

THE CASE OF BASQUE: PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE

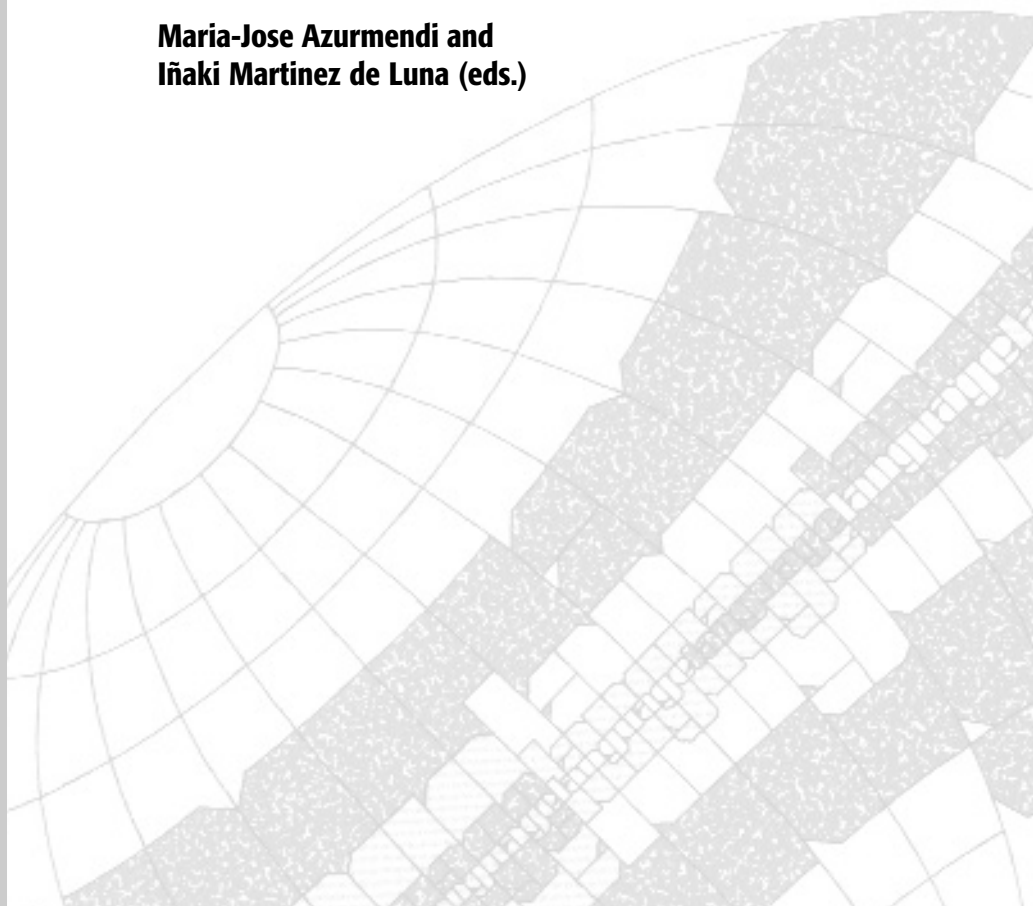
Maria-Jose Azurmendi and
Iñaki Martínez de Luna (eds.)



SOZIOLINGUISTIKA
KLUSTERRA

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INTRODUCTION

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I Abstract

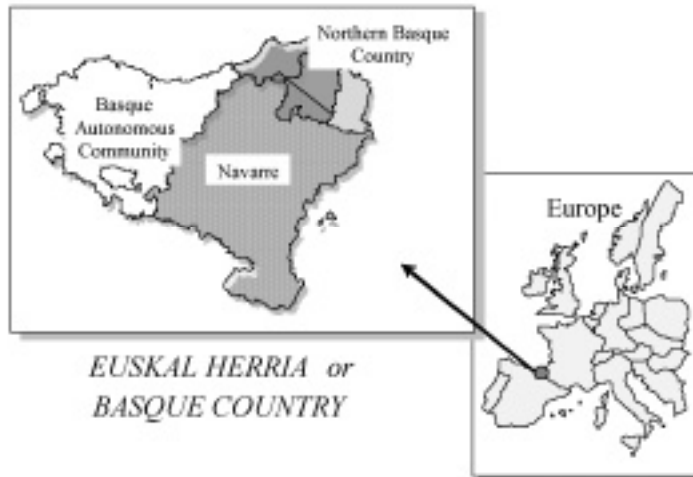
To contribute towards understanding the chapters included in this book, the introduction aims to present the context of the Basque case by providing some of the basic features of its location and size in the European Union.

This book is the continuation or second part of monographic issue 174 (2005) of the *IJSL* devoted to Euskara (the Basque language) aimed at taking stock of the current social situation of the language. The aim coincides with that of the chapter on Euskara (Azurmendi, Bachoc and Zabaleta, 2001) included in the publication *Can threatened languages be saved?* edited by Fishman (2001); at that time the perspective was one which depended more on the RLS (Reversing Language Shift) theoretical-empirical model propounded by Fishman (1991), but the perspective now is a freer one. We are deeply grateful to Joshua A. Fishman for providing us with this new opportunity through this prestigious journal, which he directs and edits, to show the recent evolution and current situation of Euskara to the fields of the sociology of language, of languages and of sociolinguistics in general; we have taken advantage of this invitation Fishman has extended to us to provide a broader overview of the situation of Euskara than that which can be included in a monographic issue of the *IJSL*, so that this book can be regarded as the complementary continuation of the said monographic issue.

To contribute towards an understanding of “the Case of Basque”, we have believed it necessary to provide some data on Euskara (the Basque language) and on Euskal Herria (the Basque Country) in this Introduction, and we shall once again reiterate part of the Introduction to monographic issue 174 of the *IJSL* devoted to Euskara. Euskal Herria is a small country located in the vertex of the Atlantic Arc on both sides of the Pyrenees mountain range, divided between the Spanish and French States. The seven historical territories

or provinces that make up Euskal Herria are divided in the following way: in the Spanish State Araba, Bizkaia and Gipuzkoa that constitute the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC) and Navarre which forms the Charter Community of Navarre; in the French State, Lapurdi, Behe Nafarroa and Zuberoa that make up Iparralde or the Northern Basque Country as part of the département of the Pyrénées-Atlantiques (it does not constitute a single, distinctive administration in the French State, despite continual demands for the creation of a Basque *département*). Euskal Herria has a surface area of 20,664 km² (the BAC 7,234 km², the Charter Community of Navarre 10,392 km², and 3,039 km² in the French State) and 2,900,856 inhabitants (2,082,587 in the BAC and 556,263 in the Charter Community of Navarre, according to the 2001 census, and 262,440 in the Northern Basque Country or Iparralde of the French State, according to the 1991 census) (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Euskal Herria, or The Basque Country



The BAC and the Charter Community of Navarre are two of the 17 Autonomous Communities of the Spanish State, and are among the economically most dynamic, most industrialised and most modern ones with their wealth better distributed; this has undoubtedly facilitated the great efforts towards the normalisation of the Basque language and culture that have been made over the past 30 years, especially in the BAC. By contrast, the Basque territories in the French State have a more traditional economy, based internally

mainly on agriculture and stockbreeding and on tourism, and from outside it receives retired people from any part of the French State; it is precisely these territories where the decline of Euskara still persists. The BAC, the most dynamic in the Basque language and culture normalisation process, is also the Community which saw high immigration rates from other territories of the Spanish State, above all at the beginning of the 20th century and during the Franco era, so that about one third of the current population in the BAC is the result of this immigration; despite this, the BAC has been and continues to be the most dynamic community in the Basque language and culture normalisation process. It appears to be obligatory, today, to make a reference to the European Union (the EU) in which Euskal Herria is included: in the Atlantic Arc in the west of the EU. The most important Basque city, Bilbao, is also one of the most important ones in this Atlantic Arc of the EU.

Euskara is a language island in Europe from a genealogical viewpoint, since it is not related to any other European language, and also from a typological viewpoint; it is one of the oldest languages in Europe and predates the arrival of the languages classified as Indo-European; although its ambit was considerably greater in early history than in recent history, its current location appears to go back to time immemorial and, in this respect, it is a truly autochthonous language in Europe; perhaps because of all this Euskal Herria (the Basque Country) means the Country of Euskara. In addition to its remarkable historical value (Could or should it be regarded as the “heritage of humanity”?), it has a tremendous symbolic and pragmatic value for Basque citizens today, with the result that the defence of Euskara is currently the subject of social and political debate, and one of the main reasons behind the rallies and social movements widely supported in Euskal Herria. In other words, the interest, the attitudes, the motivations, both symbolic and pragmatic, ethnolinguistic identification, future prospects, etc., are overwhelmingly in favour of Euskara, at least in the BAC territories (less so in the territories of the Charter Community of Navarre in Spain or in Iparralde in France), with the BAC spearheading the linguistic normalisation process.

As co-editors of both publications, monographic issue 174 of the *IJSL* and this book, we have organised the subject matter in the form of chapters, so that it will be meaningful in order to understand the recent past, the present and the near future of Euskara, and we have endeavoured to highlight the aspects which could be more original in the context of the social revival and normalisation of the Basque language and culture, and not to repeat too much of what has been said already in Fishman’s recent chapter devoted to Euskara (2001). These editions aim to be informative and interesting, not only for the academic world, but also for people involved in other cases of sociolinguistic revival and normalisation.

As we have already pointed out in monographic issue 174 of the *IJSL*, different criteria have been taken into account in the final selection of the articles and chapters includ-

ed in the monographic issue and in this book to portray the situation of the “Basque Case” adequately to foreigners: the inclusion of already classic themes into this endeavour, as the readers expect, alongside other, more innovative ones; to follow Fishman’s RLS model (1991, 2001) to a certain extent, but only in part, while trying to include other social models to understand the current situation; to seek a balance between sociolinguistic tradition and innovation in the interpretation of the social situation of Euskara, etc. It is not an easy task, because, to echo Fishman’s words (2001:XII) we are *“acutely aware of how different the ‘spirit of the times’ is today, insofar as Reversing Language Shift (RLS) is concerned, in comparison to a decade ago...”*; the socio-economic-cultural change is truly vast and fast-moving. This situation of change hampers both the observation and the interpretation of the very sociolinguistic situation of Euskara, the focus of the monographic issue and this book. On the other hand *“such a volume is both an opportunity to test consensus as well as an opportunity to air dissent”* (Fishman, 2001: XIII); this is exactly the situation which is reflected in the issue and the book: even we scholars and specialists of Euskara do not always agree when we interpret our own situation, the situation of doubt even emerges not only when comparing the different articles and chapters that have been gathered together, but also, on occasions, in one single article or chapter; we thought it better that the relative insecurity in the interpretation, and the relative uncertainty with respect to the future of Euskara should be adequately reflected. *“Today, the worldwide process of globalisation of the economy, communication and entertainment media, not to mention modernisation-based consumerism as a way of life have threatened to sweep away everything locally authentic and different that may stand in their way”* (Fishman, 2001: XIII), or other post-modernist coeval phenomena like the growing mass migrations; yet at the same time one can ask oneself, *“Is this a harbinger of the growing and long-heralded triumph of globalisation over ethnonationalism? Probably no such complete triumph is in the offing, because, as we have noted before, globalisation itself also prompts (and even requires) a greater recognition of local co-identity and authenticity ... particularism and globalisation cohabit in a sometime antagonistic as well as in a sometime cooperative marriage”* (Fishman, 2001: 480). All this has been taken into account in the putting together of the issue and this book.

According to Fishman, there are three possible alternative strategies in the endeavours to normalise the Basque language and culture: *“one is ‘shoot for the moon’. Another is ‘anything is better than nothing’. The third is ‘the right step at the right time’”* (Fishman, 2001: 474); the three exist in Euskal Herria, although we suspect that the third one is the predominant one and also the one which is most widely expressed in the issue and this book.

The articles that make up monographic issue 174 of the *IJSL* deal with the following subjects: 1) Language Policy and Planning of the Status of Basque, I: The Basque

Autonomous Community (BAC); 2) Language Policy and Planning of the Status of Basque, II: Navarre and the Northern Basque Country; 3) Sociolinguistic Situation in the Basque Country according to the 2001 Sociolinguistic Survey; 4) Basque Acquisition Planning; 5) The Teaching of Basque to Adults; 6) Final Reflections: From the Present Towards the Future.

Moving on to the presentation of the contents of this book, we can say that the first chapter deals with the external history of Euskara, a history full of suffering (as in many other cases of subordinate, lesser used languages), from which it seems to be almost a miracle that Euskara has succeeded in surviving to this day as a living language. Chapter 2 presents the ‘corpus planning’, the linguistic standardisation and modernisation processes of Euskara itself, to turn it into a language adapted to the current needs of modernity and post-modernity. Chapter 3 describes the various attempts at ‘status planning’ not directly included in official language policies; the panorama in this respect is truly vast because of the large number of private institutions, social movements, activities of different types, etc., which participate in the Basque language and culture normalisation process. Chapter 4 starts from the premise that the ‘use of Euskara’ is the key to its normalisation and shows some endeavours made from the academic world with respect to the empirical analysis of this use and of its conditions, as well as a number of reflections and theoretical developments aimed at understanding it. Chapter 5 refers to the history of the interrelation between the socio-economic situation and the linguistic-cultural situation in Euskal Herria; the article puts forward the interesting hypothesis that the poor socio-economic situation is accompanied by a linguistic-cultural situation which is also poor, and, conversely, the wealthy sociocultural situation is also accompanied by a rich linguistic-cultural situation. This hypothesis is to a certain extent confirmed in the Basque Case and it fills the future prospects for Basque with hope. Chapter 6 describes the basic axis around which the predominant academic and socio-political and ideological discourses on Euskara within Euskal Herria revolve; it shows the complexity of the ideological panorama which characterises the Basque Case, and which is a long way from the necessary consensus proposed by the RLS model as an indispensable requirement for normalisation. Chapter 7 deals directly with the RLS model to show what the state of affairs is in connection with Euskara; in this respect, it could be regarded as a special paper, one which would summarise the whole linguistic-cultural normalisation process developed over the last few decades in Euskal Herria, in particular in the BAC. Finally, chapter 8 falls within the context of the current geopolitical situation in which it is necessary to refer to the possibilities the EU offers and does not offer languages like Euskara, generally referred to as EU ‘regional and lesser used languages’; the scenario currently offered by the EU not only is not good, but the future perspectives do not appear to be better either, despite the fact that the EU is still

regarded as a safer platform than the Spanish and French ones for Basque linguistic-cultural normalisation: this is one of the paradoxes of the Basque Case.

We should like to end this Introduction by expressing our thanks to all those who have participated in this book, and whose generous help has enabled us to take up this project. We trust that these endeavours will serve not only to make the Basque Case known internationally, but also to foster debate on the questions dealt with in the monographic issue and in this book. Such a debate is especially necessary for subordinate, lesser used languages and communities.

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1. HISTORY OF THE BASQUE LANGUAGE: FROM THE DISCOURSE OF ITS DEATH TO ITS MAINTENANCE

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Abstract

The discourse of the death of Euskara, the Basque language, has limitations in explaining the maintenance of the language. This article provides information on the main events in the sociolinguistic history of the Basque language. Taking the reality of Basque language maintenance as a starting point, the paper also discusses small language death discourse, which was predominant in the social sciences of the 19th and 20th centuries. This discourse emerges in connection with the common sense beliefs of modernity. The examination of the case of Uitz, a village in Navarre, shows that Basque survived thanks to the active strategies of its speakers, through natural transmission, in bottom-up processes, and that the language was a positive value for the Basque speakers. Spanish exerted great pressure, but did not succeed in replacing Basque: the Basque speakers of Uitz regarded it as a second language. The results have implications in current work to revitalise the language. In the future, the subject of lesser used language maintenance can point to fruitful lines of research, via interdisciplinary work between sociolinguistics and the social sciences closest to it.

Introduction

This paper has two main aims: on the one hand, to explain the principal events in the sociolinguistic history of the Basque language; and, on the other hand, to discuss the death viewpoint, which is frequently used when dealing with the history of the languages of minorities, in the light of the evolution of the Basque language. With these aims in mind,

the content of the article has been divided into three sections, which complement each other: the first, the sociolinguistic chronology of Basque; the second, the discourse on the death of Basque; and the third, the historical maintenance of Basque: the examination of the case of Uitzu (1863-1936).

So, this paper covers historical subjects only and leaves current or future problems on one side. Moreover, the data and theories or interpretations referred to have been selected in accordance with the objectives of the article, and in no way do they aim to be exhaustive.

The problem of the sociolinguistic history of Basque can be summarised in this paradox: Basque is a pre-Indo-European language that has survived until now, but, although the main event has been its maintenance—in other words, having survived thousands of years despite being in contact with other much stronger languages—almost all the attention in the historiography of Basque has been focused on language shift processes (Erize, 1997 and 1999). Most of the literature, both that written from within the Basque world as well as from outside it, has developed the viewpoint of Basque decline. And something similar also occurs in most of the pieces of research on the evolution of non-official languages, to the detriment of the examination of maintenance processes:

... very refined terminological and conceptual distinctions are made with respect to the ‘minus’ side of the ledger (we speak of language attrition—shift—endangerment—loss—death and can itemize many studies of each way-station along this increasingly negative progression), while the ‘plus’ side remains rather gross and undifferentiated and studies of revival, restoration, revitalization and restabilization remain proportionately few and far between. (Fishman, 1991: 381)

For example, the well-known authors Louis-Jean Calvet, Pierre Bourdieu or Lluís Aracil, who have exerted a great influence on the sociolinguistics of many regions, have concentrated their efforts mainly on studying the shift processes—in other words, the domination of official languages. In contrast, it can be understood that they have conceptualised the historical life of linguistic minorities as an exception to the main trend, as suggested by the explanations they have given—glottophagy not having taken place completely (Calvet, 1974/1981), lesser used languages remaining outside the main market (Bourdieu, 1982/1985) or the occurrence of “out of phase” situations (Aracil and Larrañaga, 1984).

The viewpoint highlighting shift or death has been in force up until today and proposals to establish language shift as a sub-discipline of sociolinguistics have not been lacking, for example Pasch (1998).

However, it must be said that examination of language shift has often been conducted in order to warn of the seriousness of the problem and to put forward ways which would guarantee the maintenance of lesser used languages (Crystal, 2000; Mühlhäusler, 2003; UNESCO n.d.). On the whole there are more and more works on efforts to maintain the language (Fishman 2001). And, for example, a new, although contradictory, situation, which takes non-official languages into consideration, is spreading in the European Union (Azurmendi, 2003).

In this respect, as far as the history of small languages like Basque is concerned, one of the main questions we are faced with is indeed the maintenance of these languages, in other words, sociolinguistic reasons for their maintenance.

Sociolinguistic chronology of Basque¹

A chronologically-organised summary of the main events of Basque sociolinguistic history is given here.

- (...) to the 10th century BC.
 - Basque is the original language of the region. It is genetically isolated in the classification of world languages and, on the whole, there are many open questions as to its origin or its relationship with other linguistic families. Nevertheless, what is known is that the territory has been inhabited since the Palaeolithic; and experts agree that some kind of cultural continuity has taken place since then: “everything points to the uninterrupted presence of the same people, with their culture evolving in place and receiving influences, but not invasions, from elsewhere in Europe” (Trask 1997: 8-9).
- 10th century BC to the 2nd century BC.
 - The arrival of Indo-European peoples: Celts. Consequence: Basque-Celtic contact.
 - At that time another Indo-European language was also spoken in addition to Basque in the territory of the Basque Country.
 - Indo-European traces (names, toponymy...) in the Basque Country: in Araba, Navarre and a part of Biscay.
 - Basque-Iberian contact. Iberian was not an Indo-European language.
- 2nd century BC until the fall of the Roman Empire (AD 476).
 - Roman conquest: Basque-Latin contact.
 - Latin influence on Basque.
 - Written evidence: Basque names in Latin texts: epigraphic inscriptions of

Aquitaine, inscription of Lerga (Navarre)...

- Open question: reasons for Basque survival during the Roman Empire.
- 5th to 8th centuries: period of Basque consolidation.
- Around 824: birth of the Kingdom of Navarre: with Basque ethnic foundations.
- Around 950: the first sentences written in Basque: the “Glosas Emilianenses”
- 1076: *Nos* (those who spoke Latin or Romance) versus *rustici* (Basque speakers): the basic distinction had already been established in the discourse of the non-Basque-speaking world with respect to Basque (in the documents of the Kingdom of Navarre). The *We* (*Nos*, Latin or Romance speakers) and *They* (*rustici*, Basque speakers) of the discourse were established. Synonyms: Basque, *rustico vocabulo*, *vocabulum sortitum*, *lingua navarrorum*...
- Basque was the language in many regions of the Pyrenees during the Middle Ages.
- Evidence of Basque in the Middle Ages: people’s names, place names. They show considerable similarity with today’s Basque in their lexis, morphology, syntax and phonology.
- 1512. Spain conquered the Kingdom of Navarre. The uniting of Spain was accomplished.
- 1545. Bernart Etxepare’s *Linguae Vasconum Primitiae*: the first book to be printed in Basque.
 - From the very beginning Basque literature has had clear indicators of language loyalty or positive ethnolinguistic consciousness: Heuscara ialgui adi canpora ... Heuscara ialgui adi plaçara ... Heuscara ialgui adi mundura ... Oray dano egon bahiz / Imprimitu bagueric / Hi engoitic ebiliren / Mundu gucietaric ... [Basque, go out ... Basque, go out into the square... Basque, go out into the world... If until now you have not been / in print / from now on you will be / all over the world...].
- 1571. Joannes Leizarraga’s *Iesus Christ Gure Iaunaren Testamentu Berria*, the first translation into Basque of the New Testament.
 - The first attempt to codify or standardise Basque.
- 1600 onwards: orders from the bishoprics that the catechism and sermons should be at least in Basque for Basque speakers.
 - Linked to this, an increasing number of publications in Basque and about Basque.
- 1643. *Gero* [Later]: the major work of Basque classical literature by Pedro Agerre, also known as “Axular”.
- In the 17th century: the stable diglossic distribution of Spanish and Basque began to break down in many areas (in the middle of Navarre, in Araba ...).
- 1729. Manuel Larramendi’s *El Imposible vencido. Arte de la lengua bascongada* [The

impossible overcome. Art of the Basque language], the first complete work on Basque grammar. Faced by those who said it was impossible to produce a Basque grammar reference, this title aimed to demonstrate that it was in fact possible.

- 1745. Manuel Larramendi's *Diccionario trilingüe del Castellano, bascuence y latín* (Spanish, Basque and Latin trilingual dictionary).
- 1768. The King of Spain's decree: "I order that the teaching of the first letters, latinity and rhetoric shall be conducted in the Castilian tongue, wherever it is not practised, and it will be incumbent upon the respective Courts and justices to ensure that this is obeyed, and they are required to be diligent in spreading the language of the Nation." There were many orders and decrees like this throughout the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries.
- 1789. The French Revolution. Model of the modern assimilationist policy in favour of a Nation-State language: "to make the language of a great nation uniform, ... in a single, indivisible Republic, the sole and unvarying use of the language of liberty." (Gregoire, 1794/1975: 302).
- 1799-1801. Wilhelm von Humboldt's journeys to the Basque Country. He provided much evidence on Basque speakers and the Basque language.
- 1830. Anton Pascual Iturriaga's report to the General Assemblies of Gipuzkoa demanding a language plan in favour of Basque. It was not implemented.
- 1853. The first Basque "Lore-Jokoak" [competitive festival of literature, especially poetry] organised by Antoine Abbadie in Urruña [in Lapurdi or Labord].
- 1863. Prince Bonaparte's *Carte des sept provinces basques montrant la délimitation actuelle de l'euscara et sa division en dialectes, sous-dialectes et variétés*. [geographical map of the Basque language].
 - The works of Prince Bonaparte (1813-1891): the starting point for modern Basque language studies.
- 1872-1876. Spain's Second Carlist War. As a result, the Spanish Government abolished the "Fueros" [traditional Basque laws] of Araba, Biscay and Gipuzkoa, and the centralist trends prevailed.
- 1876 onwards: *Euskal Pizkundera*, the Basque renaissance: the emergence of works on the Basque language.
- 1884. Arturo Campion's *Gramática de los cuatro dialectos literarios de la lengua vasca* [Grammar of the four literary dialects of the Basque language].
 - Arturo Campion (1854-1937) was one of the most important figures in the Basque Renaissance. He and his colleagues put forward the Basque cultural activity programme which is valid still to this day: they established the main lines of Basque language planning, corpus, status as well as ethnolinguistic identity.

- 1896. Sabino Arana's *Lecciones de ortografía del euskera bizkaino*. [Book on the new orthography for the Biscayan Basque dialect].
 - Sabino Arana (1865-1903) was the founder of the *Euzko Alderdi Jeltzalea-Partido Nacionalista Vasco* (Basque Nationalist Party). His *Lecciones de ortografía* is his most important work in the field of Basque.
- 1896. “Euskal ikastetsea”: the first Basque school, founded by Resurreccion M. de Azkue in Bilbao.
- 1902. The banning of Basque in education: “The schoolmasters and schoolmistresses who teach their pupils the Christian doctrine or any other subject in a language or dialect that is not the Castilian tongue, will be punished ... and should they repeat the offence ... they will be expelled from the official Teaching Profession and will forfeit whatever rights are accorded to them by law” (Royal Decree of November 21, 1902. *Gaceta de Madrid* 327: 664).
- 1905. Resurreccion M. de Azkue's *Diccionario Vasco-Español-Francés* [Basque-Spanish-French dictionary], perhaps the best Basque dictionary ever produced.
- 1918. 1st Congress of *Eusko Ikaskuntza* [Basque Studies Society] in Oñati.
- 1918. The founding of *Euskaltzaindia* [Academy of the Basque Language].
- 1920. The report on unified Basque produced by Pierre Broussain and Arturo Campion to be debated in *Euskaltzaindia*.
- 1930-1936. Proliferation of works on the Basque language. The most important names being Xabier Lizardi (1896-1933) and Esteban Urkiaga, also known as “Lauaxeta”, (1905-1937) in literature; and Jose Ariztimuño, also known as “Aitzol”, (1896-1936) in Basque language and cultural activities.
- 1936-1939. The Spanish Civil War of 1936. This led to the interruption of all initiatives undertaken in Basque culture.
 - 1936 (October 1st). General Francisco Franco: “national unity, which we desire to be absolute, with one single language, Castilian.”
- 1939-1975. The dictatorship of Francisco Franco.
- From the 1960's onwards: the growth of initiatives in favour of the Basque language; the development of the *ikastolas* [Basque-medium schools], etc.
- 1961. Luis Michelena's *Fonética Histórica Vasca* [Basque Historical Phonetics].
 - Luis Michelena (1915-1987) is the greatest Basque linguist of the 20th century.
- 1968. The main rules of Euskara Batua [unified or standardised Basque] were laid down during the *Euskaltzaindia* congress in Arantzazu.
- 1975. Death of Franco. The end of the dictatorship.
- 1977 onwards: political autonomy, education in Basque, *EITB* [Basque TV and Radio Broadcasting Corporation], the law on the normalisation of the Basque language, the

development of Basque in many fields... Nevertheless, the problems of the language did not disappear.

- 2000. *Decreto Foral 372/2000, de 11 de noviembre, por lo que se regula el uso del vascuence en las Administraciones Públicas de Navarra* [Charter Decree regulating the use of Basque in the public administration of Navarre]. Regression in Navarre with respect to language policy. To analyse the discourse supporting these measures see Erize (2001).
- 2003. The Spanish National High Court closed down *Euskaldunon Egunkaria* (the only daily newspaper exclusively in Basque). A new monolingual Basque newspaper has been started up to replace it.

Demography of the Basque Language in the 19th and 20th centuries

To complement the information in this section, demographic data on the Basque language in the 19th century and today are included. In 1863, there were around 501,000 Basque-speakers (Erize, 1997), who represented 55% of the total population of the Basque Country. Nowadays, Basque has about 760,000 speakers (*Euskal Herriko soziolinguistikazko inkesta*, 1999; Eusko Jaurlaritza, 1999; and Nafarroako Gobernua, 1999), who represent 27% of the total population. Also, there are 393,000 semi-bilinguals (14%) with some knowledge of Basque but not really fluent: most of them are people who are learning Basque, as a result of the current efforts to retrieve the language.

So, Basque has 259,000 more speakers than it had in 1863, but as a percentage the number of speakers has fallen from 55% to 27% of the population in the area. Nevertheless, it should be remembered that bearing in mind the nearly Basque-speaking group (14%), the percentages of Spanish or French monolingual speakers has not increased that much: from 45% to 59%, despite the fact that this group has increased in absolute figures from 402,000 to 1,668,490 people. At the same time that Basque has lost some areas and has become weaker in others, both the social movements in favour of Basque and the institutional protection of the language are much greater today than in the 19th century.

Discourse of the death of Basque

In this section the continual announcements in the 19th and 20th centuries of the approaching death of Basque and of many other lesser used languages are analysed in the light of the evolution of Basque. These announcements have not coincided with the complexities

of the real situation, because Basque has remained alive until today, despite problems and frequent periods of decline. Nevertheless, the idea of the death of Basque has had a life of its own, and has made its own way with profound consequences in thought, research programs and also in the relations between linguistic groups. The demands in favour of the language have also fed extensively on the discourse of the death of Basque, as a way of arousing enthusiasm for mobilisation.

There are three main dimensions in the *discourse* concept: (a) language use, (b) the communication of beliefs, or cognition, and (c) social interaction (van Dijk, 1997/2000: 23). Of these three dimensions specific attention will be paid in this paper to the last two: beliefs that view the dying out of small languages, on the one hand, and the conclusions drawn from these beliefs in the relations between the linguistic groups, on the other. According to the authors Fairclough, Jessop and Sayer, “we put special emphasis in the first instance on how discourse frames social interaction and contributes to the construction of social relations” (2001: 23).

In general, it is legitimate to ask how the discourse of the death of non-official languages was established, where it gained its credibility from, and to what extent it came from reality and to what extent from common sense ideas.

“Basque will be dead within a century” (1801)

One of the main ideological patterns of the 19th and 20th centuries was to justify the disappearance of many cultures and languages, Basque included, as if their loss was the necessary price to pay in exchange for future socioeconomic development. This atmosphere is aptly reflected in these words of the Frenchman Élisée Reclus pronounced in 1867:

In this century of frenetic activity in which the “battle of life” spells ruin for all those who get left behind, the Basques, too, will learn to move at an ever greater pace, but this will be at the cost of their nationality and their own language. All that is left of their magnificent language is dictionaries, grammar references... and songs of debatable antiquity. (Reclus, 1867/1929: 72).

Nevertheless, beliefs about the end of the Basque language date back to an earlier time. We have the following passage from Wilhelm F. Humboldt as an example of this, which dates back to 1801 and which foresaw the death of Basque a hundred years later (even though Humboldt’s attitude towards Basque was a clearly positive one):

Already today it has to retreat to the mountains, increasingly from one decade to the next, pursued on all sides ... and its deca-

dence can be expected to accelerate even more from now onwards... In less than a century Basque may have disappeared from the group of living languages. (Humboldt, 1976: 13).

