
Model D				
With friends	33.3	29.3	23.3	14.1
With neighbours	18.2	26.3	34.3	21.2
In the pub or cafeteria	24.5	21.4	33.7	20.4
In leisure/sports/cultural activities	23.5	27.6	30.5	18.4
In the local shop	22.2	20.2	30.3	27.3
In the market	19.2	20.2	28.3	32.3
With the priest (in church)	15.6	15.6	22.9	45.9
With the local doctor/ At the local hospital	20.2	21.2	31.3	27.3

Confidence in the use of Basque					
	Very	Fairly	Not very	Little	Don't know
Model A					
With friends	24.3	25.2	9.1	9.9	31.5
With neighbours	3.7	11.9	11.0	29.4	44.0
In the pub or cafeteria	3.6	13.6	17.4	23.6	41.8
In leisure/sports/cultural activities	9.0	21.6	15.4	15.3	38.7
In the local shop	2.7	9.1	13.6	27.3	47.3
In the market	1.9	6.5	11.1	23.1	57.4
With the priest (in church)	0.0	8.3	8.3	23.8	59.6
With the local doctor/ At the local hospital	0.9	7.3	12.7	22.7	56.4
Model B					
With friends	66.7	4.8	19.0	9.5	0.0
With neighbours	23.8	23.8	4.8	33.3	14.3
In the pub or cafeteria	9.5	23.8	14.4	19.0	33.3
In leisure/sports/cultural activities	38.1	19.0	23.8	0.0	19.1
In the local shop	14.3	14.3	23.8	14.3	33.3
In the market	5.0	30.0	5.0	10.0	50.0
With the priest (in church)	15.0	10.0	0.0	20.0	55.0
With the local doctor/ At the local hospital	14.3	9.5	4.8	33.3	38.1
Model D					
With friends	51.5	29.3	8.1	7.1	4.0
With neighbours	14.3	24.5	16.3	29.6	15.3
In the pub or cafeteria	13.4	19.6	15.5	29.9	21.6
In leisure/sports/cultural activities	16.7	27.1	12.4	25.0	18.8
In the local shop	12.4	15.5	12.4	33.0	26.7
In the market	10.3	12.4	12.4	34.0	30.9
With the priest (in church)	11.7	10.6	10.7	25.5	41.5
With the local doctor/ At the local hospital	12.2	15.3	13.3	29.6	29.6

Table 7.6. Significance Tests and Correlations for Table 7.5

	Chi-Square	df	Significance	Cramer's V
At home				
With your mother	7.846	6	0.250	0.130
With your father	8.182	6	0.225	0.133
With your siblings	19.728	6	0.003	0.213
With your grandparents	10.970	6	0.089	0.156
At mealtimes	13.997	6	0.030	0.175
At school				
With teachers	145.513	6	0.0001	0.560
With friends (classroom)	110.338	6	0.0001	0.488
With friends (playground)	25.450	4	0.0001	0.234
Watching TV				
Programs in Spanish	28.697	6	0.0001	0.249
Programs in Basque	15.697	6	0.015	0.184

Outside home and school				
Use of Basque				
With friends	9.143	4	0.058	0.141
With neighbours	11.450	4	0.022	0.157
In the pub or cafeteria	1.676	4	0.795	0.060
In leisure/sports/cultural activities	18.628	6	0.005	0.201
In the local shop	0.826	2	0.662	0.060
In the market	3.250	4	0.517	0.084
With the priest (in church)	3.590	2	0.166	0.125
With the local doctor/ At the local hospital	2.917	4	0.572	0.080
Potential use of Basque				
With friends	21.636	6	0.001	0.216
With neighbours	25.624	6	0.0001	0.235
In the pub or cafeteria	21.961	6	0.001	0.218
In leisure/sports/cultural activities	15.704	6	0.015	0.184
In the local shop	15.903	6	0.014	0.185
In the market	14.051	6	0.029	0.174
With the priest (in church)	6.637	6	0.356	0.121
With the local doctor/ At the local hospital	24.063	6	0.001	0.228
Confidence in the use of Basque				
With friends	48.125	8	0.0001	0.323
With neighbours	33.696	8	0.0001	0.272
In the pub or cafeteria	15.435	8	0.051	0.184
In leisure/sports/cultural activities	27.506	8	0.001	0.246
In the local shop	18.805	8	0.016	0.203
In the market	28.366	8	0.0001	0.251
With the priest (in church)	19.683	8	0.012	0.210
With the local doctor/ At the local hospital	25.505	8	0.001	0.236

A number of significant differences were detected between students in different models. At home, use of Basque is significantly different when speaking with siblings and at mealtimes. Model A students record the lowest percentages of language use. The majority (55.0%) of them 'never' speak Basque with their siblings, over a third (36.7%) 'sometimes' and 7.3% 'often'. At mealtimes, 89.2% of model A students never speak Basque. As regards model B students, half of them (50.0%) speak Basque with their siblings 'sometimes', and a third 'often' (27.8%) or 'always' (5.6%). Only 16.7% claim 'never' to speak Basque with their siblings. At mealtimes, 65% of model B students 'never' speak Basque, 30% 'sometimes' and a further 5% 'often'. With respect to model D students, a third of them (33.4%) 'never' speak Basque with their siblings, half (51.1%) 'sometimes' and 14.4% 'often'. 1.1% of students claim to speak Basque with their siblings 'always'. At

mealtimes, 75.2% of model D students 'never' speak Basque, and a quarter 'sometimes' (22.7%) or 'often' (2.1%).

At school, significant differences were found in the use of Basque with teachers, with friends in the classroom and friends in the playground. In model A, over half of the students (51.7%) declare that they speak Basque 'sometimes' with their teachers, 18.8% 'often' and 3.6% 'always'. A quarter (25.9%) of the students never speak in Basque with their teachers. In model B, the majority of students (61.9%) claim that they speak in Basque with their teachers 'often', and a further 19.0% 'always'. 14.3% of the students speak in Basque with their teachers 'sometimes' and 4.8% 'never'. As regards students in model D, two thirds (65.7%) speak in Basque with their teacher 'always', and a further 28.3% 'sometimes'. A small minority claim to speak in Basque with their teachers 'sometimes' (3.0%) or 'never' (3.0%). The influence of the school environment over the use of Basque is apparent in these results. Differences in the use of Basque increase when a sense of obligation to do so prevails. Thus correlations are considerably stronger in language use with teachers ($r=0.560$) and with friends in the classroom ($r=0.488$) than in the playground ($r=0.234$).

Use of Basque decreases considerably among classmates. In model A, over a quarter (26.8%) of the students speak in Basque with their classmates inside the classroom, and the rest (72.5%) never do so. An even higher percentage (86.6%) of model A students never speak in Basque with their friends in the playground, and the rest does sometimes. Model B and model D students report a similar use of Basque with classmates. The majority of them (66.7% and 69.7%, respectively) speak Basque with their classmates in the classroom 'sometimes', and a fifth 'often'. Moreover, 4.8% of model B students claim that they speak Basque with their classmates in the classroom 'always'. Less than 10% of model B and model D students never speak in Basque with their classmates inside the classroom. In the playground, the majority of students in model B and D (61.9% and 57.6%, respectively) 'never' speak in Basque with their classmates, although a third (33.3%) in model B and 41.4% in model D do so 'sometimes'. The percentage of students in both models who speak in Basque with their classmates is minimal (4.8% and 1.0%), while nobody speaks in Basque 'always' with their classmates.

Significant differences were also found regarding how frequently students in the different teaching models watch programs in both Spanish and Basque. Over two thirds (68.8%) of model A students claim they watch programs in Spanish ‘always’, and a further 26.7% ‘often’. Model B and model D students gave similar responses. A third of them (33.3% and 36.4%, respectively) watch programs in Spanish ‘always’, and around 60% (57.2% and 59.6%, respectively) do so ‘often’. Model A students also report the highest frequency in watching programs in Basque. 60.7% of model A students watch programs in Basque sometimes, and a quarter (25.0%) often. However, the percentage of students who never watch programs in Basque is highest in this model (12.1%), compared to model B (0.0%) and model D (6.1%). A strong majority of model B and model D students watch programs in Basque ‘sometimes’ (85.7% and 79.8%, respectively).

Outside home and school, significant differences were found concerning the use of Basque in two situations, with neighbours, and in leisure, sports and cultural activities. 92.0% of model A students ‘never’ speak in Basque with their neighbours, and the rest do so ‘sometimes’. The percentages of students who never speak in Basque with their neighbours are somewhat lower in model B and model D (81.0% and 80.6% respectively). Responses to the use of Basque in leisure, sports and cultural activities are more surprising. A third of model A students speak in Basque in such situations ‘sometimes’, and the rest ‘never’ do. The use of Basque is significantly higher in model B students, as just over half (52.4%) of them claim that they ‘never’ use Basque in such activities, a third (33.3%) use Basque ‘sometimes’ and a further 14.3% ‘often’. Model D students report a lower use of Basque in leisure, sports and cultural activities than students in model A and model B. Close to three out of every four students (76.5%) ‘never’ speak Basque in such situation, 17.4% ‘sometimes’, 4.1% ‘often’ and 2.0% ‘always’.

Responses of model D students, all of whom attend the local *ikastola* schools, are rather intriguing. In such schools, especial efforts are made to promote the use of Basque, mainly through a variety of leisure, sport and cultural activities, as part of their extra curricular activity. Students who take part in these activities are warmly encouraged to speak in

Basque, and a sense of obligation about it is again apparent. One explanation would be that a number of model D students considered such activities as part of their school activities, and therefore did not include them in their responses about use of Basque outside home and school.

Students were also asked how often they would speak in Basque if they had the opportunity to do so, and how confident they felt when speaking Basque in different situations. Concerning the first question, significant differences were found on all dimensions analyzed, except when speaking with the priest. As regards confidence in the use of Basque, responses also revealed significant differences on all items, except when speaking in the pub or cafeteria. Overall, results indicate that model A students show the lowest disposition and confidence to speak in Basque in all the situations described. Model B and model D students would speak in Basque more often and are more confident about it, the former reporting higher percentages of potential use and confidence.

The two situations in which Basque is actually more widely used in Rioja Alavesa – that is to say with friends and in leisure, sports and cultural activities –, illustrate the variations between students in the different teaching groups. Around a third of model A students would ‘never’ speak in Basque with their friends (32.1%) or in leisure activities (33.1%), and 15.2% would do so ‘always’ in both situations. The remaining half would speak in Basque ‘often’ (24.1% with friends and 19.6% in leisure activities) or ‘sometimes’ (28.6% and 32.1%, respectively). Percentages of potential use of Basque are considerably higher in model B students. 42.9% of students would ‘always’ speak in Basque if they had the opportunity to do so, 23.8% ‘often’ and a further 28.5% ‘sometimes’, while only 4.8% claim they would ‘never’ speak in Basque. A third (33.3%) of model D students would ‘always’ speak with their friends, 29.3% ‘often’ and 23.3% ‘sometimes’, whereas 14.1% would never speak in Basque with their friends. In leisure, sports and cultural activities, around half of students in model B and model D (47.6% and 51.1%, respectively) would speak in Basque ‘always’ or ‘often’. However, while 9.5% of model B students claim they would never speak in Basque in such activities, the percentage rises to 18.5% among model D students.

Confidence in the use of Basque is also lowest among model A students. In the situation in which students generally feel more confident in their use of Basque, that is with friends, only half of model A students claim to be very (24.3%) or fairly (25.2%) confident. Two thirds (66.7%) of model B students feel ‘very’ confident to speak in Basque with their friends, and a further 4.8% ‘fairly’ confident. Finally, over half (51.5%) of students in model D feel ‘very’ confident in such situation, and a further 29.3% ‘fairly’ confident.

7.2.4. Attitudes towards bilingualism and Basque

In this section, attitudes towards bilingualism and Basque are investigated. Students were asked to give their opinions about a number of statements, which are presented in two tables (7.7 and 7.8).

7.2.4.1. Attitudes towards bilingualism

In the table below, responses to statements regarding attitudes towards bilingualism are shown:

Table 7.7. Comparison between teaching models in attitudes towards bilingualism

	Chi-Square	df	Significance	Cramer's V
1. It is important to be able to speak Spanish and Basque.	11.164	8	0.193	0.155
2. To speak one language in the BAC is all that is needed.	7.991	8	0.434	0.132
3. Children get confused when learning Basque and Spanish at the same time.	5.486	8	0.705	0.109
4. Speaking both Spanish and Basque helps to get a job.	12.857	8	0.117	0.166
5. Being able to write in Spanish and Basque is important.	11.705	8	0.165	0.159
6. All schools in the BAC should teach pupils to speak in Basque and Spanish.	9.163	8	0.329	0.141
7. Road signs should be in Spanish and Basque.	34.696	8	0.0001	0.273
8. Speaking two languages is not difficult.	11.085	8	0.197	0.155
9. Children in the BAC should learn to read in Basque and Spanish.	25.521	8	0.001	0.236
10. There should be more people who speak both Spanish and Basque in the government services.	10.912	8	0.207	0.154

11. People know more if they speak in Spanish and Basque.	11.629	8	0.169	0.159
12. Speaking both Spanish and Basque is more for younger than older people.	15.142	8	0.056	0.182
13. The public advertising should be bilingual.	19.125	8	0.014	0.204
14. Speaking both Basque and Spanish should help people get promotion in their job.	11.897	8	0.156	0.161
15. Young children learn to speak Spanish and Basque at the same time with ease.	6.318	8	0.612	0.117
16. Both Basque and Spanish should be important in the BAC.	3.159	8	0.924	0.083
17. People can earn more money if they speak both Spanish and Basque.	4.049	8	0.853	0.094
18. In the future, I would like to be considered as speaker of Basque and Spanish.	15.518	8	0.050	0.185
19. All people in the BAC should speak Spanish and Basque.	8.179	8	0.416	0.134
20. If I have children, I would want them to speak both Basque and Spanish.	7.815	8	0.452	0.131
21. Both the Spanish and the Basque languages can live together in the BAC.	11.829	8	0.159	0.160
22. People only need to know one language.	12.248	8	0.140	0.164
23. All the civil servants in the BAC should be bilingual.	1.390	8	0.994	0.055

The above table shows statistically significant differences between teaching models on just four items. Firstly, students in model A agree relatively less with the statement '*road signs should be in Spanish and Basque*' than students in model B and D. 33% of students in model A 'strongly agree' or 'agree' with the statement, while 26.8% 'disagree' or 'strongly disagree'. The percentage of students who 'neither agree nor disagree' reaches 40%. Students in models B and D gave similar responses. In both cases, around 70% (combining 'strongly agree' and 'agree') agree with the statement, while 9% (combining 'disagree' and 'strongly disagree') disagree. Around 20% of the students in model B and D 'neither agree nor disagree'.

Likewise, students in model A show less favourable attitudes towards the statement '*public advertising should be bilingual*'. 42.3% of them agree with the statement, while 17.1% disagree. Again, 40% of students in model A 'neither agree nor disagree'. The most favourable attitudes towards the statement are found in model B, in which 75% show their agreement with the statement, whereas only 5% disagree. In model D, 70% of the students agree and 9% disagree. 20% of the students in model B and D 'neither agree nor disagree'. These results indicate that all teaching models agree with both statements. Nevertheless, the

responses suggest that students in model A are less in favour of implementing bilingualism in society. The high percentage of students –around 40%- who ‘neither agree nor disagree’ with the statements should also be noted. This may suggest lack of concern or interest in the issue. Students in model B and D show similar favourable attitudes.

The statement ‘*children in the BAC should learn to read in Basque and Spanish*’ also received statistically significant different responses. In this case, over 70% of students in all teaching models agree with the statement. A small percentage of students disagreed in model A (6.4%) and D (4.1%). Responses of students in model B give an unexpected result. While a strong majority of students agree with the statement, 19.0% of them disagree. This is somewhat surprising considering the overall positive attitudes towards bilingualism this group has shown. In this model, the teaching is completed half in Spanish and half in Basque. A tentative explanation could be that some students find it difficult to have two languages as mediums of instruction, and express their discomfort in this response. Further considerations about the effectiveness of the teaching models will be made in the final chapter.

Finally, all groups agreed with the statement ‘*in the future, I would like to be considered as speaker of Basque and Spanish*’. In models A and B, over 70% (71.8% and 75.0%, respectively) gave a favourable response to the statement. In model A, a small minority (5.4%) showed an unfavourable attitude towards the statement, while in model B 10.0% disagreed. Students in model D differ in their response towards this statement. Only half of the students (50.0%) agreed, whereas 13.6% were in disagreement. A significant 35.4% neither agreed nor disagreed. Considering the overall positive attitudes towards bilingualism of students in model D, their weaker support for this statement is rather surprising. This may suggest that a number of students in model D may feel rather uncomfortable with the idea of bilingualism for the future, favouring monolingualism in Basque.

7.2.4.2. Attitudes towards Basque

In the following table, students’ responses to the statements about attitudes towards Basque are presented:

Table 7.8. Comparison between teaching models in attitudes towards Basque

	Chi-Square	df	Significance	Cramer's V
1. Basque is a difficult language to learn.	8.065	8	0.427	0.132
2. It is more important to know English than Basque.	15.892	8	0.044	0.186
3. Basque is a language worth learning.	9.736	8	0.284	0.145
4. There are far more useful languages to learn than Basque.	9.339	8	0.315	0.142
5. I don't want to learn Basque as I am not likely to ever use it.	8.054	8	0.428	0.132
6. I would like to be able to speak Basque if it were easier to learn.	13.068	8	0.110	0.173
7. I like to hear Basque spoken.	4.511	8	0.808	0.099
8. It is particularly necessary for the children to learn Basque in the schools to ensure its maintenance.	8.195	8	0.415	0.134
9. Basque is an obsolete language.	19.457	8	0.013	0.206
10. I should like to be able to read books in Basque.	24.942	8	0.002	0.237
11. Learning Basque is boring but necessary.	11.523	8	0.174	0.159
12. I would like to learn as much Basque as possible.	14.437	8	0.071	0.177
13. The learning of Basque should be left to individual choice.	8.708	8	0.367	0.139
14. I like speaking Basque.	4.018	8	0.855	0.094
15. Basque is a language for farmers.	17.580	8	0.025	0.195
16. I would like to learn Basque because my friends are doing that.	2.915	8	0.940	0.081
17. Learning Basque is a waste of time.	8.007	8	0.433	0.132
18. Basque should be used more in the government services.	18.076	8	0.021	0.200
19. I dislike learning Basque.	4.988	8	0.759	0.105
20. I am learning Basque because my parents want me to.	13.214	8	0.105	0.170
21. I enjoy learning Basque.	19.541	8	0.012	0.207
22. Basque is a language to be spoken only within the family and with friends.	5.740	8	0.676	0.112
23. The Basque language is something everybody should be proud of.	15.422	8	0.051	0.183
24. I like listening to TV/radio programs in Basque.	15.332	8	0.053	0.183

Six significant differences were found when comparing attitudes of the groups towards Basque. To the statement ‘*it is more important to know English than Basque*’, students in

model A agreed more than disagreed (46.6% and 25.2%). One third (33.3%) of students in model B agreed with the statement, while the percentage of those who disagreed was slightly higher (38.1%). Similarly, one third (34.7%) of students in model D supported the statement, but the percentage of students disagreeing was relatively higher (47%). These results may reflect the tension between the more instrumental value attached to English and the more integrative approach to attitudes to Basque. Integrative attitudes prevail among model D and, to a lesser extent, model B students, while instrumental attitudes are relatively more dominant among students in model A.

Responses to the negative statements '*Basque is an obsolete language*' and '*Basque is a language for farmers*' offer some interesting insights. First of all, it must be noted that both statements were disagreed with by all groups. Surprisingly, though, those who agreed less with them were students in model A. Around 10% of model A students agreed with both statements, and around 65% disagreed. Over half of the students in model B and D also disagreed with the first statement. However, 42.9% of students in model B and 20.4% of students in model D agreed. With respect to the second statement, one third (33.3%) of students in model B and one fifth (21.2%) in model D agreed with the statement. At the same time, the strongest disagreement with the statement was found in students in model D. More than half of them (52.5%) 'strongly disagreed', while a further 16.2% 'disagreed'. In model B, 42.9% of the students disagreed. Although a modest level of support for the statements was to be expected, the fact that a relatively noticeable number of students in model B and D agreed with the statements is rather intriguing. One explanation could be that while most students rejected such statements, some of them did not consider them as unequivocally negative. The antiquity of the Basque language has been often hailed as a reason to be proud of in some circles, especially from certain nationalistic positions. Similarly, Basque has been historically associated with a past 'rural paradise', and nowadays Basque is dominant in many rural areas in the Basque Country. Some students may have not appreciated the intended negative implications in the statements, but have interpreted them as about 'heritage' and rurality.

A significant difference was found in responses to the statement '*I enjoy learning Basque*'. Over half of model A students agreed with the statement, and only 13% disagreed. In

model B, practically all of the students (95.2%) supported the statement, and nobody disagreed. A lower (but nevertheless high) percentage of students in model D (71%) were in favour of the statement, while only 4.2% were opposed. A similar response was given to the statement *‘I should like to be able to read books in Basque’*. In general, very positive attitudes towards learning Basque were found in all groups. Finally, on the statement *‘Basque should be used more in the government services’*, almost half of model A students (47.2%) agreed, and 20.9% disagreed. In model B and D, around 70% of students supported the statement, while around 10% were opposed to it.

7.2.5. Language vitality

In this section, differences between teaching models about certain aspects regarding perceptions of language vitality - both in the Basque Autonomous Community and Rioja- are examined: the strength of the Spanish-speaking monolingual and Basque-speaking bilingual groups at present, 20 years ago and 20 years from now; prestige of Basque, Spanish, English and French languages; prestige of the Spanish-speaking monolingual and Basque-speaking bilingual groups; and the presence of Basque, Spanish, English and French in the education system in the BAC. The results are shown in the following tables, and derive from the questionnaire found in Appendix 1.

7.2.5.1. The Basque Autonomous Community

Table 7.9. Comparison between teaching models in students’ perceptions of language vitality in the BAC (%)

Strength of language groups															
	Not at all			Not very			Fairly			Quite a lot			Very much		
	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
Model A															
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	0.0	0.0	6.4	4.5	4.5	13.8	10.0	20.7	17.4	30.9	35.1	25.7	54.5	39.6	36.7
Basque-speaking bilinguals	4.5	0.0	2.8	24.5	4.5	3.7	24.5	25.2	11.9	29.1	41.4	33.9	17.3	28.8	47.7

Model B Spanish-speaking monolinguals	0.0	0.0	4.8	4.8	19.0	14.3	14.3	19.0	19.0	19.0	33.3	28.6	61.9	28.6	33.3
Basque-speaking bilinguals	14.3	0.0	0.0	19.0	0.0	0.0	19.0	9.5	4.8	14.3	38.1	23.8	33.3	52.4	71.4
Model D Spanish-speaking monolinguals	1.1	1.0	2.1	6.3	4.1	10.3	13.7	19.6	15.5	31.6	43.3	29.9	47.4	35.4	42.3
Basque-speaking bilinguals	5.3	0.0	3.1	16.8	3.1	7.2	24.2	9.3	15.5	24.2	42.2	19.6	29.5	45.4	54.6
Prestige of languages															
	Not at all			Not very			Fairly			Quite a lot			Very much		
Model A															
Basque	2.7			4.5			18.8			31.3			42.9		
Spanish	0.0			0.9			7.1			33.0			58.9		
English	4.5			10.7			17.9			42.0			25.0		
French	13.4			33.9			30.4			18.8			3.6		
Model B															
Basque	0.0			0.0			4.8			19.0			76.2		
Spanish	0.0			0.0			9.5			23.8			66.7		
English	4.8			9.5			19.0			47.6			19.0		
French	14.3			19.0			52.4			14.3			0.0		
Model D															
Basque	1.0			1.0			5.1			42.9			50.0		
Spanish	1.0			3.1			6.1			42.9			46.9		
English	4.1			11.2			43.9			23.5			17.3		
French	8.2			46.9			24.5			14.3			6.1		
Prestige of language groups															
	Not at all			Not very			Fairly			Quite a lot			Very much		
Model A															
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	0.9			4.5			33.9			31.3			29.5		
Basque-speaking bilinguals	1.8			1.8			11.6			41.1			43.8		
Model B															
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	4.8			0.0			42.9			23.8			28.6		
Basque-speaking bilinguals	4.8			0.0			14.3			28.6			52.4		
Model D															
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	3.1			11.2			26.5			38.8			20.4		
Basque-speaking bilinguals	2.0			0.0			9.2			35.7			53.1		

Languages in education					
	Not at all	Not very	Fairly	Quite a lot	Very much
Model A					
Basque	0.9	7.3	25.5	42.7	23.6
Spanish	0.9	0.0	2.7	27.9	68.5
English	3.6	6.3	19.8	48.6	21.6
French	7.3	33.0	47.7	10.1	1.8
Model B					
Basque	4.8	0.0	9.5	14.3	71.4
Spanish	0.0	0.0	4.8	33.3	61.9
English	4.8	14.3	23.8	38.1	19.0
French	9.5	28.6	38.1	19.0	4.8
Model D					
Basque	1.0	1.0	5.2	38.5	54.2
Spanish	0.0	1.0	8.2	40.2	50.5
English	2.1	17.5	35.1	33.0	12.4
French	8.4	33.0	42.3	13.2	3.1

Table 7.10. Significance Tests and Correlations for Table 7.9

	Chi-Square	df	Significance	Cramer's V
Strength of language groups (1)				
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	4.243	8	0.835	0.097
Basque-speaking bilinguals	10.375	8	0.240	0.152
Strength of language groups (2)				
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	10.929	8	0.206	0.154
Basque-speaking bilinguals	14.654	8	0.023	0.179
Strength of language groups (3)				
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	3.901	8	0.866	0.093
Basque-speaking bilinguals	10.747	8	0.216	0.154
Prestige of languages				
Basque	21.250	8	0.007	0.214
Spanish	7.867	8	0.381	0.130
English	20.848	8	0.008	0.212
French	12.987	8	0.112	0.168
Prestige of language groups				
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	12.051	8	0.149	0.162
Basque-speaking bilinguals	5.312	8	0.724	0.107
Languages in education				
Basque	42.794	8	0.0001	0.307
Spanish	10.571	8	0.227	0.152
English	16.853	8	0.032	0.190
French	4.680	8	0.791	0.102

A significant difference was found in the 'strength' attributed by students in different teaching models to the Basque-bilingual group. In model B and D, around 90% of students

consider that the Basque-speaking bilingual group is ‘quite’ or ‘very’ strong in vitality now. The percentage is somewhat lower among model A students, where 70.2% believe this group to be ‘quite’ or ‘very’ strong. Those who regard the Basque-bilingual group to be ‘not very’ strong or not strong ‘at all’ constitute a very small minority (4.5% in model A, 3.1% in model D and 0.0% in model B). In all models, the Basque-speaking bilingual group rates highly in terms of its strength. Such appreciation markedly contrasts with actual percentages of Basque-speakers in the BAC, where only about one third of the population speaks Basque. In this case, strength in numbers of Basque might have been equated with the institutional support this language has or with its social prestige.

Indeed, students in all teaching models rate prestige of Basque very highly, although statistically significant differences between groups were found in this dimension, as they were regarding the prestige of English. Over nine out of ten of students in model B (93.2%) and model D (92.9%) consider that Basque has ‘quite a lot’ or ‘very much’ prestige, while the percentage lowers to 74.2% among model A students. The perceived prestige of Basque is low (combining ‘not very’ and ‘not at all’) for only 7.2% of model A students and 2% of model D students. In contrast, the perceived prestige of English rates highest in model A (67% combining ‘quite a lot’ and ‘very much’) and model B (66.6%) students, whereas it is considerably lower for model D students (40.8%). In all models, around 15% of students consider English to have low prestige. Finally, no significant differences were detected when comparing perceptions of students about the prestige of the Spanish-speaking monolingual and Basque-speaking bilingual groups.

Significant differences regarding the perceived presence of Basque and English in the education system in the BAC were also detected. In general, the perceived presence of Basque is high for students in all groups, model B and model D students considering Basque to be more present than model A students. 71.4% of students in model B claim Basque is very highly present in the school in the BAC, and a further 14.3% quite a lot, while presence of Basque is very high for 54.2% and quite high for 38.5% of model D students. As regards students in model A, 23.6% believe that Basque is very much present in the education system in the BAC, and 42.7% quite a lot. On the other hand, the presence

of English is lowest for model D students. While over half of model A (68.2%, combining ‘quite a lot’ and ‘very much’) and model B (57.1%) consider that the presence of English is high, the percentage decreases to 45.4% among model D students.

Regarding English, the lower prestige and presence attributed to this language by model D students is worth noting. In an area where the teaching of Basque, especially in the *ikastola* schools, is subjected to a constant debate, and the more instrumental value of English is often mentioned, a more negative perception about the English language might be explained by a ‘competitive reaction’ to protect Basque.

7.2.5.2. Rioja Alavesa

Table 7.11. Comparison between teaching models in students’ perceptions of language vitality in the Rioja Alavesa (%)

Strength of language groups															
	Not at all			Not very			Fairly			Quite a lot			Very much		
	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
Model A															
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	0.9	0.0	0.9	3.7	6.5	13.8	8.3	9.3	16.5	21.1	24.1	20.2	66.1	39.6	48.6
Basque-speaking bilinguals	16.5	5.6	5.5	31.2	14.8	7.3	23.9	38.0	17.4	22.9	21.3	33.9	5.5	20.4	35.8
Model B															
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	0.0	4.8	4.8	9.5	4.8	9.5	4.8	9.5	14.3	23.8	28.6	28.6	61.9	52.4	42.9
Basque-speaking bilinguals	14.3	4.8	4.8	28.6	9.5	4.8	19.0	19.0	14.3	14.3	14.3	19.0	23.8	52.4	57.1
Model D															
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	0.0	0.0	2.1	1.0	0.0	3.1	10.2	10.3	16.5	23.5	21.6	23.7	65.3	68.0	54.6
Basque-speaking bilinguals	8.2	1.0	7.2	31.6	12.4	10.3	26.5	35.1	19.6	20.4	40.2	23.7	13.3	11.3	39.2

Prestige of languages					
	Not at all	Not very	Fairly	Quite a lot	Very much
Model A					
Basque	8.1	21.6	28.8	28.8	12.6
Spanish	0.0	0.0	3.6	25.2	71.2
English	7.2	16.2	29.7	33.3	13.5
French	22.5	36.9	30.6	9.0	0.9
Model B					
Basque	4.8	14.3	33.3	23.8	23.8
Spanish	0.0	0.0	9.5	19.0	71.4
English	4.8	23.8	28.6	38.1	4.8
French	23.8	33.3	33.3	9.5	0.0
Model D					
Basque	2.0	17.2	47.5	28.3	5.1
Spanish	0.0	0.0	2.0	18.2	79.8
English	13.3	28.6	26.5	22.4	9.2
French	29.6	39.8	20.4	9.2	1.0
Prestige of language groups					
	Not at all	Not very	Fairly	Quite a lot	Very much
Model A					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	0.9	3.6	10.9	30.0	54.5
Basque-speaking bilinguals	4.5	13.6	28.2	32.7	20.9
Model B					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	0.0	4.8	14.3	23.8	57.1
Basque-speaking bilinguals	4.8	9.5	19.0	23.8	42.9
Model D					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	0.0	1.0	8.2	30.6	60.2
Basque-speaking bilinguals	1.0	13.3	30.6	28.6	26.5

Table 7.12. Significance Tests and Correlations for Table 7.11

	Chi-Square	df	Significance	Cramer's V
Strength of language groups (1)				
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	6.254	8	0.619	0.117
Basque-speaking bilinguals	10.852	8	0.210	0.154
Strength of language groups (2)				
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	17.275	8	0.027	0.195
Basque-speaking bilinguals	28.390	8	0.0001	0.251
Strength of language groups (3)				
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	9.578	8	0.296	0.145
Basque-speaking bilinguals	6.176	8	0.627	0.117

Prestige of languages				
Basque	16.585	8	0.035	0.189
Spanish	4.657	4	0.324	0.100
English	10.800	8	0.213	0.153
French	3.951	8	0.862	0.093
Prestige of language groups				
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	4.210	8	0.838	0.096
Basque-speaking bilinguals	7.431	8	0.491	0.127

Comparisons between students in different bilingual teaching models reveal three statistically significant differences in the perception of language vitality in Rioja Alavesa. Students give significantly different answers to the perceived strength of both Spanish-speaking monolinguals and Basque-speaking bilinguals now, and to the prestige of the Basque language in Rioja Alavesa.

The strength of the Spanish-speaking monolingual group is highly rated in all teaching models, as over 80% of the students in each model consider it to be quite or very strong in Rioja Alavesa. This language group is seen as strongest by students in model D, as 89.6% believe it is ‘quite’ or ‘very’ strong, and none believe it is ‘not very’ or no strong ‘at all’. The perceived strength of the Basque-speaking bilingual group in Rioja Alavesa is lower for students in all teaching models. Surprisingly, though, 52.4% of the students in model B – exactly the same percentage of those who considered the Spanish-speaking group to be also very strong – regard the Basque-speaking group to be very strong in Rioja Alavesa, and a further 28.6% ‘quite’ strong. This Basque-speaking bilingual group is perceived as strong (combining ‘quite a lot’ and ‘very much’) for over half (51.5%) of the students in model D and 41.7% of students in model A. As in the BAC, the perceived strength of the Basque-speaking bilingual group in Rioja Alavesa bears little resemblance with reality. Again, from this result it might be interpreted that considerations about the social status of this group may have influenced the students’ responses. Indeed, responses to the strength and prestige of the Basque-speaking bilingual groups are rather similar (see tables 7.9 and 7.11).

Regarding the Basque language, over 40% of model A and B students consider the language has ‘quite a lot’ or ‘very much’ prestige in Rioja Alavesa, while only one third (33.4%) of model D students support this view. In this group, almost half (47.5%) of the students regard Basque to be ‘fairly’ prestigious, and a further 19.2% believe Basque has low status. This more negative perception of students in model D about the prestige of Basque may be due to a greater awareness and frustration about the situation of the language in Rioja Alavesa by those who feel closer to it.

7.2.6. Ethnolinguistic and ethnocultural identity and intergroup relations

Students were requested to report about a number of aspects regarding ethnolinguistic and ethnocultural identity and intergroup relations. In this section, these aspects are analyzed to locate differences between bilingual teaching models. The results are presented in the table below.

Table 7.13: Comparison between teaching models in students’ ethnolinguistic and ethnocultural identity and intergroup relations (%)

	Model A		Model B		Model D	
Ethnolinguistic identity						
	Now	Future	Now	Future	Now	Future
Only Basque-speaking	1.8	3.6	0.0	9.5	2.0	6.9
More Basque-speaking than Spanish-speaking	0.9	16.1	19.0	28.6	4.0	26.3
Basque-speaking and Spanish-speaking alike	26.1	54.5	62.0	57.1	44.4	49.1
More Spanish-speaking than Basque-speaking	57.7	22.3	19.0	4.8	43.4	15.1
Only Spanish-speaking	13.5	3.6	0.0	0.0	6.1	2.0
Ethnocultural identity						
Only Spanish	3.7		0.0		2.1	
More Spanish than Basque	17.6		0.0		3.2	
Basque and Spanish alike	51.9		38.1		22.3	
More Basque than Spanish	14.8		33.3		24.5	
Only Basque	12.0		28.6		47.9	
Compatibility of Basque/Spanish identity						
Yes	86.6		61.9		54.7	
No	13.4		38.1		45.3	

Conditions to be able to feel Basque / Spanish					
	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
MODEL A					
BASQUE					
To live in the Basque Country	42.3	20.7	26.2	5.4	5.4
To have been born in the BC	38.2	25.5	23.6	4.5	8.2
To speak the Basque language	46.4	22.7	20.0	6.4	4.5
To be of Basque descent	33.3	30.6	19.9	9.9	6.3
To be a Basque nationalist	20.0	10.9	36.4	9.1	23.6
To engage in the Basque culture	44.1	24.3	21.7	5.4	4.5
SPANISH					
To live in Spain	48.2	16.3	20.9	6.4	8.2
To have been born in Spain	48.2	19.1	19.1	5.4	8.2
To speak Spanish	49.1	29.1	13.7	3.6	4.5
To be of Spanish descent	40.9	22.7	20.9	10.0	5.5
To be a Spanish nationalist	21.8	9.1	36.4	9.1	23.6
To engage in the Spanish culture	37.3	28.2	22.7	3.6	8.2
MODEL B					
BASQUE					
To live in the Basque Country	50.0	20.0	15.0	10.0	5.0
To have been born in the BC	52.6	10.5	15.8	15.8	5.3
To speak the Basque language	70.0	20.0	10.0	0.0	0.0
To be of Basque descent	40.0	35.0	20.0	0.0	5.0
To be a Basque nationalist	31.6	31.6	26.3	0.0	10.5
To engage in the Basque culture	50.0	40.0	10.0	0.0	0.0
SPANISH					
To live in Spain	25.0	25.0	25.0	10.0	15.0
To have been born in Spain	30.0	10.0	30.0	15.0	15.0
To speak Spanish	40.0	25.0	15.0	15.0	5.0
To be of Spanish descent	20.0	30.0	30.0	10.0	10.0
To be a Spanish nationalist	5.0	25.0	45.0	5.0	20.0
To engage in the Spanish culture	40.0	30.0	15.0	5.0	10.0
MODEL D					
BASQUE					
To live in the Basque Country	37.2	27.7	22.4	5.3	7.4
To have been born in the BC	29.8	28.7	26.6	10.6	4.3
To speak the Basque language	46.3	28.4	17.9	1.1	6.3
To be of Basque descent	29.5	29.5	29.5	6.2	5.3
To be a Basque nationalist	22.3	21.3	43.6	6.4	6.4
To engage in the Basque culture	50.5	25.3	20.0	2.1	2.1

SPANISH						
To live in Spain	35.8	26.3	17.9	10.5	9.5	
To have been born in Spain	32.6	23.2	25.3	8.4	10.5	
To speak Spanish	42.1	25.3	16.8	6.3	9.5	
To be of Spanish descent	35.1	19.1	28.8	6.4	10.6	
To be a Spanish nationalist	27.7	20.2	35.1	7.4	9.6	
To engage in the Spanish culture	43.2	26.3	22.1	5.3	3.2	
Intergroup relations						
	Not at all	Not much	No difference	Quite	Very much	
MODEL A						
Friends						
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	0.9	3.6	58.2	9.1	28.2	
Basque-speaking bilinguals	2.7	0.9	42.4	11.7	42.3	
Classmates						
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	0.0	2.7	58.2	11.8	27.3	
Basque-speaking bilinguals	1.8	3.6	45.1	14.4	35.1	
Neighbours						
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	0.0	3.6	60.9	7.3	28.2	
Basque-speaking bilinguals	1.8	1.8	52.3	9.9	34.2	
Husband / wife						
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	2.8	7.5	54.7	8.6	26.4	
Basque-speaking bilinguals	3.6	0.9	37.8	19.9	37.8	
MODEL B						
Friends						
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	4.8	4.8	57.1	9.5	23.8	
Basque-speaking bilinguals	0.0	0.0	38.1	4.8	57.1	
Classmates						
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	9.5	9.5	47.7	9.5	23.8	
Basque-speaking bilinguals	0.0	0.0	33.4	9.5	57.1	
Neighbours						
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	9.5	0.0	57.2	14.3	19.0	
Basque-speaking bilinguals	0.0	0.0	38.1	4.8	57.1	
Husband / wife						
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	14.3	14.3	38.1	14.3	19.0	
Basque-speaking bilinguals	0.0	0.0	23.8	9.5	66.7	
MODEL D						
Friends						
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	6.1	2.0	60.3	11.2	20.4	
Basque-speaking bilinguals	2.0	0.0	28.6	19.4	50.0	
Classmates						
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	8.2	6.1	55.1	13.3	17.3	
Basque-speaking bilinguals	1.0	0.0	28.6	21.4	49.0	

Neighbours					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	5.1	1.0	63.3	14.3	16.3
Basque-speaking bilinguals	1.0	0.0	33.7	20.4	44.9
Husband / wife					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	7.3	16.7	47.8	11.5	16.7
Basque-speaking bilinguals	1.0	0.0	28.1	21.9	49.0

Table 7.14. Significance Tests and Correlations for Table 7.13

	Chi-Square	df	Significance	Cramer's V
Ethnolinguistic identity (now)	35.388	8	0.0001	0.277
Ethnolinguistic identity (future)	23.532	8	0.003	0.225
Ethnocultural identity	51.996	8	0.0001	0.341
Basque-Spanish identity	26.325	2	0.0001	0.340
Basque				
To live in the Basque Country	3.992	8	0.858	0.094
To have been born in the BC	10.605	8	0.225	0.154
To speak the Basque language	10.143	8	0.255	0.150
To be of Basque descent	5.589	8	0.693	0.111
To be a Basque nationalist	20.479	8	0.009	0.214
To engage in the Basque culture	7.246	8	0.510	0.127
Spanish				
To live in Spain	8.236	8	0.411	0.135
To have been born in Spain	9.630	8	0.292	0.146
To speak Spanish	7.158	8	0.520	0.126
To be of Spanish descent	7.180	8	0.517	0.127
To be a Spanish nationalist	16.039	8	0.042	0.189
To engage in the Spanish culture	3.916	8	0.865	0.093
Friends				
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	6.365	8	0.606	0.118
Basque-speaking bilinguals	9.218	8	0.324	0.142
Classmates				
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	14.492	8	0.070	0.178
Basque-speaking bilinguals	14.385	8	0.072	0.177
Neighbours				
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	15.780	8	0.046	0.186
Basque-speaking bilinguals	15.454	8	0.051	0.183
Husband / wife				
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	12.333	8	0.137	0.166
Basque-speaking bilinguals	10.238	8	0.249	0.150

Altogether, seven significant differences were found on the dimensions analyzed. When asked how they regarded themselves considering the language(s) they use to think, speak, read and write, 57.3% of students in model A answered they were 'more Spanish-speaking

than Basque-speaking', and a further 13.5% 'only Spanish-speaking'. 26.1% of model A students regard themselves as 'Basque-speaking and Spanish-speaking alike'. Almost half the students in model D considered they are 'more' (43.4%) or 'only Spanish-speaking' (6.1%), while 44.4% thought they were 'Basque-speaking and Spanish-speaking alike'. In both models, students who regard themselves as 'more' or 'only Basque-speaking' constitute a small minority (2.7% in model A and 6.0% in model D). Responses of students in model B appear rather more varied. While 62.0% of students believed they were 'Basque-speaking and Spanish-speaking alike', the same percentage of students –19%– consider themselves as more Spanish-speaking and more Basque-speaking. No students regard themselves as only Basque or Spanish speaking.

As regards ethnocultural identity (see question 25 of the questionnaire in Appendix 1), model A students offer a rather balanced picture concerning Basque and Spanish identities. Over half (51.9%) feel 'Basque and Spanish alike', 17.6% more 'Spanish than Basque', and 14.8% 'more Basque than Spanish'. Those who regard themselves as 'only Basque' account for 12%, whereas 3.7% feel they are 'only Spanish'. In model B, no students regard themselves as 'only Spanish' or more 'Spanish than Basque'. 38.1% feel more Basque and Spanish alike and 33.3% more Basque than Spanish. Over a quarter (28.6%) regard themselves as only Basque. In model D, almost half (47.9%) of the students feel they are 'only Basque', and the other half 'more Basque than Spanish' (24.5%) or 'Basque and Spanish alike' (22.3%). A small minority regard themselves as 'more Spanish than Basque' (3.2%) and 'only Spanish' (2.1%). When asked about the compatibility of being Basque and Spanish, a large majority of model A students believe that both identities are compatible. The percentage of those who consider that Basque and Spanish identities are compatible decreases to 61.9% among model B students, and to 54.7% among model D students. In model A and model D, the percentages of students who regard themselves as only Basque and those who believe it is not possible to be Basque and Spanish at the same time are very similar (12.0% and 13.4% in model A, and 47.9% and 45.3% in model D).

Students were also asked about the conditions needed to be able to feel Basque, and to be able to feel Spanish. In each case, one significant difference was found concerning the

items 'to be a Basque nationalist' and 'to be a Spanish nationalist'. In model A, a similar percentage of students agreed (30.9%) and disagreed (32.7%) with the first statement. In model B, those who agree (63.2%) are notably more than those who disagree (10.5%), and also in model D, though to a lesser extent (43.6% agree, in contrast to 12.8% who disagree). It must be noted, though, that in all models a high percentage of students 'neither agree nor disagree', especially in model A (36.4%) and model D (43.6%). Similar differences among groups were found regarding Spanish and the condition 'to be a Spanish nationalist'. Model B and model D students agree more than disagree, while percentages among model A students are more balanced. In this case, however, the percentage of model B students who 'neither agree nor disagree' is the highest (45%).

Finally, students were requested to report to what extent would they like to have Spanish-speaking monolinguals or Basque speaking bilinguals as best friends, classmates, neighbours and husbands or wives. Responses differed significantly when referring to Spanish-speaking monolinguals as neighbours. In all models, a majority of students considered that neighbours being either Spanish-speaking monolinguals or Basque speaking bilinguals made 'no difference', and the rest mostly would like to have Spanish-speaking monolinguals as neighbours. However, while in model A only 3.6% of the students would not like such neighbours, the percentage increases to 6.1% in model D and 9.5% in model B.

7.3. Summary of the Chapter

In the above discussion a number of differences between the three bilingual teaching models implemented in the education system in the BAC have been detected. Expected differences regarding competence in Basque have been confirmed, model A students reporting the lowest competence, followed by model B students and, with the highest perceived competence, students in model D. Differences between models concerning Spanish, English and French were less expected. Overall, the more intensive the bilingual teaching method, the more confident students appear to be in their linguistic abilities.

In general, model A students reported a lower use of Basque, less favourable attitudes towards bilingualism and Basque, more modest perceptions of the strength of Basque-speaking groups and prestige of Basque and a less accentuated sense of Basque identity than students in the other two models. Responses of model B and model D students were similar on many of the dimensions analyzed. Students in model B reported a higher use of Basque in certain situations (i.e. with siblings), a more favourable disposition to speak in Basque when possible and a higher confidence in the use of Basque. On the other hand, differences were apparent between model B and model D students regarding ethnocultural identity, the latter more favouring the 'only Basque' option.

Alongside those specific differences, a general pattern emerges where responses of model A students clearly differ from those of model B and model D students, which in turn coincide in most aspects. Model B students attend the same school, the "Samaniego" secondary school of Laguardia, as those in model A. At the same time, presence of Basque in their school curriculum is considerably higher than that of model A. Bearing these two facts in mind, it was expected that this model would act as a bridge between the other two. However, while standing between the other two models regarding competence in Basque, students in model B coincide fundamentally with model D students in most other aspects.

Chapter Eight

ANALYSIS OF THE RESULTS: COMPARISONS BETWEEN GENDERS AND AGES

8.1. Introduction

This chapter is the continuation of the previous one, in which comparisons between teaching models were made. In this case, frequencies between genders and ages are introduced, following the same structure as in chapter Seven. Differences are considered as statistically significant if the confidence level is equal to, or less than 0.05 (i.e. the minimal level used is 95% confidence).

8.2. Comparisons between boys and girls

The transition into puberty brings changes to for both genders. In terms of gender, adolescence can be seen as a process of mental, emotional and physical development. For example, girls tend to develop two years earlier than boys. Therefore, in one class grouped by age, there can be important variations from those who have not yet reached puberty and those who are sexually mature.

Romaine (1999: 190) distinguishes three main factors influencing children's socialization: family, peer group and school. As they mature, children become increasingly aware of gender stereotypes and the expectations associated with being girls or boys, through their parents, siblings, and peers, through television etc. These gender stereotypes and expectations also occur in schools.

Moreover, the differences observed between girls and boys in their ways of interacting with others may have direct implications in certain aspects examined in this study. For example, Askew and Ross state that "girls consistently read better and more than boys" (1988: 25). One reason may be that girls rely more than boys on verbal skills for social interactions, or

that girls give greater value to language-based activities. This section seeks to analyze whether and how these differences relate to aspects examined in this study.

The questionnaires employed in this study were filled in by students attending the “Samaniego” secondary school of Laguardia and the *ikastola* schools of La Puebla de Labarca (“Assa ikastola”) and Oion (“San Bizente ikastola”). In total, questionnaires completed by 232 students were considered in this study. Of those, 131 (56.5%) were girls and 101 (43.5%) boys. Responses of girls and boys will now be compared to find out if there are any statistically significant differences between them.

8.2.1. Students’ language profile

In this section, girls and boys were asked to report their abilities to speak, understand, read and write in Basque, Spanish, English and French. The results are presented in percentages in the table below.

