

The use of Basque in the light of the theory of integration

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Abstract:

In this article I attempt to re-analyse data from the *Euskal Herriko Soziolinguistikazko Inkesta* (Basque Sociolinguistic Survey, 1996) using methodologies derived from the theory of integration as developed in relation to eastern European countries, such as Estonia and Latvia. The reworking of the data clearly points to significant differences between the northern Basque Country (Iparralde) in France and the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC) in Spain, despite apparently similar overall levels of bilingualism. The theory of integration highlights a number of points drawn from the sociolinguistic data, which suggest that the lack of a supportive language policy north of the Pyrenees is condoning ongoing language attrition whereas in the BAC the positive language planning measures to promote Basque are not only starting to yield encouraging results but also that there is a social project that enjoys a groundswell of support.

Key Words: Basque, Sociolinguistics, Theory of Integration, Bilingualism, Assimilation, Separation, Segregation Pluralism.

1. A cross-language approach and the theory of integration

In this article I am proposing a cross-language approach, applying to Basque both empirical and theoretical models developed in other parts of Europe in situations which, although partly analogous, differ markedly in various ways¹. My aim is to re-analyse the results of the sociolinguistic survey of Basque (*Euskal Herriko Soziolinguistikazko Inkesta* henceforth EHSI) designed and co-ordinated by the government of the Basque Autonomous Community in the light of the theory of integration which has produced interesting results in the Baltic countries,

particularly Estonia and Latvia, since they became independent in 1991². The reference to the accession to independence of these former Soviet republics in no way implies a desire on my part to argue from a separatist perspective. Indeed, I wish to distance myself from any personal political involvement regarding the independence of the Basque Country, whether unified or confined to BAC (the part of the historical Basque linguistic and political area south of the Pyrenees). Such questions lie outside the competence of the sociolinguist. The national languages of the Baltic lands have been established as means of communication able to meet all the functional needs of an urbanised industrial society only relatively recently, in fact since the first period of independence in the early part of the 20th century, although language planning (revitalisation and unification) started somewhat earlier. The national territories emerging like the off-cuts of repeated annexations by foreign powers, were faced, upon independence, with the challenge of multicultural integration, as regards both their own internal political stability and their integration into the international community. Between 1945 and 1991, annexation by the Soviet administration radically altered the sociolinguistic configuration of these countries, leaving them with large non-autochthonous populations : currently 45% in Latvia and 35% in Estonia. Linguistically, however, the two languages are very different. Latvian is a Baltic language from the Balto-Slavic branch of Indo-European, showing long-standing grammatical and lexical convergences with the other languages of the local Slav minorities – Russian, Belorussian and Ukrainian – as well as historically Indo-European structural features. Estonian, on the other hand, despite a rich array of lexical and morphological borrowings from German, Swedish, Greek, Latin, Russian and even French (usually through Swedish) remains very much a Finno-Ugric tongue, which shows little overlap with Slavic languages which could aid the migrant learner. Nor does Euskara, an isolated non-Indo-European language, show, save for Latin and Romance loan words, any structural overlap with the dominant Romance languages in use within its territory. In the period of independence in Estonia prior to the Soviet occupation, the indigenous population was 88%. In the 1989 census, just before the break-up of the Soviet Union, only 61.5% of the population were native Estonian, with 30.5% Russian citizens and 5% Ukrainians and Belorussians, forming a Slavic-speaking minority amounting to 35.5% of the population. Most of these new citizens were migrants who had settled in industrial and urban areas as a consequence of centrally imposed Soviet plans for economic development and re-industrialisation, as well as strategic militarisation and demographic and socio-cultural russification of the region. The independent local economies of the inter-war years had been partially destroyed, and then re-oriented within the framework of Soviet-wide central planning and redistribution of labour. In the 2000 census, nine years after independence, 65% of the

population were native Estonian as against 28.5% Russians and 4% Ukrainians and Belorussians. Estonia and Latvia were thus confronted with the very immediate problem of developing a legal and institutional framework (social and educational infrastructures) within which these minorities may be integrated and thereby avoid social unrest and fulfil the conditions for joining supranational and geo-strategic organisations such as the European Union and NATO. Admittedly, some resentment against the former Russian occupier persists, even after the demilitarisation of the Baltic region, as do some of the socio-cultural barriers between the local and Slavic populations which arose during the Soviet period. These still give rise to some lack of understanding between the communities, even rancour and chauvinism among the Slav communities and xenophobic nationalism on the Baltic side. Nonetheless, Estonia and Latvia have no other choice than to forget the past and work out viable models of multinational integration.

My experience as an observer in Latvia, Estonia and Euskal Herria³ as well as my strong interest in applied socio-psychological models centred round the theory of integration currently being applied or tested in the Baltic states⁴ led me to envisage a re-analysis of the data from the Basque sociolinguistic survey (EHSI, 1996), using Rasma Karklins' (2000) version⁵ of the theory of integration as a kind of analogical prism. Although concrete data in sociology and sociolinguistics provide us with indices and may open up new, and sometimes indirect, ways of interpreting social phenomena, it would nevertheless be risky to indulge in such speculations without recourse to a model that is both clear and explicit. Therefore, I think it would be helpful at this point, to include an introduction to the basic premisses of the theory of integration, which, despite its influence in such fields as history and political science, is much less well known to sociolinguists than the now traditional models of Fishman and Labov. Outside Europe, these approaches have been developed fruitfully, for example, in Canada in the analysis of situations involving immigration and cross-cultural contact (Berry and Laponce, 1994). The main premisses of the theory of integration (according to the overview by Karklins, 2000 and the entry 'acculturation' in Viikberg, 1999 ; see also Léonard, 2001) are shown in Table 1:

1.	There are four types of situation or regime as regards integration : assimilation, pluralism, segregation, separation.
2	Three factors or levels of analysis may be distinguished : structural, functional and attitudinal.
3	These four situation types and three levels of analysis are relatively autonomous and complementary. The way in which they combine determines the situations of individuals and groups within a given society and the various ways in which they may be interpreted.

Table 1 : Premises of the theory of integration

Figure 1 shows the dynamic interplay between the four degrees of integration shown as a rectangle and the three levels of analysis depicted as a triangle in the background. For ease of reading, the links between the points of the triangle and the corners of the rectangle are not shown but obviously they may combine⁶.

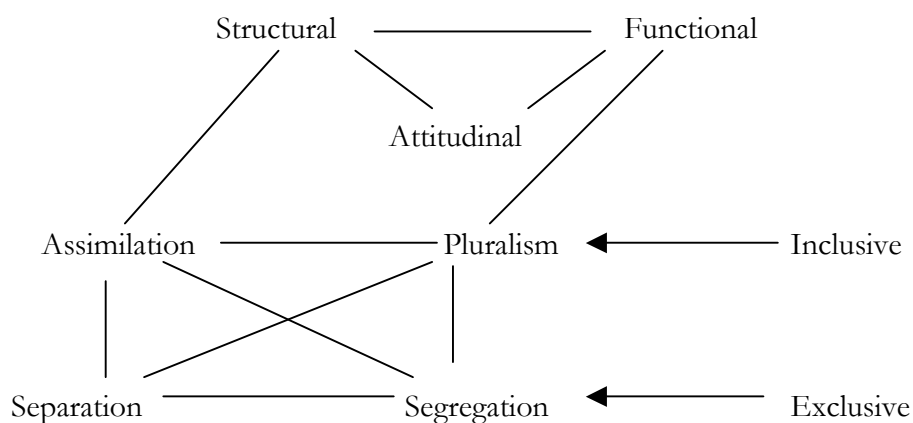


Figure 1 : Diagrammatic projection of situation types and factors of integration

Before defining these terms, it is important to bear in mind two points : firstly, the model is articulated on two axes forming an inclusive/exclusive correlation, which explains the use of negative terms such as separation and segregation, although they are antonyms with regard to what is generally meant by ‘integration’. It may seem difficult to accept the idea of segregative forms of integration, and the notion of ‘separation’ usually refers to ‘lack of integration’⁷ as in the case of irredentist or nationalist demands for separatism. In fact, a number of states have realised *de facto* these degrees of (non)-integration in nation building or social organisation ranging from apartheid in South Africa to *de facto* segregation of Blacks in the USA. Thus it behoves us to consider these situation types as unavoidable aspects of observed reality, if for no other reason than to detect and seek to contain them as far as possible. Secondly, these notions must necessarily be interpreted in dynamic, systemic and relative terms (corresponding respectively to social change, the interplay of factors and movement along the inclusive-exclusive axes). The process of the interacting forces of inclusion and exclusion implies that no social group, community or nation is purely assimilationist, pluralist, separationist or segregationist. These regimes may be combined and stratified according to historical factors, constantly modifying their configuration of status and power, their demographic make-up and their political relations, according to a widely observed internal economy. An excess of segregation or pluralism inevitably leads to an absence of integration just as forced assimilation leads to alienation and conflict. It is

the balance of these four components as well as a predominantly inclusive regime (assimilation or pluralism) which, in principle, guarantees a degree of stability.