In fact, two characteristics rather than one mark the 19th and 20th centuries. For example, we have the development of a number of languages together with uniformity trends (Deutsch, 1942/1977: 599-600), demonstrating that the general evolution was more complex than thought. Nonetheless, when we speak of the 19th century, a one-sided view frequently comes to mind: the regression in lesser used languages. This one-sided view is highly evident in a number of theoreticians on nationalism, among others, as shown, for example, by these words of Ernest Gellner:

... most [cultures] quietly make their way to the slaughterhouse, they (although not as individuals) see how their culture gradually disappears and dissolves into a greater one belonging to a new national state. Industrial civilisation takes most of the cultures to the attic of history without them putting up the least resistance. (Gellner, 1983/1988: 68-69).

The language policy model of the French Revolution

The French Revolution is one of the main sources of discourse in favour of the death of linguistic minorities. The Revolution established what has been the predominant model in language policy over the past two centuries: “One Nation, one State, one language.” The language was the language of the State, French in their case, or Spanish in Spain. If one wishes to sum up the plans of the Revolution into one single quotation, then the following extract from a speech made on July 27, 1794, by Barère, the spokesman for the Public Health Committee, does just that:

... federalism and superstition speak Lower Breton; emigration and hate of the Republic speak German; the counter-revolution speaks Italian and fanaticism speaks Basque. Let us crush these instruments of harm and error. (Barère, 1794, as cited in Brunot, 1967: 181).

Two main ideas come to the fore in this text: (a) the call to abolish lesser used languages (German and Italian were also lesser used languages inside France); and (b) the linking of lesser used languages with superstition, fanaticism, the breaking-up of the State and counter-revolution, through epithets that were basically interchangeable. The problem is that the ideological trends that speak in the name of modernity –liberalism and social-

ism in particular– have fed on the ideas and stereotypes put into circulation by the French Revolution.

John Stuart Mill

The following advice given in 1861 by the English liberal John Stuart Mill to a number of European peoples, including the Basques, from the assimilationist viewpoint (remember Spencer's Social Darwinism), could be a clear indication of the approaches of Liberalism at that time:

Experience proves that it is possible for one nationality to merge and be absorbed in another; and when it was originally an inferior and more backward portion of the human race the absorption is greatly to its advantage. Nobody can suppose that it is not more beneficial to a Breton, or a *Basque* of French Navarre, to be brought into the current of ideas and feelings of a highly civilized and cultivated people, to be a member of the French nationality... The same remark applies to the Welshman or the Scottish Highlander as members of the British nation. (Mill, 1861/1958: 233-234). (Italics mine).

Friedrich Engels

As this passage of Engels shows, the same type of egalitarian ideals of the mould of the French Revolution prevailed to a great extent among the theoreticians of socialism:

There is no European country that does not possess in some corner one or more sets of remains of peoples, the residue of a previous population contained and subdued by a nation that later turned into the carrier of historical development. ... these dregs of peoples increasingly turn into the fanatic bearers of the counter-revolution, and their whole existence in general is a protest against a great historical revolution. This is what happened in Scotland with the Gaelic people, who supported the Stuarts from 1640 until 1745. So in France with the Bretons, supporting the Bourbons from 1792 until 1800. So in Spain with the *Basques*, supporting Don Carlos. (Engels. *Aus dem literarischen Nachlaß*, III, as cited in Rosdolsky, 1964/1981: 105). (Italics mine).

Miguel de Unamuno

Miguel de Unamuno (1864-1936) was one of Spain's greatest intellectuals. He was the most prominent in spreading the discourse on Basque death in Spain and in the Basque Country. His messages were especially powerful, because he had been born in the Basque Country, in the city of Bilbao.

Unamuno's work consisted of gathering together the beliefs and ideas existing in the atmosphere of the 19th century and in giving them a formal expression for the first time in Spain, from an apparently progressive viewpoint. His main contribution was to be the first in Spain to do so, rather than to propound original ideas. From that time onwards Unamuno became the indispensable reference of the discourses pronounced against Basque and in favour of Spanish.

The following passages taken from a speech on the occasion of the 1901 Bilbao "Lore Jokoak" [competitive festival of literature, especially poetry] summarise his ideas:

The Basque language is becoming extinct without there being any human power to prevent its extinction; it is dying as a fact of life... Modern thought has no place in the thousand-year-old Basque language; Bilbao speaking Basque is a contradiction in terms... Our soul is already bigger than its secular garments: Basque no longer fits us ... let us destroy it. Moreover, there is a law of economy, and it is much less of an effort for us to learn Spanish than to transform Basque, which is an exceedingly complicated tool and a far cry from the simplicity and restraint of the means of analytical languages. ...life will bring about the death of Basque. (Unamuno, 1968: 242-243).

Linguistics at the beginning of the 20th century: Antoine Meillet

Antoine Meillet, the well-known French linguist, frequently regarded as a pioneer of sociolinguistics, spoke thus about the Basque language in his book *Les langues dans l'Europe nouvelle*:

A witness of an ancient state of things, an interesting focus of observation for the linguist, the Basque language has scarcely any political importance. The educated people who speak Basque are bilingual and their language of civilisation is either French or Spanish. Basque is therefore no more than a collection

of local dialects, of use above all in local relations. It stresses the particularist nature of those who speak it, without serving as an organ to a nation being aware of itself. It is no more than a curious survival. (Meillet, 1918: 54)

The discourse on the death of small languages in today's public opinion

It could be said that these opinions constitute the “common sense” of modernity about minority languages, and they continue to be repeated to the present day, as, for example, in the article “With World Opening Up, Languages Are Losers” (The New York Times May 16, 1999):

Many of the world's languages are disappearing as modern communications, migration and population growth end the isolation of ethnic groups. ... At least half the world's 6,000 languages will probably die out in the next century and only 5 percent of languages are “safe”, meaning they are spoken by at least a million people and receive state backing, experts say.

This is no more than an unconfirmed prediction that, by the way, echoes the “Threshold theory” dominant in the 19th century (Hobsbawm, 1990/1991: 39; Rosdolsky, 1964/1981:16), used to determine which languages and cultures were viable and which not.

The ideological structure of the discourse

When analysing a discourse it is essential to know who are the *We* of the discourse and who are the *They* of the discourse. In the case that we are working on, *We* are the intellectuals of the majority languages and, on the whole, the speakers of these languages; *They*, on the other hand, are the speakers of small languages.

Discourse and ideology are frequently linked. The author Teun A. van Dijk (1998) proposes an approach that brings the two sides into contact. Based on the categories of this author, this is the structure we would have in the discourse on the death of small languages:

- Ideological focus: small languages are doomed to disappear in modernity.
- Membership: the speakers of majority languages.
- Activities: functioning in majority languages.
- Goals: to spread majority languages; to “save” linguistic minorities from the

marginalization imposed by their languages.

- Values: the value of majority languages; contempt for lesser used languages.
- Position and group relations: at the centre of society; others are seen as passive losers who do not concern themselves with their own language.
- Resources: the symbolic power of being representatives of “civilisation”; state protection.

The historical maintenance of Basque: examination of the case of the village of Uitzu (1863-1936)

If, in the previous section, we have been looking at the viewpoint which focuses on the problem of shift, in this one, by way of contrast, the features of the historical maintenance of Basque will be analysed, based on research I myself conducted on the Basque-speaking village of Uitzu.

The problem has much to do with the subject brought to light by Joshua A. Fishman (2002: 88): “Multilingual societies ... have functioned admirably for centuries and even millennia. It is the small and weak who have learned how to arrive at, and to maintain, such arrangements”. The question in the end is to see what kind of adjustments Basque has made in the course of time, and how they operate.

Aims and methodology of the Uitzu research

The aim of the research was to begin to analyse the reasons, strategies and weaknesses of the maintenance of a Basque-speaking group from generation to generation: way of life, linguistic behaviour, language values, feelings of community reference, and discourse on the language. Likewise, the analysis of the Uitzu evolution could be seen as the touchstone of the different reasons that have been given to explain the maintenance of Basque—inertia, isolation, not knowing Spanish, weakness of Spanish education, influence of Bascophiles...

The methodology consisted mainly of field work: oral history with the people who lived through the early part of the 20th century, complemented by written sources—archives and contemporary publications. The field research was conducted in 1993 and the results can be found in the works of Erize (1997, 1999).

Some features of Uitz

Uitz is in the province of Navarre, 38 kilometres northwest of Iruñea (Pamplona). There is nothing that distinguishes it specially when compared with other Basque-speaking towns and villages in the Basque Country. At the time object of research, there were approximately 350 inhabitants (354 in 1858 and 327 in 1935).

Uitz is a village which has been integrated at each stage in history into the general life-style of the time. In 1847 it had a school, postal service, communications in the form of cart tracks, and well-established commercial relationships. Thirty years later, in 1877, new schools were built and thoroughly equipped with materials. In 1880 the Spanish-speaking nuns (of the “*Hermanas de la Caridad*”) arrived from beyond Navarre and founded a convent and a school for girls in the village. By 1914 Uitz had roads, a railway and electric light.

With regard to the level of literacy, the inhabitants of Uitz had a high rate in comparison with the whole of Spain: 69% in 1930, whereas in Spain it was 56%. So, the continuity of Basque is not due to hypothetical low literacy, as is sometimes argued.

On the whole, almost all the factors that were supposed to favour Spanish appeared in Uitz, but they did not cause the Basque language to disappear.

Research on the case of Uitz: results

“Life was good at that time”

The inhabitants of Uitz express a good opinion about their overall life in the period studied. They say that they lived well and conditions were good, although life was difficult and they had to work hard. But they do not idealize the past: “Now we live better than then without any doubt,” they say. According to them, Uitz was a village able to satisfy most of its inhabitants’ needs: food, clothes, work, religious life, relationships between sexes, education, health care, music, dances and general culture. They see Uitz as a village that was well informed about outside events and not isolated from the major social changes of 19th and 20th centuries.

“People here have always kept up Basque:” the Basque language in Uitz

Uitz is a Basque-speaking village where the intergenerational transmission has never been interrupted: “People here have always kept up Basque.” That is the way the inhabitants sum up the linguistic evolution of the village.

Most of life carried on in Basque. And the inhabitants demonstrated a natural attach-

ment to their language in different ways.

The study showed important institutions, customs and aspects of social life that appeared related to Basque. For example: the community assembly, or *batzarre*; the communal work, or *auzolan*; the festive sessions of corn husking, or *artazuriketa*; the practical criteria of choosing a spouse; and most religious events.

However, because they studied in Spanish, the inhabitants of Uitzu were not literate in their mother tongue, Basque. The only exception were some priests, who were able to read and write in Basque.

Finally, the already existing movements in favour of Basque —of high quality, but developed mostly in urban settings— had little effect on the village.

Spanish in Uitzu

Although Uitzu was a Basque-speaking village, the Spanish language was present in its life: in the schools, in the everyday relationship with the nuns —who, besides the religious activities, were responsible for the girls' school and the health care of the village—, at different markets, on journeys, and in official life in general.

However, at the same time, the people of Uitzu, as they themselves admitted, suffered really unpleasant situations when they came in contact with the Spanish-speaking world. They were ridiculed and frightened, and they even suffered physical abuse for speaking in Basque, above all in the military service —“it was hell for Basque-speaking people”—, and at school, with the punishment of the “ring.”

This consisted of a ring, which a child who had been caught speaking Basque was obliged to carry. In order to get rid of the ring, and thereby avoid punishment, the children had to catch another schoolmate saying something in Basque, tell on him or her and so pass on the ring. The child who carried the ring at the end of the day was severely punished. This “pedagogical” method combined self-censure of the mother tongue, grassing on other schoolmates and punishment.

As a result of all the pressures they suffered, the inhabitants of Uitzu accepted that they had to learn Spanish, but generally they learnt it as a second language, without questioning their first language, Basque.

Interpretation of the Uitzu results

The interpretation of the results from the Uitzu research will be conducted around four points: (a) ethnolinguistic vitality; (b) natural transmission, values, reference group; (c) Basque language shift; and (d) the ideological structure of the Uitzu Basque speakers' discourse.

Ethnolinguistic vitality

If Basque has survived as a living language, it is because, historically, it has enjoyed great ethnolinguistic vitality, understood in its original sense: “The vitality of an ethnolinguistic group is that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations” (Giles et al., 1977: 308).

Bearing in mind the models that have been put forward for measuring ethnolinguistic vitality, it is true that the Basque-speaking group of Uitzu barely met the usual objective conditions for it –demography, status and institutional support–; yet they did fulfil a number of other criteria, in particular those which have to do with the socio-psychological level: the network of linguistic relations, language competence, ethnolinguistic identity or the type of bilingualism (additional) (Landry and Bourhis, 1997). Thanks to these criteria it is possible to understand the historical maintenance of Basque in the light of the Ethnolinguistic Vitality theory.

Natural transmission, values, reference group

The most outstanding aspect is the strength of the natural transmission of Basque: “Here the people have always maintained Basque,” they said, and so it has been. Most of village life was conducted in Basque: in the home, in the street, among friends, at work, in church and other domains.

If a value is a way of being that is regarded as a model by a community, then Basqueness was at the very centre of the values of the people of Uitzu: they demonstrated clear consensus with respect to the village’s way of life, they themselves and the Basque language. There was consistency between what they were and what they wanted to be. In other words, the group to which they *belonged* and their *reference* group —“the group or groups with which he [the speaker] wishes from time to time to be identified” (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985, *Acts of Identity*, as cited in Labov 2002)— were one and the same: the Basque language community. Thus, their profound ties to Basque become understandable, because the act of accepting themselves brought with it the language too. They did not want to change their language, but to adjust it to the social transformations.

Being a Basque speaker was a value and a mark of prestige in Uitzu, but, in any case, there was hardly any developed Bascophile consciousness: it was mainly a natural, positive motivation. William Labov (2002), when working on language change, had the following to say about it: “the driving forces behind the diffusion are positive forms of social motivation.” And I myself am convinced that this statement could also be applied to the processes of language maintenance.

Basque language shift

As we know already, Basque, although remaining alive, has significantly decreased in the percentage of speakers and has lost important areas where it was spoken. The data presented until now can give us some clues to the understanding of the shift process.

I see the key to language loss in the dislocation of its speech community. The problem was that Basque had a distorted community that was both strong and fragile at the same time. And it suffered great pressures from the Spanish-speaking world.

Therefore, it is understandable that in many places (although not in Uitzu), people, forced by this situation, came to lose confidence in their language, stopped living the value of being a Basque-speaker, considered it an obstacle and, switching over to the Spanish-speaking world of reference, placed their confidence in the Spanish language. The decisive moment is the step when Spanish becomes the first language of former Basque-speakers.

The above is, in my opinion, the “axis” of the explanation of the demise of Basque, and around this axis it is possible to incorporate most of the factors which have influenced the process of shift and which have already been described in the literature.

The ideological structure of the discourse of Uitzu’s Basque speakers

This work, in addition to empirical information, provides an opportunity to examine the language discourse of the Basque-speaking group.

In the case of the Basque speakers of Uitzu, the *We* of the discourse were Basque speakers; and the *They* were non-Basque speakers, who spoke mainly Spanish or French.

Moreover, employing once again Teun A. van Dijk’s categories, this would be the ideological structure of the Basque-speaking group’s discourse:

- Ideological focus: the acceptance of two languages, but one as a first and the other as a second language.
- Membership: Basque speakers.
- Activities: functioning in Basque; from time to time in Spanish.
- Goals: to continue to be Basque-speakers, by carrying out adjustments with the predominantly Spanish-speaking society: complementary bilingualism.
- Values: Basque as a value.
- Position and group relations: at the heart of the Basque-speaking group; but on the periphery of society at that time, because it was a society centred on the Spanish-speaking group.
- Resources: the strength of Basque in daily life, natural transmission; likewise, the support, but only very weak, of the Bascophile movements.

As we can see, there are enormous differences between the discourse of the Uitzu Basque speakers and the death discourse spread from the world of majority languages.

Conclusions

The central theme of this paper has, on the one hand, been the discourse on the death of Basque, and in contrast to this, the maintenance of Basque. The discourse announcing the death of Basque and of similar small languages was a constant in 19th and 20th century social sciences and in general mindsets and continues to be so to this day. Announcements of disappearance have not come true for Basque nor for many other languages: in reality the combination of maintenance and shift processes has turned out to be more complex.

As shown by the ideological structure of the death discourse, the result of its messages was to reinforce the hierarchical relationships between linguistic groups: while the speakers of small languages were made to think that there was no future in their languages, the speakers of majority languages received completely different optimistic messages.

In the field research conducted in the village of Uitzzi to analyse the reasons for the maintenance of Basque it emerges that the Basque speakers have been active subjects in the historical life of the Basque language, through the strategies of natural transmission linked to the family and the local community. The Basque-speaking group has had great ethnolinguistic vitality. Basque was a positive value for the inhabitants of Uitzzi, it had prestige. The character of the Uitzzi people coincided with their wish, with what they wanted to be: they had the Basque-speaking group as a reference group. That way, having accepted themselves, they also accepted their language. On the other hand, it has to be said that the organised pro-Basque movements exerted little influence on the way the village evolved.

The Spanish-speaking world exerted great pressures (punishments, ridicule, education exclusively in Spanish, official life...) on the Basque speakers and apparently it succeeded in weakening Basque, but the shift from Basque did not take place (in other towns, in contrast, the shift process was accomplished): in Uitzzi they took the path of complementary bilingualism, with Basque as the first language and Spanish as the second.

The data do not agree with the usual explanations for the maintenance of Basque: inertia, isolation, lack of knowledge of Spanish, the hypothetical weakness of education in Spanish, the influence of Bascophiles...

Discussion

The history of Basque reveals the limitations of the discourse on the death of small languages: Basque is a language that has survived for thousands of years until the present day, despite the undeniable huge problems and risks it has faced throughout its history. So, it is difficult to produce a sociolinguistic history of Basque by focusing solely on the problem

of its shift, while ignoring the issue of its maintenance. And the problem could be similar in the cases of other lesser used languages which, like Basque, are alive.

Why has the viewpoint of language death become so powerful? There may be two reasons for this: on the one hand, it is evident that it was essential to delve deeper into the reasons for language decline and to reveal the shift mechanisms, as has been done in so many pieces of research; but another compelling reason also emerges: small language death discourse, which is linked to the ideologies of modernity that were established in the 19th century. This paper has focused on this second reason.

In the 19th and 20th centuries the disappearance of small cultures and languages was viewed as the necessary price to pay to achieve modernity, which would benefit everyone. That has been the common sense of modernity. Linked to this we have the language policy model of the French Revolution that fostered a policy of uniformity in favour of the state language.

This discourse is produced particularly by the intellectuals of majority languages and is based on certain values: the exaltation of majority languages and the contempt for lesser used languages.

The predominance of the death discourse has had clear consequences on, among other things, a research level. It could be said that a paradigm, in the Kuhn sense (1962/1995), has been in force, with its questions, problems and solutions. Mainstream thinkers, taking peasants as passive objects, unconscious of their language, have tended to put aside the research questions concerning the maintenance of minority languages. The following quotation by Ernest Gellner (1983/1988: 86-87) clearly shows the aforementioned assumption: “In the old days it *made no sense to ask* whether the peasants loved their own culture: they took it for granted, like the air they breathed, and were not conscious of either” (italics mine). And of course if this question is left out, there is no research.

I detect a major problem in this point of view: successful revitalization strategies are unlikely to be developed if the conditions under which Basque-speakers have historically maintained their language are misunderstood or are not even studied.

As far as theorising is concerned, I should like to draw attention to three ideas: (a) it would appear that from the aspects of the maintenance and shift specified in the 1960’s (Fishman, 1964), the “shift” aspect had predominated in historical analyses of minority languages, and the moment has come once again to restore the importance of the “maintenance” aspect; (b) there is a clear need for analysing the subjective sides of the language situation together with the objective ones: beliefs, values, motivation, attitudes..., ethno-linguistic identity in the end; and (c) the wealth provided by the discourse research viewpoint should be very much taken into account.

From the methodology aspect the question is how to analyse the historical maintenance of Basque and other lesser used languages, knowing, moreover, that the usual sources shed little light as far as the subject is concerned. An attempt has been made in this article to explain a specific way: field research in the Basque-speaking village of Uitzu, based on the methods of oral history. This way has an advantage: it provides the opportunity to work on the bottom-up community dimension of language maintenance, without relying solely on the work of the elite (of one side as well as of the other). Looking to the future, the need for interdisciplinary work is clear, going beyond the limits of sociolinguistics to sciences close to it. On the whole, more fruitful and newer lines of research on the historical maintenance of lesser used languages can be opened up in many senses.

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¹ The following works can be consulted for general information on this subject: Echenique, 1987; Erize, 1999; Gardner, 2000; Intxausti, 1990; Michelena, 1988; Trask, 1997; Zalbide, 1990; Zuazo, 1995. Likewise, the web site of the Eusko Jaurlaritza (the Government of the Basque Autonomous Community). In addition, Cavalli-Sforza's research (1996/1997) in the field of historical genetics.

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2. BASQUE LANGUAGE CORPUS PLANNING

KORO URKIZU

Abstract

When we speak of linguistic planning the two aspects that have been highlighted are corpus planning and status planning. This paper aims to provide a broad view of Basque language corpus planning beginning in 1968 (the year of the Aranzazu Congress of the “Euskaltzaindia”, or Academy of the Basque Language) when the first steps were taken towards Basque corpus normalisation, and going up to the present day.

Moreover, today’s society is immersed in the information and communication age. New technologies have produced tools suitable for processing and transmitting information, and language corpora are highly important resources, because they are required by Language Technologies. So integration into these technologies will be of strategic importance for Basque language survival.

Introduction

In recent years many definitions have been put forward for *language policy* and *language planning* and the types of relationships that have been established between them. In fact, when one analyses the bibliography that is available on the subject, it is difficult to find an exact definition or explanation to distinguish and determine these two terms properly. Briefly, we would define them as follows:

“**Language policy**: a government decides to intervene in a specific linguistic situation and establishes **language planning** to provide a solution for the problems that exist or arise; so, **language planning** is the applying of **language policy**” (Díaz de Lezana, 1989).

The author Einar Haugen used the term *language planning* for the first time in 1966 and proposed a model. That first model included matters relating to the “form” and “function” of the language. Later on, Heinz Kloss (1969) proposed another model and made the following distinction: “*corpus planning*” and “*status planning*”. In 1983 Einar Haugen put forward a second model incorporating the modifications that he had made to the first model using Kloss’ typology.

As previously mentioned, the term *language planning* has been used over the last forty years and appears with different meanings and uses in the general publications of the disciplines of sociolinguistics and the sociology of language. Nevertheless, there has been a tendency to differentiate between two aspects within this term:

- Language ***corpus planning***. The interior aspect within the language itself. A model is selected from among language variants and the standard language is built on this. With respect to language, a distinction is drawn between *standardisation* (on the spelling, phonetic, phonological, grammatical and lexical level) and *modernisation* (in the technolects or specialised terminologies).
- Language ***status planning***. Within planning, a government decides to intervene in a specific linguistic situation so that the language in question may be used in all social domains and establishes the necessary legal framework for this purpose. That, to be precise, is the legal status of the language.

Basque language corpus planning

The main areas that have to be taken into account in the corpus planning of a language that needs to be normalised are as follows:

- A description and an in-depth knowledge of the language.
- The standardisation of the language.
- The modernisation of the language

In order to respond to these main needs substantial work has been done in the Basque Country on the Basque language and in truth it could be said that the corpus area is quite well developed and channelled. Here follow the main areas of work which have been developed so far with a view to normalising the Basque language corpus and which in the future will have to go on being developed.

A description and in-depth knowledge of the language

In the Basque Country today it is the *Euskaltzaindia*, the Royal Academy of the Basque

Language, that is carrying out the main work to describe the use of the Basque language. In fact, in order to know a language properly, a number of pieces of work need to be done in order to have data available on its use. The main pieces of work that are being conducted in the Basque Country to describe the use of Basque are as follows:

- ***Euskal Gramatika*** [Basque Grammar]. For a long time the Grammar Committee of the *Euskaltzaindia* has been conducting research into subjects relating to Basque grammar, and between 1984 and 1994 published seven books, entitled *Euskal Gramatika. Lehen urratsak*. It is a work that describes how different grammatical structures, linkers, conjunctions etc. have been used throughout the history of written Basque. At the moment the committee is examining subordination.
- ***Orotariko Euskal Hiztegia (OEH)*** [General Basque dictionary]. The aim of this dictionary is to compile the heritage of Basque words from all the Basque dialects, places and times from the point of view of a descriptive and historical dictionary (up to 1970). The dictionary aims to show in the most complete way possible what kind of language Basque speakers have used throughout the centuries and in all the dialects.
- ***XX. Mendeko Euskararen Corpus Estatistikoa*** [Statistical corpus of twentieth century Basque]. This is a statistical corpus made up of 4,658,036 text words that covers 20th century Basque. The main and practically only aim of this corpus is to be the witness and sample of the Basque language that has been and is used, but not to put forward a language model. *UZEL* was commissioned by the Lexicographic Committee of the *Euskaltzaindia* to carry out this work. The following web site can be consulted:
www.euskaracorporusa.net/XXmendea/index.html.
- ***Euskararen Herri Hizkeren Atlasa (EHHA)*** [Atlas of local speech forms in Basque]. As in the case of a number of other linguistic atlases, the Basque linguistic atlas also deals with the reality of spoken language in its dialectal status at certain survey points dispersed all over the Basque area. Moreover, there are recordings made in 145 towns and villages in the Basque language area between 1986 and 1992 among the documents collected by the *Euskaltzaindia* to produce the linguistic atlas of the Basque language. These recordings offering over 4,000 hours of conversations are available on CD-ROMs. The *Ohiko euskal mintzamoldeen antologia* [Anthology of traditional Basque speech forms] is the result of this work and can be consulted on the *Euskaltzaindia*'s web site: www.euskaltzaindia.net.

The standardisation of the language

Normally this work corresponds to the language academies in the countries where they exist. So in our case the standardisation of Basque is conducted mainly by the *Euskaltzaindia*. At the Arantzazu Congress in 1968 the *Euskaltzaindia* committed itself to taking significant steps to establish a unified Basque.

When we talk about standardisation we are speaking mainly of a model needed to establish the written language. Nevertheless, we should not forget the spoken language. In fact, there are some rules that are for the written language (orthography), and others that are for the spoken language (pronunciation, accent...) and, finally others that have to be established for both types of language (rules of grammar, lexis and language registers...).

- **What has to be laid down for the written language, in particular: orthography.** The *Euskaltzaindia* laid down most of the spelling of the Basque language in the convention it held in Arantzazu in 1968 and in the decisions taken subsequently, so we could say that the orthography has virtually been established.
- **What has to be laid down for the spoken language, in particular: pronunciation, accent.** In 1998 the *Euskaltzaindia* established the criteria for the unification of pronunciation. It must always be borne in mind that these criteria are for formal and cultivated speaking, in other words, for radio and television news, public meetings, for giving explanations in schools and for similar situations.
- **What has to be laid down for both the written and oral language: grammar, lexis, proper names, different language registers.**
 - **Grammar.** See *Euskal Gramatika* under “A description and in-depth knowledge of the language”, above.
 - **Lexis.** Regarding the standardisation of Basque lexis, there is no doubt that the *Hiztegi Batua* of the *Euskaltzaindia* is currently the main work that has been produced. To enable this dictionary to be produced, the two works mentioned above, the *Orotariko Euskal Hiztegia (OEH)* and the *XX. Mendeko Euskararen Corpus Estatistikoa* have been used as the basis. The first phase of the *Hiztegi Batua* included the most used or most widespread forms. In the second, lesser used forms are being included. In the first phase approximately 20,000 words have been examined and approved. The second will examine a similar number of forms. The following web site can be consulted: www.euskaltzaindia.net.
 - **Onomastics and Toponomastics.** The *Euskaltzaindia* is responsible for this task. On the one hand, with regard to the names and surnames of people in the Basque Country, it published *Ponte Izendegia* in 2001 and *Deituren Izendegia* in 1998 which can be consulted through the Internet at www.euskaltzaindia.net. On the

other, with regard to place names, the proposals put forward at one time by the *Euskaltzaindia* were reviewed and in 2001 EUDEL, the Basque Municipal Councils' Association, together with the Sub-Ministry for Language Policy of the Government of the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC) and the *Euskaltzaindia* published the *Euskal Autonomia Erkidegoko Biztanle-Entitateen Izendegia* [Names of inhabited places in the BAC].

Likewise, the *Euskaltzaindia* has published a dictionary of the place names of Navarre, Lapurdi [Labord] and Zuberoa [Soule]. All the dictionaries can be consulted on the above web site. At the same time, the Language Academy has established the names of historical figures and place names outside the Basque Country (names of states, capital cities, mountains, seas...).

Moreover, the Sub-ministry for Language Policy has a data base of the place names of the BAC. First of all, the Onomastics Committee of the *Euskaltzaindia* established the language rules for the normalisation of Basque place names and the sub-ministry is now reviewing Biscayan place names and when that task is completed (in June 2003), it will be looking at the place names of Araba and Gipuzkoa. The web address for consulting the place names data base is as follows: www.euskadi.net/euskara_eaetoponimia.

- **Different language registers.** Different language registers are required for different situations in order to use both the spoken and written forms of any language. In our case little work has been done in this field.

Modernisation of the Language

A language which is on the road to normalisation is in great need of being modernised, in particular with respect to technical vocabulary and to the types of discourse that different domains of use require. That being the case, when we talk about the modernisation of the language we shall be referring to three areas: terminology, lexicography and reference works and language technologies.

- **Terminology.** With respect to the Basque language there are a number of groups working on terminology, among others we have a Centre for Terminology and Lexicology in Basque (*UZEI*), the Official Translators' Service of the Basque Public Administration Institute (*IZO*), the Elhuyar Cultural Association and the Basque Institute of the University of the Basque Country. Moreover, the Sub-ministry for Language Policy of the Government of the BAC has implemented a new working plan for terminology, fulfilling the requirements of the *General Plan for Promoting Basque Language Use*

(EBPN), drawn up by the the Basque Language Advisory Committee, approved by the Council of Ministers of the Government of the BAC and ratified by the Parliament of that same region on December 10, 1999. As a result of this, two important steps have been taken on the way towards channelling, coordinating and normalising Basque terminology: firstly, the creation of a public terminology bank (*EUSKALTERM*) (with 500,000 terms together with their equivalents in Basque, Spanish, French and English and which can be consulted at www.euskadi.net/euskalterm); secondly, the creation of the Commission of Terminology which will be taking decisions in the field of Basque terminology and which operates as a special section of the Basque Language Advisory Committee (Decree 179/2002 of July 16 modifying the Decree for changing and unifying the rules governing the organisation and functioning of the Basque Language Advisory Committee (Official Government Gazette of the BAC no. 148).

