Multilingualism in Spain
Sociolinguistic and Psycholinguistic Aspects of Linguistic Minority Groups

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Chapter 3

The Basque-speaking Communities

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Heuskara, ialgui adi plañara (Etxepare, 1545)
Basque, come out and make yourself heard

The Basque Country has an area of 20,742 km² and a population of approximately three million. It comprises seven provinces, three North of the Pyrenees (Iparralde) and four in the South (Hegoalde). The Northern provinces are Lapurdi, Nafarroa Behera and Zuberoa and belong to the Pyrenees Atlantiques community in France. The Southern Basque Country, which belongs to the Spanish state, comprises 92% of the population in the Basque Country. The Southern provinces include the three provinces in the Basque Autonomous Community (Araba, Bizkaia, Gipuzkoa) and Nafarroa (Figure 3.1).

Euskara (Basque) is a unique language in Western Europe for being non Indo-European. Although there have been attempts to relate Basque to Iberian and the Caucasian languages (Bouda, 1960; Lafon, 1933, 1951; Román del Cerro, 1993; Schuchardt, 1907), the hypotheses concerning the origin of the Basque language are still inconclusive (Charlat, 1980; Michelen, 1985, 1988). Basque is a highly inflected language with 16 morphological cases and typologically, it has been defined as ergative and agglutinative (Saltarelli, 1988).

The Basque language has miraculously survived surrounded by powerful Romance languages and these languages are nowadays used in territories where Basque was previously spoken (Echenique, 1984; Tovar, 1981). Latin and Romance languages not only replaced Basque in some areas but exerted some influence on Basque phonology and morphology. The close association between Basque and Romance dialects is also proved by the Basque words used nowadays in Spanish-speaking areas: South of Nafarroa and Rioja.

Even though Basque was used in most areas of the Euskal Herria (Basque Country), Basque has never been widely used at the institutional level and most official documents were written in Romance languages. The disappearance of Basque from important areas of the Basque Country is a relatively recent phenomenon. The Basque language suffered an important retreat in Araba and Nafarroa in the 18th and 19th centuries (Michelen, 1988; Hualde et al., 1995). The use of Basque also decreased during the 20th century and particularly during Franco’s dictatorship (1939–75).
The Basque language not only suffered at the institutional and educational levels but also in the private domain. Several institutions founded at the beginning of the century such as Eusko Ikaskuntza (Society of Basque Studies, 1918), RIEV (International Journal of Basque Studies, 1907) and Euskaltzaindia (Academy of the Basque Language, 1919) disappeared or interrupted their work after the Civil War (1936-39), during the dictatorship. More than 150,000 Basques were exiled and went to France, North America and South America. The political and social changes that have taken place in Spain in the last decades of the 20th century have favoured attempts to maintain and revive the Basque language.

The limited use of Basque at the institutional level, the insufficient number of written texts and the spread of the Basque Country North and South of the Pyrenees can explain the existence of six Basque dialects: three in the Northern Basque Country (Lapurdi, Nafarroa Behera, Zuberoa) and three South of the Pyrenees (Bizkaia, Gipuzkoa, Nafarroa). The Academy of the Basque Language (Euskaltzaindia) has played a crucial role in the standardisation of the Basque language at the oral and written levels. Even though dialectal differences are present, Euskara Batua (unified Basque) is the variety based on the central dialects of Basque which

Figure 3.1 The Basque Country (own source)

is widely accepted by the books publishing variety used for a number of grammars of the Basque language.

Basque has a high priority to inscriptions and poems by the century (1545), a level in the production of Basque literate in either

The Basque

Nowadays, the result of its language with Spanish, with the help of the important Basque Country, Basque a co-official language of the last 10 years who are proficient in one who remains the

In 1991 the Basque mainly become almost 40%

Figure 3.2. Sources: Eusko Ikaskuntza
is widely accepted in the Basque Country. Nowadays, about 80% of the books published in Basque are published in 'Batua'. 'Batua' is also the variety used for education and official documents. There is an increasing number of grammars and dictionaries in Basque but the standardisation of the Basque language is still an open process.

Basque has a weak written tradition and Basque culture has given a high priority to the oral language. Apart from Basque words in Roman inscriptions and Middle Age documents, the first Basque text, a book of poems by the Northern Basque writer Etxepare, dates from the 16th century (1545). Verbal abilities have always been highly valued at the oral level in 'bertselaritza' (extemporaneous oral poetry) and up to the introduction of Basque in education, many Basques were illiterate in Basque but literate in either French or Spanish.