Erramun Baxok has developed a gradual, evolutionary and identity-oriented form of the theory of integration stressing attitudinal identification. He places the four regimes in fields separated by two axes construed as continuous polarities between assimilation, multicultural integration, separation and marginalisation as in Figure 2 (Baxok, 1997 : 26).

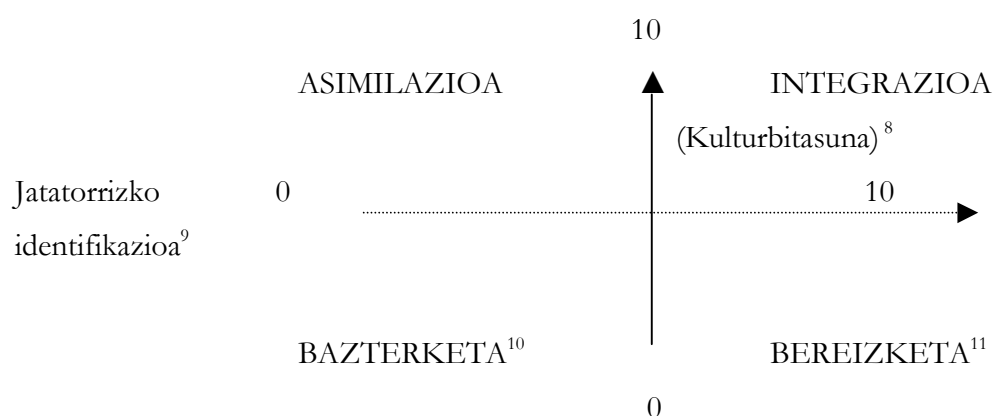


Figure 2. Baxok's model of integration (Baxok, 1997)

This model further developed by Berry and Laponce (1994)¹², has a number of points in common with the one that I have chosen to use.

Assimilation, a highly inclusive regime, presupposes that one culture or language may melt into another, possibly leaving a substratum. The assimilating group most often represents a majority language or culture, a widespread prestigious standard which is dominant in terms of power hierarchies. One can take as an example of this type of regime the French doctrine of integration of autochthonous minorities through linguistic assimilation and political centralism (Bretons, Basques, Occitans, Corsicans, etc., including the historical *Oïl* dialect speaking communities, such as Picard, Poitevin, Norman, and so forth which were classic cases of diglossic assimilation). This type of integration, which served as a model for many other states, is only viable if the minorities concerned recognise the legitimacy of both the process and the underpinning philosophy which includes undertakings on the part of both the state and political élites to respect universal values of status and rights. Today, this type of regime has been undermined by the effects of globalisation and the emergence of xenophobic tendencies among both the political élites and certain sections of the electorates of traditionally democratic countries. Pluralism implies the

coexistence of a set of equal and legitimately recognised communities, which may indeed be encouraged to maintain their differences under the auspices of a federation or confederation of political and cultural regimes, promoting as far as possible multilingualism and multiculturalism. The most (geographically) immediate example, which may not in fact be the most convincing, is the Helvetic Confederation, made up of French, German, Italian and Romansch-speaking communities within a political framework that gives considerable scope to local decision makers and consultation of the general public. Since this regime too is being progressively weakened by the current increase in xenophobic attitudes towards migrant communities, it is important to emphasise that this form of structural pluralism enshrined in the constitution functions at the local level within a regime which displays more of the characteristics of separation than genuine multilateral pluralism, i.e. Switzerland constitutes an example of "pluralist separation" or "pluralist locally focused separation". At the local level, the cantons¹³ operate assimilationist policies. Segregation imposes a scale of powers and values between communities, separating areas of permitted residence and movement and distributing jobs and resources in an unequal fashion, if need be through a repressive political system, as was the case with the explicitly segregationist apartheid regime in South Africa or the southern United States prior to the Civil War. A regime of segregation may function in covert fashion as in USA, where the black minority is disproportionately represented among the prison population or people living below the poverty line. Another example is the plight of the indigenous populations in Mexico which went relatively unnoticed until the Zapatist movement denounced this *de facto* situation in 1994, demanding a raft of rights which were enshrined in the San Andrés agreements of 1996. Once signed, these agreements were thrown out on the grounds of unconstitutionality by successive Mexican governments who managed to avoid positive action by manipulating factors of structural integration. Separation is a far more frequent situation than is at first apparent, bearing in mind that it must be distinguished from separatism which is a case of collapsing integration, i.e. disintegration (Paradoxically, a theory of national integration implies as its counterpart a theory national disintegration as proved to be the case, for example, in Yugoslavia, the USSR and Czechoslovakia). A regime of separation presupposes the coexistence of equal communities whose cultural characteristics and prerogatives and political autonomy are guaranteed by the State or the overarching social system. It most often takes the form of regional or territorial autonomy. Catalonia, the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC) or Galicia in Spain, as well as Vojvodina in Serbia (Djordjevic, 2002) are examples of regimes with partially pluralist separation.

In other words assimilation comes down to incorporation by absorbing, pluralism to managing through association, segregation to subjugation and control through dissociation and separation to combining by juxtaposing (cf. Premiss 1 in Table 1). There is no optimum regime insofar as even the most positive and least discriminatory combination of factors, as in the case of assimilation on the inclusive axis, may engender social crises. Assimilation may cause disintegration through alienation; structural pluralism, however well planned it might be, since it always exists within a federal regime, may be shaken to the core by friction and conflict between the member groups, as is the case in Belgium or the former Yugoslavia. Equally, it may be used as an instrument of power according to the 'divide and rule' principle, if it is conceived and perceived in that way as in the USSR before the break-up. In fact nation-states are constantly actively or passively reworking a combination of elements from the four regimes to maintain their relative cohesion. Seen in this light, the theory of integration is in no sense static but markedly dynamic and systemic, providing tools for observation and diagnostic arguments rather than ready-made solutions.

Moreover, there are three main levels of integration: structural, functional and attitudinal (echoing the three dominant social science paradigms: structuralism, functionalism and social psychology). Structural integration is legal, institutional and nominal: it may be manifested through citizenship, status, legal rights, recognition of a group and an ethnonym (which identifies the group by name). Functional integration is maintained through action and the degree of participation, indeed, in the freedom with which individuals and groups can communicate and have their rights respected. Employment or proficiency in two languages in a situation of legitimate or legitimised bilingualism are factors of functional integration. That said, these factors may function both internally and externally. It goes without saying that dialectal Basque may contribute to functional integration in close circles in rural areas of Iparralde (the Basque-speaking region in France), just as unified Basque (*euskara batua*) is a functional resource in the wider circles of the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC). Finally, attitudinal integration is a matter of the degree of assent to a common system of values. It may be manifested through voting patterns as well as through opinions and statements voiced in public or in private, particularly responses to social science surveys, bearing in mind that a large part of the EHSI is devoted to attitudes towards Euskara and language policies. Civic loyalty to society at large and language loyalty in the local context exemplify attitudinal integration at different levels. These levels of civic and community integration may prove contradictory, as for instance in the case of an assimilationist regime, just as they may combine within a pluralist framework. This tripartite

division defined in Table 1 (Premiss 2) allows for the combination of these three factors as possible realisations of the four regimes listed under Premiss 1. Individuals or communities may experience structural segregation as was the case for Russians who did not have Latvian citizenship at the time of independence, although they may have been functionally integrated through employment or mastery of Latvian. They may show a positive or negative attitude according to the importance that they attribute to each of these factors or indeed to the polarisation of any one of them. A non-naturalised Russian bilingual or monolingual living in Latvia may be as likely to consider himself Latvian as Russian (Karklins, 2000). Karklins cites in this context the example of a Russian-speaking community in the south of Latvia, characterised by their religious identity. The “old-style believers”, an orthodox religious community, whose favourable ethos towards the established order and official authority, facilitates their attitudinal integration in the newly independent Latvia, in spite of their weak functional integration (most of them have little or no command of Latvian) and their status as stateless persons, since they cannot accede to Latvian citizenship because of their monolingualism. The network of integrative relations may be complex and multidirectional, e.g. internalised as in Iparralde or externalised in the BAC.

In conclusion, there is no country or political regime that is purely assimilationist, pluralist, segregationist or “separationist” (cf. Table 1 Premiss 3). Each country or community combines elements of these four regimes.