- **Lexicography and reference works.** There are numerous products both in hard copy format and as computer software. Here follow some examples:
 - *Elhuyar Hiztegia: Euskara-Gaztelania / Castellano-Vasco* (Basque-Spanish/Spanish-Basque dictionary). www.euskadi.net/hitz_el
 - *3000 Hiztegia: Euskara-Gaztelania / Gaztelania-euskara* (Basque-Spanish/Spanish-Basque dictionary). www.euskadi.net/hizt_3000
 - *Sinonimoen Hiztegia Antonimoduna* (Dictionary of synonyms including antonyms): www.euskadi.net/hizt_sinon
 - UZEI's *Sinonimoen Hiztegia* (Dictionary of Synonyms) www.uzei.com
Morris Student PlusDictionary : Basque-English/English-Basque: www.euskadi.net/morris
 - *Harluxet Hiztegi Entziklopedikoa* (Encyclopaedic dictionary): (can be consulted at www.euskadi.net/euskara).
 - *Lur Hiztegi Entziklopedikoa* (Encyclopaedic dictionary).
- **Language Technologies.** With regard to language technologies, mention should be made of the advances the Basque language has made in the new fields of Information and Communication Technology, which are as follows:
 1. On-line written Basque press (the newspaper *Berria*, formerly *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*, written in Basque, but other types of magazines too).
 2. CDs to learn Basque and CDs produced in Basque.
 3. Web pages.
 4. The corpuses, dictionaries and other tools made available for consultation on the Internet in electronic format. Apart from those referred to above, the following are worthy of mention:
 - *XUXEN* Basque spellchecker, produced by the *IXA* group of the Computing

Faculty of the University of the Basque Country; it can be obtained free of charge at: www.euskadi.net/euskara_hizt in both PC and Mac versions;

- The EDBL Basque lexical data base produced by the same group: www.ixs.si.ehu.es;
- The Official Government Gazette of the Basque Autonomous Community: www.euskadi.net/bopv.

5. Most used software products:

Localization of products:

- Windows 95 and Windows 98;
- Word 6 and Office 2000 (Word, Excel and Outlook);
- Internet Explorer 4 and 5, and Outlook Express 5;
- Linux Mandrake 8.2 (operating system for free Software) (www.euskadi.net/euskara_soft);
- Four modules of the SAP business suite;
- Panda Titanium antivirus product (www.pandasoftware.es/titanium/euskara);
- Panda Platinum antivirus product;
- WIT courses for self-study (Word 2000 and Internet 2000);
- Contawin accounting suite;
- OPTENET Internet content filter;
- Open Office: free office system software package (www.euskadi.net/euskara_soft);
- Line of grants for the Basquisition of software for schools (*EIMA*) run by the Department of Education of the Government of the BAC).

6. Creation of a virtual site for teacher training and for distance language learning.

- The **HABENET** project, produced by the Institute for the Teaching of Basque and Basque Language Literacy to Adults (*HABE*). Its aims are as follows: to improve the external and internal communications of the *HABE* network (*HABE*, Basque language schools, teachers, students); to facilitate the network for teaching material and also for its homologation; to develop autonomous learning systems and online didactics; to channel the on-going training of teachers by means of tutors and to facilitate administrative management.
- **HIZNET** is a course on language planning organised by the Basque Studies Society (*Eusko Ikaskuntza*), the University of the Basque Country (EHU), the Summer Basque University (UEU) and the Institute for Sociolinguistics (SEI). The course operates through the Internet and is designed for language normalisation officials, professionals, researchers and for those with responsibilities in the language normalisation field.

7. Information gathering, search and retrieval:
 - *Kapsula* software: In this project financed by the Industry Department of the Government of the BAC in the framework of the INTEK plan, the aim is to bring about technological advances in order to deal automatically with a number of different sources and formats when it comes to receiving documentation. The *Klaudio Harluxet Fundazioa*, *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*, *HABE* and *Argia* have been involved in this project, alongside the *Ametzagaina* and *ASP* companies. (www.kapsula.com).
8. Automatic voice recognition, computerised voicing, or automatic synthesis and phonetic transcription of voice.
 - *Telefónica* phone company and the University of the Basque Country, with Basque public funding, have run a number of projects to develop language competencies to interpret the voice in Basque and to synthesise oral messages.
9. Development of the basic techniques of linguistic engineering, for example language processing tools. This work has been carried out by the *IXA* group of the Computing Faculty of the University of the Basque Country. www.ixa.si.ehu.es.
 - *MORFEUS* morphological analyzer
 - *EUSLEM* Basque lemmatiser/tagger
 - Some prototypes of tools for assisting translation
10. Turning text into text (translation) and word processing in the context of office computing functionalities
 - The Official Translators' Service of the Basque Public Administration Institute offers a corpus of legal and administrative translations on its web page: www.ivap.es/eusk/izo/karatula.htm
 - *ACOTE* Project: taking the technology developed for the *Kapsula* project as a basis, the *Ametzagaina*, *ASP* and *Rosetta Testu Zerbitzuak* companies have come up with a product to assist translations. This product includes linguistic techniques like language analysis (lemmatising); tools for aligning bilingual texts, the visualising of grammatical agreements and the detecting of translation errors. This project has received funding from the Government of the BAC.
 - The translation corpus of the Association of Basque Translators and Interpreters (EIZIE) can be consulted at the following web address: www.eizie.org/euskara/tresnak/comp.htm.

Conclusions

So, we can draw the following conclusions in the light of everything that has been said.

Despite the fact that our aim has been to provide an extensive view of Basque language corpus planning, we cannot ignore status planning, because both are linked to each other and because they together constitute the two aspects of language planning.

As far as corpus planning is concerned, since the 1968 Arantzazu Conference of the *Euskaltzaindia* was held, in other words, since the first steps were taken in the normalisation of the Basque corpus, great progress has been made in this field. All the work referred to throughout this paper bears witness to this fact.

Today's society is based on information and communication. The new technologies have produced appropriate tools to process and transmit information, but these tools are largely designed for the main languages; as the market for lesser used languages is small, these languages are in danger of being left behind without these tools, in other words, in danger of becoming weaker. As far as the Basque language is concerned, significant progress has been made in the field of new information and communication technologies. People involved in the sphere of language policy are in fact working on this. That being the case, it is clear that advantage should be taken of all the possibilities offered by the new technologies for the benefit of the language, in other words, to create the tools to respond to the needs of society. Nowadays, for example, corpuses are of immense value, because language technologies require contents, so the strategic survival of the Basque language will lie in the creation of more corpuses and the integration of these into these technologies. In fact, the more the language is used, the greater the need that arises and this will guarantee the use of Basque. There lies, perhaps, the challenge for the Basque language.

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3. THE SOCIAL MOVEMENT IN FAVOUR OF THE NORMALISATION OF THE BASQUE LANGUAGE

XABIER MENDIGUREN and JOXE J. IÑIGO

Abstract

The authors of this paper conduct a detailed examination of the social movement in favour of the normalisation of the Basque language. The analysis of the organisations that make up this movement and the activities that they undertake lead the authors to an interesting point: the doing/influencing binomial. In this article a clear bid is being made for the social movement to invest more resources and effort in the work of social and politico-institutional influence (influencing), since there is a clear imbalance between this work and the work of normalisation (doing) to which over 99% of the economic and human resources are devoted. The creation of the Council of Social Organisations in favour of Basque (Kontseilua) has been an important element in enabling the broad social support for the revival of the language to have greater sway in the social and politico-institutional spheres. Likewise, Kontseilua is an important factor for the internal cohesion of such an extensive and plural social movement.

Introduction

The social movement for the normalisation of the Basque language covers a wide social spectrum. Its greatest influence by far is in the education sector –primary and secondary–, and to a lesser extent in the area of publishing, the mass media, culture and university and has less muscle in the work sphere, justice, health, social services and other domains, as explained below.

Considerable difficulties arise when trying to define the concept of a social movement in favour of a language, inasmuch as it is not easy to establish the limits or to list the

common features shared by the different agents and organisations working to normalise the social status of the Basque language. Nevertheless, we believe that all the organisations, be they of a social or private initiative –in other words, neither publicly owned, nor of a political nature– which see themselves as being part of a movement, whose general aim is one of public interest as is the normalisation of Basque, fall into this category.

This quality is, as far as we are concerned, independent of the legal status that such organisations may have adopted. In this respect, the organisations that participate in this movement are not exclusively cultural associations, NGO's or pro-language groups, which in some cases are not even officially registered; even some companies conduct their activities with no profit motive in mind other than to generate profits in order to plough them back into their own activities, but never to distribute them among their shareholders. So, this movement in favour of the language is made up of different types of bodies: cultural associations, schools, foundations, companies, cooperatives, professional associations and even an occasional religious entity, which carry on the work of normalisation in their own fields. Many of these entities are grouped together into federations, coordinating bodies, associations of companies or second-degree cooperatives.

The contemporary social movement in favour of the Basque language is generally thought to have arisen in the Southern Basque Country, under Spanish jurisdiction, during the Franco era, initially around the *ikastolas* (mixed Basque-medium schools) and later with the *gau-eskolas* (Basque language evening schools for adults). The real expansion of this movement began at the end of the 70's with the change of political regime. A great many organisations began to spring up in different activity sectors and, after a period in which the influence of volunteers was significantly greater than now, truly considerable levels of professionalism emerged. At the start of the 80's some Basque language social organisations joined together in the *EKB* (*Euskal Kulturaren Batzarra* – Basque Culture Congress) in an initial joint working experience that lasted until the mid-nineties when *Kontseilua*, the Council of Social Organisations in favour of Basque, was created.

At present most of the organisations are direct or indirect members –through the federations to which they belong– of *Kontseilua*, a grouping created in 1997 to bring organisations together in this highly varied movement for the first time in such a broad way.

Main Data

Although there are no exhaustive studies, rough calculations in recent years point to the considerable importance of the social movements for the language:

- Together they number several hundred organisations.

- They bring together over 250,000 people who participate directly as members, although it should be pointed out that the level of language awareness varies considerably.
- They include 7,000 staff.
- They constitute an economic movement that represents, as a whole, a total of 300 million euros per year.

These data refer to the whole of the Basque Country, which covers the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC), Navarre and the Basque provinces in France and which accounts for approximately 2,900,000 inhabitants.

The geographical presence of this social movement is unevenly distributed and coincides, as to be expected, with the influence that Basque speakers have in different areas of the country. So, in the province of Gipuzkoa, it is a movement of great social influence, substantial in the province of Biscay, somewhat less in Araba and Navarre and with a growing, but still rather minority presence in the Basque provinces in France.

Types of Activities

The debate around the “doing/influencing” binomial (*egin/eragin* in Basque) has in recent years served as a basis for reflection which has even led to the creation of *Kontseilua*. This concept has been used in the sense that the social movement in favour of the language should, on the one hand, develop specific tasks of language normalisation, in other words, it should “do” language normalisation and, on the other hand, it should “influence” politically and socially so that the normalisation activity is conducted more extensively and effectively. We regard as “normalisation tasks” those relating to the education of boys and girls in the Basque language, the teaching of the language to adults, the planning and functioning in the Basque language of a specific organisation or, to give another example, the development of laws to protect its spread and use.

The social movement in favour of the language has tended mainly towards *doing* and to a considerably lesser extent towards *influencing*. The era of the Franco dictatorship already saw the birth of what is known as the *ikastola* and *gau-eskola* movements and, historically, priority has been given to the channel of *doing* what was in the hands of organised social groups, as opposed to *influencing* other bodies (both social as well as politico-institutional ones) so that they would do what corresponded to them.

Even today, over 99% of both human and economic resources of the social movement in favour of the language are dedicated to what we call tasks of language normalisation as such, to *doing* language normalisation. It may be worth noting that the commit-

ment of the social movement for the language to activities of social and politico-institutional influence may be testimonial, approaching 0.6% of the total resources, according to our own estimates.

The above percentage could be slightly higher in fact, but in no case does it exceed 2 or 3 per cent of the total, bearing in mind, on the one hand, that all the bodies concentrating on normalisation efforts occasionally exert some kind of socio-political influence related to their activities and, on the other hand, that it is not always easy to discern the limits between *doing* and *influencing*.

For this reason the social movement in favour of the language is highly professional and lacks, in inverse proportion, similar experience in activities to exert an influence on the decisive sectors of society or, in other words, in lobbying or exercising political and social pressure.

This gap is even more surprising inasmuch as the mobilising capacity of this movement is high and its social penetration is of major importance. Mobilisations of a festive nature that attract several tens of thousands of people are common. To quote an exceptional example, in December 1998, within the framework of the awareness campaign called *Bai Euskarari* (Yes to Basque), 123,000 people filled the five main football stadiums of the Basque Country and several thousand more were unable to get inside. This accounts for about 5% of the total population of the country.

There are varying reasons for this imbalance between what we call normalisation tasks and tasks of politico-social pressure (between *doing* and *influencing*). Firstly, the movement in favour of the language has always given priority to taking real steps in the revival of the language. Secondly, the lack of experience in the work of exerting pressure has borne little fruit and these poor results do not encourage belief in the effectiveness of this kind of activity. Lastly, the political conflict in the country certainly hinders any work of this nature: activities to exert pressure are frequently construed as political strategies and, moreover, because of this general situation the political parties control their elected members to such an extent that it is difficult for these to adopt postures with regard to social sectors at variance with party dictates.

So, the tasks of social critique or political pressure are always relegated to a second level, except in the case of certain organisations or bodies that have grown up for this express purpose.

Furthermore, the high level of professionalism has led to a dependence on institutional funding in the west of the country, which has practically neutralised the capacity for public criticism with respect to official language policies. This lack of greater commitment to activities of politico-institutional pressure is in fact one of the main shortcomings of this social reality, and, at the same time, one of the main reasons why this movement as a

whole decided to create *Kontseilua*, the Council of Social Organisations in favour of Basque, during a process of reflection conducted between 1995 and 1997.

Presence by sectors

The sway of the education sector in the social movement for the language is remarkable. This sector accounts for over three quarters of all the resources referred to above.

We have considered presence by sector according to resources, both human –members and staff– and economic, and not according to the number of entities. It may well be that a large number of small organisations exists in a specific sector and that in another a few organisations may exert a greater social impact.

In order to calculate the influence of each sector, three criteria have been combined: the number of members of all the bodies in each sector, the number of workers and the economic dimension, which is understood as the total of the profit and loss account. Each of the three factors has been given the same proportional weight in the final calculation.

As we are at all times referring to social entities, both the economic resources and the number of workers in the public institutions, like teachers in state schools and the resources provided by the public universities are not included in these calculations. Neither have we included the resources of those entities which devote a great deal of effort to language normalisation like companies, cooperatives or trade unions, which we do not regard as members of the social movement in favour of the language. Nevertheless, we do include in these calculations both the funding received by the social entities –which in some cases is very high– and the number of members they have, for example, parents' associations in state schools, because in their daily work they operate like a social movement.

Most of the figures were updated at the end of 2001 and in a few cases they could be up to five years old. However, we do not believe that there has been any significant change in their proportions for this reason.

Nevertheless, it is more difficult to define the sectors involved in the social movement. We have used a classification which will probably satisfy the majority of the bodies, but the list categories as well as the assignation of certain organisations to one sector or another is open to debate, with the result that in some cases we have included them in the one in which they do more and in others we have divided their activities between two sectors (Table 1).

Table 1: *Resources of the social movement for Basque by sectors*

Primary and Secondary Education	78.9%
Adult Basque Language and Literacy programmes	8.2%
Publishing	6.1%
Media	2.8%
Normalisation in the local community	1.2%
Culture, professional associations	1.0%
Work sphere	0.9%
Politico-social influence	0.6%
University	0.3%

Weaknesses and Strengths of the movement for the language

At different moments the social movement for the language has carried out important internal reflections. The following observations have emerged on the negative side:

- Despite the important step forward taken with the creation of *Kontseilua*, the levels of cohesion and collaboration between the social organisations for the language are still insufficient. The degree of fragmentation, the inability to overcome rivalries in the market, the different situation analyses and the different strategies as well as historical mistrust are factors which at present are hampering the taking of strategic steps.
- In too many cases an adequate mutual understanding has not been achieved with the institutional agents. The relationships are of politico-economic dependence and subordination or, at the other extreme, of distance and confrontation. Furthermore, the social movement, despite being able to maintain a certain level of autonomy, has not succeeded in sufficiently shaping an institutional policy that always proposes an exclusive leadership and, in many instances, political control over the social entities.
- Lack of sufficient resources to handle the challenges that have been taken on.
- The need for a renewed and efficient discourse to attract new sectors and to establish points of reference in society.

- Limited activity to exert politico-social pressure, not always efficient in the cases in which it is conducted.

In recent years this delicate situation has deteriorated in the Spanish state owing to a series of political, institutional, media and judicial measures aimed at reversing the achievements made in the language normalisation process since the end of the Franco era. As language knowledge and national consciousness are so closely linked in the Basque Country, the Spanish state not only targets the Basque nationalist political sectors, but also many social organisations and companies that carry on their activity in the language field. The inexperience of the social entities when faced with this new and at the same time extreme situation signifies a highly important factor of weakness.

This harassment has been repeatedly denounced by different institutions, human rights organisations and other kinds of entities before international authorities. There has been condemnation, in particular, of the language policy of the Government of Navarre, virtually unique in Europe as an administration that legislates against its own language.

Nevertheless, there clearly continues to be majority social backing for the revival of the language. This is precisely the main factor the social organisations for the language as well as institutional policies have in their favour. At the same time we also consider the following strengths to be important:

- The social bodies are increasingly better organised and prepared. There is a high degree of professionalism and accumulated experience. There is an important trend to face the new challenges with courage.
- Notwithstanding the highly politicised situation and persistent attempts at political control by different powers, they have managed to keep their autonomy to a certain extent.
- Important steps are being taken to overcome the fragmentation existing among the social entities. In recent years the cohesion of the movement for the language has been growing, as has the number of projects developed in collaboration between different associations.
- The movement for the language, owing to its own dimension and dynamics, has an ever greater capacity to influence society, the institutions and the centres of power. Despite the fall in volunteering in recent years, the level that still exists and its ability to activate social sectors and mobilise them is very substantial.
- On an international level there is an increasing establishment of ties and joint activities that is transforming the social organisations not only into receivers of information, but also into exporters of initiatives in favour of language revival.

The social movement and institutional policies

According to the social movement in favour of the Basque language, language equality should be guaranteed in all spheres, and for this purpose the current legislation should recognise and develop this equality of opportunities. In this respect, the Basque language needs to overcome the clear negative discrimination it is subjected to by both the Spanish and French constitutions.

The fact that Basque has five different juridical set-ups in three administrative areas covering approximately 20,000 square kms and that the recognition of the rights of Basque speakers varies from one geographic area to another is a clear infringement of their language rights.

At present, even in the places where Basque is official, the law is not fully complied with. The right of Basque citizens to use their own language, in private and in public, freely and without interference or any form of discrimination, is not guaranteed as it should be according to Article 2 of the Declaration on the Rights of Persons belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities of the United Nations General Assembly. This right is not guaranteed throughout the territory of the Basque people and the policy of discrimination pursued by certain institutions is clear and manifest.

Within the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC) the debate on the achievements of the normalisation process comes up time and again, though with little practical effect: whilst, from the institutional standpoint, much has been achieved, the most radical sectors of the language movement assert precisely the opposite.

In an analysis produced after a huge effort to achieve consensus the vast majority in the social movement considers, firstly, that the steps taken until now have been very substantial and should under no circumstances be underestimated. Secondly, they consider that in the twenty years plus of political autonomy since the Franco dictatorship much more should have been done and that, lastly, consistent with the previous point, the language policy of the Government of the BAC contains excessively large gaps.

There are official studies with long-term forecasts which are being jealously guarded and whose shocking results should bring about a reconsideration of the language policy in different respects:

- The internal functioning of the BAC Government and of most of the administrations is conducted almost entirely in the Spanish language, except in those departments directly related to language normalisation. A determination needs to be adopted urgently so that Basque becomes the language of institutional use and steps need to be taken accordingly.
- Twenty years on, the Law of Language Normalisation is not being complied with

in many of its aspects by the institutions themselves. A review of the law is needed to consider the mechanisms that will urge the administration and all services of a public nature to respect language rights in practice.

- Twenty years on, the education system needs reviewing to guarantee that all students will complete the educational process with the necessary level of language competence.
- The BAC Government's language policy is excessively concentrated in the departments of culture and education, so that the involvement of the remaining departments in normalisation is severely reduced. Moreover, the General Plan Promoting Basque Language Use approved by the BAC Government in 1998 is being developed without being open to public scrutiny. According to the information available –not all that recent– the plan is barely being deployed and leads to the situation of having been approved without any economic resources forthcoming to enable it to be implemented.
- Finally, a review is needed of the relationship between the administration and social movements along the lines of what has already been developed in this paper.

In the Charter Community of Navarre the social movement is coordinated mainly in the *Oinarriak* forum. This forum arose owing to the need to organise a broadly based, plural movement to try to influence the language policy of the different governments of Navarre and currently forms part of *Kontseilua*.

In this territory there is no law for language normalisation but a law to regulate the use of Basque in different aspects of administrative life and in non-university education. It is a law that has been fiercely disputed by the social entities which have mounted numerous social protests against it, including a petition with over 50,000 signatures demanding that it be repealed.

One of the most controversial aspects of this law is the tripartite division of the territory of Navarre, assigning different language rights to the inhabitants of each zone. Likewise, the capital, Pamplona/Iruñea, is regarded as being in the mixed zone and it is always necessary to approach the official bodies in Spanish and not just in Basque. In fact, the few language rights that have been recognised in Navarre in recent years are being severely undermined.

With regard to the territories located in the French state the language rights of its Basque speakers are not recognised. There is no legislation apart from the French Constitution. The absence of legal recognition has led to highly embarrassing situations: for example, the use of Basque in the postal service signifies an economic disadvantage since letters sent in this language are subject to an additional charge.

Thanks to the efforts of the social entities, important steps forward have been taken in the area of *doing*, in particular, although at present advances are being made in *influencing* the French administration so that language rights are legally recognised.

Strategies and challenges

In the internal debates going on at present a whole series of enormous challenges –not necessarily new ones– in which the movement for the language could play a major or minor role are being identified. Here follows a number of them: the integration of the new waves of immigrants, the spread of language immersion models in education, the strategic nature of the teaching of Basque to adults, awareness-raising in society as a whole and, in particular, the winning over of non-nationalist ideological sectors, the increase of volunteering in social organisations, the reinforcing of the mass media in Basque, the appropriate handling of normalisation activities in the Spanish and French media, the development of legal aspects and the increase in the use of the language with special attention being paid to the spread of suitable communication resources among young people.

Special emphasis needs to be placed on this last point relating to the increase in the use of the language, because it occupies a very central position in the concerns of this movement. Practically all the activities are organised with the final objective of influencing the use of the language. In any case, the appropriate coordination between the programmes of the different sectors and this objective continues to pose one of the greatest challenges.

We shall end by emphasising that an adequate strategy for the normalisation movement should coordinate three levels:

- A first level of normalising action, of activities focused directly on the winning over of an increasingly greater number of inhabitants for the language and domains for its use.
- A second level of pressure and influence on both politico-institutional and social sectors with a commitment, intensity and constancy significantly greater than at present. The aim of this activity is manifold: genuine progress for social and private sectors, progress in legal matters and programming by the institutions and an increase in support for the language policy by the population.
- Finally, a third level of internal cohesion and collaboration among organisations, without which it will be difficult to achieve the two levels mentioned above.

A fourth level could even be considered: political action in the most normal sense of the word. The general political circumstances condition the work of language normalisa-

tion so much, that emphasis in the movement for the language is ever more frequently being placed on the importance of solving the current conflictive political situation and of securing the necessary political and legal powers to drive the normalisation process forward with all the available resources.

Appendix. The main organisations of the social movement for the language

It should not be forgotten that the current list refers to those social entities –in other words not public ones– which conduct their activities in the field of language normalisation. There are important institutions which are also involved in this task but which are not listed because they lie outside the scope of this paper. For the same reason the list does not include other types of organisations, private companies, for example, whose main work is not language normalisation, but which invest heavily in this field and do extremely important work in the interests of normalisation. Likewise, it should be understood that not all the bodies listed here form part of Kontseilua; the list of members can be consulted on the organisation’s web site (www.kontseilua.org). Finally, the authors would like to point out that because of the huge number of entities that make up the movement in favour of the language, they have chosen to provide a list of the most important ones and regret the omissions that undoubtedly exist in this list.

ABEGI KULTUR ELKARTEA, Association formed by four Basque language schools in the Donostia-San Sebastián area.

ABOKATU EUSKALDUNEN SINDIKATUA, Association of lawyers seeking to achieve a standard use of Basque in the administration of justice.

AEK, Co-ordinating committee teaching Basque and literacy in Basque to adults in over 100 centres.

ANTZERKI TALDE AMATEURREN BILTZARRA, Association of amateur theatre companies.

ARABAKO EUSKALTZALEEN ELKARTEA, Coordinating body which groups together 14 associations promoting Basque in the province of Araba.

ARGIA, Weekly magazine in Basque providing general information.

ARRANO BELTZA EUSKAL TOKIA, Meeting place for Basque speakers in Donostia-San Sebastian.

ARTEZ, Company offering planning, advice and support for the standardisation of Basque.

AURTEN BAI, Among its many objectives are the promotion and dissemination of Basque culture and language as well as the development of new technology-based materials.

BAGARE EUSKAL TOKIA, Basque-speaking meeting centre in Vitoria-Gasteiz.

- BERRIA, Daily newspaper in Basque.
- EHIGE, The Association of Parents of state schools.
- EGAN, Literature magazine of the Association of Friends of the Basque Country.
- EHE, Association in defence of Basque.
- EIEF-FERE, The Federation of Religious Institutions working in Basque schools.
- EIRE, The Association of University Basque Teachers.
- EIZIE, The Association of Basque Translators, Correctors and Interpreters.
- ELHUYAR, Association promoting the use of Basque in the field of science and the workplace.
- ELKAR-ZABALTZEN, Publishing and distribution house.
- EMUN, Organisation designing plans for the standardisation of Basque in companies.
- EREIN, Publishing house.
- EUSKAL EDITOREEN ELKARTEA, Association promoting publications in Basque.
- EUSKAL HERRIKO BERTSOZALEEN ELKARTEA, Association of Basque ad-lib verse singers and aficionados.
- EUSKAL IDAZLEEN ELKARTEA, The Association of writers writing in Basque.
- EUSKAL KONFEDERAZIOA, Association of over 60 organisations working for the normalisation of Basque in the Northern Basque Country.
- EUSKAL KULTUR ERAKUNDEA, Basque cultural institute in the Northern Basque Country.
- EUSKALAN, Association promoting the use of Basque in the workplace.
- EUSKALERRIA IRRATIA, Basque language radio broadcaster in the Basque Country.
- EUSKARAZ BIZITZEKO HITZARMENA, Association of organisations who have signed the agreement to promote Basque in the workplace.
- EUSKO IKASKUNTZA, Institute of Basque studies.
- EUSKO IKASTOLA BATZA, Association grouping together 15 Basque schools.
- GAIAK, Publishing house.
- GEREDIAGA, Association promoting Basque Culture in the Durango area.
- GOIHERRIKO EUSKAL ESKOLA, Cultural association for the promotion of the Basque language in all fields.
- HIK HASI, Basque education magazine.
- HITZEZ, Basque school for adults.
- HIZKUNTZA KONTSEILUA, Meeting point of the associations and public institutions that work for the development of Basque in the Northern Basque Country.
- IKA, Association of centres teaching Basque and literacy in Basque to adults.
- IKASTOLEN ELKARTEA, Confederation of over 100 Basque-medium schools.
- ILAZKI, Basque school for adults.
- JAKIN, Magazine on cultural issues.

JOANA ALBRET MINTEGIA, Library management group.

KAFE ANTZOKIA, Cafe restaurant and Centre for culture and leisure in Basque.

KALEGANA, Translation service.

KARMEL, Magazine of the Carmelites of the Basque Country.

KILI-KILI, Children's magazine.

LABAYRU IKASTEGIA, A college for learning Basque as a second language and literacy in Basque, a centre of literary and ethnographic research, also incorporating both a publishing house and a library.

MAIZPIDE, Basque language school that runs residential courses.

MENDEBALDE, Association promoting the Biscayan dialect.

OEE, Organisation promoting the use of Basque in the Health Service.

OINARRIAK, Association of organisations working for the standardisation of Basque in Navarre.

ORIO PRODUKZIOAK, Cinema and TV production company.

PLAZAGUNEA, Global services and advice for Internet, mainly in Basque.

SEI, Promoter of the Basque institute of sociolinguistics; publishes *BAT* journal and measures the real use of the Basque language.

SORTZEN-IKASBATUAZ, Movement in public sector schools promoting Basque.

TINKO, Institute for the normalisation of Basque in the cinema.

TOPAGUNEA, Association of 61 local organisations promoting Basque.

UDAL EUSKALTEGIETAKO LANGILEAK, Association of the staff of municipal Basque schools for adults in the BAC.

UEU, Organisation facilitating the creation of a Basque language University.

ULIBARRI, Language normalisation programme for schools in the Basque language.

URRATS, Basque school for adults.

UZEI, Centre for terminology and lexicography in Basque.

UZTARRI, Association formed by Basque language schools.

4. USE OF THE BASQUE LANGUAGE, KEY TO LANGUAGE NORMALIZATION

IÑAKI MARTINEZ DE LUNA, XABIER ISASI and OLATZ ALTUNA

Abstract

Basque sociolinguistics considers that Basque language use plays a crucial role in the Basque language normalisation process. This is why a number of theoretical-empirical models have been devised: sociolinguistic, psychosocial and mathematical ones to explain Basque use in the Basque Country. These models are put at the disposal of general sociolinguistics so that they can also be applied to other subordinate and lesser used languages in a contact situation.

Introduction

Among the theoretical and empirical bases used to analyse the situation of endangered languages from the point of view of the sociology of language and the social psychology of language, the most well-known ones on a world level have found an echo among us too, for example, *Reversing Language Shift* (Fishman 1991), *la puissance linguistique* and *l'attraction linguistique* (Mackey 1976), *ethnolinguistic vitality* and developments relating to this concept (Landry & Allard 1984 & 1994; Giles *et al.* 1977; Allard & Landry 1986 & 1987; Landry & Bourhis 1997; Harwood *et al.* 1994; Pierson, 1994; Mann 2000). And when analysing the situation of Euskara, or the Basque language, there have been many local authors who have fed on these outside sources (Erize 1997; Arratibel 1999; Azurmendi 2000; Arratibel *et al.* 2001; Zalbide 2001; Usarralde & Martínez de Luna 2003).

Nevertheless, there are undoubtedly other Basque authors who have trod their own paths when analysing the use of languages in the contact situation between Basque and Spanish or French.

It should also be mentioned that in recent years, which have been marked by progress in the efforts towards Basque normalization, after achieving reasonably optimistic

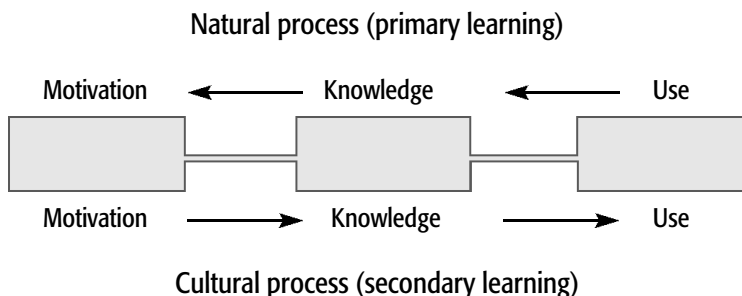
results in transmission through family and education –in the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC) in particular– tremendous importance has started to be attached to fostering the use of this language. So, in the belief that the use of Basque is the key to normalization, we shall take into consideration here specific work or special developments that have examined the subject of Basque use.