The Basque Language Today

Nowadays, Basque is a minority language within its own territory as a result of its lack of official status in the past and its long-lasting contact with Spanish and French. This contact has increased in the last decades as the result of industrialisation, communications and mass media and the important number of Spanish-speaking immigrants who came to the Basque Country in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. The new legislation gives Basque a co-official status with Spanish in the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC) and in the North of Nafarroa. When the census data of the last 10 years are compared it can be observed that the proportion of people who are proficient in Basque has increased in the three BAC provinces but remains the same in Nafarroa (Figure 3.2).

In 1991 there are 95,000 bilinguals more in the BAC than in 1981, mainly because of the educational system (Garmendia, 1994). Nowadays, almost 40% of the children between 5 and 14 living in the BAC are

Figure 3.2 Basque speakers in the BAC and Nafarroa
Sources: EUSTAT, 1994, 1995; Government of Nafarroa, 1995
bilingual. Although these data are optimistic for the Basque language, Spanish is the dominant language and Basque-speaking people can only use Basque in their everyday life in sociolinguistically Basque areas.

A recent study carried out by the Basque Government's Secretariat for Language Policy (Aitzpuurua, 1995) with the collaboration of the Government of Nafarroa and the Regional Council of Aquitaine, included interviews on language proficiency and language use with 5017 subjects who were over 16 and lived in all the Basque provinces. According to this study, 21% of the population is bilingual (Basque-Spanish or Basque-French), and 8% passive bilingual. Monolinguals in Basque are only 1% of the population and monolinguals in either French or Spanish are 70% of the population. Therefore, except for a small proportion of the population, speaking Basque equals being bilingual in Basque and a Romance language.

The Distribution and Use of the Basque Language

Basque-speaking people are not distributed evenly throughout the Basque Country. The data in Table 3.1 indicate that the proportion of Bascophones is much higher in Gipuzkoa than in the other BAC provinces or Nafarroa.

According to recent data, there is also a considerable proportion of Basque-speaking population in the Northern Basque Country (34.16%). Most Basque speakers are found in the provinces of Gipuzkoa, Nafarroa Behera and Zuberoa, where the number of Bascophones is higher in rural and isolated areas. When towns and cities began to develop in the Southern Basque Country as the result of industrialisation, Spanish-speaking newcomers did not learn Basque and Spanish became the main language of communication. Nowadays, San Sebastian (Gipuzkoa) is the only capital city with more than 25% of Bascophones. The use of Basque in the BAC is more common in villages and towns of less than 10,000 inhabitants. In Spanish-speaking areas (Araba, South of Nafarroa) the number of Bascophones, mainly speakers of Basque as a second language, is higher in bigger towns such as Vitoria-Gasteiz or Pamplona-Iruñea.

Table 3.1 Linguistic competence in the BAC and Nafarroa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Competent Basque</th>
<th>Passive bilingual</th>
<th>Spanish only</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BAC</td>
<td>26.3</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>53.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Araba</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>71.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bizkaia</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>60.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gipuzkoa</td>
<td>45.9</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>35.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAFARROA</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>83.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: EUSTAT, 1994; Government of Nafarroa, 1994
The BAC census data reveal that the age groups with a higher proportion of Basquophones are the following: 5–9 (40.70%); 10–14 (37.32%); >75 (31.95%) and 70–74 (30.80%). The lowest proportions of Basquophones correspond to subjects aged between 35 and 55 (Euskara 81–91, 1994). The census data also indicate that there are no significant differences in the knowledge of Basque in the BAC when male and female subjects are compared (Euskal Urtzekari Estatistika, 1995).

Several factors have been identified as predictors of the use of Basque (Aizpuru, 1995). The most important factor affecting the use of Basque is the number of Basquophones in the subject's social networks. As in most cases speaking Basque equals being bilingual, it is necessary for everybody or almost everybody in the subject's social networks to know and use Basque if this language is going to be used for communication. According to Aizpuru's study, when both parents know Basque, 81% of them use it at home and 8% use Basque and Spanish. When the mother knows Basque and the father is monolingual in Spanish, Basque is the preferred language of the household in 20% of the cases and Basque and Spanish in 18%. When the father speaks Basque and the mother only Spanish, Basque is used in 9% of the households and Basque and Spanish in 11% of them.

The second factor affecting the use of Basque is also related to linguistic proficiency and it is the relative ease that the subject has to use Basque and Spanish: 65% of the bilinguals find it easier or at least not more difficult to speak Basque than Spanish but 35% of the bilinguals find it easier to speak Spanish, which in most cases is their first language.

The third factor affecting the use of Basque is the number of Basquophones in the sociolinguistic area where the subject lives. Other factors which are also influential are the attitudes towards Basque, the use of Basque in the mass media (television and radio) and age.