2. Current issues in Basque sociolinguistics

Contemporary Basque sociolinguistics is confronted with the following issues¹⁴. Firstly, is it possible to revive a language as socially and demographically weak as Basque was after the death of Franco, and so structurally different from the dominant languages (*erdaraka*, i.e. Spanish and French) through supportive language planning¹⁵? Why are not such language planning measures taken as a model of pluralist integration in many countries whether in the European Union or in other parts of the world? Why do governments so often resist or even reject their feasibility or viability?

Secondly, why does a considerable proportion of the population of Hegoalde (BAC and Navarra) subscribe to the project of a bicultural society, despite the significant difficulties, such as permanent political conflict? I shall argue that the distinctive aspect of the “Basque language revival” in the southern part of the Basque Country may be explained by a latent social project,

i.e. a sociocultural innovation which mobilises a significant proportion of the population. By “social project”, I do not mean “political project” as the term is sometimes used, for instance, in electioneering. In the context of the current discussion “social project” is equivalent to a project for structural, functional and attitudinal integration of socio-culturally diverse elements. Top-down and bottom-up language planning measures can be actively used as social resources, where otherwise such resources might remain underused and attract little participation. One consequence of note in a sociolinguistic perspective is that a plural, heterogenous and innovative linguistic community emerges from this process.

Thirdly, how can a linguistic community, under two different language policy regimes assume opposing orientations as regards continuity, corpus planning, functionality and language vitality? Is it therefore the same linguistic community, apart from the dialectal differences? On the French side, the lack of either government driven measures and the total absence of grass roots initiatives have led to a loss of speakers, functional obsolescence and language atrophy. On the Spanish side, substantial government-led and community-supported initiatives are helping to promote language revival, with the number of speakers outside the traditional rural circles starting to increase. In both cases, these trends are affecting slightly over a quarter of the population (except in Navarra where barely 10% are bilingual). How can this emergent language revival or progressive obsolescence be described and interpreted in various segments of the bilingual and "monolingual" community/ies either in terms of linguistic proficiency or of generational differences?

Fourthly, how can the inertia on the French side¹⁶ or the sociocultural changes inspired by both top-down and ground-up language planning on the Spanish side, be built upon and passed on from within the bilingual community or through the relations of inclusion and exclusion between language groups in contact?

These questions go beyond the usual straightforward observations listing cases of language death and revival in different parts of the world. The diversity of language planning (non-) measures in the three parts of the Basque Country (BAC, Navarra and Iparralde) and the positive initiatives introduced south of the Pyrenees clearly shows how societies can accept the obsolescence, devaluation and vernacularisation of their language or, on the contrary, change or reverse such trends if given a structurally and functionally appropriate framework. The political dimension,

strictly speaking, belongs to the attitudinal aspects, albeit with repercussions on the function and status of languages in contact or in conflict.

3. Analysis of the EHSI data

I now intend to look at data from the official Basque sociolinguistic survey of 1996 (EHSI) as they seem to provide valuable indicators which may be transposed and re-analysed in terms of the theory of integration. Estimations regarding language selection and the use of Euskara in different social domains are, in this respect, very revealing and open to a diversity of interpretations. These data range on the one hand from the macro-sociolinguistic dimension of language policy and planning to the micro level of social interaction and language use on the other. The crucial linking role between the macro and micro levels of language use, like, for instance, language selection was clearly set out by Fishman (1972, developing the approach pioneered by Fishman, 1965 and one year after the survey by Fishman and Cooper in 1971), who in this study consolidated the bases of the theory of domains of use and social roles, so that they became established in sociolinguistics, as they had already been for some time in sociology. Towards the end of the article about the relevance of language selection in sociolinguistic analysis, Fishman (1971 : 29) observed :

“Sociolinguistics is of interest to students of small societies as well as to students of *national and international integration*.¹⁷ It must help clarify the change from one face-to-face situation to another. It must also help clarify the different language-related beliefs and behaviors of entire social sectors and classes. It must be as useful and as informative to sociologists pursuing inter-societal and intra-societal topics as it is to linguists pursuing more contextualized linguistic description”.

Fishman emphasised the importance of this kind of data for the understanding of the connection between macro- and micro-sociolinguistics. It might be objected that the EHSI data are heavily skewed because of the subjects' evaluation of their own language use. The people questioned claimed to use mainly Euskara in the domains categorised by the survey – among family members, within the local community and wider society. Admittedly, it is difficult to verify the validity of testimonies of the people who took part in the survey regarding their language behaviour, but their statements are nonetheless relevant for the analysis of the relative status of the majority and minority languages, and the network-oriented approach towards the communication context of bilinguals. As Fishman (1972 : 28) points out in his ground-breaking article:

“If informants tell [the investigator] that the predicted language or variety would be appropriate in most of the examples he can think of that derive from his notion of the

educational domain, whereas they proclaim that it would not be appropriate for examples that he draws from a contrasted domain, and, finally, *if the construct helps clarify and organize his data, and, particularly if it arises as a composing feature of his data*¹⁸ – then the construct is as usefully validated as is that of situation or event – with one major difference.

There is another set of considerations specific to the EHSI survey which makes its data especially valuable, particularly when it comes to evaluating the linguistic competence of bilinguals. The fieldwork was conducted with bilingual subjects, selected for their bilingual competence, in Euskara by researchers who were both proficient in the language and came from Basque-speaking backgrounds. Thus, the investigators, who know the pertinent rules of social interaction, are able to make qualitative assessments of subjects' linguistic competence as they build up their sample. They are at the heart of an integrative process of constructing the facts of bilingualism and the evaluation of levels of bilingual competence. No survey can represent reality but rather constitutes a construct of reality through intersubjective relationships¹⁹. Obviously, neither the linguistic intuition nor common sense knowledge nor even the interpersonal skills of the fieldworker can replace more precise investigative tools, such as psycholinguistic tests for assessing bilingual competence (cf. the impressive array of tests of the HABE²⁰ organisation) or studies of acculturation indices, whether phonological (in particular prosodic features of the “French accent” in Euskara spoken in Iparralde), morphological (e.g. mastery of the HIKA²¹ system) or lexical (cf. the lexical competence tests cited by Bornaetxe, 1999). I shall therefore be applying the analytical framework of the theory of integration somewhat speculatively, since my main intention is to open up more specifically linguistic research pathways regarding these indices.

In order to limit this study to a few essential methodological points arising from the four liminal questions in Section 2, I shall attempt to analyse the following data and categories from the EHSI through the filter of theory of integration: a) typology of bilinguals (*elebidunen tipologia*) and language transmission (*hizkuntzaren transmisioa*) and b) the use of Euskara (*euskararen erabilera*).

For the sake of brevity, I shall restrict myself to a general comparison of the data of the BAC and Iparralde, using material from the 1996 survey, consciously referring neither to earlier statistics (see Montaña, 1992, a rich source of data compiled from various sources and for figures going back to before the implementation of language planning measures south of the Pyrenees) or later ones that might be available on the Internet in order to maintain a homogeneous corpus. I hope that this contribution which will be substantially out of date when the results of the next official

survey are published will maintain its methodological interest as a proposal for an interpretative grid of the Basque sociolinguistic data.

My aim is to work on the concepts by comparing data in order to highlight certain sociolinguistic models and processes²². The motivation underlying the four questions raised in Section 2, given the political conflict in the Basque country and the distance in linguistic terms between Basque and the dominant language(s), derives from the fact that the continued vitality and indeed the recovery of Basque in Euskadi is a highly interesting phenomenon for the sociology of language and the study of social change, especially as regards acculturation and reintegration. Such a perspective opens up the possibility of going beyond the descriptive stage in order to work out an explicative or interpretive approach while not overlooking the speculative nature of the operation.

4. Categorising bilinguals (§ 1.4, EHSI)

The editors of the three EHSI brochures note three categories of bilinguals: a) Euskara dominant (*euskal elebidunak*²³), b) balanced bilinguals (*elebidun orekatuak*²⁴), c) Erdara dominant, i.e. Spanish or French dominant (*erdal elebidunak*²⁵).

Apart from the fact that the evaluation procedure for these three levels of bilingualism is not clearly defined in psycholinguistic terms (only the somewhat vague criterion that they are active bilinguals “able to express themselves well in Euskara”)²⁶, the socio-geographic factors used to profile the groups and sub-groups of Basque speakers are also very general: place of birth (within or outside the Basque Country), age, level of education, first language (or L1) and how it was acquired (details given in § 2.3 of the EHSI survey on this point: *euskararen familia bidezko transmisioa*²⁷), the size of the place of residence (population > 5 000, >25 000 etc.), the acquisition of Euskara as a second language (or L2) in school or through adult education classes or even self-taught, the extended family and close social circles, motivation and favourable attitudes to the model of language promotion and locally implemented language planning measures in the southern Basque Country and to migration.