Sánchez Carrión’s language learning processes

There is no doubt whatsoever that one of the most important pieces of work that fulfils these conditions is that of José María Sánchez Carrión, also known as “*Txepetx*” (Sánchez Carrión 1991). According to Erize, “...the aim of this author has been to develop a theory that envisions a balanced linguistic future.” This author’s main lines of work are as follows: “the claiming of life for languages, concern for minority languages, a balanced coexistence between languages, the analysis of substitution mechanisms, sharp condemnation of ideologies in favour of substitution and criticism of the work of states.” (Erize 2001:84)

Of the subjects developed by Sánchez Carrión it is his theory of learning that has kindled interest as far as this paper is concerned: “The aim of this theory is to clarify the course followed in the learning of languages and the conditions which are met. (...) He says a language is learnt as a result of these three basic factors: motivation, knowledge and use. The three are linked together to form a circuit. At the same time, each one can be natural or induced –brought about through reflection–. According to this we have two types of language learning: primary and secondary learning. Primary learning is that of childhood, in which use, knowledge and motivation are natural; secondary learning, in contrast, is after adolescence, in which motivation, knowledge and use are induced” (Erize 1997:135) (Figure 1).

Figure 1: *Learning processes.*



Source: adapted from Sánchez Carrión (1991: 36).

In both the natural and the cultural process, only when one of the three factors reaches a level of sufficiency, will it begin to spill into the compartment next to it: “in order to pass from one compartment to the next, the previous compartment has to reach a certain level.” (Sánchez Carrión 1991:39).

In his work on language learning this author frequently highlights the importance of use, both in primary and in secondary learning, because in the end use is of fundamental importance for the two kinds of language learning and for maintaining high levels of knowledge and motivation within each kind. (Sánchez Carrión 1991: 35-71).

Euskararen Jarraipena: Sociolinguistic Surveys

The items of research entitled *Euskararen Jarraipena* are the most significant pieces of ongoing general sociolinguistic research. This research is based on a survey conducted from house to house on a sample of inhabitants over the age of 15 throughout the Basque Country in order to examine the following subjects: “language competence, use of Basque in the home, in the community close to but outside the family, in the workplace and in the most formal spheres; likewise, the in-depth examination of the interest and attitudes of the inhabitants regarding the measures to be taken for fostering Basque use; the forming of a diagnosis on language transmission through the family and the analysing of the contribution of non-native Basque speakers and their language behaviour.” (Eusko Jaurlaritza *et al.* 1997 vol. 1: 6). These pieces of research¹ have compiled and examined the evolution of Basque both synchronically and diachronically (between 1991 and 2001).

These items of research have made a significant contribution to filling the large gaps existing in the information necessary to enable an accurate picture of the linguistic situation in the Basque Country to be built up and in overcoming the difficulties of comparing the different geopolitical territories of the Basque language. This research has served not only to achieve this, but also to clarify the relationships between certain human and social conditions and language competence or use; this survey information is available on the Basque Country as a whole as well as on the BAC, Navarre and the Northern Basque Country separately.

As a consequence of these approaches, one of the benefits of this line of research has been the in-depth treatment given to the different language situations and trends existing in each geopolitical territory of the Basque language, taking knowledge and use of the Basque language into consideration at all times. Using the situations and attitudes detected as a starting point, these items of research provide a forecast for the future.

The most important benefits that we have derived from these pieces of research are, on the one hand, the creation of a typology of relative language competence and, on the other, the conducting of an accurate examination of use, which until now has constituted the biggest gap.

Nevertheless, following the general lines of this section, we shall be restricting ourselves here mainly to the use of Basque that was analysed according to certain domains and to the highlighting of Fishman's clear influence in these approaches. These are the domains of use which have been dealt with: family (mother, father, husband-wife, son-daughter and home), the local community (among friends, in shops, with colleagues, in the market and with the priest) and other societal domains (in the bank, in the town hall, with the children's school teachers and in the health services). The division of domains in the contact situation that exists between Basque and Spanish/French can be summarised as follows: "...in most of the domains of use examined, approximately half of the Basque speakers use mostly Basque. Depending on the situation, on the other hand, between 10 and 20% speak as much in Basque as in Spanish/French and the rest, between 20 and 40%, mainly in Spanish/French." Except in the family, Basque use increased in most of the domains between 1991 and 1996; although use within the family with the children has increased, use among the remaining interlocutors has remained steady or has fallen somewhat. (Eusko Jaurlaritza *et al.* 1997, vol. I: 34-36).

In the same vein, these pieces of research have examined the results on use in the light of other characteristics, with the aim of finding out which components exert the greatest influence on this use: "These are the factors which especially influence Basque use: a) socio-structural factors, in other words, the density of Basque speakers in the home, among friends or in the workplace, together with the sociolinguistic nucleus; b) psycholinguistic factors, relative language competence, in other words, greater or lesser facility for speaking in Basque or in Spanish/French." (Eusko Jaurlaritza *et al.* 1997, vol. I: 39).

This is what the authors say in the conclusions to this research: "With regard to the use of Basque this may be the most significant conclusion: the number of bilingual people has grown considerably in the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country and this is to a great extent due to the introduction of Basque into the education system in recent years. The growth has already begun to be noticed in Basque use among friends, because the density of Basque speakers is increasingly greater among friends. (...) In contrast, in the family, no significant growth in Basque use in the family has been noticed, because the parents of young, bilingual people are still Spanish speakers."

However, it has to be made clear that an upward trend in Basque use is taking place in the BAC and, by virtue of the demographic weight of this community, in the

averages of the whole of the Basque Country too, but not in all the territories within it. In Navarre “the growth in knowledge has not yet affected growth in use; however, among young people, decline in use has slowed down during recent years. (...) All the indicators of sociolinguistic trends in the Northern Basque Country (...) show that the permanent loss of Basque, instead of slowing down, will intensify.” (Eusko Jaurlaritza *et al.* 1997, vol. I: 48).

***Etorkizuna Aurreikusten 99* research**

The research entitled *Etorkizuna Aurreikusten 99: Euskal Herriko gaztetxoak eta euskara* (Martinez de Luna & Berrio-Otxoa 2000)² to a certain extent complements the course pursued by *Euskararen Jarraipena*, among other things. In fact, it aims to analyse the competence, use, interest, attitudes and discourses on the Basque language among 13 to 14 year-old girls and boys. So, it covers the age group not dealt with by *Euskararen Jarraipena*.

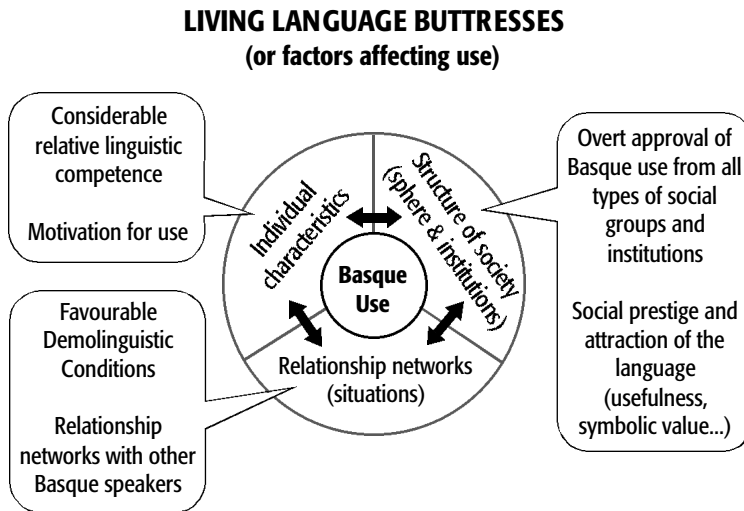
Although the gathering of data in the survey design developed by Berrio-Otxoa was school by school and by groups (classrooms), to a great extent it follows the criteria used by *Euskararen Jarraipena*, thus enabling a comparison to be drawn between these two works. Nevertheless, Ione Hernández has also worked on a qualitative methodology in addition to the survey and so has dealt in depth with the discourses on the language of young people through group discussions, in the BAC and in Navarre. And Nekane Larrañaga has in fact embarked on a third methodological trial, which is halfway between quantitative and qualitative methodology and which deals in depth with a number of points through the written texts of girls and boys from all parts of the Basque Country. So the information gathered not only complements the information of *Euskararen Jarraipena*, it takes it a step further.

Taking the results into consideration, in general this research confirms the diagnosis made by *Euskararen Jarraipena*; for the Basque Country as a whole, and for the BAC, Navarre and the Northern Basque Country in particular. On the other hand, it clearly shows the image young people have of Basque: on the whole, although they love the language, they are in no doubt whatsoever that compared with Spanish, French or English it is a second-class language; likewise, the weak position held by most of the Basque-speaking girls and boys in the Basque-speaking community is extremely worrying, because the Spanish/French-speaking relationships they have are much more frequent than the Basque-speaking ones.

Nevertheless, this analysis brought together an abundance of additional, valuable

information, which is difficult to present in a summarised form. So, another paper was produced later on based on this abundance of information with the aim of summarising and interpreting it (Martínez de Luna 2002). As its main axis it takes what is the fundamental viewpoint for us here: Basque use, the key to normalization. In fact, the idea of living language buttresses is presented in this paper with two clear aims, as follows: a) to bring together and organise in the form of a diagram the abundance of information used to understand the sociolinguistic situation; b) taking the dialectic unity of the research topics area as the basis, to bring together and understand in a single whole partial viewpoints put forward by different methodological approaches (figure 2).

Figure 2: *Living Language Buttresses*.



Taking this aim as the starting point, the three dimensions (*the three living language buttresses*) needed for language use –Basque– are shown: the individual one, the relationship networks of the community of speakers and the social structure. It should be borne in mind that these three dimensions interact at all times, depending on the complexity of linguistic events.

In the individual dimension, or on the subjective psycholinguistic level, there are two underlying dimensions or conditions necessary for maintaining language use: high relative competence in Basque (with respect to the other languages that bilingual or multilingual speakers know) and sufficient motivation for use.

In the relationship networks, or on a functional level of sphere of use, favourable demolinguistic conditions are necessary (demographic weight) and also the existence of relationship networks with other (Basque) speakers.

In the social structure, or on the structural level of power mechanisms, on the one hand, the language has to be *institutionalised* or expressly accepted (in the formal way corresponding to each social sphere) and, on the other, it has to have prestige (usefulness, having symbolic value or another kind of usefulness...).

According to this model much of the quantitative and qualitative information offered by the *Etokizuna Aurreikusten 99* research is analysed, with the aim of presenting the conditions that affect Basque use among young people in an orderly and comprehensive way.

Another line of research: the “Euskararen Erabileraren Kale Neurketa” or Street Measurement of Basque Use

The “*Euskararen Erabileraren Kale Neurketa*” or Street Measurement of Basque Use is a piece of research that analyses the use of oral Basque throughout the Basque Country. It was first conducted in 1989 and subsequently repeated every four years: in 1993, 1997 and 2001. Owing to the importance it has acquired over the years it can be said that today the Street Measurement has become an essential tool for diagnosing the situation of Basque and its evolution.

Specific methodological development

The methodology of this research consists of direct observation, and the methodological adaptation for Basque use has been carried out by the *Siadeco* research group. The aim is to record the language used out of doors by inhabitants without the speakers being asked anything. It is not a survey (use according to self-report), but the recording of use in an objective way and through observation.

In the 4th Street Measurement of 2001 a total of 241,618 people were observed in 173 towns throughout the Basque Country. In addition to recording the language of each speaker the people conducting the measurement also analysed the following variables: age, gen-

der, presence of children and size of group.

So, it not only shows how much Basque is used in the street, but also provides results on a city, regional and provincial level.

The main results

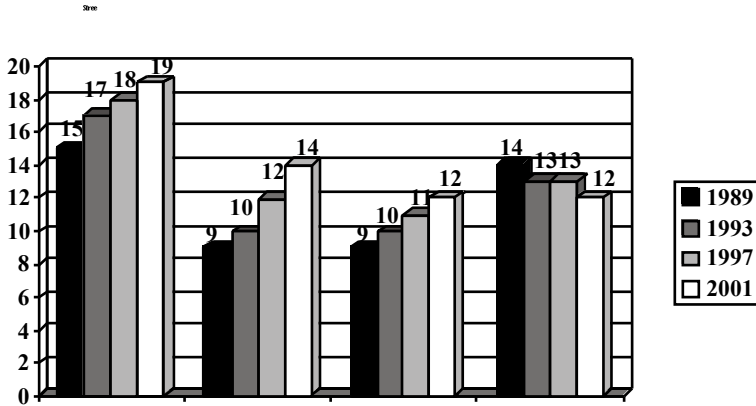
14% of the conversations heard throughout the Basque Country in the 4th Street Measurement were in Basque. However, there are great differences between one province and another: the figures are 30% in Gipuzkoa, 11% in Bizkaia, 7% in Navarre, 6% in the Northern Basque Country and 3% in Araba.

Between the first measurement in 1989 and the one conducted in 2001 use has increased by 3 percentage points, but the rate of increase has slowed down over the last four years. In other words, although there was an increase of 1.2 and 1.1 points in the previous measurements, the rise in the last four years has not exceeded 0.7.

The analysis of the evolution in the provinces shows two different rates: an upwards one and a steady one according to province. So, in the BAC (in Biscay and in Gipuzkoa, but not in Araba) there has been an increase in use, but in Navarre and the Northern Basque Country use has remained steady.

Children and young people (between 2 and 24) speak the most Basque both in the BAC and in Navarre, but not in the Northern Basque Country. Moreover, the growth among the younger generations has been continuous over the last twelve years. Overall use among young people in the Basque Country has increased by 56% and that of children by 26%. Also among adults (between the ages of 25 and 64) there has been an increase in recent years (by 33%), despite the fact that use is lower. Among the older generation (over 65) use has fallen, because the proportion of Basque speakers in this age group has also fallen: on the one hand, this is because many elderly Basque speakers have died with the passing of the years and, on the other hand, because many Spanish/French speakers from the adult group have passed into the elderly group.

The increase in use among the younger generations, however, has not taken place in all the provinces. In fact, this has occurred in the two provinces –in Biscay and Gipuzkoa in the BAC– where the general trend in Basque use has gone up. Use among children and young people in the remaining provinces is steady.

Figure 3: *Trend in the street use of Basque according to age.*

Gender and the presence of children were the other two variables analysed in the Street Measurement. Children, young people and adult women speak a fraction more, but in the elderly group the men speak a little more. Overall, the same result is obtained throughout the four provinces of the Southern Basque Country. In contrast, in the Northern Basque Country men in all the age groups speak more, particularly those over 65.

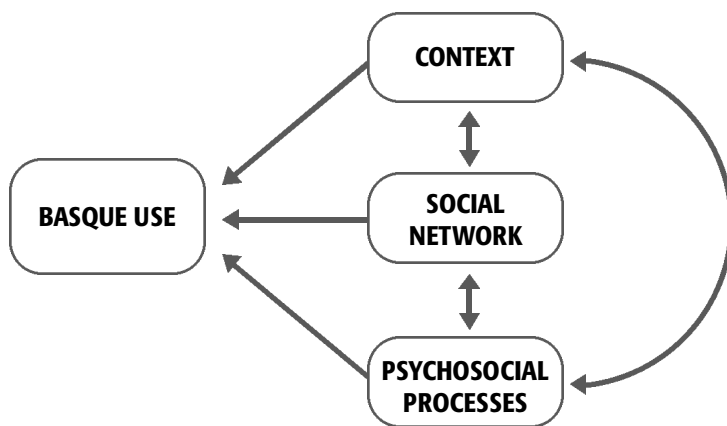
Nevertheless, gender is not a significant variable in general with regard to Basque use, because the difference in use between men and women is small. In contrast, the presence of children is significant; an additional 119% plus use Basque in front of children. Nevertheless, in the Northern Basque Country the presence of children has no influence whatsoever on Basque use.

The Psycho-sociolinguistic model for Basque use

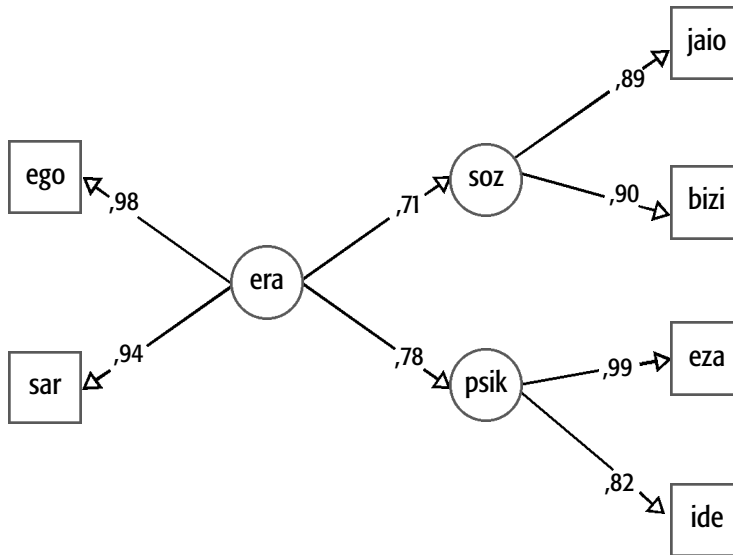
Iñaki Garcia, too, has followed the line of work which expresses concern for the use of Basque (Garcia 2001). In his work, three kinds of variables condition Basque use: 1) socio-demographic variables: microsocial context variables; 2) psychosocial variables: subjective ethnolinguistic vitality, ethnolinguistic identity and attitudes; 3) formation of a link between the other two types of variables, ones which have to do with the social network.

By integrating all of this, what is being propounded is “the psycho-sociolinguistic model for explaining Basque use”: 1) The socio-historical situation of the Basque Country is there at the beginning and the contact that occurs there between ethnic groups and languages, each group and language having a relative, objective ethnolinguistic vitality; the context (particularly the proportion of Basque speakers) will exert an influence on certain characteristics of individuals: on the social communication network, on perceptions, on attitudes and on identity, among other things; 2) In the social network, relations take place between individuals and between groups, and through them the features of the situation are internalised; 3) As a result of this internalisation, individuals develop their perceptions, beliefs, attitudes and identity, once again readapting the context through these psychosocial processes. As a result of this process there could be language behaviours and among them the choice of language. All of this can be expressed by means of figure 4.

Figure 4: *Psycho-sociolinguistic model of Basque use.*



Empirical research was conducted to validate the proposed model, taking 703 students as samples from all the universities of the BAC and Navarre. The LISREL computing program was used for this purpose, with the assessment of the suitability of the theoretical model proposed by the researcher and of the empirical data (analysing the causal links between the theoretical constructs).

Figure 5: *Psycho-sociolinguistic model to explain Basque use.*

In the model produced (Figure 5) there are three latent variables: the first, made up of socio-demographic variables (*soz*); the second, consisting of psychosocial variables (*psik*); and lastly, the one corresponding to Basque use (*era*).

The variables observed in the first latent variable are the proportion of Basque speakers in the subjects' home towns (*jaio*) and in their places of residence (*bizi*), in other words, what the subjects' context is with respect to the language.

Psychosocial variables make up the second latent variable (*psik*) and the most significant ones include the subjects' Basque identity (*ide*) and their level of knowledge of Basque (*eza*). In the theoretical model, ethnolinguistic vitality (perceptions and beliefs), attitudes towards the Basque language and Basque speakers were proposed in order to predict Basque use. Nevertheless, the LISREL program left them out of the analysis, because they were not considered to be significant. Under the third latent variable comes Basque use, which is conducted in the network (*sar*) and in different sociolinguistic situations (*ego*).

Attention should be drawn to the fact that the latent variable corresponding to the social network does not appear in the model that has been produced; in other words, the nature of the network does not condition Basque use, because the sociodemographic vari-

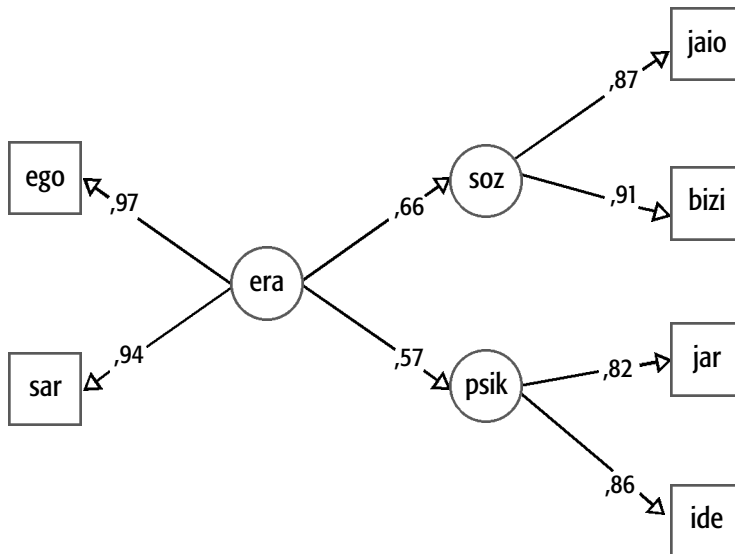
ables (proportion of Basque speakers in the home town and place of residence) provide similar information.

When analysing the causal relationships among these theoretical constructs, the following comes to light: two variables condition Basque use; on the one hand, the sociodemographic variable, in other words the subjects' context (proportion of Basque speakers in the home town and place of residence); and, on the other, the psychosocial variable, which incorporates the subjects' level of Basque knowledge and Basque identity. Of these two variables the psychosocial one has the greater weight for explaining Basque use.

This model has been tested in this piece of research and has turned out to be significant and reliable. In it all the samples have been used (those who know Basque as well as those who do not), the most important variable being the subjects' level of Basque knowledge.

Going a step further and in order to probe more deeply into the relationships between the variables, another model (Figure 6) including only those subjects capable of speaking Basque is tested.

Figure 6: *Psycho-sociolinguistic model for Basque use with respect to subjects capable of speaking Basque.*



In this second model there are some changes with respect to the first one: on the one hand, the two variables observed in the latent psychosocial variable are the attitude towards Basque (*jar*) and the subjects' Basque identity (*ide*), with Basque identity being the most significant of the two. It should be borne in mind that in the model produced with the whole sample the latent psychosocial variable was also incorporated into the two observed variables: level of Basque knowledge (*eza*) and Basque identity (*ide*), with Basque knowledge coming out as the more important of the two. On the other hand, in this model the sociodemographic variables (*soz*) have greater weight to explain Basque use than the psychosocial variables (*psik*), even though the opposite appears in the previous model.

This model is significant and reliable.

“Txillardegí’s” Mathematical Model

J. L. Alvarez Enparantza, also known as ‘*Txillardegí*’, has analysed uses of languages in a contact situation according to the laws of probability (Alvarez Enparantza & Isasi 1994; Alvarez Enparantza 2001). Thus, each language that is in contact, depending on the proportion of speakers, will have certain probabilities of being used. In other words, it is possible to calculate the probability of any interlocutor speaking in a minority language with any other interlocutor, if one knows the proportion of speakers of the minority language. Txillardegí calls this probability level isotropic use. Isotropic use is therefore the rate of use at the maximum level which can be randomly expected. The only pre-condition is that the interlocutors should speak in the same language, and that each of the parties should, of course, be capable of doing so, because the dialogues take place in one single language. No other condition will therefore be taken into consideration –for example the language behaviour of the interlocutor, speaking skill, context...– only the ability of the interlocutors to speak the language in question.

The contact situation between languages is a very broad concept; at one extreme it could be two clearly separate language communities living in the same area or, at the other, it could be bilingual speakers living in the same area but interspersed throughout it. In our case, for example, while all the speakers master language A (Spanish/French), some of them know and are capable of speaking language B (Basque) and these bilingual speakers, on the other hand, mostly live in small groups dispersed among monolingual speakers. So, the use of language A can take place among all the inhabitants. In contrast, language B can only occur when people who speak Basque come together. So the level of use of language B depends on the proportion of bilingual speakers, in other words

it is a direct function of that proportion.

It must be remembered that we are speaking of opportunity or probability of use, because the language behaviour of these bilingual speakers is quite another matter. So, it is this probability that J. L. Alvarez Enparantza calculates.

Probability

What is the probability of a dialogue between two speakers taking place in language B?

$$PR_{BB} = e_B \cdot e_B = e_B^2 \quad \text{In which, } e_B \text{ is the proportion of Basque speakers (from 0 to 1)}$$

As an example, we can take a town which is 55% Basque-speaking. If (any) two inhabitants from there meet in the street, what is the probability of both of them being Basque speakers?

$$PR_2 = 0.55 \cdot 0.55 = 0.302 \text{ or } 30.2\%$$

But, of course, the conversations that occur in the street are not always between two people: conversations can take place in pairs, threes, fours and in larger groups. And what is the probability of a group of three having a conversation in Basque in the street, in other words, what is the probability that these three people will be Basque speakers?

$$PR_3 = 0.55 \cdot 0.55 \cdot 0.55 = 0.166, \text{ i.e. } 16.6\%$$

Instead of a group of three, if it is a foursome, the probability is reduced even further:

$$PR_4 = 0.55 \cdot 0.55 \cdot 0.55 \cdot 0.55 = 0.091; 9.1\%$$

Naturally, the bigger the group is, the lower the probability will be. According to Txillardegui, in the large groups ($n = 4, 5, 6, \dots$), the use of language A takes off at an exponential rate. But do we really know the size of groups in which conversations take place? To answer this question, let us use the information of the Street Measurements conducted until now throughout the Basque Country.

Proportion of twos, threes and fours

The group size variable was measured in the 1993 and 1997 measurements, in other words, how many twos, threes and fours or more numerous groups were in the conversations observed. The weight of these groups was measured, and the size of the Basque presence in each group was also measured.

Along the lines of this analysis Xabier Isasi and Arantxa Iriarte have the following to say: “Taking as a starting point the data gathered in these two measurements on the number of interlocutors, which we have called w_i statistical weights, we have restricted the influence of the size of the groups of speakers to foursomes and we have considered the w_2 , w_3 and w_4 statistical weights as fixed values. This way we have fixed the average weights of pairs, threes and fours as follows³” (Isasi & Iriarte 1998: 51-68).

$$w_2 = 0.5358; w_3 = 0.2910; w_4 = 0.1732$$

The results of the observations made show that conversations among groups of more than four interlocutors are very rare (because normally in the larger groups there is not just one conversation, but several). The analyses of the results of the measurements will therefore enable us to give a fixed value to the weight of twosomes, threesomes and foursomes.

Thus, on a probability level the odds that Basque conversations will occur are as follows (the proportion of Basque speakers of the town being (e_B):

$$PR_B = w_2 e_x^2 + w_3 e_x^3 + w_4 e_x^4$$

However, as indicated above, we must not forget that Basque is a language in a contact situation and moreover, in our case, all those who speak Basque are capable of speaking Spanish or French. Consequently, according to Txillardegui, the only absolutely essential condition for B use to occur is for the bilingual speakers to continue to use B faithfully among themselves (because they could just as easily use A among themselves). Txillardegui has designated their use of Basque, which is not essential, as linguistic loyalty (m_B).

Level of use is the direct function of three components: proportion of bilingual speakers (e_x), weight of group size (w_i) and loyalty towards the minority language (m_B). So the formula to calculate the level of use would be as follows (Figure 7).

Figure 7: *Level of use, function of three components.*

$$P_B = m_B (w_2 e_x^2 + w_3 e_x^3 + w_4 e_x^4)$$

proportion of bilingual speakers
weight of foursome
weight of threesome
weight of pair
loyalty towards the language

Minority Language Isotropic Level of Use

Txillardegui has made two assumptions in order to apply this formula. The first is that $m_b = 1$: conversations between people who know Basque are always in Basque.

The second is that it is an isotropic situation: the probability exists of any interlocutor speaking to anyone else. When calculating the probabilities, Txillardegui regards the public use of language B as a random occurrence, an event that can occur anywhere at any time. When saying that it is a stochastic model, which signifies that all preconceptions regarding the use of language B are excluded, be they right or wrong, not a single preconception is accepted; in other words, the use of language B taking place among bilingual speakers is a probable occurrence. In general, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, society is linguistically isotropic; the use of language B, in principle, is the direct function of the proportion of bilingual speakers.

That being so, he arrives at the same formula as above and isotropic minority language use is calculated in the following way:

$$P_B = w_2 e_x^2 + w_3 e_x^3 + w_4 e_x^4$$

Isotropy *versus* anisotropy

Based on the Street Measurements, the analyses conducted by Alvarez Enparantza ‘Txillardegi’ and Isasi show that in many towns these two assumptions are not always supported. Thus in certain towns the value of m is greater than 1, and this is unacceptable statistically (it would mean that loyalty exceeds 100%). Repeated town by town, the results of the measurements could only have been understood if a large number of monolingual speakers of language A had had no relations with bilingual speakers. This linguistic isolation of monolingual speakers of language A would improve the use of language B.

If the mathematical model is applied not only to the towns, but also to the Basque Country as a whole, isotropic use is 4.57%². According to the latest street measurement, however, observed use is 13.5%. So the street use of Basque is statistically higher than expected.

So we can conclude that in our towns there are two different networks or communities (the Basque one and the Spanish or French one). The measurements show that a proportion of monolingual speakers of language A has no relations with the bilingual speakers.

This obliges one to abandon the hypothesis of linguistic isotropy: “The language (Basque) continues to be used, because there is considerable anisotropy. If there were isotropy, its presence would be virtually imperceptible; particularly in large groups.” (Alvarez Enparantza, 2001:205).

The awareness of this reality prompted Alvarez Enparantza ‘Txillardegi’ to develop the mathematical model further. He has used, among other things, the social integration rate concept (g) to describe the level of integration between the two aforementioned networks.

When the Spanish/French-speaking and Basque-speaking networks are clearly distinguished one from the other, with no contact between them, g will be 0 and in the cases where all the A monolingual speakers of the town are fully integrated into the bilingual speakers network g will be 1 (in this case they would all be in one network, both monolingual and bilingual speakers). It can be assumed that most of the cases will be located in the middle rather than at one extreme or the other.

Taking these concepts a step further Txillardegi sees three possibilities for intensifying Basque use: a) increasing anisotropy; b) increasing bilingual speakers’ loyalty towards Basque; c) intensifying individual bilingualism. The author warns that while one knows exactly what the isotropic/anisotropic situation of a specific society is, one cannot speak of the first option and that in the case of Basque speakers the level of loyalty is already very high. For this reason this author highlights the increasing of individual bilingualism through language planning as a realistic option.

General conclusions

Bearing in mind the importance of use in all healthy languages, attempts to intensify Basque use have been an important incentive in sociolinguistic work in the Basque Country and consequently, there have also been numerous efforts in this field. Owing to the limitations on the length of this paper, we have only mentioned a few of them, in particular those which analyse the whole of the Basque Country.