Bascophones tend to use Basque within the family but they frequently use Spanish in more formal settings (Aizpuru, 1995). The use of Basque in different situations by bilinguals (Basque-Spanish; Basque-French) is shown in Table 3.2.

The percentages in Table 3.2 indicate that Basque is the main language of communication for Basquophones at the market and with the priest. Bascophones also use Basque more often with children than with other members of the family and they tend to use Basque less often when shopping or working. Most bilinguals (77%) listen to the radio in Basque and 82% of them watch television in Basque.

Another recent study on the Basque language (Iturgo, 1994) has measured the use of Basque in the street all over the Basque Country. The study was conducted in towns with more than 5000 inhabitants, that is, towns which concentrate 81.88% of the population. The methodology used was observational and the researchers spent six hours in each town on three different sessions, observed 275,335 people (9.57% of the total population) and recorded the language used in the street, bars and shops.
Table 3.2 Use of Basque by bilinguals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>at the market</td>
<td>76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with the priest</td>
<td>71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with their children</td>
<td>61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with their children's teachers</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with their mother</td>
<td>59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with their grandparents</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with their brothers &amp; sisters</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with their father</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at home, at lunch or dinner</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with husband or wife</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in the town hall</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>going out with friends</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at the bank</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shopping</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with their colleagues</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Aizpurua, 1995.

The general results of this research study conducted in 1993 are given in Table 3.3. According to this study, there has been an important increase in the use of Basque as compared to previous data and all the age groups experienced this change, particularly young people and children.

With the exception of a few months during the Spanish Civil War (1936–39) the Basque language has never had an official or co-official status until 1979. The Statute of Autonomy gives Basque a co-official status in the

Table 3.3 Use of Basque in towns with a population over 5000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Use 1993 (%)</th>
<th>Increase from 1989 (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Araba (BAC)</td>
<td>2.90</td>
<td>+25.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bizkaia (BAC)</td>
<td>9.01</td>
<td>+15.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gipuzkoa (BAC)</td>
<td>25.09</td>
<td>+15.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nafarroa (BAC)</td>
<td>5.73</td>
<td>+44.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Basque Country (Spain)</td>
<td>11.90</td>
<td>+17.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Basque Country (France)</td>
<td>4.92</td>
<td>+26.55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Irigo, 1994
BAC and all citizens in this community have the right to use Basque. The Spanish Constitution (1978) declared Spanish the nation-wide official language and guaranteed the rights of Spanish speakers to use their language. The Euskarako Erabilpena Aranzkozko Onarrizko Legea (1982) (Basic Law on the Standardisation of the Basque language) entrusted the public authorities in the BAC to strengthen the use of Basque and the standardisation of its written form as well as the acquisition of new functions normally discharged by Spanish.

Nafarroa is a historically Basque community which was granted its own Statute of Autonomy (1982). The Euskarako Buruzko Foru Legea (Foral Law of the Basque language) issued in Nafarroa in 1986 only guarantees the co-official status of Basque in the northern part of Nafarroa. The lack of institutional support for Basque in the Northern Basque Country is affecting its maintenance and revival North of the Pyrenees.

The co-official status of Basque in the BAC makes necessary to incorporate Basque into the public domain in fields in which Basque has not been normally used, such as the administration and education. The Basque Government has made a great effort to teach Basque to civil servants and Basque teachers in order to safeguard the citizens' right to use Basque and to be educated in Basque. According to the Basque Civil Service Law (1989), civil servants need to achieve a specific level of proficiency according to the characteristics of their job and the sociolinguistic area in which they work. Table 3.4 presents a brief description of the four different levels of proficiency 'profiles' (Eusko Jaurlaritza, 1990).

Apart from the four 'profiles' there is profile 5 for specialists in the Basque language and there are also general Certificates of Proficiency (EGA, Official Language School certificate), which are sometimes necessary in order to obtain positions and promotions in those jobs in which the knowledge of Basque is a requirement.

In order to achieve the different profiles, Basque civil servants are given free language classes and leaves of absence for up to a year and a half.

| PROFILE 1 | Be able to get the general meaning of a written or oral text. Be able to take part in very simple conversations. |
| PROFILE 2 | Be able to get and provide information. Be able to take part in meetings conducted in Basque. |
| PROFILE 3 | Be able to write different types of texts. Be able to use linguistic forms correctly both in oral and written language. |
| PROFILE 4 | Be able to understand and produce technical texts. Oral and written fluency similar to that of those who have completed university studies in Basque. |
Almost 26,000 Basque civil servants have been given different deadlines to achieve the linguistic profile necessary for their jobs. Many private companies have also offered Basque courses for their employees although the private sector seems to be more reluctant to invest in linguistic development.