Bilinguals are thus assigned to three categories on the basis of the Euskara-Erdara polarity: Basque-dominant, Erdara-dominant and “balanced”. This latter term also needs to be pinned down, particularly in a situation of linguistic conflict. Moreover, it is well known that Euskara-dominant bilingualism can turn out to be somewhat fragile (Bornaetxe, 1999). Let us look at the

regional data concerning these categories of bilinguals in each of the three parts of the Basque Country²⁸ shown in Table 2 (whole percentage points only).

	Euskara-dominant	Balanced	Erdara-dominant
BAC	128 500	141, 700	168, 200
438, 400	(29%)	(32%)	(38%)
Iparralde	17, 600	18, 000	19, 100
54, 700	(32%)	(33%)	(35%)
Navarra	13, 400	11, 900	15, 700
41, 000	(33%)	(29%)	(38%)

Table 2 Overall numbers of bilinguals by category (EHSI, 1996)

From the data in Table 2 two populations emerge : on the one hand, the BAC with almost half a million bilinguals and on the other Iparralde and Navarra with nearly 100,000 speakers. Yet, despite the differences in their situations (language planning measures have been implemented in the BAC and Navarra, but none whatsoever in Iparralde ; there is considerable urban development in the BAC, whereas Navarra and Iparralde have remained largely rural), the relative proportions of Euskara-dominant, balanced and Erdara-dominant bilinguals are relatively similar : BAC [29-32-38], Iparralde [32-33-35], Navarra [33-29-38], although both continuities and discontinuities make these three areas different in fundamental ways. The distribution of three categories is most even in Iparralde where the status and functional use of the language are most restricted. At first sight, the figures appear encouraging, although they are indicative of a society where the language is in decline, being very little used in public domains, and above all, seldom transmitted to children or taught in schools. The high proportion of Erdara-dominant bilinguals (38%) in the other two territories where the status of Basque was enhanced through language planning and arrangements favouring bilingualism with local/regional government admittedly bears witness in part to acculturation (assimilation), but it also points to the integration of new speakers (*euskaldun berriak*) who swell the number of Bascophoness because the language has been promoted within the autonomist framework. Be that as it may, the relatively similar results – a roughly even three thirds distribution – is puzzling given the dissimilarity of the situations.

The speakers reported on in Table 2 and Tables 3 to 11 are active bilinguals and represent the core of the bilingual community in the Basque Country, since passive bilinguals accounted for 14.9% of the population of the Basque Country as a whole in the EHSI survey (16.2% in BAC

and 9.5% in Iparralde) . However, if the great majority of bilinguals had a Basque-dominant upbringing, (83% according to the EHSI) how can one account for this relatively even three thirds split in the three component parts of the Basque Country [30-32-38], which are supposed to represent three types of linguistic competence, unless one is prepared to admit that, on the whole, bilingualism favours Erdara rather than Euskara ? This tripartite division points to a general trend towards a redistribution of the linguistic competences of Basque speakers, with regional variations, according to whether language planning measures are in place or not. Although numbers of bilinguals in the BAC may not give as much cause for optimism as at first blush, one can only imagine the situation in Iparralde dominated as it is by vernacular usage (in Euskara) and where both status and use in public domains are at a low ebb. This lack of fit between mother and father-led transmission of Euskara in the majority of cases (83%) and the three thirds division of bilingual competence may in part be explained by the age patterns within the population. The older age groups, who constitute the majority of the population, grew up in a situation of Euskara/Spanish diglossia (externally imposed diglossia^{2b}), whereas younger people, fewer in number (cf. Gardner, 2001), having inherited this unequal bilingualism to some extent, have become emancipated over the last 20 years or so. This also accounts for the high proportion of Erdara-dominant bilinguals in BAC and Navarra (38%), whereas in the northern Basque Country where this reversal did not occur, the proportion is somewhat lower (35%). Another approach involves the qualitative switching of categories of bilinguals in the study. Put another way, how can the categories used in the EHSI be reworked taking very specific account of the character of the bilingual repertoires and the internal variation that underlies the terms Euskara-dominant and Erdara-dominant ? How can they be redefined and adapted to situations as disparate, as regards the status and use of the minority language, as Iparralde and the BAC, so that the ongoing social changes and the meaning built into categories and statistical proportions in different sociolinguistic configurations be better analysed?

As a working hypothesis, I propose to rewrite these categories not in terms of the externally imposed diglossic framework of Euskara/Erdara but according to the internal scale within Euskara, i.e. Euskalki/Euskara batua or dialectal varieties as opposed to the standard (unified) variety. This internal diglossia or Basque neodiglossia is in itself a highly innovative sociolinguistic phenomenon given the considerable structural variation within Euskara and the difficult conditions in which corpus planning, which only became feasible in the 1960s, had to be carried out. The unified variety developed was based on those spoken in the southern Basque Country with a temporary compromise on the integration of Biscayan at the local level. The

transposed categories, taking due account of the fact that new speakers or *euskaldun berriak* tend to be inculturated into Basque-speaking circles are shown in Table 3.

BAC	Register	Age range
Competence (in addition to Erdara)	Neodiglossia Euskalki/batua	
Euskara dominant (<i>euskal elebidunak</i>) => assimilating into Basque and multiregister	Euskalki + passive competence passive in Euskara batua	Over 50
Balanced (<i>elebidunak orekatua</i>) => Basque bilingual and multiregister	Euskalki + batua	All ages
Erdara dominant (<i>Erdal elebidunak</i>) => assimilated into Basque and single register	Batua	16 to 34

Table 3 : Transposition of categories of bilinguals in the BAC

The factors in favour of this interpretation are implicit in the tables and maps used to justify the typology of bilinguals by province according to age in § 1.4. of the EHSI as shown in Table 4.

	All bilinguals %	over 65	50 to 64	35 to 49	25 to 34	16 to 24
	25	[26]	[21]	21]	[25]	[33]
Euskara- dominant	29	[49	44]	[27]	[12	19]
Balanced	32	[28]	[32	34	34	33]
Erdara- dominant	38	[23	24]	[39]	[54	47]

Table 4 : Typology of Bilinguals according to age in the BAC (EHSI, 1996)

Using square brackets I have made an initial transposition of categories of bilinguals on a continuum of functional assimilation (bilingual competence) between the two poles of Euskara and Erdara. I now propose for purely experimental purposes to take the transposition of these categories further by considering the three sets of intergenerational data as indicators of separation (*euskara dominant* or “assimilating into Basque-speaking circles” according to the

EHSI), pluralism (the EHSI's balanced or multiregister bilinguals) and assimilation into the majority language (Erdara dominant or “assimilated into Basque-speaking circles”), bearing in mind the limitations of these recategorisations.

	All bilinguals	over 65	50 to 64	35 to 49	25 to 34	16 to 24
	25	[26]	[21	21]	[25]	[33]
separation	29	[49	44]	[27]	[12	19]
pluralism	32	[28]	[32	34	34	33]
assimilation	38	[23	24]	[39]	[54	47]

Table 5 : Typology of the functional integration of Bilinguals according to age in the BAC (EHSI, 1996)

The bracketing of cells shows some relatively homogeneous intergenerational groups as well as some generations gaps. The unusual point about the BAC lies in the increase of bilingualism among the youngest subjects (33% of 16 to 24 year olds) – a higher percentage than that of the over 65s (26%) – as a result of the introduction of bilingual education. Moreover, it may be noted that their bilingualism is not of the same type : 49% of the the over 65s and 44% of 50 to 64 year olds are Euskara-dominant compared to 12% of 25 to 34 age group and 19% of 16 to 24 year olds. On the other hand, the progress achieved has entailed a loss of Euskara-dominant bilinguals and an increase in Erdara-dominant ones : 54% and 47% of 25 to 34 and 16 to 24 year olds respectively. Among so-called balanced bilinguals, the older generation is less well represented than younger subjects (28% of over 65s compared to an average of 33% for all the younger age groups). Ideally, the extension of bilingualism among younger people should occur in this category so as to counter the process of assimilation. Table 5 shows that process of shift from Euskara to Spanish has been slowed down, but a partial assimilation process is ongoing, with the expansion of bilingualism resting on the majority or vehicular language. Moreover, the same categories of bilingualism defined by dominant language covers a very different situation in the northern Basque Country, where there is a lack of any measures designed to promote the status and (public) use of the minority language.