Here follows a brief summary of the contributions on a theoretical, methodological and empirical level with the aim of clarifying what kind of human and social factors and conditions come into play in language use. This small sample clearly shows us that a wide variety of sociolinguistic paths have been taken from the standpoint of Basque language status in the Basque Country: both quantitative and qualitative; theoretical as well as methodological and empirical; both institutional and through popular initiative; in some cases going as far as proposing and developing pioneering ways of working.

Finally, we can summarise the conclusions derived from these efforts as follows:

- a) In addition to feeding off the sources of the international scientific tradition, specific attempts and theoretical and empirical efforts have also been made in the Basque Country to analyse the situation and use of the Basque language.
- b) In the same way that the domains and situations of Basque language use considered by researchers are highly diverse and different, so are the methodologies and techniques developed in order to examine and measure these uses.
- c) Even though the pieces of research and the areas worked on are very different, they coincide when producing a general diagnosis of the Basque language: on the whole, Basque is a minority language and, without forgetting local characteristics and exceptions, in practically all social domains it is under the domination of Spanish or French.
- d) Viewed diachronically, as far as the last few decades are concerned, all the works reflect the different and contradictory trends which exist depending on the different regions and territories: progress is noticeable in the BAC, stagnation in Navarre and decline in the Northern Basque Country.
- e) Even if there are successful plans to foster Basque transmission (among children and young people in particular), these new non-native Basque speakers experience difficulties in using Basque (research makes it clear that it is very difficult for them to gain access to the speakers' community).
- f) Activities to foster use come up against the inertia of the situation which is very much non-Basque speaking: Basque use is increasing only in the BAC. Nevertheless, the use of Basque by bilingual speakers is higher than that which

corresponds to it in theory, thanks to the loyalty of Basque speakers and to the anisotropy of society.

¹ The results obtained from the 2001 research can be seen in Chapter 6.

² In 1993 the first piece of research adopting the same approach was conducted in the BAC, but not in Navarre, nor in the Northern Basque Country (Martínez de Luna 1995).

³ To apply this formula we have taken language competence (knowledge of Basque) from the 1996 census. It should always be borne in mind that we are referring to the BAC and Navarre, as we had no data on knowledge in the Northern Basque Country

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5. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND THE BASQUE LANGUAGE: A SIGN OF HOPE

JOSE M. ZENDOIA

Abstract

The analysis of the subject of language in economic literature is quite new, and even less attention has been devoted to the role played by the economy in lesser used language matters. The current economic restructuring of Europe has had a significant effect on a number of languages, but this process is not restricted to the present day: some languages, for example Basque, have suffered setbacks in the course of each economic change over the last few centuries. This situation does, however, appear to be changing and new social values brought about by the most recent technological progress benefits lesser used languages.

Introduction

Language: a tool solely for creating wealth?

A glance back at history shows that not all languages last forever; in other words, some of them disappear. Why, then, do some languages maintain and intensify their supremacy while others undergo a change of status, find themselves in a worse situation and turn into minority languages in danger of dying out? There may be many reasons, but in this paper we should like to highlight those of an economic nature, which may or may not be the most important ones but which do nevertheless exist. According to general opinion, and as shown by empirical data, language communities that are far away from the centres of power have the tendency to adopt the language linked to power. When referring to power, what is meant is economic control, among other things.

Among the pieces of research on language and economy, it is possible to come across more than one that specifically mentions the evolution of languages. Some of them

view economic development like the theory of evolution, in that the languages that have the greatest ability to adapt to new situations will gradually replace the rest. The article entitled “The Economics of Bilingualism” (Breton and Mieszkowski, 1977), and the book *Language and Economy* (Coulmas, 1992) are among those that advance these theses.

In these two pieces of work language is regarded as a tool for communication between people and as such it serves as a link with the economy. Many economic relationships exist, directly or indirectly, in relationships between people, and not just those relating to trade or labour relations. So, if we take language as a mere tool, it is clear that if there were only one single language in the world, costs would be drastically reduced. The language policies pursued by different governments and administrations to safeguard, strengthen or revive the languages spoken in their territories and communities do no more than incur expense.

In defending hard line linguistic-economic liberalism these authors are putting forward a well-known recipe for creating wealth: one single market throughout the world without barriers has to be achieved and consequently, a single language, namely English, has to be spread. When presenting this role played by the language with respect to the economy, use is being made of what we can call the economist viewpoint, in which the role of language complements the economic capacity of individuals, the component of human capital.

There is another viewpoint, known as the ethnicist one, according to which the main feature of a language is to constitute the person as a member of his or her speech community. On the basis of this view and taking speech communities as the subject, the socio-economic relationships that take place among these communities are explained by using the dialectic of social classes. The first pieces of research of this type were conducted in the United States to analyse socioeconomic relations between the hispanic and anglophone communities.

It appears that the most productive viewpoint is in the meeting point between the two of them. So, it is one’s own language (which will normally be one’s mother tongue) that serves to link one to a language community and, in a broader sense, to a nation and, in addition, the other languages that this person knows complement his or her human capital, enabling him or her to foster relationships beyond those of the home community.

Economic reasons lie behind the reduction in the number of languages

According to David M. Levy, in the reduction in the number of languages economic reasons are behind the substitution process and, because the source is an economic one, the

author considers it to be rational: when labour mobility costs come down, parents realise that their children can earn higher wages in a worldwide language than in their own language (Levy, 1997: 672-678).

This process is intensified when there are innovations in production processes. As Rafael Ninyoles points out, in the agricultural environment special language abilities are not needed for work, but with industrialisation, when types of work in the secondary sector multiply, the need for language abilities increases and this need grows at the same time as economic development when jobs which require greater language skills are created (Ninyoles, 1975). According to this author, when industrialisation created jobs with specific linguistic requirements, the need for a normalised language became evident and if the language of a community had not been normalised by that time, a normalised foreign language replaced the local language in the companies and jobs which had begun to emerge as new sources of wealth.

European speech communities

The place occupied by a speech community within the economic order and the role played by the local economy in general economic restructuring directly affect the first level agents (family, education system and the community itself) of the speech community's production and reproduction processes. (European Union Education, Training and Youth Committee, 1996). In this influence, the spatial dimension is of fundamental importance, mainly because of the geographic distribution of work, but also because of the ownership and control of capital. With regard to the influence of economic development the following points can be highlighted:

- The economy has a dynamic nature, immersed in a cyclical process of continual growth and recession. The spatial consequences of this dynamic aspect are not uniform.
- Economic restructuring continually redefines geographical location for the purposes of economic growth, demanding free movement of labour and capital.
- As a result of the above, peripheral economic structures are concentrated in a single economic sector, generally around the tertiary sector, and have the following four features:
 1. The trend towards a lack of qualifications.
 2. The trend towards a continual restructuring, mostly according to season.
 3. Dependence on the companies and capital of the centre.
 4. A low level of sustainable development.

Most of the minority speech communities of the European Union are on the periphery. Nevertheless, some are on the edges of the European Union (Scotland, Galicia, ...) while others are in the heart of Europe (Ladins, Frisians...). In general, most stateless speech communities are not very well located from the economic point of view (according to the comparison of EU averages), and in those cases that have so far achieved a socio-economic balance, this balance is at risk as a result of the general economic restructuring.

In addition to the geographical factors of economic development, the following two factors also have to be taken into account: the labour market and sectorization. The labour market is of primary importance for the private sector, because it is one of the main means of creating goods. The labour market is not homogeneous (in fact, there is more than one labour market) and in these markets differences are created and put into practice. There is a direct relationship between different labour markets and speech communities.

In the international labour market there is a need for a language that everyone will understand and it is usually English. In any case, local labour markets, both in the public sector and in most of private enterprise, have few links with the international market and there a language of the state will be used; in certain cases the language may be a minority one. Nevertheless, the creation of the Single Market brings with it the demise of state markets and this could have a profound influence on linguistic minority groups on the periphery.

These influences can be diverse and will depend on the connection between the economic activity of the centre and of the minority groups. If the companies of the centre control the local labour market, the top positions will be filled by people from the centre and local labour will be employed in the jobs at the lower end of the scale. This may be what happens in certain sectors –commerce or textile– and less so in the public sector. If the centre does not intervene too much, on the other hand, local labour could aspire to all positions. In any case, in many situations a minority language plays no role whatsoever in economic life, not at any level.

The segmenting of the labour market could be a factor in favour of the minority language, because nucleuses for the use of the minority language could be created: education or the social services, for example. On the other hand, if the restructuring process brings about significant capital movements, this could become a factor working against the minority language, because migration could take place and, as a result of large-scale immigration, the endogamy level of the speech community will be reduced with the weakening in the creative and regenerative capacity of the language. In other words, economic restructuring and the role played by the autochthonous territory –and its minority language– in this process are independent variables.

New models for the restructuring of the economy

The will to maintain growth is the main characteristic of the economic order. Economic growth is not a harmonious, lasting process, but a phenomenon dependent on cyclical growth and recession. The role of the state is to speed up growth and avoid the consequences of a crisis. The aim is to ensure growth in the economic restructuring process through efficiency, and the state is not a passive onlooker in this plan.

For some, however, the role of the state is partial and that of capital, in contrast, global, because it has a cross-border effect, among other things. In any case, peripheral economic structures exist and are linked to the specific economic functions of these places. Short-term activities are concentrated in these regions, with most of the capital being located in primary sector initiatives, tourism and products that have special local advantages. In certain phases of the cycle, the companies of the centre may turn to the periphery in search of a trained, unorganised workforce. The consequences: seasonal employment without job security and a higher unemployment rate.

At the same time this means that the rate of change and adaptation processes are faster on the periphery. Nevertheless, the restructuring that takes place in the centre does not of course exert the same influence at the same time throughout the peripheral regions.

In any case, as the European Union Forecasting and Assessment in the Field of Science and Technology (FAST) program indicates, given that traditional development models have not solved the problem of unemployment through economic growth, other participatory models have to be developed, based on local initiatives that take advantage of the resources of cultural and social pluralism. If diversity becomes the main agent of innovation, languages will have a dual role in the integration and development of Europe: they will be the cohesive element of the groups that will move this process forward and the reflection of pluralism in expressing and understanding reality.

Historical influence of economic changes on the Basque language

As the current situation of a country is the result of its historical development, economic events have a special part to play in this development. From this perspective of economic history we have analysed the evolution Basque has had over the last centuries. We shall go on to summarise this evolution below. There are not many pieces of work that have dealt with this subject directly and at best they form part of more extensive works.

We believe that among them the work “Euskararen liburu zuria” (The White Paper

on the Basque Language) by the Royal Academy of the Basque Language (Euskaltzaindia, 1978)¹ offers the broadest historical economic perspective. In the chapter “Faktore sozio-ekonomikoak eta Euskara” (Socio-economic factors and the Basque language) from the era of the Roman Empire until halfway through the 20th century mention is made of the changes affecting the Basque language brought about by economic restructuring. We have also taken the main references for the following summary from a number of other sources, like the books *Euskadi en guerra* (The Basque Country at War) (Davant and Apalategi, 1987) and *The Making of the Basque Nation* (Heiberg, 1989).

The summarised economic history of the Basque language presented in the following paragraphs does not aim to be exhaustive. We would like to point out that we have not attached prime importance to the main political events in history: we have aimed to show that the economic changes that occurred concurrently with these events exerted an influence on the Basque language.

Before the expansion of the Roman Empire different Basque tribes inhabited the Basque territories and the economic structure of that society was very primary: agriculture and livestock raising were the main economic activities, and the exchange of surpluses –rudimentary trading– was restricted to each tribe’s market. Basque society of that era was exclusively Basque-speaking. The lifestyles introduced by the Romans had an effect on a social, economic and linguistic level. Thus, when the Romans arrived in the Basque Country after having expanded the trade routes throughout the empire, the economy had the opportunity to open up new spheres and, at the same time, it needed to adapt to the new structures of the empire, for example to the language that, from then onwards, was to be regarded as official. At that time Latin was the most established written language and was an essential tool in administration, trade, literature and in social relations in general.

In any case, Romanization mostly affected the south and east of the Basque territories and in these territories Romance –the language that developed from Latin– replaced Basque in political and economic life. There was less influence of the Empire in the remaining territories and it did not lead to any changes with respect to the language.

When the Roman Empire was hit by a crisis and broke up, society in the Basque territories reverted to the previous way of life: towns became less important, trading weakened and the agriculture-based economy once again became dominant. Nevertheless, we should like to draw attention to two points: firstly, a number of families who were taking over power became the seeds of new dynasties and the conflicts between them established the limits of the future realms; secondly, the church preserved culture and knowledge and for this reason Latin did not lose the status of being official language.

Despite the fact that evangelisation had been one of the main pillars of that feudal society and that the resulting use of Romance had been promoted by the ruling classes, the

Basque language was preserved and managed to spread to a number of other territories, to the Rioja and Burgos areas, for example.

With the birth and establishing of the kingdom of Navarre Basque was presented with the opportunity of becoming the language of a sovereign state, but at that time, as in most of the eras that followed, those in power turned their backs on the local language and preferred to maintain the official nature of Latin-Romance. This phenomenon was not restricted solely to the administration: the new economic class that began to emerge and gain strength at that time in the towns –which was to be the forerunner of the bourgeoisie– had the same attitude towards Basque and Basque was restricted to the agricultural sphere. Moreover, the opening up of the economy brought about by the pilgrims’ route to St. James of Compostela helped to push Basque out into the countryside. From that time onwards Basque was a minority language in its own land, not in the number of speakers initially, but in its status and functions.

The economic structure did not change substantially under the kingdom of Castile until the relations with the “newly discovered” territories of the Americas emerged. The sectors of the Basque economy that underwent the biggest changes were ironworking and shipbuilding. Apart from this, thanks to the agricultural products brought from the Americas, the sector increased its productivity significantly and innovations in shipbuilding also boosted the fishing sector. As a result of all this, there was also a dramatic increase in trade. Nevertheless, the new situation does not appear to have wrought significant changes for the Basque language during the golden age of colonialism: the geographic sphere was maintained and, though the official language was Romance and Basque did not succeed in entering new sectors, it continued to be the ordinary language of the people, thanks, among other things, to the protection accorded to it by the Church.

This situation took a turn for the worse in the 18th century as a result of the effect of a number of factors. On the one hand the Dutch and the British were becoming strong competitors, both in shipbuilding and in the control of the trading networks. On the other hand, the colonies in the Americas had initiated a process of leaving the crown of Castile, letting trade between the continents and the resulting indirect economic activity fall into decline. In the end, as this situation was also felt in the other countries of the Iberian peninsula, the Castilian monarchy put more and more obstacles in the way of the economic powers of the Basque territories –taxes on foreign trade and the system of “foruak” (traditional Basque laws) in general– and this attempt to establish trade within the state sphere severely damaged economic competitiveness.²

Together with all this Castilian language also won over more geographical spheres and social activities. This decline of Basque was evident in Araba, especially, and to a lesser extent in Navarre. The urban ruling classes –the merchants, the military and the bour-

geoisie– were completely Castilian-speaking. The coastal territories were mainly bilingual, always in a diglossic way: as Spanish was the only language for political and economic matters, the tendency to regard Basque as the language of peasants and low class workers became widespread among the bourgeoisie and others in authority.

At the end of this period the movement that arose to defend the “foruak” and oppose the policy being pursued by Castile sparked off the first Carlist war. Among the participants in this movement the distinguishing features and personality of Basqueness began to be reappraised. The movement in favour of the Basque language also gained strength, not just because it led to the golden age of research into the language, but also because an awareness of the need to preserve the language was created among certain sectors of the upper classes.

With industrialisation came a revolution in the economic production structure which had existed until that time and which resulted in significant change in demographic and social structures. Agriculture and fishing were relegated to a secondary level, as industrial supremacy gathered strength. Biscay was the driving force behind this change: thanks to the steam engine, the massive accumulation of capital resulting from mining boosted the iron and steel industry and industrialisation in general. In Gipuzkoa, too, the industrial sector was built up around light metalworking and paper production and on a more modest level in Araba and Navarre. Trade also received a great boost: on the one hand, railway and road transport networks were built and ports expanded and renovated; on the other, large banks were established. The Northern Basque Country (under French jurisdiction), however, remained outside this process, and whilst immigrants began to flood into the Southern Basque Country (under Spanish jurisdiction) during that period, many people had to leave the Northern Basque Country and head for Paris and the Americas.

This migratory movement was a serious threat that was added to the discrimination that the Basque language had been suffering until that time. If the ruling class, too, had abandoned Basque previously, the new mass of workers that had settled around Bilbao and the rest of the industrial centres could not speak Basque and felt no need for it. Basque was reduced to being a language exclusively on the farms at a time when there were fewer and fewer of them. Basque was preserved better in the Northern Basque Country, precisely because it was the language of farmers and shepherds, but in this instance there was insufficient space for all the farmers or shepherds and many were forced to leave the country.

The nature of industrialisation and its effects on the language conflict have persisted for the last century and a half, without forgetting that the violent attacks that came from the political powers led to the Basque language being on the verge of losing the final battle. So, by the middle of the 20th century Basque had all but disappeared in Araba, in

Navarre it was only preserved in the northern valleys, and in the industrial areas of Biscay and Gipuzkoa –in most of the large and medium-sized towns– it was on the point of disappearing. The situation was worsened by the fact that the education system and control of the media was in the hands of the centralist state.

Nevertheless, it must be said that not everything brought by modern industrial civilisation was a disaster for the Basque language. A movement asserting autochthonous values was born at the end of the 19th century. Insofar as enthusiasm for the “*foruak*” gradually became established on a political level, many intellectual groups were to try to analyse the country’s own culture and history. These intellectuals were to be the mouthpieces of Basque concerns and preoccupations at that time. Furthermore, at the turn of the century they were also responsible for a number of interesting initiatives that were undertaken: the emergence of new magazines, cultural competitions, a number of publications dealing with Basque subjects... The birth in 1918 of the Academy of the Basque Language and the Basque Studies Society were clear indications of the new, confident attitude adopted with respect to the Basque language and the first attempts were made to introduce Basque into education.

Later on, and once the Franco era, which had been the blackest period for the Basque language, had in some way begun to “open up”, a renaissance in people’s consciousness began before the start of the 60’s, and we can regard this as the beginning of the most recent period. In this new period modern Basque culture was born. In 1960 the first three post-Spanish Civil War “*ikastolas*” (Basque-medium schools) were opened in Gipuzkoa, despite having to confront numerous financial and legal difficulties. Immediately there was a tremendous surge in the *ikastola* movement, particularly in the most industrial regions, in other words in Gipuzkoa and Biscay. This era also saw the emergence of *euskara batua* (unified or standardised Basque) which was a tremendous step forward in the revival of the language and an indispensable tool for language competition in modern, post-industrial civilisation.

This effective movement of renewal in favour of the Basque language had set itself the task of achieving ever more ambitious aims, because it was to propose and demand bilingual education. Inside the Basque Country one of these aims was to introduce Basque into every school and teaching establishment, along with making it legally one of the two official languages³. Moreover, not only native people have been brought together in this people-based movement; indeed over these past few years it has become clear that the Basque question affects immigrants to an increasing extent, many of whom have no objection to supporting a society which will be Basque-speaking: some by learning Basque themselves and many others by making every effort to enable their children to learn the language.

There is no denying that the situation of the Basque language has improved over the last few years. Both from the point of view of the number of Basque speakers and from the expansion Basque has achieved in many economic and social activities, we could say that the community of Basque speakers has reached an inflection point or watershed in the evolution of the last centuries. Nevertheless, this trend for change is not uniform: in the Northern Basque Country the decline of Basque has not ceased, mainly because transmission within families has broken down, in Navarre there are very different, confusing situations, because the will does not concur with the laws, and in the BAC (Basque Autonomous Community), too, positive data cannot conceal the real situation in the street.

In view of the nature of the process that has taken place throughout history, changes occurring in the economic structure have brought about a change in the language situation, leading to a decline in the Basque language in most (if not all) cases. Though this is true, while changes have occurred in the economic structures over the last few years, the decline in the Basque language has slowed down. One must not forget the effect of the amount of money channelled towards language policy coming out of the budgets of the regional governments has had on halting the decline of Basque.

Throughout the ages each change in the economic system has brought about some kind of change in the situation of Basque. When mentioning the most important points and taking those nearest to us in time into consideration, we should like to highlight the following:

- Insofar as new economic sectors have emerged and expanded, Spanish or French has become the language of communication. Each step forward in economic development has meant a step backwards for Basque.
- The immigration movements forced by economic development have been to the detriment of Basque, because immigrants have had no need for Basque.
- The authorities and the ruling classes, in general, have not shown any attitude in favour of Basque, because they have assimilated Spanish or French and have been the model for this assimilation.
- For these reasons, Basque has over the centuries been losing prestige, because it has been regarded as the language of backward sectors that have no culture.

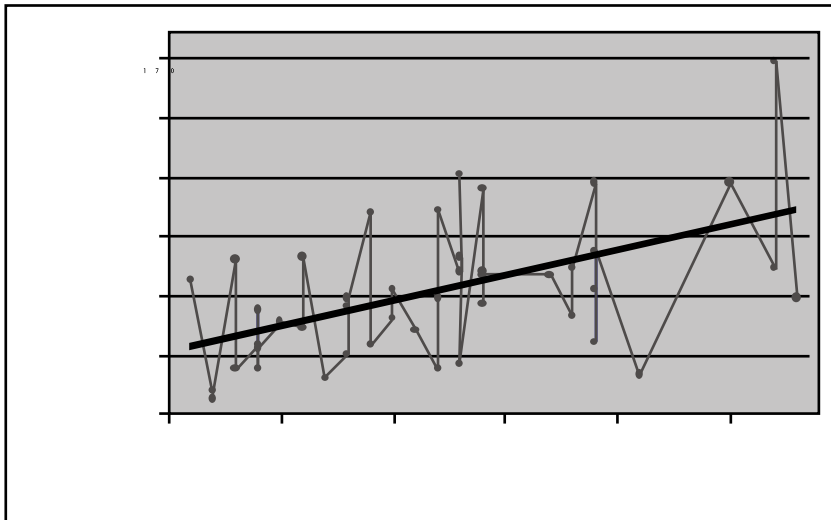
In most (if not to say in all) of the changes that have taken place throughout history Basque has for the most part succeeded in preserving the importance and use it had until the moment of each change. This is why developments during the last few years, in which the introduction of new technologies and parity with modern societies are taking place at the same time as the revival of Basque, are for the first time offering the Basque language a glimmer of hope.

The economic situation of the minority language groups of Europe

The situation of 48 minority language groups of the then 12 European Union states was analysed in the *Euromosaic* report (European Union Education, Training and Youth Committee, 1996) and each of the groups was awarded points between 0 and 4 for each of seven variables.⁴ When the points were added up, the German community in eastern Belgium scored the highest number (28), and the Cornish-speaking community the lowest (1). The case of Basque is measured in the three administrative spheres, the BAC is in 8th position with 19 points, Navarre in 21st position with 13 points and the Northern Basque Country in 26th position with 10 points.

We have crossed the *Euromosaic* report data with data on the income per capita of each community using the Gross Domestic Product⁵ per inhabitant. If we plot this data on a graph, the result can be observed in Figure 1.

Figure 1: *European minority languages: their status and their communities' GDP per inhabitant*



On the graph each dot represents a language community, the score awarded to each community by the *Euromosaic* report is shown on the horizontal axis, and on the vertical axis the Gross Domestic Product per inhabitant of the region where the community in question is located, the index of 100 being the average of the Europe of the 15.

It is easy to see that, in general, the language groups that are in the best situation are in the regions with a higher economic level, and conversely, the languages that are about to die out are to be found in the poorest regions of Europe. To express this trend, the straight line which expresses linear regression corresponds to the straight line that appears on the graph, and the regression appears above. It is true that there are fluctuations around this straight line, with evident exceptions to the main trend, but in addition those communities that are above the average also maintain an upward trend, as do the ones below the average, with the trend of the fluctuation being clear.

These results lead us to a paradox: even though economic development is damaging for minority languages, the communities in a better situation owing to this development do not suffer so much linguistic damage and, in contrast, despite economic development posing a threat for minority languages, in the places where the development itself is weaker, language replacement has been very conspicuous.

As we have analysed in the example of Basque, our hypothesis is that most of the economic changes that have taken place throughout history have been detrimental for those languages in a minority situation, but in the process linked to economic development over the last few decades, there have been a number of supplementary social values to safeguard attitudes in favour of minority languages and culture.

¹ Among the authors of this book figure the most important names in Basque culture: Koldo Mitxelena, Joxe Migel Barandiaran, Jose Mari Satrustegi, Gregorio Monreal, Jose Luis Alvarez Enparantza “Txillardegí” and others, with Martin Ugalde as the editor of the publication. The author of the chapter “Faktore socio-ekonomikoak eta Euskara” was Koldo Larrañaga Elorza.

² They experienced a similar situation in the provinces of the Northern Basque Country, because on the one hand France lost Canada to the English, and, on the other, the centralisation encouraged by the king continued without interruption. The main example of this was when the remains of the kingdom of Navarre were united to the French crown in 1620.

³ Although this was achieved in most areas, the situation still persists now in Navarre and in the Northern Basque Country.

⁴ Family, community, culture, education, prestige, legal protection and use in the institutions.

⁵ Sources: EUSTAT: “Europako eskualdeak. Biztanleko BPGa. 1986” and the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages. If a language community is spread over more than one region, the weighted average GDP has been calculated.

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6. THEORETICAL, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL DISCOURSES ON THE BASQUE LANGUAGE

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Abstract

This article stresses the tremendous importance of discourses (political, social, ...) on language from the point of view of researchers. Indeed, these discourses reflect the nature of the relationship that society has with respect to language and, consequently, have become an indispensable tool for researchers in the understanding process. Likewise, it cannot be forgotten that the interpretations and theories put forward by researchers will permeate society and be grafted onto social discourses and thus impact upon linguistic reality.

Introduction

Whatever the origin and subject of discourses, currently there may be two interesting reasons, among others, to invite reflection about the discourses on the Basque language. From this standpoint we are of the opinion that we researchers are being called to meet the following two challenges.

On the one hand, to understand and internalise the fact that discourses are signs of the undeniable link that languages have with human groups and society. Languages are of tremendous importance, because they are linked to society and human beings and in this respect the basic task would be to define what the link between the two elements consists of. Consequently, a subject requiring study is what type of link we have in mind whenever we speak of the relation that Basque, Spanish and French have with the speakers of the Basque Country.

On the other hand, considering the current growing importance that the debates on *discourses* (Rampton, 2000; Pratt, 1987) are acquiring nowadays in the theory of knowledge, this would point to the second challenge for those of us who are interested in the

Basque language. If we accept that the viewpoints expressed and the concerns which are being voiced about language in any country are also applicable to Basque, we believe that we who are involved in the linguistic situation of the Basque Country should be familiar with certain questions and criticisms which are arising in connection with post-modernity or globalisation, because we are in the same western context.

In view of this, we should like to draw attention here to an area which has not yet been developed among these epistemological, theoretical and methodological debates: despite the fact that in the last 30 years or so sociolinguistics and work on the Basque language in general have developed significantly, we believe that the influence these pieces of research have had on society and its speakers is an area that has not been looked at.

When we come to examine discourses on the Basque language, we think we should bear these two approaches in mind. Consequently, when highlighting the references mentioned below, we have taken the following two questions into consideration: 1) According to which linguistic relationships are we designing the theories and methodologies that we are presenting in our pieces of research? In other words, what link do these pieces of research present between the language, its speakers and society? 2) What influence do the discourses of those who reflect on the situation of the language have on the reality of the speakers? For example how are the new generations receiving the discourses on the Basque language? This article aims to highlight the three main viewpoints –scientific-methodological, political and social– relating to these two concerns, in the belief that they should be taken into consideration when making assessments and predictions in the future.

Discourses and development of research methodologies

If we accept that the forerunner of the current research is *Euskararen borroka* (Struggle of the Basque Language) (Ruíz Olabuenaga, 1983), the piece of research that united quantitative or qualitative techniques, it would be necessary to emphasise that significant changes have taken place among the analyses carried out until the recently published piece of research *Kale-erabileraren neurketa* (Measuring street use). Those first empirical pieces of work that treated the subject in a general way could be said to have started from the need to know the situation of Basque and they eventually led to the development of two ways of working. On the one hand, there was an awareness of the need to further knowledge of the geographical and demographic development of Basque, the clearest examples being the sociolinguistic atlas (Ruíz Olabuenaga, 1984) and maps (Government of the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC), 1989, 1997, 1998, 1999; Zabaleta, 1995). On the other hand, the first steps were taken to start work on language measurement tools –in par-

particular categories and indices for measuring knowledge and use. Regarding these two trends, the first one has been an essential tool in finding out about the spread of Basque, and the second has provided the possibility of describing local situations. In both of them the participant most worthy of mention is the SIADECO research group. In addition to this group, other researchers have developed an approach that has been essential in the past few years. For example, an important subject has been to research into how the language domains and functions, which are the cornerstones of the proposals of Joshua Fishman and José M^a Sánchez Carrión *Txepetx*, are realised in the everyday lives of speakers. Influenced by these developments, it can be deduced that bridges were being built to pass from those general initial ideas on language to everyday life. An example of this would be the methodology of measuring the street use of Basque; the aim is to go deeper into the meaning of the relationships between language and speakers, public relations and naturalness (Altuna, 1998). Nevertheless, the fact that a social discourse is being built around these epistemological, theoretical and methodological approaches is seldom publicised and in this respect it could be thought that we are missing an important element of linguistic reality. In the final analysis, according to Jackie Urla (1993), in the extent to which percentages, maps and measuring tools are published, we are inviting speakers to take part in the formation of the linguistic imagination and identity and they turn into major participants in forming discourses on the Basque language.

Language domains and social diagnoses

Linked to the above idea, when considering the discourses formed on Basque in the Basque Country, we believe we are basically dealing with the question of how to understand the relationship between the language, the speaker and society. In fact, together with the methodological approach in the last few decades mentioned above, we have to admit that a specific viewpoint regarding the language has been involved: that of language planning and, linked to it, that of the normalisation of the language. There is no doubt that this approach is conditioned by the situation of the Basque language. If we recognise that this is the case, we have to say that most of the elements for understanding and analysing the link between language and society have been provided by language planning and the normalisation of Basque. In other words, we have to understand that we are defining this relation according to certain specific variables. According to Mikel Zalvide (1998), when the law on the normalisation of the language was passed in 1982, it was assumed that there was a language problem in the Basque Country, which had a clear social dimension. Influenced by this, cultural activity, leisure, media, schools and, as we shall see later on,

political initiatives have frequently been understood, interpreted and developed according to this paradigm, and in each of these spheres the relation between language and speakers has been explained according to (perceived) language contact and the process of Basque language loss. We believe that the paradigm choice adopted by Xabier Erize (1997) when analysing the social history of the Basque language in Navarre is also applicable in other spheres. In Erize's view the development of Basque throughout history can be analysed from the point of view of the death or survival of the Basque language. Whether it is one or the other, the most interesting point would be to highlight that both options propose the same plan, because both of them are based on the loss-revival process.

Taking a very superficial view of what the methodology and the development of discourses have been like in the research world, we can assume that the images, tools and variables formed for understanding and interpreting linguistic reality have exerted an influence on the relationships of the speakers with the Basque language. When it comes to testing this hypothesis, we believe that the research carried out on the relationship between young people and the Basque language offers an essential observatory. We have known the first generations born and brought up under the language planning and normalisation process of the Basque language. Bearing that in mind, working with young people nowadays should meet an important objective among researchers and people working in Basque language activities: to see and examine how the socialisation process of the discourses on the language has taken place in the last few years.