The presence of Basque in the mass media is overshadowed by the dominant role of Spanish. There is only one newspaper in Basque (Egunkaria) although several others devote a few pages a week to articles in Basque. There are some magazines and an increasing number of professionally specialised journals written in Basque but with a small circulation.

There are several all-Basque radio stations (one supported by the Government) and others with programmes in Basque. The Basque Government (BAC) finances two television channels, one in Basque and one in Spanish. The Basque television channel is getting an increasing audience including people who are not very proficient in Basque. About 1000 books are published in Basque every year and most of them, approximately 85%, are either literature books or textbooks. In the last years, the number of books in two areas, children’s books and translations of books from other languages, has experimented an important increase. Most books (75%) are published by commercial publishing houses and the rest by institutions. The number of books published in Basque in 1993 was 1193. This figure (Torrealdeal, 1994) is slightly higher than the one corresponding to books in Galician (1058) but much lower than the one for Catalan (5905) or Spanish in Spain (41,206).

The Use of Basque in Education

Bilingual education is not a recent phenomenon in the Basque Country. Some schools adopted a bilingual and trilingual system by the end of the 19th century and Basque, Spanish and French were used as the languages of instruction. Basque was banned from education during Franco’s dictatorship but some Basque schools (ikastolak) were re-opened in the 1960s as private schools by groups of enthusiastic parents and teachers. These schools were not officially recognised at first but attracted a large number of students and were finally accepted by the end of the Franco regime.

The new political situation in the Southern Basque Country allowed for a more favourable legislation and by the time the Euskaraera Erabilpena Arrauneko Oinarrizko Lega (1982) (Basic Law on the Standardisation of the Basque language) was passed, approximately 15% of the students in the BAC attended Basque-medium schools. In 1982, Basque and Spanish became compulsory subjects in all schools in the BAC and three models of language schooling were established: models A, B and D (there is no letter ‘C’ in Basque).
Established Minorities

A different deadline for their jobs. Many prior their employees are reluctant to invest in

ershadowed by the newspaper in Basque which a week to articles and a number of products, but with a small

ported by the Government of the Basque Government and the Basque one in increasing audience of Basque. About 1000 out of them, approximately. In the last years, the translations of books have increased. Most of the houses and the rest of Basque in 1993 was a year more than the one corresponding to the other one for

the Basque Country. They by the end of the years as the languages of Basque. Following Franco’s dictatorship

ened in the 1960s as students and teachers. These included a large number of Basques under the Franco regime.

y Country allowed for the Basque Language. The Standardisation of the Basque of 1982, 75% of the students in Basque and Spanish were considered to be bilingual.

Model A. This model is aimed at native speakers of Spanish who choose to be instructed in Spanish. Basque is taught as a second language (2 to 4 hours a week).

Model B. This model is aimed at native speakers of Spanish who wish to be bilingual in Basque and Spanish. Both Basque and Spanish are used as languages of instruction for approximately 50% of the school time although there is considerable variation from school to school. This model is similar to Canadian models of partial immersion, in which French and English are the languages of instruction (Geneseo, 1987).

Model D. Basque is the language of instruction in this model and Spanish is taught as a subject (2 to 4 hours a week). This model was originally created as a language maintenance model for native speakers of Basque but also includes a large number of children with Spanish as their first language. So, model D can be regarded at the same time as a total immersion programme for majority language students and as a first language maintenance programme for Basque speakers.

Parents can choose the model they want for their children and the different models are available in the public and private sectors. These options are reduced in some areas in which the three models are not present if there are not enough applications for a particular model. The evolution of the models in the BAC since the Euskararen Erabiltzailea Arantzadako Omarratzea (1982) (Basic Law on the Standardisation of the Basque language) was issued can be seen in Figure 3.3.

The data on Figure 3.3 indicate that instruction in Spanish has experienced a very important decline while the use of Basque has maintained an increasing number of students. Model A includes half as many students as in 1982 (75% vs. 34%) and the models which use Basque as the language of instruction show a great increase, from 25% in 1982 to 65% in 1994–95. This trend is the same in all three

![Figure 3.3 Linguistic models in the BAC](source: Department of Education, Basque Government, 1996)
provinces of the BAC but the presence of Basque in Gipuzkoa is more significant and model A has almost disappeared from this territory.