	All bilinguals %	over 65	50 to 64	35 to 49	25 to 34	16 to 24
	26	[35	31	27]	[14	11]
Euskara-dominant (separation)	32	[52]	[38]	[16]	[9	4]
Balanced (pluralism)	33	[29]	[41]	[31	36	29]
Erdara-dominant (assimilation)	35	[20	20]	[53	55]	[67]

Table 6 : Typology of Bilinguals according to age and functional integration in Iparralde (EHSI, 1996)

The data on the French side³⁰ show a clear break between the over 34s and the younger age groups who show a dramatic drop in proficiency in Basque. The over 50s have the best command of (dialectal varieties of) the language, whereas younger subjects show a high level of acculturation, i.e. assimilation, with very high indices of dominant language conditioned proficiency: 67% among 16 to 24 year olds, compared to 47% in the BAC (Tables 4 and 5). What is more, the picture of local society suggested by these data is strikingly compartmentalised. These figures show wider variation than those of the BAC and point to a society divided on the question of Euskara and its relationship to the dominant language. In this perspective, the figures for balanced bilinguals are particularly revealing: the 50 to 64 year old group contains markedly more balanced bilinguals than the rest: 41% compared to 30% for the others, whereas this more pluralist and less assimilationist category is much more homogeneous in the BAC with around a third of respondents over the whole age range.

Underneath this more or less even three thirds distribution, considerable intergenerational differences appear, particularly as regards inculturation (Euskara-dominant) and acculturation (French-dominant). The two over-50 age groups virtually monopolise Euskara-dominant bilingualism, whereas younger speakers share competence marked by acculturation. A clear gap has opened between the grandparents on the one side, and the parents, and especially the children and grandchildren on the other. The 35 to 49 year olds represent a transitional generation with a remnant of speakers who inherited the inculturating model but who consciously chose assimilation or acculturation to the majority language (53%). The 50 to 64 year olds manifest a higher rate of balanced bilingualism than their elders whose language behaviour is characteristic of a rural society where land ownership and primary sector resources are

concentrated in the hands of older and retired people, while young people have no other option than to stay until they finish school before entering higher education or seeking a job in the urban or periurban service sector economy.

From the neodiglossia (*euskara batua* versus *euskalkiak*) perspective, the data may be transposed as in Table 7.

Iparralde	Register	Structural and stylistic development	Age range
Euskara dominant => inherited Basque (single register)	Euskalki	Dialectalisation	Over 50 especially Over 65
Balanced => bilinguals undergoing assimilation	Euskalki + batua	Francisation re- or dedialectalisation	All ages
Erdara dominant => Basques being assimilated	Euskara batua	Francisation Frequent code switching	Under 49

Table 7 : Transposition of categories of bilinguals in Iparralde

In the light of the theory of integration, the relatively recent phenomenon of the standardisation of Basque (approximately the last 40 years for *euskara batua*), although, in structural terms, it is part of a much longer term process (since the 16th century) has to be analysed in several stages/phases. As regards linguistic structure, the dialectal diversity of Basque constitutes, given the coexistence of varieties or components of a diasystem, a *de facto* example of structural pluralism based on separation, which is manifested to varying degrees according to the vagaries of the isoglosses. The various segments of the dialectal network identifiable by traditional dialect geography or dialectometry lend support to a view of relative structural autonomy based around centres of diffusion of innovations (assimilation) or resistance to innovations from neighbouring areas (separation). In structural terms, segregation is not a major factor, save for the stigmatisation of competing variants within the same dialectal space, whether based on intercommunity rivalry (chauvinism) or interference from Erdara (purism). On the other hand, as regards status, crucial as it is for corpus planning, the situation of functional segregation of Euskara in different periods of history in relation to Latin, Castilian, French and to a lesser degree Béarnais to the north, together with its own structural pluralism or diversity of dialects led for a long time to the development of socially and functionally highly circumscribed, and geographically localised koinés (with separate literary norms for Biscayan, Gipuzkoan, Labourdin, Navarrese and Souletin) which had probably relatively little impact on oral varieties. This new

unified variety namely *euskara batua*, based both on local spoken varieties (*euskalkiak*) and on regional written norms (regional koinés) was initially developed from a number of corpora in order to achieve at the end of the process a degree of structural assimilation in the form of a single interregional transfrontier koiné. This goes beyond the early stages of the koinéisation process (a pluralist stage where variations in the written norm are tolerated) to enter into a phase of standardisation (assimilation to a single norm). After the successful assimilation of various dialectal forms into a compromise variety in relation to traditional dialects and local writing practices, however, the complex process of functional and attitudinal integration of the standard variety was still to be undertaken. It was implemented in the areas (BAC and the north of the Foro of Navarra) where language policies were put in place after the post-Franco transitional period thanks to concessions of a pluralist nature (the maintenance of a Biscayan norm, at least as an intermediate stage in the extension of the use of Basque within the education system of the autonomous provinces, cf. Gardner, 2001). The situation is different in Iparralde, the northern Basque Country, given the absence of language planning. Moreover, the highly segregated functional uses of Euskara and its status in relation to French encourages the promotion of local identities and creates obstacles to the use of the unified variety³¹. The establishing of this standard variety resulting from unification, although a tremendous resource for extending the use of the minority language into higher domains, is encountering greater difficulties on the northern side of the Pyrenees, as is the concomitant need for the dedialectalisation of certain other domains. This regional resistance to change clearly shows that the attitude of the minority community is more important than the actual functional uses or recognized potential of a language in determining the success of supportive language policies. Although very favourable statements with regard to Euskara are noted in EHSI in both Iparralde and Hegoalde, subjects from the northern and southern side were not talking about the same language or at least not about linguistic varieties of equal potential. The discrepancy between professed attitude and actual willingness with respect to recognized functional potential (i.e. the existence of a highly developed standard language suitable for the role of interregional and cross-frontier koiné, in other words as an internal vehicular variety, namely *euskara batua*) and actual usage of this resource can be measured. Using the language on a daily basis, but mainly in a single register, is a different proposition from exploiting its many possibilities in a widened social spectrum.

A model comparing Iparralde and the BAC in terms of cultural processes, transmission and loss of the minority language is shown in Table 8.

Bilinguals	Iparralde	BAC (Hegoalde)
Euskara-dominant	Separation	Demarginalisation, reintegration
Balanced bilingualism	Assimilated pluralism assimilated (eusk. -> erdara) and assimilating pluralism (erdara -> eusk.)	Diversified assimilating pluralism, extended and adapted repertoire (Euskalki/batua).
Erdara-dominant	Assimilation (older age range) and disintegration (younger age groups)	Partial assimilation

Table 8 : Cultural processes affecting Euskara north and south of the Pyrenees

North of the Pyrenees, the oldest respondents are in a situation of externally imposed diglossia, or imbalanced Euskara/French bilingualism, coupled with a breakdown in family-based transmission. The data clearly demonstrate this. Whereas between 40% and 50% (in rounded figures) of bilinguals over 50 years of age had optimum proficiency in Euskara (being Euskara-dominant or balanced bilinguals), only 15% of their children and 5% to 10% of their grandchildren had inherited such a level of competence. On the other hand, balanced bilingualism is more evenly shared across the generations and might well serve as a link between the local Basque community and the nation as a whole. In this respect two generations stand out : the 25 to 34 year olds with one third balanced bilinguals and the 50 to 64 year olds with 41%. It is also the best option for the 16 to 24 year olds (almost a third or 30% balanced bilinguals) although nearly two thirds of them are assimilated. Given the weak status and limited public use of Basque, as well as the virtual absence of the standard variety and the written form from daily interaction, this kind of integration implies partial assimilation to the dominant language on the terms that it imposes. Lastly, the Erdara-dominant category shows some degree of assimilation among the oldest age group (20%) in contrast to the complete unravelling of the social fabric of bilingualism among the middle and younger age groups. More than half of the under-50s had developed this type of bilingual competence. The difference between the over- and under-50s is thus all too clear : 20% compared to between 50% and 70%. The division into approximately equal thirds, noted earlier, so surprisingly similar to the distribution in territories where supportive language policies had been implemented, conceals highly significant differences. These differences are due to the fundamental divergence in the models of local and national integration in the Basque Country, north and south of the Pyrenees, as suggested by the presentation of the data in terms of socio-psychological processes in Table 8, which put the BAC data into a perspective derived from the theory of integration.