The socialisation process of the discourses on language

During the last few decades Basque youth has more than once been the subject of research. The objective has frequently been to get to know the values and thinking of Basque youth and the trends, behaviour and types of use that have arisen around the Basque language have become the focus of numerous publications (Iraola, 1994; Jausoro and Martínez de Luna, 1999; Larrañaga, 1996). Among all of them, those whose specific concerns are models of school and education have made their presence clearly felt and this is a clear example of the importance attached to the school in language planning and in the language normalisation process. Over the years young people have increased their prominence in other social spheres, taking the language out of the classroom and giving it an important role in relationships among friends and in leisure activities. Among the reflections that have led to analysing youth cultures, we would highlight two main trends. The first one is related to sociology, which has been given a substantial role in the piece of research entitled *Etorrizuna aurreikusten* (Foreseeing the Future), begun in 1993; in fact, the realisation of

this project in its first two editions has provided an opportunity to gather the points of view that young people have about language and other social issues. In this respect it has provided an opportunity to assess the influence that the different discourses which we adults build and order have on the coming generations.

The second main trend for doing research into youth culture is to be found in anthropology and in *Culture Studies* with Jackie Urla (1995, 1998, 1999) being the anthropologist of reference. Although up until now there has been little echo among us, we are of the opinion that the way opened up by Urla, both with respect to theory and methodology, offers bright possibilities for the future. Her work takes into consideration the novel strategies and ways of expression which young people are developing around language, with music, free radio and comics becoming the objects of research. We have many reasons to highlight the appeal of these pieces of work; nevertheless, in the desire to envision the ways which will open up around language in the coming years, we would sum up their usefulness in one significant element. According to Urla herself, young Basque people have apparently begun to reflect the fruits of the discourses and viewpoints which are being formed under the banner of normalisation. Bearing this in mind, we cannot ignore the fact that the epistemological, theoretical and methodological options that we researchers create are a part of this reality and are becoming an important component of political and social discourse on the Basque language.

Political discourses

As we pointed out in the previous section, in the discourses on the Basque language in the Basque Country there is consensus on a basic point of view: to see the relationship between the Basque language and society from the viewpoint of language planning and normalisation. The discourses of the political parties also have to take this as a basis: they cannot evade this social consensus. However, as happens with any social consensus, two different attitudes emerge: acceptance and legitimacy (Bourdieu, 1985). What is legitimate is considered as something natural, something that has always existed. What is acceptable has not always existed, it is changeable. Legitimacy needs to have its own symbolic space in order to function; acceptance, in contrast, is a more superficial social mechanism. With respect to language planning too, we believe that there are legitimising discourses and accepting discourses.

Many authors have written about the link between the Basque language and political ideas (a small collection: Azurmendi, 1998) and in the BAC this relationship has even been proved statistically: "...the existence of different and contradicting worlds of the two

extremes is confirmed. The first of them is of a Spanish style far removed from the Basque language, with its common ethnopolitical personality and symbolic universe being formed around Spanishness. At the other extreme, however, the Basque language and its values are predominant, while its common personality and symbolic universe are based on the concepts of Euskal Herria/Euskadi (the Basque Country).” (Martínez de Luna and Jausoro, 1998: 89-90).

These relationships between the Basque language and political sentiments, however, do not appear to the same extent in Navarre and in the Northern Basque Country; this is because in these territories language loyalty appears to be more widespread than in the BAC, not only amongst Basque nationalists, but in other sociopolitical sectors too.

In the following pages we shall attempt to analyse the assertions made by different political parties in Navarre and in the BAC with regard to language policy. Even if differences emerge between all the parties (and within each party, too), we shall be presenting two discourses: those that legitimise language policy or those which, on a more superficial level, express their acceptance of it.

The legitimising of Basque normalisation

Among the political parties that were examined, there are parties that are associated with Basque nationalism: *Batasuna*, *Euzko Alderdi Jeltzalea (EAJ-PNV)*, *Eusko Alkartasuna (EA)* and *Aralar* belong within this discourse; *Izquierda Unida-Ezker Batua*, which is outside the sphere of Basque Nationalism, also belongs here. It could be said that they all concur with the following basic principles and aims:

Language rights, apart from being individual rights, are also collective rights. In this discourse the language (Basque in our case) is understood as being part of a group and something of value, and therefore, the revitalisation of the language is the right of that group or community. The collective right is now added to that right of the individual (the right of each speaker to choose one of the official languages), which until now has been continually repeated. So the subject of language rights is a dual one: individual and community.

Diglossia or a lack of balance in linguistic reality is emphasised. At the bottom of this discourse Basque is presented as an oppressed language. In order to justify the normalisation of Basque, it is asserted that Basque is under Spanish or French.

The desire to alter the current sociolinguistic situation emerges. If we want to normalise Basque, a policy is absolutely essential. According to this policy, Basque must assume all functions (private and public) and this will entail the move from a diglossic situation to one of multilingualism in a situation of equality.

In order to achieve the normalisation of Basque, measures in favour of Basque or positive discrimination are seen to be essential. Special measures are required to normalise Basque, because they are necessary to enable Basque to develop, owing to the diglossic situation. If the aim is to guarantee the rights of individual citizens and of the community, appropriate legislation, the aim of which is genuine bilingualism throughout the territory, has to be enacted.

Acceptance of the normalisation of Basque

In this discourse we have included the *Partido Popular (PP)*, *Unión del Pueblo Navarro (UPN)*, *Unidad Alavesa (UA)*, *Partido Socialista de Navarra (PSN)* and the *Partido Socialista de Euskadi (PSE)*; in other words, the ones that are associated with Spanish nationalism. The concepts that are continually repeated in this discourse are individual freedom, respect for each person's choice or respect for the current sociolinguistic reality. In the following sections we shall go into these points in greater depth:

Pragmatic ideology. When language policy is formulated, autonomy and personal freedom are emphasised again and again. The free choice of each speaker is established above any other principle, this choice is understood as being without any kind of obstacle. "The domination of a technocratic rationality has been consolidated, according to which cost-effectiveness, measured according to the presumably neutral arbitration of the market, has the last word. In the 'capitalist revolution' (Berger 1989) the value of personal autonomy is supreme, so pragmatic ideologies which break traditional inertia are supreme." (Vila and Boix 2000: 174)

Language rights are exclusively the right of the individual. According to this discourse, and continuing with the reasons given in the previous point, the normalisation of a language can only be justified as a consequence of the right that the individual has to choose a language.

Different sociolinguistic realities, different language rights. As appears in the political manifestos of certain political parties examined as part of this discourse, it is necessary to bear in mind the situation of Basque in order to evaluate the rights that need to be given to Basque. The fact that it is necessary to respect the current sociolinguistic reality in order to pursue a language policy is continually repeated.

Territoriality. The development of this discourse has taken place mainly in Navarre. By taking this principle into account the current law has led to zonification with different rights being applicable according to the situation of Basque. More recently the *UA (Unidad Alavesa party)* has outlined a proposal to pursue a similar approach in Araba (in the BAC), too.

Difference in rights. The fact that not all speakers have the same rights is emphasised. It is said that the first language learnt has to be respected. So, those who acquire Basque in the home would have the right to make certain demands (education in Basque, communication with the administration in Basque...) but not new Basque speakers (speakers of Basque as a second language). The justification of this principle is used in the educational sphere, in particular.

The aim of maintaining the current “bilingual” situation. The discrimination or diglossic situation emphasised in the discourse that proclaims the legitimacy of normalisation does not appear in this discourse. Basque and Spanish appear in a situation of equality and bilingualism is established as an objective, it is referred to by different names (real, integrating, cooperating bilingualism), but nowhere is it properly defined.

Basque is given “excessive help”. Those in favour of this political discourse come out against positive discrimination and vehemently criticise the expenses incurred with respect to Basque. They demand a thorough examination of cost-effectiveness and fiercely criticise the fact that Basque is compulsory for any post in the administration (though, in fact, it is compulsory only in some of them). As the diglossic situation is not recognised and as there is no clear intention of going beyond the current bilingual situation, steps in favour of the Basque language are approved but closely monitored, insofar as small steps are taken without involving any great expense.

Social Discourses

The viewpoints that predominate in social discourses are also, to a great extent, those mentioned previously: on the one hand, those close to language normalisation and, on the other hand, that of its legitimization or acceptance.

In this respect Jausoro draws attention to three types of discourse: the affirmation discourse, the indifference discourse, and the negation discourse on Basque. (Jausoro 1996: 200-238). Nevertheless, within each of these discourses there are differences which are more than just nuances, producing a *continuum* over and above these discourses; for example, in the affirmation discourse active and laid-back attitudes emerge and in the indifference discourse open and closed attitudes.

Jausoro also draws attention to the aforementioned proximity between social discourses and the political standpoints: the affirmation discourse is mainly linked to the social groups that are well disposed towards Basque nationalism, while the indifference and negation discourses are predisposed towards the ideologies outside Basque national-

ism. Consequently, the trends seen in the political discourses are once again to a large extent repeated in the social discourses that will be explained below.

Affirmation Discourse:

In the active expressions of this discourse the cornerstones are politicised, symbolic motivations: Basque –not Spanish or French– is the national language of the Basque Country; in view of this, the urgency of a plan in favour of the normalising of Basque is emphasised, without a doubt.

In contrast, in the laid-back variant of the affirmation discourse, we find that the traditional community is close (mother tongue, the language that has always been the local one...) and, as a result, motivations in favour of the language are based on sentiment. The reasons for knowing the language are individual: pragmatic-instrumental integration and loyalty.

Indifference Discourse:

In the open attitude of this discourse, the more formal viewpoints regarding the language come to the fore: Basque also being recognised as official together with another language, and the social, work and cultural integration that can be achieved by means of the language.

In the closed attitude of the indifference type, folklore and culture values are mentioned, but under no circumstances is Basque put ahead of Spanish. Speaking or learning Basque must be totally voluntary according to the free decision of the individual.

Negation discourse:

There is no need for Basque and, therefore, no need for its normalisation either, because it is seen as outside the paradigm of modernity insofar as it is a minority language. The pragmatic point of view overrides any other type of value.

Thus Jausoro sums up the classification of discourses alluding to the normalisation of the language in another, more succinct way: on the one hand, those who highlight the need for Basque (the active and laid-back attitudes of the affirmation discourse and the open attitude of the indifference discourse) and, on the other, those who point to that of obligation-imposition (the closed attitude of the indifference discourse and the negation discourse). We have a significant example of obligation-imposition by Jiménez Losantos, which has been collected by Torrealдай: “If Basque is the minority language of the two that are spoken in the Basque Country (...) why must learning it, speaking it and using it in the administration be compulsory?” (Torrealдай, 1998: 208-209).

The emergence of new discourses

Jone Hernández (2000: 61-67), in a piece of research carried out among 13- to 14-year-old girls and boys, tells us of the development of discourses prompted by the planning and education programmes in favour of Basque in the BAC and in Navarre over the last two decades. It would appear to us that although there is a repetition of a number of variables of the affirmation, indifference and negation discourses mentioned in the research, new images, beliefs and attitudes are emerging. Many of them could be linked to the normalcy of the language and to the consequences that have arisen around it, with elements both for the good of the Basque language as well as to its detriment.

In other words, some young people are clinging on to a discourse, which has become habitual, highlighting the close relationship between Basque, violence and politics. Nevertheless, a number of new factors have emerged along the lines of this negative attitude. Consequently, Basque is associated with school, with the obligation to learn or with specific social services (with the administration in general). This type of discourse envisions a restricted and limited Basque language, and consequently its development is understood as something imposed. Faced with this, young people may display a more passive or more active acceptance.

In certain other cases young people have expressed an optimistic attitude when referring to motivation for learning or using Basque. Some cling on to the well-known political, cultural and identity elements; others, on the other hand, base their adherence to Basque on new interests and desires, by highlighting the pragmatic value of the language and the value associated with specific functions (in other words, the value of Basque in education or in relations with the public).

Nevertheless, the discourses on the Basque language do not have the same extension and weight throughout the different political territories of the Basque Country. For example, an average of 59% of the girls and boys in the Basque Country have a *great* or a *considerable* interest with respect to Basque, but while this represents 68% in the BAC, it is only 39% in Navarre and 25% in the Northern Basque Country (Berrio-Otxoa, 2000: 176). The key to the range of different interests among the territories is the different situation on the ground. In other words, the interest reflects the attention paid to Basque by society and the public institutions: in the places where the most work has been done to put the language on the road to normalisation (in the BAC, to be precise), the interest of the girls and boys is also high, as opposed to the attitude of coldness that appears in Navarre and in the Northern Basque Country, in particular.

Conclusions

When considering the contents of the discourses, the normalisation of Basque (for demanding or rejecting it), which is the main issue of the language discourses, predominates not only in the main lines of research, but also in the political ideologies and in the social discourses. In other words, to a great extent the scientific, social and political discourses feed each other. And considering that true bilingualism is not possible, sometimes the contradictory binomial Basque *versus* non-Basque (Spanish or French) predominates in the normalisation discourse.

But, if Basque is to make progress from a strategic point of view, it needs wide social consensus on language policy. Basque Country society is highly politicised and divided into two, and this has a direct influence on the discourses on Basque. Fortunately, in the last few years there have been many voices saying that the Basque language has to overcome politicisation. And in order to achieve this, significant weight is being put on the social movement working for the Basque language: “Basque is a heritage shared by Basque nationalists and non-Basque nationalists. That is how it should be, but historically, for a long time, this has not been the case, and that is one of our greatest misfortunes. (...) The outcome of working for the Basque language will not be successful, if the problem is approached dichotomously. (...) In the future, working for the Basque language itself has to take the floor, it has to produce its own autonomous discourse, it has to specify the strategies, it has to take the initiative when faced with social partners and events.” (Torrealdei, 2001: 163-164).

Beyond the politicised language discourses, however, the pragmatic viewpoint is becoming dominant in society. For example, bilingualism is the language situation that 81% of BAC citizens desire for the future, not Basque or Spanish monolingualism (Eusko Jaurlaritza [BAC Government], 2002: 40). Nevertheless, the *language ecology* viewpoint that is calling for multilingualism and coexistence has just recently emerged in the Basque Country (Sánchez Carrión, 1997; Xamar, 2001), and, as yet, has not found much of an echo in society.

From a methodological point of view, we highlight the need for analysing discourses as a kind of research, because it is necessary to know which course is being taken by social or political opinions, attitudes, expectations... The analysis of discourses is absolutely vital in order to understand how society and politics perceive the relationship with language: “As was to be expected the use of discourse analysis in the social research of the Basque language produces highly interesting results with respect to the significance ascribed to each language and to the social setting (how and where) in which the language is located (Basque/Spanish)” (Jausoro, 1996: 305).

Finally, to the extent that we are researchers and social analysts, we have to accept that we are also participants in the formation of the current discourses surrounding the language. In view of this, we have to understand that the epistemological, theoretical and methodological approaches we are working with are exerting an influence on the development of the above-mentioned dichotomised and static viewpoints or on the distortion process. If we do so, we believe that it will increase our capacity for listening, understanding and getting to know the changes and renewal processes around the language which are taking place discreetly.

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7. THE FUTURE OF BASQUE IN RLS PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract

After briefly reviewing some major features of the present Basque initiative to reverse language shift, this paper lists the three principal routes open to language policy makers in the Basque Country and discusses four factors likely to affect the status of Basque in the near future. An attempt is then made to formulate a sustainable discourse on language co-existence and Basque language survival in the Country based on recognition of the Basque speech community alongside users of other languages, on a revision and at least partial rejection of some arguments commonly used by both supporters and detractors of the Basque language maintenance initiative and on the establishment of a number of principles to guide future policy development. This is complemented by a rereading of the RLS model, signalling both its potential effects on language policy and its limitations in offering a response to certain aspects of the Basque sociolinguistic situation, before presenting some concluding remarks on the changes that adoption of such a discourse would require and on the international relevance of the Basque case.

Introduction

In order to be able to discuss the future of Basque our view of the present situation must first be sketched:

- the continuing, though now much slower in some but by no means all areas, decline of the language community itself;
- the breakdown of traditional diglossic patterns;

- the limited success of the approaches to language planning practised over the past quarter of a century;
- the lack of consensus in the Basque Country about what constitutes ‘us’ and how ‘we’ will project ‘ourselves’ in the future.

If one considers the increasing numbers of speakers of Basque over the past say twenty years, then one might be inclined to regard the Basque case as one of unremitting success. If one examines the increase in use of Basque, one can still discern a modest improvement over time. One further positive sign also deserves mention: successive new cohorts in the Basque Country contain an increasing percentage of Basque mother-tongue or co-mother-tongue speakers.

But reading between the lines of the available data, on the other hand, it seems that *the following language shift process is still under way*. Whereas, two hundred years ago, monolingual speakers were the dominant group amongst Basque speakers, this group has to all intents and purposes disappeared at the present time. It has been substituted by a group of native speakers that has primarily learnt Basque at home and Spanish or French outside. This group, however, is still declining in absolute numbers, whilst the group with Basque and Spanish or French as co-mother tongues is on the increase. Finally, the fastest growing group, thanks largely to the relative success of Basque acquisition planning, is that of Spanish (or, to a lesser extent, French) native speakers who have learnt Basque outside the home as a second language. Bearing Fishman’s RLS model in mind, whereby Basque L_1 transmission is more desirable than L_2 transmission (and, we might add, than $L_{1A} + L_{1B}$ transmission), we can only conclude that Basque has not yet fully managed to turn the corner away from language shift (see Hamers and Blanc, 1999, for this system of notation). Indeed, in the French Basque Country language shift towards French continues virtually unabated, with the demise of Basque as L_1 there in the long term still the probable though not, as yet, inevitable outcome. Even in the rural and semi-rural hinterland where Basque is still for many the language of most everyday discourse, the two dominant languages are making inroads, partially occupying domains that were not so long ago the unique preserve of Basque in those communities.

Underlying the picture presented in the foregoing is *the breakdown of the traditional diglossic pattern* (‘diglossic’ in Fishman’s sense. See Hudson, 2002). On the one hand, Basque has for over two and a half centuries now found that arrangement increasingly under attack. Massive demographic dislocation, including emigration, urbanisation and immigration, co-occurring with abrupt econotechnical change and loss of self-regulatory political-operational power, constituting the local variant of modernisation, alongside the growth in the volume and nature of H functions exercised by the dominant languages within the Basque Country, often accompanied by a strong anti-Basque language ideology, have

been at the root of this breakdown. At the same time as Spanish and French have taken over or share functions traditionally occupied by Basque in, for example, even the family, Basque language planners over the last half century and with particular officially-supported intensity in the last quarter –as much as fighting against those trends- have additionally tended to start competing against Spanish (and to a lesser extent French) in H functions where Basque has never or hardly ever been present (the most obvious exceptions being religious functions and public celebrations).

The major approaches to language planning for Basque during the present initiative (from the late fifties of the twentieth century to date) have been:

- corpus planning;
- acquisition planning;
- status planning.

In the attempt to solve the problem of Basque's lack of internal adaptation to the modern world *substantial corpus planning work has been carried out*, firstly by individual language loyalists and thereafter largely under the coordination of the Royal Academy of the Basque Language and, indirectly, the Basque Government. Basque speakers now have a standard written Basque, a historical dictionary, a comprehensive survey of modern Basque usage, a wealth of terminological development, modern grammars and style-books for a number of fields. In other words, there has been broad based planning at the codification stage, a largely unwitting realisation of the Prague school programme after a delay of half a century. Implementation, however, has been substantially weaker, though many local observers probably would not agree with this observation. Proof of this limited implementation can for example be found in the sometimes less than fully satisfactory performance of Basque-medium schoolchildren on independent language examinations. Some, but by no means all, teachers have attained such a command, while civil servants on the whole –with the exception of those directly involved in organising language planning- have not. Implementation of the corpus planning carried out lags far behind codification in most cases, even more so in the private sector.

Further, though a variety of Basque suitable for more formal, particularly written, uses corresponding to stages 1 to 4 of Fishman's RLS model is necessary, from an RLS point of view what is essential for stage 6 is lively everyday speech. Corpus planning such as has been carried out is necessary but insufficient for the revitalization of Basque. Many native adult Basques, in fact, maintain part of the old diglossic system, one of whose elements can be summed up as: speak more or less Basque, but write only Spanish or French. It is thus hardly surprising that codification, being primarily concerned with the written language, has impinged only indirectly on them. Finally, we note that the creation of a standard written Basque, with its knock-on effect on speech (particularly on formal speech and

on that of second language learners) has opened up a new Basque-internal challenge: the role to be ascribed to the different traditional varieties of Basque alongside the new(ish) standard is a recurring, sometimes heated, debate. No full agreement has been reached on how to deal with this Fergusonian diglossia.

With regard to acquisition planning major progress has been made in the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC), though less so in Navarre and still less in the French Basque Country. Most children in the BAC (and a fair number elsewhere) now receive Basque language lessons. The establishment of such lessons as a minimum is no mean achievement, given that three quarters of the BAC population is mother-tongue Spanish. A passive command of the Basque language is likely to be widespread among the coming generations.

In addition, use of Basque as teaching or co-teaching medium has become quite widespread, particularly in the BAC. The overall trend has been and continues to be upward, including the university sector. Some features and outcomes of Basque acquisition planning are the following:

- The mother tongue factor is little taken into account and as L₁ and L₂ learners of Basque frequently study together, L₁ students on the whole are more likely to be tugged in the direction of using Spanish than the L₂ pupils towards using Basque.
- The relative success of schooling and language schools in teaching Basque as a second language has led paradoxically to non-native speakers outnumbering natives in areas where the latter were demographically weak. The repercussions of this second language speaker dominance are only just beginning to emerge. At the least, it distracts from the centrality of the native speaker's role in language maintenance.
- As pupils grow older, the school-internal reward system becomes overlaid by the society-wide reward system. The latter's negative impact on the level of use of Basque by adolescents is notable. After all, "[t]he vast majority of any speech community comes to speak (read, write) in the ways it does –monolingually or bilinearly- because of its long and intricate involvement in reward systems requiring such speech" (Fishman, 1985: 369).

Thus, the education sector is a necessary but insufficient instrument for the achievement of Basque language RLS.

The belief that the plight of Basque is due to lack of political power has been widely held throughout the Basque Country, since the loss of traditional charter rights, particularly since their outright abolition 125 years ago. The loss of self-regulatory political capacity is considered to have negative consequences for the sociocultural self-regulation necessary for the survival of the Basque sociocultural unit and its attendant language, an argu-

ment which it is difficult to rebut. The result has been cause-effect formulations, sometimes somewhat mechanistic, which regard as the key to real RLS success the achievement of political-operational self-regulation (and, in particular, in its strongest form, the achievement of territorial sovereignty and an independent polity).

The fact is that the Basque Country, particularly in the BAC from 1980 on, has recovered a significant degree of self-government, a long way from the sovereign state's political independence, but nevertheless substantial, particularly in tax-collection (and its subsequent use), education and publicly owned mass media. The exercise of these powers over the past twenty years in *status planning*, discovered in its modern academic formulation by the Basques via the Catalans, independently of how one evaluates achievement in the different spheres of government, has not been fully translated into proven advances in RLS, particularly at stages 6 and 5, on which part of the success at stages 4 and above depends. Status planning, too, has failed to provide the turnaround in the fortunes of Basque that some expected.

Finally, there is what we have called *the discussion about what constitutes 'us'*. This can be regarded as being played out on three different levels:

- the overall argument about the place of ethnicity in the modern state;
- the Basque-specific debate about who is Basque and what constitutes the Basque Country;
- the language planning debate: what measures should be taken in respect of Basque?

With regard to the role of ethnicity in the state, Basque nationalist ideology has been on the defensive over at least a decade in the face of the viewpoint which maintains that ethnicity below the state level is a negative, disruptive, potentially racist phenomenon fortunately in decline or which even, in its strongest form, argues that strengthening Basque is tantamount to encouraging terrorism. Nationalists have only partially succeeded in drawing the attention of the audience to their counter-arguments: that ethnicity is a continually pervasive and potentially positive factor in human social organisation and that at the present time can indeed provide a highly desirable counterweight to a globalisation which, without admitting as much, propagates a specific ethnoculture accompanied by its peculiarly powerful language.

Secondly, with regard to who is Basque and what constitutes the Basque Country, we must bear in mind that in the past the Basque community was clearly recognized as an ethnolinguistic and sociocultural aggregate both by its members and by outsiders: neither doubted the existence of such an ethnocultural constellation, even though its sociopolitical integration and administrative organisation was fragmented and dependent on the initiatives of the major polities. There is at the present time, however, no basic consensus

within the Basque Country as to what constitutes the Basque Country, either geographically or socioculturally or, especially, at the political-operational level. At the territorial level, some talk of the Basque Country as including the French Basque Country, Navarre and the BAC in their totality, in accordance with a widely accepted tradition which achieved definitive formulation on a strictly geo-administrative basis in the mid-nineteenth century. At the other end of the spectrum, others limit its extent to the last of the three. Similarly at the sociocultural level, whilst most have now abandoned biological conceptions of Basqueness, there is no agreement between supporters of ethnocultural definitions, which usually give prominence to knowledge and use of the Basque language on the basis of suprarational sentiments of ethnohistorical depth, in support of ethnolinguistic continuity and, on the other hand, of operational definitions exclusively based on residence, workplace and/or birth. Finally, at the political-operational level, at one end of the continuum of options some pursue the acquisition, maintenance and development of a politically independent state, whilst, at the other, others defend the present division of the Basque Country in two established state-nations. This lack of agreement on basic definitions has led to a lack of clarity with regard to language policy objectives which we discuss later.

Thirdly, we wish to record the gradual breakdown of the (part real and sound, part context-motivated) consensus that brought the 1978 Spanish constitution (and its article on language policy, notably more tolerant with regard to minority languages than law and policies in the recent past) and the Spanish regional laws which spell out the features of tolerance and even promotion with regard to Basque.

Need to build a consensus

Basque urgently needs to establish a discourse acceptable to the broadest cross-section possible of the populace. To our minds the matter can be defined as how to manage multilingualism in the Basque Country without detriment to any of the actors at the same time as offering the best possible future to Basque itself. There are at least three possible paradigms available:

- A bilingual Basque- and French-/Spanish-speaking Basque Country;
- A monolingual Basque-speaking Basque Country;
- A monolingual French-speaking *Pays Basque* and a Spanish-speaking *País Vasco*.

The *first paradigm* is the pluralist, syncretistic discourse with something for everybody. The model of bilingual coexistence formulated twenty years ago basically depends on this pluralist conception and has proven to have undeniable advantages in the attenu-

ation of language tensions. Nevertheless, it contains a grave weakness, one which has become ever more evident over the years: it is not enough to say that we wish to advance towards a model of society in which all the citizens have a knowledge of both languages; the stabilization of such a model (clearly belonging to the ‘bilingualism with diglossia’ category as formulated in Fishman, 1989: 189 and ff.) requires the definition, implementation and stabilisation of the physical and/or sociofunctional spaces in which each of the languages will display its undisputed dominance. Recent proposals of a major local writer on the social situation of Basque seem also to point towards coexistence (Sánchez, 1999: 24, 182, 282).

The *second paradigm*, in an attempt to overcome the weaknesses perceived by some in the first, implies that Basque is going to be the everyday language of hearth and home, neighbourhood and workplace, mass-media, university and administration and that Spanish/French (and increasingly English) will serve exclusively as additional languages of wider communication (LWC). This does not mean that monolingualists expect Basques to be monolingual Basque speakers. They assume instead that the population at large is going to use Basque as its first language for nearly every social function within collective language use. Aware that this objective is far from realization, people defending this approach usually support the creation of monolingual areas in the hinterland.

The *third paradigm* ignores the very existence of native speakers of Basque in its everyday practice. Its supporters consider that the effort required to maintain and/or spread the language is a waste of resources, arguing that Basque speakers also know Spanish (or French) and that the majority need make no effort to adapt its linguistic behaviour to accommodate the needs or desires of the minority in any substantial area of collective life, not even in those geographical or sociofunctional spaces where Basque is dominant.

We believe that, given the coordinates of the present situation as described above, the only one of these three paradigms with any chance of peaceful success in the long term is the first, even though the establishment of sociofunctional and geographical boundaries and their maintenance in practice, not only in theory, remains problematic.

Support for each of these paradigms obviously finds political expression, but we observe no one-to-one correspondence between the paradigm supported and political affiliation, whether in terms of voting behaviour or of support for the creation or maintenance of specific political configurations.

Other factors likely to affect the future of Basque

Whatever the approach chosen, the following four factors are also likely to influence the future of Basque.

1. Globalization will probably have an effect on Basque along at least four different parameters:

- the increasing movement of Basque speakers, particularly those with medium and higher level qualifications, to other parts of Spain (and France) and even elsewhere in Europe in the pursuit of their professional career will ensure a continual ‘brain drain’ amongst the most highly trained Basque speakers, not to mention the effects of increased mobility on the development of the private life of many Basques;
- the increasing presence of immigrants and their languages provides a new challenge for Basque, as the degree of the immigrants’ linguistic integration is uncertain;
- the growing presence of English in the Basque Country as the language of modernity and wider communication means that it will increasingly compete with Spanish and French (and to a much lesser extent Basque) for functions basically related to modernity, pop consumerism and technological advances;
- in the face of globalization many feel a need for a more rooted, particularized identity: in the Basque Country that need for a counterweight to globalization may strengthen such people’s positive evaluation of Basque.

2. Birth rates of natives of the Basque Country, whatever their mother tongue, tend to be noticeably lower than those of recent immigrants, which may lead to a notable growth in the percentage of non-speakers of Basque.

3. In the absence of a change in discourse along the lines suggested in this paper, rearrangements in the distribution of political power are likely to have a major influence on language policies.

4. Intralinguistic features of Basque will, as in the past, continue to exercise their influence on the choices available to RLSers.

- Basque’s *Abstandsprache* nature means that one cannot adopt some policies that may be appropriate for, say, Romance languages like Catalan with ‘big brother’ Romance neighbours. We nevertheless believe that this disadvantage is outweighed by the substantially greater room for manoeuvre available to the *Abstandsprache* language when it comes to dealing with potential hybrid developments.

- Its relative lack of a past literary tradition, particularly in the lack of a long standardized religious Basque and the failure of local elites in general to use written Basque, means that it lacks the authentication tradition available for example to Welsh or Catalan.
- On a more upbeat tone, the surprising vitality of the oral tradition and the continuing, though perhaps somewhat peripheral, survival of some ethnic correlates of Basqueness in, for example, the fields of gastronomy, sport, music and dance are strengths which cannot be ignored.