Table 8.1: Comparison between genders in students’ language profile (%)

	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
	Fluent		Quite well		Some		A little		None	
Basque										
Speak Basque	31.3	21.8	40.5	54.5	21.3	17.7	4.6	5.0	2.3	1.0
Understand Basque	50.4	47.5	35.9	38.6	8.4	9.9	3.8	3.0	1.5	1.0
Read in Basque	53.8	44.6	32.3	45.5	10.9	7.9	1.5	1.0	1.5	1.0
Write in Basque	34.4	32.7	45.0	54.5	15.3	10.8	3.8	1.0	1.5	1.0
Spanish										
Speak Spanish	89.3	78.2	9.9	20.8	0.8	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Understand Spanish	96.2	86.1	3.0	13.9	0.8	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Read in Spanish	91.6	81.2	6.9	18.8	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Write in Spanish	84.0	72.3	15.2	25.7	0.8	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
English										
Speak English	3.1	1.0	21.4	15.8	44.2	47.6	27.5	25.7	3.8	9.9
Understand English	6.9	4.0	26.0	26.7	40.4	34.7	24.4	26.7	2.3	7.9
Read in English	9.9	5.0	32.8	29.7	42.8	38.5	13.0	21.8	1.5	5.0
Write in English	3.8	4.0	29.0	23.8	44.3	42.5	20.6	21.8	2.3	7.9

French										
	Fluent		Quite well		Some		A little		None	
Speak French	2.3	0.0	7.6	2.0	16.8	6.9	20.6	28.7	52.7	62.4
Understand French	6.9	0.0	6.1	2.0	14.4	10.9	23.7	18.8	48.9	68.3
Read in French	6.1	1.0	12.2	1.0	13.0	10.9	16.8	21.8	51.9	65.3
Write in French	4.6	0.0	10.7	2.0	10.7	7.9	21.3	25.7	52.7	64.4
First language of students										
	Basque %		Spanish %		Both %		Others %			
Girls	2.3		81.7		14.5		1.5			
Boys	6.9		82.2		9.9		1.0			

Table 8.2. Significance Tests and Correlations for Table 8.1

	Chi-Square	df	Significance	Cramer's V
I am able to speak Basque	5.240	4	0.264	0.150
I am able to understand Basque	0.598	4	0.963	0.051
I am able to read in Basque	4.347	4	0.361	0.137
I am able to write in Basque	3.783	4	0.436	0.128
I am able to speak Spanish	5.462	2	0.065	0.153
I am able to understand Spanish	9.984	2	0.007	0.207
I am able to read in Spanish	8.991	2	0.011	0.197
I am able to write in Spanish	4.798	2	0.091	0.144
I am able to speak English	5.508	4	0.239	0.154
I am able to understand English	5.314	4	0.257	0.151
I am able to read in English	7.079	4	0.132	0.175
I am able to write in English	4.479	4	0.345	0.139
I am able to speak French	12.770	4	0.012	0.235
I am able to understand French	14.159	4	0.007	0.247
I am able to read in French	16.390	4	0.003	0.266
I am able to write in French	13.171	4	0.010	0.238
First language of students	3.945	3	0.268	0.130

Significant differences were found between girls and boys with respect to the ability to understand and read in Spanish, as well as to all language abilities in French. In all cases, girls fare better than boys. Nearly all girls claim to understand and read in Spanish 'fluently' (96.2% and 91.6%, respectively), while the percentage is somewhat lower in the case of boys (86.1% and 81.2%, respectively). Almost all the rest of students understand and read in Spanish 'quite well'. Regarding French, around half of girls have no command of French on all language abilities, while the percentages rise to over 60% on all French

language dimensions for boys. Moreover, while barely 2% of the boys claim to speak, understand, read and write in French ‘fluently’ or ‘quite well’, percentages are significantly higher among girls (9.9%, 13.0%, 18.3% and 15.3% respectively, combining ‘fluently’ and ‘quite well’).

According to these results, girls generally report performing better in languages than boys. These results might reflect a general higher competence of girls over boys concerning languages. The difference might also relate to a more confident approach towards languages by girls, rather than to actual competence in such languages. Nevertheless, it needs to be observed that correlations are rather weak.

8.2.2. Students’ social network

In this section, students were asked to assess the linguistic competence of those within their everyday circle of relations. Specifically, they were asked how many of them were able to speak Basque. The results are presented in percentages in the table below.

Table 8.3. Comparison between genders in students’ social network (%)

Linguistic competence of the students' parents										
	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
	Fluently		Quite well		Some		A little		None	
Father										
Spanish	86.3	82.0	11.4	14.0	2.3	4.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Basque	0.8	0.0	2.3	3.0	3.8	1.0	30.5	26.0	62.6	67.0
English	0.0	1.0	0.8	1.0	0.8	4.0	14.4	10.0	84.0	84.0
Others	1.5	2.0	0.8	9.0	3.1	1.0	8.3	11.0	86.3	77.0
Mother										
Spanish	89.3	84.2	10.7	15.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Basque	2.3	5.9	3.8	5.0	8.4	10.9	28.2	20.8	57.3	57.4
English	0.8	2.0	1.5	1.0	0.8	6.9	9.2	10.9	87.7	79.2
Others	1.5	4.0	3.1	2.0	2.3	5.8	7.6	5.0	85.5	83.2

First language of parents										
	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
	Basque %		Spanish %		Both %		Others %			
Father	0.8	1.0	96.1	95.0	0.8	1.0	2.3	3.0		
Mother	0.8	3.0	96.1	92.0	0.8	2.0	2.3	3.0		
Ability to speak Basque of family members										
	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
	Fluent		Quite well		Some		A little		None	
Mother	2.3	5.9	3.8	5.0	8.4	10.9	28.2	20.8	57.3	57.4
Father	0.8	3.0	2.3	3.0	3.8	1.0	30.5	26.0	62.6	67.0
Siblings	28.7	38.5	28.7	28.6	27.0	16.5	5.7	5.5	9.8	11.0
Grandparents										
Father's mother	2.3	3.0	0.0	1.0	1.6	0.0	3.1	5.1	93.0	90.9
Father's father	1.6	2.1	0.8	1.0	0.8	2.1	2.4	4.1	94.3	90.7
Mother's father	3.3	5.3	0.0	1.1	0.0	1.1	4.9	5.3	91.8	87.4
Mother's mother	2.4	5.2	0.8	0.0	0.0	1.0	7.3	4.1	89.5	89.7
Ability to speak Basque of the nearby community										
	Friends		Neighbours		Classmates		Local shops and pubs			
	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
All or almost all of them	40.8	32.0	1.6	1.0	56.9	69.4	2.3	1.0		
The majority of them	33.1	29.9	2.3	8.1	27.7	11.2	1.5	2.0		
Around half of them	9.2	16.1	14.7	20.2	6.2	6.1	6.2	5.1		
A few of them	11.5	15.0	50.4	41.4	6.9	4.1	31.5	28.6		
None or almost none of them	5.4	8.0	31.0	29.3	2.3	9.2	58.5	63.3		

Table 8.4. Significance Tests and Correlations for Table 8.3

	Chi-Square	df	Significance	Cramer's V
Linguistic competence of parents				
Father				
Spanish	0.963	2	0.618	0.065
Basque	4.059	4	0.398	0.133
English	5.008	4	0.287	0.147
Others	11.060	4	0.026	0.219
Mother				
Spanish	1.346	1	0.246	0.076
Basque	3.770	4	0.438	0.127
English	7.742	4	0.101	0.183
Others	4.191	4	0.381	0.134
First language of parents				
Father	0.192	3	0.979	0.029
Mother	2.468	3	0.481	0.103

	Chi-Square	df	Significance	Cramer's V
Ability to speak Basque of family				
Mother	3.770	4	0.438	0.127
Father	1.346	1	0.246	0.133
Siblings	4.170	4	0.384	0.140
Grandparents				
Father's mother	3.487	4	0.480	0.124
Father's father	1.264	4	0.867	0.076
Mother's father	3.205	4	0.524	0.122
Mother's mother	4.095	4	0.393	0.136
Ability to speak Basque of nearby community				
Friends	4.716	4	0.318	0.143
Neighbours	5.975	4	0.201	0.162
Classmates	14.556	4	0.006	0.253
Local shops and pubs	1.092	4	0.896	0.069

The table above shows only two statistically significant differences, regarding the ability of the students' fathers to speak 'other languages' and the ability to speak Basque of the students' classmates. However, such differences appear to be substantially insignificant. According to these results, the gender of the students is not a factor influencing the language ability of their immediate social network.

8.2.3. Language use and language domains

In this section, differences in the use of Basque between boys and girls are analyzed. Self-reports of their use of Basque at home, at school, watching TV and outside home and school were requested. In the latter context, students were also asked to assess how often would they use Basque if they had the opportunity to do so, and how confident they were in using Basque. The results are shown in percentages in the next table.

Table 8.5: Comparison between genders in students' use of Basque (%)

	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
	Always		Often		Sometimes		Never	
At home								
With your mother	1.5	0.0	0.8	3.0	16.8	14.8	80.9	82.2
With your father	0.8	0.0	0.0	4.0	10.0	10.0	89.2	86.0
With your siblings	0.8	2.1	15.4	7.4	48.0	38.4	35.8	52.1
With your grandparents	0.8	1.0	0.0	3.1	6.3	8.2	92.9	87.7
At mealtimes	0.0	1.0	1.6	1.0	17.8	16.2	80.6	81.8
At school								
With teachers	30.5	32.7	25.2	28.7	27.5	27.7	16.8	10.9
With classmates (classroom)	0.8	0.0	13.7	7.9	45.0	53.5	40.5	38.6
With classmates (playground)	0.0	0.0	1.5	1.0	31.3	20.8	67.2	78.2
Watching TV								
Programs in Spanish	60.3	40.6	37.4	51.5	1.5	7.9	0.8	0.0
Programs in Basque	2.3	0.0	20.6	16.8	68.7	74.3	8.4	8.9
Outside home and school								
Use of Basque								
	Always		Often		Sometimes		Never	
With friends	0.0	0.0	5.4	3.0	53.1	36.0	41.5	61.0
With neighbours	0.0	0.0	0.8	1.0	14.6	10.9	84.6	88.1
In the pub or cafeteria	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	22.1	8.9	77.9	90.1
In leisure/sports/cultural activities	1.5	0.0	3.8	3.0	28.5	22.8	66.2	74.2
In the local shop	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8	2.0	99.2	98.0
In the market	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	3.1	1.0	96.9	98.0
With the priest (in church)	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.6	1.0	95.4	99.0
With the local doctor/ At the local hospital	0.0	0.0	1.6	0.0	3.9	2.0	94.5	98.0
Potential use of Basque								
	Always		Often		Sometimes		Never	
With friends	30.5	18.8	29.8	21.8	22.9	30.7	16.8	28.7
With neighbours	16.8	11.9	25.2	20.8	27.5	32.7	30.5	34.6
In the pub or cafeteria	17.6	16.2	26.0	16.2	30.4	28.3	26.0	39.3
In leisure/sports/cultural activities	23.8	16.8	23.8	19.8	33.8	30.7	18.6	32.7
In the local shop	17.6	17.8	19.1	14.9	29.8	23.8	33.5	43.5
In the market	16.8	12.9	19.8	13.9	27.5	24.8	35.9	48.4
With the priest (in church)	13.2	14.1	13.2	11.1	21.7	19.2	51.9	55.6
With the local doctor/ At the local hospital	15.3	14.9	19.8	14.9	23.7	30.7	41.2	39.5

Confidence in the use of Basque										
	Very		Fairly		Not very		Little		Don't know	
With friends	50.0	26.7	23.8	26.7	6.2	13.9	4.6	13.9	15.4	18.8
With neighbours	11.0	8.9	18.9	17.8	12.6	12.9	29.1	30.7	28.4	29.7
In the pub or cafeteria	7.1	9.9	18.1	15.8	20.5	10.9	26.0	25.7	28.3	37.7
In leisure/sports/cultural activities	16.5	12.9	26.0	20.8	15.7	13.9	14.2	22.8	27.6	29.6
In the local shop	7.1	8.9	10.2	14.9	17.3	9.9	29.9	26.7	35.5	39.6
In the market	5.6	5.9	8.9	13.9	14.5	6.9	25.8	27.7	45.2	45.6
With the priest (in church)	6.5	6.1	6.5	13.1	8.1	9.1	28.2	19.2	50.7	52.5
With the local doctor/ At the local hospital	7.0	6.9	9.4	12.9	13.3	10.9	28.1	24.8	42.2	44.5

Table 8.6. Significance Tests and Correlations for Table 8.5

	Chi-Square	df	Significance	Cramer's V
At home				
With your mother	3.299	3	0.348	0.119
With your father	6.036	3	0.110	0.162
With your siblings	7.976	3	0.047	0.192
With your grandparents	4.354	3	0.226	0.139
At mealtimes	1.528	3	0.676	0.082
At school				
With teachers	1.746	3	0.627	0.087
With friends (classroom)	3.375	3	0.337	0.121
With friends (playground)	3.448	2	0.178	0.122
Watching TV				
Programs in Spanish	13.062	3	0.005	0.237
Programs in Basque	3.007	3	0.390	0.114
Outside home and school				
Use of Basque				
With friends	8.631	2	0.013	0.194
With neighbours	0.720	2	0.698	0.056
In the pub or cafeteria	8.415	2	0.015	0.190
In leisure/sports/cultural activities	2.924	3	0.404	0.113
In the local shop	0.662	1	0.416	0.053
In the market	2.430	2	0.297	0.102
With the priest (in church)	2.435	1	0.119	0.103
With the local doctor/ At the local hospital	2.305	2	0.316	0.100
Potential use of Basque				
With friends	9.468	3	0.024	0.202
With neighbours	2.230	3	0.526	0.098
In the pub or cafeteria	5.858	3	0.119	0.160
In leisure/sports/cultural activities	6.593	3	0.086	0.169
In the local shop	2.850	3	0.415	0.111
In the market	4.129	3	0.248	0.133
With the priest (in church)	0.542	3	0.910	0.049
With the local doctor/ At the local hospital	1.903	3	0.593	0.091

	Chi-Square	df	Significance	Cramer's V
Confidence in the use of Basque				
With friends	17.468	4	0.002	0.275
With neighbours	0.369	4	0.985	0.040
In the pub or cafeteria	5.380	4	0.251	0.154
In leisure/sports/cultural activities	3.685	4	0.450	0.127
In the local shop	3.884	4	0.422	0.131
In the market	4.217	4	0.377	0.137
With the priest (in church)	4.577	4	0.334	0.143
With the local doctor/ At the local hospital	1.211	4	0.876	0.073

Five statistically significant differences were found between girls and boys regarding language use. At home, girls speak in Basque with their siblings more often than boys. While over half (52.1%) of the boys 'never' speak in Basque with their siblings, 35.8% of the girls never do. 48.0% of girls speak in Basque with their siblings 'sometimes', and a further 15.4% 'often'. A majority (38.4%) of boys who speak in Basque with their siblings do so 'sometimes', and 7.4% 'often'. The percentages of girls and boys who speak in Basque with their siblings 'always' is very low (0.8% and 2.1%, respectively). Girls also claim to watch programs in Spanish more often than boys, as 60.3% claim to watch them 'always' and 37.4% 'often'. As regards boys, 40.6% watch programs in Spanish 'always' and 51.5% of them 'sometimes'.

Outside home and school, significant differences were detected regarding the use of Basque with friends and in the pub or cafeteria. In such situations, girls reported a higher use of Basque than boys. A majority (53.1%) of girls claim that they speak in Basque with their friends 'sometimes', and a further 5.4% 'often'. 41.5% 'never' speak in Basque with their friends. With respect to boys, the majority (61.0%) 'never' speak in Basque with their friends, 36.0% do it 'sometimes' and 3.0% 'often'. Use of Basque in the pub or cafeteria is much lower. 90.1% of boys never speak in Basque in the pub or cafeteria, while 77.9% of girls never do. The rest speak in Basque 'sometimes'.

Students were also asked how often would they speak in Basque if they had the opportunity to do so, and how confident they felt when speaking Basque in different situations. Responses revealed differences regarding both the potential use of Basque and the

confidence in the use of Basque in just one situation, speaking with friends. In such a situation, girls show a more positive disposition to use Basque and their confidence to do so is also higher. If possible, the majority of girls would speak in Basque ‘always’ (30.5%) or ‘often’ (29.8%), and only 16.8% would ‘never’ speak in Basque with their friends. The percentage of boys who would ‘never’ speak with their friends in Basque is considerably higher (28.7%), whereas the percentage of boys who would speak in Basque in such a situation ‘always’ (18.8%) or ‘often’ (21.8%) is comparably lower. As regards use of Basque with friends, half (50.0%) of the girls feel ‘very’ and a further 23.8% ‘fairly’ confident. Confidence is much lower among boys, as only around half of them feel ‘very’ (26.7%) or ‘fairly’ (26.7%) confident in their use of Basque with friends.

In the few differences detected between boys and girls, girls reported a higher use of Basque. Nevertheless, correlations in these dimensions are relatively weak.

8.2.4. Attitudes towards bilingualism and Basque

In this section, attitudes of girls and boys towards bilingualism and Basque are examined. Students were requested to give their opinions about a number of statements (see question 10 in Appendix 1).

8.2.4.1. Attitudes towards bilingualism

The table below presents students’ responses to the statement about attitudes towards bilingualism:

Table 8.7. Comparison between genders in students’ attitudes towards bilingualism

	Chi-Square	df	Significance	Cramer’s V
1. It is important to be able to speak Spanish and Basque.	10.326	4	0.035	0.211
2. To speak one language in the BAC is all that is needed.	3.349	4	0.501	0.120
3. Children get confused when learning Basque and Spanish at the same time.	7.015	4	0.135	0.174
4. Speaking both Spanish and Basque helps to get a job.	4.659	4	0.324	0.142

5. Being able to write in Spanish and Basque is important.	3.886	4	0.422	0.130
6. All schools in the BAC should teach pupils to speak in Basque and Spanish.	4.178	4	0.382	0.134
7. Road signs should be in Spanish and Basque.	5.788	4	0.216	0.158
8. Speaking two languages is not difficult.	7.105	4	0.130	0.175
9. Children in the BAC should learn to read in Basque and Spanish.	2.731	4	0.604	0.109
10. There should be more people who speak both Spanish and Basque in the government services.	9.247	4	0.055	0.200
11. People know more if they speak in Spanish and Basque.	20.086	4	0.0001	0.295
12. Speaking both Spanish and Basque is more for younger than older people.	14.957	4	0.005	0.256
13. The public advertising should be bilingual.	0.678	4	0.954	0.054
14. Speaking both Basque and Spanish should help people get promotion in their job.	0.354	4	0.986	0.039
15. Young children learn to speak Spanish and Basque at the same time with ease.	8.093	4	0.088	0.187
16. Both Basque and Spanish should be important in the BAC.	3.051	4	0.549	0.115
17. People can earn more money if they speak both Spanish and Basque.	3.293	4	0.510	0.120
18. In the future, I would like to be considered as speaker of Basque and Spanish.	7.500	4	0.112	0.182
19. All people in the BAC should speak Spanish and Basque.	7.318	4	0.120	0.179
20. If I have children, I would want them to speak both Basque and Spanish.	5.774	4	0.217	0.159
21. Both the Spanish and the Basque languages can live together in the BAC.	6.110	4	0.191	0.163
22. People only need to know one language.	17.256	4	0.002	0.275
23. All the civil servants in the BAC should be bilingual.	2.247	4	0.690	0.099

Attitudes towards bilingualism showed significant differences between girls and boys in just four statements. Both girls and boys agree with the positive statement '*it is important to be able to speak Spanish and Basque*', but the percentage of girls strongly agreeing (69.5%) is relatively higher than boys (53.5%). No girls disagree with the statement, while 4% of boys do so. A significant difference was also found with the statement '*people know more if they speak in Spanish and Basque*', with 30.0% of girls agreeing, whereas 55.5% of boys agree with it. The percentage of girls (34.6%) who 'neither agree nor disagree' with the statement is significantly higher than that of boys (24.8%).

Significant differences between girls and boys were also found in the negative statements '*speaking both Spanish and Basque is more for younger than older people*' and '*people*

only need to know one language'. Both girls and boys disagree with the statements, girls, however, disagreeing more than boys. Almost three out of four (72.9%) of girls show an unfavourable attitude towards the first statement, while just over half (50.5%) of boys do so. As regards the second statement, 76.2% of girls disagree, whereas the percentage (66.6%) of boys disagreeing is relatively lower.

8.2.4.2. Attitudes towards Basque

In the table below, responses to the statements regarding attitudes towards Basque are presented:

Table 8.8. Comparison between genders in students' attitudes towards Basque

	Chi-Square	df	Significance	Cramer's V
1. Basque is a difficult language to learn.	1.973	4	0.741	0.092
2. It is more important to know English than Basque.	1.712	4	0.789	0.086
3. Basque is a language worth learning.	6.003	4	0.199	0.161
4. There are far more useful languages to learn than Basque.	5.790	4	0.215	0.159
5. I don't want to learn Basque as I am not likely to ever use it.	15.454	4	0.004	0.259
6. I would like to be able to speak Basque if it were easier to learn.	2.608	4	0.625	0.109
7. I like to hear Basque spoken.	18.665	4	0.001	0.285
8. It is particularly necessary for the children to learn Basque in the schools to ensure its maintenance.	6.615	4	0.158	0.171
9. Basque is an obsolete language.	7.817	4	0.099	0.184
10. I should like to be able to read books in Basque.	3.198	4	0.525	0.120
11. Learning Basque is boring but necessary.	5.339	4	0.254	0.153
12. I would like to learn as much Basque as possible.	16.809	4	0.002	0.270
13. The learning of Basque should be left to individual choice.	5.131	4	0.274	0.151
14. I like speaking Basque.	19.162	4	0.001	0.289
15. Basque is a language for farmers.	12.668	4	0.013	0.234
16. I would like to learn Basque because my friends are doing that.	1.969	4	0.741	0.094
17. Learning Basque is a waste of time.	12.603	4	0.013	0.234
18. Basque should be used more in the government services.	3.426	4	0.489	0.123
19. I dislike learning Basque.	20.433	4	0.0001	0.301
20. I am learning Basque because my parents want me to.	18.299	4	0.001	0.283
21. I enjoy learning Basque.	10.173	4	0.038	0.211
22. Basque is a language to be spoken only within the family and with friends.	13.727	4	0.008	0.245

23. The Basque language is something everybody should be proud of.	16.890	4	0.002	0.271
24. I like listening to TV/radio programs in Basque.	4.215	4	0.378	0.135

Results indicate that girls have consistently more positive attitudes towards Basque than boys. Altogether, eleven differences were found between girls and boys regarding attitudes towards Basque. Invariably, girls agree more than boys when responding to positive statements, and disagree more vigorously when negative statements are considered. Despite the correlations being rather weak, the consistency in the direction of the responses suggests differential attitudes to Basque between girls and boys in a number of dimensions.

As regards attitudes towards learning Basque, girls agree more than boys with the statements '*I would like to learn as much Basque as possible*' and '*I enjoy learning Basque*', although the majority of boys also show a favourable attitude towards the statements. 90.3% and 67.5% of girls, respectively, agree (combining 'strongly agree' and 'agree') with the statements, whereas the percentages of boys agreeing (69.0% and 53.0% respectively) are relatively lower. Girls, on the other hand, agree less than boys with statements such as '*I don't want to learn Basque as I am not likely to ever use it*' (83.9% of girls disagree, in contrast to 74.0% of boys), '*learning Basque is a waste of time*' (86.9% of girls and 76.0% of boys disagree), '*I dislike learning Basque*' (82.5% of girls and 60.6% of boys disagree) and '*I am learning Basque because my parents want me to*' (77.4% of girls and 54.0% of boys disagree). It has to be noted, again, that the majority of both girls and boys disagree with the statements.

Differences between girls and boys also emerged regarding general attitudes towards Basque. Girls disagreed more than boys with the negative statements '*Basque is a language for farmers*' and '*Basque is a language to be spoken only within the family and with friends*'. While a similar percentage of girls and boys disagree with the first statement (67.2% and 63.0% respectively), boys showing disagreement are noticeably more than girls (25.0% and 12.2% respectively). A high majority of girls and boys support the second statement, but girls (93.8%) agree significantly more than boys (77.8%). On the other hand,

the percentage of boys agreeing with the positive statement ‘*the Basque language is something everybody should be proud of*’ is lower than girls’ (55.0% and 75.4%, respectively). Moreover, while only 5.0% of girls disagree with the statement, 15.0% of boys do so.

Finally, girls showed a much more favourable attitude to the statements ‘*I like to hear Basque spoken*’ and ‘*I like speaking Basque*’ than boys. While over 80% (84.7% and 82.3%, respectively) of girls agree with the statements and very few (5.4% and 3.8%) disagree, over half (55.5% and 56.5%) of boys agree and around 15% (15.2% and 14.2%) disagree.

8.2.5. Language vitality

In this section, differences between girls and boys about certain aspects regarding perceptions of language vitality are analyzed, both in the Basque Autonomous Community and Rioja. The results are presented in the tables below.

8.2.5.1. The Basque Autonomous Community

Table 8.9. Comparison between genders in students’ perceptions of language vitality in the BAC (%)

ERIC (Full Text Provided by ERIC)

Strength of language groups															
	Not at all			Not very			Fairly			Quite a lot			Very much		
	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
Girls															
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	0.0	0.8	4.6	7.1	4.6	13.1	12.6	16.9	18.5	26.0	38.5	23.1	54.3	39.2	40.8
Basque-speaking bilinguals	6.3	0.0	1.5	20.5	3.8	3.8	23.6	16.9	10.0	25.2	38.5	28.5	24.4	40.8	56.2
Boys															
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	1.0	0.0	4.1	3.0	7.1	11.3	11.1	24.2	14.4	35.4	34.0	28.6	49.5	30.3	36.1
Basque-speaking bilinguals	5.1	0.0	4.1	21.2	3.0	6.2	24.2	17.2	16.5	26.3	45.5	24.7	23.2	34.3	48.5

Prestige of languages					
	Not at all	Not very	Fairly	Quite a lot	Very much
Girls					
Basque	0.0	2.3	13.0	34.4	50.4
Spanish	0.0	1.5	4.6	33.6	60.3
English	5.3	6.9	29.8	38.2	19.8
French	9.2	35.1	32.8	19.1	3.8
Boys					
Basque	4.0	3.0	10.0	36.0	47.0
Spanish	1.0	2.0	10.0	40.0	47.0
English	3.0	16.0	28.0	30.0	23.0
French	14.0	42.0	26.0	13.0	5.0
Prestige of language groups					
	Not at all	Not very	Fairly	Quite a lot	Very much
Girls					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	1.5	6.9	29.8	32.8	29.0
Basque-speaking bilinguals	0.0	0.8	9.9	35.9	53.4
Boys					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	3.0	7.0	34.0	35.0	21.0
Basque-speaking bilinguals	5.0	1.0	12.0	40.0	42.0
Languages in education					
	Not at all	Not very	Fairly	Quite a lot	Very much
Girls					
Basque	0.0	3.9	17.1	40.3	38.8
Spanish	0.8	0.0	4.5	26.2	68.5
English	3.1	5.4	24.6	49.2	17.7
French	6.2	30.2	45.0	14.7	3.9
Boys					
Basque	3.1	4.1	13.3	35.7	43.9
Spanish	0.0	1.0	6.1	43.4	49.5
English	3.0	20.2	29.3	30.3	17.2
French	11.2	36.7	38.8	11.2	2.0

Table 8.10. Significance Tests and Correlations for Table 8.9

	Chi-Square	df	Significance	Cramer's V
Strength of language groups (1)				
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	4.982	4	0.289	0.148
Basque-speaking bilinguals	0.231	4	0.994	0.032
Strength of language groups (2)				
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	4.124	4	0.390	0.134
Basque-speaking bilinguals	1.382	4	0.710	0.078
Strength of language groups (3)				
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	3.417	4	0.491	0.123
Basque-speaking bilinguals	4.775	4	0.311	0.145

	Chi-Square	df	Significance	Cramer's V
Prestige of languages				
Basque	5.957	4	0.202	0.161
Spanish	6.270	4	0.180	0.165
English	6.507	4	0.164	0.168
French	4.230	4	0.376	0.135
Prestige of language groups				
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	2.394	4	0.664	0.102
Basque-speaking bilinguals	8.598	4	0.072	0.193
Languages in education				
Basque	5.136	4	0.274	0.150
Spanish	10.645	4	0.031	0.216
English	15.841	4	0.003	0.263
French	4.021	4	0.403	0.133

The above table shows statistically significant differences between girls and boys on just two items, regarding the presence of Spanish and English in the education system in the Basque Autonomous Community. In both cases, girls perceive the presence of such languages to be higher. Spanish is quite or very well represented in the education system for 94.7% of the girls, while the percentage decreases to 79.6% in the case of boys. Similarly, while English is quite or very well represented for 56.9% of the girls, it is so for 47.5% of the boys.

8.2.5.2. Rioja Alavesa

Table 8.11. Comparison between genders in students' perceptions of language vitality in the Rioja Alavesa (%)

Strength of language groups															
	Not at all			Not very			Fairly			Quite a lot			Very much		
	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
Girls															
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	0.8	0.8	1.6	4.7	3.1	11.0	5.5	8.6	13.4	25.0	21.1	22.8	64.1	66.4	51.2
Basque-speaking bilinguals	9.4	1.6	3.1	34.4	14.1	7.9	26.6	28.1	15.0	18.0	33.6	26.8	11.7	22.7	47.2
Boys															
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	0.0	0.0	2.0	1.0	4.1	6.0	13.0	11.2	20.0	19.0	26.5	22.0	67.0	58.2	50.0
Basque-speaking bilinguals	17.0	6.1	10.0	27.0	12.2	9.0	22.0	43.9	22.0	25.0	22.4	30.0	9.0	15.3	29.0

Prestige of languages					
	Not at all	Not very	Fairly	Quite a lot	Very much
Girls					
Basque	4.6	16.8	33.6	31.3	13.7
Spanish	0.0	0.0	4.6	16.0	79.4
English	4.6	20.0	34.6	29.2	11.5
French	18.5	40.0	33.1	7.7	0.8
Boys					
Basque	6.0	22.0	42.0	24.0	6.0
Spanish	0.0	0.0	2.0	29.0	69.0
English	16.0	25.0	20.0	29.0	10.0
French	35.0	35.0	18.0	11.0	1.0
Prestige of language groups					
Girls					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	0.8	3.9	8.5	28.7	58.1
Basque-speaking bilinguals	1.6	12.4	23.2	31.0	31.8
Boys					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	0.0	1.0	12.0	31.0	56.0
Basque-speaking bilinguals	5.0	14.0	35.0	29.0	17.0

Table 8.12. Significance Tests and Correlations for Table 8.11

	Chi-Square	df	Significance	Cramer's V
Strength of language groups (1)				
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	7.875	4	0.096	0.186
Basque-speaking bilinguals	5.735	4	0.220	0.159
Strength of language groups (2)				
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	2.604	4	0.626	0.107
Basque-speaking bilinguals	11.276	4	0.024	0.223
Strength of language groups (3)				
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	3.194	4	0.526	0.119
Basque-speaking bilinguals	10.833	4	0.029	0.218
Prestige of languages				
Basque	6.449	4	0.168	0.167
Spanish	6.314	2	0.043	0.165
English	12.692	4	0.013	0.235
French	11.957	4	0.018	0.228
Prestige of language groups				
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	3.377	4	0.497	0.121
Basque-speaking bilinguals	9.976	4	0.041	0.209

Six statistically significant differences between boys and girls were found concerning language vitality in Rioja. Responses of girls and boys differ as regards the perceived

strength of the Basque-speaking bilingual group now and 20 years from now, the prestige of Spanish, English and French, and the prestige of the Basque-speaking bilingual group.

Over half of girls considered the Basque-speaking bilingual group is ‘quite’ or ‘very’ strong in Rioja (56.3% combining ‘quite a lot’ and ‘very much’), and a higher percentage expect it to be strong 20 years from now (74.0%). For their part, over a third (37.7%) of the boys regards this group as ‘quite’ or ‘very’ strong in Rioja, and a majority (59%) think it will be in the future. Girls also believe the prestige of the Basque-speaking bilingual group to be higher. While the majority of girls (61.8%, combining ‘quite a lot’ and ‘very much’), consider that the prestige of this group is high, 46.0% of boys do so.

Girls and boys differ significantly concerning the prestige of Spanish, English and French in Rioja. As regards Spanish, a large majority of both girls and boys (over 95%, combining ‘quite a lot’ and ‘very much’) consider that Spanish is a highly prestigious language in Rioja, although a relatively higher percentage of girls favour the option ‘very much’ (79.4%, in contrast to 69.0% of boys). Differences between girls and boys regarding English and French follow a similar pattern. While the percentage of girls and boys who have a positive perception is similar, boys with a negative perception about the prestige of English (41.0%, combining ‘not at all’ and ‘not very’) and French (70.0%) are more than girls (24.6% and 58.5%, respectively).

8.2.6. Ethnolinguistic and ethnocultural identity and intergroup relations

Students were requested to provide self-reports about a number of issues concerning ethnolinguistic and ethnocultural identity and intergroup relations. In this section, these issues are examined to locate any differences between girls and boys. The results are presented in the following table.

Table 8.13: Comparison between genders in students' ethnolinguistic and ethnocultural identity and intergroup relations (%)

Identity and intergroup relations (%)		Girls		Boys	
Ethnolinguistic identity					
	Now	Future	Now	Future	
Only Basque-speaking	0.8	4.6	3.0	9.9	
More Basque-speaking than Spanish-speaking	3.8	32.1	4.0	18.8	
Basque-speaking and Spanish-speaking alike	38.5	48.1	35.6	50.5	
More Spanish-speaking than Basque-speaking	46.9	13.7	49.5	16.8	
Only Spanish-speaking	10.0	1.5	7.9	4.0	
Ethnocultural identity					
Only Spanish	0.0		6.4		
More Spanish than Basque	13.2		5.3		
Basque and Spanish alike	37.1		39.3		
More Basque than Spanish	20.2		21.3		
Only Basque	29.5		27.7		
Compatibility of Basque/Spanish identity					
Yes	74.6		66.3		
No	25.4		33.7		
Conditions to be able to feel Basque / Spanish					
GIRLS					
	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
BASQUE					
To live in the Basque Country	39.8	24.2	23.5	7.0	5.5
To have been born in the BC	32.5	25.4	26.3	9.5	6.3
To speak the Basque language	51.9	27.1	14.8	3.9	2.3
To be of Basque descent	27.9	31.0	25.6	10.1	5.4
To be a Basque nationalist	20.5	18.1	37.7	8.7	15.0
To engage in the Basque culture	51.2	24.0	18.5	4.7	1.6
SPANISH					
To live in Spain	40.6	21.9	20.3	8.6	8.6
To have been born in Spain	37.5	21.9	25.0	7.8	7.8
To speak Spanish	46.1	29.6	14.1	6.3	3.9
To be of Spanish descent	32.8	22.7	28.8	10.2	5.5
To be a Spanish nationalist	20.5	17.3	39.3	7.9	15.0
To engage in the Spanish culture	43.0	26.6	21.8	4.7	3.9

BOYS					
	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
BASQUE					
To live in the Basque Country	42.3	22.7	23.7	4.1	7.2
To have been born in the BC	40.2	25.8	21.6	6.2	6.2
To speak the Basque language	43.8	21.9	22.9	3.1	8.3
To be of Basque descent	38.1	29.9	21.7	4.1	6.2
To be a Basque nationalist	24.0	15.6	39.6	5.2	15.6
To engage in the Basque culture	42.3	28.8	21.6	2.1	5.2
SPANISH					
To live in Spain	41.2	20.7	19.6	8.2	10.3
To have been born in Spain	43.3	17.5	19.6	7.2	12.4
To speak Spanish	44.3	23.7	16.5	5.2	10.3
To be of Spanish descent	41.7	20.8	19.7	6.3	11.5
To be a Spanish nationalist	25.8	12.4	33.0	8.2	20.6
To engage in the Spanish culture	36.1	28.9	21.6	4.1	9.3
Intergroup relations					
	Not at all	Not much	No difference	Quite	Very much
GIRLS					
Friends					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	3.1	1.5	62.5	11.5	21.4
Basque-speaking bilinguals	0.8	0.8	35.8	11.5	51.1
Classmates					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	3.1	2.3	62.5	11.5	20.6
Basque-speaking bilinguals	0.0	1.5	38.9	16.0	43.6
Neighbours					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	1.5	0.8	66.4	10.7	20.6
Basque-speaking bilinguals	0.0	1.5	43.5	14.5	40.5
Husband / wife					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	6.3	11.8	47.3	12.6	22.0
Basque-speaking bilinguals	0.8	0.8	26.3	17.8	54.3
BOYS					
Friends					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	4.1	5.1	54.0	8.2	28.6
Basque-speaking bilinguals	4.0	0.0	36.4	18.2	41.4
Classmates					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	6.1	8.2	46.9	13.3	25.5
Basque-speaking bilinguals	3.0	2.0	34.4	18.2	42.4
Neighbours					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	5.1	4.1	55.1	11.2	24.5
Basque-speaking bilinguals	3.0	0.0	42.5	13.1	41.4

	Not at all	Not much	No difference	Quite	Very much
Husband / wife					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	5.2	12.5	54.2	7.3	20.8
Basque-speaking bilinguals	4.0	0.0	40.5	22.2	33.3

Table 8.14. Significance Tests and Correlations for Table 8.13

	Chi-Square	df	Significance	Cramer's V
Ethnolinguistic identity (now)	2.063	4	0.724	0.094
Ethnolinguistic identity (future)	7.883	4	0.096	0.184
Ethnocultural identity	11.799	4	0.019	0.230
Basque-Spanish identity	1.867	1	0.172	0.090
Basque				
To live in the Basque Country	1.215	4	0.876	0.073
To have been born in the BC	2.127	4	0.712	0.098
To speak the Basque language	7.549	4	0.110	0.183
To be of Basque descent	4.842	4	0.304	0.146
To be a Basque nationalist	1.470	4	0.832	0.081
To engage in the Basque culture	5.050	4	0.282	0.149
Spanish				
To live in Spain	0.242	4	0.993	0.033
To have been born in Spain	2.898	4	0.575	0.113
To speak Spanish	4.489	4	0.344	0.141
To be of Spanish descent	6.517	4	0.164	0.171
To be a Spanish nationalist	3.199	4	0.525	0.120
To engage in the Spanish culture	3.361	4	0.499	0.122
Friends				
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	4.994	4	0.288	0.148
Basque-speaking bilinguals	6.463	4	0.167	0.168
Classmates				
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	8.437	4	0.077	0.192
Basque-speaking bilinguals	4.539	4	0.338	0.140
Neighbours				
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	6.730	4	0.151	0.171
Basque-speaking bilinguals	5.586	4	0.232	0.156
Husband / wife				
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	2.185	4	0.702	0.099
Basque-speaking bilinguals	12.876	4	0.012	0.238

Boys and girls differ significantly in their responses to just two items. Significant differences were detected between girls and boys regarding their ethnocultural identity and their preferences to have a Basque-speaking bilingual person as their husband/wife.

When asked to report how they regarded themselves according to their culture, similar responses were given. However, 6.4% of boys regarded themselves as 'only Spanish', and a

further 5.3% 'more Spanish than Basque'. No girls regarded themselves as 'only Spanish', while 13.2% considered they were 'more Spanish than Basque'.

Finally, responses of girls and boys differed significantly when asked to what extent would they like to have a Basque-speaking bilingual person as their husband/wife. While percentages showing rejection were minimal in both girls and boys (1.6% and 4.0%, respectively), girls were more given this possibility. Over half (54.3%) of girls would like to have a Basque-speaking bilingual as their husband 'very much', and a further 17.4% 'quite', in contrast to 41.4% and 13.1% of boys, respectively. The percentage of boys (40.5%) who considered it made 'no difference' was significantly higher than that of girls (26.3%).

8.2.7. Concluding remarks

When comparing girls and boys, a general pattern is apparent. The responses of girls are consistently more positive than those of boys, regardless of the questions to which they refer. Thus, girls fare better than boys regarding receptive abilities in Spanish and overall in French, they speak in Basque with friends more often than boys and are more willing and confident to use Basque with them. Girls consider that the presence of Spanish and English in the schools of the BAC, the strength and prestige of the Basque-speaking bilingual group and the prestige of Spanish, English and French in Rioja are stronger. From such consistency in the nature of the differences, it could be inferred that girls generally feel more inclined than boys to answer positively rather than negatively.

Nevertheless, such an acquiescent response set is not explanatory enough for all the differences between girls and boys. For example, such gender differences are wide when considering attitudes towards the Basque language. Answers differ significantly on eleven statements out of a total of twenty-four. In all cases, girls agree more than boys when positive statements are considered, and disagree more when responding to negative statements. From these results it could be concluded that the biggest differences between

girls and boys are found in their attitude to Basque, with girls more supportive of the heritage 'mother tongue' of the region.

A final comment should be made about the socio-economic context in which the girls and boys taking part in the study live, as it may have an indirect influence on their responses. Rioja is a prosperous region, mainly due to a wine industry which in recent years has dramatically increased its presence in national and international markets. Given that no especial qualification is required to run the small businesses related to such industry currently booming in the area, school is perceived by many young people as a waste of time. One consequence of this discreditation of education as a way of integrating into the job market is the high rate of abandonment of compulsory schooling in the region. This general feeling of disinterest in school achievement may be stronger among boys, who traditionally are more likely to inherit and work in the wine-related businesses. Girls tend to rely more on education to succeed in the job market. Although no data is available to confirm this impression, similar views have been voiced by parents in the area (see chapter Five). The relatively higher interest of girls in academic achievement may explain their more positive general approach to the issues prompted by this study. This theme will be returned to in the final, concluding chapter.

8.3. Comparison between ages

During the teenage years motivational, physical and self-concept changes occur. In this period, the influence of adults tends to decline, both at home and school, as teenagers move away from family identity towards a more individual and peer group identity. The influence of the peer group in the socialization process becomes stronger. The teenager will start to look at young people as role models, and will be influenced by the mass media. At the same time, teenagers may experience their first sexual relationships.

In this period of change, a number of linguistic decisions are made, the consequences of which may prove far-reaching. For example, in a bilingual context, age might be an influencing factor in terms of language choice and language use, especially at a time when new social relationships are established. However, language changes may not be isolated,

but need to be related to the many changes of the teenage years. In this unsettled scenario, it seems appropriate to assess whether these changes relate to issues analyzed in this study.

8.3.1. Students' language profile

In this section, differences in language profile between ages are analyzed. Students of varying ages were asked to self-report their abilities to speak, understand, read and write in Basque, Spanish, English and French. The results are presented in percentages in the table below.

Table 8.15: Comparison between ages in students' language profile (%)

	Degree of language ability in Basque				
	Fluent	Quite well	Some	A little	None
Born before 1983					
I am able to speak Basque	20.0	50.0	20.0	5.0	5.0
I am able to understand Basque	50.0	40.0	0.0	10.0	0.0
I am able to read in Basque	52.6	31.6	10.5	0.0	5.3
I am able to write in Basque	30.0	40.0	25.0	5.0	0.0
Born in 1983					
I am able to speak Basque	26.9	36.5	30.8	5.8	0.0
I am able to understand Basque	36.5	44.2	19.3	0.0	0.0
I am able to read in Basque	42.3	44.2	13.5	0.0	0.0
I am able to write in Basque	28.8	51.9	17.4	1.9	0.0
Born in 1984					
I am able to speak Basque	25.4	52.2	16.4	3.0	3.0
I am able to understand Basque	61.2	28.3	7.5	0.0	3.0
I am able to read in Basque	49.3	40.2	7.5	1.5	1.5
I am able to write in Basque	35.8	50.7	7.5	3.0	3.0
Born in 1985					
I am able to speak Basque	27.7	48.9	17.0	6.4	0.0
I am able to understand Basque	40.4	44.7	4.3	10.6	0.0
I am able to read in Basque	53.2	34.0	8.5	4.3	0.0
I am able to write in Basque	31.9	51.1	14.9	2.1	0.0

	Fluent	Quite well	Some	A little	None
Born in 1986					
I am able to speak Basque	32.6	45.7	15.2	4.3	2.2
I am able to understand Basque	54.3	32.6	8.7	2.2	2.2
I am able to read in Basque	54.3	34.8	8.7	0.0	2.2
I am able to write in Basque	39.1	45.7	10.8	2.2	2.2
	Degree of language ability in Spanish				
	Fluent	Quite well	Some	A little	None
Born before 1983					
I am able to speak Spanish	75.0	25.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
I am able to understand Spanish	90.0	10.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
I am able to read in Spanish	85.0	15.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
I am able to write in Spanish	55.0	45.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Born in 1983					
I am able to speak Spanish	86.5	13.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
I am able to understand Spanish	92.3	7.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
I am able to read in Spanish	90.4	7.7	1.9	0.0	0.0
I am able to write in Spanish	82.7	17.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
Born in 1984					
I am able to speak Spanish	86.6	11.9	1.5	0.0	0.0
I am able to understand Spanish	94.0	6.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
I am able to read in Spanish	88.1	11.9	0.0	0.0	0.0
I am able to write in Spanish	83.6	13.4	3.0	0.0	0.0
Born in 1985					
I am able to speak Spanish	80.9	17.0	2.1	0.0	0.0
I am able to understand Spanish	85.1	12.8	2.1	0.0	0.0
I am able to read in Spanish	76.6	21.3	2.1	0.0	0.0
I am able to write in Spanish	72.3	25.6	2.1	0.0	0.0
Born in 1986					
I am able to speak Spanish	87.0	13.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
I am able to understand Spanish	95.7	4.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
I am able to read in Spanish	93.5	6.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
I am able to write in Spanish	84.8	15.2	0.0	0.0	0.0

	Degree of language ability in English				
	Fluent	Quite well	Some	A little	None
Born before 1983					
I am able to speak English	0.0	5.0	35.0	35.0	25.0
I am able to understand English	0.0	15.0	40.0	35.0	10.0
I am able to read in English	5.0	20.0	40.0	20.0	15.0
I am able to write in English	0.0	15.0	45.0	25.0	15.0
Born in 1983					
I am able to speak English	0.0	26.9	36.5	34.7	1.9
I am able to understand English	5.8	30.8	36.5	26.9	0.0
I am able to read in English	5.8	32.7	46.2	15.3	0.0
I am able to write in English	1.9	30.8	42.3	23.1	1.9
Born in 1984					
I am able to speak English	3.0	10.4	50.7	29.9	6.0
I am able to understand English	6.0	28.4	31.3	31.3	3.0
I am able to read in English	9.0	28.4	41.7	19.4	1.5
I am able to write in English	6.0	22.4	43.2	25.4	3.0
Born in 1985					
I am able to speak English	2.1	21.3	38.3	27.7	10.6
I am able to understand English	4.3	21.3	34.0	27.7	12.7
I am able to read in English	10.6	27.7	31.9	23.4	6.4
I am able to write in English	6.4	23.4	36.2	23.4	10.6
Born in 1986					
I am able to speak English	4.3	26.1	60.9	8.7	0.0
I am able to understand English	8.7	28.2	52.2	8.7	2.2
I am able to read in English	6.5	43.5	43.5	6.5	0.0
I am able to write in English	2.1	37.0	52.2	8.7	0.0
	Degree of language ability in French				
	Fluent	Quite well	Some	A little	None
Born before 1983					
I am able to speak French	0.0	0.0	5.0	5.0	90.0
I am able to understand French	0.0	0.0	0.0	15.0	85.0
I am able to read in French	0.0	0.0	5.0	5.0	90.0
I am able to write in French	0.0	0.0	0.0	10.0	90.0

	Fluent	Quite well	Some	A little	None
Born in 1983					
I am able to speak French	0.0	1.9	7.7	30.8	59.6
I am able to understand French	0.0	1.9	9.7	26.9	61.5
I am able to read in French	0.0	7.7	7.7	23.1	61.5
I am able to write in French	0.0	3.8	3.8	32.8	59.6
Born in 1984					
I am able to speak French	4.5	7.5	13.4	23.9	50.7
I am able to understand French	7.5	4.5	14.9	22.4	50.7
I am able to read in French	7.5	11.9	6.0	23.9	50.7
I am able to write in French	6.0	10.4	7.5	23.9	52.2
Born in 1985					
I am able to speak French	0.0	4.3	6.4	21.2	68.1
I am able to understand French	2.1	4.3	4.3	23.4	66.0
I am able to read in French	2.1	6.4	8.5	14.9	68.1
I am able to write in French	2.1	6.4	2.1	21.3	68.1
Born in 1986					
I am able to speak French	0.0	8.7	26.0	28.3	37.0
I am able to understand French	6.5	8.7	28.3	15.2	41.3
I am able to read in French	6.5	4.3	32.7	17.4	39.1
I am able to write in French	2.2	8.7	30.4	19.6	39.1
First language of students					
	Basque %	Spanish %	Both %	Others %	
Born before 1983	0.0	85.0	15.0	0.0	
Born in 1983	3.8	82.7	13.5	0.0	
Born in 1984	4.5	79.1	13.4	3.0	
Born in 1985	8.5	83.0	8.5	0.0	
Born in 1986	2.2	82.6	13.0	2.2	

Table 8.16. Significance Tests and Correlations for Table 8.15

	Chi-Square	df	Significance	Cramer's V
I am able to speak Basque	11.340	16	0.788	0.111
I am able to understand Basque	34.068	16	0.005	0.192
I am able to read in Basque	11.894	16	0.751	0.113
I am able to write in Basque	10.211	16	0.855	0.105
I am able to speak Spanish	4.689	8	0.790	0.101
I am able to understand Spanish	6.899	8	0.548	0.122
I am able to read in Spanish	9.034	8	0.339	0.140
I am able to write in Spanish	14.654	8	0.066	0.178

I am able to speak English	39.351	16	0.001	0.206
I am able to understand English	25.467	16	0.065	0.166
I am able to read in English	25.258	16	0.065	0.165
I am able to write in English	24.029	16	0.089	0.161
I am able to speak French	34.533	16	0.005	0.193
I am able to understand French	32.204	16	0.009	0.186
I am able to read in French	42.311	16	0.0001	0.214
I am able to write in French	47.814	16	0.0001	0.227
First language of students	7.497	12	0.823	0.104

The previous tables (8.15 and 8.16) show six statistically significant differences between ages, regarding the ability to understand Basque, speak English, and speak, understand, read and write in French. As regards the ability to understand Basque, it must be noted that in all age groups a strong majority of students (between 80% and 90%) consider that they understand Basque ‘fluently’ or ‘quite well’. However, while students born before 1983, in 1984 and 1986, regard themselves as preponderantly ‘fluent’ (50.0%, 61.2% and 54.3% respectively), the percentage declines relatively among those born in 1983 and 1985 (36.5% and 40.4% respectively), who favour the option ‘quite well’. Moreover, a small but significant percentage of students born before 1983 and in 1985 claim to know ‘a little’ Basque (10.0% and 10.6% respectively), the percentage of those reporting little understanding of Basque being minimal in the rest of the age groups.