In the BAC, the over-50s, who constitute 45% to 50% of the Euskara-dominant bilinguals, lived through the oppression of the authoritarian and conservative Franco regime, which marginalised Euskara and showed itself hostile towards linguistic diversity. During this dark period, both the language of Basque speakers and their traditional way of life became highly peripheral. Since the end of the dictatorship, the changes introduced – autonomous status and the concomitant favourable language policies – have resulted in status enhancement, corpus planning and increased public use of Euskara. These two age groups, the 50 to 64 and the over-65 year olds thus now find themselves demarginalised and highly welcome in the new project of a Basque society, in which the language plays a pivotal role. They are also the most competent speakers, albeit of dialectal forms, since the historical continuity of Basque/Spanish diglossia and the anti-Basque segregation, for such deliberately targeted repression in the Franco era on linguistic, cultural and political grounds is undeniably a form of segregation, had restricted Euskara geographically to rural areas and functionally to the home. The integration of these speakers into the new Basque society of Euskadi, however, remains partial since their knowledge of standard Basque is often limited. Balanced bilingualism appears to show both greater homogeneity and potential as a unifying factor in Euskadi than in Iparralde, since the average proportion of 32% is not only spread across the age range but includes competence in both local (Euskalki) and standard (Euskara batua) varieties in the neo-diglossic situation. Lastly, I would characterise the competence professed by Euskara-dominant bilinguals in the BAC as reintegrative through partial assimilation, for unlike the widening gaps between speakers of different ages with the assimilation of the vast majority of young people in France, scores vary between 40% and 55% for the under-50s. The drop in the rate of assimilation among the 16 to 24 year olds (47% compared to 54% for 25 to 34 year olds) suggests greater reinculturation, based moreover on high levels of proficiency in the standard variety, given that 19% of 16 to 24 year old bilinguals claim to be Euskara dominant compared to 12% of 25 to 34 year olds.

While, on the one hand, the ideal model for a linguistic community is indisputably that of pluralist integration at various levels (local, national and international), marginalisation and assimilation, on the other hand, tend to weaken the status and functionality of a minority language and even ultimately to consign it to obsolescence. The sequencing of these processes, and indeed combining them with innovations, such as inculturation or reinculturation may, however, counter the negative effects of acculturation. This would apply to new L2 speakers of Basque, who having made the effort to acquire the language now swell the ranks of the bilingual community. This form of inculturation through voluntary euskaldunisation is only encountered south of the Pyrenees (in both the BAC and Navarra), whereas to the north acculturation continues to gain

ground. Although some Euskara-dominant bilinguals may be marginalised in the BAC because of their relative lack of proficiency in Spanish or in some cases ignorance of standard unified Basque, their counterparts in Iparralde find themselves even more marginalised. These speakers either have no access to or reject the possibility of reintegration through the standard variety. The latter, in any case, would be of scant practical value to them within a socio-political context where Euskara is minorised with regard both to its status and its communicative functions.

In the northern Basque Country a significant proportion of what might be called the interwar generation (born between 1932 and 1946 to be exact) seem to be making the best of a situation of continuing assimilation : 38% of this age group are in the marginalised Euskara-dominant group, whereas 41% acceded to bilingual competence in a local variety as well as in regional or standard French. Bilinguals in this age group have largely resisted assimilation with the proportion of French-dominant bilinguals remaining stable at less than a quarter (20%). In contrast to the over-50s who developed a type of bilingualism which combined marginalisation and inculturation, the under-50s upset this balance by opting largely for French dominant bilingualism with more than 50% undergoing assimilation. Sequencing the figures by descending age order gives [29-[41]-31-36-29] for balanced bilinguals (pluralist model) as opposed [[20-20]-[53-55]-[57]] for Euskara-dominant bilingualism. I have bracketed together subsets of age groups which mark *a posteriori* these “societal choices” signalled by these degrees of linguistic proficiency along the minorised/minorising language axis or couched in more neutral terms minority/majority language.

Speakers in the youngest age group (the 16 to 24 year olds) clearly no longer have the means of access to Basque-dominant bilingualism (4%), although the proportion of balanced bilinguals in their ranks is the same as for the oldest age range (29%). These two categories of bilinguals, whether inculturated (the 4%) or pluralist (29%) account for 33% of younger respondents, i.e. a third who come from well integrated rural social circles, whereas the remaining two thirds (67%) having undergone linguistic assimilation, are marginalised, and dare one say it, cut off to some extent from rural Basque-speaking society.

The scenario in the BAC is one where favourable language policies are starting to bear fruit in terms of the enhanced status of the minority language through legislation and the implementation of a policy to use Basque in local government, the media and in cultural events. This scenario shows both formal similarities and deep-seated differences with the evolution of the profile of

proficiency in the different categories of bilinguals in the northern Basque Country, who are not protected by an official long-term language planning regime. The *ikastolak*³² and other private initiatives in the French part of the Basque Country are subject to constraints: economic (funding), socio-psychological ((un-)favourable attitudes towards Euskara) and political (centralisation and making an issue of the “Basque question”). This is not the case in the BAC where problems regarding language policy and threats to its continuity tend to be concentrated in the political arena. Overall, the general trend towards a decreasing proportion of Basque-dominant bilinguals is confirmed within the BAC both from the psycholinguistic perspective (*Euskal/Erdal elebidunak*, etc.) and the development and consolidation of balanced bilingualism at around 32% with little or no difference between the age groups. Moreover, the cognitive dominance of Erdara is steadily progressing. Yet it is important to point out that this general pattern shows considerable variation in the three provinces (Bizkaia, Gipuzkoa, Alava): Bizkaia manifests a range of intergenerational variation much like that of the French Basque Country, whereas Gipuzkoa shows a spectacular reversal of the trend among younger respondents (16 to 24 year olds) which may be explained by the exceptionally high proportion of bilinguals in relation to the overall population of this province (43% as against an overall average of 23% for the BAC). For this age range the tiering of bilingual proficiency may be sub-categorised along the Spanish-dominant Basque-dominant axis which shows a spread of [28-41-31]. This seems to suggest that once a certain demographic threshold is reached, a deliberately implemented language policy can quickly achieve significant results for the revival and socialisation of a language.

From the psycho-sociological standpoint the changes that have taken place within the BAC may be divided into three phases with a quickening of the process after 20 years of supportive language policies: firstly, older dialectal speakers are marginalised within a new Basque diglossia; secondly, integration of increasing numbers of balanced bilinguals who have better mastery of the stylistic range of Euskara; thirdly, partial assimilation of native speakers and partial renewal of the linguistic community through *enskaldun berriak* (L2 speakers) resulting not only in the reintegration Basque into society – which in the case of Euskara, given the lack of structural similarity with Spanish and other Romance languages, may well imply far more than mere resocialisation or, to use a term coined by Catalan linguists, normalisation.

In other words, underneath the sociolinguistic data and the curves, bars and histograms of the statistical tables, models of society or implicit social projects may be discerned. Euskara is a

central element in this local social project in the BAC. It appears that unfortunately the same cannot be said for Iparralde, or that at worst, this social project although aspired to by younger people, is slipping away for lack of inculcation, stabilisation and the requisite conditions for linguistic expansion within the local socio-economic and political framework.

4. The use of Euskara (EHSI § 4.1)

“Who speaks what language to whom and when?”. This question judiciously posed by Joshua Fishman regarding bilingual situations in North America (Fishman, 1965, 1971) in the 1960s remains the backbone of studies of functional distribution, code switching, language mixing, in short, of empirical research on language contact in its social and communicational context. The EHSI elected to observe the distribution of usages in three concentric fields of communication centred round the bilingual subject: a) family (*familia*); b) local community (*gertuko komunitatea*); c) society at large (*gizartea*). Translated into different terms, the sub-domains of the bilingual subject’s life are observed within the domestic, personal as well as economic and institutional spheres.

As in the previous section, my comparative analysis will start from the most unequal and ill-balanced case of bilingualism and apparently the least influenced by language policies and politics – the northern Basque Country – before moving on to the BAC where language planning is most apparent and politicisation most explicit. This order of progression may be justified by the characterisation of the two situations. The northern Basque Country is a relatively archaic and long standing situation where the minority language is subordinated through centralism and French assimilationist policies which have changed very little over recent decades. The BAC, in contrast, is an example of a pluralist model based on regional autonomy (the theory of integration allows for the combination pluralism + separation), i.e. a situation that may be labelled modernist, innovative, particularly when set against the preceding segregationist, assimilationist authoritarian Franco regime, which repressed minority languages. Yet strands of archaising continuity can be seen in the biculturalism of the BAC in certain domains of the grid adopted by the EHSI, e.g. communication with the priest or at the market. The data for Iparralde concerning the use of Euskara and French with various interlocutors are shown in Table 9.

Let us reiterate clearly the terms of the survey. Of the bilingual respondents, i.e. Euskaldun or Basque speakers in the northern Basque Country, who supposedly constitute 26% of the overall

population, barely a half claim to speak mainly Euskara to their mothers and 56% with their fathers. What is more, more than a quarter (29%) claim to communicate with their mothers equally in Euskara and in French, and under a fifth (18%) mainly in French. Seen in conjunction with the rates of language selection with schoolteachers and bank employees, where scores hover around 32%, rates of language selection with these two interlocutors (mother and father) appear to be particularly telling in respect of the state of vernacularity (use within the home) of Euskara in this part of the Basque-speaking area.