Starting point

For us a natural starting point for Basque language loyalists in the formulation of any future projection of Basque lies in recognising the existence of the Basque speech community on five parameters: territory, history, descent, language and present day reality. We are aware that the concept of a speech community is not easily defined, but we are equally conscious that in the Basque case there are objective data which permit us to point to a differentiated community, however blurred its limits:

- Firstly, this community is clearly tied to an area at the western end of the Pyrenees, although it is impossible to offer a precise territorial definition: the area where Basque has been natively spoken has varied substantially over the centuries in both geographical area and intensity. This sense of a territorial connection, however vague the limits, shared by many, but by no means all, other Europeans (though perhaps by rather fewer North Americans), is not otiose: for the present-day Basque it often seems to be a given.
- Secondly, members of the community share, inevitably to very differing degrees, an awareness of its socio-historical depth: they consider that Basque speakers have shared a common history over the centuries, in spite of being aggregated into different, sometimes opposed, political units.
- Next, there is the continued existence of the language itself, not just as a museum-piece, but as the ever-evolving (increasingly co-)medium of communication within the Basque speech community.
- Fourthly, there is the (now weakening) chain of descent, the awareness of having common forebears, of being more directly related to each other than to their fellows elsewhere.

- Finally, observation of present-day reality confirms that such a community, however weakened, continues to exist.

Land, past, speech, ancestry and the present: these seem to us to be five objective realities on which any Basque language loyalist discourse must be based. We are not trying thereby to take sides in the primordialist-constructivist debate, but we recognise these five elements as being present: it is impossible to imagine anybody claiming Basque identity without having enacted at least one (and usually more) of those five aspects of Basqueness.

So far, the facts. How does the potential claimant of Basque identity value them? Many consider the identity, viewed both diachronically and synchronically, still sufficiently vigorous and attractive to wish to claim it. They maintain a collective sense of being a link in that self-same ethnic chain, wish to maintain the chain themselves and ensure its survival into the next generation. Some do this unconsciously; others more explicitly: either way, they value their Basqueness positively. And it is that value, which one has neither to adopt nor foster of necessity, which many Basques do take up as their own. The choice may be suprarational, but that does not of itself render it untenable, any more than it does mainstreamers' very varied suprarational choices. Membership of the Basque speech community, moreover, clearly requires knowledge of Basque as a *sine qua non*. We thus leave to one side the discussion of the role of X-men (X-ians) via Y-ish (Fishman 1991: 16) of whom there are not a few in the Basque Country.

Any Basque language loyalist reader will have on the whole found this section of the paper unsurprising; we equally suspect that for many the next few paragraphs will prove a direct challenge to some of their cherished assumptions. There are several of these that need reviewing:

- The confusion about what is Basque, both in regard to territory and ethnicity;
- The recognition of other language communities;
- The use of simplistic historicist pseudo-arguments;
- The assumption that political independence is the most reliable route to (or, in its strong version, a necessary but insufficient condition for) ensuring the survival of Basque.

The somewhat nebulous limits of the territory at present or the very clearly defined territory in the past (until about 1750) occupied by the Basque speech community, contrary to the implicit assumption widespread amongst Basques, are clearly **not** co-terminous with the administrative boundaries of the entity known as the Basque Country first formulated in the mid to late nineteenth century and which coincides with the limits of the independent Basque Country whose creation is pursued by some Basque nationalists.

Indeed, a considerable part of that proposed political-operational unit has no proven relationship whatever with the Basque speech community; a further substantial part has had no more than very modest connections for hundreds of years. For a debilitated speech community such as the Basque one, trying to hold its own in the face of two major state languages, plus the increasing presence of English as LWC, plus the languages of allophone immigration, to stake out a territory going well beyond its own historically known ethnoterritorial limits seems not a little unreasonable: it distracts attention from the essential survival issue, that of strengthening the natural speech community, whose present territorial limits are notably more modest.

Parallel to this misconception about territory, we observe a similar confusion over the predication of Basqueness. There are obviously doings, knowings and beings (cf. Fishman, 2001: 2-6) shared with the other inhabitants of the country, but recognition of that fact should not obscure the existence of specific doings, knowings and beings enacted and realized only within the Basque-speaking community. Blurring the boundaries of the in-group so as to claim as one's own the kudos accruing to socially successful members of the outgroup (arts, sports and business people, politicians...) and their products (books, films, paintings, sculptures, match scores as well as business, political, social and intellectual achievements...) is a risky procedure: one may achieve little more than the dilution of one's own ethnic identity in a sea of X-ian via Y-ish Basqueness.

Thus, for clarity's sake, along the continuum of Basqueness at least four meanings of the word 'Basque' (*euskal*) must be distinguished:

- *Euskal*₁: relating to what is linguistically Basque;
- *Euskal*₂: relating to the sociocultural dimensions traditionally associated with Basqueness, including their present-day reformulations;
- *Euskal*₃: relating to what is within or otherwise connected to the administrative or political operational unit(s) defined as the Basque Country;
- *Euskal*₄: as a mere word for word translation of Spanish '*vasco*' (or French '*Basque*').

In short, clearer recognition of difference and of limits could help avoid raising unreasonable expectations among Basque speakers: if we accept that the Basque speech community 'us' constitutes at best about a quarter of the population of the Basque Country, then we can reasonably concentrate on shoring up, strengthening, compacting that community; if, on the other hand, we regard 'us' as the whole population of the Basque Country, the massive Basquisition process one must establish to achieve one's linguistic goals will inevitably lead to frustration in the face of an uneven struggle.

The corollary of clearer recognition of difference is clearer recognition of the other, the basically monolingual Spaniard or French speaker and their respective speech commu-

nities, which should bring in its wake both respect for the language choices of the members of those communities plus a recognition of the need to obtain their support, rather than the arrogant disregard for majority opinion sometimes evinced by Basque language loyalists.

Another problematic area lies in the misuse of historicist argument: to give an example, a mediaeval reference to Basque as *lingua navarrorum* is an indicator of the strength of Basque in the area considered Navarre by its writer, but it cannot reasonably be used to deny the presence of other languages at that time nor as justification for attempting to make the larger area now known as Navarre monolingually Basque in the future.

Finally, we do not question that, other things being equal, “the best guarantee of disadvantaged ethnolinguistic continuity is (...) a strictly enforced territoriality principle with a corresponding regulation of migration and economic control across territorial lines” (Fishman, 1989: 474).

Given the Basque context, the crux is, however, to decide which option along the continuum of potentially possible socio-political configurations is the most viable route to ensuring ‘the possibility of attaining ethnocultural autonomy, including technical and socio-political self-regulatory power’ (ibid.: 478). The unquestioned, often implicit, assumption held by many Basque speakers that political independence would ensure the survival of Basque needs careful scrutiny. Independence (whether one regards it as pie-in-the-sky or a soon to be realised dream) would not automatically improve the situation; it would certainly not instantly alter the sociolinguistic configuration of the Basque Country, especially not in regard to the relative strengths of the languages present. It might offer new and better opportunities both on the legal front and with regard to the effectiveness of the reward (and sanction) system promoting the use of Basque, but it might not; either way, legal changes without a sociolinguistic dynamic to make use of them often turn out to have little practical effect. In short, the blithe assumption that independence will ‘solve’ Basque’s problem probably serves to do little more than increase the concern of some monolinguals and lead Basque speakers to undervalue the opportunities offered by the present situation.

On the Basque language loyalist side the rhetoric of the present generation has often been that of a monolingual Basque Country, though praxis has been on the whole rather more grounded in a theoryless possibilism of the ‘let’s do in Basque what we can, and see where that takes us’ kind. A conceptual revision along the lines outlined in the previous paragraphs might be seen as a betrayal by many Basque speakers of what they have fought for over many years, but it would equally allow us all to be more realistic about the relative strengths and weaknesses of Basque and its future possibilities.

Other speech communities

Basque speakers, however, are not the only ones needing to review their arguments and justifications. Indeed, a new formulation of a language policy for peaceful coexistence will not be possible unless members of the other speech communities also carry out their review: there is a widespread fear and belief amongst Basque speakers that promoters of the two state languages merely seek to continue to erode Basque. Over the last few years the onslaught of the Spanish speaking establishment, its political, media, economic and, more recently, intellectual elites suggests that such fears are not altogether unfounded.

Whilst our central concern in this paper is the Basque speech community, a brief examination of the contribution to be made by the other two major speech communities sharing the territory will not come amiss. Let us just briefly examine five aspects of their discourse awaiting revision:

- Unrestricted *hispano-conformity*;
- Invisibility of the Basque speech community and its concerns;
- Pseudo-historical arguments;
- Other simplistic arguments;
- The European dimension.

Not all members of those communities subscribe to the assumptions criticized here, but we do regard the latter as widely held.

Some of those who feel that in Spain too much leeway has been conceded to Basque language loyalists are in an uncomfortable situation. Some have railed for years against Basque nationalism for what they consider its racism, often opposing in practice –whatever their formal discourse– that nationalism’s measures to achieve RLS. Now that the limitation of immigration has been enthusiastically placed on the European agenda under Spanish leadership, some of the very people who have been critical of Basque pursuit of sociocultural integration primarily based on ethnicity criteria are, in the face of a threat to their own ethnolinguistic and sociocultural continuity infinitely smaller than that which Basque speakers have faced for over a century, seeking to establish boundaries far more rigid in their own defence than Basque speakers have ever established in recent history. Intellectual coherence requires a revision of the Spanish nationalist discourse of unrestricted *hispano-conformity* (cf. *anglo-conformity* in Cummins and Troper, 1985: 17) so as to distinguish clearly between ethnicity (the recognition of socially-embedded difference and the right of the ingroup to maintain it and the duty of the outgroup to tolerate it) and racism (which contains a similar recognition of difference alongside a denial of both the right to maintain and the duty to tolerate).

A recurrent feature of non-Basque speaker discourse on the Basque speech community is its tendency to treat it as non-existent. The interests of second language learners or non-learners are formulated and discussed often without even mentioning that there is a living Basque language speech community with interests and concerns of its own. There is often no recognition of the fact that widespread, deep-running and, for Basque speakers, painful language shift is under way, nor of the fact that such shift is not only not naturally occurring but directly influenced by the state and its supporting elites. Without such recognition there can be little hope of a solution to satisfy all.

Just as members of the Basque speech community have sometimes misused historical arguments, so have members of the other speech communities also made unacceptable use of such arguments. Indeed, in some exceptional cases some have gone so far as to deny proven historical fact and propagate lies about the extent and use of Basque in the past. Clearly, such arguments need to be revised and abandoned where found wanting.

Other simplistic arguments too need revision. An obvious example is that relating to the hiring of civil servants. Whilst the present hiring system tends to militate against monolingual applicants in the BAC and whilst Basque language requirements attached to some posts are perhaps unreasonable, this by no means implies that no civil service posts should have such requirements attached nor that differential access to such posts on the basis of language competence should be used to exacerbate anti-Basque feeling. Indeed, as a result of the invisibility of Basque speakers mentioned above, it is not unusual for Spanish speakers to claim that a given post should not have a language requirement because allegedly no Basque is necessary, when it immediately becomes obvious to a Basque language loyalist taking up the post that there is room for a substantial improvement in the use of Basque in dealing with the general public, if the latter's language options are to be respected.

Finally, in this globalizing age, when all languages in Europe, big and small, are feeling the pressure of English, the Basque speech community seems fully justified in reminding its two big brother neighbours that 'now you can begin to see how we feel: our situation is far worse. Just as you justify protective measures for your languages, can you not equally respect our plight and accept our attempts to establish protective measures for ours?' Coherence requires that they do.

Formulating appropriate policy

Once the various language communities have revised their discourse, we argue that politicians and citizens should seek to establish a new consensus on language policy which

would allow Basque and non-Basque speakers to coexist throughout the Basque Country. Such a consensus would need to define and combine territorially based compartmentalisation (insufficient on its own) with a distribution of sociofunctional space in such a way as to ensure the Basque language (and its associated culture) a return to some sort of stable and wholeheartedly accepted or, at least, undisputed situation. Its syncretistic nature would permit citizens on both sides of the ethnolinguistic divide, whether Basque speakers or not and whether they identify themselves (primarily) as Basque or not, not to feel excluded. It is an integrative discourse necessarily based on equality, on pluralism, on multilingualism and which will for many contain a substantial constructivist element. It is the only sure basis for a discourse capable of giving Basque speakers the ideological upper hand, the moral high ground (which they clearly held towards the end of the Francoist regime and after, but which has largely been lost today), in their struggle to ensure ethnolinguistic continuity. The principle of equality may require fine-tuning of the statement enshrined in the BAC's founding statute to the effect that Basque is the BAC's very own language. At the other end of the policy spectrum the simplistic stance of the French constitution (French only official) may also require revision. As for multilingualism practically all Basque speakers already have more than one language and will continue to do so in the future; local monolinguals equally have to share their living space with more than one language. This perception does not mean an end to language conflict, but it does mean that success for one need not only be conceived as the disappearance of the other(s). For Basque speakers to recognise explicitly not only that the Basque Country is already multilingual but is likely to become increasingly so is likely to be a major step for all those who have accepted the ideal of a monolingually-Basque Basque Country.

Within the present polarized situation this attempt at discourse revision and renewal has barely been attempted. But although language policy issues are at present intertwined with political ones, we feel that the debate on language policy should be pursued on its own terms.

Ideally, this would lead to a common policy for Basque throughout the land. Within such a context language policy should be informed by the RLS model as the models used to date have largely failed to deliver the goods.

If we genuinely desire to find a *modus vivendi* for the Basque language within the broader Basque Country, policy, ultimately, needs to be redirected towards emphasizing:

- a) Attaining a new compartmentalisation formula whereby a substantial part of the physical and sociofunctional space of Basque society is undisputedly accepted as pertaining to the core area where Basque and Basqueness can exercise their own sociocultural self-regulation.
- b) This acceptance must be complemented by a revised formulation of priorities by

RLSers: more attention needs to be paid to stage 6, largely neglected in the past twenty years, rather than merely depending on the general family transmission dividends accruing from a favourable atmosphere.

- c) *Vice versa*, some partial withdrawals have already taken place in the higher stages: more may be necessary. There are some areas where Basque just cannot compete. This does not mean that Basque can have no jam on its bread and butter, but it does still need to take steps to ensure a sufficient supply of stage 6 bread before going for a lot of higher stage jam.
- d) Policy should also pay more attention to fostering bottom-up movements (struggles between different strands of the Basque language loyalist movement have often hindered such fostering in the past) and to securing appropriate reward systems for Basque.

Let us examine the stages one by one in the light of these observations (see also Azurmendi *et al.*, in Fishman, 2001: 234-259).

Stage 8

Substantial work has been done at this stage over the past century. More remains to be done both in areas where there is still a living Basque community (collection of dying traditions, local dialect forms...) and also in those areas where Basque has ceased to be a community language (collection of toponyms, documentary evidence of past Basque language presence, ethnolinguistic practices which have coloured local Spanish and French behaviours...). This aspect of stage 8 is however neither central to present endeavours nor urgent.

Second language learners (particularly of the primarily instrumentally motivated sort) frequently find difficulty in maintaining the language they have learnt with often great effort due to a lack of integration in the community which uses it. Some initiatives are already underway to counter this, but there is still considerable wasted effort. Stage 8 in the Basque Country does indeed demonstrate 'that language learning and the intergenerational language-in-culture use that RLS requires can be two separate and quite unconnected things' (Fishman, 1991: 89).

Stage 7

Relatively few programmes make use of older members of the community as a resource: this is of particular importance where intervening generations have abandoned Basque as mother tongue, but try through schooling to recover it for their own offspring. This stage

is especially relevant to the French Basque Country, where stage 6 has in many cases not yet been achieved.

Stage 6

Intergenerational informal oralcy.

Although some local initiatives are in place in connection with this stage, they tend to be very patchy: serious attention to this stage, still vital in the Basque Country, is lacking in both top-down official policy and language loyalists' bottom-up initiatives.

Even whilst we accept that it is extremely difficult to intervene at the family-acquaintance-neighbourhood level, we believe that steps may be taken to improve the likelihood of language transmission within this primary domain. With regard to the family, this means:

- Where both parents are native Basque speakers, pursuing the transmission of Basque as the only mother tongue;
- Where one parent is a native Basque speaker and the other an L₂ speaker, pursuing the transmission of Basque as the only mother tongue or of Basque and Spanish/French as co-mother tongues;
- Where one parent is a native Basque speaker and the other a non-Basque speaker, pursuing the transmission of Basque and Spanish/French as co-mother tongues.

To improve language transmission in these three cases, some or all of the following measures may need to be adopted:

- Consciousness-raising information, whether oral (via pre-natal classes, doctors, midwives, nurses) or written (via web-sites, leaflets, magazines for parents, books), to prospective and actual parents to make the language to be transmitted within the family a matter of conscious choice and to ensure that they are aware of how they can best make their contribution to the transmission of Basque, should they wish to do so (cf. Fishman's 'intrafamilial tactics and strategies', 1991: 94);
- Appropriate training, both linguistic and attitudinal, of the health service professionals involved with young families and parents-to-be.

To achieve these aims and cultivate these measures the creation of an official dedicated work-group to stimulate the provision of the at-present non-existent 'RLS Family Service' mentioned by Fishman (1991: 94) seems highly desirable.

Some local councils have undertaken initiatives to promote increased use of Basque in the local neighbourhood, but these initiatives need to be extended systematically throughout the area where Basque is natively spoken.

It is also in this context of informal orality that we situate initiatives aimed at strengthening the use of Basque in leisure time activities. Present initiatives deserve substantial expansion. Some work is done in this sense by local councils and grass roots organisations.

Demographic concentration

There seems to be little official awareness of the need to maintain demographic concentration where it exists. The territorial dimension of language maintenance is one of the least discussed, refined and developed. One irony of the present situation is that the authority which has done most to promote the reversal of language shift away from Basque over the past twenty years, the Basque Government, has now introduced land use policies likely to weaken demographic concentration. The risk needs close monitoring and a rapid response if it materializes.

Stage 5

While we may not unreasonably expect most younger mother-tongue Basques to acquire a considerable degree of literacy through formal schooling, many adult Basques have not. There is in fact little material of the relatively informal, non-specialist subject sort (cf. Kloss's *Zweckprosa*, 1952: 25-7) that is likely to attract the mass of potential adult readers. The widespread local community magazines sometimes provide such material. Some liturgical texts also fall into this category, but are read by ever diminishing numbers. Growth in the amount of Basque in the linguistic landscape no doubt also provides further simple material, but often loses communicative value through being bilingual. There is a whole area here awaiting exploitation: until it is fully exploited the degree of uptake on higher stage written initiatives is likely to continue to be low.

Stage 4

Given that far and away most effort has been dedicated to this stage in the Basque Country, it will not be necessary to dwell on it. Suffice it to say that:

- ways need to be sought of inducing allophone immigrants to pursue linguistic integration at least in those areas where Basque is the dominant language of everyday intercourse;
- more attention needs to be paid to Further/Vocational Education; for it is precisely these students who are more likely to remain in their local communities

than their counterparts who have undergone higher education and who have been largely neglected until recently.

Once one moves on from mere provision of Basque-language and Basque-medium classes to the broader issue of language planning for individual school communities so as to enhance the Basqueness of the school environment, as is occurring quite widely now within the BAC, schools are in some cases proving to be pro-active elements in neighbourhood initiatives. Participants come to realise the limitations of school-based initiatives, so they tend to become concerned with broader ones, whether promoted by the local council, grass-roots or inter-school associations.

Stage 3

A modest number of initiatives, frequently with Basque Government support, are in place to assist with increasing the use of Basque as language of work and /or customer service, depending on individual company circumstances. Linking back to stage 6 via the promotion of the use of Basque in leisure-time companies would be desirable. Nevertheless, this stage has remained largely untouched so far.

Stage 2

Widespread at this stage and the previous one is the tendency to reproduce in Basque what is already available in Spanish. But genuine self-regulatory capacity presupposes the option of original work in Basque, thus creating an undisputed space for the language. Depending largely on translation at these stages is both expensive and ultimately unrewarding as policy, a point which policy-makers need to focus on.

Lower governmental services

Substantial effort has been expended in the BAC on this domain, with occasional considerable advances at the local council level, very limited improvements at the Basque and Navarre Government level and near-nil progress in central Spanish government services provided in the BAC and Navarre. This slow progress is related to lack of coherent application of the main decisions taken, inappropriate strategies and general bureaucratic inertia. Misinterpretation of the BAC law, whereby bilingualism is taken to mean ‘both languages at all times’ in the case of written texts, means that even those few Basque speakers ready and willing to correspond in Basque with the administration often fail to receive the corresponding monolingual answer.

Mass media

With several radio stations, an almost Basque-Country-wide TV channel plus several local community channels, a daily newspaper and a number of non-specialist periodicals Basque seems to be well served in this sphere. Closer inspection, however, reveals that neither the main TV channel (for most Basques just one poor-relation option amongst the minimum of half a dozen, often more, available channels) nor the newspaper (on account of its necessarily limited readership unable to compete on an equal footing in quality or quantity with other local and polity-wide papers), remarkable achievements though they are, can bear comparison with the general run of Spanish (and French) language media. It is clear that Basque is here approaching its upper limits in sociofunctional space, at least while stage 6 is not further strengthened.

Information Technology

Use of modern information technology is rapidly extending within the Basque Country. Basque language ‘moderns’ argue in favour of Basque-language software and the Basque Government has already invested substantial sums in general and educational software. However, rapid updates frequently mean starting all over again. Distribution difficulties have further complicated matters. This, too, seems to be an area where the presence of Basque is doomed to be marginal, limited perhaps to web-site texts, e-mails, text-processing and a modest number of widely used programmes. There seems to be a good case for deliberately not expanding this sector further, in the face of more urgent priorities signalled above.

Stage 1

At this stage Basque efforts have primarily addressed the area of university education. What is missing is the creation of a university level centre, think-tank cum clearing house, to give Basque the intellectual, conceptual and academic support it urgently needs and largely lacks.

In summary, application of the RLS model would require a re-orientation of pro-Basque language policy, including a partial change in priorities, as well as the suppression of those present policies clearly working against its survival, especially, though not only, in Navarre and the French Basque Country.

Limitations of the RLS model

Even if we recognise that the RLS model would serve Basque better than any of the other models mentioned above, from a Basque viewpoint there are perhaps three spheres where the model does not really satisfy local concerns. Overall, the RLS model offers a major advantage over other competitors in pointing out priorities, but like them, can very often offer no more than hints at concrete action: it is definitely not a straightforward recipe book, but rather more an exposition of the general principles involved in achieving good quality cooking.

Land use planning, mass media and leisure activities are matters of concern amongst some Basque language loyalists not fully dealt with within the RLS model:

- The territorial dimension of minority language maintenance and revitalization is a somewhat neglected area of language status planning in its crucial implementation stage. An example of this can be seen in recent Basque Government directives on land use, promoting the growth of villages and small towns near major urban centres, leading to migration from the latter to the former. The directives may be weakening Basque-speaking local communities in Biscay and Gipuzkoa by encouraging an influx of urbanites who use Basque in a much smaller proportion than members of the local community they are joining. Once more, modernity seems to be undermining traditional settlement patterns.
- Secondly, the fact that the mass-media are classed in stage 2 of the model somewhat masks their very direct influence, particularly in the case of TV, on the stage 6 nucleus: successful Spanish language TV programmes, whether light entertainment, sport or youth culture, frequently provide a talking-point in informal groups and even promote related activities (purchase, exchange, copying and consumption of CDs, videos, promotional literature, magazines...). To this extent we deduce that some of the effects of media activity are much closer to the home and neighbourhood nexus than their classification suggests.
- Thirdly, we consider that the model does not sufficiently stress the importance of leisure time. To many Basques just a generation or two ago the notion of 'leisure time' itself would have seemed novel and foreign. But with the change in lifestyles, reductions in working hours, the withering away of religion, the weakening of family ties, improved communications and greater spending power, it has become a major arena of activity, requiring for the most part precisely that informal, everyday use of language which we take to be of central interest in successful language maintenance and spread, whether one considers hobbies (with

their attendant clubs), travel (local, national or international, often in the company of co-ethnics) or the myriad early evening and weekend organised activities that Basques engage in (classes, sports, outings...).

Each of these three spheres presents a challenge which requires a response from the Basque-speaking community and for which the RLS model seems to offer little assistance.

Concluding remarks

In conclusion, we offer a few tentative remarks: the varied positions of the authors have lead to considerable discussion, even doubts about the final formulation of this document. We consider it only fair to record our difficulties.

We believe that Basque can survive, but that the most appropriate route, the development of a consensus across the French/Spanish monolingual and Basque-speaking bilingual communities to ensure a widely accepted allocation of speech functions on a basis containing both geographical and sociofunctional features, has yet to be formulated and that its acceptance and implementation will require at least emotional sacrifice on the part of many. But we also hope, on the basis of anecdotal evidence from within the society, that not a few of its members, whether Basque speakers or no, would be willing to try such a route, especially insofar as it implies a reduction of present tensions. We further think that the position outlined is much less easily assailable by intolerant monolinguals and more attractive to tolerant ones. Such a route is no less likely to be free of conflict than others, but has the advantage of providing a conflict-resolution framework (because nobody's contribution is excluded or devalued), something which other routes have so far failed to do. Of the various models available to guide the choice of specific language planning priorities, the RLS model, whatever its limitations, is a promising, but largely untried tool in the Basque Country.

The Basque case should be of particular interest to language loyalists elsewhere. If one excludes the various speech communities which are in a minority in their own state but which are related to a majority speech community elsewhere and one or two 'major' minorities obviously in far better shape than the rest (Quebec French, Catalan...), then Basque, alongside Welsh, provides an example of a minority relatively well-placed to survive: a modicum of political power, substantial access to public funding, maintenance of language transmission within the family (an estimated three to four thousand new (co-)mother-tongue speakers per year in the case of Basque), enthusiastic, increasingly well-organised language loyalists... The Basque speech community must surely be viewed as a test-case by

many other minorities in western Europe. If the Basques fail in these relatively favourable circumstances to maintain their language, others will surely feel pessimistic about their own chances of doing so. But then, the death of Basque has frequently been prophesied, burial dates have come and gone and Basque has so far survived, due in no small part to the deeply entrenched loyalty and tenacity displayed time and again by its speakers.

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8. LANGUAGE POLICIES OF THE EUROPEAN UNION WITH REFERENCE TO REGIONAL OR MINORITY LANGUAGES

BOJAN BREZIGAR

Abstract

This article deals with the linguistic policy relating to so-called regional or lesser used languages that has been implemented in the European Union (EU) mainly since the 1990's by different EU institutions: European Parliament, European Commission, European Council of Ministers, Committee of the Regions and the Committee to draft the future European Constitution.

Introduction

This article contains some basic information on the language policy of the European Union (EU) and on language planning in the Union itself. It will include specifically issues strictly related to the so called regional or minority languages, as defined in the Council of Europe European Charter for Regional or minority Languages¹. The Council of Europe definition will be kept, as it is the only existing definition in legally binding international documents.

It has to be said that in the European Union Member States there are different definitions referred to regional or minority languages. In Spain the ratification document of the European Charter refers to “official languages of the autonomous regions”², the Italian Constitution protects “linguistic minorities”³, in Austria the currently used term is “Volksgruppen”⁴, while in France the politically accepted term is “Langues régionales”⁵. In all these cases people refer to languages, historically spoken by the citizens of the state, spoken by a lower number of people than the official language(s) and linked to a specific territory. The definition includes non-territorial languages as well, but in this article this matter will not be treated. The non-territorial languages in the European Union are mostly the Roma language and Yiddish. There are no specific EU provisions for Yiddish while

there are provisions for Sinti and Roma⁶, but most of them do not refer to language, as Sinti and Roma constitute a more complex sociological problem.

In the European Union language policy has been based on the principle that all the official languages of the member states are working languages of the Union as well. This means that all the documentation, including the Official Journal, has to be published in all working languages. These languages can be used in the European Parliament and any EU citizen can address any EU office in any working language and has the right to be answered in the same language⁷. The principle has been running since the beginning, when the European Economic Community started with 6 Member States only (France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, The Netherlands and Luxembourg). French, German, Italian and Dutch have been working languages since then. Later on more states joined (the UK, Ireland, Denmark, Greece, Spain, Portugal, Austria, Finland and Sweden). Most of them brought their own languages, so that to the list of four seven further languages were added: English, Danish, Greek, Spanish, Portuguese, Finnish and Swedish. Ireland did not request to have Irish declared a working language, but it has been declared an official language. This means that Irish appears in some official documents (i.e. on the cover page of the passport) but it cannot be used by citizens addressing the EU institutions and it is not a language of the European parliament.⁸ The technical instrument operating the division of official and working languages is the unanimous decision of the Council.⁹

As among the EU member states there are some states with more than one official language, it would be interesting to understand the policy towards those states. Unfortunately, practical conditions make it impossible. Among the founders of the Union there is Belgium with three official languages (Dutch, French and German), but all of them were “covered” by other founders (the Netherlands, France and Germany). In Finland Swedish is an official language together with Finnish, but in 1995 Sweden and Finland entered the EU at the same time, so Swedish was covered in any case.

The enlargement of the European Union will raise the number of working languages up to 20. As has already been decided¹⁰, The Czech republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia will enter with their official languages. It seems that the EU membership of Cyprus will not involve any further language, even if the Government of Cyprus recently¹¹ declared that both Greek and Turkish are official languages of the State.

The regional or minority languages have not been given the same status. There were no specific requests to get the same status, with the exception of Catalan. The Generalitat of Catalunya (Catalan autonomous government) has several times requested to have Catalan included in the list of working languages, claiming that Catalan is spoken by more than 10 millions of EU citizens and it is officially recognised in Catalonia and in the Balearic

islands. The status of Catalan has been discussed several times at different levels¹², but the EU institutions have never considered the possibility of including this language in the list of working languages.

Apart from this issue, there is no specific language policy within the European Union. This article will give an overview of the discussion on the topic in the most important EU institutions, keeping in mind that the whole discussion could not be awarded the title of policy, as there are no binding measures related to the matter and the European Treaties specifically exclude any harmonisation of member states' legislation¹³.

It has to be added that language has not been included among the matters of Art. 13 of the Treaties¹⁴ containing provisions to combat discrimination, in contrast to the basic human rights documents of the United Nations¹⁵ and the Council of Europe¹⁶.

The European parliament

Among the EU institutions the European Parliament (EP) has adopted the largest number of documents referring to regional and minority languages. The details of the problems, the continuous attention to the issue and the strength of the political will allow us to say that the EP has developed a clear policy of protection and promotion of regional or minority languages and to conclude that such a policy has not affected general European Union policy so far and does not appear in the Treaties.

The philosophical approach of the European Parliament has always been referred to the linguistic aspect; the word "minority" or "ethnic group" seldom appears in its official documents, while full attention has been dedicated to language issues. Acting in this way the EP has avoided being involved in delicate political issues, as for example the Northern Ireland or the Basque situation, linked with the protection of languages. While separating the political and the language issues, the EP has not encountered major political obstacles in drafting substantial documents.

Since the mid-eighties the Intergroup for lesser-used languages has been established. It has been confirmed in all the mandates and it has developed its activities mostly in sharing information, in meeting representatives of the communities and in discussing policies in favour of regional or minority languages. Even if Intergroups are not official EP bodies, the Intergroup for regional or minority languages has had a huge impact on the development of proposals related to the regional or minority languages. Among the proposals in the current mandate the inclusion of reference to minority languages in the EP draft programme for the European Year of Languages and the Morgan resolution should be mentioned.