As for the ability to speak English, around a quarter of the students born in 1983 (26.9%), 1985 (23.4%) and 1986 (30.4%) speak English ‘fluently’ or –mostly– ‘quite well’, whereas the percentage decreases among those born in 1984 (13.4%) and before 1983 (5.0%). In the latter group, a majority (60.0%) of students speaks ‘little’ or ‘no’ English, and, in the other direction, only 8.7% of those born in 1986 claim to speak ‘little’ or ‘none’ of English. In the rest of the age groups, little or no ability to speak English is reported by around a third of the students.

Concerning French, statistically significant differences in age were detected on all linguistic abilities. However, in all groups a majority of students report that they speak, understand, read and write in French ‘a little’ or ‘none’, but to a different degree. While a strong majority (around 90%) of the students born before 1983 report ‘no’ French on all four

linguistic abilities, around two thirds among those born in 1983, 1984 and 1985 and one third among those born in 1986 claim to know 'no' French. The remaining students claim to have 'little' competence in French. In general, the highest competence in French is reported by the students born in 1986, as over a fourth of them claim to be able to speak, understand, read and write 'some' French, and around a further 10% 'quite well' or 'fluently'.

In general, differences between age groups do not show a clear trend. The statistically significant differences detected seem largely unimportant, and correlations are weak.

8.3.2. Students' social network

In this section, students were requested to report the linguistic competence of their immediate network of relations. The results are shown in percentages in the following table.

Table 8.17. Comparison between ages in students' social network (%)

Linguistic competence of the students' parents					
Parents of students born before 1983					
	Fluently	Quite well	Some	A little	None
Father					
Spanish	85.0	10.0	5.0	0.0	0.0
Basque	0.0	0.0	0.0	25.0	75.0
English	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Others	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Mother					
Spanish	90.0	10.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Basque	5.0	0.0	10.0	15.0	70.0
English	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.0	95.0
Others	5.0	0.0	0.0	5.0	90.0

Parents of students born in 1983					
	Fluently	Quite well	Some	A little	None
Father					
Spanish	84.6	11.5	3.9	0.0	0.0
Basque	0.0	5.8	1.8	21.2	71.2
English	0.0	0.0	3.8	13.5	82.7
Others	0.0	9.6	1.9	5.8	82.7
Mother					
Spanish	86.5	13.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
Basque	1.9	5.8	9.6	23.1	59.6
English	0.0	3.8	7.8	9.6	78.8
Others	3.8	0.0	0.0	3.8	92.4
Parents of students born in 1984					
	Fluently	Quite well	Some	A little	None
Father					
Spanish	88.1	10.4	1.5	0.0	0.0
Basque	1.5	0.0	6.0	34.3	58.2
English	1.5	1.5	0.0	14.9	82.1
Others	1.5	3.0	4.5	7.5	83.5
Mother					
Spanish	86.6	13.4	0.0	0.0	0.0
Basque	6.0	4.5	10.4	23.9	55.2
English	1.5	0.0	4.5	7.5	86.5
Others	3.0	1.5	3.0	3.0	89.5
Parents of students born in 1985					
	Fluently	Quite well	Some	A little	None
Father					
Spanish	85.1	12.8	2.1	0.0	0.0
Basque	6.4	4.3	0.0	19.1	70.2
English	0.0	0.0	6.4	8.5	85.1
Others	2.1	2.1	0.0	12.8	83.0
Mother					
Spanish	87.2	12.8	0.0	0.0	0.0
Basque	4.3	4.3	4.3	25.4	61.7
English	2.1	2.1	0.0	12.8	83.0
Others	0.0	4.3	10.6	6.4	78.7

Parents of students born in 1986					
	Fluently	Quite well	Some	A little	None
Father					
Spanish	77.8	17.8	4.4	0.0	0.0
Basque	0.0	2.2	2.2	40.0	55.6
English	0.0	2.2	0.0	17.8	80.0
Others	4.4	4.4	2.2	17.8	71.0
Mother					
Spanish	87.0	13.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Basque	2.2	4.3	13.0	32.7	47.8
English	2.2	0.0	2.2	13.0	82.6
Others	2.2	6.5	4.3	15.3	71.7
First language of parents					
	Basque %	Spanish %	Both %	Others %	
Parents of students born before 1983					
Father	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	
Mother	0.0	95.0	0.0	5.0	
Parents of students born in 1983					
Father	1.9	96.2	1.9	0.0	
Mother	1.9	92.4	3.8	1.9	
Parents of students born in 1984					
Father	1.5	94.0	1.5	3.0	
Mother	4.5	92.5	0.0	3.0	
Parents of students born in 1985					
Father	0.0	97.9	0.0	2.1	
Mother	0.0	97.9	2.1	0.0	
Parents of students born in 1986					
Father	0.0	93.3	0.0	6.7	
Mother	0.0	95.7	0.0	4.3	

Ability to speak Basque of family members					
	Fluent	Quite well	Some	A little	None
Relatives of students born before 1983					
Mother	5.0	0.0	10.0	15.0	70.0
Father	0.0	0.0	0.0	25.0	75.0
Siblings	38.9	16.7	33.3	0.0	11.1
Grandparents					
Father's mother	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Father's father	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Mother's father	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Mother's mother	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Relatives of students born in 1983					
Mother	1.9	5.8	9.6	23.1	59.6
Father	0.0	5.8	1.9	21.2	71.1
Siblings	19.6	28.3	32.6	4.3	15.2
Grandparents					
Father's mother	4.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	96.0
Father's father	4.3	0.0	0.0	2.1	93.6
Mother's father	6.8	0.0	0.0	2.3	90.9
Mother's mother	4.2	2.1	0.0	6.2	87.5
Relatives of students born in 1984					
Mother	6.0	4.5	10.4	23.9	55.2
Father	1.5	0.0	6.0	34.3	58.2
Siblings	40.0	36.7	13.3	5.0	5.0
Grandparents					
Father's mother	1.5	0.0	3.0	6.1	89.4
Father's father	1.6	1.6	4.7	1.6	90.5
Mother's father	3.2	0.0	1.6	3.2	92.2
Mother's mother	6.3	0.0	0.0	3.1	90.7
Relatives of students born in 1985					
Mother	4.3	4.3	4.3	25.5	61.6
Father	6.4	4.3	0.0	19.1	70.2
Siblings	39.1	30.4	8.7	10.9	10.9
Grandparents					
Father's mother	4.3	0.0	0.0	2.1	93.6
Father's father	0.0	2.2	0.0	0.0	97.8
Mother's father	6.7	0.0	0.0	11.1	82.2
Mother's mother	4.3	0.0	0.0	8.7	87.0

Relatives of students born in 1986					
Mother	2.2	4.3	13.0	32.7	47.8
Father	0.0	2.2	2.2	40.0	55.6
Siblings	27.9	20.9	34.9	4.7	11.6
Grandparents					
Father's mother	2.2	2.2	0.0	8.9	86.7
Father's father	2.3	0.0	0.0	113	86.4
Mother's father	2.2	2.2	0.0	6.7	88.9
Mother's mother	0.0	0.0	2.3	9.1	88.6
Ability to speak Basque of the nearby community					
Of students born before 1983					
	Friends	Neighbours	Classmates	Local shops and pubs	
All or almost all of them	40.0	0.0	65.0	5.0	
The majority of them	25.0	0.0	30.0	5.0	
Around half of them	10.0	10.0	5.0	0.0	
A few of them	15.0	60.0	0.0	35.0	
None or almost none of them	10.0	30.0	0.0	55.0	
Of students born in 1983					
	Friends	Neighbours	Classmates	Local shops and pubs	
All or almost all of them	36.5	0.0	57.7	0.0	
The majority of them	28.8	1.9	23.1	0.0	
Around half of them	9.7	21.2	3.8	11.5	
A few of them	17.3	40.4	7.7	30.8	
None or almost none of them	7.7	36.5	7.7	57.7	
Of students born in 1984					
	Friends	Neighbours	Classmates	Local shops and pubs	
All or almost all of them	47.0	1.5	63.1	1.5	
The majority of them	33.3	3.1	20.0	1.5	
Around half of them	7.5	18.5	7.7	4.7	
A few of them	6.1	55.4	4.6	33.8	
None or almost none of them	6.1	21.5	4.6	58.5	
Of students born in 1985					
	Friends	Neighbours	Classmates	Local shops and pubs	
All or almost all of them	26.1	4.4	62.2	4.4	
The majority of them	23.9	8.9	17.8	4.4	
Around half of them	23.9	13.4	8.9	2.2	
A few of them	23.9	31.1	4.4	11.2	
None or almost none of them	2.2	42.2	6.7	77.8	

Of students born in 1986				
	Friends	Neighbours	Classmates	Local shops and pubs
All or almost all of them	32.6	0.0	65.2	0.0
The majority of them	41.3	8.7	17.4	0.0
Around half of them	10.9	17.4	4.4	6.5
A few of them	6.5	50.0	8.7	41.3
None or almost none of them	8.7	23.9	4.3	52.2

Table 8.18. Significance Tests and Correlations for Table 8.17

	Chi-Square	df	Significance	Cramer's V
Linguistic competence of parents				
Father				
Spanish	3.024	8	0.933	0.081
Basque	24.797	16	0.073	0.164
English	17.316	16	0.365	0.137
Others	19.550	16	0.241	0.145
Mother				
Spanish	0.182	4	0.996	0.028
Basque	8.382	16	0.937	0.095
English	13.783	16	0.615	0.122
Others	25.027	16	0.069	0.164
First language of parents				
Father	8.817	12	0.719	0.113
Mother	11.965	12	0.448	0.131
Ability to speak Basque of family				
Mother	8.382	16	0.937	0.095
Father	24.797	16	0.073	0.164
Siblings	26.061	16	0.053	0.175
Grandparents				
Father's mother	17.623	16	0.346	0.139
Father's father	24.694	16	0.075	0.168
Mother's father	15.258	16	0.506	0.133
Mother's mother	14.883	16	0.533	0.130
Ability to speak Basque of nearby community				
Friends	24.123	16	0.087	0.162
Neighbours	21.484	16	0.161	0.153
Classmates	7.658	16	0.959	0.092
Local shops and pubs	25.673	16	0.059	0.168

No statistically significant differences were detected concerning the linguistic competence of pupils, although 'siblings' is on the borderline of statistical significance. Therefore, overall, according to these results, the age difference between the students answering this questionnaire is not an influential factor regarding the linguistic competence of their immediate social network.

8.3.3. Language use and language domains

In this section, differences in the use of Basque between varying ages are examined. The results are presented in percentages in the table below.

Table 8.19: Comparison between ages in students' use of Basque (%)

Language use at home				
	Always	Often	Sometimes	Never
Born before 1983				
With your mother	0.0	0.0	10.0	90.0
With your father	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
With your siblings	0.0	5.0	55.0	40.0
With your grandparents	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
At mealtimes	0.0	0.0	10.0	90.0
Born in 1983				
With your mother	0.0	3.8	19.3	76.9
With your father	0.0	1.9	9.6	88.5
With your siblings	0.0	10.2	38.8	51.0
With your grandparents	2.0	0.0	5.9	92.1
At mealtimes	0.0	0.0	13.7	86.3
Born in 1984				
With your mother	1.5	3.0	19.4	76.1
With your father	0.0	4.5	10.6	84.9
With your siblings	1.6	17.7	45.2	35.5
With your grandparents	0.0	4.6	10.8	84.6
At mealtimes	1.5	3.0	24.2	71.3
Born in 1985				
With your mother	2.1	0.0	12.8	85.1
With your father	2.1	0.0	12.8	85.1
With your siblings	4.5	9.1	38.6	47.8
With your grandparents	0.0	0.0	6.7	93.3
At mealtimes	0.0	0.0	17.8	82.2
Born in 1986				
With your mother	0.0	0.0	13.0	87.0
With your father	0.0	0.0	11.1	88.9
With your siblings	0.0	11.9	47.6	40.5
With your grandparents	2.3	0.0	6.8	90.9
At mealtimes	0.0	2.2	13.0	84.8
Language use at school				
	Always	Often	Sometimes	Never
Born before 1983				
With teachers	15.0	25.0	30.0	30.0
With friends (classroom)	0.0	5.0	30.0	65.0
With friends (playground)	0.0	0.0	10.0	90.0
Born in 1983				
With teachers	26.9	19.2	38.5	15.4
With friends (classroom)	0.0	5.8	46.1	48.1
With friends (playground)	0.0	0.0	19.2	80.8

	Always	Often	Sometimes	Never
Born in 1984				
With teachers	34.3	20.9	29.9	14.9
With friends (classroom)	0.0	10.4	53.7	35.9
With friends (playground)	0.0	1.5	29.9	68.6
Born in 1985				
With teachers	29.8	38.3	19.1	12.8
With friends (classroom)	2.1	12.8	51.1	34.0
With friends (playground)	0.0	2.1	38.3	59.6
Born in 1986				
With teachers	41.3	32.6	19.6	6.5
With friends (classroom)	0.0	19.6	50.0	30.4
With friends (playground)	0.0	2.2	26.1	71.7
Language use: watching TV				
	Always	Often	Sometimes	Never
Born before 1983				
Programs in Spanish	45.0	55.0	0.0	0.0
Programs in Basque	5.0	25.0	70.0	0.0
Born in 1983				
Programs in Spanish	53.8	40.4	5.8	0.0
Programs in Basque	0.0	21.2	67.3	11.5
Born in 1984				
Programs in Spanish	41.8	53.7	4.5	0.0
Programs in Basque	0.0	25.4	70.1	4.5
Born in 1985				
Programs in Spanish	51.1	42.5	4.3	2.1
Programs in Basque	0.0	6.4	80.9	12.7
Born in 1986				
Programs in Spanish	67.4	28.3	4.3	0.0
Programs in Basque	4.3	17.4	67.4	10.9
Language use outside home and school				
Actual use of Basque				
	Always	Often	Sometimes	Never
Born before 1983				
With friends	0.0	5.0	55.0	40.0
With neighbours	0.0	0.0	15.0	85.0
In the pub or cafeteria	0.0	0.0	35.0	65.0
In leisure/sports/cultural activities	0.0	5.0	30.0	65.0
In the local shop	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
In the market	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
With the priest (in church)	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
With the local doctor/ At the local hospital	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0

	Always	Often	Sometimes	Never
Born in 1983				
With friends	0.0	3.8	44.3	51.9
With neighbours	0.0	0.0	11.5	88.5
In the pub or cafeteria	0.0	0.0	11.5	88.5
In leisure/sports/cultural activities	2.0	0.0	31.4	66.6
In the local shop	0.0	0.0	1.9	98.1
In the market	0.0	0.0	1.9	98.1
With the priest (in church)	0.0	0.0	3.9	96.1
With the local doctor/ At the local hospital	0.0	0.0	5.8	94.2
Born in 1984				
With friends	0.0	3.0	57.6	39.4
With neighbours	0.0	0.0	16.4	83.6
In the pub or cafeteria	0.0	1.5	20.9	77.6
In leisure/sports/cultural activities	0.0	6.0	32.8	61.2
In the local shop	0.0	0.0	1.5	98.5
In the market	0.0	1.5	4.5	94.0
With the priest (in church)	0.0	0.0	4.5	95.5
With the local doctor/ At the local hospital	0.0	1.5	3.0	95.5
Born in 1985				
With friends	0.0	2.2	43.5	54.3
With neighbours	0.0	2.2	10.8	87.0
In the pub or cafeteria	0.0	0.0	8.5	91.5
In leisure/sports/cultural activities	2.1	4.3	8.5	85.1
In the local shop	0.0	0.0	2.1	97.9
In the market	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
With the priest (in church)	0.0	0.0	4.3	95.7
With the local doctor/ At the local hospital	0.0	2.1	2.1	95.8
Born in 1986				
With friends	0.0	8.7	28.3	63.0
With neighbours	0.0	2.2	10.8	87.0
In the pub or cafeteria	0.0	0.0	15.2	84.8
In leisure/sports/cultural activities	0.0	2.2	26.1	71.7
In the local shop	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
In the market	0.0	0.0	2.2	97.8
With the priest (in church)	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
With the local doctor/ At the local hospital	0.0	0.0	2.2	97.8
Potential use of Basque				
	Always	Often	Sometimes	Never
Born before 1983				
With friends	25.0	35.0	30.0	10.0
With neighbours	10.0	25.0	30.0	35.0
In the pub or cafeteria	10.0	40.0	30.0	20.0
In leisure/sports/cultural activities	25.0	20.0	40.0	15.0
In the local shop	15.0	25.0	30.0	30.0
In the market	15.0	25.0	30.0	30.0
With the priest (in church)	5.3	10.5	10.5	73.7
With the local doctor/ At the local hospital	10.0	15.0	20.0	55.0

	Always	Often	Sometimes	Never	
Born in 1983					
With friends	17.3	30.8	26.9	25.0	
With neighbours	5.8	25.0	36.5	32.7	
In the pub or cafeteria	5.8	23.1	36.5	34.6	
In leisure/sports/cultural activities	15.7	21.5	31.4	31.4	
In the local shop	7.7	19.2	28.9	44.2	
In the market	7.7	17.3	30.8	44.2	
With the priest (in church)	5.9	13.7	23.5	56.9	
With the local doctor/ At the local hospital	5.8	13.5	42.3	38.4	
Born in 1984					
With friends	37.3	26.9	22.4	13.4	
With neighbours	22.4	29.9	31.3	16.4	
In the pub or cafeteria	27.3	24.2	28.8	19.7	
In leisure/sports/cultural activities	29.9	25.4	34.3	10.4	
In the local shop	29.9	16.4	29.9	23.8	
In the market	25.4	14.9	28.4	31.3	
With the priest (in church)	22.4	11.9	29.9	35.8	
With the local doctor/ At the local hospital	25.4	22.4	28.4	23.8	
Born in 1985					
With friends	21.3	23.4	25.5	29.8	
With neighbours	17.0	10.6	27.7	44.7	
In the pub or cafeteria	21.3	17.0	19.1	42.6	
In leisure/sports/cultural activities	19.1	17.0	29.8	34.1	
In the local shop	17.0	19.1	17.0	46.9	
In the market	14.9	12.8	19.1	53.2	
With the priest (in church)	15.2	8.7	10.9	65.2	
With the local doctor/ At the local hospital	14.9	14.9	19.1	51.1	
Born in 1986					
With friends	21.7	19.6	30.4	28.3	
With neighbours	13.0	23.9	21.7	41.4	
In the pub or cafeteria	13.3	13.3	33.3	40.1	
In leisure/sports/cultural activities	13.0	23.9	30.4	32.7	
In the local shop	13.0	10.9	30.4	45.7	
In the market	8.7	21.7	23.9	45.7	
With the priest (in church)	11.1	15.6	17.8	55.5	
With the local doctor/ At the local hospital	13.0	19.6	17.4	50.0	
Confidence in the use of Basque					
	Very	Fairly	Not very	Little	Don't know
Born before 1983					
With friends	35.0	35.0	10.0	5.0	15.0
With neighbours	20.0	20.0	5.0	45.0	10.0
In the pub or cafeteria	15.0	35.0	15.0	25.0	10.0
In leisure/sports/cultural activities	10.0	35.0	10.0	10.0	35.0
In the local shop	15.0	10.0	15.0	30.0	30.0
In the market	10.0	5.0	5.0	35.0	45.0
With the priest (in church)	0.0	0.0	5.3	21.1	73.6
With the local doctor/ At the local hospital	5.0	0.0	10.0	30.0	55.0

	Very	Fairly	Not very	Little	Don't know
Born in 1983					
With friends	33.3	29.4	5.9	11.8	19.6
With neighbours	5.9	9.8	15.7	39.2	29.4
In the pub or cafeteria	3.9	7.8	9.8	37.3	41.2
In leisure/sports/cultural activities	14.0	18.0	20.0	16.0	32.0
In the local shop	5.9	7.8	9.8	29.4	47.1
In the market	2.0	7.8	11.8	23.5	54.9
With the priest (in church)	4.0	6.0	18.0	24.0	48.0
With the local doctor/ At the local hospital	2.0	5.9	17.6	23.5	51.0
Born in 1984					
With friends	41.8	28.4	13.4	4.5	11.9
With neighbours	12.3	16.9	15.4	27.7	27.7
In the pub or cafeteria	10.4	20.9	22.4	20.9	25.4
In leisure/sports/cultural activities	14.9	26.9	25.4	14.9	17.9
In the local shop	9.1	12.1	18.2	30.3	30.3
In the market	7.8	15.6	14.1	26.6	35.9
With the priest (in church)	4.6	16.9	10.8	23.1	44.6
With the local doctor/ At the local hospital	7.6	18.2	16.7	24.2	33.3
Born in 1985					
With friends	46.8	17.0	8.5	10.7	17.0
With neighbours	10.9	23.9	17.4	19.5	28.3
In the pub or cafeteria	8.9	17.8	15.6	24.4	33.3
In leisure/sports/cultural activities	15.6	20.0	6.6	28.9	28.9
In the local shop	6.7	15.6	13.3	31.1	33.3
In the market	9.1	9.1	13.6	29.5	38.7
With the priest (in church)	11.4	11.4	2.3	29.5	45.4
With the local doctor/ At the local hospital	10.9	13.0	8.7	30.4	37.0
Born in 1986					
With friends	39.1	19.6	8.7	10.9	21.7
With neighbours	6.5	23.9	4.3	26.1	39.2
In the pub or cafeteria	6.7	13.3	15.6	22.2	42.2
In leisure/sports/cultural activities	17.4	23.9	4.3	17.4	37.0
In the local shop	6.5	15.2	13.0	21.7	43.6
In the market	2.2	13.0	6.5	23.9	54.4
With the priest (in church)	8.9	4.4	2.2	22.2	62.3
With the local doctor/ At the local hospital	8.7	8.7	4.3	28.3	50.0

Table 8.20. Significance Tests and Correlations for Table 8.19

	Chi-Square	df	Significance	Cramer's V
At home				
With your mother	8.754	12	0.724	0.112
With your father	11.739	12	0.467	0.130
With your siblings	10.885	12	0.539	0.129
With your grandparents	13.422	12	0.339	0.141
At mealtimes	10.307	12	0.589	0.123

	Chi-Square	df	Significance	Cramer's V
At school				
With teachers	18.857	12	0.092	0.165
With friends (classroom)	16.701	12	0.161	0.155
With friends (playground)	9.843	8	0.276	0.146
Watching TV				
Programs in Spanish	13.543	3	0.331	0.139
Programs in Basque	19.153	3	0.085	0.166
Outside home and school				
Use of Basque				
With friends	12.032	8	0.150	0.162
With neighbours	4.187	8	0.840	0.095
In the pub or cafeteria	11.712	8	0.165	0.159
In leisure/sports/cultural activities	16.031	12	0.190	0.152
In the local shop	1.304	4	0.861	0.075
In the market	5.724	8	0.678	0.111
With the priest (in church)	2.937	4	0.568	0.113
With the local doctor/ At the local hospital	4.290	8	0.830	0.097
Potential use of Basque				
With friends	14.247	12	0.285	0.248
With neighbours	21.244	12	0.047	0.303
In the pub or cafeteria	24.191	12	0.019	0.187
In leisure/sports/cultural activities	16.465	12	0.171	0.154
In the local shop	19.545	12	0.076	0.168
In the market	15.591	12	0.211	0.150
With the priest (in church)	21.219	12	0.047	0.176
With the local doctor/ At the local hospital	25.524	12	0.013	0.192
Confidence in the use of Basque				
With friends	10.982	16	0.811	0.109
With neighbours	21.578	16	0.157	0.154
In the pub or cafeteria	23.081	16	0.112	0.159
In leisure/sports/cultural activities	22.920	16	0.116	0.159
In the local shop	9.064	16	0.911	0.100
In the market	13.716	16	0.620	0.123
With the priest (in church)	26.406	16	0.049	0.172
With the local doctor/ At the local hospital	19.764	16	0.231	0.147

Only five statistically significant differences were found between varying ages concerning language use. The differences, however, do not involve actual use of Basque, but potential use of it and the confidence in use of the language in various situations. Specifically, responses differed regarding the potential use of Basque with neighbours, in the pub or cafeteria, with the priest or at church and with the local doctor or at the local hospital, and confidence in the use of Basque with the priest.

When asked how often would they speak in Basque if they had the opportunity to do so, the students born in 1984 show the most favourable disposition. Over half of them declared that they would do so ‘always’ or ‘often’ with neighbours (52.3%) and in the pub or cafeteria (51.5%), followed by those born before 1983 (35.0% and 50%) and, with lower and similar percentages, students born in 1983 (30.8% and 28.9%), 1985 (27.6% and 38.3%) and 1986 (36.9% and 26.6%). Conversely, among students born in 1984 only 16.4% and 19.7% respectively would ‘never’ use Basque with neighbours and in the pub or cafeteria, while, at the other end, over 40.0% of those born in 1985 and 1986 would ‘never’ do so. In all groups, percentages in the potential use of Basque are lower with the priest and with the doctor, the actual use of Basque being minimal in such formal situations. Such percentages are especially lower with priests. Over half of the students in all age groups except for those born in 1984, and as many as 73.7% of those born before 1983, declare that they would ‘never’ speak in Basque with the priest if they had the opportunity to do so. Similarly, students born before 1983 favour the option ‘I don’t know’ regarding the confidence in the use of Basque with the priest. It seems that, in such a situation, linguistic considerations are interspersed with considerations about the church as an institution. In the rest of the situations, no statistically significant differences were found with respect to confidence in the use of Basque.

8.3.4. Attitudes towards bilingualism and Basque

In this section, attitudes towards bilingualism and Basque are analyzed over a number a number of statements. The results are presented in tables 8.21 and 8.22.

8.3.4.1. Attitudes towards bilingualism

In the table below, students' responses to the statements about attitudes towards bilingualism are presented:

Table 8.21. Comparison between ages in students' attitudes towards bilingualism

	Chi-Square	df	Significance	Cramer's V
1. It is important to be able to speak Spanish and Basque.	13.230	16	0.656	0.119
2. To speak one language in the BAC is all that is needed.	10.009	16	0.866	0.104
3. Children get confused when learning Basque and Spanish at the same time.	18.080	16	0.319	0.140
4. Speaking both Spanish and Basque helps to get a job.	16.058	16	0.449	0.132
5. Being able to write in Spanish and Basque is important.	27.791	16	0.033	0.173
6. All schools in the BAC should teach pupils to speak in Basque and Spanish.	11.823	16	0.756	0.113
7. Road signs should be in Spanish and Basque.	17.263	16	0.369	0.136
8. Speaking two languages is not difficult.	14.224	16	0.582	0.124
9. Children in the BAC should learn to read in Basque and Spanish.	17.390	16	0.361	0.138
10. There should be more people who speak both Spanish and Basque in the government services.	19.358	16	0.251	0.145
11. People know more if they speak in Spanish and Basque.	19.492	16	0.244	0.145
12. Speaking both Spanish and Basque is more for younger than older people.	16.176	16	0.441	0.133
13. The public advertising should be bilingual.	23.456	16	0.112	0.160
14. Speaking both Basque and Spanish should help people get promotion in their job.	14.991	16	0.525	0.128
15. Young children learn to speak Spanish and Basque at the same time with ease.	27.269	16	0.039	0.172
16. Both Basque and Spanish should be important in the BAC.	12.375	16	0.718	0.116
17. People can earn more money if they speak both Spanish and Basque.	16.932	16	0.390	0.136
18. In the future, I would like to be considered as speaker of Basque and Spanish.	16.511	16	0.418	0.135
19. All people in the BAC should speak Spanish and Basque.	30.577	16	0.015	0.183
20. If I have children, I would want them to speak both Basque and Spanish.	15.409	16	0.495	0.130
21. Both the Spanish and the Basque languages can live together in the BAC.	25.392	16	0.063	0.166
22. People only need to know one language.	24.566	16	0.078	0.164
23. All the civil servants in the BAC should be bilingual.	13.960	16	0.602	0.123

Attitudes towards bilingualism revealed statistically significant differences between ages on just three statements. All groups strongly agree with the positive statement *‘being able to write in Spanish and Basque is important’*, but to a different degree. Students born before 1983 and in 1984 agree relatively more (85.0% and 89.6% respectively, combining ‘strongly agree’ and ‘agree’) than those born in 1983 (77.0%), 1985 (76.1%) and 1986 (76.0%). Disagreement is low in all groups, the youngest age group disagreeing most (10.9%, combining ‘disagree’ and ‘strongly disagree’). As for the statement *‘young children learn to speak Spanish and Basque at the same time with ease’*, agreement is also strong in all groups. In this case, the older age groups –students born before 1983 and in 1983- agree relatively more (85.0% and 88.5%, combining ‘strongly agree’ and ‘agree’) than the younger ones -those born in 1984, 1985, and 1986 (74.6%, 65.2% and 73.9% respectively).

On the other hand, the positive statement *‘all people in the BAC should speak Spanish and Basque’* received a more mixed response. While over half of the students born before 1983 (57.9%), in 1984 (71.6%) and 1986 (36.4%) agree with it, the percentage is considerably lower among those born in 1983 (38.5%) and 1985 (39.1%). In the latter age group, those who disagree (41.3%, combining ‘disagree’ and ‘strongly disagree’) are slightly more than those who agree, while in the 1983 age group disagreement is lower (23.1%), over a third (38.5%) of students favouring the option ‘neither agree nor disagree’.

8.3.4.2. Attitudes towards Basque

In the next table, responses to statements regarding attitudes towards Basque are shown:

Table 8.22. Comparison between ages in students’ attitudes towards Basque

	Chi-Square	df	Significance	Cramer’s V
1. Basque is a difficult language to learn.	11.371	16	0.786	0.111
2. It is more important to know English than Basque.	23.075	16	0.112	0.158
3. Basque is a language worth learning.	14.866	16	0.533	0.127

4. There are far more useful languages to learn than Basque.	14.323	16	0.575	0.125
5. I don't want to learn Basque as I am not likely to ever use it.	18.164	16	0.314	0.140
6. I would like to be able to speak Basque if it were easier to learn.	11.936	16	0.748	0.117
7. I like to hear Basque spoken.	8.545	16	0.931	0.096
8. It is particularly necessary for the children to learn Basque in the schools to ensure its maintenance.	23.290	16	0.106	0.160
	29.720	16	0.020	0.180
9. Basque is an obsolete language.	13.498	16	0.636	0.123
10. I should like to be able to read books in Basque.	19.894	16	0.225	0.148
11. Learning Basque is boring but necessary.	18.292	16	0.307	0.141
12. I would like to learn as much Basque as possible.				
13. The learning of Basque should be left to individual choice.	27.623	16	0.035	0.175
	13.179	16	0.660	0.120
14. I like speaking Basque.	18.395	16	0.301	0.141
15. Basque is a language for farmers.				
16. I would like to learn Basque because my friends are doing that.	28.487	16	0.028	0.180
	15.939	16	0.457	0.132
17. Learning Basque is a waste of time.				
18. Basque should be used more in the government services.	10.936	16	0.813	0.110
	17.029	16	0.384	0.137
19. I dislike learning Basque.				
20. I am learning Basque because my parents want me to.	20.295	16	0.207	0.149
	23.894	16	0.092	0.162
21. I enjoy learning Basque.				
22. Basque is a language to be spoken only within the family and with friends.	22.028	16	0.142	0.155
23. The Basque language is something everybody should be proud of.	18.475	16	0.297	0.142
	14.973	16	0.527	0.128
24. I like listening to TV/radio programs in Basque.				

As in the previous table, only three statistically significant differences between ages were detected regarding attitudes to Basque. The negative statement '*Basque is an obsolete language*' was disagreed with by all age groups. Disagreement was strongest among the students born before 1983, as 85% (combining 'disagree' and 'strongly disagree') showed an unfavourable attitude towards the statement, while no student agreed with it. In the rest of the age groups over half of the students disagreed, and the highest percentages of agreement were reported by the students born in 1985 (33.3%, combining 'strongly agree' and 'agree'), followed by those born in 1986 (21.7%), 1984 (16.4%) and 1983 (9.6%). The statement '*I would like to learn Basque because my friends are doing that*' was more agreed than disagreed with by the students born in 1985 (63.7%), 1983 (50.0%) and 1984 (42.7%). The older and younger age groups offered a more 'balanced' attitude towards the

statement, agreeing and disagreeing with it in similar percentages. It has to be noted that a sizeable percentage of students in all age groups ‘neither agree nor disagree’ with this statement. The percentage is specially significant among those born before 1983, as 44.4% of them favoured this option. Moreover, around a third of the students in the 1983 (34.6%) and 1986 (32.6%) age groups and a fourth among those born in 1984 (24.6%) and 1985 (25.0%) also ‘neither agree nor disagree’. This may suggest that a high percentage of the students considered the question irrelevant or inadequate, especially among the older age group.

Finally, the statement ‘the learning of Basque should be left to individual choice’ was generally agreed with by all groups, especially by the 1985 age group (80.5%, combining ‘strongly agree’ and ‘agree’), followed by the students born before 1983 and in 1986 (68.4% and 69.6% respectively) and, to a lesser degree, those born in 1983 and 1984 (58.8% and 49.2%). In the latter age group, a considerable percentage of students disagreed with the statement (27.0%, combining ‘disagree’ and ‘strongly disagree’), as in the before 1983 group (21.1%).

8.3.5. Language vitality

In this section, differences between ages about certain aspects regarding perceptions of language vitality are analyzed, both in the Basque Autonomous Community and Rioja Alavesa. The results are presented in percentages in the following tables.

8.3.5.1. The Basque Autonomous Community

Table 8.23. Comparison between ages in students' perceptions of language vitality in the BAC (%)

Strength of language groups															
	Not at all			Not very			Fairly			Quite a lot			Very much		
	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
Born before 1983															
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	0.0	0.0	5.0	5.6	0.0	25.0	5.6	31.6	25.0	38.8	31.6	15.0	50.0	36.8	30.0
Basque-speaking bilinguals	5.6	0.0	0.0	16.7	15.8	5.0	38.8	0.0	5.0	27.8	52.6	35.0	11.1	31.6	55.0
Born in 1983															
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	0.0	1.9	3.9	5.9	3.8	9.8	7.8	19.3	21.6	35.3	44.2	33.3	51.0	30.8	31.4
Basque-speaking bilinguals	2.0	0.0	0.0	29.4	1.9	2.0	23.5	21.2	15.7	23.5	40.4	33.3	21.6	36.5	49.0
Born in 1984															
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	1.5	0.0	3.0	3.1	10.6	16.7	13.9	15.2	15.2	27.7	34.8	31.8	53.8	39.4	33.3
Basque-speaking bilinguals	9.2	0.0	1.5	16.9	3.0	1.5	26.2	16.8	13.6	26.2	47.0	28.8	21.5	33.3	54.5
Born in 1985															
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	0.0	0.0	4.4	8.7	4.3	6.7	6.5	13.0	17.8	28.3	45.7	26.7	56.5	37.0	44.4
Basque-speaking bilinguals	6.5	0.0	4.4	8.7	2.2	8.9	23.9	15.2	13.4	32.6	39.1	11.1	28.3	43.5	62.2
Born in 1986															
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	0.0	0.0	6.7	4.3	4.3	8.9	21.8	30.5	8.9	26.1	32.6	22.2	47.8	32.6	53.3
Basque-speaking bilinguals	4.3	0.0	6.7	30.4	2.2	8.9	15.3	21.7	11.1	19.6	32.6	28.9	30.4	43.5	44.4

Prestige of languages					
	Not at all	Not very	Fairly	Quite a lot	Very much
Born before 1983					
Basque	0.0	0.0	10.0	45.0	45.0
Spanish	0.0	5.0	10.0	45.0	40.0
English	15.0	10.0	35.0	25.0	15.0
French	10.0	30.0	45.0	10.0	5.0
Born in 1983					
Basque	1.9	5.8	7.7	34.6	50.0
Spanish	0.0	1.9	7.7	38.5	51.9
English	0.0	7.7	25.0	40.4	26.9
French	3.8	36.5	32.7	21.2	5.8
Born in 1984					
Basque	3.0	0.0	15.1	36.4	45.5
Spanish	1.5	3.0	7.6	39.4	48.5
English	7.6	10.6	30.3	31.8	19.7
French	13.6	47.0	22.7	15.2	1.5
Born in 1985					
Basque	0.0	4.3	12.7	27.7	55.3
Spanish	0.0	0.0	8.5	23.4	68.1
English	2.1	10.6	34.1	36.2	17.0
French	21.3	27.7	31.8	14.9	4.3
Born in 1986					
Basque	2.2	2.2	10.8	37.0	47.8
Spanish	0.0	0.0	2.2	39.1	58.7
English	2.2	15.2	23.9	34.8	23.9
French	6.5	41.3	28.3	17.4	6.5
Prestige of language groups					
	Not at all	Not very	Fairly	Quite a lot	Very much
Born before 1983					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	0.0	5.0	40.0	20.0	35.0
Basque-speaking bilinguals	0.0	0.0	10.0	45.0	45.0
Born in 1983					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	3.8	9.6	32.8	36.5	17.3
Basque-speaking bilinguals	0.0	1.9	7.7	38.5	51.9
Born in 1984					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	1.5	12.1	31.9	31.8	22.7
Basque-speaking bilinguals	1.5	0.0	9.1	33.3	56.1
Born in 1985					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	4.3	4.3	21.1	42.6	27.7
Basque-speaking bilinguals	6.4	0.0	17.0	29.8	46.8

	Not at all	Not very	Fairly	Quite a lot	Very much
Born in 1986					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	0.0	0.0	37.0	30.4	32.6
Basque-speaking bilinguals	2.2	2.2	10.8	47.8	37.0
Languages in education					
	Not at all	Not very	Fairly	Quite a lot	Very much
Born before 1983					
Basque	0.0	10.0	15.0	30.0	45.0
Spanish	5.0	0.0	10.0	15.0	70.0
English	10.0	10.0	35.0	30.0	15.0
French	15.0	30.0	55.0	0.0	0.0
Born in 1983					
Basque	0.0	3.9	17.7	43.1	35.3
Spanish	0.0	0.0	0.0	38.5	61.5
English	1.9	5.8	17.3	53.8	21.2
French	3.8	30.8	53.9	9.6	1.9
Born in 1984					
Basque	1.6	3.1	17.1	46.9	31.3
Spanish	0.0	0.0	6.2	40.0	53.8
English	6.2	10.8	35.3	30.8	16.9
French	10.9	32.8	40.7	10.9	4.7
Born in 1985					
Basque	2.2	2.2	13.0	30.4	52.2
Spanish	0.0	2.2	8.6	28.3	60.9
English	0.0	21.7	26.2	39.1	13.0
French	15.2	32.6	39.1	10.9	2.2
Born in 1986					
Basque	2.2	4.3	13.1	32.6	47.8
Spanish	0.0	0.0	4.3	32.6	63.1
English	0.0	10.9	21.7	47.8	19.6
French	0.0	37.8	28.9	28.9	4.4

Table 8.24. Significance Tests and Correlations for Table 8.23

	Chi-Square	df	Significance	Cramer's V
Strength of language groups (1)				
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	12.291	16	0.724	0.117
Basque-speaking bilinguals	18.211	16	0.312	0.142
Strength of language groups (2)				
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	16.252	16	0.436	0.133
Basque-speaking bilinguals	16.875	12	0.154	0.157
Strength of language groups (3)				
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	16.743	16	0.402	0.136
Basque-speaking bilinguals	19.504	16	0.243	0.147

	Chi-Square	df	Significance	Cramer's V
Prestige of languages				
Basque	10.174	16	0.857	0.105
Spanish	13.943	16	0.603	0.123
English	15.842	16	0.464	0.131
French	17.475	16	0.356	0.138
Prestige of language groups				
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	18.356	16	0.303	0.141
Basque-speaking bilinguals	15.523	16	0.487	0.130
Languages in education				
Basque	11.369	16	0.786	0.112
Spanish	23.693	16	0.096	0.161
English	24.356	16	0.082	0.163
French	27.815	16	0.033	0.175

Only one statistically significant difference was detected between ages with respect to perceptions of language vitality in the BAC, regarding the perceived presence of French in the education system in the BAC. All groups considered that the presence of French is low. None of the students born before 1983 regarded that French was 'quite' or 'very much' represented in the schools in the BAC, and over 10% did so among those born in 1983 (11.5%), 1984 (15.6%) and 1985 (13.1%). However, one third (33.3%) of the students born in 1986 considered that Basque was 'quite' or 'very much' represented.

8.3.5.2. Rioja Alavesa

Table 8.25. Comparison between ages in students' perceptions of language vitality in the Rioja Alavesa (%)

Strength of language groups															
	Not at all			Not very			Fairly			Quite a lot			Very much		
	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
Born before 1983															
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.3	21.1	36.8	31.6	36.8	31.6	63.1	42.1	31.6
Basque-speaking bilinguals	15.8	5.3	5.3	36.8	5.3	0.0	26.3	36.7	21.1	21.1	31.6	36.8	0.0	21.1	36.8

	Not at all			Not very			Fairly			Quite a lot			Very much		
	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
Born in 1983															
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	0.0	0.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	4.1	4.0	8.0	18.4	24.0	20.0	20.4	72.0	72.0	55.1
Basque-speaking bilinguals	16.0	2.0	2.0	38.0	14.0	10.2	24.0	38.0	18.4	16.0	34.0	30.6	6.0	12.0	38.8
Born in 1984															
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	0.0	0.0	1.5	1.5	4.5	10.4	9.0	10.7	14.9	17.9	22.7	31.3	71.6	62.1	41.8
Basque-speaking bilinguals	11.9	3.0	0.0	32.8	9.1	7.5	23.9	45.4	19.4	17.9	27.3	34.3	13.5	15.2	38.8
Born in 1985															
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	0.0	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.2	10.9	13.1	6.4	10.9	21.7	19.6	13.0	63.0	69.6	63.0
Basque-speaking bilinguals	10.9	6.5	8.7	21.7	19.6	15.2	30.5	26.1	15.2	21.7	23.9	28.3	15.2	23.9	32.6
Born in 1986															
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	2.2	0.0	2.2	10.9	8.9	13.0	10.8	8.9	13.0	23.9	26.7	17.4	52.2	55.5	54.4
Basque-speaking bilinguals	10.9	2.2	17.4	28.3	15.6	4.3	19.5	24.4	17.4	30.4	28.9	13.0	10.9	28.9	47.9

Prestige of languages

	Not at all		Not very		Fairly		Quite a lot		Very much	
Born before 1983										
Basque	5.0		10.0		35.0		25.0		25.0	
Spanish	0.0		0.0		0.0		45.0		55.0	
English	15.0		15.0		40.0		15.0		15.0	
French	25.0		35.0		25.0		15.0		0.0	
Born in 1983										
Basque	3.8		21.2		44.3		26.9		3.8	
Spanish	0.0		0.0		1.9		17.3		80.8	
English	1.9		19.2		30.8		32.7		15.4	
French	15.4		42.3		28.8		13.5		0.0	
Born in 1984										
Basque	3.0		14.9		41.8		28.4		11.9	
Spanish	0.0		0.0		6.0		25.4		68.6	
English	13.4		22.4		23.9		29.9		10.4	
French	32.8		32.8		22.5		10.4		1.5	
Born in 1985										
Basque	8.7		15.2		30.5		32.6		13.0	
Spanish	0.0		0.0		2.2		19.6		78.2	
English	8.7		26.1		28.2		26.1		10.9	
French	28.3		39.1		26.1		4.3		2.2	

	Not at all	Not very	Fairly	Quite a lot	Very much
Born in 1986					
Basque	6.5	30.4	30.5	26.1	6.5
Spanish	0.0	0.0	4.3	13.0	82.7
English	11.1	24.4	26.8	33.3	4.4
French	24.4	40.0	31.2	4.4	0.0
Prestige of language groups					
	Not at all	Not very	Fairly	Quite a lot	Very much
Born before 1983					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	0.0	0.0	15.8	47.4	36.8
Basque-speaking bilinguals	5.3	10.5	21.1	26.3	36.8
Born in 1983					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	0.0	2.0	5.9	23.5	68.6
Basque-speaking bilinguals	0.0	13.7	31.4	37.3	17.6
Born in 1984					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	0.0	3.0	11.9	34.3	50.8
Basque-speaking bilinguals	3.0	10.5	31.3	31.3	23.9
Born in 1985					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	0.0	2.2	6.5	32.6	58.7
Basque-speaking bilinguals	6.5	13.0	26.1	28.3	26.1
Born in 1986					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	2.2	4.3	13.0	19.6	60.9
Basque-speaking bilinguals	2.2	17.4	26.1	23.9	30.4

Table 8.26. Significance Tests and Correlations for Table 8.25

	Chi-Square	df	Significance	Cramer's V
Strength of language groups (1)				
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	22.058	16	0.141	0.156
Basque-speaking bilinguals	11.775	16	0.759	0.114
Strength of language groups (2)				
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	18.551	16	0.293	0.143
Basque-speaking bilinguals	15.529	16	0.486	0.131
Strength of language groups (3)				
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	20.610	16	0.194	0.151
Basque-speaking bilinguals	27.743	16	0.034	0.175

	Chi-Square	df	Significance	Cramer's V
Prestige of languages				
Basque	17.221	16	0.371	0.137
Spanish	12.256	8	0.140	0.163
English	12.704	16	0.694	0.118
French	11.789	16	0.758	0.113
Prestige of language groups				
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	15.890	16	0.461	0.132
Basque-speaking bilinguals	10.152	16	0.859	0.105

As regards perceptions of language vitality in Rioja, just one statistically significant difference was found. Students from different age groups differed in the perceived strength of the Basque-speaking bilingual group in twenty years from now. In general, all groups considered that such group will be 'quite' or 'very' strong in the future but, while nearly three out of four of the students born before 1983, in 1983 and 1984 believed so (73.6%, 69.4% and 73.1% respectively), the percentages fall to around 60% among the those born in 1985 (60.9%) and 1986 (60.8%). These results suggest that the older age groups are more confident than the younger ones about the future strength of the Basque-bilingual group.

8.3.6. Ethnolinguistic and ethnocultural identity and intergroup relations

Students were asked to report about a number of aspects regarding ethnolinguistic and ethnocultural identity and intergroup relations. In this section, these aspects are examined to locate possible differences between varying ages. The results are presented in the following tables.