Family	Mainly in Euskara %	As much/often in Euskara as in French %	Mainly in French %
With mother	53	29	18
With father	56	22	22
With spouse	45	12	43
With children	37	16	48
With other relatives	35	22	44
Local community			
With friends	44	19	37
With shopkeepers	21	15	54
With work colleagues	32	15	54
At the market	73	14	14
With the priest	64	15	21
Wider society			
At the bank	19	13	67
At the town hall	31	14	54
With children's teachers	21	11	68
For health care services	9	12	79

Table 9 : use of Euskara in various domains in Iparralde (EHSI, 1996)

whereas variables such as “at the town hall” (35%) and “with friends” (44%) are to a considerable degree determined by the mono- or bi-lingual proficiency of the interlocutor, and may be interpreted, in appropriate circumstances, as only when Basque-speaking interlocutors are involved in face-to-face communication, as indicators of language loyalty. The low scores for “with children” (37%) and “with other relatives”, i.e. with more or less distant relations, such as cousins uncles or aunts, may be explained by two even more decisive factors, which are bound up in one case with a choice and a projection of values of modernity and viability (“with children”) which creates pressure not to transmit Euskara in order to give the children a head start for performing well at school and to anticipate and facilitate their future social mobility. In the other case, it is bound up with sociolinguistic constraints since some relatives who have moved away and others who have only become related through marriage are not Basque speakers either because of their origins or acculturation. The breakdown of variables in the survey in terms of vernacularity/vehicularity axis may be described as follows :

Indicators of

- 1) **vernacularity** : with mother, father, spouse, priest, at the market ;
- 2) **language loyalty**: with friends, at the town hall ;
- 3) **viability** : with children, with their teachers, with workmates
- 4) **vehicularity** : at the bank, in health-care encounters, with shopkeepers.

One final but important point concerns the category of pluralism described as “as much/often in Euskara as in Erdara/French”, which includes code selection and switching. This type of bilingualism offers a particularly fruitful line of interpretation of the respective status and functions of the two languages, as regards the complex processes of acculturation through assimilation and integration through pluralism. In contrast to the quite stable proportions of balanced bilinguals already commented upon, this “transactional balancing” of use of the two languages varies markedly between data sets and geographical territories. Generally speaking, it may be claimed that the weaker the degree of integration of Euskara, as in France, the greater the degree of code mixing in the home and the local community whereas it is largely absent from the public domain. Conversely, the greater the degree of integration, as in the BAC, particularly Gipuzkoa, the less code mixing and switching will occur in the home environment, especially with parents or between spouses, whereas it is the object of greater tolerance within the local community where the socialisation and reintegration are ongoing and indeed expanding thanks to new L2 speakers. Put another way, the situation of skewed bilingualism favours variation in

usage in a context veering towards assimilation, whereas in a situation where the language is being reintegrated, at least at a supralocal and regional level because of the language policies pursued by the autonomous communities, speakers tend to separate the two languages in the spheres vital for the continuity and transmission of the language (the home) or for its

Family	Mainly in Euskara %	As much/often in Euskara as in Spanish %	Mainly in Spanish %
With mother	56	7	37
With father	53	6	42
With spouse	51	11	19
With children	73	12	15
With other relatives	48	18	34
Local community			
With friends	49	20	30
With shopkeepers	48	17	36
With work colleagues	45	18	37
At the market	78	7	14
With the priest	74	10	15
Wider society			
At the bank	56	14	30
At the town hall	59	15	25
With children's teachers	85	7	8
For health care services	33	15	52

Table 10 : Use of Euskara in various domains in the BAC (EHSI, 1996)

development in vehicular functions (the domain of “society” or *gizurtea*). They, however, tend to switch and tolerate switching in areas of expansion which have been reclaimed for Basque through supportive language policies which underpin its legitimacy and functional potential (local community or *gertuko komunitatea*). In the northern Basque Country, taking into account code mixing greatly increases the rates of use of the minority language in a kind of “microsociolinguistic fudge” which is perfectly compatible with the assimilationist model.

At this juncture, I shall attempt to bring out the model of or project for a bilingual bicultural society underlying the statistical indicators provided by the EHSI. The first point to be underscored regarding the BAC is, unlike what is happening in the northern Basque Country, bilingual speakers use mainly Basque, i.e. above the 50% threshold, in most of the communication situations listed except in health-care encounters, although even here the “mainly in Basque” scores went up from 24% in 1991 to 33% in 1996, as opposed to 9% in 1996 France. If usages involving code switching and mixing, bearing in mind their bridging role between an assimilationist and pluralist model previously mentioned, the use of Basque, be it exclusive or as result of switches and mixing, reaches or sometimes goes well beyond the 50% mark in every domain in the BAC, where supportive linguistic planning has been fostered.

Let us now turn to the functional distribution of language selection (“mainly in Euskara or in Erdara”) code switching and mixing (“as much/often in Euskara as in Erdara”) in the BAC, bearing in mind that the scores for the whole of this territorial entity were dragged down by Alaba, a region where Basque has not been used for long time, although the language is being reintroduced in certain areas and domains (in towns and local government) and brought up by Gipuzkoa, the driving force behind the reintegration of Euskara in a pluralist social project in a regime of separation (Table 10).

The second point is that there are wide variations from the average range of scores of between 45% and 55% in various domains, although the overall spread shows much greater consistency and less fragmentation than in the northern Basque Country. Interpreted in terms of the vernacularity/vehicularity axis, these disparities point to vestiges of the previous minorised state of Euskara under a regime of segregation (cf. Hennoste’s proposals for “socio-periods” which give an insightful overview of Estonian). It was restricted to rural areas (at the market: 78 + 7%) and maintained by the clergy (with the priest: 74 + 10%). These two variables appear archaic when compared to the high levels of use of (mainly) Euskara in banks (56 + 14%) and with their

children's teachers (85 + 7% in the BAC as opposed to 21 + 11% in France) which is a particularly telling indicator of viability. The spectacular effect of language planning can be clearly seen through the extended use or "reintegration" of Euskara in functional domains outside the domestic sphere known in the southern Basque Country as the "euskaldunisation" or basquisation of education (see Gardner, 2001) and public services (see Rotaetxe, 1987). The differences observed between the private and public spheres in the northern Basque Country are neutralised, for instance, the score "at the town hall" (59 + 15 %) is barely higher than "at the bank" (56 + 14%) compared to 31% and 14% and 19% and 13% respectively in France. In the BAC, the drive to promote the factors of pluralist integration, such as viability and vehicularity of Basque take precedence over a retreat into vernacularity, unlike the northern Basque Country which is characterised by segregationist structural integration of Euskara, lack of positive language planning, and functional separation of use combined with assimilationist pluralism which works in favour of the dominant language.

These conclusions are in no way triumphalist. It should not be overlooked that the realities observed are firstly mostly subjective insofar as the EHSI fieldworkers and analysts report self-evaluations of bilingual speakers on their language behaviour. Thus the picture that has been drawn is not reality, rather it has been built up from the subjective statement of respondents and therefore relies heavily on the representations and projections of the bilingual subjects themselves. Moreover, it is well known that such subjects may distort, either by minimising or overstating certain kinds of behaviour or by stereotyping interlocutors, as in the case of the priest or the people encountered "at the market". On the other hand, the evaluation of their proficiency is less biased than mere subjective answers might lead us to believe, since the interviews were conducted in Basque by a team of Basque-speaking sociolinguists and fieldworkers (see Oyarçabal, 1999). Despite these reservations, these data, nonetheless, at the very worst point to subjective representations of actual behaviour, as well as to attitudes towards processes of bilingual acculturation and inculturation.

The points on the vernacular/vehicular axis, previously mentioned may also be seen as processes within the framework of acculturation. Table 11 summarises the profiles of the two territories studied by the EHSI through the distribution of the two (pairs of) languages in the public and private domains.

Iparralde	BAC
Vernacularisation	Devernacularisation
Localised assimilationist or separationist integration, restriction to certain domains	Pluralist reintegration
Shrinking transmission	Localised vehicularisation within BAC and northern Navarra

Table 11 : Vernacular and vehicular uses of Euskara in Iparralde and BAC

Conclusion

The tone of this article may have appeared to oscillate between judgement, enthusiasm and provocation, but these are dangers inherent in the process of interpretative critical analysis of data and in the desire to bring out implicit social projects in a situation of socio-political conflict which obscures certain aspects of reality. This reality, however, is that of a civil society that is divided politically, territorially and institutionally (French centralism as opposed to the Spanish autonomous communities), yet is adapting to the changes in its sociocultural environment in ways that are worthy of investigation. Confronted by the decline of an element as central to its regional or national cultural make-up as its language (Iparralde) or by the issues and prospects of the alternative between constitutional autonomy and separatist demands (Euskadi), the Basque Country is developing different forms of integration that combine elements of assimilation, pluralism and separation. With their territory fragmented into three administrative entities, straddling two states with long centralist traditions, set apart by their unique language and marked by resistance to assimilation and political domination, the Basque people have throughout the 20th century constantly sought innovative solutions to preserve their integrity. Yet the Basque question will remain a burning and intractable issue so long as the smokescreen that obscures the forms of national and international integration being pursued and the localised, citizen-led social projects in a society that is one fourth bilingual and three fourths monolingual and in which both bilingualism and monolingualism are structurally, functionally and attitudinally integrated to different degrees is not dissipated by dialogue and reason that goes beyond mere reason of State. Admittedly, while the conflict is not directly about the language, which is never anything but an element in functional integration, it, nonetheless, fuels the spiral of attitudinal confrontation. Indeed, as we have seen, this type of polarisation can end up working against integration particularly if it is fostered through strategies aimed at producing conflict.