The first EP document was adopted at the very beginning of the democratically elected European Parliament¹⁷. The first resolution, drafted by Gaetano Arfè, was adopted by the European Parliament on 16 October 1981¹⁸. It contains two sets of proposals. The resolution first requests national governments and regional and local authorities to implement policy in favour of minority languages in the fields of education and of mass communication as well as in the field of public life and social affairs. This set of requests contains some statements which can still be considered advanced proposals for the solution of some minority languages' problems: among them it is worthwhile to notice the request "to promote as far as possible a correspondence between cultural regions and the geographical boundaries of the local authorities" which still seems to be one of the basic problems of a correct approach to minorities' issues.

The second set of requests has been addressed to the European Commission. In five paragraphs the resolution requests "accurate and comparable data" on the attitudes towards regional languages and cultures in the states, calls on the Commission to set up pilot projects of multilingual education, recommends funding for projects related to regional cultures as well as measures to promote cultural policy which takes account of needs of linguistic minorities, recommends that the Regional Fund contributes to regional economic projects, "since the cultural identity of a region can only exist if the population are able to live and work in their own area". Finally the resolution calls on the Commission to review legislation or practices "which discriminate against minority languages".

The first comment which appears natural is the discrepancy between the title of the resolution, referring to a "Community Charter of regional languages and cultures and on a charter of rights and ethnic minorities" and the text of a resolution which does not contain any reference to a Charter. As usually happens the first draft of the resolution was probably more substantial; indeed it was the first approach to the problem which later on was the basic element of the Council of Europe's European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, but within the Parliament the idea of such a legal document did not obtain a majority, while the original title has not been changed. In spite of a basically low level of provisions, the Arfè resolution is still highly considered as the start of EP thinking about this issue.

In the same mandate, on 11 February 1983, the EP adopted another resolution, prepared by Gaetano Arfè¹⁹. The text starts with the statement: "Considering that some 30 million Community citizens have as their mother tongue a regional language or a little-spoken language". It has to be noted that the estimate of the number of speakers appears for the first time in this resolution. It refers to the number of speakers in 1983; nowadays, after more States have joined the Union, the figure is about 40 million speakers. Mentioning this figure in an official document gave, for the first time, the dimension of minority language speakers as a substantial number -approximately 10 % - of citizens of the Union.

The resolution calls on the Commission once more to establish pilot projects and studies, but it also contains a new request: “to review all Community and National legislation and practices which discriminate against minority languages and prepare Community instruments for ending such discrimination”. The resolution requests measures in favour of regional cultures in the context of media and culture programmes, it stresses the request for regional funds contained in the previous resolution and it “calls on the Council to ensure that the principles of Parliament’s resolution are respected in practice”.

In the second mandate (1984-1989) on 30 October 1987 the European parliament adopted its third resolution²⁰, prepared by Willy Kuijpers. The text was based on 12 different motions for a resolution, which gives the dimension of the commitment of the EP in this matter. The resolution has been articulated into several requests that it is not very easy to summarise, being specific and addressed to different subjects. Among the statements the support to the Council of Europe’s “efforts to draw up a European Charter of regional or minority languages” gives, for the first time in an official document, the link between the initial idea of Mr. Arfè and the further commitment of the Council of Europe in this domain. There are six paragraphs containing a series of recommendations to the member states related to educational matters, administrative and legal measures, measures in respect of mass media, in respect of cultural infrastructure, social and economic measures and finally special provisions for languages used in border areas. The resolution calls on the Commission to support the implementation of the abovementioned measures, to take account of minority languages in the various areas of Community policy, to make provision for a system of mutual study visits, to reserve broadcasting programmes for minority cultures on European television and to give attention to minority languages in official publications. A special request to support the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages was addressed to the member states, to the Commission and to the Council. Final remarks are referred to internal EP commitments: the EU budget (at least 1 million ECU for minority languages in the 1988 budget), a request to draft a report on migrants and a request to grant the Intergroup on Lesser used languages full status. Finally, the resolution contains, in par. 15, the following statement: “Stresses categorically that the recommendations contained in this resolution are not to be interpreted or implemented in such a way as to jeopardize the territorial integrity or public order of the Member States.” This statement once more shows the concern that the resolution could be interpreted too politically, mixing language and ethnic issues, while the wish of the parliament has always been based on cultural and linguistic aspects only.

The Kuijpers resolution is really comprehensive, but it does not seem to be politically realistic. Its requests are still valid, as a huge part of them have not been implemented so far, it gives an overview of basic problems, specifically those addressed to the mem-

ber states, which is both its strong and weak aspect: the strong aspect is represented by the detailed list of requests, while the weak aspect consists of the total lack of power of the EP over the member states.

At the end of its third mandate, on 9 February 1994, the European Parliament adopted the resolution proposed by Mark Killilea²¹. This has been the last comprehensive resolution which in a way summarised the job done by the European Parliament in more than ten years. It includes some basic political statements, among them that “all peoples have the right to respect for their language and culture and must therefore have the necessary legal means to promote and protect them” and “the linguistic diversity of the European Union is a key element in the Union’s cultural wealth”. Among other things the resolution states that “the protection and promotion of the Union’s linguistic diversity is a key factor in the creation of a peaceful and democratic Europe.” The openness of certain statements reflects the fact that this resolution was adopted after the fall of the Berlin wall and some statements, which in the past would have been considered too political, were now often present in EU statements and even more so in EP documents.

The first requests of this resolution are addressed to the member states, asking them to recognise their linguistic minorities and legally protect them, listing the fields the protection acts should concern, inviting the states to sign and ratify the Council of Europe’s European Charter, to support associations and to sign trans-border co-operation agreements. A second group of requests was addressed to the European Commission, referring to its specific competences in the fields of culture and education, while political issues were addressed to both Commission and Council: they regard budgetary provisions, support to the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages, needs of minority-speakers in central and eastern Europe, translation of books and subtitling of films and, finally, there is the warning that “in encouraging minority languages, the European Community does not do so to the detriment of the main relevant national language and must, in turn, ensure this in no way affects the teaching of that main language in schools”. As the resolution repeats the statement of the Kuijpers resolution on territorial integrity, it appears clear that, specifically referring to central and eastern Europe, this issue has become politically more sensitive. It has to be underlined that the resolution asks for the application of the recommendations “*mutatis mutandis*” to non territorial languages, Roma, Sinti and Yiddish, as well.

In the following mandate (1994-1999) the EP did not adopt any specific document referred to regional or minority languages, even if the topic was discussed several times and partially included in several documents.

In the current mandate, starting in July 1999, on 13 December 2001 the EP adopted a resolution²² proposed by Eluned Morgan. The resolution is based on the Council’s statement that “all the languages are equal in value and dignity and are an integral part of

European culture and civilisation” and it contains the estimate that “at least 40 million” EU citizens regularly speak minority languages. It refers to the European Year of Languages²³ as well.

After some further general statements the resolution, among other things, calls on the Commission “to propose measures to promote linguistic diversity and language learning” and to build on the work done for the European Year of Languages towards a multi-annual programme on languages “and to earmark funding within this programme for regional or lesser used languages”. After referring to the enlargement and to budget provisions, the resolution calls on the Council “to ensure that implementation of Article 22 of the Nice Charter of Fundamental Rights is on the agenda of the next Intergovernmental Conference”. Finally the resolution calls on the member states that have not done so to sign and ratify the European Charter.

At the end of the current mandate the European Parliament passed a Resolution²⁴ on 4th September 2003 proposed by Michl Ebner, MEP representing the German community in South Tyrol, Italy. The text recalls most of the requests already present in former resolutions and it contains two more strong requests to the Commission. The first proposed measures regarding a “legal act setting up a European Agency for Linguistic Diversity and Language Learning, taking due account of regional and minority European languages”. Such an agency should deal with the implementation of the Commission’s Action Plan²⁵, it should promote a multilingual Europe and a climate of acceptance of multilingualism as well as linguistic diversity, “with the inclusion of European regional or minority languages”. The second proposed measure contains the request for a legal act “to establish a multi-annual programme for linguistic diversity (to include regional, minority and sign languages) and language learning”. In contrast to Morgan’s resolution the Ebner document clarifies the needs in detail.

In addition, the document contains several requests addressed to the Commission, the Intergovernmental Conference, the European parliament itself, the member states and the Council. The Commission has been requested, among other things, to include Regional or Minority languages in its cultural and educational programmes, in structural funds and in measures to combat discrimination, to monitor the protection of minorities and to support the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages; this part of the document recalls the Council of Europe European Charter for Regional or Minority languages. The Intergovernmental Conference should include in the Treaties a specific article on linguistic diversity, include the ground of language in Art. 13 of the Treaties and ensure that for cultural matters the principle of qualified majority is introduced. The European Parliament should be kept informed about the level of protection of Regional or Minority Languages in the member states, the member states should provide “reliable data” on

language matters and the Council should include information about minorities in the member states in its annual report.

The European Commission

The European Commission has supported the EP initiatives²⁶ in the domain of minority languages since the very beginning. After the Arfè resolution was adopted in autumn 1981, in spring 1982 the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages (EBLUL), as the representative organisation of cultural and linguistic association in minority languages, was founded in Dublin. EBLUL has been supported by the Commission since the year 1983; for a long time the organisation received grants through the budget line B3-1006, dedicated to regional or minority languages; since the year 1999, after the European Court of Justice declared budget lines not based on specific a legal basis illegal, EBLUL has been funded through a specific budget line together with the three Mercator centres, researching legislation (situated in Barcelona), education (in Leeuwarden, Friesland, the Netherlands) and media (in Aberystwyth, Wales, the UK).

Budget line B3-1006 had been the basic financial source of support for regional or minority languages. It started immediately after the Arfè resolution in the 1983 budget with the modest amount of 100.000 ECU. The amount was increased yearly up to the year 1998 with the amount of 4 M ECU. In seventeen years there was only one decrease: it happened in 1997, when the amount was decreased from 4 to 3.7 M ECU.

This budget line has been used mainly for two groups of activities.

The first group has been referred to the organisations dealing with minority languages at the European level. The European Bureau for Lesser used Languages (EBLUL) as well as the three aforementioned Mercator Centres have been funded through this budget line. EBLUL²⁷ has developed its activities in four main directions:

1. Linking the Communities. In almost twenty years EBLUL has established a network of organisations dealing with regional or minority languages in all EU member states. It is organised through Member State Committees (MSC) in the EU member states²⁸ representative of regional or minority languages spoken in the states. The presidents of the MSCs form the council of the organisation, which is the policy making body. EBLUL has been organising meetings, seminars, conferences and a year-long study-visits programme, which has allowed over 1,000 minority issues experts to visit another minority, to discuss problems and to share experiences. When EBLUL was established there were no contacts among the communities; now there are many networks and communities have been cooperating in many domains.

2. Informing the Communities about European issues. Most of the Communities live in very decentralised areas; with few exceptions (e.g. Finland, Ireland, Luxembourg) there are no minority languages spoken in capital cities and representatives of communities seldom get correct information about events from the capital, not to mention events in Brussels. They have not been informed properly about different EU initiatives, about calls for proposals, about EC projects nor about general EU policies referred to languages. EBLUL has provided such information through publications, the *Contact Bulletin* newsletter, a web page, meetings and seminars; it has helped communities to find partners for projects where international partnership is needed. In some cases EBLUL has entered some projects directly as a partner.²⁹
3. Informing about regional or minority languages. EBLUL has established an information centre in Brussels. Through this office most information about languages, language policies and European issues related to those policies can be obtained. Politicians, scholars, researchers, students and journalists are among people who most look for such information. The information center has published many brochures and booklets about minority language issues. Since the year 2000 EBLUL runs the news-agency Eurolang³⁰ as well.
4. Political lobbying. For twenty years EBLUL has dedicated itself to the promotion of minority policies among politicians and within institutions. It has been granted observer status with the Council of Europe, the United Nations, the UNESCO as well as the Organisation for Cooperation and Security in Europe. Current contacts with the politicians and with the institutions helped the promotion of language issues during the Convention for the EU Charter of Fundamental rights³¹ and in the year 2002 EBLUL dedicated most of its activities to the European Convention, asking for specific provisions to implement the principle of linguistic diversity.³²

The Mercator Centres are mostly research and documentation institutions, dealing with specific issues.

The Mercator Legislation Centre³³ has been placed in Barcelona, with the CIEMEN centre. It collects legislation on minority languages, organises meetings and conferences and it regularly publishes a newsletter available on line as well as in printed form.

The Mercator Education Centre³⁴ has been placed in Leeuwarden/Ljouwert in Friesland, the Netherlands, as part of the *Fryske Akademy*, the basic language organisation in Friesland. It researches educational systems and it regularly publishes Community reports on education in minority languages.

The Mercator Media Centre³⁵ has been placed in Aberystwyth, Wales, in a depart-

ment of the local university. It collects information about media in minority languages and it publishes the Mercator Media Guide annually.

The second group of activities is referred to projects funded through the B3-1006 budget line. Since the mid-eighties the Commission has funded several projects; it seems that up to the year 1995 there are no statistics about the number of projects. The figures for the period 1995 – 2000 have been included in the EP report on the Role of the European Union in Supporting Minority or lesser-used Languages.³⁶ In the year 1995 167 projects were funded, approximately the same number was kept up until 1998, while the decrease in the years 1999 (78 projects) and in 2000 (36 projects) is the result of changes in policy, as the Commission looked for more complex projects with European content. The Commission has funded mostly educational projects, conferences, information and dissemination, teaching material & multimedia, language resources, direct language promotion and other related activities. There was no list of languages, as at European level there is no agreement about such a matter.

Indeed, within the European Commission a list of languages exists. The Euromosaic Report, the only piece of sociolinguistic research on “minority language groups in the European Union”³⁷ commissioned by the European Commission so far published, contains a list of languages, which may not be exhaustive³⁸ but should at least be considered a minimal list.

The Euromosaic report opened the way for new thinking within the European Commission and it led to the conviction that the EU should launch a programme to promote regional or minority languages in the member states. The programme was formally announced in the Colloquy on minority languages organised by the European Commission in Brussels in September 1998. The Commissioner Ms. Edith Cresson in a written message sent to the participants said that “the time had now come to convince those millions of speakers who spoke lesser used languages that they were as much part of European citizenship as everybody else” and announced the intention of introducing a multiannual programme for minority languages³⁹. The programme was supposed to be based on article 149⁴⁰ of the Treaty, referred to education.

In 1999 the new Commission was appointed and the Commissioner Viviane Reding on 1st October 1999 at the Colloquy on Regional or Minority Languages in Brussels personally confirmed that the Commission would adopt the Programme for Regional or Minority Languages before the end of the year 1999. However this did not happen. The main reason seemed to be the opinion of the Commission’s legal service, which advised that such a programme should be considered under the Treaty’s article on culture (Art. 151) instead of education⁴¹. The problem was that Art. 151 requires unanimity, while for Art. 149 qualified majority is enough. As some member states still had not agreed upon the

common definition of the issue it seemed unlikely that any document would be adopted by unanimity.

In the meantime following on the European Court of Justice Judgement C-106/96 of 12 May 1998⁴² the budget line B3-1006 came to an end and preparatory measures for the announced programme could not last more than three years. So since 2001 in the EU budget there is no budget line for minority languages any more. A new budget line has been established to support EBLUL and Mercator activities only, up to 1,050,000 euros in the year 2002.

It has to be stressed in any case that activities related to minority languages may be financed through many mainstream programmes such as Culture 2000, Socrates, e-content etc. But these programmes cannot be specifically referred to regional or minority languages.

On 24th July 2003 the Commission published the Action Plan Promoting Language Learning and Linguistic diversity⁴³. The three-year plan will cover the period 2004-2006, as in 2007 a new set of EC programmes in culture and education is supposed to start up. The goal of this document is that every European citizen “should have meaningful communicative competence in at least two other languages in addition to his or her mother tongue”.

The document consists of two parts. The first part includes life-long language learning and better language teaching: it is important that the range of languages includes “the smaller European languages as well as the larger ones, regional, minority and migrant languages as well as those without ‘national’ status”. The title of the second part “Building a language friendly environment” clearly expresses the aim of the document. Referring to mainstream European education, training and culture programmes as well as structural funds, the document states that all programmes should be made accessible for regional and minority languages, while national and regional authorities have been encouraged to assist those languages in line with the principles of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. Among the specific measures support will be made available from mainstream programmes for these languages and the Commission will monitor this approach.

European Council (Council of Ministers)

The European Council has never seriously considered the issue of regional or minority languages. It seems that no proposal referring to this issue has been put on the agenda. The only updated reference one can find is referred to the final evaluation of the European Year of Languages⁴⁴. In the “Council Resolution on the Promotion of Linguistic diversity and

Language learning in the framework of the implementation of the objectives of the European Year of Languages 2001” adopted on 14 February 2002⁴⁵, the Council of the European Union⁴⁶ emphasised that “all the European languages are equal in value and dignity from the cultural point of view and form an integral part of European culture and civilisation” and, *inter alia*, invites the Commission to “draw up proposals by early 2003 for actions for the promotion of linguistic diversity and language learning...”. It appears clear that this is not the multiannual programme for minority languages and that those languages could enter future actions only if relevant states will so accept. But nowadays this is the only realistic possibility to obtain at least some support in the field of education for initiatives in favour of regional or minority languages.

The Committee of the Regions

Finally, the opinion adopted by the Committee of the Regions on 13 June 2001 on the Promotion and Protection of Regional and Minority Languages⁴⁷ has to be mentioned. In terms of content this opinion is the most comprehensive and politically open document ever produced by the whole EU structure. It contains all the basic definitions, it draws up the policy needed to safeguard and promote languages and it lists recommendations to member states and to the European Commission which, if implemented, would produce a real impact on the status of the languages. Unfortunately, the Committee of the Regions has not yet been given a more prominent role within the EU and in most cases its opinions have not been taken into consideration by the Commission and the Council at all.

Convention for the Future of Europe

The Laeken Declaration on the future of the European Union⁴⁸ sounded quite optimistic for people dealing with minority languages: respect of others’ languages and respect for minorities have been included in the political statement that should have led to the new EU Constitution.

The Convention for the Future of Europe, established by the European Council with the purpose of drafting the EU Constitutional text, completed its work on 10 July 2003 and on 18 July published the Draft Treaty establishing the constitution of Europe⁴⁹. The text contains some important paragraphs referred to languages, minorities or linguistic diversity.

The text consists of three parts. Part 1 contains basic statements, Part 2 includes –without any substantial changes– the EU Charter of Fundamental rights, Part 3 contains

the revised text of the Treaties and Part 4 the final issues (of no relevance to languages).

We can consider the issue referring to four different topics.

- **International environment.** Art. I-6 states that “The Union shall have legal personality”, while Art. I-7⁵⁰ incorporates in the Treaty the EU Charter for Fundamental Rights and declares that the Council of Europe’s Charter of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, to which the EU will seek accession, “shall constitute general principles of the Union’s law”. This article creates a new legal dimension, it allows citizens to accede to the European Court for human rights and includes in the *acquis communautaire* the provisions of the CoE Convention, among them the prohibition of discrimination⁵¹ based on language or association with a national minority.
- **Linguistic diversity.** Linguistic diversity has become one of the basic principles of the constitutional text. The last paragraph of Article I-3 states that “The Union shall respect its rich cultural and linguistic diversity, and shall ensure that Europe’s cultural heritage is safeguarded and enhanced.”, while Art. 22 of the EU Charter of Fundamental rights states that “The Union shall respect cultural, religious and linguistic diversity.” It has to be stressed that the implementation of such principles has been made easier as the unanimous vote of the European Council, formerly required for the implementation of Art. 151 of the Treaties (the new number is III-176), has been changed to a qualified majority vote. This could make the adoption of specific programmes for linguistic diversity easier as well.
- **Non-discrimination.** With the inclusion of the EU Charter of Fundamental rights⁵² and with the accession to the CoE Convention for Human Rights and Fundamental freedoms⁵³ the prohibition of discrimination based on language has become part of the *acquis communautaire*. Moreover, non-discrimination has been included among the Union values⁵⁴. But unfortunately the former Art. 13 of the Treaties⁵⁵, with the new number (Art. III-5) has not been amended accordingly. The consequence is that the constitutional text prohibits discrimination based on language, but it does not give the Commission any instrument to prevent or combat such discrimination.
- **Conditions for EU membership.** The last issue regards new EU member states: the Copenhagen Criteria, adopted in 1993 in order to evaluate states wishing to join the Union, states, among other things: “Membership requires that the candidate country has achieved ... respect for and protection of minorities”. The new Constitutional text has not incorporated this principle. Art. I-57⁵⁶ recalls the conditions as fixed by Art. I-2⁵⁷: we can conclude that the states that will join the EU on 1st May 2004 had to fulfil the principle of “respect for and protection of minori-

ties”, while such a condition is not required of states which apply for membership in the future.

If we compare the draft Constitutional text with the Laeken declaration’s principles we realise that the principle of respect of neighbour language has largely been respected, while the European Convention has not fully considered the request related to respect of minorities.

Final remarks

To conclude this overview it appears clear that there is no reason for specific optimism, while speaking about the active role of the European Union in the protection and promotion of regional or minority languages. There is a possibility that in a short time the multiannual programme on linguistic diversity and language learning will be adopted, but it will in any case (1) concern all languages, including the largest European languages and (2) limit its action to strictly linguistic/educational issues, leaving out of its field of competence all the issues related to social, sociolinguistic, cultural and economic activities of the communities as well as basic language rights. Under these conditions it can be stated, that (1) the European Union has not developed any real language policy related to regional or minority languages, (2) the political will does not exist for the European Council to enter this field and (3) the Treaties do not allow the Commission to develop specific activities to support these languages.

The ongoing reform process of the European Union⁵⁸, which will, hopefully, lead towards the European Constitution and to the enlargement of the European Union, does not seem to consider the issue. It seems that the European Constitution will include the whole EU Charter for Fundamental Rights as well as the CoE European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms and it will remove the unanimity requirement from most of the relevant issues, including Art. 151. But it is unlikely it will touch the issue of minority languages and there is no will to incorporate in the European Constitution the Copenhagen Criteria, adopted in 1993 in order to evaluate states wishing to enter the Union, stating, among other things: “Membership requires that the candidate country has achieved ... respect for and protection for minorities.” In the future new member states will probably be required to consider these criteria as part of the *acquis communautaire*, but it will probably be a long time before we can speak about common EU standards and/or common EU policy referred to regional or minority languages.

¹ Art. 1 of the Charter: “Regional or minority languages” means languages that are: (i) traditionally used within a given territory of a State by nationals of that State who form a group numerically smaller than the rest of the State’s population; and (ii) different from the official language(s) of that State; it does not include either dialects of the official language(s) of the State or the languages of migrants.

² The declaration of Spain contained in the instrument of ratification of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Language, deposited on 9 April 2001: “Spain declares that, for the purposes of the mentioned articles, are considered as regional or minority languages, the languages recognised as official languages in the Statutes of Autonomy of the Autonomous Communities of the Basque Country, Catalonia, Balearic Islands, Galicia, Valencia and Navarre. For the same purposes, Spain also declares that the languages protected by the Statutes of Autonomy in the territories where they are traditionally spoken are also considered as regional or minority languages.”

³ Art. 6 of Italian Constitution establishes the protection of “linguistic minorities”.

⁴ Basic legislation on minorities: Bundesgesetz vom 7.7.1976 (BGBl 396/76) über die Rechtsstellung von Volksgruppen in Österreich (Volksgruppengesetz).

⁵ See the Rapport Poignant, in <http://www.bzh.com/identite-bretonne/charte/fr-poignant.html>

⁶ For more information consult http://europa.eu.int/comm/employment_social/fundamri/prog/index_en.htm

⁷ Art. 21, par. 3 of the Treaties: “Every citizen of the Union may write to any of the institutions or bodies referred to in this Article or in Article 7 in one of the languages mentioned in Article 314 and have an answer in the same language.”

⁸ Art. 314 of the Treaties: “This Treaty, drawn up in a single original in the Dutch, French, German, and Italian languages, all four texts being equally authentic, shall be deposited in the archives of the Government of the Italian Republic, which shall transmit a certified copy to each of the Governments of the other signatory States.

Pursuant to the Accession Treaties, the Danish, English, Finnish, Greek, Irish, Portuguese, Spanish and Swedish versions of this Treaty shall also be authentic.”

⁹ Art. 290 of the Treaties: “The rules governing the languages of the institutions of the Community shall, without prejudice to the provisions contained in the Rules of Procedure of the Court of Justice, be determined by the Council, acting unanimously.”

¹⁰ The 10 new member states will enter the EU on 1st May 2004.

¹¹ The declaration is part of the instrument of ratification of the European Charter of Regional or Minority languages, deposited on 26 August 2002.

¹² See <http://cultura.gencat.net/llengcat/internal/index.htm>

¹³ Art. 151 of the European Treaties.

¹⁴ Article 13 of the European Treaties: “Without prejudice to the other provisions of this Treaty and within the limits of the powers conferred by it upon the Community, the Council, acting unanimously on a proposal from the Commission and after consulting the European Parliament, may take appropriate action to combat discrimination based on sex, racial or ethnic origin, religion or belief, dis-

ability, age or sexual orientation.“

¹⁵ Art. 2 of the Universal declaration of Human Rights.

¹⁶ Art. 14 of the Convention for the protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms.

¹⁷ The first elections for the European Parliament were held on 10 June 1979.

¹⁸ European Parliament Resolution on a Community Charter of Regional Languages and Cultures and on Charter of Rights of Ethnic Minorities. For the full text see: Vade-mecum, A guide to international documents on lesser used languages of Europe, 2003, European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages, Brussels, page 7.

¹⁹ European Parliament Resolution on measures in favour of minority languages and cultures. For the full text see: Vade-mecum, page 10.

²⁰ European Parliament Resolution on the languages and cultures of regional and ethnic minorities in the European Community. For the full text see: Vade-mecum, page 11.

²¹ European Parliament Resolution on linguistic and cultural minorities in the European Community. For the full text see: Vade-mecum, page 54.

²² European Parliament Resolution on regional and lesser-used European languages. For the full text see Vade-mecum, page 149.

²³ The Council of Europe and the European Union have declared the year 2001 the European Year of Languages. Both organisations evaluated the output of the year positively.

²⁴ European Parliament resolution with recommendations to the Commission on European regional and lesser-used languages - the languages of minorities in the EU - in the context of enlargement and cultural diversity (2003/2057(INI))

²⁵ Promoting Language Learning and Linguistic Diversity: An Action Plan 2004-2006. Commission of European Communities, Documents, Catalogue number KT-CO-03-449-EN-C.

²⁶ The EC activities on Promoting and Safeguarding regional and minority languages and cultures are explained in a specific web page: <http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/langmin.html>

²⁷ For more information see the web page www.eblul.org

²⁸ As of Oct. 2002 in Portugal the applicant committee exists; it has not been granted full membership so far.

²⁹ See www.eblul.org/dart

³⁰ The agency provides updated information about regional and minority languages in the EU free of charge. See the web page www.eurolang.net.

³¹ EBLUL's proposal (<http://www.eblul.org/pajenn.asp?ID=11&vezh=saozneg&rumm=>) was the basis of the discussion which led to Art. 22 of the Charter: The Union respects cultural, religious and linguistic diversity.

³² See www.eblul.org/futurum

³³ See: www.troc.es/ciemen/mercator/index-gb.htm

³⁴ See: www.fa.knaw.nl/mercator/

³⁵ See: www.aber.ac.uk/~merwww/

³⁶ See: <http://www.europa.eu.int/comm/education/policies/lang/langmin/support.pdf>

³⁷ See http://www.europa.eu.int/comm/education/policies/lang/langmin/euromosaic_en.html or printed version in Euromosaic, European Commission 1996, ISBN 92-827-5512-6.

³⁸ The study does not contain the languages of Austria, Finland and Sweden, as the research had been carried out before those states joined the EU. Among the languages of the other states some were not considered (i.e. Walloon, Scots, etc.). Later on the study has been completed with the three new member states.

³⁹ EC proposes legal basis for regional and minority languages, Contact Bulletin, vol. 15, nr. 2, February 1999, EBLUL Dublin.

⁴⁰ Before the Amsterdam treaty entered into force the same article had the number 126.

⁴¹ Bojan Brezigar: Delay in EU programme for minorities, Contact Bulletin, vol. 16, nr. 2, April 2000, EBLUL Dublin.

⁴² Ref. 61996J0106 (Rec. 1998, p. I-2729)

http://europa.eu.int/cgi/sga_doc?smartapi!celexplus!prod!CELEXnumdoc&lg=en&numdoc=61996J0106

⁴³ Ref. note 25

⁴⁴ Ref. note 17.

⁴⁵ Resolution 14757/01, formally adopted at the 2408 Council meeting – Education and Youth Affairs in Brussels, 14 February 2002. Vade-mecum, page 4.

⁴⁶ The so-called Educational Council, attended by Ministers of Education of the EU Member States.

⁴⁷ Document CdR 86/2001 fin EN/o in <http://www.cor.eu.int/corz301.htm> or Vade-mecum, page 157.

⁴⁸ Laeken Declaration on the Future of the European Union (Dec. 2001): What is Europe's role in this changed world? Does Europe not, now that is finally unified, have a leading role to play in a new world order, that of a power able both to play a stabilising role worldwide and to point the way ahead for many countries and peoples? Europe as the continent of humane values, the Magna Carta, the Bill of Rights, the French Revolution and the fall of the Berlin Wall; the continent of liberty, solidarity and above all diversity, meaning respect for others' languages, cultures and traditions. The European Union's one boundary is democracy and human rights. The Union is open only to countries which uphold basic values such as free elections, respect for minorities and respect for the rule of law.

⁴⁹ See <http://www.europa.eu.int/futurum>

⁵⁰ Article I-7: Fundamental rights

1. The Union shall recognise the rights, freedoms and principles set out in the Charter of Fundamental Rights which constitutes the Second Part of this Constitution.

2. The Union shall seek accession to the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. Accession to that Convention shall not affect the Union's competences as defined in this Constitution.

3. Fundamental rights, as guaranteed by the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, and as they result from the constitutional traditions common to the Member States, shall constitute general principles of the Union's law.

⁵¹ Article 14 – Prohibition of discrimination

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

⁵² Article II-21 (EU Charter of Fundamental rights)

Non-discrimination

1. Any discrimination based on any ground such as sex, race, colour, ethnic or social origin, genetic features, language, religion or belief, political or any other opinion, membership of a national minority, property, birth, disability, age or sexual orientation shall be prohibited.

2. Within the scope of application of the Constitution and without prejudice to any of its specific provisions, any discrimination on grounds of nationality shall be prohibited.

⁵³ See note 48.

⁵⁴ Article I-2: The Union's values

The Union is founded on the values of respect for human dignity, liberty, democracy, the rule of law and respect for human rights. These values are common to the Member States in a society of pluralism, tolerance, justice, equality, solidarity and non-discrimination.

⁵⁵ See note 14.

⁵⁶ Article I-57: Conditions and procedure for applying for Union membership

1. The Union shall be open to all the European States which respect the values referred to in Article 2, and are committed to promoting them together.

⁵⁷ See note 51.

⁵⁸ This article was forwarded to the publisher on 7th October 2003. More recent developments have not been included.