Table 8.27: Comparison between ages in students' ethnolinguistic and ethnocultural identity and intergroup relations (%)

	Born before 1983		Born in 1983		Born in 1984		Born in 1985		Born in 1986	
Ethnolinguistic identity										
	Now	Fut.	Now	Fut.	Now	Fut.	Now	Fut.	Now	Fut.
Only Basque-speaking	5.3	10.0	0.0	7.7	3.0	6.0	2.1	6.4	0.0	6.5
More Basque-speaking than Spanish-speaking	0.0	30.0	3.8	17.3	3.0	38.8	4.3	19.1	6.5	23.9
Basque-speaking and Spanish-speaking alike	42.1	55.0	23.1	53.9	41.7	38.8	42.6	53.2	39.1	52.3
More Spanish-speaking than Basque-speaking	42.1	5.0	69.2	19.2	44.8	14.9	34.0	17.0	45.7	13.0
Only Spanish-speaking	10.5	0.0	3.8	1.9	7.5	1.5	17.0	4.3	8.7	4.3
Ethnocultural identity										
Only Spanish	0.0		2.1		3.1		4.3		2.2	
More Spanish than Basque	15.7		6.4		10.8		10.6		8.9	
Basque and Spanish alike	21.1		55.4		27.7		38.3		42.3	
More Basque than Spanish	21.1		17.0		29.2		19.1		13.3	
Only Basque	42.1		19.1		29.2		27.7		33.3	
Compatibility of Basque/Spanish identity										
Yes	73.7		78.0		59.1		68.1		82.6	
No	26.3		22.0		40.9		31.9		17.4	
Conditions to be able to feel Basque / Spanish										
	SA		A		NAND		D		SD	
Born before 1983										
BASQUE										
To live in the Basque Country	40.0		25.0		35.0		0.0		0.0	
To have been born in the BC	30.0		10.0		45.0		5.0		10.0	
To speak the Basque language	50.0		40.0		5.0		0.0		5.0	
To be of Basque descent	35.0		30.0		25.0		10.0		0.0	
To be a Basque nationalist	25.0		10.0		35.0		5.0		25.0	
To engage in the Basque culture	65.0		25.0		10.0		0.0		0.0	
SPANISH										
To live in Spain	45.0		5.0		35.0		10.0		5.0	
To have been born in Spain	35.0		20.0		30.0		10.0		5.0	
To speak Spanish	55.0		10.0		15.0		15.0		5.0	
To be of Spanish descent	45.0		15.0		25.0		10.0		5.0	
To be a Spanish nationalist	20.0		10.0		40.0		5.0		25.0	
To engage in the Spanish culture	35.0		30.0		25.0		5.0		5.0	

	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
Born in 1983					
BASQUE					
To live in the Basque Country	35.3	35.3	19.6	5.9	3.9
To have been born in the BC	26.0	40.0	20.0	12.0	2.0
To speak the Basque language	43.1	29.4	17.7	3.9	5.9
To be of Basque descent	25.5	45.1	17.7	7.8	3.9
To be a Basque nationalist	19.6	11.8	41.1	5.9	21.6
To engage in the Basque culture	51.0	23.5	21.6	0.0	3.9
SPANISH					
To live in Spain	37.3	33.3	19.6	7.8	2.0
To have been born in Spain	39.2	19.6	31.4	5.9	3.9
To speak Spanish	45.1	33.3	13.8	3.9	3.9
To be of Spanish descent	33.3	37.3	21.5	5.9	2.0
To be a Spanish nationalist	17.6	11.8	45.1	5.9	19.6
To engage in the Spanish culture	47.1	23.5	23.5	3.9	2.0
Born in 1984					
BASQUE					
To live in the Basque Country	42.9	17.5	25.3	4.8	9.5
To have been born in the BC	36.5	25.4	22.3	7.9	7.9
To speak the Basque language	51.6	21.0	21.0	4.8	1.6
To be of Basque descent	33.3	30.2	22.3	7.9	6.3
To be a Basque nationalist	24.2	22.6	37.1	3.2	12.9
To engage in the Basque culture	52.4	23.8	22.2	0.0	1.6
SPANISH					
To live in Spain	39.7	14.3	19.0	9.5	17.5
To have been born in Spain	31.7	25.4	17.5	7.9	17.5
To speak Spanish	41.4	25.4	19.0	6.3	7.9
To be of Spanish descent	32.3	22.6	17.7	14.5	12.9
To be a Spanish nationalist	22.6	17.7	30.7	12.9	16.1
To engage in the Spanish culture	39.7	25.4	15.9	7.9	11.1
Born in 1985					
BASQUE					
To live in the Basque Country	40.0	26.7	17.7	6.7	8.9
To have been born in the BC	37.8	22.2	24.4	8.9	6.7
To speak the Basque language	52.2	17.4	15.2	4.3	10.9
To be of Basque descent	32.6	21.7	32.7	4.3	8.7
To be a Basque nationalist	26.7	15.6	35.4	6.7	15.6
To engage in the Basque culture	34.8	34.8	19.6	6.5	4.3
SPANISH					
To live in Spain	40.0	26.7	13.3	8.9	11.1
To have been born in Spain	40.0	17.8	20.0	11.1	11.1
To speak Spanish	44.5	28.9	8.9	4.4	13.3
To be of Spanish descent	33.3	13.3	31.2	8.9	13.3
To be a Spanish nationalist	24.4	20.0	26.7	4.4	24.5
To engage in the Spanish culture	35.5	26.7	26.7	2.2	8.9

	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
Born in 1986					
BASQUE					
To live in the Basque Country	45.7	15.2	26.1	8.7	4.3
To have been born in the BC	46.7	20.0	22.2	4.4	6.7
To speak the Basque language	45.7	26.0	23.9	2.2	2.2
To be of Basque descent	37.0	23.9	23.9	8.7	6.5
To be a Basque nationalist	15.6	20.0	42.1	15.6	6.7
To engage in the Basque culture	41.3	23.9	19.6	10.9	4.3
SPANISH					
To live in Spain	45.7	19.6	21.7	6.5	6.5
To have been born in Spain	54.4	15.2	19.6	4.3	6.5
To speak Spanish	47.8	28.3	17.4	4.3	2.2
To be of Spanish descent	45.7	15.2	32.6	2.2	4.3
To be a Spanish nationalist	28.3	13.0	43.5	8.7	6.5
To engage in the Spanish culture	39.1	34.8	21.7	2.2	2.2
Intergroup relations					
	Not at all	Not much	No difference	Quite	Very much
Born before 1983					
Friends					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	5.0	0.0	80.0	10.0	5.0
Basque-speaking bilinguals	0.0	5.0	45.0	10.0	40.0
Classmates					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	10.0	5.0	70.0	5.0	10.0
Basque-speaking bilinguals	0.0	10.0	40.0	25.0	25.0
Neighbours					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	5.0	0.0	80.0	5.0	10.0
Basque-speaking bilinguals	0.0	10.0	55.0	10.0	25.0
Husband / wife					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	10.0	0.0	70.0	5.0	15.0
Basque-speaking bilinguals	5.0	0.0	45.0	10.0	40.0
Born in 1983					
Friends					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	0.0	0.0	72.5	5.9	21.6
Basque-speaking bilinguals	2.0	0.0	43.1	19.6	35.3
Classmates					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	0.0	2.0	70.6	9.8	17.6
Basque-speaking bilinguals	0.0	0.0	51.0	15.7	33.3
Neighbours					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	0.0	0.0	72.5	7.9	19.6
Basque-speaking bilinguals	0.0	0.0	56.8	11.8	31.4

	Not at all	Not much	No difference	Quite	Very much
Husband / wife					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	4.2	6.3	66.6	8.3	14.6
Basque-speaking bilinguals	0.0	0.0	44.0	30.0	26.0
Born in 1984					
Friends					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	10.6	4.5	62.1	7.6	15.2
Basque-speaking bilinguals	1.5	0.0	30.4	13.6	54.5
Classmates					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	10.6	7.6	57.5	9.1	15.2
Basque-speaking bilinguals	0.0	1.5	33.3	15.2	50.0
Neighbours					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	7.6	3.0	65.2	10.6	13.6
Basque-speaking bilinguals	0.0	0.0	34.9	13.6	51.5
Husband / wife					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	9.5	20.6	47.7	9.5	12.7
Basque-speaking bilinguals	1.5	1.5	26.2	20.0	50.8
Born in 1985					
Friends					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	0.0	2.2	39.1	17.4	41.3
Basque-speaking bilinguals	2.1	0.0	31.8	12.8	53.3
Classmates					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	2.2	2.2	39.1	15.2	41.3
Basque-speaking bilinguals	2.1	2.1	25.6	14.9	55.3
Neighbours					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	2.2	2.2	43.4	10.9	41.3
Basque-speaking bilinguals	2.1	0.0	34.0	17.0	46.9
Husband / wife					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	4.3	12.8	34.0	4.3	44.6
Basque-speaking bilinguals	2.1	0.0	27.7	14.9	55.3
Born in 1986					
Friends					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	0.0	6.5	50.0	10.9	32.6
Basque-speaking bilinguals	4.3	0.0	37.0	13.0	45.7
Classmates					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	0.0	6.5	47.8	19.6	26.1
Basque-speaking bilinguals	4.3	0.0	37.0	19.6	39.1
Neighbours					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	0.0	4.3	54.4	17.4	23.9
Basque-speaking bilinguals	4.3	0.0	43.5	15.2	37.0

	Not at all	Not much	No difference	Quite	Very much
Husband / wife					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	2.2	11.1	44.5	22.2	20.0
Basque-speaking bilinguals	4.3	0.0	28.3	17.4	50.0

Table 8.28. Significance Tests and Correlations for Table 8.27

	Chi-Square	df	Significance	Cramer's V
Ethnolinguistic identity (now)	21.314	16	0.167	0.152
Ethnolinguistic identity (future)	13.373	16	0.645	0.120
Ethnocultural identity	16.484	16	0.420	0.136
Basque-Spanish identity	9.017	4	0.061	0.199
Basque				
To live in the Basque Country	14.123	16	0.590	0.125
To have been born in the BC	18.051	16	0.321	0.142
To speak the Basque language	14.443	16	0.556	0.127
To be of Basque descent	11.973	16	0.746	0.115
To be a Basque nationalist	15.924	16	0.458	0.134
To engage in the Basque culture	21.134	16	0.173	0.153
Spanish				
To live in Spain	20.714	16	0.190	0.152
To have been born in Spain	16.779	16	0.400	0.137
To speak Spanish	14.557	16	0.557	0.127
To be of Spanish descent	25.731	16	0.058	0.169
To be a Spanish nationalist	15.011	16	0.524	0.129
To engage in the Spanish culture	12.487	16	0.710	0.118
Friends				
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	42.142	16	0.0001	0.214
Basque-speaking bilinguals	18.374	16	0.302	0.141
Classmates				
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	35.390	16	0.004	0.197
Basque-speaking bilinguals	25.973	16	0.054	0.168
Neighbours				
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	29.684	16	0.020	0.180
Basque-speaking bilinguals	36.683	16	0.002	0.200
Husband / wife				
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	42.234	16	0.0001	0.218
Basque-speaking bilinguals	20.089	16	0.216	0.148

The above table shows five statistically significant differences between ages, all of them concerning intergroup relations. Students were requested to consider to what extent would they like to have Spanish-speaking monolinguals or Basque-speaking bilinguals as best friends, classmates, neighbours and husbands or wives. Differences were detected when referring to Spanish-speaking bilinguals in all four categories, and to Basque-speaking monolinguals as neighbours.

As regards having Spanish-speaking monolinguals as best friends, classmates, neighbours and husbands or wives, the responses present certain common patterns. While the percentage of students who think it makes 'no difference' is high in all groups, it is especially so among the older age groups, specifically among students born before 1983 (80.0%, 70.0%, 80.0% and 70.0% respectively) and in 1983 (72.5%, 70.6%, 72.5% and 66.6%), in comparison with students born in 1984 (62.1%, 57.5%, 65.2%, 47.7% and 39.1%), 1985 (39.1%, 39.1%, 43.4% and 34.0%) and 1986 (50.0%, 47.8%, 54.4% and 44.4%). Percentages showing rejection are low, the highest being reported by the 1984 age group (15.1%, 18.2%, 10.6% and 30.1% respectively, combining 'not at all' and 'not much'), while the younger students would like to have Spanish-speaking monolinguals as friends, classmates, neighbours and husbands or wives in a higher degree than the older age groups. In all groups, responses were slightly different when referring to Spanish-speaking monolinguals as husbands or wives. In this case, the differences between the age groups follow the same tendencies as with the rest of responses, but the percentages of rejection are higher and those favouring the 'no difference' option lower.

With respect to having Basque-speaking bilinguals as neighbours, rejection is almost non-existent, although 10.0% of the students born before 1983 favour the option 'not much'. Again, the percentage of 'no difference' responses is considerably higher among the students born before 1983 (55.0%) and in 1983 (56.9%), than among the younger students born in 1984 (34.8%), 1985 (34.0%) and 1986 (43.5%). Conversely, the percentages of students who would like to have Spanish-speaking monolinguals as neighbours are higher among the younger age groups born in 1984 (65.1%, combining 'quite' and 'very much'), 1985 (58.7%) and 1986 (52.2%) than among the older ages groups, that is students born before 1983 (35.0%) and in 1983 (43.2%).

The results suggest that differences reside in the approach of the different age groups to the categorization of people according to their linguistic abilities. The older age groups tend to concede little importance to it, whereas the younger age groups tend to answer in a more positive manner. As a consequence, percentages of rejection are low in all categories. A

relative exception to this can be found among students born in 1984, a higher percentage of whom gave more negative responses.

8.3.7. Concluding remarks

In general, the results reveal few statistically significant differences between ages. Results also show a generally weak correlation between ages and the dimensions analyzed in this study. This is somewhat surprising, as it was expected that physical, social and emotional changes experienced by students throughout the teenage years would be reflected in the issues examined in this study. For example, more differences were expected concerning psycho-social factors related to language such as attitudes and ethnolinguistic and ethnocultural identity, if only as a reflection of the general attitudinal and identity-related changes that occur during this period. Instead, there is much similarity across the age groups.

The dearth of statistically significant differences having been pointed out, a possible trend can be located. Overall, a line could be drawn between the three older age groups, that is students born before 1983, in 1983 and in 1984, and the younger ones formed by students born in 1985 and 1986. The older age groups report a more positive disposition to use Basque, more favourable attitudes towards bilingualism and Basque and a more positive perception of the future strength of Basque. On the other hand, it must be noted that such trend does not follow a linear pattern. Thus, while the most positive responses were provided by the 1984 age group, negative responses were most prevalent among the immediate 1985 age group. To conclude, the general picture is one of coincidence between ages. Statistically significant differences are scant, but they reveal a basic trend which separates the older and the younger age groups. However, these differences are not enough for a consistent pattern to emerge. This theme will be returned to in the final, concluding chapter.

8.4. Summary of the Chapter

In this chapter, comparisons between genders and ages have been made. The most significant results in each group have been explained in the concluding remarks. Further explanations will be provided in the final chapter.

Chapter Nine

ANALYSIS OF THE RESULTS: COMPARISONS BETWEEN STUDENTS ACCORDING TO THEIR ABILITY TO SPEAK BASQUE

9.1. Introduction

This chapter analyzes differences between students according to their self-perceived ability to speak Basque. Differences are considered as statistically significant if the confidence level is equal to, or less than 0.05 (i.e. the minimal level used is 95% confidence). Substantive significance will also be considered when analyzing the results, which can occur when statistically significant differences are absent and present. Likewise, statistically significant differences are sometimes unimportant.

9.2. Comparisons between students according to their ability to speak Basque

The main aim of this study is to offer a global, holistic picture of language contact in Rioja, as a way to analyze the effects of the language policies designed to reverse the decline of the Basque language and restore its use in a traditionally non-Basque speaking area. In order to lay the foundations of language recovery, one of the basis of such policies is to ensure a knowledge and use of Basque among future generations. In one section of the questionnaire used in this study, subjects were requested to self-report their linguistic abilities in Basque, as well as in Spanish, English and French, and in any other language(s) they might command. Specifically, they were requested to evaluate their abilities to speak, understand, read and write in each of those languages on a five point scale (fluent; quite well; some; a little; none). In this context, it seemed appropriate to compare students in order to detect possible differences among them according to their competence in Basque. Indeed, competence in Basque may be viewed both as a predisposing factor and as an outcome of any given language policy.

Of the four linguistic abilities mentioned above, the ability to speak Basque has been chosen as an independent variable, in the belief that such a dimension is the most relevant when analyzing the different aspects prompted by this study. In Rioja Alavesa, Basque is the second language of most of the students, and this second language is practically a school-only phenomenon. Therefore, self-reports of language competence are likely to be strongly related to school achievement. Thus, while a high percentage of students, especially those in immersion programs, might have achieved a high degree of grammatical competence, that does not necessarily lead to sociolinguistic competence (see Hoffmann, 1991). In this study, students rated themselves rather highly in terms of competence, but percentages are lowest regarding the ability to speak Basque (see chapter Six). Bilingual ability is not the same as being functionally bilingual (Baker, 2001: 233), especially in an area where another first language is dominant. The ability to speak Basque is directly connected to issues relevant to this study, such as language use within the community, and its influence may also extend to psycho-social factors such as attitudes, perceptions of vitality and to ethnolinguistic and ethnocultural identity.

For analysis purposes, students who speak little Basque and no Basque have been grouped together, as only four students reported knowing 'no' Basque, and a further eleven 'a little'.

9.2.1. Students' language profile

This section examines the differences in linguistic abilities between students according to their ability to speak Basque. For this purpose, self-reports of their abilities to speak, understand, read and write in Spanish, English and French are analyzed. The results are shown in percentages in the following table.

Table 9.1: Comparison between students according to their ability to speak Basque: language profile (%)

	Degree of language ability in Spanish				
	Fluent	Quite well	Some	A little	None
Students who speak Basque fluently					
I am able to speak Spanish	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
I am able to understand Spanish	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
I am able to read in Spanish	98.4	1.6	0.0	0.0	0.0
I am able to write in Spanish	90.5	9.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
Students who speak Basque quite well					
I am able to speak Spanish	86.1	13.0	0.9	0.0	0.0
I am able to understand Spanish	94.4	5.6	0.0	0.0	0.0
I am able to read in Spanish	88.8	10.3	0.9	0.0	0.0
I am able to write in Spanish	78.7	19.4	1.9	0.0	0.0
Students who speak some Basque					
I am able to speak Spanish	63.0	37.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
I am able to understand Spanish	80.4	19.6	0.0	0.0	0.0
I am able to read in Spanish	71.7	28.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
I am able to write in Spanish	69.6	30.4	0.0	0.0	0.0
Students who speak a little/none of Basque					
I am able to speak Spanish	73.3	20.0	6.7	0.0	0.0
I am able to understand Spanish	73.3	20.0	6.7	0.0	0.0
I am able to read in Spanish	73.3	20.0	6.7	0.0	0.0
I am able to write in Spanish	60.0	33.3	6.7	0.0	0.0
	Degree of language ability in English				
	Fluent	Quite well	Some	A little	None
Students who speak Basque fluently					
I am able to speak English	1.6	34.9	38.1	17.5	7.9
I am able to understand English	11.1	34.9	38.1	11.1	4.8
I am able to read in English	14.3	41.3	33.3	6.3	4.8
I am able to write in English	4.8	39.7	36.5	12.7	6.3
Students who speak Basque quite well					
I am able to speak English	1.9	11.1	57.4	25.0	4.6
I am able to understand English	1.9	24.1	38.8	30.6	4.6
I am able to read in English	3.7	31.5	41.7	22.2	0.9
I am able to write in English	2.8	22.2	44.4	26.9	3.7

Students who speak some Basque					
I am able to speak English	4.3	15.2	34.8	37.0	8.7
I am able to understand English	8.7	19.6	39.1	26.1	6.5
I am able to read in English	10.9	19.6	45.6	17.4	6.5
I am able to write in English	6.5	19.6	50.0	17.4	6.5
Students who speak a little/none of Basque					
I am able to speak English	0.0	20.0	26.7	46.6	6.7
I am able to understand English	0.0	26.7	26.7	46.6	0.0
I am able to read in English	0.0	26.7	53.3	20.0	0.0
I am able to write in English	0.0	26.7	46.6	26.7	0.0
	Degree of language ability in French				
	Fluent	Quite well	Some	A little	None
Students who speak Basque fluently					
I am able to speak French	3.2	12.7	15.8	17.5	50.8
I am able to understand French	11.1	6.3	19.1	14.3	49.2
I am able to read in French	9.5	11.1	15.9	12.7	50.8
I am able to write in French	6.3	12.7	14.3	15.9	50.8
Students who speak Basque quite well					
I am able to speak French	0.0	3.7	13.0	25.0	58.3
I am able to understand French	0.9	4.6	11.2	22.2	61.1
I am able to read in French	1.9	8.3	12.0	18.5	59.3
I am able to write in French	1.9	4.6	9.2	25.0	59.3
Students who speak some Basque					
I am able to speak French	0.0	0.0	10.9	30.4	58.7
I am able to understand French	0.0	2.2	13.0	28.3	56.5
I am able to read in French	0.0	2.2	10.9	26.0	60.9
I am able to write in French	0.0	4.3	6.5	28.3	60.9
Students who speak a little/none of Basque					
I am able to speak French	6.7	0.0	0.0	26.7	66.6
I am able to understand French	6.7	0.0	0.0	26.7	66.6
I am able to read in French	6.7	0.0	0.0	26.7	66.6
I am able to write in French	0.0	6.7	0.0	26.7	66.6

First language of students				
	Basque %	Spanish %	Both %	Others %
Students who speak Basque fluently	11.1	69.8	15.9	3.2
Students who speak Basque quite well	2.8	84.2	13.0	0.0
Students who speak some Basque	0.0	87.0	10.8	2.2
Students who speak a little/none of Basque	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0

Table 9.2. Significance Tests and Correlations for Table 9.1

	Chi-Square	df	Significance	Cramer's V
I am able to speak Spanish	64.273	8	0.0001	0.281
I am able to understand Spanish	54.759	8	0.0001	0.266
I am able to read in Spanish	61.608	8	0.0001	0.238
I am able to write in Spanish	46.453	8	0.023	0.178
I am able to speak English	64.273	8	0.006	0.199
I am able to understand English	54.759	8	0.051	0.174
I am able to read in English	61.608	8	0.021	0.185
I am able to write in English	46.453	8	0.260	0.145
I am able to speak French	64.273	8	0.029	0.181
I am able to understand French	54.759	8	0.030	0.181
I am able to read in French	61.608	8	0.088	0.165
I am able to write in French	46.453	8	0.192	0.152
First language of students	18.069	9	0.034	0.161

The table shows a number of statistically significant differences. As regards Spanish, differences are statistically significant in all linguistic abilities. As expected, nearly all students claimed to speak, understand, read and write in Spanish 'fluently' or 'quite well', although 6.7% of students who speak 'little/no' Basque report knowing only 'some' Spanish across such linguistic abilities. Students who are fluent in Basque also claimed the highest competence in Spanish, as nearly all of them speak (100%), understand (100%), read (98.4%) and write (90.5%) in Spanish 'fluently'. A relatively lower percentage of students who speak Basque quite well considered they speak, understand, read and write in Spanish 'fluently' (86.1%, 94.4%, 88.8% and 78.7%, respectively). Percentages of fluency in Spanish are similar among those who speak 'some' Basque (63.0%, 80.4%, 71.7% and 69.6%, respectively) or 'a little/none' (73.3%, 73.3%, 73.3% and 60.0%, respectively).

According to these results, fluency in Spanish in Basque are somewhat related, despite correlations being modest. As differences in Spanish were deemed unlikely, the higher fluency in that language claimed by fluent Basque speakers might be attributed to a general higher confidence in their linguistic abilities. Also, Cummins' interdependence theory (1984), which suggests that second language acquisition is influenced considerably by the extent to which the first language has developed, may apply to a certain extent here.

Regarding English, responses were significantly different in the ability to speak and read the language. Fluent speakers of Basque also claimed the highest competence in their ability to speak and read English. Over a third (34.9%) speak English 'quite well', and a further 1.6% 'fluently', while over half of them consider that they are able to read in English 'quite well' (41.3%) or 'fluently' (14.3%). Those who speak some or a little/none Basque rate similarly, around 20% of them speaking and 30% reading English 'fluently' or 'quite well'. Meanwhile, those who speak Basque quite well show the lowest ability to speak English, only 13.0% of them speaking English 'quite well' or 'fluently'. However, over a third of them claimed to read English 'quite well' (31.5%) or 'fluently' (3.7%). Again, overall confidence of the most fluent speakers may have played a part in these responses. Another reason that may explain the results is that in the *ikastola* schools, where fluency in Basque is highest, the teaching of English is an important part of the curriculum.

As regards French, significant differences were found in the ability to speak and understand the language. Again, fluent speakers of Basque rate highest, over 15% of them speaking (15.9%) and understanding (17.4%) the language 'fluently' or 'quite well', while half of them speak or understand no French. In the remaining groups, percentages of students who speak or understand French 'fluently' or 'quite well' are very low, while a majority of them speak or understand 'no' French (around 60% of those who speak Basque 'quite well' or 'some' and a slightly higher 66.6% of those who speak 'little/none' Basque).

Finally, a significant difference was found in the first language of students in different groups. Over one fourth (27.0%) of fluent Basque speakers have Basque or both Spanish and Basque as their first language. Percentages decline as ability to speak

Basque does. All students who speak little or no Basque have Spanish as their first language. This result suggests that having Basque as a first language is a positive factor influencing ability in the language.

9.2.2. Students' social network

In this section, students were asked to assess the linguistic competence of those within their everyday circle of relations. Specifically, they were asked how many of them were able to speak Basque. The results are presented in percentages in the table below.

Table 9.3. Comparison between students according to their ability to speak Basque: social network (%)

Linguistic competence of the students' parents					
	Parents of students who speak Basque fluently				
	Fluently	Quite well	Some	A little	None
Father					
Spanish	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Basque	4.8	6.5	8.1	33.8	46.8
English	1.6	1.6	1.6	17.7	77.5
Others	4.8	4.8	1.6	6.5	82.3
Mother					
Spanish	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Basque	6.3	7.9	15.9	36.6	33.3
English	3.2	3.2	1.6	9.5	82.5
Others	3.2	3.2	4.8	6.3	82.5
	Parents of students who speak Basque quite well				
	Fluently	Quite well	Some	A little	None
Father					
Spanish	85.2	12.0	2.8	0.0	0.0
Basque	0.9	1.9	0.0	28.7	68.5
English	0.0	0.0	3.7	11.1	85.2
Others	0.9	5.6	1.9	12.0	79.5
Mother					
Spanish	90.7	9.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
Basque	3.7	4.6	10.3	23.1	58.3
English	0.0	0.9	6.5	13.0	79.6
Others	2.8	0.9	4.6	7.4	84.3

Parents of students who speak some Basque					
	Fluently	Quite well	Some	A little	None
Father					
Spanish	67.4	26.1	6.5	0.0	0.0
Basque	0.0	0.0	2.2	26.1	71.7
English	0.0	2.2	0.0	10.8	87.0
Others	0.0	2.2	2.2	6.5	89.1
Mother					
Spanish	65.2	34.8	0.0	0.0	0.0
Basque	2.2	0.0	2.2	17.4	78.2
English	2.2	0.0	0.0	4.3	93.5
Others	2.2	2.2	2.2	4.3	89.1
Parents of students who speak a little/none of Basque					
	Fluently	Quite well	Some	A little	None
Father					
Spanish	66.6	26.7	6.7	0.0	0.0
Basque	0.0	0.0	0.0	13.3	86.7
English	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.7	93.3
Others	0.0	0.0	6.7	13.3	80.0
Mother					
Spanish	73.3	26.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
Basque	0.0	0.0	0.0	13.3	86.7
English	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.7	93.3
Others	0.0	13.3	0.0	6.7	80.0
First language of parents					
	Basque %	Spanish %	Both %	Others %	
Parents of students who speak Basque fluently					
Father	0.0	91.9	3.2	4.9	
Mother	3.2	88.8	4.8	3.2	
Parents of students who speak Basque quite well					
Father	0.9	98.2	0.0	0.9	
Mother	0.9	99.1	0.0	0.0	
Parents of students who speak some Basque					
Father	2.2	95.6	0.0	2.2	
Mother	2.2	89.1	0.0	8.7	
Parents of students who speak a little/none of Basque					
Father	0.0	93.3	0.0	6.7	
Mother	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	

Ability to speak Basque of family members					
Relatives of students who speak Basque fluently					
	Fluently	Quite well	Some	A little	None
Mother	6.3	7.9	15.9	36.6	33.3
Father	4.8	6.5	8.1	33.8	46.8
Siblings	62.1	24.1	8.6	0.0	5.2
Grandparents					
Father's mother	4.8	1.6	1.6	3.2	88.8
Father's father	5.2	1.7	1.7	1.7	89.7
Mother's father	12.1	0.0	1.7	5.2	81.0
Mother's mother	8.2	1.6	1.6	11.6	77.0
Relatives of students who speak Basque quite well					
	Fluently	Quite well	Some	A little	None
Mother	3.7	4.6	10.3	23.1	58.3
Father	0.9	1.9	0.0	28.7	68.5
Siblings	30.2	39.6	19.8	3.1	7.3
Grandparents					
Father's mother	1.9	0.0	0.0	6.7	91.4
Father's father	1.0	1.0	1.0	3.9	93.1
Mother's father	2.0	1.0	0.0	7.9	89.1
Mother's mother	1.9	0.0	0.0	4.8	93.3
Relatives of students who speak some Basque					
	Fluently	Quite well	Some	A little	None
Mother	2.2	0.0	2.2	17.3	78.3
Father	0.0	0.0	2.2	26.1	71.7
Siblings	9.1	15.9	45.4	11.4	18.2
Grandparents					
Father's mother	2.2	0.0	2.2	0.0	95.6
Father's father	0.0	0.0	2.2	2.2	95.6
Mother's father	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Mother's mother	2.3	0.0	0.0	2.3	95.4
Relatives of students who speak a little/none of Basque fluently					
	Fluently	Quite well	Some	A little	None
Mother	0.0	0.0	0.0	13.3	86.7
Father	0.0	0.0	0.0	13.3	86.7
Siblings	6.7	13.2	26.7	26.7	26.7
Grandparents					
Father's mother	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Father's father	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.7	92.3
Mother's father	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Mother's mother	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0

Ability to speak Basque of the nearby community				
Of students who speak Basque fluently				
	Friends	Neighbours	Classmates	Local shops and pubs
All or almost all of them	48.4	3.3	79.0	3.2
The majority of them	32.3	6.7	12.9	3.2
Around half of them	4.8	16.7	1.6	3.2
A few of them	12.9	51.6	4.9	37.1
None or almost none of them	1.6	21.7	1.6	53.3
Of students who speak Basque quite well				
	Friends	Neighbours	Classmates	Local shops and pubs
All or almost all of them	40.7	0.9	75.5	0.0
The majority of them	32.4	5.6	17.0	0.9
Around half of them	13.9	21.3	4.7	7.6
A few of them	11.1	46.3	1.9	30.2
None or almost none of them	1.9	25.9	0.9	61.3
Of students who speak some Basque				
	Friends	Neighbours	Classmates	Local shops and pubs
All or almost all of them	24.4	0.0	22.2	2.2
The majority of them	28.9	0.0	42.2	2.2
Around half of them	15.6	13.3	8.9	4.5
A few of them	13.3	46.7	6.7	26.7
None or almost none of them	17.8	40.0	20.0	64.4
Of students who speak a little/none of Basque				
	Friends	Neighbours	Classmates	Local shops and pubs
All or almost all of them	0.0	0.0	20.0	6.7
The majority of them	26.7	6.7	13.3	0.0
Around half of them	20.0	0.0	26.7	6.7
A few of them	26.6	26.6	33.3	13.3
None or almost none of them	26.7	66.7	6.7	73.3

Table 9.4. Significance Tests and Correlations for Table 9.3

	Chi-Square	df	Significance	Cramer's V
Linguistic competence of parents				
Father				
Spanish	25.234	6	0.0001	0.234
Basque	27.376	12	0.007	0.199
English	10.257	12	0.593	0.122
Others	10.373	12	0.583	0.122
Mother				
Spanish	32.672	3	0.0001	0.375
Basque	30.767	12	0.002	0.210
English	15.363	12	0.222	0.149
Others	10.344	12	0.586	0.122
First language of parents				
Father	10.549	9	0.308	0.123
Mother	20.070	9	0.017	0.170

	Chi-Square	df	Significance	Cramer's V
Ability to speak Basque of family				
Mother	30.767	12	0.002	0.210
Father	27.376	12	0.007	0.199
Siblings	77.311	12	0.0001	0.348
Grandparents				
Father's mother	11.214	12	0.511	0.128
Father's father	8.233	12	0.767	0.112
Mother's father	21.949	12	0.038	0.184
Mother's mother	16.929	12	0.152	0.160
Ability to speak Basque of nearby community				
Friends	40.911	12	0.0001	0.243
Neighbours	21.374	12	0.045	0.177
Classmates	94.864	12	0.0001	0.372
Local shops and pubs	11.322	12	0.502	0.129

The above table shows statistically significant differences on many of the dimensions analyzed. As regards the linguistic competence of parents, the responses differed concerning competence in Spanish and Basque of both the father and the mother. Differences regarding Spanish may appear surprising, but it must be observed that all groups reported high fluency rates, practically all parents speaking Spanish 'fluently' or 'quite well'. Nevertheless, while all fluent Basque speakers claimed that their father and their mother speak Spanish 'fluently', the percentages fall slightly among those who speak Basque 'quite well' (85.2% and 90.7%), and further among those who speak some Basque (67.4% and 65.2%) and little or no Basque (66.7% and 73.3%).

Competence in Basque is also higher among parents of fluent Basque speakers, although the percentage of fathers and mothers who speak Basque 'fluently' or 'quite well' is still low (11.3% and 14.2% respectively). However, according to the students in this group, less than half of their parents speak 'no' Basque (46.8% and 33.3% respectively), while percentages are considerably higher among those who speak Basque quite well (68.5% and 58.3%), some (71.7% and 78.3%) and a little or none (86.7% and 86.7%).

Subsequently, students were asked to indicate their parents' first language. Predictably, a strong majority in all groups claimed it was Spanish. The percentages of parents whose first language is Basque or both Basque and Spanish are minimal,

although 8.0% of the mothers of fluent Basque speakers have either Basque (3.2%) or both Spanish and Basque (4.8%) as their first languages. Interestingly, a small but noticeable percentage of students reported the first language of their parents to be one different from Spanish or Basque. Among fluent Basque speakers, this relates to 4.8% of fathers and 3.2% of mothers; among those who speak some Basque, 2.2% of fathers and 8.7% of mothers; and among those who speak a little or no Basque, 6.7% of fathers have another language as their first rather than Basque or Spanish.

Within the family, statistically significant differences were also detected in the reported ability of sibling and maternal grandfathers to speak Basque. In the first case, responses follow a logical pattern, as the ability to speak Basque attributed to their siblings is similar to that of students. Thus, 62.1% of fluent students considered that their siblings speak Basque 'fluently', and a further 24.1% 'quite well'. Students who speak Basque quite well reported that 39.6% of their siblings also speak Basque 'quite well', and 30.2% 'fluently'. Ability to speak Basque is much lower among siblings of those who speak some Basque, nearly half (45.5%) of whom considered that their siblings speak 'some' Basque as well. Finally, 86.7% of the students who speak little or no Basque reported that their siblings speak 'no' Basque, and a further 13.3% 'a little' Basque.

These results are hardly surprising, the students sharing the same linguistic background and, presumably, being educated in the same bilingual teaching model. As for the ability of maternal grandfather to speak Basque, the statistical difference does not seem substantially significant and, again, a strong majority in all groups reported that they speak 'no' Basque.

Finally, when asked about the ability of the nearby community to speak Basque, statistically significant differences were found among students regarding friends, classmates and neighbours. As with siblings, reports of the linguistic ability of friends and classmates approximately reflect that of the respondent. Hence, a strong majority (80.1%, combining 'all or almost all of them' and 'the majority of them') of fluent Basque speakers' friends are able to speak Basque, the percentages gradually declining with the ability of the respondents (73.1%, 53.3% and 26.7% respectively, from 'quite well' through 'some' to 'a little/none').

Correlations regarding classmates are relatively strong ($r=0.372$). In all groups, the percentage of classmates able to speak Basque is slightly higher than that of friends. However, it is likely that these categories overlap to a certain degree, as in these age groups friends tend to be classmates and vice versa. On the other hand, statistical differences concerning neighbours were less expected, and may be attributed to differences in perception, rather than reflections of actual reality. Nevertheless, a majority in all groups reported that ‘a few’ or ‘none or almost none’ of the neighbours are able to speak Basque. However, percentages are higher among students who speak little or no Basque and those who speak some Basque (93.4% and 86.7% respectively) than among fluent Basque speakers and students who speak Basque ‘quite well’ (72.4% and 72.2%).

9.2.3. Language use and language domains

In this section, differences in the use of Basque between students according to their ability to speak Basque are analyzed. The results are shown in the following table.

Table 9.5: Comparison between students according to their ability to speak Basque: use of Basque (%)

Language use at home				
	Always	Often	Sometimes	Never
Students who speak Basque fluently				
With your mother	1.6	4.8	15.9	77.7
With your father	0.0	4.9	14.8	80.3
With your siblings	1.8	21.1	54.3	22.8
With your grandparents	3.3	1.6	13.1	82.0
At mealtimes	0.0	4.8	27.0	68.2
Students who speak Basque quite well				
With your mother	0.9	0.9	21.3	76.9
With your father	0.9	0.9	10.2	88.0
With your siblings	2.0	13.1	47.5	37.4
With your grandparents	0.0	1.0	6.7	92.3
At mealtimes	0.0	0.0	20.0	80.0
Students who speak some Basque				
With your mother	0.0	0.0	8.7	91.3
With your father	0.0	0.0	6.5	93.5
With your siblings	0.0	2.2	32.6	65.2
With your grandparents	0.0	2.3	2.3	95.4
At mealtimes	2.2	0.0	2.2	95.6

	Always	Often	Sometimes	Never
Students who speak a little/none of Basque				
With your mother	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
With your father	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
With your siblings	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
With your grandparents	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
At mealtimes	0.0	0.0	13.3	86.7
Language use at school				
	Always	Often	Sometimes	Never
Students who speak Basque fluently				
With teachers	49.2	30.2	9.5	11.1
With friends (classroom)	1.6	25.4	50.8	22.2
With friends (playground)	0.0	4.8	41.2	54.0
Students who speak Basque quite well				
With teachers	37.0	32.4	24.1	6.5
With friends (classroom)	0.0	9.3	64.8	25.9
With friends (playground)	0.0	0.0	29.6	70.4
Students who speak some Basque				
With teachers	4.3	17.4	56.6	21.7
With friends (classroom)	0.0	0.0	17.4	82.6
With friends (playground)	0.0	0.0	8.7	91.3
Students who speak a little/none of Basque				
With teachers	0.0	0.0	40.0	60.0
With friends (classroom)	0.0	0.0	20.0	80.0
With friends (playground)	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Language use: watching TV				
	Always	Often	Sometimes	Never
Students who speak Basque fluently				
Programs in Spanish	41.3	50.8	7.9	0.0
Programs in Basque	3.2	20.6	68.3	7.9
Students who speak Basque quite well				
Programs in Spanish	44.4	51.9	3.7	0.0
Programs in Basque	0.9	19.5	75.9	3.7
Students who speak some Basque				
Programs in Spanish	71.7	23.9	2.2	2.2
Programs in Basque	0.0	19.6	69.5	10.9
Students who speak a little/none of Basque				
Programs in Spanish	86.7	13.3	0.0	0.0
Programs in Basque	0.0	6.7	53.3	40.0

Language use outside home and school				
Actual use of Basque				
	Always	Often	Sometimes	Never
Students who speak Basque fluently				
With friends	0.0	9.5	50.8	39.7
With neighbours	0.0	1.6	22.2	76.2
In the pub or cafeteria	0.0	0.0	22.2	77.8
In leisure/sports/cultural activities	3.2	6.3	34.9	55.6
In the local shop	0.0	0.0	1.6	98.4
In the market	0.0	1.6	6.3	92.1
With the priest (in church)	0.0	0.0	9.7	90.3
With the local doctor/ At the local hospital	0.0	1.6	4.8	93.6
Students who speak Basque quite well				
With friends	0.0	3.8	57.5	38.7
With neighbours	0.0	0.9	13.1	86.0
In the pub or cafeteria	0.0	0.9	18.5	80.6
In leisure/sports/cultural activities	0.0	3.7	26.2	70.1
In the local shop	0.0	0.0	1.9	98.1
In the market	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
With the priest (in church)	0.0	0.0	0.9	99.1
With the local doctor/ At the local hospital	0.0	0.9	3.7	95.4
Students who speak some Basque				
With friends	0.0	0.0	21.7	78.3
With neighbours	0.0	0.0	4.3	95.7
In the pub or cafeteria	0.0	0.0	8.7	91.3
In leisure/sports/cultural activities	0.0	0.0	21.7	78.3
In the local shop	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
In the market	0.0	0.0	2.2	97.8
With the priest (in church)	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
With the local doctor/ At the local hospital	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Students who speak a little/none of Basque				
With friends	0.0	0.0	13.3	86.7
With neighbours	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
In the pub or cafeteria	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
In leisure/sports/cultural activities	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
In the local shop	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
In the market	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
With the priest (in church)	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
With the local doctor/ At the local hospital	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0

Potential use of Basque				
	Always	Often	Sometimes	Never
Students who speak Basque fluently				
With friends	42.9	28.5	14.3	14.3
With neighbours	22.2	33.4	23.8	20.6
In the pub or cafeteria	27.0	20.7	33.3	19.0
In leisure/sports/cultural activities	34.9	23.8	25.4	15.9
In the local shop	23.8	23.8	25.4	27.0
In the market	22.2	22.3	23.8	31.7
With the priest (in church)	16.1	19.4	17.7	46.8
With the local doctor/ At the local hospital	22.2	20.7	22.2	34.9
Students who speak Basque quite well				
With friends	25.9	34.3	31.5	8.3
With neighbours	16.7	25.0	38.9	19.4
In the pub or cafeteria	18.9	28.3	33.0	19.8
In leisure/sports/cultural activities	21.5	26.2	40.2	12.1
In the local shop	22.2	20.4	30.6	26.8
In the market	17.6	19.4	31.5	31.5
With the priest (in church)	19.0	12.4	23.8	44.8
With the local doctor/ At the local hospital	17.6	22.2	35.2	25.0
Students who speak some Basque				
With friends	6.5	10.9	37.0	45.6
With neighbours	4.3	10.9	23.9	60.9
In the pub or cafeteria	4.3	13.0	23.9	58.8
In leisure/sports/cultural activities	4.3	17.4	30.4	47.9
In the local shop	4.3	6.5	28.3	60.9
In the market	4.3	10.9	21.7	63.1
With the priest (in church)	2.2	6.5	21.7	69.6
With the local doctor/ At the local hospital	4.3	8.7	17.4	69.6
Students who speak a little/none of Basque				
With friends	6.7	6.7	6.6	80.0
With neighbours	0.0	6.7	6.7	86.6
In the pub or cafeteria	0.0	6.7	6.7	86.6
In leisure/sports/cultural activities	6.7	0.0	13.3	80.0
In the local shop	0.0	0.0	6.7	93.3
In the market	0.0	0.0	13.3	86.7
With the priest (in church)	0.0	0.0	6.7	93.3
With the local doctor/ At the local hospital	0.0	0.0	13.3	86.7

Confidence in the use of Basque					
	Very	Fairly	Not very	Little	Don't know
Students who speak Basque fluently					
With friends	66.7	23.8	0.0	6.3	3.2
With neighbours	22.6	21.0	12.9	27.4	16.1
In the pub or cafeteria	19.0	19.0	20.7	22.3	19.0
In leisure/sports/cultural activities	28.6	28.6	11.1	17.5	14.2
In the local shop	17.7	8.1	19.4	33.8	21.0
In the market	18.0	9.8	13.1	31.2	27.9
With the priest (in church)	18.0	11.5	4.9	27.9	37.7
With the local doctor/ At the local hospital	17.5	12.7	11.1	27.0	31.7
Students who speak Basque quite well					
With friends	42.6	32.4	13.8	5.6	5.6
With neighbours	8.5	24.5	15.1	33.0	18.9
In the pub or cafeteria	5.7	22.9	16.2	31.4	23.8
In leisure/sports/cultural activities	15.2	28.6	20.0	17.2	19.0
In the local shop	6.6	18.9	15.1	29.2	30.2
In the market	1.9	15.4	11.6	28.8	42.3
With the priest (in church)	2.9	10.8	10.8	23.5	52.0
With the local doctor/ At the local hospital	4.7	11.3	15.1	32.1	36.8
Students who speak some Basque					
With friends	8.7	15.2	15.2	15.2	45.7
With neighbours	0.0	6.5	10.9	30.4	52.2
In the pub or cafeteria	2.2	6.5	15.2	21.7	54.4
In leisure/sports/cultural activities	0.0	13.0	13.0	21.7	52.3
In the local shop	0.0	6.5	8.7	23.9	60.9
In the market	0.0	6.5	10.9	21.7	60.9
With the priest (in church)	0.0	6.5	10.9	23.9	58.7
With the local doctor/ At the local hospital	0.0	10.9	10.9	19.5	58.7
Students who speak a little/none of Basque					
With friends	0.0	7.1	0.0	21.4	71.5
With neighbours	0.0	0.0	0.0	14.3	85.7
In the pub or cafeteria	0.0	0.0	0.0	14.3	85.7
In leisure/sports/cultural activities	0.0	0.0	0.0	14.3	85.7
In the local shop	0.0	0.0	0.0	14.3	85.7
In the market	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.1	92.9
With the priest (in church)	0.0	0.0	0.0	14.3	85.7
With the local doctor/ At the local hospital	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.1	92.9

Table 9.6. Significance Tests and Correlations for Table 9.5

	Chi-Square	df	Significance	Cramer's V
At home				
With your mother	7.846	6	0.156	0.137
With your father	8.182	6	0.319	0.123
With your siblings	19.728	6	0.0001	0.232
With your grandparents	10.970	6	0.189	0.136
At mealtimes	13.997	6	0.001	0.201

	Chi-Square	df	Significance	Cramer's V
At school				
With teachers	145.513	6	0.0001	0.342
With friends (classroom)	110.338	6	0.0001	0.331
With friends (playground)	25.450	4	0.0001	0.254
Watching TV				
Programs in Spanish	28.697	6	0.002	0.195
Programs in Basque	15.697	6	0.002	0.191
Outside home and school				
Use of Basque				
With friends	9.143	4	0.0001	0.275
With neighbours	11.450	4	0.083	0.156
In the pub or cafeteria	1.676	4	0.233	0.132
In leisure/sports/cultural activities	18.628	6	0.022	0.167
In the local shop	0.826	2	0.776	0.069
In the market	3.250	4	0.097	0.152
With the priest (in church)	3.590	2	0.005	0.236
With the local doctor/ At the local hospital	2.917	4	0.709	0.090
Potential use of Basque				
With friends	21.636	6	0.0001	0.338
With neighbours	25.624	6	0.0001	0.285
In the pub or cafeteria	21.961	6	0.0001	0.276
In leisure/sports/cultural activities	15.704	6	0.0001	0.295
In the local shop	15.903	6	0.0001	0.253
In the market	14.051	6	0.0001	0.216
With the priest (in church)	6.637	6	0.002	0.193
With the local doctor/ At the local hospital	24.063	6	0.0001	0.254
Confidence in the use of Basque				
With friends	48.125	8	0.0001	0.406
With neighbours	33.696	8	0.0001	0.296
In the pub or cafeteria	15.435	8	0.0001	0.273
In leisure/sports/cultural activities	27.506	8	0.0001	0.301
In the local shop	18.805	8	0.0001	0.265
In the market	28.366	8	0.0001	0.258
With the priest (in church)	19.683	8	0.002	0.215
With the local doctor/ At the local hospital	25.505	8	0.0001	0.231

The table above presents a large number of statistically significant differences. At home, use of Basque among students according to their ability to speak Basque significantly differs when speaking with siblings and at mealtimes. In such situations, the percentages of students who speak Basque 'always' are minimal. More than half (54.3%) of fluent speakers of Basque use the language with their siblings 'sometimes', and nearly a quarter 'often' (21.1%) or 'always' (1.8%), while a similar percentage (22.8%) 'never' do so. Among students who speak Basque quite well, over a third (37.4%) 'never' use the language. Almost half (47.5%) of them speak in Basque with their siblings 'sometimes', a further 13.1% 'often' and only 2.0%

‘always’. A majority of students who speak some Basque ‘never’ (65.2%) use it with siblings, 32.6% of them do so ‘sometimes’ and the remaining 2.2% ‘often’. Finally, all (100%) the students who know little or no Basque ‘never’ speak it to siblings. At mealtimes, a strong majority of students in each group ‘never’ speak Basque. However, while just over two thirds (68.2%) of fluent Basque speakers claim to ‘never’ speak Basque in such situation, the percentage rose to over 80% among those who speak Basque quite well, some or little/none (80.0%, 95.6% and 86.7% respectively). The rest of the students speak Basque at mealtimes ‘sometimes’, except for a small percentage (4.8%) of fluent speakers who do so ‘often’.

At school, significant differences were detected on all the dimensions analyzed, that is, in the use of Basque with teachers, with classmates in the classroom and classmates in the playground. Almost half (49.2%) of fluent Basque speakers speak in Basque with their teachers ‘always’, and 30.2% ‘often’, while only 11.1% do so ‘never’. A lower percentage (6.5%) of students who speak Basque quite well reported that they ‘never’ communicate in Basque with their teachers. In this case, however, those who speak in Basque with them ‘always’ are less (37.0%), while those who speak in Basque ‘sometimes’ are considerably more than fluent speakers. Use of Basque with teachers decreases notably in the other groups. Among those who speak only ‘some’ Basque, the majority (56.6%) communicate in Basque with their teachers ‘sometimes’, a fifth of them speaking in Basque ‘often’ (17.4%) or ‘always’ (4.3%). Finally, as many as 40% of students who speak little or no Basque use the language with their teachers ‘sometimes’, although the rest (60%) ‘never’ does.

Percentages of language use decline perceptibly when interaction among classmates is considered. The majority of those who speak Basque ‘fluently’ (50.8%) and ‘quite well’ (64.8%) communicate in Basque with their friends in the classroom ‘sometimes’, the rest doing so ‘often’ (25.4% and 9.3% respectively), except for 1.6% of fluent speakers who speak in Basque ‘always’. On the other hand, a strong majority of those who speak some or little/none Basque (82.6% and 80%, respectively) ‘never’ communicate with their friends in the classroom in Basque. In the playground, use of Basque is rather low, as a majority of students in all groups declared that they ‘never’ speak in Basque in such a situation, the use of the language decreasing as the ability to speak Basque decreases. Thus, over half (54.0%) of fluent Basque speakers ‘never’

use the language, and the percentage rises to 70.4% in those who speak Basque quite well, to 91.3% in those who speak some and to 100% in those who speak little or no Basque.

The results show a gradation of language use in the school environment. Basque is frequently used when addressing the teachers, less in the classroom and very little in the playground. It seems that use recedes as the sense of obligation to do so diminishes.