In conclusion, the EHSI data which focus on a quarter of the population of the BAC and Iparralde point to a modern multi-layered Basque society³³ whether seen from the standpoint of the various levels of acculturation or assimilation or from that of the various degrees of bilingual proficiency and linguistic repertoire. Beyond the language behaviour actually observed lurk the coercive forces of national integration, as Fishman (1972) remarked, whether it be under the aegis of another state or in full independence. The resulting perspective points to two different ongoing social projects on either side of the Pyrenees, and that, as in the case of Catalan, beyond the issues of cultural heritage and language survival, the very foundations of the workings of democratic society come into play.³⁴

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Notes

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² As is noted later, this theory is known and has been applied to the sociolinguistic situation in the Basque Country, (see in particular Baxok, 1997 : 26).

³ Euskal Herria or all seven provinces of the historic Basque Country.

⁴ Heidmets, 1998 ; Lauristin and Heidmets, 2002 for an in-depth study of the situation of the Russians in Estonia ; Kruusvall, 2002 ; Viikberg, 1999 ; Vēbers, 2000 for a range of integration situations in eastern and western Europe as well as central Asia.

⁵ The model of integration presented here is among the most recent of a highly diverse array of theories and approaches covering fields as far apart as political science and historical anthropology as well as historians working on nation building (Tilly, 1975, Deutsch and Foltz, 1963), ethnonationalism (Connor, 1972) that were taken up by Arend Lijphart and, more recently, Rasma Karklins (Lijphart, 1977, Karklins, 2000, see also Karklins, undated, 'The concept of collective identity' on the internet) and indirectly ethnohistorical studies via the theory of acculturation, taken up and developed by anthropologists like Darcy Ribeiro and Roger Bastide (Bastide, 1971) or the ethnohistorian Nathan Watchel (Watchel, 1971, see also Herskovits, 1938). The theory of integration differs from the theory of acculturation in its conceptual framework, contrasting the attributes of the modern nation-state to 'ethnic' characteristics (civic versus ethnic identification), as well as the dominance of a systemic (Table 1 ; Figure 1) as opposed to a diffusionist approach more appropriate to theories of linguistic and cultural contact.

⁶ Here for example is a set of possible combinations between the situations of integration shown in the foreground and factors in the background as shown in Figure 1 :

- *structural assimilation*: only one type of citizenship; *functional assimilation*: use of one language in the workplace ; *attitudinal assimilation*: ethical, civic or political loyalty to one party, group or nation-state.
- *structural segregation* : civic marginalisation or discrimination through refusal to grant citizenship ; *functional segregation* : caste-based society with limited access to or exclusion from the most prestigious forms of employment ; *attitudinal segregation* : xenophobia, racism etc.

⁷ In French *désintégration*.

⁸ Intercultural integration, bicultural cohabitation.

⁹ Primary or original identification.

¹⁰ Marginalisation matches both "separation" and "segregation" in our framework.

¹¹ Distinction, differentiation.

¹² Cf. Internet canada.metropolis.net/research-policy/wienfeld/social_e.html for a presentation of this model which synthesises three social science research paradigms : theories of acculturation, the theory of intercommunity relations and the social psychology of language.

¹³ Administrative regions.

¹⁴ A special issue of *Bat Soziolinguistika Aldizkaria*, part of which is devoted to the EHSI of 1996 (22/23, 1997) brings together a number of theoretically and methodologically innovative articles, as well as an overview of the progress achieved by Catalan language planning measures.

¹⁵ Supportive language planning translates *aménagement linguistique*. The French term implies both bottom-up on the ground initiatives as well as top-down government-led measures. In English language planning may or may not imply both.

¹⁶ The lack of official institutional language planning is in itself a negatively and actively polarised language policy. In fact from a logical and pragmatic perspective, the absence of such a policy may be analysed as the active negation (as opposed to the passive negation) of language planning. According to Kant quoted by Jon Elster "Passive negation of movement is rest, active negation is movement in the opposite direction ; passive negation of wealth is poverty, active negation is debt ; passive negation of obligation is (non-)obligation, active negation is prohibition" (Elster, 1981 : 199). A language can pass from active negation of obligation, like Euskara under Franco or the education system of Iparralde introduced after the Ferry Laws of 1881-1886 to active negation of its legitimacy in many domains outside the family circle, as is the case today in the northern Basque Country.

¹⁷ Emphasis added.

¹⁸ Emphasis added by the author.

¹⁹ Cf. Maynard & Schaeffer, 2002.

²⁰ HABE is a BAC government agency responsible for monitoring the proficiency of civil servants in the Basque Autonomous Community.

²¹ HIKA stands for the "allocutive" gender-marked paradigm of verbal inflection.

²² cf. Oyharçabal, 1999 for an analysis of the same data and Rotaetxe, 1987 for an overview of the institutional background to language planning in BAC ; see also Uranga *et al.*, 1999 : 389-466, and in particular the NEIA-dossier, 1998.

²³ A segment-by-segment translation is helpful since the terms are by no means transparent to non-Basque speakers: *eusk-al ele-bi-du-(e)n-a-k* = literally “Basque-speaking (adjectival suffix) word/language-two-have-relative suffix-definite article-plural (absolute)”, i.e. “Basque-speaking or Basque language bilinguals”

²⁴ *ele-bi-du-(e)n oreka-tu-a-k* = “those who have two languages (*elebidunak*) balanced (*orekatuak*)” (literally “*ele-bi-du-(e)n* language/word-two-have-relative suffix *oreka-tu-a-k* “balance-past participle passive-definite article-plural (absolute)”).

²⁵ *Erd-al elebidunak* = “French-speaking/Spanish-speaking having two languages (literally centre (adjectival suffix)) i.e. “majority language bilinguals”. The word “*erdara*”, which refers to Spanish or French according to whether it is used south or north of the Pyrenees is formed from “*erdi*” = “middle, centre, average” and from the suffix referring to languages “-ara/-era”, means “middle language” or “common language”, in other words the majority or vehicular language. The *erdal elebidunak* are therefore “French- or Spanish-speaking bilinguals with dominant vehicular language”.

²⁶ Xabier Isasi also questions this typology based in terms of linguistic proficiency on the two terms Euskara and Erdara (Isasi, 1997 : 30-34).

²⁷ *euskararen familia bidezko transmisioa* = family-based transmission of Euskara (literally: “transmission of Basque by family channel”).

²⁸ Hizkuntz Eskubideen Behatokia, the Observatory for Linguistic Rights presents these data at www.behatokia.org (see their report dated April 2002 and also “Five different statuses (statutes ?) for the Basque language and linguistic rights”).

²⁹ Here I make a distinction between externally imposed diglossia between Basque and the majority, dominant vehicular languages or *erdarak* which may also be referred to “unequal” or “unbalanced bilingualism” and “internal” or “embedded (added by translator) diglossia” or “neo-diglossia” between unified Basque (*euskara batua*) and the dialects “ or *euskalkiak*, which corresponds more closely, albeit only in part, to the classic definition of diglossia proposed by Ferguson (1959).

³⁰ The methodology used on both sides of the Pyrenees is described Oyharçabal (1999). In the northern Basque Country, the project received support from the French National Statistics Institute (INSEE), the survey being conducted in Euskara by Basque-speaking fieldworkers north and south of the Pyrenees.

³¹ Here I am giving expression to an overall impression, which needs to be refined in the light of observable situations and the actual domains of use of Euskara (in the education system, institutions and public places). Such issues lie outside the major concerns of this article.

³² Private Basque-medium schools.

³³ Can one really speak in terms of Basque society as a single entity, as suggested by the collection edited by Pierre Bidart in 1980 (Bidart, 1980) ?

³⁴ For more information see the *Euskal Herriko Giza Eskubideen Behatokia* (Basque Human Rights Observatory) web site at <http://www.behatokia.info>.