According to the Euskara Biltzarren Foru Legea (1986) (Foral Law of the Basque language) three linguistic areas are distinguished in Nafarroa: the Basco-phone area in the North, the non-Basco-phone area in the South and the mixed area which includes the central area of Nafarroa and its capital city. The Foral Decree 159/1988 (1988) establishes that Basque is only compulsory in the Basco-phone area. Therefore, apart from the three models (A, B and D) Nafarroa also has model G with no Basque at all in the mixed and non-Basco-phone areas. Model B only exists in the Basco-phone area and it is chosen by less than 4% of the population in that area. The percentages corresponding to the other three models in the three areas are given in Figure 3.4.

The data in Figure 3.4 indicate that there are important differences between the three areas in Nafarroa. In the Basco-phone area 67.33% of the students have Basque as the language of instruction (Model D) but only 18.8% of the students in the mixed area and 1.8% of the students in the non-Basco-phone area are enrolled in model D. Most students in the mixed area (72.9%) and non-Basco-phone area are in Model G with no Basque at all but this model is almost non-existent in the Basco-phone area. These data reflect the uneven distribution of Basque speakers in Nafarroa and the important differences between the Basco-phone and non-Basco-phone areas.

The situation of Basque in education in the Northern Basque Country is weaker than in Nafarroa or the BAC. The first Basque school (ikastola) was open in 1969 and Basque was introduced into the public educational system in 1983. Nowadays, there are four models which are similar (though not identical) to the A, B, D and G models in Nafarroa. However, only a small proportion of the population has access to the models in which Basque is a subject or the medium of instruction (Jaurégui-Guirriel, 1993). The use of Basque in education in the Northern Basque Country has increased and is now employed in the medium of instruction.
has increased in the last years but most students only use French as the medium of instruction (Table 3.5).

Several evaluations of the Basque bilingual programmes have been carried out in the last years and almost 20,000 students have taken part in these evaluations (Gabina et al., 1986; Sierra & Olaziregi, 1989, 1991, and others). The evaluations have focused on several areas: proficiency in Basque and Spanish, academic development and foreign language.

**Proficiency in Basque**

The results of the evaluations indicate significant differences in Basque proficiency when the three models are compared (Gabina et al., 1986; Sierra & Olaziregi, 1989, 1991). Students in model D are more proficient in Basque than students in model B and these are more proficient than students in model A. Therefore, the time devoted to Basque at school is crucial to develop proficiency in Basque although proficiency is also dependent on the use of Basque in the subjects’ social networks.

**Proficiency in Spanish (Southern Basque Country)**

The evaluation of proficiency in Spanish (Gabina et al., 1986; Sierra & Olaziregi, 1989, 1991) indicates that there are no significant differences among the models. Even model D students, who only study Spanish for 2-4 hours a week and are in many cases native speakers of Basque, achieve a very high level of proficiency in Spanish. Therefore, in the case of the majority language, the exposure to Spanish outside the school seems to compensate for the few hours devoted to this language at school.

**Proficiency in French (Northern Basque Country)**

The results of the French national tests in the Northern Basque Country indicate that students in bilingual programmes achieve a higher level of proficiency in French than students in regular programmes (Jauréguiberry, 1993).
Academic development

Although there is a need for more evaluations of academic development, the evaluations of mathematics and social sciences conducted so far indicate that there are no significant differences in academic development between students of the different models (Aierbe et al., 1974, 1989). The national tests conducted in the Northern Basque Country also indicate that students in bilingual programmes obtain better results in mathematics than students in regular programmes (Jauréguiberry, 1993).

Foreign language

Evaluations of English language proficiency (Valencia & Cenoz, 1992; Cenoz & Valencia, 1994) show that students who have Basque as the medium of instruction (model D) present significantly higher grades in several English language measures than students instructed in Spanish (model A). These results corroborate other research findings supporting the positive influence of bilingualism on third language acquisition (Ringbom, 1985; Thomas, 1988).

The presence of Basque at the university level is not as important as in primary and secondary education but some advances have been made in the last years. The largest university is the Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea (University of the Basque Country) with campuses in Araba, Bizkaia and Gipuzkoa. In 1994–95 this university had 56,845 students and 86.85% (49,369) studied in Spanish and only 13.15% (7476) in Basque. Although there is still a long way to go, a large number of textbooks and academic nomenclatures have already been published in Basque in order to enable most university courses to be taught both in Basque and Spanish. The presence of Basque in other public and private institutions (Deustuko Unibertsitatea, University of Nafarroa, Nafarroako Unibertsitate Publikoa) is weaker.