Responses among students according to their ability to speak Basque also differed when asked how often they watched TV programs in Spanish and Basque. A strong majority of those who speak some (71.7%) and little/no (86.7%) Basque declared that they watch programs in Spanish 'always', while nearly all the rest do so 'often'. As regards students who speak Basque fluently or quite well, over half of them (50.8% and 51.9%, respectively) favour the option 'often', a minority of them 'sometimes' (7.9% and 3.7%, respectively), while the rest (41.3% and 44.4%, respectively) watch programs in Spanish 'always'. When asked how often they watched programs in Basque, students who speak Basque fluently, quite well or some gave similar responses. The majority of them (68.3%, 75.9% and 69.5%, respectively) watch programs in Basque 'sometimes', and around 20% 'often', whereas a small percentage of students declare that they 'never' watch programs in Basque (7.9%, 3.7% and 10.9%, respectively). Responses of those who speak little/none of Basque vary significantly. While over half (53.3%) of them reported to watch programs in Basque 'sometimes', 40.0% 'never' do so, and only 6.7% often.

As regards use of Basque outside the home and school, significant differences were detected concerning the use of Basque in three situations: with friends, in leisure/sports/cultural activities, and with the priest (in church). In the latter situation, no substantive differences between groups were found, despite a statistically significant difference being recorded. Indeed, nearly all students in all groups claimed that they 'never' communicate in Basque with the priest or in church, except for 9.7% of fluent Basque speakers who do so 'sometimes'. Differences, however, are both substantively and statistically significant regarding use of Basque in the other two situations. Concerning use of Basque with friends, the students who speak Basque

fluently or quite well gave similar responses, while differentiating themselves from the remaining groups. Around 60% of them speak in Basque ‘sometimes’ (50.8% and 57.5%, respectively) or ‘often’ (9.5% and 3.8%, respectively), and the remaining 40% ‘never’ doing so. On the other hand, a strong majority of students who speak some (78.3%) and little or no (86.7%) Basque ‘never’ communicate in the language, and the rest do so ‘sometimes’. In all groups, nobody speaks in Basque with their friends ‘always’.

In leisure, sports and cultural activities, use of Basque is even lower, as a majority of students in all groups declared that they ‘never’ communicate in Basque in such a situation. In this case, responses of fluent speakers and those who speak Basque quite well differed notably. While 55.6% of fluent Basque speakers ‘never’ communicate in Basque, the percentage rises to 70.1% among those who speak the language quite well. In both groups, most of those who communicate in Basque in such situations do so ‘sometimes’. However, among fluent speakers, 6.3% speak in Basque ‘often’ and 3.2% ‘always’, and 3.7% of those who speak Basque quite well communicate in the language ‘often’. Among those who speak some Basque, 78.3% ‘never’ use it in leisure, sports and cultural activities, and the rest do so ‘sometimes’. As regards those who speak little or no Basque, none of them communicate in the language in the given domains.

It may appear surprising that few statistical differences were detected between groups according to their ability to speak Basque outside home and school. Indeed, given that a knowledge of Basque is a necessary condition for its use, it might be expected that competence and use would be more strongly related. The very limited general use of Basque in given domains prevents these differences to emerge. Even among students who speak Basque fluently or quite well, the percentage of those who ‘never’ speak Basque is remarkably high.

Besides actual use of Basque, students were asked how often they would speak in Basque if they had the opportunity to do so, and how confident they felt when speaking Basque in different situations. As expected, statistically significant differences were detected on all the dimensions examined. Overall, the results show a direct relation between competence, potential use and confidence in the use of

Basque. Considering the two contexts in which Basque is more widely used in Rioja Alavesa, fluent speakers show the highest disposition to use the language with friends (71.4%, combining 'always' and 'often') and in leisure, sports and cultural activities (58.7%), followed by those who speak Basque quite well (60.2% and 47.7%, respectively). In both situations, percentages are much lower among those who speak some (17.4% and 21.7%) and a little or no (13.4% and 6.7%) Basque.

A similar gradation in responses was found regarding confidence in the use of Basque. The results show a rather strong correlation ($r=0.406$) regarding the confidence in the use of Basque with friends. This is significant, since Basque is most used among friends. Students who speak in Basque fluently or quite well are 'very' or 'fairly' confident when communicating in Basque with their friends (90.5% and 75.0%, respectively) and in leisure, sports and cultural activities (57.2% and 43.8%). Confidence in communicating in Basque is low among those who speak some Basque, 23.9% of them being 'very' or 'fairly' confident with friends and 13.0% in leisure, sports and cultural activities, and nearly non-existent among those who speak little or no Basque. In situations in which Basque is barely used -in the local shop, in the market, with the priest (in church) and with the local doctor or at the local hospital-, confidence in the use of Basque is very low, even among students who speak Basque 'fluently' or 'quite well'.

9.2.4. Attitudes towards bilingualism and Basque

In this section, attitudes towards bilingualism and Basque are examined. Students were asked their views about a number of statements.

9.2.4.1. Attitudes towards bilingualism

The table below compares students' ability to speak Basque on attitude to bilingualism items.

Table 9.7. Comparison between students according to their ability to speak Basque: attitudes towards bilingualism

	Chi-Square	df	Significance	Cramer's V
1. It is important to be able to speak Spanish and Basque.	11.164	8	0.007	0.197
2. To speak one language in the BAC is all that is needed.	7.991	8	0.869	0.099
3. Children get confused when learning Basque and Spanish at the same time.	5.486	8	0.016	0.188
4. Speaking both Spanish and Basque helps to get a job.	12.857	8	0.449	0.131
5. Being able to write in Spanish and Basque is important.	11.705	8	0.007	0.199
6. All schools in the BAC should teach pupils to speak in Basque and Spanish.	9.163	8	0.118	0.161
7. Road signs should be in Spanish and Basque.	34.696	8	0.001	0.219
8. Speaking two languages is not difficult.	11.085	8	0.0001	0.306
9. Children in the BAC should learn to read in Basque and Spanish.	25.521	8	0.004	0.205
10. There should be more people who speak both Spanish and Basque in the government services.	10.912	8	0.019	0.187
11. People know more if they speak in Spanish and Basque.	11.629	8	0.900	0.095
12. Speaking both Spanish and Basque is more for younger than older people.	15.142	8	0.073	0.170
13. The public advertising should be bilingual.	19.125	8	0.001	0.224
14. Speaking both Basque and Spanish should help people get promotion in their job.	11.897	8	0.088	0.166
15. Young children learn to speak Spanish and Basque at the same time with ease.	6.318	8	0.018	0.188
16. Both Basque and Spanish should be important in the BAC.	3.159	8	0.627	0.120
17. People can earn more money if they speak both Spanish and Basque.	4.049	8	0.856	0.101
18. In the future, I would like to be considered as speaker of Basque and Spanish.	15.518	8	0.760	0.111
19. All people in the BAC should speak Spanish and Basque.	8.179	8	0.186	0.154

20. If I have children, I would want them to speak both Basque and Spanish.	7.815	8	0.136	0.159
21. Both the Spanish and the Basque languages can live together in the BAC.	11.829	8	0.894	0.096
22. People only need to know one language.	12.248	8	0.016	0.190
23. All the civil servants in the BAC should be bilingual.	1390	8	0.661	0.117

The results show a connection between competence in Basque and attitudes towards bilingualism. Ten statistically significant differences were found in a comparison between students according to their ability to speak Basque. In general, the higher the ability to speak Basque, the more favourable the attitudes towards bilingualism.

Statistically significant differences were detected regarding general attitudes towards bilingualism. Students in all groups agreed with the positive statements '*it is important to be able to speak Spanish and Basque*' and '*being able to write in Spanish and Basque is important*', but those who speak Basque fluently or quite well agreed relatively more than those who speak some or little/no Basque. Regarding the first statement ('*it is important to be able to speak Spanish and Basque*'), over 90% of fluent speakers (96.9%, combining 'strongly agree' and 'agree') and those who speak Basque quite well (91.6%) supported the statement, the percentage decreasing to 80.5% among students who speak some Basque and to 60.0% among those who speak little/no Basque. Support for the second statement ('*being able to write in Spanish and Basque is important*') is also strong in all groups, albeit a little bit lower. Again, students who speak Basque fluently or quite well show the more favourable attitudes towards the statement, the same percentage in both groups (84.2%, combining 'strongly agree' and 'agree') agreeing with it. A slightly lower percentage (78.2%) of students who speak some Basque backed the statement, while nearly half (48.0%) of those who speak little/none Basque did so. In the latter group, over a third (35.7%) of the students 'neither agree nor disagree' with the statement, while 14.2% disagree (combining 'disagree' and 'strongly disagree'). In the rest of the groups, the percentage of students disagreeing is very small (1.6%, 2.8% and 4.3%, respectively).

Responses to the statement '*speaking two languages is not difficult*' follow a logical pattern, those more competent in Basque agreeing more with it, while percentages decrease as ability to speak the language also decreases. Thus, while 93.6% of fluent

speakers agreed with the statement, among those who speak Basque quite well 78.7% agreed with it, 56.5% among those who speak some Basque and 26.6% among those who speak little/none Basque. In the latter group, the same percentage (26.6%) of students agreed and disagreed with the statements, and almost half of them favoured the option 'neither agree nor disagree'. As regards the negative statement '*people only need to know one language*', more students in all groups disagreed than agreed with it. Around a quarter of the students who speak Basque fluently (76.2%) or quite well (74.6%) show an unfavourable attitude towards the statement. In this case, however, the students who speak little or no Basque disagreed more than those who speak some Basque (60.0% and 42.3%, respectively). One reason for this apparently contradictory response may be that students who speak little or no Basque are dissatisfied with their linguistic situation. As for those who speak 'some' Basque, they may be expressing their frustration that, while having a certain degree of competence in Basque, they are not able to benefit from the advantages of being fully bilingual.

Differences also emerged in statements involving the learning of Basque and Spanish. Students mostly agreed with the statement '*young children learn to speak Spanish and Basque at the same time with ease*' and disagreed with the statement '*children get confused when learning Basque and Spanish at the same time*'. Agreement with the first item is stronger among fluent Basque speakers (85.7%), followed by those who speak Basque quite well (76.9%), some (71.1) and little/none (53.3%). Concerning the second statement, it was disagreed with by a similar percentage among students who speak Basque fluently (55.5%, combining 'disagree' and 'strongly disagree') quite well (63.9%) and some (52.2%), while a third (33.3%) of students who speak little or no Basque disagreed with it. However, it comes as a relative surprise that agreement with the statement was also stronger among those who speak Basque fluently (25.4%, combining 'strongly agree' and 'agree'), followed by those who speak the language quite well (20.3%). Conversely, only 13.2% of the students who speak little or no Basque show a favourable attitude towards the statement, while more than half (53.3%) of them 'neither agree nor disagree'. In the latter group, the high percentage of students favouring the option 'neither agree nor disagree' may express a combination of disinterest and lack of exposure to the learning of Basque. As for support being highest among those most fluent in Basque, the opposite may apply,

that is, exposure to learning both Basque and Spanish may make them more aware of the difficulties to be encountered along the learning process.

Finally, statistically significant differences among groups were detected in the statements '*road signs should be in Spanish and Basque*' and '*public advertising should be bilingual*'. Fluent speakers of Basque and those who do so quite well reported similar responses, a majority of them supporting both statements. Thus, while around 60% (58.7% of fluent speakers and 60.1% of those who speak Basque quite well, combining 'strongly agree' and 'agree') agreed with the first statement, the second item was endorsed by around 70% (69.3% and 64.1%, respectively). Agreement with both statements was considerably lower among those who speak some and little or no Basque, the former agreeing relatively more (30.4% and 34.8%, respectively) than the latter (26.7% and 20.0%). Students who speak little or no Basque show the most unfavourable attitudes towards the statements. Thus, over half (53.4%, combining 'disagree' and 'strongly disagree') of them disagreed with the first statement, whereas a third (33.4%) did so with the second. Regarding the statement '*there should be more people who speak both Spanish and Basque in the government services*', favourable attitudes are prevalent in all groups, especially among fluent speakers (51.6% 'strongly agree' and 17.7% 'agree') and those who speak Basque quite well (39.8% 'strongly agree' and 29.6% 'agree'). More than half (54.3%) of students who speak some Basque also agreed with the statement. Support for the statement declines among those who speak little or no Basque (40.0%, combining 'strongly agree' and 'agree'). Although only 20% disagreed with it, the remaining 40% favoured the option 'neither agree nor disagree'. In view of the results, it may be argued that the implementation of bilingualism in society is not unreservedly endorsed, especially by those less fluent in Basque.

9.2.4.2. Attitudes towards Basque

This section considers differences between students of different ability to speak Basque in their attitudes to the Basque language. The results are presented in the table below.

Table 9.8. Comparison between students according to their ability to speak Basque: attitudes towards Basque

	Chi-Square	df	Significance	Cramer's V
1. Basque is a difficult language to learn.	8.065	8	0.0001	0.270
2. It is more important to know English than Basque.	15.892	8	0.018	0.188
3. Basque is a language worth learning.	9.736	8	0.0001	0.235
4. There are far more useful languages to learn than Basque.	9.339	8	0.294	0.143
5. I don't want to learn Basque as I am not likely to ever use it.	8.054	8	0.009	0.195
6. I would like to be able to speak Basque if it were easier to learn.	13.068	8	0.585	0.126
7. I like to hear Basque spoken.	4.511	8	0.012	0.193
8. It is particularly necessary for the children to learn Basque in the schools to ensure its maintenance.	8.195	8	0.022	0.187
9. Basque is an obsolete language.	19.457	8	0.753	0.110
10. I should like to be able to read books in Basque.	24.942	8	0.0001	0.311
11. Learning Basque is boring but necessary.	11.523	8	0.001	0.223
12. I would like to learn as much Basque as possible.	14.437	8	0.128	0.159
13. The learning of Basque should be left to individual choice.	8.708	8	0.150	0.159
14. I like speaking Basque.	4.018	8	0.001	0.223
15. Basque is a language for farmers.	17.580	8	0.148	0.157
16. I would like to learn Basque because my friends are doing that.	2.915	8	0.642	0.121
17. Learning Basque is a waste of time.	8.007	8	0.112	0.162
18. Basque should be used more in the government services.	18.076	8	0.017	0.190
19. I dislike learning Basque.	4.988	8	0.009	0.198
20. I am learning Basque because my parents want me to.	13.214	8	0.764	0.110
21. I enjoy learning Basque.	19.541	8	0.0001	0.364
22. Basque is a language to be spoken only within the family and with friends.	5.740	8	0.112	0.163
23. The Basque language is something everybody should be proud of.	15.422	8	0.234	0.148
24. I like listening to TV/radio programs in Basque.	15.332	8	0.0001	0.256

The above table shows thirteen statistically significant differences regarding attitudes towards Basque between groups according to their ability to speak Basque. As in the

previous table, the results reveal a consistent pattern: the higher the ability to speak Basque, the more favourable the attitudes towards the language.

A majority of students in all groups agreed with the statement '*Basque is a language worth learning*'. Nevertheless, the percentage of agreement shows a gradation, fluent speakers rating highest, as 73.0% of them 'strongly agree' and a further 20.6% 'agree', followed by those who speak Basque quite well (54.6% and 38.9%, respectively), some (31.1% and 51.1%) and little/none (20.0% and 46.7%). Disagreement with the statement is only noticeable in the latter group, as 13.4% of the students 'disagree' (6.7%) or 'strongly disagree' (6.7%). Predictably, unfavourable attitudes towards the statement '*I don't want to learn Basque as I am not likely to ever use it*' are also prevalent in all groups. Percentages gradually shift from 88.9% disagreement (combining 'disagree' and 'strongly disagree') among fluent speakers to 53.3% among students who speak little or no Basque. When confronted with the statement '*it is more important to know English than Basque*', students in general show a similar degree of agreement and disagreement, although those agreeing with the statement are slightly more. However, more fluent Basque speakers disagreed (48.4%, combining 'disagree' and 'strongly disagree') than agreed (33.9%, combining 'strongly agree' and 'agree') with it, while the opposite was true for students who speak Basque quite well (38.9% agree and 36.1% disagree), some (53.3% and 17.8%) and little or none (40.0% and 33.4%). Students in this study reflect the general attitudes towards English and Basque in the region (see chapter 4). Thus, while the teaching of Basque is deemed important, partly for integrative motives and also for instrumental motives within the BAC, the teaching of English is considered generally more useful.

Regarding the actual learning of Basque, statistically significant differences were detected in the statements '*Basque is a difficult language to learn*', '*I dislike learning Basque*' and '*I enjoy learning Basque*'. As may be expected, the first statement was disagreed with by a majority of those who reported a high ability to speak the language, that is fluent speakers and those who speak Basque quite well, while those with a lesser command in the language mainly agreed with it. Thus, 73.0% (combining 'disagree' and 'strongly disagree') of fluent speakers showed an unfavourable attitude towards the statement, and only 7.9% agreed with it. Agreement

with the statement was notably higher among those who speak Basque quite well (35.2%), but 45.4% of them still disagree with it. On the other hand, almost half (48.9%) of the students who speak some Basque think it is a difficult language to learn, a quarter (26.7%) of them disagreeing. Finally, over half (53.3%) of the students who speak little or no Basque agreed with the statement, and only 13.3% disagreed with it, while a third (33.3%) 'neither agree nor disagree'.

However difficult students might find it to learn Basque, only a small minority in all groups declared a dislike of learning the language. Fluent students disagreed most with it, as 64.5% 'strongly disagree' and 16.1% 'disagree', followed by those who speak Basque quite well (42.9% and 34.3%, respectively). Interestingly, those who speak little or no Basque disagreed more with the statement (64.3%, combining 'disagree' and 'strongly disagree') than those who speak some Basque (55.6%). Agreement with the statement is highest among those who speak some Basque (13.4%), and the group agreeing less is, surprisingly, the one formed by students who speak little or no Basque. These results may be better explained in combination with responses to the statement '*I enjoy learning Basque*', which show a rather strong correlation ($r=0.364$). In this case, the percentages of agreement are very low (7.1%) among those who speak little or no Basque and, to a lesser extent, among those who speak some Basque (30.2%). Meanwhile, over three quarters of students who speak Basque fluently (77.8%) and quite well (71.1%) agreed, a minimal percentage of them disagreeing (1.6% and 6.6%, respectively). A minority (13.3%) of students who speak some Basque show an unfavourable attitude towards the statement, the majority (55.6%) favouring the option 'neither agree nor disagree'. A clear disagreement was only shown by students who speak little or no Basque, as 64.3% disagreed with the statement. Responses to both statements were unequivocal among students who speak Basque fluently and quite well. However, those who speak some Basque and little or no Basque, while disagreeing with the positive statement '*I enjoy learning Basque*', were more reluctant to support the negative statement '*I dislike learning Basque*'.

The statement '*Learning Basque is boring but necessary*' also received significantly different responses, fluent Basque speakers and those who speak the language quite well mostly disagreeing with it (66.1% and 55.7%, respectively, combining 'disagree' and 'strongly disagree'), while those who speak some and a little or no Basque agreed

(31.1% and 33.3% respectively) more than disagreed (24.4% and 26.7%). In the latter groups, however, a high percentage of students (44.4% and 40.0%) 'neither agree nor disagree'. In general, students also agreed with the statement '*I should like to be able to read books in Basque*'. A majority (59.6%) of fluent Basque speakers 'strongly agree' with it, and a further 15.8% 'agree'. Most of those who speak Basque quite well show a favourable attitude towards the statement, as 32.4% 'strongly agree' and 40.0% 'agree'. In both groups, disagreement was very small (3.5% and 4.8%, respectively, combining 'disagree' and 'strongly disagree'), disagreement being relatively higher among those who speak 'some' Basque (11.1%). Nevertheless, in the latter group only 37.8% of the students agreed with the statement, whereas over half of them choose the option 'neither agree nor disagree'. As before, disagreement with the statement is strong only among those who speak little or no Basque (40.0%), although a higher percentage (46.7%) agreed with it.

Statistically significant differences were detected in the statements '*I like to hear Basque spoken*', '*I like speaking Basque*' and '*I like listening to TV/radio programs in Basque*'. Students in each group gave similar responses to each item, ranging from the more positive statements of fluent Basque speakers to the less favourable of those who speak little or no Basque. Thus, over 70% of students who speak Basque fluently or quite well agreed with the statements (combining 'strongly agree' and 'agree'), the percentages declining to around 60% among those who speak some Basque. In these groups, no significant disagreement with the statements was reported, although around 10% of those who speak some Basque show an unfavourable attitude towards the statement. However, students who speak little or no Basque gave more ambivalent responses. More students agreed than disagreed with the first statement (46.6% and 33.3%, respectively), but the opposite is true with the statements '*I like speaking Basque*' (33.4% and 40.0%) and, specially, '*I like listening to TV/radio programs in Basque*' (6.7% and 46.7%).

In general, students in all groups agreed with the statement '*it is particularly necessary for the children to learn Basque in the schools to ensure its maintenance*', and disagreement towards the statement is nearly non-existent. The statement was supported by around 80% of the students who speak Basque fluently (81.0%, combining 'strongly agree' and 'agree') and quite well (81.9%), while 73.3% of those

who speak little or no Basque showed a favourable attitude towards it. The percentage declines to 54.5% among the students who speak some Basque, 43.2% of whom ‘neither agree nor disagree’. Finally, differences emerged in the responses towards the statement ‘*Basque should be used more in the government services*’. A majority of the students agreed with it, although favourable attitudes were stronger among fluent Basque speakers (74.4%), followed by those who speak Basque quite well (65.7%), some (42.2%) and little/none (28.6%). In the latter group, the percentage of those who disagreed (28.6%) is the same as that of those agreeing, while a noticeable 42.9% ‘neither agree nor disagree’.

The percentages saying ‘neither agree nor disagree’ are rather higher among students who speak some Basque and little or no Basque than among the more fluent groups. It may be argued that students with a lower ability to speak Basque may lack interest in the issues prompted by the statements. Another reason may be that students, while not particularly agreeing with the statements, prefer to give a neutral response rather than a negative one. The fact that the highest percentages of ‘neutral’ responses are reported concerning positive statements supports this view.

9.2.5. Language vitality

In this section, differences between students about perceptions of language vitality – both in the Basque Autonomous Community and Rioja Alavesa– are analyzed, according to their self-reported ability to speak Basque.

9.2.5.1. The Basque Autonomous Community

Table 9.9. Comparison between students according to their ability to speak Basque:
perceptions of language vitality in the BAC (%)

Strength of language groups															
	Not at all			Not very			Fairly			Quite a lot			Very much		
	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
Students speak Basque fluently															
	0.0	1.6	1.6	6.6	4.8	13.1	18.0	16.1	16.4	31.1	35.5	27.9	44.3	41.9	41.0
Spanish-speaking monolinguals															
	3.3	0.0	4.9	14.8	3.2	4.9	23.0	12.9	11.5	26.2	37.1	19.7	32.8	46.8	59.0
Basque-speaking bilinguals															
Students speak Basque quite well															
	1.0	0.0	6.5	3.8	5.7	12.1	7.7	24.5	18.7	31.7	37.7	28.0	55.8	32.1	34.6
Spanish-speaking monolinguals															
	8.7	0.0	1.9	22.1	2.8	3.7	25.0	12.3	13.1	21.2	46.2	28.0	23.1	38.7	53.3
Basque-speaking bilinguals															
Students speak some Basque															
	0.0	0.0	4.4	4.3	4.3	11.1	10.9	19.6	11.1	30.4	47.8	26.7	54.3	28.3	46.7
Spanish-speaking monolinguals															
	2.2	0.0	2.2	28.3	2.2	8.9	23.9	30.4	13.3	32.6	32.6	31.1	13.0	34.8	44.4
Basque-speaking bilinguals															
Students speak a little/none Basque															
	0.0	0.0	0.0	13.3	13.3	14.3	20.0	6.7	21.4	13.3	26.7	28.6	53.3	53.3	35.7
Spanish-speaking monolinguals															
	6.7	0.0	0.0	13.3	13.3	0.0	20.0	26.7	14.3	33.3	53.3	35.7	26.7	6.7	50.0
Basque-speaking bilinguals															
Prestige of languages															
	Not at all			Not very			Fairly			Quite a lot			Very much		
Students speak Basque fluently															
		1.6			1.6			6.5			30.6			59.7	
		1.6			4.8			3.2			35.6			54.8	
		6.5			11.3			32.2			38.7			11.3	
		11.3			37.1			27.4			19.4			4.8	
Students speak Basque quite well															
		1.9			1.9			9.1			38.0			49.1	
		0.0			0.9			12.0			38.0			49.1	
		3.7			11.1			33.3			31.5			20.4	
		10.2			40.7			30.6			13.9			4.6	

	Not at all	Not very	Fairly	Quite a lot	Very much
Students speak some Basque					
Basque	0.0	4.3	19.6	32.6	43.5
Spanish	0.0	0.0	2.2	34.8	63.0
English	2.2	10.8	15.2	34.8	37.0
French	13.0	32.6	30.5	19.6	4.3
Students speak a little/none Basque					
Basque	6.7	6.7	26.6	40.0	20.0
Spanish	0.0	0.0	0.0	33.3	66.7
English	6.7	6.7	26.6	40.0	20.0
French	13.3	40.0	33.4	13.3	0.0
Prestige of language groups					
	Not at all	Not very	Fairly	Quite a lot	Very much
Students speak Basque fluently					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	3.2	6.5	32.3	27.4	30.6
Basque-speaking bilinguals	0.0	0.0	11.3	25.8	62.9
Students speak Basque quite well					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	1.9	8.3	36.1	33.3	20.4
Basque-speaking bilinguals	1.9	0.0	11.1	42.6	44.4
Students speak some Basque					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	0.0	4.3	19.6	50.0	26.1
Basque-speaking bilinguals	4.3	0.0	8.7	39.2	47.8
Students speak a little/none Basque					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	6.7	6.7	33.3	13.3	40.0
Basque-speaking bilinguals	6.7	13.3	13.3	46.7	20.0
Languages in education					
	Not at all	Not very	Fairly	Quite a lot	Very much
Students speak Basque fluently					
Basque	0.0	4.8	12.9	32.3	50.0
Spanish	1.6	0.0	4.8	25.9	67.7
English	6.5	11.3	24.2	43.5	14.5
French	9.7	30.6	32.3	22.6	4.8
Students speak Basque quite well					
Basque	1.0	1.9	6.7	42.3	48.1
Spanish	0.0	0.9	8.6	39.6	50.9
English	2.8	12.3	30.2	39.6	15.1
French	8.6	32.4	47.6	9.5	1.9

	Not at all	Not very	Fairly	Quite a lot	Very much
Students speak some Basque					
Basque	2.2	6.5	32.6	34.8	23.9
Spanish	0.0	0.0	0.0	28.3	71.7
English	0.0	13.0	19.6	39.1	28.3
French	6.5	32.6	45.7	10.9	4.3
Students speak a little/none Basque					
Basque	6.7	6.7	33.3	46.6	6.7
Spanish	0.0	0.0	0.0	40.0	60.0
English	0.0	6.7	33.3	46.7	13.3
French	7.1	50.0	35.8	7.1	0.0

Table 9.10. Significance Tests and Correlations for Table 9.9

	Chi-Square	df	Significance	Cramer's V
Strength of language groups (1)				
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	4.243	8	0.568	0.125
Basque-speaking bilinguals	10.375	8	0.400	0.136
Strength of language groups (2)				
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	10.929	8	0.430	0.133
Basque-speaking bilinguals	14.654	8	0.020	0.170
Strength of language groups (3)				
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	3.901	8	0.937	0.090
Basque-speaking bilinguals	10.747	8	0.828	0.104
Prestige of languages				
Basque	21.250	8	0.139	0.158
Spanish	7.867	8	0.141	0.158
English	20.848	8	0.259	0.146
French	12.987	8	0.996	0.065
Prestige of language groups				
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	12.051	8	0.212	0.212
Basque-speaking bilinguals	5.312	8	0.0001	0.246
Languages in education				
Basque	42.794	8	0.0001	0.228
Spanish	10.571	8	0.233	0.149
English	16.853	8	0.566	0.124
French	4.680	8	0.472	0.131

Three statistically significant differences were detected between students grouped according to their ability to speak Basque in their perception of language vitality in the Basque Autonomous Community. Students differed in their responses to the perceived strength of Basque-speaking bilinguals now, the prestige of the Basque-speaking bilingual group and the presence of Basque in the education system in the BAC.

Generally speaking, students in all groups perceived the Basque-speaking bilingual group to be strong in the BAC. Nearly half (46.8%) of fluent Basque speakers considered that it is 'very' strong, and a further 37.1% 'quite' strong. Students who speak Basque quite well also regarded the Basque-speaking bilingual group as strong, around half (46.2%) of them perceiving it as 'quite' strong and 38.7% 'very' strong. The percentage is lower among students who speak some Basque, although still a majority think this group is 'quite' (32.6%) or 'very' (34.8%) strong. More than half (53.3%) of students who speak little or no Basque considered that Basque is 'quite' strong, and only 6.7% 'very' strong. In this latter group 13.3% of students believed the Basque-speaking bilingual group to be 'not very' strong, while negative considerations are minimal in the other groups.

Another statistically significant difference was detected regarding the Basque-speaking bilinguals, as students also differed about the prestige of this group. Again, students generally rated the prestige of this group highly and, as before, fluent speakers rated it highest. 62.9% of them considered that Basque-speaking bilinguals have 'very much' prestige, and a further 25.8% 'quite a lot'. Students who speak Basque 'quite well' or 'some' gave similar responses, the majority of them rating this group 'quite' (42.6% and 39.1%, respectively) or 'very' (44.4% and 47.8%) highly. Finally, two thirds (66.7%) of the students who speak little or no Basque regarded the prestige of the Basque-speaking group to be 'quite' (46.7%) or 'very' (20.0%) high, although for 20.0% the prestige of Basque is low (combining 'not at all' and 'not very').

A final statistically significant difference was found concerning the perceived presence of Basque in the education system in the BAC. The presence of Basque is high for students in all groups, especially for those who speak Basque fluently (82.3%, combining 'quite a lot' and 'very much') and quite well (90.4%). The percentages decline considerably in the other groups, although still more than half of students who speak some (58.7%) and a little or no Basque (53.4%) claim that Basque is highly present in the education system in the BAC. The response is hardly surprising, as, in general, the most fluent speakers attend immersion schools in Basque, where the presence of Basque is strong, while the less fluent students attend

schools where Basque is not a central factor. The students' responses may thus have reflected their immediate school environment.

9.2.5.2. Rioja Alavesa

Table 9.11. Comparison between students according to their ability to speak Basque: perceptions of language vitality in the Rioja Alavesa (%)

Perceptions of language vitality in the Rioja Alavesa (%)															
Strength of language groups															
	Not at all			Not very			Fairly			Quite a lot			Very much		
	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
Students speak Basque fluently															
	0.0	1.6	3.2	3.2	3.2	3.2	4.8	8.1	12.9	22.2	16.1	22.6	69.8	71.0	58.1
Spanish-speaking monolinguals															
	12.7	0.0	8.1	27.0	16.1	6.5	23.8	33.9	19.4	23.8	27.4	29.0	12.7	22.6	37.1
Basque-speaking bilinguals															
Students speak Basque quite well															
	0.0	0.0	1.9	3.8	2.9	13.5	10.6	11.5	17.3	25.0	27.9	24.0	60.6	57.7	43.3
Spanish-speaking monolinguals															
	11.5	1.0	2.9	32.7	13.5	9.6	26.9	36.5	16.3	17.3	30.8	26.0	11.5	18.3	45.2
Basque-speaking bilinguals															
Students speak some Basque															
	2.2	0.0	0.0	2.2	2.2	4.3	6.5	6.7	19.6	15.2	26.7	19.6	73.9	64.4	56.5
Spanish-speaking monolinguals															
	15.2	8.9	6.5	32.6	6.7	8.7	21.7	31.1	17.4	23.9	31.1	32.6	6.5	22.2	34.8
Basque-speaking bilinguals															
Students speak a little/none Basque															
	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	13.3	13.3	20.0	13.3	13.3	26.7	13.3	20.0	53.3	60.0	53.3
Spanish-speaking monolinguals															
	13.3	20.0	20.0	33.3	20.0	6.7	20.0	40.0	26.7	26.7	13.3	26.7	6.7	6.7	20.0
Basque-speaking bilinguals															
Prestige of languages															
	Not at all			Not very			Fairly			Quite a lot			Very much		
Students speak Basque fluently															
		1.6			23.8			33.3			30.2			11.1	
		0.0			0.0			4.8			17.4			77.8	
		9.7			19.4			37.1			25.7			8.1	
		25.8			35.5			32.3			4.8			1.6	
Students speak Basque quite well															
		0.9			17.8			48.6			21.5			11.2	
		0.0			0.0			2.8			25.2			72.0	
		10.3			26.2			24.3			30.8			8.4	
		26.2			41.1			22.4			10.3			0.0	

	Not at all	Not very	Fairly	Quite a lot	Very much
Students speak some Basque	17.4	10.9	21.7	41.3	8.7
Basque	0.0	0.0	2.2	19.5	78.3
Spanish	8.7	13.0	26.1	30.4	21.8
English	21.8	32.6	30.4	13.0	2.2
French					
Students speak a little/none Basque	13.3	33.3	20.0	26.7	6.7
Basque	0.0	0.0	6.7	20.0	73.3
Spanish	6.6	33.3	26.7	26.7	6.7
English	33.3	40.0	20.0	6.7	0.0
French					
Prestige of language groups					
	Not at all	Not very	Fairly	Quite a lot	Very much
Students speak Basque fluently					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	0.0	3.2	7.9	22.2	66.7
Basque-speaking bilinguals	0.0	19.0	25.4	28.6	27.0
Students speak Basque quite well					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	1.0	3.8	13.3	30.5	51.4
Basque-speaking bilinguals	1.0	11.4	33.3	28.6	25.7
Students speak some Basque					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	0.0	0.0	4.3	37.0	58.7
Basque-speaking bilinguals	6.5	8.7	23.9	34.8	26.1
Students speak a little/none Basque					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	0.0	0.0	13.3	33.3	53.4
Basque-speaking bilinguals	20.0	13.3	20.0	33.4	13.3

Table 9.12. Significance Tests and Correlations for Table 9.11

	Chi-Square	df	Significance	Cramer's V
Strength of language groups (1)				
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	6.254	8	0.478	0.130
Basque-speaking bilinguals	10.852	8	0.984	0.076
Strength of language groups (2)				
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	17.275	8	0.406	0.136
Basque-speaking bilinguals	28.390	8	0.013	0.193
Strength of language groups (3)				
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	9.578	8	0.502	0.129
Basque-speaking bilinguals	6.176	8	0.494	0.129

	Chi-Square	df	Significance	Cramer's V
Prestige of languages				
Basque	16.585	8	0.0001	0.233
Spanish	4.657	4	0.854	0.075
English	10.800	8	0.378	0.137
French	3.951	8	0.788	0.107
Prestige of language groups				
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	4.210	8	0.596	0.122
Basque-speaking bilinguals	7.431	8	0.014	0.192

The above table presents three statistically significant differences in the perception of language vitality in Rioja Alavesa, also regarding the Basque-speaking bilingual group and the Basque language. Specifically, students differed in their responses regarding the strength of the Basque-speaking bilingual group now and about the prestige of both the Basque language and the Basque-speaking bilingual group.

As regards the perceived strength of the Basque-speaking bilingual group in Rioja Alavesa, students who speak Basque 'fluently', 'quite well' and 'some' gave very similar responses. Around half of the students in such groups considered that Basque-speaking bilinguals are 'quite' or 'very' strong in Rioja Alavesa, while 15% had a negative perception about the strength of this group. However, responses of students who speak little or no Basque were distinctly different. Only 20% (combining 'quite a lot' and 'very much') of students rated the strength of the Basque-speaking bilingual group highly, while twice as many (40%) reported a negative consideration about it.

In general, students attributed a higher prestige to the Basque-speaking bilingual group than to the Basque language itself. Rather unexpectedly, in both dimensions students who speak 'some' Basque reported the highest ratings. Half (50.0%) of them considered that the Basque language is 'quite' (41.3%) or 'very' (8.7%) prestigious in Rioja. Percentages are slightly lower among fluent Basque speakers, as 30.2% of them believe that the prestige of Basque is 'quite' high and a further 11.1% 'very' high. Students who speak Basque quite well and those who speak little or no Basque gave similar responses, around a third (32.7% and 33.4%) of them considering the prestige of Basque to be high. However, in the latter group almost half (46.6%) of the students have a negative perception about the prestige of the Basque language, while

percentages are significantly lower among those who speak Basque fluently (25.4%), quite well (18.7%) and some (28.3%).

As mentioned before, students who speak some Basque also reported the prestige of the Basque-speaking bilingual group highest. 60.9% consider rated the prestige of this group highly (combining 'quite a lot' and 'very much'), while the percentages were slightly lower, and very similar, among students who speak Basque fluently (55.6%) and quite well (54.3%). On the other hand, a higher percentage (19.0%) of fluent Basque speakers considered that the prestige of this group is low, in comparison with the students who speak Basque 'quite well' (12.4%) or 'some' (15.2%). Again, those who speak little or no Basque offered a significantly different answer, 46.6% considering that the prestige of Basque-speaking bilingual group is high and 33.3% that it is low.

9.2.6. Ethnolinguistic and ethnocultural identity and intergroup relations

Students were asked to consider a number of aspects regarding ethnolinguistic and ethnocultural identity and intergroup relations. In this section, these aspects are examined to find out differences between students according to their ability to speak Basque. The results are shown in percentages in the tables below.

Table 9.13: Comparison between students according to their ability to speak Basque: ethnolinguistic and ethnocultural identity and intergroup relations (%)

	Students speak Basque fluently		Students speak Basque quite well		Students speak some Basque		Students speak a little /none Basque	
Ethnolinguistic identity								
	Now	Fut.	Now	Fut.	Now	Fut.	Now	Fut.
Only Basque-speaking	0.0	11.1	1.9	7.4	4.4	2.2	0.0	0.0
More Basque-speaking than Spanish-speaking	9.5	39.7	2.8	26.8	0.0	13.0	0.0	6.7
Basque-speaking and Spanish-speaking alike	52.4	39.7	40.7	53.7	20.0	52.2	0.0	46.6
More Spanish-speaking than Basque-speaking	34.9	9.5	50.9	10.2	60.0	26.1	46.7	40.0
Only Spanish-speaking	3.2	0.0	3.7	1.9	15.6	6.5	53.3	6.7
Ethnocultural identity								
Only Spanish	0.0		1.9		6.7		7.1	
More Spanish than Basque	6.6		5.8		17.8		28.7	
Basque and Spanish alike	27.8		36.9		51.0		50.0	
More Basque than Spanish	24.6		21.4		17.8		7.1	
Only Basque	41.0		34.0		6.7		7.1	

	Students speak Basque fluently	Students speak Basque quite well	Students speak some Basque	Students speak a little /none Basque	
Compatibility of Basque/Spanish identity					
Yes	54.1	71.7	84.8	93.3	
No	45.9	28.3	15.2	6.7	
Conditions to be able to feel Basque / Spanish					
	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
Students who speak Basque fluently					
BASQUE					
To live in the Basque Country	37.7	26.2	21.3	6.6	8.2
To have been born in the BC	31.7	25.0	25.0	13.3	5.0
To speak the Basque language	60.7	18.0	18.0	0.0	3.3
To be of Basque descent	31.1	32.8	23.0	9.8	3.3
To be a Basque nationalist	22.0	18.6	39.0	5.1	15.3
To engage in the Basque culture	52.5	23.0	21.3	1.6	1.6
SPANISH					
To live in Spain	35.0	25.0	15.0	8.3	16.7
To have been born in Spain	31.6	16.7	25.0	10.0	16.7
To speak Spanish	48.4	15.0	18.3	5.0	13.3
To be of Spanish descent	32.2	13.6	28.7	11.9	13.6
To be a Spanish nationalist	21.7	20.0	35.0	3.3	20.0
To engage in the Spanish culture	50.0	20.0	21.7	3.3	5.0
Students who speak Basque quite well					
BASQUE					
To live in the Basque Country	38.8	24.3	25.2	4.9	6.8
To have been born in the BC	33.0	28.2	26.2	6.8	5.8
To speak the Basque language	46.2	27.9	15.4	3.8	6.7
To be of Basque descent	31.7	28.8	30.9	3.8	4.8
To be a Basque nationalist	19.4	22.3	39.9	5.8	12.6
To engage in the Basque culture	52.9	23.1	17.3	3.8	2.9
SPANISH					
To live in Spain	38.5	23.1	21.1	10.6	6.7
To have been born in Spain	37.5	25.0	23.1	7.7	6.7
To speak Spanish	43.3	29.8	13.5	8.6	4.8
To be of Spanish descent	39.4	22.2	26.9	6.7	4.8
To be a Spanish nationalist	26.2	16.5	35.0	7.8	14.5
To engage in the Spanish culture	42.3	27.9	21.1	5.8	2.9
Students who speak some Basque					
BASQUE					
To live in the Basque Country	43.5	21.7	23.9	8.7	2.2
To have been born in the BC	46.7	22.2	20.0	4.4	6.7
To speak the Basque language	41.3	28.3	19.6	6.5	4.3
To be of Basque descent	34.8	34.8	10.9	13.0	6.5
To be a Basque nationalist	30.4	6.5	32.6	10.9	19.6
To engage in the Basque culture	39.1	32.6	21.8	4.3	2.2

SPANISH					
To live in Spain	50.0	19.7	21.7	4.3	4.3
To have been born in Spain	50.0	15.3	21.7	6.5	6.5
To speak Spanish	43.5	39.1	15.2	2.2	0.0
To be of Spanish descent	32.6	32.6	19.6	10.9	4.3
To be a Spanish nationalist	21.7	10.9	37.0	15.2	15.2
To engage in the Spanish culture	30.4	34.9	21.7	4.3	8.7
Students who speak a little/none of Basque					
BASQUE					
To live in the Basque Country	60.0	13.3	20.0	0.0	6.7
To have been born in the BC	40.0	20.0	20.0	6.7	13.3
To speak the Basque language	35.7	21.5	35.7	7.1	0.0
To be of Basque descent	33.3	20.0	20.0	6.7	20.0
To be a Basque nationalist	13.3	6.7	46.7	13.3	20.0
To engage in the Basque culture	13.3	40.0	26.7	6.7	13.3
SPANISH					
To live in Spain	53.3	0.0	26.7	6.7	13.3
To have been born in Spain	60.1	13.3	13.3	0.0	13.3
To speak Spanish	53.4	20.0	13.3	0.0	13.3
To be of Spanish descent	46.7	20.0	13.3	0.0	20.0
To be a Spanish nationalist	6.7	0.0	53.3	6.7	33.3
To engage in the Spanish culture	13.3	33.3	26.7	0.0	26.7
Intergroup relations					
	Not at all	Not much	No difference	Quite	Very much
Students who speak Basque fluently					
Friends					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	6.5	1.6	56.5	12.8	22.6
Basque-speaking bilinguals	1.6	0.0	22.2	17.5	58.7
Classmates					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	6.5	6.5	51.6	14.4	21.0
Basque-speaking bilinguals	0.0	0.0	28.6	15.9	55.5
Neighbours					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	4.8	1.6	59.7	11.3	22.6
Basque-speaking bilinguals	0.0	0.0	33.3	14.3	52.4
Husband / wife					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	12.7	6.3	50.9	9.5	20.6
Basque-speaking bilinguals	0.0	1.6	28.5	15.9	54.0
Students who speak Basque quite well					
Friends					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	1.9	4.7	61.7	10.3	21.4
Basque-speaking bilinguals	0.9	0.0	36.4	15.0	47.7
Classmates					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	2.8	6.6	57.9	13.1	19.6
Basque-speaking bilinguals	0.9	0.0	33.5	20.6	44.9

Neighbours					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	0.9	3.7	64.5	13.1	17.8
Basque-speaking bilinguals	0.9	0.0	39.2	17.8	42.1
Husband / wife					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	2.0	22.8	46.5	11.9	16.8
Basque-speaking bilinguals	1.0	0.0	26.7	25.6	46.7
Students who speak some Basque					
Friends					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	4.4	0.0	60.0	6.7	28.9
Basque-speaking bilinguals	4.4	0.0	53.3	11.2	31.1
Classmates					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	4.4	0.0	60.0	6.7	28.9
Basque-speaking bilinguals	2.2	6.7	53.3	8.9	28.9
Neighbours					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	4.4	0.0	60.0	8.9	26.7
Basque-speaking bilinguals	2.2	2.2	64.5	4.4	26.7
Husband / wife					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	4.5	0.0	59.1	9.1	27.3
Basque-speaking bilinguals	2.2	0.0	48.9	13.3	35.6
Students who speak a little/none of Basque					
Friends					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	0.0	6.7	46.6	6.7	40.0
Basque-speaking bilinguals	6.7	6.7	40.0	6.7	40.0
Classmates					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	6.7	0.0	46.7	13.3	33.3
Basque-speaking bilinguals	6.7	6.7	46.6	20.0	20.0
Neighbours					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	6.7	0.0	53.3	0.0	40.0
Basque-speaking bilinguals	6.7	6.7	46.6	13.3	26.7
Husband / wife					
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	6.7	0.0	46.6	6.7	40.0
Basque-speaking bilinguals	20.0	0.0	40.0	13.3	26.7

Table 9.14. Significance Tests and Correlations for Table 9.13

	Chi-Square	df	Significance	Cramer's V
Ethnolinguistic identity (now)	35.388	8	0.0001	0.314
Ethnolinguistic identity (future)	23.532	8	0.001	0.221
Ethnocultural identity	51.996	8	0.0001	0.232
Basque-Spanish identity	26.325	2	0.001	0.268

	Chi-Square	df	Significance	Cramer's V
Basque				
To live in the Basque Country	3.992	8	0.897	0.097
To have been born in the BC	10.605	8	0.803	0.108
To speak the Basque language	10.143	8	0.355	0.140
To be of Basque descent	5.589	8	0.153	0.158
To be a Basque nationalist	20.479	8	0.423	0.136
To engage in the Basque culture	7.246	8	0.220	0.151
Spanish				
To live in Spain	8.236	8	0.276	0.146
To have been born in Spain	9.630	8	0.343	0.141
To speak Spanish	7.158	8	0.079	0.170
To be of Spanish descent	7.180	8	0.145	0.160
To be a Spanish nationalist	16.039	8	0.235	0.150
To engage in the Spanish culture	3.916	8	0.042	0.179
Friends				
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	6.365	8	0.576	0.123
Basque-speaking bilinguals	9.218	8	0.002	0.211
Classmates				
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	14.492	8	0.663	0.117
Basque-speaking bilinguals	14.385	8	0.003	0.209
Neighbours				
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	15.780	8	0.457	0.131
Basque-speaking bilinguals	15.454	8	0.005	0.203
Husband / wife				
Spanish-speaking monolinguals	12.333	8	0.001	0.218
Basque-speaking bilinguals	10.238	8	0.0001	0.238

Comparisons between students according to their ability to speak Basque reveal ten statistically significant differences regarding ethnolinguistic and ethnocultural identity and intergroup relations.

Students grouped according to their ability to speak Basque gave significantly different answers when asked how they regarded themselves considering the language(s) they use to think, speak, read and write. Nevertheless, responses to the question offer some interesting insights. First, in general Spanish is accepted as the dominant language among students in all groups. Even among fluent Basque speakers, over a third (34.9%) of the students in this group regard themselves as 'more Spanish-speaking than Basque-speaking', and a further 3.2% as 'only Spanish-speaking', while 9.4% believe they are 'more Basque-speaking than Spanish-speaking'. Still, a majority of fluent speakers regard themselves as balanced bilinguals, as over half (52.4%) of them consider they are 'Basque-speaking and Spanish-speaking alike'. The percentage of self-reported balanced bilinguals is slightly lower among students who speak Basque quite well (40.7%), half (50.9%) of them claiming to be 'more

Spanish-speaking than Basque-speaking'. A majority (60.0%) of those who speak some Basque believe they are 'more Spanish-speaking than Basque-speaking', and a further 15.6% 'only Spanish-speaking', while 20.0% are 'Basque-speaking and Spanish-speaking alike'. Finally, those who speak little or no Basque regard themselves as either 'more Spanish-speaking than Basque-speaking' (46.7%) or 'only Spanish-speaking' (53.3%).

Interestingly, 9.5% of fluent Basque speakers regard themselves as 'more Basque-speaking than Spanish-speaking', as 2.8% of those who speak Basque, while 1.9% among the latter consider themselves as 'only Basque-speaking'. More surprisingly, 4.4% of those who speak some Basque regard themselves as 'only Basque-speaking'. These responses may be regarded as attitudinal or ideological stances in favour of Basque. On the other hand, a small percentage of the students who speak Basque fluently (3.2%) or quite well (3.7%) and a relatively higher one (15.6%) among those who speak some Basque regard themselves as 'only Basque-speaking'. In this case, students with different degrees of competence in Basque who define themselves as only Spanish-speaking may have wanted to stress the dominance of Spanish over Basque.

Indeed, when asked how they would like to become in the future in linguistic terms, students in all groups expressed their dissatisfaction about their current linguistic situation, their wishes shifting towards a higher competence in Basque. Thus, over half (50.8%) of fluent Basque speakers would like to be 'more Basque-speaking than Spanish-speaking' (39.7%) or 'only Basque-speaking' (11.1%), 39.7% 'Basque-speaking and Spanish-speaking alike' and the remaining 9.5% 'more Spanish-speaking than Basque-speaking'. With respect to students who speak Basque quite well, some or a little/none, around half of them favoured the option 'Basque-speaking and Spanish-speaking alike' for the future (53.7%, 52.2% and 46.7% respectively).