Another educational area that is worth mentioning is the teaching of Basque to adults. Adult schools ('euskaltegiak') are public and private institutions created with the purpose of teaching Basque to adults ('euskaldunten') and teaching literacy to adults who are literate in Spanish but not in Basque ('alabatxtea'). A Basque Government Agency, HABE (The Adult Institute for developing literacy and proficiency in Basque) was approved by the Basque Parliament in 1983. HABE guides and co-ordinates adult Basque schools in the BAC and offers them pedagogic assistance. HABE also publishes teaching materials, teachers' guides, a journal in Applied Linguistics (Zatabe/Hizpide) and a wide variety of audio-visual materials to learn Basque as a second language. In 1994 there were 164 'euskaltegiak' (Basque schools) in the BAC and 43,300 adults, including civil servants and teachers, were learning Basque. Most 'euskaltegiak' receive support from HABE and some of them are public and others private.
There are also public and private ‘euskaltegiak’ in Nafarroa but only private ones in Iparralde. Private ‘euskaltegiak’ tend to belong to different associations such as AEK with schools all over the Basque Country.

Bilingual education in the Basque Country involves an enormous effort on the part of the Government, schools and teachers in the fields of teacher development, both methodological and linguistic. Five years before the Euskarak Erabiltzea (Arts and Sciences) Law (1982) (Basic Law on the Standardisation of the Basque language) was passed, 95% of all public school teachers could not speak Basque at all and the remaining 5% could speak the language but in most cases did not know its written conventions. The Basque Government offers courses during after-work hours and also gives leaves of absence for those teachers who have reached an intermediate level of competence in order to allow them to study Basque on a full-time basis. The teachers who complete these courses are required to take examinations so as to certify that they have attained a sufficient level of proficiency to teach in Basque. Nowadays over 50% of the teachers are qualified to teach in Basque (Zabalde, 1994).

As it has already been described, children study the Basque language at school and adults at ‘euskaltegiak’. The teaching methods used at schools include a content based approach in the case of models B and D, and Basque is used as the language of instruction of all or some school subjects. The Basque language is also a subject in the curriculum and children in models B and D devote their Basque language classes to the study of Basque grammar and Basque literature. Basque is just a school subject in model A and it is studied as a second language following traditional approaches and structural syllabuses. In ‘euskaltegiak’, adults take intensive courses which range from 2 to 5 hours a day. The courses are usually smaller (about 12 students) and they follow a structural-functional syllabus which devotes plenty of time to oral communication.

Both adults and children have the opportunity to attend summer courses to improve their Basque. Adult courses are usually 2 or 3 weeks long and the students share a house in a Basque-speaking village. They have 5 or 6 hours of instruction a day and use Basque as the language of communication. There is also the possibility for adults to practice their Basque while living with families in Basque speaking villages without taking language courses. Children also have some summer camps and day courses in which they use Basque for leisure activities without formal tuition. Apart from school and summer classes, students also find the Basque television and Basque radio stations very useful to improve their abilities.

Research studies conducted on attitudes and motivation towards learning Basque have proved that there are important differences among the students (Madariaga, 1994; Perales, 1989). Madariaga (1994) conducted a study comparing the attitudes of 212 children who had either Basque or Spanish as the language of instruction. He observed that Spanish-speaking children instructed in Spanish presented less positive...
attitudes towards the Basque language than children instructed in Basque. Perales (1989) conducted a research study on the acquisition of Basque including 434 adult learners from 12 different ‘adult schools’ (eskaltegiak) in the province of Gipuzkoa. His results indicate that adult students of Basque whose parents had been born in the Basque country and/or spoke Basque presented better attitudes towards the Basque community and a more integrative orientation towards learning Basque than adults from non-Basque backgrounds.

The learning of Basque is quite a difficult and long process. One of the main problems is related to linguistic distance due to the fact that Basque, unlike the other languages spoken in Spain, is a non-Indo-European language. Basque morphology and syntax are complex and it is quite common for non-native speakers of Basque to present grammar mistakes after long years of study or even after having Basque as the language of instruction at school. In a recent study on the oral production of Basque it was found that learners present more pauses when they have to produce verb forms, complex inflections or subordinate clauses (Perales & Cenzol, 1996). Basque is an inflective language with 15 different inflections including ergative, the ending that is added to the subject of transitive verbs. Verb morphology is particularly complex because the direct and indirect object pronouns are part of the verb forms and also because different auxiliaries are used with transitive and intransitive verbs. Word order is also completely different from Spanish and difficult to be learned.

Another serious problem that Basque learners have to face is the fact that almost all speakers of Basque are bilingual in Basque and either Spanish or French. Therefore, codeswitching into a Romance language is a very common behaviour when communicative problems arise.