It is worth noting that positions favouring monolingualism are in a small minority in all groups. Still, 11.1% of fluent Basque speakers and 7.4% of students who speak Basque quite well would like to be 'only Basque-speaking in the future, while 6.5% of those who speak some Basque and 6.7% of those who speak little/none of Basque would like to be 'only Spanish-speaking'. All in all, the responses reveal that students

assume the need to be bilingual in the future. For that purpose, it is generally accepted that a higher competence in Basque is required.

Responses to ethnocultural identity also showed statistically significant differences. In general, the higher the competence in Basque, the more dominant is Basque identity vis-à-vis Spanish identity. When asked how they regarded themselves according to their culture, differences were apparent between students who speak Basque fluently or quite well on the one hand, and students who speak some or little/no Basque on the other. For a majority in the first two groups Basque identity was stronger, as 41.0% of fluent speakers and 34.0% of those who speak Basque quite well regarded themselves as 'only Basque', while the 'more Basque than Spanish' option was favoured by 24.6% and 21.4% respectively. Spanish identity was stronger for a minority in these groups (6.6% and 7.7% respectively, combining 'more Spanish than Basque' and 'only Spanish'). Finally, a significant percentage of students (27.9% and 36.9%) regarded themselves as 'Basque and Spanish alike'. As regards students who speak some or little/no Basque, around half (51.0% and 50.0% respectively) considered themselves as 'Basque and Spanish alike'. However, whereas both identities were equally assumed by the former (24.5% regard themselves 'more Spanish than Basque' and 'only Spanish', and the same percentage considered they are 'more Basque than Spanish' and 'only Basque'), Spanish identity was stronger among students who speak little or no Basque (35.7% and 14.2%).

The opinion of students was also requested regarding the compatibility of Basque and Spanish identities. Specifically, they were asked if they considered it possible to be Basque and Spanish at the same time. While in all groups the majority believed that both identities were compatible, just over half (54.1%) of fluent Basque speakers answered positively, the percentage rising steadily as fluency in Basque declined: 71.7% among students who speak Basque quite well, 84.8% among those who speak some Basque and 93.3% among those who speak little or no Basque.

From the results, some interesting conclusions could be inferred. First, the higher the ability to speak Basque, the more dominant Basque identity is vis-à-vis Spanish identity. Second, a notable percentage of students, especially among those more fluent in Basque, believe that the Basque and Spanish identities are not compatible. Students

were asked if, in their opinion, it is possible to be Basque and Spanish at the same time, regardless of perceptions of their own identity. The implications of these issues will be dealt with in the final chapter.

Subsequently, students were asked about the conditions needed to be able to feel Basque, and to be able to feel Spanish. Only one statistically significant difference was detected, concerning the item 'to engage in the Spanish culture'. Nevertheless, this significant difference seems substantially unimportant. All groups agreed with the statement, but to a different degree. While among the students who speak Basque fluently, quite well or some (70.0%, 70.2% and 65.2% respectively) a strong majority agreed, support for the statement declined among those who speak little or no Basque, the latter group showing a relatively high percentage (26.7%) of disagreement.

Students were asked to report to what extent would they like to have Spanish-speaking monolinguals or Basque-speaking bilinguals as best friends, classmates, neighbours and husbands or wives. Statistically significant differences were detected when referring to Basque-speaking bilinguals in all four categories, and to Spanish-speaking monolinguals as husbands or wives. Regarding Basque-speaking bilinguals, around two thirds of the students who speak Basque fluently (76.2%, 71.5%, 66.7% and 69.9% respectively) or quite well (62.7%, 65.5%, 59.9% and 72.4%) would like to have friends, classmates, neighbours and husbands or wives 'quite a lot' or 'very much', the percentage decreasing to less than half of the students among those who speak some (42.2%, 37.8%, 31.1% and 48.9%) or little/none (46.7%, 40.0%, 40.0% and 40.0%) of Basque. A high percentage (53.4%, 53.3%, 64.5% and 48.9% respectively) of students who speak some Basque favoured the option 'no difference', while percentages showing rejection were relatively significant (13.4%, 13.4%, 13.4% and 20.0%) only among those who speak a little or no Basque. In general, the responses reflected a varying degree of enthusiasm towards having Basque-speaking bilinguals as best friends, classmates, neighbours and husbands or wives, the degree of animosity towards this group being minimal.

With respect to having a Spanish-speaking bilingual as husband or wife, a high percentage of the students in all groups considered it made 'no difference' (50.8%, 46.5%, 59.1% and 46.7% respectively, from fluent to little/none). Students who speak

little or no Basque reported the most favourable disposition to this possibility (46.7%), followed by those who speak some Basque (36.4%). Students who speak Basque fluently or quite well were less favourable to this option, showing a relatively significant degree of rejection (19.0% and 24.8% respectively, combining 'not at all' and 'not much').

9.3. Summary of the Chapter

In this chapter, comparisons between students according to their ability to speak Basque have been made. As the above discussion shows, a number of statistically significant differences have been found in all the sections investigated. Overall, the ability to speak Basque has proved to be an influential variable with respect to the aspects analyzed in this study.

In general, the results follow a consistent pattern: the higher the ability to speak Basque, the more confident students appear to be in their linguistic abilities, the more Basque-speaking is their social network, and the more they use Basque. Likewise, fluent Basque speakers report more favourable attitudes towards bilingualism and Basque, more positive perceptions of the vitality of Basque and a stronger sense of Basque identity.

Students who speak Basque 'fluently' and 'quite well' gave similar responses in a number of dimensions, as did students who speak 'some' and 'little or no' Basque. Bearing in mind that the general outline is one of gradation, two main groups emerge from the original four: one formed by students who speak Basque 'fluently' and 'quite well', and the other by those who speak 'some' Basque and a 'little or no' Basque

One aspect that deserves mentioning here is the connection between competence and use of Basque. Indeed, once competence in Basque has been developed through the education system, to increase the use of Basque has become the main challenge for language planners in the BAC in general (Eusko Jaurlaritza, 1998), and in Rioja Alavesa in particular. In this study, differences between students according to their ability to speak Basque concerning language use were detected. However, while a connection is apparent between the ability to speak Basque and its use within the

school environment, both dimensions do not seem to be strongly related at home and within the community. Indeed, in those environments students in general reported a very low use of Basque. A higher or lower competence in Basque does not seem determinant in the amount of Basque used by the students, although use is higher among fluent speakers. In this case, it seems that sociostructural and sociodemographic factors, the most important of which are the density of speakers and each individual's social network, have a larger influence. As a consequence, in Rioja Alavesa Basque remains a language mainly confined within the school walls.

Finally, a comment should be made about the high number of statistically significant differences detected regarding attitudes towards both bilingualism and Basque (ten and thirteen respectively). Overall, differences in attitudes towards bilingualism and Basque between students according to their ability to speak Basque are consistent: the higher the ability to speak Basque, the more favourable the attitudes towards bilingualism and Basque. The results also suggest a connection between ability to speak Basque and ethnolinguistic and ethnocultural identity.

Chapter Ten

TOWARDS A MODEL OF BASQUE LANGUAGE IN RIOJA ALAVESA

10.1. Introduction

In this chapter, a model showing relationships between some variables examined in this thesis research will be presented. Composing a testable model of cause and effect is a more sophisticated way of dealing with relationships. Items of the questionnaire directly related to Basque were selected for the model in order to provide the model with focus and coherence. The testing of a model extends univariate and bivariate analyses, and it enables the detection of major and minor relationships between the variables.

10.2. The model

This model suggests the direction of likely causalities and effects. It is a 'best guess' at paths of relationship. Other researchers may have different path diagrams. Causality is often complex, sometimes straightforward. For example, the use of Basque clearly does not affect someone's gender, but the reverse is possible:

Gender → Actual use of Basque

In this diagram, the proposed cause-effect is indicated by the direction of the arrow. However, this pattern may be too simple. Gender may influence ability to speak Basque, which in turn affects the use of the language. In this case, gender is an indirect effect:

┌──────────────────────────────────┐
Gender → Ability in Basque → Actual use of Basque

The overall model to be tested is presented below, showing both direct and indirect effects:

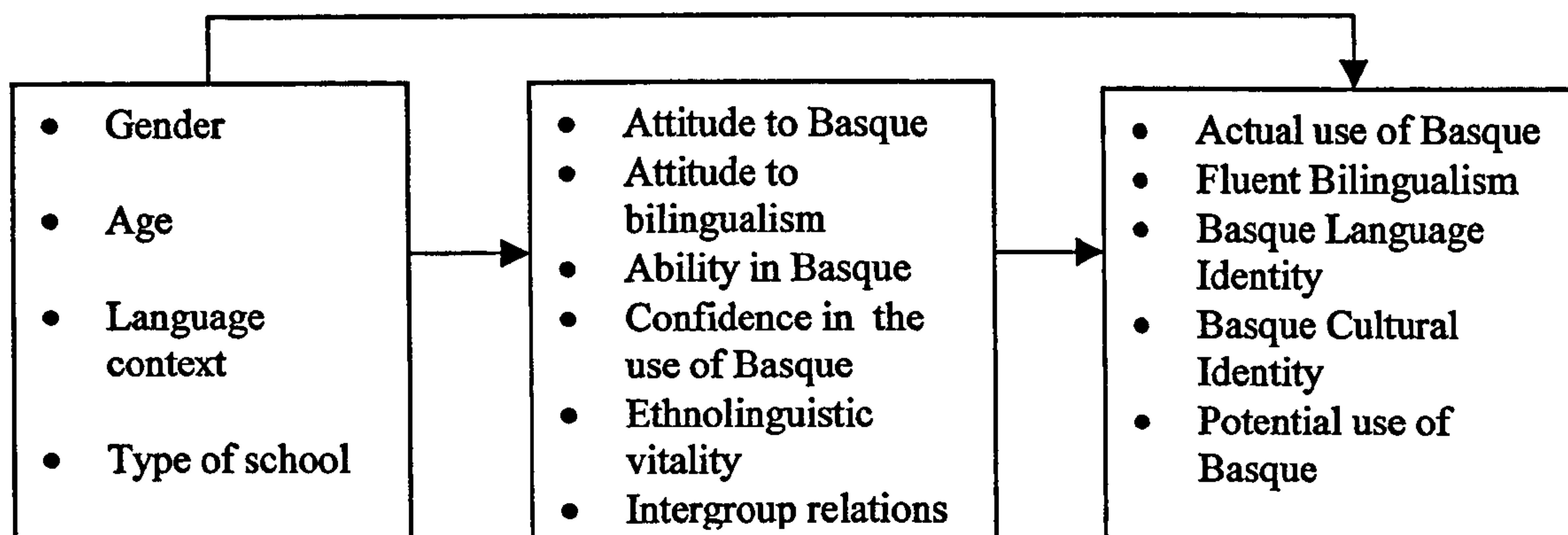


Figure 10.1. Initial model of Basque language in Rioja Alavesa

The model presents four independent variables which are believed to affect directly and indirectly all the other variables: gender, age, type of school and language environment. Gender and age tend to be relatively ‘fixed’ inputs. There is normally no choice or freedom about such individual characteristics. Similarly, language environment and type of school attended comprise ‘fixed’ contexts. There is little or no choice in terms of living in such environments or attending a particular type of school. Social class was not included in this first group, as it proved not reducible to an ordinal variable. It is a highly complex variable in itself, and the simple question did not provide data that was felt reliable or valid.

A second set of variables is regarded as (inter)mediatory outcomes: attitude to Basque, attitude to bilingualism, ability in Basque, confidence in the use of Basque, ethnolinguistic vitality and intergroup relations. These variables act as both dependent and independent variables, as they are affected by the first set of variables, and at the same time influence a third group that comprises the following variables: actual use of Basque, Basque language identity, Basque cultural identity, fluent bilingualism and potential use of Basque. The latter set of variables is regarded as outcomes of the model, and are directly or indirectly affected by all the other variables in the model.

10.3. Latent Variable Analysis

A latent variable analysis (also called ‘factor analysis’) was conducted on different sections of the questionnaire. The aim of this procedure is to detect possible underlying patterns among the variable correlations and to look for groups of closely related items. By applying factor analysis, unidimensionality of individual factors (or ‘dimensions’) is examined. Moreover, it indicates that the items measure the same entity and the underlying structure reflects dimensionality across the items (Pallant, 2001: 91).

The items in each section were introduced to the factor analysis, which grouped them into various categories of highly related statements. Each section was analyzed separately. Each item in every dimension has a loading, and the higher the loading, the more weight the variable has on that dimension (Pallant, 2001). The loadings are then squared and summated to provide the eigenvalue, which presents the amount of variance each dimension has contributed to the total variance of all the items.

The number of factors to be extracted can be decided by drawing a Scree graph with the eigenvalue plotted against the factor number. The number of factors which appear before the straight line(s) (the scree or screes) reveals the number of factors to be extracted (Kline, 1994). To ensure the best explanation, additional solutions were extracted in each section to see which solution was the most interpretable. Finally, the solutions were compared to find the most applicable and interpretable solution.

10.3.1. Test results

Raw data was submitted to the SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) for analysis. The factor analysis started by calculating the communalities using a Principal Axis Extraction Method. The program then presented a matrix of Initial Eigenvalues. Consequent to the production of the Scree Plot, the number of factors could initially be decided. The factor solution is a matrix with loadings of all the statements on all extracted factors. Statements with significant loadings were arranged in order starting with the highest loading and were then interpreted. Variables with low loadings were neglected, while those with high loadings were considered for

inspection and interpretation. Low loadings may be a sign of statements lacking reliability or are specific, idiosyncratic or unique (Child, 1990; Kline, 1994).

10.3.1.1. Students' social network

Students were asked to assess the competence in Basque of their family members. Likewise, they were requested to report the ability to speak Basque of their friends, neighbours, classmates and people who served them in local shops and pubs. Specifically, they were asked how many of them were able to speak Basque. The responses were submitted to a latent variable analysis. Analyses of the Scree Plot and of the different rotated solutions suggested the presence of two dimensions. The dimensions are listed below with weightings above 0.40.

Table 10.1. Dimension 1 (Factor 1): Family language background

Ability to speak Basque: mother's mother	0.783
Ability to speak Basque: mother's father	0.771
Ability to speak Basque: father	0.682
Ability to speak Basque: mother	0.677
Ability to speak Basque: father's father	0.579
Ability to speak Basque: father's mother	0.513

Table 10.2. Dimension 2 (Factor 2): Language environment

Ability to speak Basque: friends	0.797
Ability to speak Basque: students	0.731
Ability to speak Basque: neighbours	0.697
Ability to speak Basque: siblings	0.488
Ability to speak Basque: in local shops and pubs	0.473

10.3.1.2. Actual use of Basque

Students were requested to report their use of Basque at home, at school, watching TV and outside home at school. Analyses of the Scree Plot and of the different rotated solutions suggested the presence of two dimensions, which are listed below with weightings above 0.40.

Table 10.3. Dimension 1 (Factor 1): Actual use of Basque outside the family

Actual use of Basque: at school, with classmates (classroom)	0.761
Actual use of Basque: at school, with classmates (playground)	0.713
Actual use of Basque: outside home and school, with friends	0.700
Actual use of Basque: at school, with teachers	0.618
Actual use of Basque: at home, with siblings	0.538
Actual use of Basque: outside home and school, with neighbours	0.519
Actual use of Basque: outside home and school, in pub or café	0.455
Actual use of Basque: watching TV programs in Basque	0.420
Actual use of Basque: outside home and school, in leisure/sports/cultural activities	0.420

Table 10.4. Dimension 2 (Factor 2): Actual use of Basque within the family

Actual use of Basque: at home, with mother	0.812
Actual use of Basque: at home, with father	0.728
Actual use of Basque: at home, with grandparents	0.697
Actual use of Basque: outside home and school, in the market	0.541
Actual use of Basque: outside home and school, with local doctor/hospital	0.459
Actual use of Basque: at home, at mealtimes	0.448
Actual use of Basque: at home, with siblings	0.440

10.3.1.3. Potential use of Basque

Students were also asked to assess how often they would use Basque in the same situations, if they had the opportunity to do so, on a four-point scale (always; often; sometimes; never). These statements were submitted to a latent variable analysis. Analysis of the Scree Plot and of the Factor Matrix suggested the presence of just one dimension, which is listed below with statements loading above 0.40.

Table 10.5. Dimension 1 (Factor 1): Potential use of Basque

Potential use of Basque: in pub or café	0.945
Potential use of Basque: in the market	0.933
Potential use of Basque: in local shop	0.929
Potential use of Basque: with neighbours	0.915
Potential use of Basque: with local doctor/at local hospital	0.909
Potential use of Basque: in leisure/sport/cultural activities	0.885
Potential use of Basque: with friends	0.870
Potential use of Basque: with priest (in church)	0.795

10.3.1.4. Confidence in the use of Basque

Students were asked about their confidence to use Basque in the same set of situations, on a five-point scale (always; often; sometimes; never; don't know). These statements were submitted to a latent variable analysis. Analysis of the Scree Plot and of the Factor Matrix suggested the presence of one dimension, which is listed below with loadings above 0.40.

Table 10.6. Dimension 1 (Factor 1): Confidence in the use of Basque

Confidence in the use of Basque: in local shop	0.915
Confidence in the use of Basque: in pub or café	0.900
Confidence in the use of Basque: in the market	0.880
Confidence in the use of Basque: with neighbours	0.855
Confidence in the use of Basque: with local doctor/at local hospital	0.834

Confidence in the use of Basque: in leisure/sport/cultural activities	0.828
Confidence in the use of Basque: with priest (in church)	0.801
Confidence in the use of Basque: with friends	0.678

10.3.1.5. Attitudes towards bilingualism

This section consists of 23 statements regarding attitudes towards bilingualism. The students were asked to tick the appropriate box in the questionnaire according to the degree of their agreement or disagreement with an attitude statement. These statements were submitted to a latent variable analysis. Analysis of the Factor Matrix and the Scree Plot suggested the presence of just one dimension, which is listed below with statement weightings above 0.40.

Table 10.7. Dimension 1 (Factor 1): Positive attitudes towards bilingualism

V20	If I have children, I would want them to speak both Basque and Spanish	0.719
V10	There should be more people who speak both Spanish and Basque in the government services	0.697
V13	Public advertising should be bilingual	0.671
V19	All people in the BAC should speak Spanish and Basque	0.664
V1	It is important to be able to speak Spanish and Basque	0.653
V9	Children in the BAC should learn to read in Basque and Spanish	0.652
V5	Being able to write in Spanish and Basque is important	0.622
V7	Road signs should be in Spanish and Basque	0.597
V18	In the future, I would like to be considered as speaker of Basque and Spanish	0.591
V23	All the civil servants in the BAC should be bilingual	0.590
V16	Both Basque and Spanish should be important in the BAC	0.523

V15	Young children learn to speak Spanish and Basque at the same time with ease	0.513
V14	Speaking both Basque and Spanish should help people get promotion in their job	0.507
V8	Speaking two languages is not difficult	0.450
V4	Speaking both Spanish and Basque helps to get a job	0.428
V6	All schools in the BAC should teach pupils to speak in Basque and Spanish	0.412

10.3.1.6. Attitudes towards the Basque language

This section contains 24 statements concerning attitudes towards bilingualism. These statements were submitted to a latent variable analysis. Analysis of the Scree Plot and of the different rotated solutions suggested the presence of two dimensions. The dimensions are listed below with statements loading above 0.40.

Table 10.8. Dimension 1 (Factor 1): Positive attitudes towards Basque

V14	I like speaking Basque	0.735
V3	Basque is a language worth learning	0.722
V8	It is particularly necessary for the children to learn Basque in the schools to ensure its maintenance	0.714
V23	The Basque language is something everybody should be proud of	0.713
V7	I like to hear Basque spoken	0.709
V21	I enjoy learning Basque	0.683
V18	Basque should be used more in the government services	0.682
V12	I would like to learn as much Basque as possible	0.675
V24	I like listening to TV/radio programs in Basque	0.655
V19	I dislike learning Basque	-0.585
V10	I should like to be able to read books in Basque	0.580
V5	I don't want to learn Basque as I am not likely to ever use it	-0.558

V4	There are far more useful languages to learn than Basque	-0.507
V17	Learning Basque is a waste of time	-0.499
V2	It is more important to know English than Basque	-0.467

Table 10.9. Dimension 2 (Factor 2): Negative attitudes towards Basque

V11	Learning Basque is boring but necessary	0.557
V5	I don't want to learn Basque as I am not likely to ever use it	0.523
V17	Learning Basque is a waste of time	0.520
V9	Basque is an obsolete language	0.491
V19	I dislike learning Basque	0.487
V1	Basque is a difficult language to learn	0.541
V22	Basque is a language to be spoken only within the family and with friends	0.423
V20	I am learning Basque because my parents want me to	0.412

10.3.1.7. Vitality of Basque

Students were asked about their perceptions of language vitality, both in the Basque Autonomous Community and in Rioja. In this section, perceptions of vitality regarding the Basque language and the Basque-speaking bilingual group were submitted to a latent variable analysis. Specifically, the dimensions analyzed include strength of the Basque-speaking bilingual groups at present, 20 years ago and 20 years from now; prestige of the Basque language, and prestige of the Basque-speaking bilingual groups in the BAC and Rioja, and the presence of Basque in the education system in the BAC. Analysis of the Scree Plot and of the Factor Matrix suggested the presence of just one dimension. The dimension is listed next with statements loading above 0.40.

Table 10.10. Dimension 1 (Factor 1): Vitality of Basque

Prestige of Basque bilinguals in Rioja	0.780
Strength of Basque bilinguals in Rioja now	0.764
Strength of Basque bilinguals in Rioja 20 years from now	0.758
Prestige of Basque in Rioja	0.695
Strength of Basque bilinguals in the BAC now	0.670
Prestige of Basque in the BAC	0.604
Presence of Basque in the schools of the BAC	0.574
Strength of Basque bilinguals in the BAC 20 years from now	0.572
Prestige of Basque bilinguals in the BAC	0.557
Strength of Basque bilinguals in Rioja 20 years ago	0.413

10.3.1.8. Intergroup relations: Basque

Students were requested to report to what extent they would like to have members of Spanish-speaking monolinguals or Basque-speaking bilinguals as best friends, classmates, neighbours and husband or wife. The choices were 'not at all', 'not much', 'no difference', 'quite' and 'very much'. In this section, the items regarding the Basque-speaking bilinguals were submitted to a latent variable analysis. Analysis of the Scree Plot and of the Factor Matrix suggested the presence of just one dimension, which is listed below with statements loading above 0.40.

Table 10.11. Dimension 1 (Factor 1): Intergroup relations: Basque

Like Basque bilingual as classmates	0.933
Like Basque bilingual as neighbours	0.928
Like Basque bilinguals as best friends	0.887
Like Basque bilinguals as husbands/wives	0.747

Once the factor analyses were completed, the initial model was extended to include all the factors extracted. The overall model to be tested is presented next:

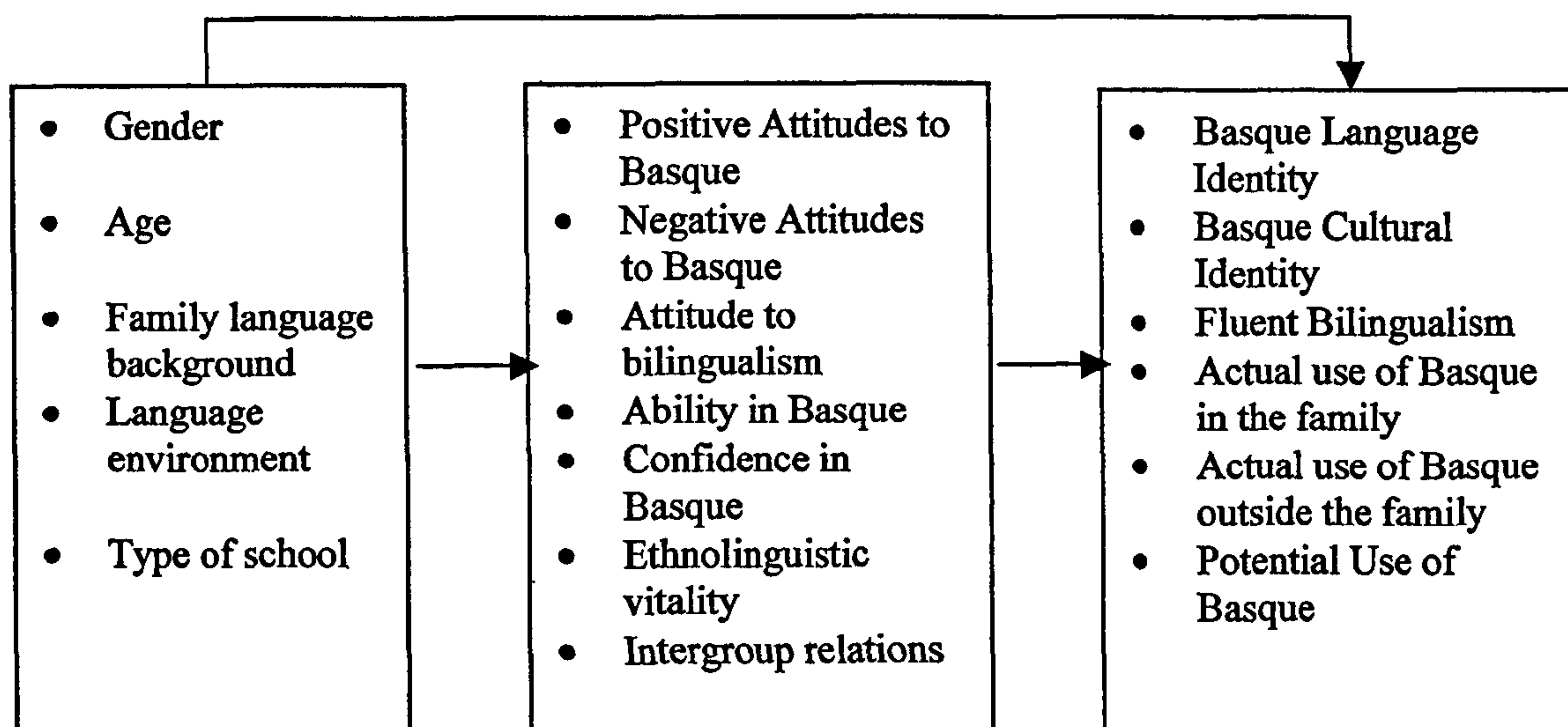


Figure 10.2. Initial model of Basque language in Rioja Alavesa (with factors extracted)

10.3.2. Correlations

Correlation analysis is used to describe the strength and direction of the linear (or curvilinear) relationship between two variables. In this case, the Pearson Correlation coefficient was used to test for the size of relationships between factors. The Pearson correlation coefficient provides the basis for point estimation (test of significance), explanation (variance accounted for in a dependent variable by an independent variable), prediction (one variables scores related to another through linear regression), reliability estimates (test-retest; equivalence), and validity (factorial, predictive, concurrent) (Shumacker and Lomax, 1996: 17). In this case, clues to explanation and prediction were sought in the larger correlations between all the variables entered into the model. The results are presented below.

In the following table, correlations above 0.50 are indicated in bold, and initially portray the more distinct relationships.

Table 10.12. Pearson Correlations between Factors

	F1	F2	F3	F4	F5	F6	F7	F8	F9
F1 Type of school	-	0.161	0.155	-0.111	0.001	-0.101	-0.176	0.336	-0.284
F2 Gender	0.161	-	0.075	0.193	-0.229	0.134	-0.020	-0.104	0.028
F3 Age	0.155	0.075	-	0.092	-0.164	0.047	-0.002	0.066	0.003
F4 Positive attitudes towards Basque language	-0.111	0.193	0.092	-	-0.131	0.746	0.413	-0.509	0.345
F5 Negative attitudes towards Basque language	0.001	-0.229	-0.164	-0.131	-	-0.117	-0.093	0.189	-0.077
F6 Attitudes towards bilingualism	-0.101	0.134	0.047	0.746	-0.117	-	0.305	-0.392	0.305
F7 Language identity	-0.176	-0.020	-0.002	0.413	-0.093	0.305	-	-0.271	0.272
F8 Cultural identity	0.336	-0.104	0.066	-0.509	0.189	-0.392	-0.271	-	-0.303
F9 Confidence in the use of Basque	-0.284	0.028	0.003	0.345	-0.077	0.305	0.272	-0.303	-
F10 Intergroup relations	0.182	-0.056	0.077	-0.457	0.098	-0.382	-0.241	0.349	-0.316
F11 Potential use of Basque	-0.245	0.107	0.050	0.621	-0.194	0.498	0.399	-0.493	0.536
F12 Ethnolinguistic vitality	0.130	-0.184	-0.023	-0.447	0.149	-0.357	-0.321	0.263	-0.211
F13 Ability in Basque	-0.490	-0.005	-0.056	0.352	-0.199	0.346	0.337	-0.346	0.414
F14 Basque bilingualism	-0.311	0.106	-0.051	0.171	-0.248	0.149	0.192	-0.186	0.279
F15 Family Language Background	-0.152	-0.085	-0.036	0.131	-0.031	0.099	0.144	-0.100	0.113
F16 Language Environment	-0.200	0.042	-0.019	0.460	-0.100	0.334	0.279	-0.195	0.328
F17 Actual use of Basque outside family	-0.450	0.130	-0.106	0.499	-0.277	0.406	0.440	-0.434	0.459
F18 Actual use of Basque in the family	-0.000	-0.007	0.049	0.178	-0.060	0.132	0.188	-0.104	0.131

	F10	F11	F12	F13	F14	F15	F16	F17	F18
F1 Type of school	0.182	-0.245	0.130	-0.490	-0.311	-0.152	-0.200	-0.450	-0.000
F2 Gender	-0.056	0.107	-0.184	-0.005	0.106	-0.085	0.042	0.130	-0.007
F3 Age	0.077	0.050	-0.023	-0.056	-0.051	-0.036	-0.019	-0.106	0.049
F4 Positive attitudes towards Basque language	-0.457	0.621	-0.447	0.352	0.171	0.131	0.460	0.499	0.178
F5 Negative attitudes towards Basque language	0.098	-0.194	0.149	-0.199	-0.248	-0.031	-0.100	-0.227	-0.060
F6 Attitudes towards bilingualism	-0.382	0.498	-0.357	0.346	0.149	0.099	0.334	0.406	0.132
F7 Language identity	-0.241	0.399	-0.321	0.337	0.192	0.144	0.279	0.440	0.188
F8 Cultural identity	0.349	-0.493	0.263	-0.346	-0.186	-0.100	-0.195	-0.434	-0.104
F9 Confidence in the use of Basque	-0.316	0.536	-0.211	0.414	0.279	0.113	0.328	0.459	0.131
F10 Intergroup relations	-	-0.404	0.312	-0.302	-0.180	-0.145	-0.248	-0.407	-0.176
F11 Potential use of Basque	-0.404	-	-0.365	0.408	0.195	0.239	0.410	0.649	0.327
F12 Ethnolinguistic vitality	0.312	-0.365	-	-0.243	-0.079	-0.018	-0.381	-0.392	-0.059
F13 Ability in Basque	-0.302	0.408	-0.243	-	0.622	0.202	0.469	0.500	0.124
F14 Basque bilingualism	-0.180	0.195	-0.079	0.622	-	0.288	0.216	0.331	0.147
F15 Family Language Background	-0.145	0.239	-0.018	0.202	0.288	-	0.041	0.082	0.701
F16 Language Environment	-0.248	0.410	-0.381	0.469	0.216	0.041	-	0.426	0.062
F17 Actual use of Basque outside family	-0.407	0.649	-0.392	0.500	0.331	0.082	0.426	-	0.106
F18 Actual use of Basque in the family	-0.176	0.327	-0.059	0.124	0.147	0.701	0.062	0.106	-

The table above shows eight correlations above 0.5. This suggests that factors were mostly discrete, although where two sets of scores correlated significantly, the relationship among them was meaningful and distinct.

The factor 'positive attitudes to Basque' shows three correlations above 0.5, with the factors 'attitudes towards bilingualism' (0.746), 'cultural identity' (-0.509) and

‘potential use of Basque’ (0.621). The latter factor also correlates highly with ‘confidence in the use of Basque’ (0.536) and ‘actual use of Basque outside the family’ (0.649). ‘Ability in Basque’ presents correlations above 0.5 with the factors ‘Basque bilingualism’ (0.622) and ‘actual use of Basque outside the family’ (0.500). Finally, a strong correlation is found between the ‘family language background’ and the ‘actual use of Basque in the family’ (0.701).

10.4. Structural Equation Modelling

The model constructed in this chapter was analyzed using Structural Equation Modelling. Structural Equation Modelling is a relatively sophisticated technique that permits the testing of models conjecturing the inter-relationships among a set of variables. For that reason, it is also referred to as *linear structural relationships* (Loehlin, 1992). Based on multiple regression, it allows the researcher to assess the importance of each of the independent variables in the model and to test the overall fit of the model to the data available. It also permits the comparison of alternative models (Pallant, 2001: 91-92). In establishing latent-variable relationships, structural equation models differ from path analysis models, which use only observed variables. Given the importance of establishing relationships among theoretical constructs, structural equation models have become increasingly used in the social and behavioural sciences (Shumacker and Lomax, 1996: 68).

In building structural equation models, one must first specify the measurement models. Factor-analytic techniques assess how well the observed variables define the latent variables of interest. In structural equation models, both the independent and dependent latent-variable measurement models are used. The structural equations specify the prediction of the dependent latent variable(s) by the independent variable(s) (Shumacker and Lomax, 1996: 68-69).

A flow chart (path diagram) of the estimated relationships in the model was drawn (see Appendix 2) by the EQS program. However, such is the size and complexity, the diagram is difficult to read. Therefore, the results are summarized in lists. On the following lists, relationships between latent variables established by the structural

equation models are presented (the paths with coefficients over 0.20 are shown in bold type):

Positive attitudes to Basque

Language environment (0.442)
Gender (0.187)
Family Language Background (0.126)
Age (0.099)
Type of school (-0.049)

Negative attitudes to Basque

Gender (-0.224)
Age (-0.156)
Language environment (-0.084)
Family Language Background (-0.046)
Type of school (0.038)

Attitudes towards bilingualism

Language environment (0.317)
Gender (0.134)
Family Language Background (0.092)
Age (0.055)
Type of school (-0.054)

Ability in Basque

Type of school (-0.421)
Language environment (0.396)
Family Language Background (0.135)
Gender (0.056)
Age (0.015)

Confidence in the use of Basque

Language environment (0.280)
Type of school (-0.236)
Family Language Background (0.074)
Gender (0.058)
Age (0.043)

Intergroup relations

Language environment (-0.216)

Type of school (0.126)

Family Language Background (-0.123)

Gender (-0.082)

Age (0.056)

Ethnolinguistic vitality

Language environment (-0.358)

Gender (-0.183)

Type of school (0.092)

Age (-0.031)

Family Language Background (-0.006)

Basque Language Identity

Positive attitudes to Basque (0.347)

Ethnolinguistic vitality (-0.179)

Ability in Basque (0.173)

Gender (-0.119)

Confidence in the use of Basque (0.091)

Language environment (-0.048)

Family Language Background (0.045)

Attitudes towards bilingualism (-0.038)

Negative attitudes to Basque (-0.027)

Age (-0.024)

Type of school (0.016)

Intergroup Relations (-0.005)

Basque Cultural Identity

Positive attitudes to Basque (-0.502)

Type of school (0.233)

Language environment (0.196)

Negative attitudes to Basque (0.134)

Age (0.094)

Intergroup Relations (0.094)

Confidence in the use of Basque (-0.083)

Ability in Basque (-0.073)

Family Language Background (0.038)

Ethnolinguistic vitality (0.028)

Gender (-0.013)

Attitudes towards bilingualism (-0.006)

Fluent bilingualism

Ability in Basque (0.601)

Language environment (0.167)

Negative attitudes to Basque (-0.127)

Gender (0.115)

Language environment (-0.093)

Confidence in the use of Basque (0.063)

Ethnolinguistic vitality (0.060)

Attitudes towards bilingualism (-0.053)

Age (-0.038)

Positive attitudes to Basque (0.018)

Intergroup Relations (-0.017)

Type of school (-0.004)

Actual use of Basque outside the family

Positive attitudes to Basque (0.280)

Type of school (-0.271)

Confidence in the use of Basque (0.202)

Negative attitudes to Basque (-0.147)

Intergroup relations (-0.130)

Ethnolinguistic vitality (-0.128)

Ability in Basque (0.115)

Age (-0.113)

Family Language Background (-0.071)

Gender (0.050)

Attitudes towards bilingualism (0.045)

Language environment (0.022)

Actual use of Basque in the family

Family Language Background (0.698)

Type of school (0.118)

Intergroup relations (-0.061)

Age (0.051)

Confidence in the use of Basque (0.051)

Positive attitudes to Basque (0.044)

Ability in Basque (-0.021)

Negative attitudes to Basque (-0.013)

Language environment (0.012)

Gender (0.012)

Ethnolinguistic vitality (-0.007)

Attitudes towards bilingualism (-0.006)

Potential use of Basque

- Positive attitudes to Basque (0.422)
- Confidence in the use of Basque (0.333)
- Family Language Background (0.121)
- Negative attitudes to Basque (-0.100)
- Intergroup Relations (-0.076)
- Ethnolinguistic vitality (-0.074)
- Attitudes towards bilingualism (0.062)
- Type of school (-0.049)
- Ability in Basque (0.023)
- Language environment (0.019)
- Gender (-0.013)
- Age (0.011)

A path diagram showing the relationships of 0.20 and more is presented below:

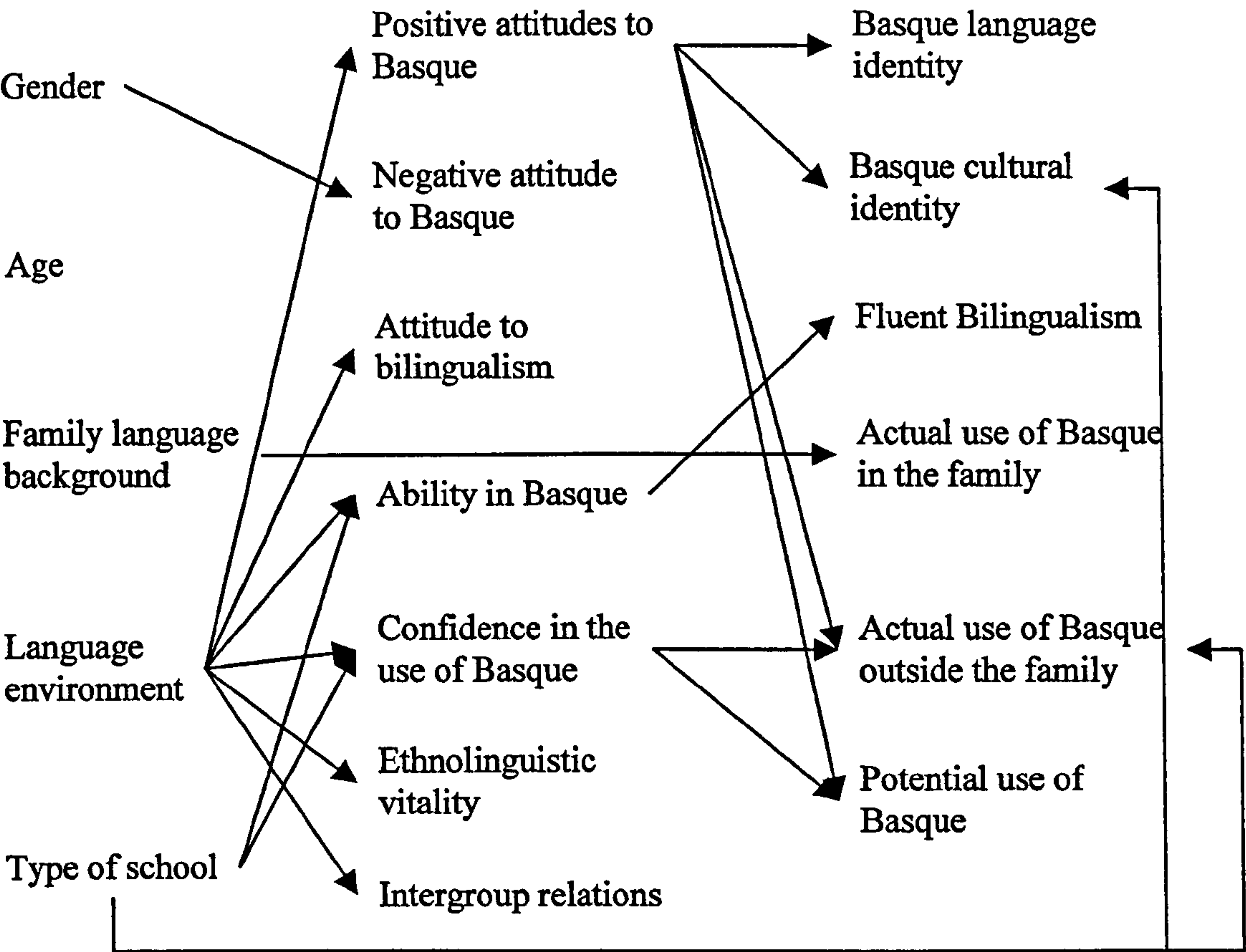


Figure 10.3. A model of Basque language in Rioja Alavesa

10.5. Discussion

The initial focus in this discussion will be on the outcomes of the model, and after this point of departure, the relationships between the three sets of latent variables will be examined.

At first glance, the strong effect of positive attitudes to Basque on most variables stands out. Indeed, this variable is the single strongest influence on Basque language and Basque cultural identity, and also on actual use of Basque outside the family and potential use of Basque. Regarding Basque language identity, positive attitudes to Basque (0.347) prevail over ethnolinguistic vitality (-0.179) and ability in Basque (0.173). The influence of the 'positive attitudes to Basque' variable is even stronger concerning Basque cultural identity (-0.502). In this latter case, the type of school (0.233) also exerts an influence, followed by language environment (0.196) and negative attitudes to Basque (0.134).

Positive attitudes to Basque are also the strongest influence on actual use of Basque outside the family (0.280). However, this latent variable proves a complex one, as it is affected to a considerable extent by a number of factors, including type of school (-0.271), confidence in the use of Basque (0.202), negative attitudes to Basque (-0.147), intergroup relations (-0.130), ethnolinguistic vitality (-0.128), ability in Basque (0.115) and age (-0.113). On the other hand, potential use of Basque is mainly affected by, again, positive attitudes to Basque (0.422) and confidence in the use of Basque (0.333), and, to a lesser extent, family language background (0.121) and negative attitudes to Basque (-0.100).

As regards actual use of Basque in the family, it is, rather predictably, strongly influenced by family language background (0.698), while the effect of the type of school (0.118) is remarkably lower. Another expected result concerns fluent bilingualism, which is strongly influenced by ability in Basque (0.601). To a much lesser degree, this latent variable is also affected by language environment (0.167), negative attitudes to Basque (-0.127) and gender (0.115).

As for the factors influencing the (inter)mediatory outcomes, language environment emerges as the strongest single influence. As regards the attitudinal latent variables, language environment is the main factor affecting positive attitudes to Basque (0.442) and attitudes towards bilingualism (0.317), followed, in both cases, by gender (0.187 and 0.134, respectively). On the other hand, gender (-0.224) is the strongest influence on negative attitudes to Basque, accompanied by age (-0.156).

Nevertheless, the strongest variable influencing ability in Basque is type of school (-0.421). Language environment also strongly affects ability in Basque (0.396), while family language background (0.135) is a less influential factor. Concerning confidence in the use of Basque, the main influences are, in the reverse order, language environment (0.280) and school (-0.236).

Finally, language environment prevails as the strongest influence regarding intergroup relations (-0.216) and ethnolinguistic vitality (-0.358). In the former, type of school (0.126) and family language background also exert a considerable influence, whereas in the latter gender (-0.183) is an influential factor.

Further discussion and explanation of these results will be given in the final chapter. However, some reservations need to be expressed with the structural equation solution.

- a) The sample is relatively small ($n=232$) whereas a minimum ratio of ten people to one variable is often regarded as minimal if the multivariate distribution is not normal (which is usual). The EQS results gave a Mardia's coefficient of 11.80 for normality of the multivariate distribution (2.58 or lower is preferred).
- b) The chi-square value is 389.7 with 46 degrees of freedom ($p<.0001$), with a Bentler-Bonnet Fit Index of 0.76 (0.95 is preferred). No individual variable (from the residuals) suggested exclusion or reduced paths.

Overall, this suggests that further explorations of the model are needed with a larger sample size. This analysis is thus exploratory and needs further research.

10.6. Summary of the Chapter

This chapter has presented a testable model showing the relationships between some variables analyzed in this research. The proposed initial model displayed three sets of variables, showing the direction of likely causalities and effects. A latent variable analysis was conducted on these variables, in order to detect possible underlying patterns among the variable correlations. Once the factor analysis was concluded, a new model including all the factors extracted was presented. Subsequently, a correlation analysis was made to detect the strength and direction of the relationships.

Finally, the model designed in this chapter was analyzed using Structural Equation Modelling. This technique shows the importance of each of the independent variables. It also allows the researcher to test the overall fit of the model. In this case, the fit of the model is imperfect. The small size of the sample and the influence of variables not included in the model may explain this. Further research is needed. The interpretation of this model follows in the next chapter.

Chapter Eleven

CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

11.1. Introduction

This chapter seeks to gather the main findings of the research investigation carried out in Rioja Alavesa. The aims of the study are examined first, and the way such aims were met in this study is explained. Secondly, the chapter shows the original aspects of this research investigation. For that purpose, the general approach of the study and the methodology employed are discussed.

Subsequently, the research findings and the literature review are integrated. First, the findings from the interviews and the observation work are discussed, and those from the questionnaires are examined next. The chapter also presents the main limitations of the study. Finally, the implications of the research are analyzed and a number of suggestions are proposed.

11.2. Aims of the Research

The first aim of this thesis was to analyze the concept and explain the multidimensional nature of bilingualism. Based on a major distinction between individual bilingualism and societal bilingualism, key definitions and distinctions related to bilingualism and multilingualism were provided, with a special focus on aspects relevant to this study.

The second aim was to investigate the bilingual phenomenon in two countries in which situations of language contact occur. Since the research in this thesis was carried out in the Basque region of Rioja Alavesa, bilingualism in the Basque Country was examined first. Substantial background information was provided about the Basque language, its history and the bilingual situation today, covering different aspects related to this study. Subsequently, a similar structure was employed to

analyze bilingualism in Wales, to provide a comparison with the Basque situation. The similarities, as well as differences, between the bilingual situations in these two countries provide a fertile territory for comparative and contrastive purposes, and help contextualize the issues examined in this study.

The aim of the dissertation research was to investigate the effects of language revitalization efforts in a traditionally non-Basque speaking area. For that purpose, the study sought to provide a global picture of language contact in the region of Rioja Alavesa, in the context of the language planning efforts implemented by the regional government of the Basque Autonomous Community.

In an attempt to capture the complex nature of language contact, and partly due to the limitations experienced when conducting the research (see chapter Four), a variety of methods were used in this study. The main focus of the research was on the younger generations, as a key force in language change and revitalization in the area is language reproduction in the young. Questionnaires were used to analyze a number of specifically linguistic issues such as self-reported language competence, language use and networks of language contact. Moreover, some other aspects related to language such as attitudes, ethnolinguistic vitality, identity and intergroup relations were examined.

Another aim of the study was to analyze the perceptions around the process of language change in Rioja Alavesa among the local population as a whole, in the belief that individuals' social representations of languages, their attitudes towards them and their views about them are important factors influencing the success or failure of any language revitalization effort. In this case, qualitative methods, such as interviews and observation, were used, as a useful way to gain insights into the often-sensitive issues covered in this research.

11.3. What is original in this study?

Interesgarria litzateke euskaraz ez dakiten euskal herritarrek euskal munduaz duten irudia eta euskal munduarekin duten harreman sentimentala

ezagutzea: guk proiektatzen duguna eta proiektatzen dugun horretatik jasotzen dutena. (Anjel Lertxundi, 1999).

[It would be interesting to know the image and the affective relationship that Basque people who don't know Basque have about the Basque world: what we project and what they receive from what we project]

This research seeks to respond to the implicit question contained in this quote by the Basque writer Anjel Lertxundi (1999: 70). Lertxundi, speaking from inside the Basque world or, more appropriately, from the world in Basque, argues that the Euskaldun (Euskara-speaking) people have traditionally conveyed (partly as a defence mechanism) an ideal projection of themselves, rather than what we are, creating a 'gallery of distorting mirrors'. Today, one distorting image of the Basque world is, for example, that which associates being *euskaldun* (Basque-speaking) and being *abertzale* (nationalist), thus possibly denying the plural nature of the Basque culture.

Conversely, some language loyalists in the Basque-speaking world tend to view the monolingual majority as intrinsically anti-Basque, and seem unaware of the need to attract their goodwill and support (Gardner, Puigdevall and Williams, 2000: 334). Many of these negative perceptions are often based on a lack of communication between the different ideological, cultural and linguistic traditions coexisting in the Basque Country.