**Speaking Basque: Some Examples of Codeswitching and Borrowings**

A small-scale study was conducted so as to give some examples of the Basque language as used by native and non-native speakers. The specific objectives of this study were the following: (1) to present real data from spontaneous conversations and interviews in Basque; (2) to examine some aspects of the use of Basque as related to context; (3) to analyse the differences between the use of Basque by native and non-native speakers.

A sample of 13 subjects coming from the provinces of Bizkaia and Gipuzkoa was selected for this study. Seven of the subjects were native speakers of Basque while the rest were non-native speakers. Non-native speakers of Basque were included in order to represent the large proportion of non-native speakers among proficient speakers of Basque and also the trend to learn Basque among native speakers of Spanish. The corpus includes oral interviews and spontaneous conversations recorded in several
settings: university students at coffee breaks, family conversations at home and oral interviews between teachers and advanced students.

The transcription and analysis of the conversations reveal frequent examples of some phenomena, such as codeswitching and borrowings, which are characteristic of bilingual communities. Although there is some discussion about the definition of these phenomena (Grosjean, 1982; Poplack, 1980; Myers-Scotton, 1990) we consider examples of codeswitching those in which the words or expressions uttered in Spanish are not integrated into Basque, that is, when they do not present Basque inflections or Basque pronunciation.

Some examples of codeswitching in our data are illustrated in (1), (2), (3), (4), (5) and (6):

1. (NNS) eta orduan e relaciones públicas, ikasi nuen eta gero ba (and then I studied public relations and later ...)
2. (NNS) neretza hiri derecho civil, da hori hori esaten, du, jendeak (for me it is civil law, that's what people say)
3. (NS) ni esaten ari naz ea orain suiri gauza berdina esatera nioa: hacer lo menos posible (I say this and now I tell you the same thing: do as little as possible)
4. (NNS) arratsaldean ikasten dut e beste kursio bat deitzan da curso de adaptación pedagógica (I take another course in the afternoon the course is called pedagogic orientation course)
5. (NS) Gero poner a ciento cincuenta y seis eta bote folioa (then you fix it at a hundred and fifty six and you fill in the sheets)
6. (NS) Bilu pero nahiz eta ... (yes but but ...)

These examples indicate that codeswitching can involve different parts of speech: numerals (5), connectors (6), noun phrases (1), (2), (4) or clauses (3). According to the context, there seem to be different reasons for codeswitching. Non-native speakers (1), (2), (4) seem to have problems to find appropriate expressions in Basque and include nominal clauses in Spanish. The different structure of Basque phrases and the dominant presence of Spanish makes some expressions difficult to use in Basque. An interesting example was found when the expression 'high jump' was used in Spanish both by a native and a non-native speaker of Basque. The Spanish expression 'salto de altura' is more common than the Basque expression 'altueru-jauzia' because of the dominant use of Spanish in the mass media. Basque uses a different structure which is not a word-by-word translation from Spanish and therefore, Basque speakers face more problems when using this type of expression than Catalan speakers who have the same structure in Catalan ('salt d'alçada') and only need a word-by-word translation.

In other cases, when utterances were produced by native speakers (5), codeswitching is the result of common use. Many native speakers who learned mathematics in Spanish and use Spanish when they go to the bank.
or a tax office use numerals in Spanish when they speak Basque. Native speakers also use Spanish for pragmatic purposes when they feel that an expression in Spanish is more appropriate to convey meaning. For example 'hacer lo menos posible' (do as little as possible) (3) can be recognised as a fixed expression that would explain its use in Spanish. Non-native speakers are more aware of codeswitching and try to use it as a communicative strategy when they have linguistic difficulties rather than for pragmatic purposes (Turell, 1994, 1995).

The context in which the conversation takes place and the participants also play and important role in codeswitching. For example, a native speaker of Basque switches into Spanish when explaining some computer instructions and looking at a manual written in Spanish:

zuk disketea sartzeari ditzu eta idazten duzu espazio A bi puntu espazio Atik
Ara eta orduan galdetzen dizu inserte disco (you insert the disc and you write a: space a: from a to a and then it asks you to insert the diskette).