Similar concerns led this researcher from the Basque-speaking world to explore the perceptions about the Basque culture and language and the affective relationships with them of a traditionally non-Basque speaking area. This approach is original in that it explores the nature and perceptions of people who are often ignored in an examination of these issues.

The area selected for this study was Rioja Alavesa. In this region, best known for the excellence of its wines, little previous sociolinguistic study had been conducted. Earlier research around the Basque language in Rioja Alavesa focused on the study of the historical evolution of Basque and on the investigation of Basque place-names in the area. Some of the issues analyzed in this study were addressed by Barbara Hendry

(1992, 1997). With an ethnographic approach, Hendry examined perceptions of ethnicity and identity in Rioja Alavesa, within its context as a borderland area. This follows from Hendry (1992, 1997), who attempted to analyze the effects of language revitalization policies implemented by the government in Basque Autonomous Community.

This Riojan research is also original in its comprehensive approach. Rather than focusing on a specific aspect related to language contact, it aims at providing a holistic view of language change in a particular area. A variety of aspects and their interconnections are analyzed, with the purpose of acquiring a better understanding of all the factors that interact in this particular situation of language change. Around 10.000 people live in the fifteen villages that form Rioja Alavesa. Thus it is a compact territory with a unique character and a strong sense of local identity.

Rioja Alavesa has recently seen considerable changes in its linguistic landscape (see chapter Four). It remains, as it has been since the Middle Ages, a largely monolingual territory, in which the presence of Basque in everyday life is still minimal. However, in the last twenty years Basque has made considerable advances, especially through the education system, as a main factor in the attempts at revitalizing Basque carried out by the government in the BAC. Today, all students have access to competence in Basque in their school, although to different degrees. Moreover, around half of these students attend the most intensive bilingual teaching model (model D), which provides education through the medium of Basque. As a consequence, a new linguistic situation has emerged, which shows a marked difference in competence in Basque across the generations. The Basque-speaking population is mainly young, with few people over 40 speaking the language. Therefore, the region is particularly interesting to analyze different aspects of language change and language planning in a particular community.

The methodology used in this thesis needed to be sensitive to the context and the research samples (see chapter Four). It was considered that the research approach required a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods, in order to adequately cover all the concepts the researcher was interested in. The interviews and the observation work, conducted during the three-month stay in Rioja Alavesa, were

intended to serve as a general introduction to the area and the topics of the research. Such qualitative methods provided a contextualization to interpret the quantitative data on which this research is mainly based. This approach was believed to best fit to the aims of this study. The use of different research methods was not only complementary but also triangulated. That is, each method tended to confirm the findings of the other methods.

11.4. Findings of the Research

11.4.1. Interviews and observation work

The interviews and the observation work in this thesis were conducted in Rioja Alavesa from January 2001 to March 2001. As explained in chapters Four and Five, Rioja Alavesa is a singular territory, a borderland region with a particular vitivinicultural lifestyle. In chapter Five, an attempt to capture the region's unique character was made to help acquire a better understanding of the research study as a whole. In this section, the conclusions most relevant to this study will be presented.

In Rioja Alavesa, the opinions about the efforts to revitalize Basque in the region are very diverse. Some people are directly against what they consider a 'dictatorship of Basque', while some others complain that not enough has been done. For some, the future of Basque in the region is assured, and some others consider the implantation of the language in society a 'wild dream'. This divergence of views is apparent when assessing the evolution of Basque in the region in the last twenty years and suggesting the direction of revitalization efforts in the near future. There seems to be a certain agreement in that, eventually, it is a matter of 'setting the right pace'.

The reintroduction of Basque in Rioja Alavesa has been, and still is, contemplated by many with suspicion, in an area with a strong linguistic and cultural Spanish identity. In some sectors, complaints are frequently voiced about the excessive pace, especially at the beginning, of the language planning policies implemented by the government in the BAC. It is also argued that such policies have ignored the specific characteristics of the region. More extreme opinions argue that Basque is being forcibly imposed,

rather than gradually implemented, against the will of the majority in Rioja Alavesa. Such views are not endorsed by a majority, but reflect a deep feeling of antagonism against Basque (see chapter Five).

In contrast, the perception that progress in the implementation of Basque is too slow is widespread among local people directly involved in the promotion of Basque. Many of them argue that the effervescence around Basque of twenty years ago has abated, and a sense of disillusionment is beginning to grow in some pro-Basque circles. Frustration provoked by the lack of compromise from large sections of the population is also apparent.

These feelings are, however, balanced with a sense of realism. Local teachers, for example, generally convey a curious mixture of patience and frustration. On the one hand, they complain that efforts made to promote Basque and the normalization of its use appear to bear little fruit, especially outside the school environment. On the other hand, language revitalization is increasingly regarded as a long-term process. It is commonly agreed that progress has been made, and such progress should be assessed considering the difficult circumstances surrounding language contact in the area.

Nevertheless, it needs to be noted that the language issue is nearly non-existent for many people in the region. When people were asked to give their opinions about the issues analyzed in this study, ignorance or lack of interest was often alleged (see chapter Four). In some cases this may conceal unwillingness to respond, but in other occasions they expressed a sincere feeling. Indeed, the presence of Basque in Rioja is scarce, and language fundamentally remains a school phenomenon. One teacher, when assessing young people's commitment to Basque, indicated that 'apathy is our worst enemy, not rejection'. Such assertion could be extended, to a certain degree, to the whole population in the area.

In the Basque Country, attitudes towards bilingualism and Basque are closely associated with explicit ideological positions (Azurmendi, Bachoc and Zabaleta, 2001). In chapter Five, the concept of 'allegiance community' was used, following Martínez de Luna and Jausoro (1998), to explain the different symbolic universes and identity strategies operating in Rioja Alavesa, which reflect those in the Basque

Country as a whole. In this respect, two fundamental allegiance communities can be distinguished, that of Basque and that of Spanish. The allegiance community of Basque basically includes those who love Basque and support its recovery, regardless of their being Basque-speakers or not. For its part, the allegiance community of Spanish includes non-Basque speakers who care little about the Basque language. Each allegiance community has elaborated a relatively autonomous discourse around language. The allegiance community of Spanish has possibly developed a 'reality discourse', and that of Basque favours a 'wish discourse'.

The reality discourse is fundamentally pragmatic. Euskara is one of the languages of Basque Country, neither the most important one nor a symbol of identity. Use of Basque is very limited and, therefore, efforts to revitalize it at a societal level make little sense. As part of the Basque culture, the language should be preserved, but not as a language of communication, but as cultural heritage.

In contrast, in the wish discourse Euskara is the basic marker of Basque identity. For that reason, it is crucial to make amends for a fundamental deficiency: the lack of use in society. The past is of special importance, because there it holds the reason for its social weakness. The future is crucial, since the total recovery of the language will come from the younger generations.

In Rioja Alavesa, the allegiance community of Spanish remains strong. It asserts its discourse by defending the current *status quo*, that of a largely Spanish-speaking monolingual territory in which Basque has little room. The wish discourse is weaker, hindered by its internal contradiction. Indeed, while its main goal is the normalisation of the use of Basque in society, many in the allegiance community of Basque are unable to speak the language. As a consequence, some of its members adopt certain strategies of the reality discourse, influenced by the social weakness of Basque in the area. For example, the real influence of Basque in the job market is often magnified, and certain measures aimed at implementing Basque in society are dismissed as unreasonable. While individual bilingualism is enthusiastically supported, the societal role of the Basque language is seen with suspicion.

The introduction of bilingual teaching models (see chapter Two) is the most salient feature of language planning in Rioja Alavesa. For this reason, it was considered that opinions of local parents were of special importance. Interviews were conducted with parents –more specifically mothers– of children in models A, B and D. The effectiveness of these models, and some other aspects related to education, will be discussed in the next section. Next, some recurrent issues to which mothers devoted special attention will be presented.

In general, attitudes of mothers towards the Basque language reflected the plurality of views in the population as a whole. Nevertheless, comparisons over the value of Basque and English were frequently made during the interviews, and provide some interesting insights. Mothers of students in all models showed very favourable attitudes to the teaching of English in the schools. English is regarded as a language of international status that will become increasingly necessary in the future. The teaching of Basque, however, received mixed responses. While in principle there was no rejection of the teaching of Basque, some mothers complained about its excessive presence in education. They expressed doubts about the practicality of learning Basque, and stressed, instead, the instrumental value of English. In contrast, mothers with more favourable attitudes towards the teaching in Basque showed an integrative attitude towards the language. However, many of them seemed to acknowledge the superior instrumental value of English, somewhat recognizing the social weakness of the Basque language.

The debate around the teaching of Basque and English may indicate awareness of the present and future significance of these languages. It is curious, though, that such discussion is often addressed with a subtractive perspective, in which English and Basque are languages in competition, rather than complementary. In the BAC, plans to introduce trilingual education in the schools are under way, the goal being that students use Basque, Spanish and English as working languages in the classroom (see chapter One). It is hoped that plurilingual education favours a harmonious coexistence between these three languages.

On the other hand, some parents showed concern about some potential consequences of bilingual education. One widely held fear was that learning through the medium of

Basque, though generally not believed to influence children's academic development, may affect children's proficiency in Spanish. This fear seems largely unfounded. Indeed, research carried out in Basque Country shows little differences regarding competence in Spanish between students in different teaching models (Etxeberria, 1999; see chapter Six). Another fear was that children 'mixed' Basque and Spanish, and may end up learning neither properly (semilingualism). Mothers seemed especially worried about this alleged problem, and supported their concern with numerous examples. In chapter One, it was explained that bilingual competence cannot be measured in terms of monolingual standards, especially during the developmental stages in dual language acquisition. With time, it is expected that bilingual children who 'mix' catch up and reach relatively normal levels of linguistic competence.

Many mothers of children in all models expressed genuine concern about these issues. However, among some pro-Basque mothers there was the suspicion that false debates were promoted around bilingualism with the ultimate goal of disguising unfavourable attitudes towards the teaching of Basque. Baetens Beardsmore (2003: 20) argues that many fears expressed about the negative aspects of bilingualism, while overtly aimed at questions of culture or education, hide covert concerns about issues related to dominance, ethnicity, social status and group security. This example illustrates the difficulties encountered during this research investigation. The sensitive nature of certain issues made it (at times) difficult to elicit honest and open responses. At the same time, the diversity of factors involved in the situation of language contact in Rioja Alavesa makes drawing plain conclusions inadvisable.

Nevertheless, a balanced assessment of the successes and failures of language revitalization efforts in Rioja Alavesa leads to a mainly positive conclusion. Twenty years ago, the Basque language was practically non-existent in the region. Currently, all the children in the area have, to a greater or lesser degree, access to Euskara through the schools in the area. The introduction of Basque, and the prospect of a bilingual future, is increasingly being accepted by the local population. Steady progress has been made in terms of knowledge and acceptance. Nevertheless, the Basque language faces new challenges in the future, the biggest of which is generally agreed within local pro-Basque circles: to take the language out from the school walls

into the streets, to make Euskara a language for everyday communication. This topic, and others, will be extensively analyzed in the next section.

11.4.2. The questionnaires

In this section, the main findings derived from the sample research will be discussed. As described in chapter Four, the sample was drawn from the three schools offering secondary and upper-secondary levels in Rioja Alavesa: the “Samaniego” secondary school of Laguardia, where A and B bilingual teaching models are taught, and the *ikastola* schools in La Puebla de Labarca (“Assa ikastola”) and Oion (“San Bizente ikastola”), where only model D is on offer. A total of 232 students completed the questionnaire.

As discussed in chapter One, education plays a fundamental role in language planning. According to Fishman (1991, 1993, 2000), the key elements for the intergenerational transmission of a language are the family and education. In chapter Two and Three, the importance of the education system for minority languages such as Basque and Welsh was discussed as a way to compensate the losses in the transmission of these languages and to ensure new speakers. The salience of schools is particularly evident in areas such as Rioja Alavesa, where Basque is barely spoken within the family. In this sense, a major point of this study was to analyze the effects of the implementation of bilingual teaching models in the student’s competence in Basque.

At first sight, the self-reported competence in Basque of the students appears to be rather high. A majority of students claim to speak, understand, read and write in Basque fluently or quite well. The first language of most of students being Spanish, and half of them being schooled in model A, a lower general competence in Basque was initially expected.

However, such results should be analyzed carefully. First, the limitations usually found in self-reports of language competence should be remembered here. In chapter Six, factors such as social desirability, acquiescent responses and self-awareness are

mentioned as potentially influencing students' responses, and creating a potential over-estimation of language competence.

Second, fluency rates are notably inferior if the results are compared with those of Spanish. While most students are 'fluent' in Spanish, fluency in Basque is considerably lower, especially regarding productive skills. Baetens Beardsmore (1986: 120) indicates that there is often a difference between monolinguals and some bilinguals in the relationship between productive and receptive skills. While typical monolinguals are able to understand and speak the language (although not maybe read or write it), some receptive bilinguals do not develop into productive bilinguals (see chapter One). The results suggest the existence of a considerable number of receptive or passive bilinguals among the Riojan students.

In recent times, concern about the evolution and effectiveness of bilingual education in the Basque Country (see chapter Two) has been widely expressed. Research carried out in the last twenty-five years (see chapter Six) consistently shows a close connection between ability in Basque and the bilingual teaching model. Students in model A generally reach relatively lower levels of competence in Basque, their oral skills are often low and they can be incapable of using Basque as a learning tool in the classroom. Analyzing the effectiveness of model B is more complex, due to its internal heterogeneity. Indeed, it could be said that within this model there are different sub-models, some of them similar to model A and some others closer to model D. Overall, competence levels in this model are markedly lower than those in model D. The latter model is the only one which ensures, to a greater degree, a level of competence sufficient for classroom operations. Nevertheless, it is possible to be educated entirely in model D and still not achieve a satisfactory competence in the language used as a teaching medium.

Predictably, the results in this study also show a correlation between bilingual teaching models and competence in Basque. Students in model A (almost all teaching is completed in Spanish; Basque is taught as a subject) reported the lowest competence in Basque, especially regarding an ability to speak Basque. Model B students (teaching is completed half in Spanish and half in Basque; both languages are thus medium as well as subject) claimed a considerably higher competence in Basque

than those in model A, but lower than those in model D (where almost all teaching is completed in Basque). Nevertheless, even model D students reported a considerably lower competence in Basque than in Spanish, especially as regards productive skills.

The introduction of bilingual teaching models in the local schools is a fundamental factor influencing language change in the Basque Country, and particularly in Rioja Alavesa, where the language is closely associated with the school environment. Nevertheless, many factors determine the efficiency of such bilingual methods, as well as language behaviour in general. In this sense, one aspect that deserves mentioning here is the relationship between competence and use of Basque in the region.

Sánchez Carrión (1991) uses the term 'complete speaker' to define the bilingual person who, after learning a language, achieves an operational level of use. Similarly, language recovery is complete when the normalization of its use in important domains is achieved. In this sense, the main challenge of language planners in the BAC has been, from the start, to increase the use of Basque in society. In the BAC, the increase in the use of Basque is lower than expected in comparison with the rise in the levels of competence, especially in the younger generations. There is thus a distinct gap between the knowledge of the Basque language and its everyday use in the street, shops and sports.

According to the results of this research, the gap is even wider in Rioja Alavesa, where a very low out of-school use of Basque was reported. Only in the school environment is the use of Basque relatively high. In such a context, the teaching model has a great influence in the students' use of the language. Thus, there is a strong correlation between the teaching models and the levels of the students' use of Basque with teachers and in the classroom. This is hardly surprising, as it reflects the centrality each model gives to the teaching and promotion of Basque.

The use of Basque with the teachers is highest in model D and lowest in model A. It can be argued that the use of Basque in this particular situation is influenced by a sense of obligation to communicate in that language. In the classroom, Basque is less used in model A, while model D and model B students reported a similar and

relatively higher use of Basque. However, the responses show some pertinent results for language planners. For example, 9% of the students in model D – and also in model B – never speak in Basque with their classmates within the classroom. Nobody speaks in Basque ‘always’, and only 21% do so ‘often’. The levels of language use in model B classrooms are similar. These results suggest that, even in the teaching model in which education is developed fully in Basque, Spanish is often the dominant language inside the classroom.

In the classroom context, the use of Basque is likely to be monitored. In contrast, the playground provides an environment in which students make free use of their languages. Aldekoa and Gardner (2002: 339) regard the informal use of the minority language in the playground as the ‘acid test’ of successful language planning at school level. In this respect, the students’ self-reported use of Basque in the playground appears discouraging. In general, 72% of the students never speak in Basque in the playground, and the rest do it sometimes. Use of Basque is also sparse among model D students, as over half of them never speak the language in the playground.

Outside the school walls, the use of Basque is even lower. The language is barely spoken with neighbours, in pubs and cafeterias, in the local shops, in the market, in church and with the doctor. Basque is spoken to a certain degree only among friends and, to a lesser extent, in leisure, sports and cultural activities. However, even among friends, half of the students never communicate in Basque. Moreover, nearly all students who speak Basque with their friends at some point do it only sometimes.

The results show that, in general, advances in the ability to speak Basque have not been reflected in its use. In Rioja Alavesa, Basque remains largely a school-only phenomenon. In chapter Two, the factors that have a greatest influence in the use of Basque were mentioned. The combination of these factors may help explain the patterns of language use in Rioja Alavesa.

Socio-structural factors are fundamental in explaining language choice, of which the density of speakers is important. In short, the more Basque-speaking an area is, the higher the use of Basque will be. Not all Basque speakers have the opportunity to speak the language in all situations. In the Basque Country, having a Basque-speaking

network, especially in the family and the nearby community, but also in more formal environments, has a great effect on language use. The quality of this interpersonal network depends to a great extent on the ethno-linguistic vitality of Basque in a particular area. In this respect, Rioja Alavesa remains, as we have seen, an essentially monolingual sociolinguistic area. In such conditions, there is little choice in language use in everyday life, and turning competence into use becomes an uphill task.

According to the sociolinguistic surveys carried out by the Basque Government (see chapter Two), the use of Basque is also determined by psycholinguistic factors. Specifically, the relative language competence of bilinguals in Basque and Spanish/French influences language choice. In this research study, no test measuring language proficiency was carried out. However, students' self-reports of language competence suggest that a majority among them have Spanish as their dominant language. This is confirmed in their responses about their own ethnolinguistic identity, which will be explained later in the chapter. The linguistic dominance of Spanish is, for a number of reasons, not surprising. First, Spanish is the first language of most of these students, and the presence of Basque within the family is minimal. Second, in the Basque Country relative language competence is related to the sociolinguistic area, as described in chapter Two. In a region like Rioja Alavesa, where less than 20% of the population speak Basque, it is to be expected that the majority of Basque-speakers have Spanish as their preferred language.

A relatively surprising result in this study was the small connection found between use of Basque outside the school and the ability to speak the language. One possible reason is that the minimal use of Basque in the region prevents the emergence of increases in language behaviour. Moreover, it supports the view that one main factor explaining the low use of Basque in Rioja Alavesa is the low density of speakers, which in turn affects the ability to speak Basque and, ultimately, language behaviour.

Similarly, the correlation between language use and the students' experience of a particular bilingual teaching model is relatively small. Again, a general low use of Basque may explain this. Even model D students speak little Basque outside the school. This phenomenon is not exclusive to Rioja Alavesa, as it is possibly replicated in many areas in the Basque Country. Moreover, it reflects one general limitation of

immersion bilingual education: for many students, the second language can be a school-only phenomenon (Swain and Johnson, 1997). This problem can partially be explained by the socio-structural and psycholinguistic factors examined before. Zalbide (Artola et al., 1991; quoted in Aldekoa and Gardner, 2002: 341) adds some other factors related to the internal dynamics of school life:

- The time a student spends in school lessons is very limited. In model D, the students spend only around 14% of their waking hours in Basque-language classroom activity. This percentage decreases to 8% in model B, and 3% in model A. The influence of the school lesson is, therefore, also potentially rather limited.
- The natural dynamics of the classroom tends to favour the learning of the receptive skills, listening and reading, and to some degree writing. Students have relatively fewer opportunities to speak, or interact in 'natural' one-to-one or small group communication.
- Within the classroom, the most formal registers of language tend to be learnt. As a consequence, a new type of Basque speaker has emerged, one that is relatively at ease in formal discourse but more awkward in informal discourse, and finds it difficult to communicate and express feelings or intimate issues. Cummins (1984, 2000) related these discourses to two different (if simplistic) types of language proficiency: cognitive/academic language proficiency (CALP) and basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS) (see chapter One).
- Sometimes, the insufficient competence in Basque of peers, and even that of teachers, hinders communication in that language. In schools in the BAC, alongside highly proficient native speakers (and, to a lesser extent, non-native speakers), some native speakers display a limited command of the more formal registers. At the same time, there are many non-native speakers with a moderate or even poor command of Basque, especially in the more informal registers.

These considerations hint at a more general concern about a loss in the quality of Basque, especially among the younger generations. In the Basque Country there is the widespread perception that, while Basque has gained new speakers and domains, the communicative competence of its speakers is lower than in recent decades. In many playgrounds of the schools of the Basque Country, a new hybrid can be heard,

informally but rather appropriately named 'euskañol'. Many young people, unable to develop a full conversation in Basque, resort, almost by necessity, to Spanish to fill the gaps in their language competence, creating a mixture of Basque and Spanish. The relatively stable mixing of Basque and Spanish may have serious consequences for the future, because it affects the natural flow of the language. As Salaburu (2002: 97) points out, spelling mistakes are not the problem, but changes in the basic structures of the language may be problematic. These deficiencies in the ability to speak Basque are partly related to the low use of Basque.

One important aspect of this research study was to analyze the students' attitudes towards bilingualism and Basque. Baker (1992) examines the importance of attitudes in terms of minority languages. Attitudes reflect thoughts and beliefs, preferences and desires, and provide an indicator of the status, value and importance of a language. Moreover, attitudes may act both as a predisposing factor and as an outcome. For example, favourable attitudes towards the learning of a language are likely to positively influence language achievement. Similarly, if a community shows very unfavourable attitudes to bilingual education, language planning efforts are likely to fail. In sum, attitudes help to predict the health of a language.

The results in this study show very favourable attitudes to bilingualism and Basque. The majority of students are in favour of learning both Spanish and Basque, and they recognize the important role of the education system in promoting bilingualism. For most of the students, learning Basque is important, and a majority of them enjoy learning the language. Attitudes towards the use of Basque are highly positive, to the point that a majority of students claim to like speaking in Basque, despite its actual use being very low. Importantly, most students show a favourable attitude to the use of Basque in the future.

Favourable attitudes are also dominant as regards the implementation of bilingualism in society. A majority of students were in favour of bilingual road signs and bilingual public advertising, and they considered that there should be more bilingual people in the government services, and all the civil servants in the BAC should be bilingual. However, some responses regarding this issue deserve further explanation.

According to the results in this study, most of the students considered that speaking both Spanish and Basque helps to get a job, but only a third believed that people can earn more money if they are bilingual in these two languages. This seeming contradiction may rest on the special socio-economic conditions of the region in which the research was carried out, as compared to the BAC as a whole. Rioja Alavesa is a wealthy winemaking region where knowledge of languages has little influence in terms of getting a job. In contrast, knowing Basque is becoming increasingly necessary in certain work spheres in the BAC. The first response may express a general belief, while the second may refer to a more specific economic environment.

The valuation of Basque in the BAC job market, although still limited, has created tensions in some social sectors, and many Spanish-speaking monolinguals apparently feel threatened in their professional environment. This is a widely held perception in Rioja Alavesa (see chapter Five). While individual bilingualism is generally accepted, its spread to certain social spheres can provoke strong opposition. This mixed view may have had an influence in students' responses. Thus, just over half of them considered that speaking both Spanish and Basque should help people get promotion in their job. Significantly, when responding to statements about favouring a bilingual society, students chose the option 'neither agree nor disagree' in a relatively higher percentage. The responses may suggest that students, though having generally positive attitudes on this issue, have some reservations about the social consequences of implementing bilingualism in society.

Despite the increase of the instrumental value of Basque in the BAC, positive attitudes to the language appear to be related more to integrative attitudes (see Gardner and Lambert, 1972). A strong majority of students believed that Basque is a language everybody should be proud of, and believed it necessary for children to learn Basque in the schools to ensure its maintenance. These results largely coincide with those in the BAC (see chapter Two).

The relative status of Basque compared with that of English and other languages was also analyzed. Slightly more students considered that it is more important to know English than Basque, and they believed, in a similar percentage, that there are far

more useful languages to learn than Basque. These results suggest that other languages, and especially English, are regarded as more valuable than Basque in functional contexts. It also reflects the emergence of English as an (or the) international language and its increasing presence in the education system. This tendency is likely to increase in the future, with the increasing introduction of trilingual education in the schools of the BAC.

Differences in attitudes towards bilingualism and Basque were consistent between students according to their ability to speak Basque. Statistically significant differences were found in around half the statements about both attitudes to bilingualism and attitudes to Basque: in general, the higher the ability to speak Basque, the more favourable the attitudes towards bilingualism and Basque. These differences were somewhat expected, as certain statements are logically connected to the ability to speak Basque. In this sense, it is not surprising that the strongest correlations were found in statements such as 'speaking two languages is not difficult' and 'I enjoy learning Basque'.

It has been mentioned before that overall, attitudes were highly positive. Thus, disagreement with the statements, though higher, was generally rather small among students who speak some Basque and little or no Basque. Instead, less fluent students tended to favour the option 'neither agree nor disagree', especially in responses to positive statements. One explanation may be that students preferred to give a neutral response rather than a negative one, even if they did not particularly agree with the statements. It may also be argued that students who were less fluent in Basque were less interested in the issues prompted by the statements.

Several studies (e.g. Baker, 1992; Turunen, 2001) have pointed out that girls are generally seen as quicker in learning languages and also have more positive attitudes towards the learning of languages than boys. In this research study, attitudinal differences between girls and boys have been found, especially regarding Basque (see chapter Eight). Differences were apparent regarding general attitudes to bilingualism and to Basque, the learning of Basque and its use. While correlations between gender and attitudes were not particularly strong, the results show statistically significant differences in nearly half of the statements regarding attitudes to Basque. According

to the results, girls have consistently more positive attitudes than boys, as they support positive statements and disagree with negative statements more vigorously than boys.

It should also be noted that the responses of girls were consistently more positive than those of boys on a number of issues across the questionnaire (see chapter Eight), though those regarding attitudes to Basque particularly stand out. Gender differences in the mental, emotional and physical development during puberty, as well as in the socialization process, may partly explain this general pattern. Another explanation may be found in the immediate socio-economic context. As explained in chapter Eight, Rioja Alavesa is a relatively affluent region, mainly based on the wine industry, in which no special academic qualification has been traditionally required. As boys are more likely to work in wine-related businesses, girls generally may feel a stronger need to succeed academically, in order to access the wider job market. The more positive approach of girls to the questionnaire as a whole may be a consequence of their relatively higher interest in academic achievement.

In chapter Six, it was explained that subjective vitality perceptions may be as significant as objective accounts, as they may have more influence on language behaviour and intergroup relations. In this study, students' perceptions of ethnolinguistic vitality in the BAC and in Rioja Alavesa offer some interesting insights.

As regards the BAC, students attributed a similarly high prestige to both Spanish and Basque. The prestige of English is also considerable, probably as recognition of its international status, although notably lower than that of Spanish and Basque. Surprisingly, though, students considered the Basque-bilingual group to be slightly more numerous than the Spanish-speaking monolingual group. In this case, such subjective vitality perception clearly does not match the contextual reality surrounding each group (see chapter Six), the latter group being clearly dominant in the BAC. The prestige ascribed to each group may serve as an explanation. Indeed, students perceived the prestige of Basque-speaking bilinguals to be considerably higher than that of Spanish-speaking monolinguals. In the students' minds, ethnolinguistic strength may not refer to presence in numbers, but to the institutional control, status and power of each group.

Concerning Rioja Alavesa, students' vitality perceptions seem to correspond quite closely to the vitality of the language in the region. Thus, the Spanish-speaking monolingual group is perceived as being very strong, in contrast with the Basque-speaking bilingual group, which is regarded as relatively weaker. Likewise, the prestige of Spanish is very high, while the perceived status of Basque is much lower, similar to that of English.

Despite the precarious situation of Basque in Rioja Alavesa, students seem to have a positive perception of the status of Basque in the BAC. This is important, as it may act as a motivating factor positively influencing language behaviour in Rioja Alavesa and may help to visualize the possibility of language change in the region. In this respect, expectations of the students for the future appear encouraging. In the BAC, it is predicted that the Basque-speaking bilingual group will grow stronger in numbers in the future. More significantly, students predict a considerable increase in the number of Basque-speaking bilinguals in Rioja Alavesa. If these expectations are confirmed, the region will be largely bilingual in the future.

The language(s) spoken by an individual and her or his identity are often strongly linked, as described in chapter Six. In the Basque Country, the continuous reformulations of Basque identity throughout history have rendered the language a special pre-eminence. In the last century, the connection between the Basque language and identity has been a central element in the discourse of Basque nationalism. The process of political institutionalization in the last twenty years has extended the salience of such connection to large sectors of the Basque society (Tejerina, 1992, 1998).

In this sense, perceptions of students of their own ethnolinguistic and ethnocultural identities provide interesting implications. As regards ethnolinguistic identity, students' responses were in line with previous self-reports of language competence and use. As expected, a majority of students regarded Spanish as their dominant language, while Basque is the preferred language of just over 5% of the students. It is interesting to note, though, that 37% of students considered themselves as Basque-

speaking and Spanish-speaking alike. This relatively high percentage may express, to a degree, a desire to become or stay relatively balanced bilinguals.

Indeed, the results show that half of the students would like to be balanced bilinguals in the future. Moreover, more students prefer to be Basque bilinguals than Spanish bilinguals. In general, a desire for Basque to gain a more dominant position in students' individual bilingualism is apparent. On the other hand, only a small minority prefers being monolingual either in Spanish or Basque. These results show a positive disposition to individual and, presumably, societal bilingualism.

Concerning ethnocultural identity, the results in this study carried out in Rioja Alavesa show a stronger sense of Basque identity among students, compared to that of Spanish identity. Almost half of the students feel predominantly or exclusively Basque, while a small minority feel their Spanish identity as stronger. Over one fourth of the students consider themselves as only Basque, and a very small minority only Spanish. Significantly, a very similar percentage (28.9%) of students also consider that having both a Basque and Spanish identity is incompatible. This may indicate an exclusive view of identity or it may be, alternatively, the expression of an assertive identity.

The strength of Basque identity in these responses comes as a relative surprise, considering the general strength of Spanish identity in the region. Identity is a complex issue in Rioja Alavesa, as described in chapter Five. For the purposes of this study, it was of special relevance to analyze the potential connection between ethnolinguistic and ethnocultural identities, and the situation of language change in the region. In this sense, it was important to examine the relationship between language ability and identity. Results show that both dimensions are clearly related (see chapter Eight).

As a general pattern, the higher the fluency in Basque, the stronger is Basque identity vis-à-vis Spanish identity. Differences in ethnolinguistic identity, though rather large, fundamentally reflect the language competence of each group. As regards ethnocultural identity, Basque identity is strong among fluent Basque speakers and, to a lesser extent, those who speak the language quite well. Less fluent speakers show a

mixture of identities, half of them feeling Basque and Spanish alike. Among the more fluent speakers, a strong ingroup identification seems apparent. For example, 41% of fluent speakers feel only Basque, and 45.9% of them consider that it is not possible to be Basque and Spanish at the same time. One explanation may be that, in minority contexts, individuals who regard language an important marker of identity identify strongly with the ingroup. Likewise, considering their status as a group as potentially changeable, they may make insecure social comparisons with the outgroup (Giles and Johnson, 1987).

The results also show a connection between identity and bilingual teaching models (see chapter Seven). The direction of this relationship also follows a general pattern: the more intensive the bilingual teaching model, the stronger is Basque identity vis-à-vis Spanish identity. Again, differences in ethnolinguistic identity are hardly surprising. In this case, the relatively strong correlation between ethnocultural identity and the teaching models is more noteworthy. Model A students show a balance between Basque and Spanish identities, around half of them claiming to feel Basque and Spanish alike. Model B students clearly show a strong sense of Basque identity, and Basque identity is strongest among model D students.

These results may be subject to different interpretations. It has been explained before that historically the Basque language has been, and remains at present, an important symbol of identity. Le Page (1986) indicates that language acts are symbolically acts of identity. In this research, a connection between competence in Basque and the teaching models has been found. Moreover, in the case of the *ikastola* schools, the nurturance and promotion of the Basque language and culture has traditionally been a basic pillar in their educational aims. Therefore, it comes as little surprise that a stronger sense of Basque identity is found among students in the more intensive bilingual models and, especially, among model D students.

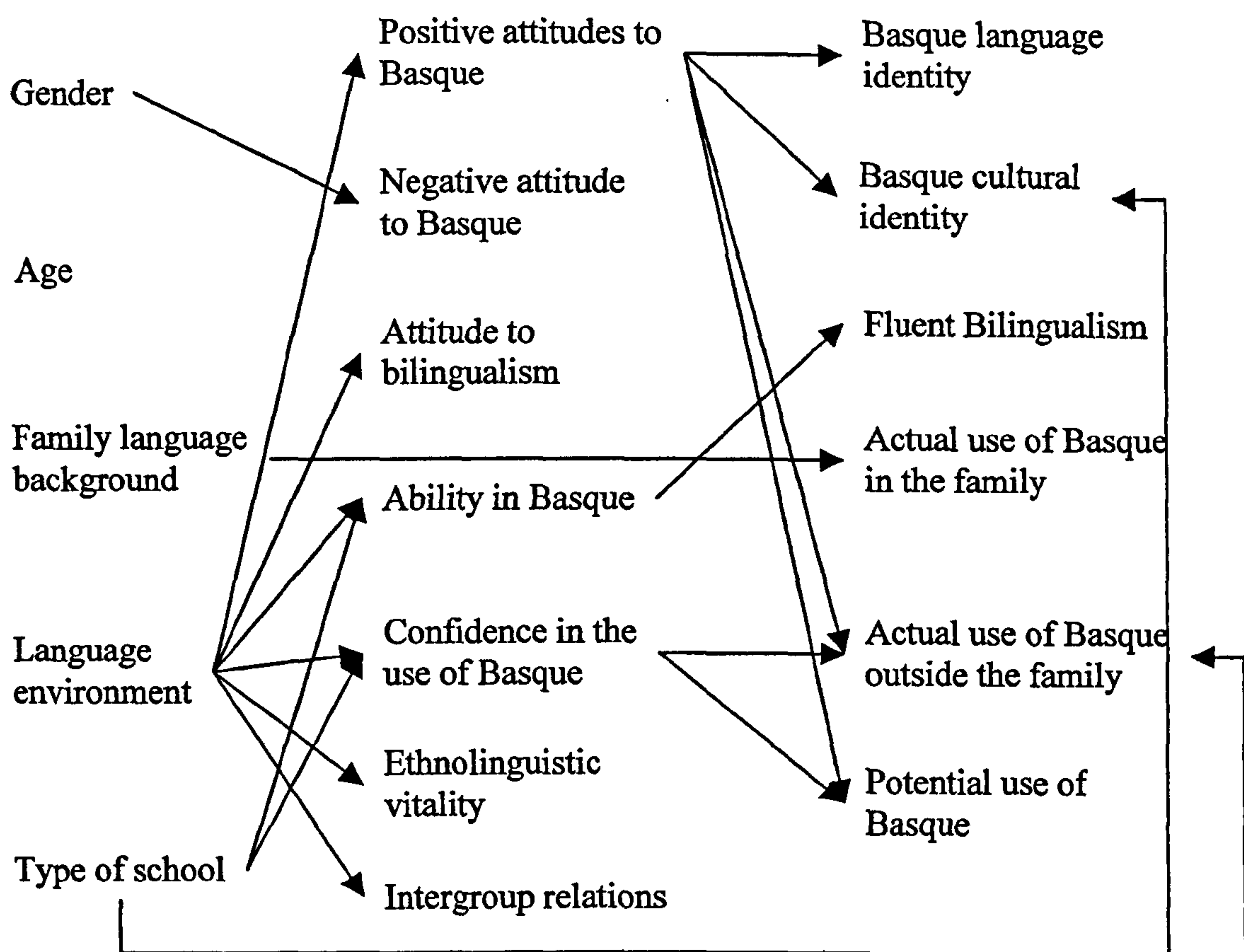
Some other explanations are, however, less charitable, especially regarding *ikastola* schools. In chapter Five, the conflict around the *ikastola* schools in Rioja Alavesa has been described. In some sectors, the promotion of Basque is seen as an excuse to ideologically manipulate students in favour of nationalist ideas. These results may be seen in such sectors as a vindication of their claims. However, this interpretation

could hardly explain the substantial differences between model A and model B students. In Rioja Alavesa, students in these models share the same school in Laguardia. Consequently, differences in identity between students in these two models could hardly be attributed to attempts at ideological manipulation or hidden political agendas within the school. Nevertheless, the influence of the identity conflict in the Basque Country as a whole and its political and ideological implications should not be excluded in explanations.

11.4.2.1. The model

In chapter Ten, an exploratory model was produced containing the most important variables considered in this study. This model detects and helps to visualize the major and minor connections between the variables. An initial model was constructed, showing direct and indirect effects. This model is a 'best guess' at paths of relationships and alternative path diagrams may be explored. Subsequently, a latent variable analysis was conducted on different parts of the questionnaire to detect underlying patterns among the variables and to reveal groups of closely related items. The initial model was extended to include all the factors extracted. Eventually, the model was analyzed using Structural Equation Modelling. Each independent variable was assessed and the overall fit of the model was tested. The final model presents a path diagram with the relationships of 0.20 and more, as shown next:

Figure 11.1. A model of Basque language in Rioja Alavesa



The model consists of three stages. The first one includes relatively fixed characteristics and contexts such as gender, age, family language background, language environment and type of school. The second set of variables is considered as (inter)mediatory outcomes: positive attitudes to Basque, negative attitudes to Basque, attitudes to bilingualism, ability in Basque, confidence in the use of Basque, ethnolinguistic vitality and intergroup relations. These variables act as both dependent and independent variables, as they are likely to be influenced by the first set of variables, and at the same time potentially influence a third set of variables. The third set of variables consists of Basque language identity, Basque cultural identity, fluent bilingualism, actual use of Basque in the family, actual use of Basque outside the family, and potential use of Basque. The last factors can directly or indirectly be affected by all the other factors in the model.

Of the first set of factors, language environment stands out as the most influential. The ability of the nearby community, and especially that of friends and classmates to speak Basque, affects most of the intermediary outcomes. The type of school is also rather influential. It affects two factors, ability in Basque and confidence in the use of Basque in the second stage, and actual use of Basque outside the family and Basque cultural identity in the third stage. The remaining factors have a minor effect. Gender has an impact on negative attitudes to Basque, while family language background has a direct influence on actual use of Basque in the family. It may seem surprising that age does not significantly affect any other variable. During the research study, some age differences were found, but a clear pattern was difficult to discern.

In the second set of factors, the most obvious feature is the large influence of positive attitudes. Indeed, this variable affects Basque language identity, Basque cultural identity, actual use of Basque outside the family, and potential use of Basque. As may be expected, confidence in the use of Basque influences actual use of Basque outside the family and potential use of Basque. Finally, ability in Basque has a direct impact on fluent bilingualism.

In general, this model confirms the findings analyzed in the previous section. Moreover, it underlines the salience of some particular factors, such as the language environment, positive attitudes to Basque and the type of school. However, the fit of model is not good (possibly due to a small size of sample and variables not in the model), and this model needs further research with larger samples.

11.5. Limitations of the Research

The main limitations of the research were described in chapter Four. In the ‘passage of the research’, it was explained that some early difficulties in conducting the research were overcome by adjusting the methodology initially designed for the specific circumstances of the research study. Likewise, it was indicated that the need to translate the original questionnaire in English into Basque and Spanish made it necessary to change the wording of some questions. Some other minor changes were also made in the meaning of certain words, for which exact parallels were not found. Certain problems encountered when dealing with the questionnaires and the

interviews were also mentioned. In this section, some other general limitations will be discussed.

A note of caution should be made about the applicability of this research study. Indeed, the temptation to generalize the results from any study should not go further than the samples used and the populations they represent. During this investigation, the singularity of Rioja Alavesa has been stressed. Some of the characteristics that determine the unique character of the region are, for example, its borderland status, the rural environment, and the influence of the viti-vinicultural industry in the lifestyle of the local population. From a sociolinguistic point of view, Rioja Alavesa can be defined as a largely monolingual area involved in an incipient process towards bilingualism. While other areas in the Basque Country may share these latter characteristics, the conclusions drawn from this research should be treated with caution when applied in other groups and regions.

The political atmosphere at the time in which this investigation was conducted may have had a general influence on the research results. While conflict is an ever-present feature in the Basque political landscape, the period of the research – from January 2001 to March 2001 – was especially agitated. The confrontation between nationalist and non-nationalist political parties became particularly virulent, mainly due to the proximity of elections to the Parliament of the Basque Autonomous Community, celebrated on May 13th 2001. Such elections were presented as crucial by both sides, and the subsequent political tension was evident at street level. In such a context, the sensitive nature of some issues analyzed in this study became more apparent, possibly influencing the results.

As explained in chapter Four, the influence of these circumstances was more clearly felt when conducting the interviews. The reluctance of some people to speak was a serious obstacle, especially at the beginning of the research. Most of those who declined being interviewed claimed ignorance or lack of interest in the subject. In this respect, though, it should be noted that difficulties were larger when attempting to contact people with negative views about Basque or who were critical about some aspects of Basque recovery. It seemed that, consciously or subconsciously, the researcher was identified with certain views or ideological positions. During the

research, the researcher was honest about his identity, as direct interaction with the local population was sought. Some personal characteristics, such as being Basque-speaking and from the province of Gipuzkoa (thus more likely to be perceived as nationalist), may have influenced the approach of some local people to the interviews.

As regards the questionnaires, the students were asked to complete them as honestly as possible. It was explained to them that there were no wrong or right answers. However, there were some dangers inherent to any questionnaire. For example, students may, consciously or subconsciously, put themselves in a good light. Respondents may also prefer to answer positively rather than negatively. This tendency seemed to have a certain impact on some sections of the questionnaire (e.g. the language profile of the students). On the other hand, the answers to some questions can be influenced by external considerations. For example, students' attitudinal or political positions may affect responses to language competence or language use. The influence of these limitations on the research results should not be underestimated, and suggests that replicatory research is needed.

11.6. Further Research

This research investigation has sought to explore the effects of language revitalization efforts in a particular region, Rioja Alavesa. Similar investigations could be conducted in other areas of the Basque Country. Indeed, this study has shown the influence of local characteristics on many of the issues examined. Research in different zones would provide a better understanding of the particularities of the areas and communities investigated. This could eventually help the development of language policies at a more grounded level, in closer connection with language users. One model for such policies could be, for example, the *mentrau iaith* – community language initiatives – implemented in Wales (see chapter One and chapter Two).

Further research could also be conducted in Rioja Alavesa. This study is relatively comprehensive by nature, as it aims to provide a holistic view of language contact in the region. The opposite could also be done, that is, research on particular aspects analyzed in this thesis. For example, in this research the assessment of linguistic abilities has been based on self-reports of language competence. Language

achievement tests could be conducted to evaluate the language competence of students, as well as tests assessing the communicative competence of students, especially regarding Basque. This would permit, for instance, a closer look at the effectiveness of teaching Basque in different bilingual teaching models.

This research investigation has shown the wide gap existing between competence in Basque and use of the language. Basque is not used as much as would be expected from the increase of speakers. This problem affects Rioja Alavesa and the Basque Country as a whole. In this thesis, the most important factors influencing language use, such as the sociolinguistic area and individuals' language competence, have been revealed. A research specifically focussed on this issue could be conducted, including other aspects such as attitudes and identity.

Another valuable research could be conducted around attitudes towards bilingualism and Basque. In this thesis, overall positive attitudes have been gathered, especially among the young. The influence of factors such as gender and ability to speak Basque on attitudes has also been confirmed. However, a research specifically concentrating on attitudes could illuminate other aspects related to this issue, like opinions about people who speak a certain language. Attitudes could also be analyzed in connection with identity strategies and politico-ideological positions.

11.7. Implications of the Results

The implications drawn from this research investigation are encouraging for bilingualism in Rioja Alavesa. The global image of language change in the region is one of progress towards a bilingual society. Language planning efforts in the area seem to be bearing fruit in some important aspects. In this respect, the increase in competence in Basque and the positive perception of bilingualism and the Basque language among the young deserve especial mention. Nevertheless, some other aspects, such as the normalisation of the use of Basque in the region, appear less encouraging. In this section, some implications of this research will be integrated in the overall bilingual situation in the BAC:

- The education system in the BAC, as well as Basque society as a whole, is undergoing significant transformations. Some important changes are underway which will have a direct impact on the schools. First, among education circles in the BAC it is a widely held view that the bilingual teaching models need to be reassessed in terms of their effectiveness in providing satisfactory levels of competence in Basque –especially as regards model A and, to a lesser extent, model B– and the increasing parental demand towards the more intensive models. Second, early trilingual education, with English as the third language, is being introduced in several schools in the BAC (see Valencia and Cenoz, 1992; Cenoz, 1998; Lasagabaster, 2000), the mid-term goal being that such programme is implemented in all school centres. Parental pressure in favour of the teaching in Basque is, again, an important factor in this case. Third, with the arrival of new foreign immigrants, the inclusion of three or four languages in the future education programmes can be a matter of time. In this changing situation, the challenge for the education system is to implement a genuine plurilingual and intercultural programme. For its part, the challenge for the Basque language is to reassert its place and successfully integrate in it.
- One of the major challenges language promoters face is to turn knowledge of Basque into use. In the BAC, the number of people who habitually speak Basque is less than half of those who are able to speak it, and this gap is widening every day, mostly due to the increase in the number of bilingual speakers for whom Basque is not their first language. Language choice in this group is partly determined by the fact that these bilinguals are more fluent in their mother tongue (Spanish) than in Basque, and partly by the fact that many people in their immediate circle of relations – friends, families etc. – do not speak Basque, as they live in networks in which the Basque language is in the minority or absent.

In the future, there will be more potential Basque-speaking parents, due to the new generations schooled in Basque. The possibility of creating Basque-speaking families and interpersonal networks in which Basque will be the dominant language is increasing. However, the fulfilling of such possibilities depend largely

on the language choice of the young people. That more parents choose Basque will be crucial to help secure the intergenerational transmission of the language.

- In many schools in the BAC, promoters of Basque can be dismayed by the continuing presence or even dominance of Spanish within the school environment. To counteract this, some measures are being adopted to increase the quality and use of the Basque language within individual school communities. For example, the government of the BAC created the *Ulibarri* programme, which covers over a third of the students in primary and secondary schools in the BAC (see Aldekoa and Gardner, 2002). Typical objectives of this programme include, for instance, establishing rules on which language is to be used by the staff, ensuring the presence of Basque on entering and leaving school, or organising activities (e.g. Basque weeks, extra-curricular sport or cultural activities). Such activities can be helpful to maintain or even increase the levels of competence acquired through education and encourage use, especially in the most Spanish-speaking sociolinguistic areas. They give an opportunity for linguistic and socially interaction in Basque outside the school walls, in a positive and natural atmosphere.
- One of the great dangers for language revitalization may be that those new speakers who have learned Basque in school see no instrumental or affective reasons to retain their competence nor use it. For this reason, it is especially important to design strategies aimed at ensuring that bilingual speakers for whom Basque is not their first language can consolidate and improve their language competence. This would, in turn, encourage them to use Basque more often in their daily lives. In this sense, it is crucial that new Basque speakers consider Basque to be as useful and rewarding as Spanish in specific and significant domains of their adult life, such as their working environment, leisure time, sports and the media. It is important that Basque extends its scope beyond the school environment and the normalization of its use is secured in as many areas as possible. Likewise, it is important that Basque is valued in symbolic and affective areas such as interpersonal, social and cultural relationships, and, in general, all those areas which serve people to identify themselves as Basque citizens.

In this respect, the 'language as a resource' approach proposed by Ruíz (1984; see chapter One) can help develop a positive perception of the status of Basque. Ruíz (1984) suggests that language should be seen as a bridge to build economic relationships, as well as social and cultural relationships between different groups and cultures. This approach is especially appropriate for the Basque Country, as its non-confrontational nature can help to avoid tensions and promote a better understanding between majority and minority groups.

- The media, and especially TV, can play a key role in enhancing the status of Basque. ETB1, the public channel in Basque, reaches 98% of the households in the BAC, of which 70% watch this channel every day. (http://www.euskadi.net/euskara_ebpn/bizibing.pdf). For many speakers, especially those in the more Spanish-speaking sociolinguistic areas, and even for those who do not speak Basque but who understand it a little, ETB1 provides an important link with the language. Through television, Basque can be heard every day, in any context and in a standardized form. Thus, the role of television to encourage the use of Basque is important in terms of prestige and usage. Moreover, it can be an invaluable tool to offer a positive image of the language.
- One fundamental pillar of any language planning policy is to promote positive attitudes towards the language. If language planning efforts are widely rejected within any given community or population, such efforts are unlikely to succeed. In this sense, it is important that attitudes and perceptions of the target population be known, in order ensure a sympathetic implementation of language policies.
- The Basque language illustrates the advantages and disadvantages of a language becoming a political issue (Gardner, Puigdevall i Serralvo and Williams, 2000). Many of the efforts for language revitalization on the BAC have come from political nationalism. For example, the influence of Basque nationalism has been fundamental in improving the legal status of Basque. However, the connection between nationalism and Basque loyalism has provoked a nearly mechanical rejection of any pro-Basque-language initiatives and policies by the non-

nationalist parties. For many Basque nationalists, the Basque language is at the essence of Basque identity, and for this reason its restoration becomes crucial. Nevertheless, some non-nationalists believe that the language is being manipulated to create a Basque identity that excludes Spanish monolinguals. As a consequence, mutual suspicion has grown about the real intentions of the discourses developed around the Basque language.