Borrowings from Romance languages are very common in Basque as Basque has been surrounded by Spanish and French for centuries. Even though it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between borrowings and codeswitching we consider borrowings those words of Spanish origin which are integrated phonologically and morphologically into Basque. Examples of borrowing are illustrated in (7), (8), (9), (10), (11) and (12):

(7) (NS) Letra-tartea ere haunditu behar da eta margenak ere bai. (The spaces and the margins should be bigger)
(8) (NNS) etortzen da politzia eta mirón bat ari zen beginatzen (the police arrives and there was a voyeur watching)
(9) (NNS) lehengo aldiz ikusi nuen kuriosisateagatik (the first time I saw it out of curiosity)
(10) (NS) Azidenteak eta ikusten dira. (You can also see accidents)
(11) (NNS) gerta daitezke ba errekurtso egiten duenak ba arrazoitik aditzik azken itik (it can happen that the person who makes an appeal can be right)
(12) (NNS) nik normalean egiten ditu kurak edo horiek (I usually give first aid or that)

The examples indicate that both native and non-native speakers use borrowings. Some of these borrowings are widespread and accepted by the community while others can be examples of nonce borrowings coined by individual speakers (Sankoff et al. 1990). Sentences (7) and (11) include borrowings which are accepted in Basque while sentences (8) and (12) include nonce borrowings, that is, borrowings which differ 'from established loanwords only quantitatively in frequency of use, degree of acceptence, level of phonological integration, etc.' (Poplack and Sankoff, 1988: 1179). It was observed that borrowings were produced both by native and non-native speakers while nonce borrowings were more common among non-native speakers. Using this strategy may not cause communicative problems, but it may make a sharp distinction between the community and the newcomers which are included in the term 'azidenteak' in (11). Non-native Basque speakers may not be accepted in the community.

Our findings show that Basque, as most borrowed language in the world, is a language of adjectives (Paredes, 1990). Although borrowings are also done from English and French, the majority of borrowings seem to come from Spanish. It is not clearly distinguished when there is an automatic bilingual speaker phenomenon or where borrowings are the result of a limited use by speakers and their use is not extended beyond the context. Codeswitching, on the other hand, is observed in spontaneous speech. The Basque loanwords are not the everyday use of Basque words, but the revival of the Basque language in schools and the renewal of bilingual education in the Basque Country. Although Basque is still spoken by the minority of Basque speakers, the Basque language is becoming a more important language in the Basque Country and it is being used more often in schools.
Basque-speaking Communities

Though Basque is a minority language, non-native speakers. Borrowings are a common communication strategy in bilingual communities when the speaker knows that borrowing does not cause communication problems. The fact that non-native speakers use this strategy more often and produce more nonce borrowings could be interpreted as a way to compensate for their lower proficiency in Basque. Sentences (9) and (10) include interesting examples which are difficult to classify either as borrowings or nonce borrowings. The Basque language is still in a process of standardisation and the fact that the use of Basque has been restricted to the private domain for a long time makes it difficult to make a sharp distinction between those borrowings which are accepted by the community and those which are not accepted. It is very common to find words which are accepted in some areas and not in others or words which are included in some dictionaries but not in others. Words such as 'azidenta' in (10) and 'kuriosisatagatik' in (9) are frequently used by some Basque speakers but they are not included in most dictionaries and would not be accepted by some Basque academics.

Our findings prove some of the tendencies found in borrowing analysis as most borrowings correspond to nouns although we also found examples of adjectives ('fuerteak' = strong) and verbs ('preparatzen' = prepare). Even though borrowings came from Spanish we also found some borrowings from English such as 'reality show-ri buruz' (about the reality show). Borrowings seem to indicate that the Basque equivalent is not known or that it is not commonly used. The study of codeswitching and borrowings in spontaneous conversations and interviews reflects the situation of the Basque language and the relationship between Basque language use and context. Codeswitching and borrowings are common phenomena found when there is contact between different languages. They are resources that bilingual speakers have at their disposal when they face linguistic problems or when they want to enhance their meanings. Codeswitching and borrowings also reflect the relative status of the languages in contact and their use in different areas. Although this small-scale study presents obvious limitations it can serve to highlight the relationship between everyday use of a language and the historical and sociolinguistic context in which this language is used.

The Future of Basque

Even though there is a revival of the Basque language the future of Basque is still uncertain, particularly in Nafarroa and Iparralde. More speakers of Basque are needed in order to increase its use but the use of Basque among Bascophones also needs encouragement. The achievements of bilingual education in the BAC and North of Nafarroa are important but the revival and maintenance of a language cannot only depend on the school system. As Fishman points out:
The question that remains is whether the Basque competence that the schools of these types achieve can subsequently be maintained in out-of-school and in after-school life, to the point that the general environment too can ultimately be Basquified thereby and this Basquization intergenerationally transmitted rather than artificially engendered from without. (Fishman, 1991: 168–69).

As has been observed (Garmendia, 1994), the future of Basque will depend on the behaviour of the generation who now have Basque as the language of instruction and will be in better conditions for the transmission and use of the language. In sum, the future of the Basque language is not only in the hands of the Basque speech community but it also depends on monolingual speakers of Spanish and French and their wish to become bilingual members of the Basque speech community.

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