Some tendencies in both groups can be a source of conflict, rather than of mutual understanding. For example, some Basque language loyalists seem unaware of the need to attract the acceptance and support from the monolingual majority (Gardner, Puigdevall i Serralvo and Williams, 2000). On the other side, some increasingly negative reactions against the Basque language seem to follow simplistic political instructions, often fuelled by the Spanish media, which seem to have little real substance. This is most apparent, for example, in the fierce criticism against the education system in the BAC (see Jakin, 2001). No easy solution can be given to ease tensions around the language issue. A good starting point could be to adopt the aforementioned 'language as a resource' approach and spread a positive image of languages as bridges to build social, cultural and economic relationships between the different groups coexisting in society.

A Final Thought

“Gure oinarrizko arazoa da, gehiegi kostatzen ari zaigula onartzea gizarte plurala garela, iritzi askotarikoa: betidanik ekin diogula letra eta musika desberdineko kantak kantatzeari” (Ramon Saizarbitoria, 1999).

[Our fundamental problem is that it is taking too long for us to accept that we are a plural society, one with many opinions: that we have always sung songs with differential lyrics and melodies]

Appendix 1
Questionnaire (English)

Language Questionnaire

This survey is an attempt to gather information about issues related to language. Your name is not required – it is **anonymous** and therefore **confidential**. There are no right or wrong answers – we are simply interested in the information and opinions you provide.

Please complete all the questions by ticking the boxes.

Thank you very much for your help and co-operation.

Personal details

Gender: ☐ Male ☐ Female

Year of birth: _____

Place of birth (village or town, province): _____

Place of residence (village or town, province): _____

Which is the language you learnt first?

- ☐ Basque
- ☐ Spanish
- ☐ Both
- ☐ Others (please state) _____

YOUR FATHER

Place of birth of your father (village or town, province): _____

In case he has not been born in the BAC, how long has he been living in the BAC? _____
years

Describe your father's occupation: _____

Which of the following languages can your father speak?

	Fluent	Quite well	Some	A little	None
Spanish	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Basque	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
English	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other language(s) (please state)					
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Which is the language your father learnt first?

- ☐ Basque
- ☐ Spanish
- ☐ Both
- ☐ Others (please state) _____

YOUR MOTHER

Place of birth of your mother (village or town, province): _____

In case she has not been born in the BAC, how long has he been living in the BAC? _____
years

Describe your mother’s occupation: _____

Which of the following languages can your mother speak?

	Fluent	Quite well	Some	A little	None
Spanish	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Basque	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
English	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other language(s) (please state)					
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Which is the language she learnt first?

- ☐ Basque
- ☐ Spanish
- ☐ Both
- ☐ Others (please state) _____

ABOUT YOU

1) Evaluate your linguistic abilities in the following languages:

	Fluent	Quite well	Some	A little	None
I am able to speak Basque	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I am able to understand Basque	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I am able to read in Basque	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I am able to write in Basque	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I am able to speak Spanish	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I am able to understand Spanish	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I am able to read in Spanish	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I am able to write in Spanish	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I am able to speak English	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I am able to understand English	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I am able to read in English	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I am able to write in English	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

	Fluent	Quite well	Some	A little	None
I am able to speak French	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I am able to understand French	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I am able to read in French	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I am able to write in French	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Other language (please state) _____

I am able to speak...	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I am able to understand...	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I am able to read in...	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I am able to write in...	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

2) Which family members are able to speak Basque?

	Fluently	Quite well	Some	A little	None
Mother	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Father	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Siblings (if any)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Grandparents (if any)					
Your father's mother	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Your father's father	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Your mother's father	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Your mother's mother	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

3) How many of your friends, neighbours and fellow students, and how many of the people who serve you in the local shops and pubs are able to speak Basque?

	Friends	Neighbours	Students	Local shops and pubs
All or almost all of them				
The majority of them				
Around half of them				
A few of them				
None or almost none of them				

4) How much time do you spend watching Basque/Spanish TV programs?

	All the time	Most of the time	Some of the time	None of the time
Programs in Spanish	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Programs in Basque	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

5) At school, how often do you speak Basque in the following situations?

	Always	Often	Sometimes	Never
With teachers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
With friends (classroom)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
With friends (playground)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

■ If you CAN'T SPEAK Basque or you NEVER speak Basque, please go to question 10. Otherwise, and even if you can speak little Basque or you rarely speak Basque, answer all questions, please.

6) At home, how often do you speak Basque in the following situations?

	Always	Often	Sometimes	Never
With your mother	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
With your father	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
With your siblings	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
With your grandparents	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
At mealtimes	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

7) Outside home and school, how often do you speak Basque in the following situations?

	Always	Often	Sometimes	Never
With friends outside school	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
With neighbours	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
In the pub or cafeteria	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
In leisure/sports/cultural activities	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
In the local shop	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
In the market	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
With the priest (in church)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
With the local doctor/ At the local hospital	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

8) If you had the opportunity, how often would you use Basque in the following situations?

	Always	Often	Sometimes	Never
With friends outside school	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
With neighbours	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
In the pub or cafeteria	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
In leisure/sports/cultural activities	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
In the local shop	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
In the market	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
With the priest (in church)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
With the local doctor/ At the local hospital	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

9) How confident are you in your ability to use Basque in the following situations?

	Very	Fairly	Not very	Not at all	Don't know
With friends outside school	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
With neighbours	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
In the pub or cafeteria	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
In leisure/sports/cultural activities	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
In the local shop	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
In the market	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
With the priest (in church)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
With the local doctor/ At the local hospital	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

10) How much do you agree with the following statements? (Strongly Agree = SA, Agree = A, Neither Agree nor Disagree = NAND, Disagree = D, Strongly Disagree = SD).

A) Attitudes towards bilingualism

	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
1. It is important to be able to speak Spanish and Basque.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. To speak one language in the BAC is all that is needed.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Children get confused when learning Basque and Spanish at the same time.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Speaking both Spanish and Basque helps to get a job.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
6. Being able to write in Spanish and Basque is important.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. All schools in the BAC should teach pupils to speak in Basque and Spanish.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. Road signs should be in Spanish and Basque.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. Speaking two languages is not difficult.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. Children in the BAC should learn to read in Basque and Spanish.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. There should be more people who speak both Spanish and Basque in the government services.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
11. People know more if they speak in Spanish and Basque.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
12. Speaking both Spanish and Basque is more for younger than older people.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
13. The public advertising should be bilingual.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
14. Speaking both Basque and Spanish should help people get promotion in their job.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
15. Young children learn to speak Spanish and Basque at the same time with ease.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
16. Both Basque and Spanish should be important in the BAC.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
17. People can earn more money if they speak both Spanish and Basque.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
18. In the future, I would like to be considered as speaker of Basque and Spanish.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
19. All people in the BAC should speak Spanish and Basque.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
20. If I have children, I would want them to speak both Basque and Spanish.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
21. Both the Spanish and the Basque languages can live together in the BAC.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
22. People only need to know one language.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
23. All the civil servants in the BAC should be bilingual.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

B) Attitudes towards the Basque language

	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
1. Basque is a difficult language to learn.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. It is more important to know English than Basque.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Basque is a language worth learning.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. There are far more useful languages to learn than Basque.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
5. I don't want to learn Basque as I am not likely to ever use it.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. I would like to be able to speak Basque if it were easier to learn.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. I like to hear Basque spoken.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. It is particularly necessary for the children to learn Basque in the schools to ensure its maintenance.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. Basque is an obsolete language.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. I should like to be able to read Basque books.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
11. Learning Basque is boring but necessary.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
12. I would like to learn as much Basque as possible.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
13. The learning of Basque should be left to individual choice.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
14. I like speaking Basque.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
15. Basque is a language for farmers.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
16. I would like to learn Basque because my friends are doing that.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
17. Learning Basque is a waste of time.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
18. Basque should be used more in the government services.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
19. I dislike learning Basque.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
20. I am learning Basque because my parents want me to.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
21. I enjoy learning Basque.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
22. Basque is a language to be spoken only within the family and with friends.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
23. The Basque language is something everybody should be proud of.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
24. I like listening to TV/radio programs in Basque.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

11) In your opinion, how highly regarded are the following languages in the BAC?

	Not at all	Not very	Fairly	Quite a lot	Very much
Basque	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Spanish	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
English	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
French	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

12) How highly regarded are the following groups in the BAC?

	Not at all	Not very	Fairly	Quite a lot	Very much
Spanish speaking monolinguals	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Basque speaking bilinguals	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

13) How well represented are the following languages in the education system in the BAC?

	Not at all	Very little	Fairly	Quite a lot	Very much
Basque	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Spanish	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
English	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
French	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Others (please state)					
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

14) How strong do you feel the following groups are in the BAC?

	Not at all	Not very	Fairly	Quite a lot	Very much
Spanish speaking monolinguals	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Basque speaking bilinguals	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

15) How strong do you feel the following groups were 20 years ago in the BAC?

	Not at all	Not very	Fairly	Quite a lot	Very much
Spanish speaking monolinguals	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Basque speaking bilinguals	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

16) How strong do you feel the following groups will be 20 years from now in the BAC?

	Not at all	Not very	Fairly	Quite a lot	Very much
Spanish speaking monolinguals	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Basque speaking bilinguals	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

17) In your opinion, how highly regarded are the following languages in RIOJA ALAVESA?

	Not at all	Not very	Fairly	Quite a lot	Very much
Basque	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Spanish	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
English	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
French	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

18) How highly regarded are the following groups in RIOJA ALAVESA?

	Not at all	Not very	Fairly	Quite a lot	Very much
Spanish speaking monolinguals	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Basque speaking bilinguals	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

19) How strong do you feel the following groups are in RIOJA ALAVESA?

	Not at all	Not very	Fairly	Quite a lot	Very much
Spanish speaking monolinguals	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Basque speaking bilinguals	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

20) How strong do you feel the following groups were 20 years ago in RIOJA ALAVESA?

	Not at all	Not very	Fairly	Quite a lot	Very much
Spanish speaking monolinguals	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Basque speaking bilinguals	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

21) How strong do you feel the following groups will be 20 years from now in RIOJA ALAVESA?

	Not at all	Not very	Fairly	Quite a lot	Very much
Spanish speaking monolinguals	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Basque speaking bilinguals	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

22) If you were to marry, to what extent would you like to have one of the members of the following groups as wife/husband?

	Not at all	Not much	No difference	Quite	Very much
Spanish speaking monolinguals	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Basque speaking bilinguals	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

23) Considering the LANGUAGE(S) you use to speak, think, read etc., how do you regard yourself?

- ☐ Only Basque-speaking
- ☐ More Basque-speaking than Spanish-speaking
- ☐ Basque-speaking and Spanish-speaking alike
- ☐ More Spanish-speaking than Basque-speaking
- ☐ Only Spanish-speaking

24) In the future, how would you like to become?

- ☐ Only Spanish
- ☐ More Spanish than Basque
- ☐ Spanish and Basque alike
- ☐ More Basque than Spanish
- ☐ Only Basque

25) According to your CULTURE (way of thinking, behaviour, values and beliefs), how do you regard yourself?

- ☐ Only Basque
- ☐ More Basque than Spanish
- ☐ Basque and Spanish alike
- ☐ More Spanish than Basque
- ☐ Only Spanish

26) In your opinion, which are the conditions for a person to be able to feel Basque? (Strongly Agree = SA, Agree = A, Neither Agree nor Disagree = NAND, Disagree = D, Strongly Disagree = SD).

	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
To live in the Basque Country	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
To have been born in the Basque Country	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
To speak the Basque language	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
To be of Basque descent	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
To be a Basque nationalist	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
To engage in the Basque culture	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

27) In your opinion, which are the conditions for a person to be able to feel Spanish? (Strongly Agree = SA, Agree = A, Neither Agree nor Disagree = NAND, Disagree = D, Strongly Disagree = SD).

	SA	A	NAND	D	SD
To live in Spain	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
To have been born in Spain	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
To speak Spanish	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
To be of Spanish descent	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
To be a Spanish nationalist	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
To engage in the Spanish culture	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

28) In your opinion, is it possible to be Basque and Spanish at the same time?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

29) To what extent would you like to have one of the members of the following groups as best friends?

	Not at all	Not much	No difference	Quite	Very much
Spanish speaking monolinguals	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Basque speaking bilinguals	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

30) To what extent would you like to have one of the members of the following groups as classmates?

	Not at all	Not much	No difference	Quite	Very much
Spanish speaking monolinguals	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Basque speaking bilinguals	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

31) To what extent would you like to have one of the members of the following groups as neighbours?

	Not at all	Not much	No difference	Quite	Very much
Spanish speaking monolinguals	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Basque speaking bilinguals	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Hizkuntzari buruzko galdera-sorta

Galdera-sorta honen xedea hizkuntzari lotutako zenbait gairen gaineko informazioa biltzea da. Zure izena ez da beharrezkoa – galdera-sorta **anonimoa** eta **konfidentziala** da. Erantzun zuzen edo okerrik ez dago – eskaintzen diguzun informazioa baino ez zaigu interesatzen.

Galdera guztiak osa itzazu, mesedez, dagokion laukietan marka (✓) eginez.

Eskerrik asko zure laguntzagatik.

Datu pertsonalak

Sexua: ☐ Gizonezkoa ☐ Emakumezkoa

Jaiotze urtea: _____

Sorlekua (herria edo hiria, herrialdea): _____

Bizilekua (herria edo hiria, herrialdea): _____

Zein izan zen ikasi zenuen lehenengo hizkuntza?

- ☐ Euskara
- ☐ Gaztelera
- ☐ Biak batera
- ☐ Beste batzuk (adierazi, mesedez) _____

ZURE AITA

Zure aitaren sorlekua (herria edo hiria, herrialdea): _____

Euskal Autonomi Erkidegoan (aurrerantzean EAE) jaioa ez bada, zenbat denbora darama zure aitak EAE-n bizitzen? _____ urte

Bere egiteko nagusia adieraz ezazu (lanbidea/ langabezian/ erretiratua...): _____

Zure aitak menderatzen dituen hizkuntzak aipa itzazu:

	Oso ongi	Nahikoa ongi	Nola-hala	Apur bat	Batere ez
Gaztelera	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Euskara	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ingelesa	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Beste batzuk (adierazi, mesedez)					
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Zein izan zen zure aitak ikasi zuen lehenengo hizkuntza?

- ☐ Euskara
- ☐ Gaztelera
- ☐ Biak batera
- ☐ Beste batzuk (adierazi, mesedez) _____

ZURE AMA

Zure amaren sorlekua (herria edo hiria, herrialdea): _____

Euskal Autonomi Elkarteetan jaioa ez bada, zenbat denbora darama zure amak EAE-n bizitzen?
_____ urte

Bere egiteko nagusia adieraz ezazu (lanbidea/ langabezian/ erretiratua...): _____

Zure amak menderatzen dituen hizkuntzak aipa itzazu:

	Oso ongi	Nahikoa ongi	Nola-hala	Apur bat	Batere ez
Gaztelera	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Euskara	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ingelesa	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Beste batzuk (adierazi, mesedez)					
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Zein izan zen zure amak ikasi zuen lehenengo hizkuntza?

- ☐ Euskara
- ☐ Gaztelera
- ☐ Biak batera
- ☐ Beste batzuk (adierazi, mesedez) _____

ZURE BURUA

1) Hizkuntza hauetan duzun gaitasuna ebaluatu ezazu:

	Oso ongi	Nahikoa ongi	Zerbait	Apur bat	Batere ez
Euskaraz hitz egiteko gai naiz	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Euskara ulertzeko gai naiz	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Euskaraz irakurtzeko gai naiz	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Euskaraz idazteko gai naiz	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Gaztelera hitz egiteko gai naiz	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Gaztelera ulertzeko gai naiz	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Gaztelera irakurtzeko gai naiz	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Gaztelera idazteko gai naiz	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ingelesez hitz egiteko gai naiz	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ingelesa ulertzeko gai naiz	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ingelesez irakurtzeko gai naiz	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ingelesez idazteko gai naiz	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Frantsesez hitz egiteko gai naiz	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Frantsesa ulertzeko gai naiz	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Frantsesez irakurtzeko gai naiz	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Frantsesez idazteko gai naiz	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Beste hizkuntza batzuk (adierazi, mesedez)

..... hitz egiteko gai naiz	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
..... ulertzeko gai naiz	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
..... irakurtzeko gai naiz	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
..... idazteko gai naiz	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

2) Zure familiako kideen artean, nortzuk dira euskaraz hitz egiteko gai?

	Oso ongi	Nahikoa ongi	Zerbait	Apur bat	Batere ez
Ama	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Aita	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Anai-arrebak (izanez gero)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Aiton-amonak (izanez gero)					
Aitaren ama	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Aitaren aita	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Amaren aita	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Amaren ama	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

3) Zure adiskide, auzoko eta ikaskideen artean nahiz herriko denda eta tabernetan zerbitzatzen zaituztenen artean, zenbat dira euskaraz hitz egiteko gai?

	Adiskideak	Auzokoak	Ikaskideak	Herriko dendak eta tabernak
Denak edo ia denak				
Gehienak				
Erdiak gutxi gora-behera				
Gutxi batzuk				
Inor ez edo ia inor ez				

4) Zenbatetan ikusten dituzu euskarazko / gaztelerazko telebista programak?

	Beti	Askotan	Batzuetan	Inoiz ez
Gaztelerazko programak	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Euskarazko programak	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

5) Eskolan, zenbatetan hitz egiten duzu euskaraz honako egoera hauetan?

	Beti	Askotan	Batzuetan	Inoiz ez
Irakasleekin	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Adiskideekin (klasean)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Adiskideekin (jolas-orduetan)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

6) Etxean, zenbatetan hitz egiten duzu euskaraz honako egoera hauetan?

	Beti	Askotan	Batzuetan	Inoiz ez
Amarekin	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Aitarekin	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Anai-arrebekin	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Aiton-amonekin	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Otorduetan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

7) Etxetik eta eskolatik kanpo, zenbatetan hitz egiten duzu euskaraz honako egoera hauetan?

	Beti	Askotan	Batzuetan	Inoiz ez
Adiskideekin	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Auzokoekin	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Taberna edo kafetegian	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirol/kultur/aisialdiko jardueretan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Herriko dendetan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Azokan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Apaizarekin (elizan)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Herriko edo eskualdeko medikuarekin/ herriko edo eskualdeko ospitalean	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

8) Posible izanez gero, zenbatetan hitz egingo zenuke euskaraz honako egoera hauetan?

	Beti	Askotan	Batzuetan	Inoiz ez
Adiskideekin	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Auzokoekin	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Taberna edo kafetegian	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirol/kultur/aisialdiko jardueretan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Herriko dendetan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Azokan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Apaizarekin (elizan)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Herriko edo eskualdeko medikuarekin/ herriko edo eskualdeko ospitalean	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

9) Euskara erabiltzeko zenbaterainoko konfiantza duzu honako egoera hauetan?

	Handia	Dezentea	Nola-halakoa	Txikia	Ez dakit
Adiskideekin	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Auzokoekin	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Taberna edo kafetegian	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kirol/kultur/aisialdiko jardueretan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Herriko dendetan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Azokan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Apaizarekin (elizan)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Herriko edo eskualdeko medikuarekin/ herriko edo eskualdeko ospitalean	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

10) Zenbateraino zaude ados honako adierazpen hauekin? (Erabat Ados = EA, Ados = A, Ez Ados Ez Kontra = EAEK, Kontra = K, Erabat kontra = EK).

A) Elebitasunari buruzko jarrerak

	EA	A	EAEK	K	EK
1. Garrantzitsua da gaztelera eta euskaraz (bietara) hitz egiteko gai izatea.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. EAE-n nahikoa da hizkuntza bakar bat hitz egitea.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Haurrak nahastu egiten dira euskara eta gaztelera batera ikastean.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Gaztelera eta euskara jakitea lana lortzeko lagungarria da.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Garrantzitsua da gaztelera eta euskaraz (bietara) idazteko gai izatea.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. EAE-ko ikastetxe guztiek ikasleei euskaraz eta gaztelera (bietara) hitz egiten irakatsi beharko liekete.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. Trafiko-seinaleek gaztelera eta euskaraz (bietara) egon beharko lukete.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. Bi hizkuntza hitz egitea ez da zaila.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. EAE-n, hurrek euskaraz eta gaztelera irakurtzen ikasi beharko lukete.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. Administrazio publikoan gaztelera eta euskaraz hitz egiten duen jende gehiago egon beharko luke.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
11. Jendea jakitsuagoa da gaztelera eta euskaraz hitz egiten badu.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
12. Gaztelera eta euskaraz hitz egitea gazte jendearen kontua da, helduagoena baino.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
13. Iragarpen publikoak gaztelera eta euskaraz (bietara) egon beharko lukete.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
14. Euskara eta gaztelera jakiteak jendeari lanean mailaz igotzen lagundu beharko lioke.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
15. Haur txikiek aldi berean gaztelera eta euskara erraz ikasten dute.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

16. EAE-n, bai euskarak bai gaztelerak garrantzitsuak zan beharko lukete.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
17. Jendeak diru gehiago irabaz dezake gaztelera eta euskara hitz eginez gero.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
18. Etorkizunean, euskararen eta gazteleraren hiztun gisa ikusia izatea nahiko nuke.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
19. EAE-ko pertsona guztiek gazteleraz eta euskaraz hitz egin beharko lukete.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
20. Seme-alabarik izanez gero, bai euskara bai gaztelera hitz egin dezaten nahiko nuke.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
21. Gaztelera eta euskara EAE-n elkarrekin bizi daitezke.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
22. Jendeak hizkuntza bat besterik ez du jakin beharrik.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
23. EAE-ko funtzionario guztiek elebidunak izan beharko lukete.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

B) Euskarari buruzko jarrerak

	EA	A	EAEK	K	EK
1. Euskara ikastea zaila da.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Garrantzitsuagoa da ingelesa jakitea euskara jakitea baino.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Euskara ikastea merezi du.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Euskara baino askoz erabilgarriagoak diren hizkuntza asko daude ikasteko.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Ez dut euskara ikasi nahi, seguruenik sekula ez baitut erabiliko.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. Euskaraz hitz egiteko gai izatea gustatuko litzaidake, ikasteko errazagoa balitz.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. Euskaraz hitz egiten entzutea gustukoa dut.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. Beharrezkoa da haurrek eskolan euskara ikas dezaten, hizkuntzaren biziraupena segurtatzeko	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. Euskara hizkuntza zaharkitua da.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. Euskaraz idatzitako liburuak irakurtzeko gai izatea gustatuko litzaidake.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
11. Euskara ikastea aspergarria da, baina beharrezkoa.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
12. Ahalik eta euskara gehien ikastea gustatuko litzaidake.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
13. Euskara ikastea pertsona bakoitzaren esku utzi beharreko aukera indibiduala izan beharko litzateke.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
14. Euskaraz hitz egitea gogoko dut.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
15. Euskara baserritarrentzako hizkuntza bat da.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
16. Euskara ikastea gustatuko litzaidake nire lagunak ere ikasten ari direlako.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
17. Euskara ikastea denbora alferrik galtzea da.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
18. Zerbitzu publikoetan euskara gehiago erabili beharko litzateke.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

19. Euskara ikastea ez zait gustatzen.

☐☐☐☐☐

20. Euskaraz ikasten ari banaiz, nire gurasoek hala nahi dutelako da.

☐☐☐☐☐

21. Euskara ikastea gustukoa dut.

☐☐☐☐☐

22. Euskaraz familiarekin eta adiskideekin bakarrik hitz egin beharko litzateke.

☐☐☐☐☐

23. Mundu guztiak euskaraz harro egon beharko luke.

☐☐☐☐☐

24. Euskarazko telebista/irradi programak ikusi/entzutea gustatzen zait.

☐☐☐☐☐

11) Baloratu ezazu hizkuntza hauek EAE-n duten prestigioa:

	Batere ez	Txikia	Nola-halakoa	Dezentea	Oso handia
Euskara	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Gaztelera	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ingelesa	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Frantsesa	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

12) Baloratu ezazu talde hauek EAE-n duten prestigioa:

	Batere ez	Txikia	Nola-halakoa	Dezentea	Oso handia
Gaztelaniadun elebakarrak	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Euskal hiztun elebidunak	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

13) Zenbaterainoko presentzia dute hizkuntza hauek EAE-ko hezkuntza sisteman?

	Batere ez	Txikia	Nola-halakoa	Dezentea	Oso handia
Euskara	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Gaztelera	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ingelesa	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Frantsesa	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Beste batzuk (adierazi, mesedez)					
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

14) Zure ustez, zenbaterainoko indarra dute talde hauek EAE-n gaur?

	Batere ez	Txikia	Nola-halakoa	Dezentea	Oso handia
Gaztelaniadun elebakarrak	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Euskal hiztun elebidunak	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

15) Zure ustez, duela 20 urte zenbaterainoko indarra zuten talde hauek EAE-n?

	Batere ez	Txikia	Nola-halakoa	Dezentea	Oso handia
Gaztelaniadun elebakarrak	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Euskal hiztun elebidunak	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

16) Zure ustez, 20 urte barru zenbaterainoko indarra izango dute talde hauek EAE-n?

	Batere ez	Txikia	Nola-halakoa	Dezentea	Oso handia
Gaztelaniadun elebakarrak	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Euskal hiztun elebidunak	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

17) Baloratu ezazu hizkuntza hauek ARABAKO ERRIOXAN duten prestigioa:

	Batere ez	Txikia	Nola-halakoa	Dezentea	Oso handia
Euskara	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Gaztelera	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ingelesa	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Frantsesa	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

18) Baloratu ezazu talde hauek ARABAKO ERRIOXAN duten prestigioa:

	Batere ez	Txikia	Nola-halakoa	Dezentea	Oso handia
Gaztelaniadun elebakarrak	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Euskal hiztun elebidunak	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

19) Zure ustez, zenbaterainoko indarra dute talde hauek ARABAKO ERRIOXAN gaur?

	Batere ez	Txikia	Nola-halakoa	Dezentea	Oso handia
Gaztelaniadun elebakarrak	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Euskal hiztun elebidunak	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

20) Zure ustez, duela 20 urte zenbaterainoko indarra zuten talde hauek ARABAKO ERRIOXAN?

	Batere ez	Txikia	Nola-halakoa	Dezentea	Oso handia
Gaztelaniadun elebakarrak	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Euskal hiztun elebidunak	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

21) Zure ustez, 20 urte barru zenbaterainoko indarra izango dute talde hauek ARABAKO ERRIOXAN?

	Batere ez	Txikia	Nola-halakoa	Dezentea	Oso handia
Gaztelaniadun elebakarrak	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Euskal hiztun elebidunak	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

22) Ezkonduko bazina, zenbateraino gustatuko litzaizuke talde hauetako kide bat senar/emaztetzat izatea?

	Batere ez	Ez asko	Berdin dio	Dezente	Askok
Gaztelaniadun elebakarrak	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Euskal hiztun elebidunak	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

23) Hitz egiteko, pentsatzeko, irakurtzeko... erabiltzen duzun/dituzun HIZKUNTZA(K) kontuan izanik, zer zarela sentitzen duzu?

- ☐ Euskal hiztuna bakarrik
- ☐ Euskal hiztuna, gaztelaniaduna baino gehiago
- ☐ Bai euskal hiztuna bai gaztelaniaduna
- ☐ Gaztelaniaduna, euskal hiztuna baino gehiago
- ☐ Gaztelaniaduna bakarrik

24) Etorkizunean, zer izan nahiko zenuke?

- ☐ Euskal hiztuna bakarrik
- ☐ Euskal hiztuna, gaztelaniaduna baino gehiago
- ☐ Bai euskal hiztuna bai gaztelaniaduna
- ☐ Gaztelaniaduna, euskal hiztuna baino gehiago
- ☐ Gaztelaniaduna bakarrik

25) Zure KULTURA (pentsaera, jokabidea, balioak eta iritzia) kontuan izanik, zer zarela sentitzen duzu?

- ☐ Espainiarra bakarrik
- ☐ Espainiarra, euskalduna baino gehiago
- ☐ Bai euskalduna bai espainiarra
- ☐ Euskalduna, espainiarra baino gehiago
- ☐ Euskalduna bakarrik

26) Zure iritziz, zeintzuk dira pertsona bat euskalduna sentitu ahal izateko baldintzak? (Erabat Ados = EA, Ados = A, Ez Ados Ez Kontra = EAEK, Kontra = K, Erabat kontra = EK).

	EA	A	EAEK	K	EK
Euskal Herrian bizitzea	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Euskal Herrian jaioa izatea	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Euskara jakin eta hitz egitea	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Euskal jatorrikoa izatea	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Euskal nazionalista izatea	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Euskal kultura ezagutu eta defendatzea	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

27) Zure iritziz, zeintzuk dira pertsona bat espainiarra sentitu ahal izateko baldintzak? (Erabat Ados = EA, Ados = A, Ez Ados Ez Kontra = EAEK, Kontra = K, Erabat kontra = EK).

	EA	A	EAEK	K	EK
Espainian bizitzea	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Espainian jaioa izatea	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Gaztelera jakin eta hitz egitea	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Espainiar jatorrikoa izatea	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Espainiar nazionalista izatea	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Espainiar kultura ezagutu eta defendatzea	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

28) Zure iritziz, posible al da aldi berean euskalduna eta espainiarra izatea?

☐ Bai ☐ Ez

29) Zenbateraino gustatuko litzaizuke talde hauetako kide bat lagunik onena izatea?

	Batere ez	Ez asko	Berdin dio	Dezente	Askok
Gaztelaniadun elebakarrak	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Euskal hiztun elebidunak	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

30) Zenbateraino gustatuko litzaizuke talde hauetako kide bat ikaskide izatea?

	Batere ez	Ez asko	Berdin dio	Dezente	Askok
Gaztelaniadun elebakarrak	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Euskal hiztun elebidunak	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

31) Zenbateraino gustatuko litzaizuke talde hauetako kide bat auzotar izatea?

	Batere ez	Ez asko	Berdin dio	Dezente	Askok
Gaztelaniadun elebakarrak	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Euskal hiztun elebidunak	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Cuestionario lingüístico

El objeto de este cuestionario es recabar información acerca de temas relacionados con la lengua. Su nombre no es necesario – el cuestionario es **anónimo y confidencial**. No hay respuestas correctas o equivocadas – estamos únicamente interesados en la información y las opiniones que usted nos ofrezca.

Complete todas las preguntas poniendo una señal en las casillas que correspondan, por favor.

Muchas gracias por su ayuda y su cooperación.

Datos personales

Sexo: ☐ Masculino ☐ Femenino

Año de nacimiento: _____

Lugar de nacimiento (pueblo o ciudad, provincia): _____

Lugar de residencia (pueblo o ciudad, provincia): _____

¿Cuál es la primera lengua que usted aprendió?

- ☐ Vasco
- ☐ Castellano
- ☐ Ambas
- ☐ Otras (indíquelas, por favor) _____

SU PADRE

Lugar de nacimiento de su padre (pueblo o ciudad, provincia): _____

En caso de no haber nacido en la Comunidad Autónoma Vasca (en adelante CAV), ¿cuánto tiempo ha vivido su padre en dicha comunidad? _____ años

Describa su ocupación (trabajo/ en paro/ jubilado...) : _____

Indique las lenguas que su padre puede hablar:

	Con fluidez	Bastante bien	Bien	Un poco	Nada
Castellano	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Vasco	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Inglés	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Otras (indíquelas, por favor)					
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

¿Cuál es la primera lengua que aprendió su padre?

- ☐ Vasco
- ☐ Castellano
- ☐ Ambas
- ☐ Otras (indíquelas, por favor) _____

SU MADRE

Lugar de nacimiento de su madre (pueblo o ciudad, provincia): _____

En caso de no haber nacido en la Comunidad Autónoma Vasca, ¿cuánto tiempo ha vivido su madre en dicha comunidad? _____ años

Describa su ocupación: _____

Indique las lenguas que su madre puede hablar:

	Con fluidez	Bastante bien	Regular	Un poco	Nada
Castellano	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Vasco	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Inglés	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Otras (indíquelas, por favor)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

¿Cuál es la primera lengua que aprendió su madre?

- ☐ Vasco
- ☐ Castellano
- ☐ Ambas
- ☐ Otras (indíquelas, por favor) _____

USTED

1) Evalúe sus habilidades lingüísticas en las siguientes lenguas:

	Con fluidez	Bastante bien	Regular	Un poco	Nada
Yo puedo hablar vasco	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Yo puedo entender vasco	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Yo puedo leer en vasco	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Yo puedo escribir en vasco	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Yo puedo hablar castellano	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Yo puedo entender castellano	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Yo puedo leer en castellano	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Yo puedo escribir en castellano	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Yo puedo hablar inglés	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Yo puedo entender inglés	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Yo puedo leer en inglés	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Yo puedo escribir en inglés	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Yo puedo hablar francés	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Yo puedo entender francés	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Yo puedo leer en francés	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Yo puedo escribir en francés	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Otras lenguas (indíquelas) _____

Yo puedo hablar...	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Yo puedo entender...	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Yo puedo leer en...	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Yo puedo escribir en...	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

2) ¿Qué miembros de su familia pueden hablar vasco?

	Con fluidez	Bastante bien	Regular	Un poco	Nada
Madre	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Padre	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Hermanos/as (en caso de tenerlos)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Abuelos/as (en caso de tenerlos)					
La madre de su padre	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
El padre de su padre	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
El padre de su madre	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
La madre de su madre	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

3) ¿Cuántos de sus amigos, vecinos y compañeros de clase, y cuántos de entre la gente que le atiende en las tiendas y bares del pueblo pueden hablar vasco?

	Amigos	Vecinos	Compañeros de clase	Tiendas y bares del pueblo
Todos o casi todos				
La mayoría				
Más o menos la mitad				
Algunos pocos				
Nadie o casi nadie				

4) ¿Con qué frecuencia ve usted programas de televisión en castellano/vasco?

	Siempre	A menudo	A veces	Nunca
Programas en castellano	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Programas en vasco	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

5) En el colegio, ¿con qué frecuencia habla usted en vasco en las siguientes situaciones?

	Siempre	A menudo	A veces	Nunca
Con los profesores	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Con los amigos (en clase)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Con los amigos (en el recreo)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

■ Si no habla NADA de vasco o no lo habla NUNCA, pase a la pregunta número 10.
De lo contrario, y aunque lo hable sólo un poco, responda a todas las preguntas, por favor.

6) En casa, ¿con qué frecuencia habla usted en vasco en las siguientes situaciones?

	Siempre	A menudo	A veces	Nunca
Con su madre	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Con su padre	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Con sus hermanos/as	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Con sus abuelos/as	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
En las comidas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

7) Fuera de casa y del colegio, ¿con qué frecuencia habla usted en vasco en las siguientes situaciones?

	Siempre	A menudo	A veces	Nunca
Con los amigos fuera del colegio	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Con los vecinos	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
En el bar o café	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
En actividades de ocio/deportivas/culturales	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
En las tiendas del pueblo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
En el mercado	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Con el cura (en la iglesia)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Con el médico del pueblo/ en el hospital local o comarcal	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

8) Si fuera posible, ¿con qué frecuencia hablaría usted en vasco en las siguientes situaciones?

	Siempre	A menudo	A veces	Nunca
Con los amigos fuera del colegio	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Con los vecinos	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
En el bar o café	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
En actividades de ocio/deportivas/culturales	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
En las tiendas del pueblo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
En el mercado	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Con el cura (en la iglesia)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Con el médico del pueblo/ en el hospital local o comarcal	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

9) ¿Qué confianza tiene usted para hablar en vasco en en las siguientes situaciones?

	Grande	Bastante	Regular	Poca	No lo sé
Con los amigos fuera del colegio	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Con los vecinos	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
En el bar o café	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
En actividades de ocio/deportivas/culturales	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
En las tiendas del pueblo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
En el mercado	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Con el cura (en la iglesia)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Con el médico del pueblo/ en el hospital local o comarcal	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

10) ¿En qué medida está usted de acuerdo con las siguientes afirmaciones? (Muy de Acuerdo = MA, De Acuerdo = DA, Ni de Acuerdo Ni en Desacuerdo = NAND, En Desacuerdo = ED, Muy en Desacuerdo = MD).

A) Actitudes hacia el bilingüismo

	MA	DA	NAND	ED	MD
1. Es importante saber hablar castellano y vasco (ambos).	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. En la Comunidad Autónoma Vasca (CAV) es suficiente hablar una sola lengua.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Los niños se sienten confundidos cuando aprenden vasco y castellano al mismo tiempo.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Hablar castellano y vasco ayuda a conseguir trabajo.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Es importante ser capaz de escribir en castellano y en vasco.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. Todos los colegios de la CAV deberían enseñar a los alumnos a hablar en vasco y castellano.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. Las señales de tráfico deberían estar en castellano y vasco.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. Hablar dos lenguas no es difícil.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. En la CAV, los niños deberían aprender a leer en vasco y castellano.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. Debería haber más gente que hable castellano y vasco en la administración pública.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
11. La gente sabe más si habla castellano y vasco.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
12. Hablar castellano y vasco es más para gente joven que para gente mayor.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
13. La publicidad pública debería ser bilingüe.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
14. Hablar vasco y castellano debería ayudar a la gente a lograr ascensos en su trabajo.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

	MA	DA	NAND	ED	MD
15. Los niños pequeños aprenden castellano y vasco al mismo tiempo con facilidad.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
16. Tanto el vasco como el castellano deberían ser importantes en el País Vasco.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
17. La gente tiene la posibilidad de ganar más dinero si habla castellano y vasco.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
18. En el futuro, me gustaría ser considerado hablante de vasco y castellano.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
19. Toda la gente del País Vasco debería hablar castellano y vasco.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
20. Si tuviera hijos, me gustaría que hablasen vasco y castellano.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
21. El castellano y el vasco pueden convivir en el País Vasco.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
22. La gente sólo necesita saber una lengua.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
23. Todos los funcionarios públicos de la CAV deberían ser bilingües.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

B) Actitudes hacia la lengua vasca

	MA	DA	NAND	ED	MD
1. La vasca es una lengua difícil de aprender.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Es más importante saber inglés que vasco.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Merece la pena aprender la lengua vasca.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Hay lenguas mucho más útiles para aprender que el vasco.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. No quiero aprender vasco porque no creo que vaya a utilizarlo.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. Me gustaría poder hablar vasco si fuera más fácil de aprender.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. Me gusta oír hablar en vasco.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. Es especialmente necesario que los niños aprendan vasco en la escuela para asegurar la supervivencia de la lengua.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. La vasca es una lengua anticuada.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. Me gustaría poder leer libros en vasco.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
11. Aprender vasco es aburrido pero necesario.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
12. Me gustaría aprender vasco lo mejor posible.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
13. Aprender vasco debería ser una opción individual.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
14. Me gusta hablar vasco.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
15. La vasca es una lengua de caseros.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
16. Me gustaría aprender vasco porque mis amigos lo están haciendo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

	MA	DA	NAND	ED	MD
17. Aprender vasco es una pérdida de tiempo.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
18. El vasco debería utilizarse más en los servicios públicos.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
19. No me gusta aprender vasco.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
20. Estoy aprendiendo vasco porque mis padres quieren que lo haga.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
21. Disfruto aprendiendo vasco.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
22. El vasco es una lengua para ser hablada sólo en familia y con los amigos.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
23. La lengua vasca es algo de lo que todo el mundo debería sentirse orgulloso.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
24. Me gusta ver/escuchar programas de televisión/radio en vasco.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

11) Evalúe el prestigio de las siguientes lenguas en la CAV.

	Ninguno	No mucho	Regular	Bastante	Mucho
Vasco	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Castellano	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Inglés	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Francés	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

12) Evalúe el prestigio de los siguientes grupos en la CAV.

	Ninguno	No mucho	Regular	Bastante	Mucho
Castellano-hablantes monolingües	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Vasco-hablantes bilingües	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

13) Evalúe la presencia de las siguientes lenguas en el sistema educativo de la CAV.

	Ninguna	Muy pequeña	Regular	Grande	Muy grande
Vasco	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Castellano	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Inglés	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Francés	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Otras (indíquela, por favor)					
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

14) Evalúe la fuerza de los siguientes grupos en la CAV hoy.

	Ninguno	No mucho	Regular	Bastante	Mucho
Castellano-hablantes monolingües	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Vasco-hablantes bilingües	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

15) Evalúe la fuerza que tenían los siguientes grupos hace 20 años en la CAV.

	Ninguno	No mucho	Regular	Bastante	Mucho
Castellano-hablantes monolingües	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Vasco-hablantes bilingües	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

16) Evalúe la fuerza que en su opinión tendrán los siguientes grupos dentro de 20 años en la CAV.

	Ninguno	No mucho	Regular	Bastante	Mucho
Castellano-hablantes monolingües	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Vasco-hablantes bilingües	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

17) Evalúe el prestigio de las siguientes lenguas en la RIOJA ALAVESA.

	Ninguno	No mucho	Regular	Bastante	Mucho
Vasco	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Castellano	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Inglés	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Francés	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

18) Evalúe el prestigio de los siguientes grupos en la RIOJA ALAVESA.

	Ninguno	No mucho	Regular	Bastante	Mucho
Castellano-hablantes monolingües	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Vasco-hablantes bilingües	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

19) Evalúe la fuerza de los siguientes grupos en la RIOJA ALAVESA hoy.

	Ninguno	No mucho	Regular	Bastante	Mucho
Castellano-hablantes monolingües	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Vasco-hablantes bilingües	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

20) Evalúe la fuerza que tenían los siguientes grupos hace 20 años en la RIOJA ALAVESA.

	Ninguno	No mucho	Regular	Bastante	Mucho
Castellano-hablantes monolingües	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Vasco-hablantes bilingües	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

21) Evalúe la fuerza que en su opinión tendrán los siguientes grupos dentro de 20 años en la RIOJA ALAVESA.

	Ninguno	No mucho	Regular	Bastante	Mucho
Castellano-hablantes monolingües	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Vasco-hablantes bilingües	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

22) Si se casara, ¿en qué medida le gustaría tener a uno de los miembros de los siguientes grupos como marido/esposa?

	En absoluto	No mucho	Me daría lo mismo	Bastante	Mucho
Castellano-hablantes monolingües	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Vasco-hablantes bilingües	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

23) Dada(s) la(s) LENGUA(S) que utiliza para hablar, pensar, leer, etc., usted se considera:

- ☐ Sólo vasco-hablante
- ☐ Más vasco-hablante que castellano-hablante
- ☐ Tanto vasco-hablante como castellano-hablante
- ☐ Más castellano-hablante que vasco-hablante
- ☐ Sólo castellano-hablante

24) En el futuro, ¿qué le gustaría ser?

- ☐ Sólo vasco-hablante
- ☐ Más vasco-hablante que castellano-hablante
- ☐ Tanto vasco-hablante como castellano-hablante
- ☐ Más castellano-hablante que vasco-hablante
- ☐ Sólo castellano-hablante

25) Según su CULTURA (su manera de pensar, de comportarse, sus creencias y valores), usted se considera:

- ☐ Sólo español
- ☐ Más español que vasco
- ☐ Tanto vasco como español
- ☐ Más vasco que español
- ☐ Sólo vasco

26) En su opinión, ¿qué condiciones debe cumplir una persona para sentirse vasca? (Muy de Acuerdo = MA, De Acuerdo = DA, Ni de Acuerdo Ni en Desacuerdo = NAND, En Desacuerdo = ED, Muy en Desacuerdo = MD).

	MA	DA	NAND	ED	MD
Vivir en el País Vasco	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Haber nacido en el País Vasco	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Conocer y hablar la lengua vasca	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ser de origen vasco	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ser nacionalista vasco	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Conocer y defender la cultura vasca	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

27) En su opinión, ¿qué condiciones debe cumplir una persona para sentirse española? (Muy de Acuerdo = MA, De Acuerdo = DA, Ni de Acuerdo Ni en Desacuerdo = NAND, En Desacuerdo = ED, Muy en Desacuerdo = MD).

	MA	DA	NAND	ED	MD
Vivir en España	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Haber nacido en España	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Conocer y hablar la lengua castellana	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ser de origen español	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ser nacionalista español	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Conocer y defender la cultura española	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

28) En su opinión, ¿es posible ser vasco y español a la vez?

☐ Sí ☐ No

29) ¿En qué medida le gustaría tener a uno de los miembros de los siguientes grupos como mejores amigos?

	En absoluto	No mucho	Me daría lo mismo	Bastante	Mucho
Castellano-hablantes monolingües	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Vasco-hablantes bilingües	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

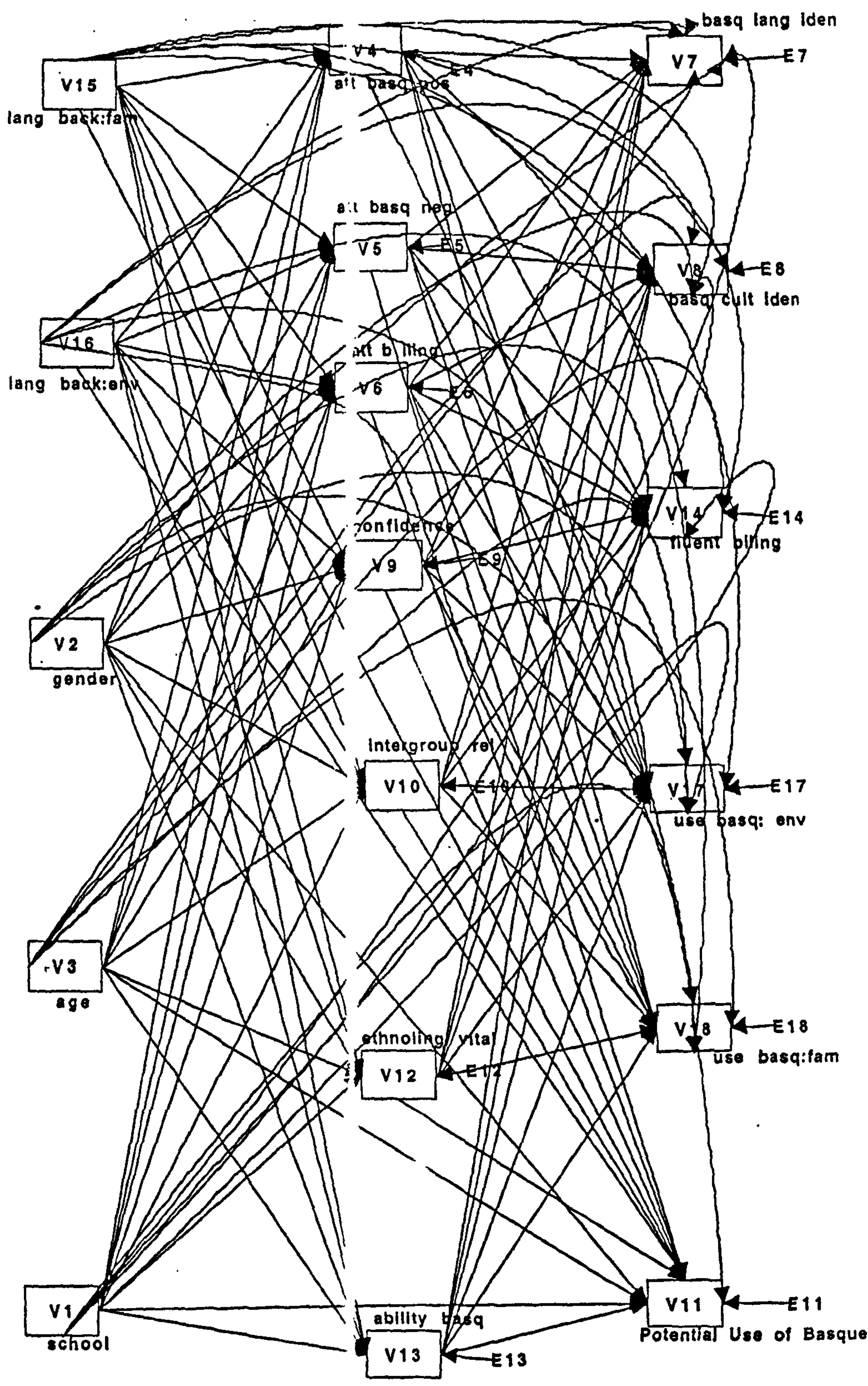
30) ¿En qué medida le gustaría tener a uno de los miembros de los siguientes grupos como compañeros de clase?

	En absoluto	No mucho	Me daría lo mismo	Bastante	Mucho
Castellano-hablantes monolingües	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Vasco-hablantes bilingües	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

31) ¿En qué medida le gustaría tener a uno de los miembros de los siguientes grupos como vecino?

	En absoluto	No mucho	Me daría lo mismo	Bastante	Mucho
Castellano-hablantes monolingües	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Vasco-hablantes bilingües	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Appendix 2
A model of Basque language in Rioja Alavesa



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