

Sociolinguistic studies carried out by the Deputy Ministry for Language Policy of the Basque Government

by Miren Mateo and Xabier Aizpurua

Abstract

The sociolinguistic studies promoted during the last 10 years by the Vice-Ministry of Language Policy of the Basque Government clearly show its will of implementing and monitoring on a regular basis the positive actions carried out in favour of the Basque language (*euskara*).

For this purpose, the sociolinguistic surveys of Euskal Herria (Basque Country), carried out every five years since 1991, are, along with the censuses, the basic tools to obtain final indicators to assess the efficacy of the language policies implemented to promote the use of *euskara*. On the one hand, these surveys allow to compare and to complete the information provided by the population censuses that since 1981 offer data about mother tongue, knowledge and use of Basque and, on the other one, they also allow to obtain the basic information needed in those Basque-speaking territories (i.e. French Basque Country) for which we lack of censal data.

This papers gives a brief overview of the evaluation indicators of the language policy, the sociolinguistic evolution and its main results in the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC).

Summary

1. Introduction
2. Indicators on sociolinguistic situation
3. Principal results
4. Final conclusions
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1. Introduction

According to Joseba Intxausti,¹ 'The statistics provided by Velasco (a native of Alava) are the most reliable data we have regarding the number of Basque speakers during the last century.' It is worth noting the very high percentage of Basque speakers in almost all the territories comprised within the Basque Country (annex 1):² Gipuzkoa (1867) 96%; Bizkaia (1867) 81%; Northern Basque Country (1866) 65%; Navarra (1867-68) 20% and Álava (1867) 10%.

What becomes most obvious when we examine this data is the uninterrupted decline of the Basque language over the last century. Multiple factors (which we will not attempt to analyse here) have all contributed to generating a **language shift** of such proportions that today:

- there are almost no monolingual Basque speakers;
- the number of Basque speakers has been reduced to less than a third of its former level; and
- native Basque speakers are now a minority group in all the territories of the Basque Country.

More than twenty years have passed since the Statute of Autonomy (BAC 1979) proclaimed Basque the official language of the Basque Autonomous Community and the various government institutions. One of the basic measures taken within the BAC shortly afterwards

1. *La lengua de los vascos*. Elkar SA. Donostia (1992).

2. *Los Éuskaros en Álava, Guipúzcoa y Vizcaya*. Barcelona (1879).

was the enactment of Act 10/1982 on the Normalisation of Basque Language Use, which after recognising the language rights of all citizens, laid down the authorities' obligations with regard to achieving full normalisation of Basque language use. As a result, **reversing the language shift** became the central focus of language policy over subsequent years.

According to Joshua Fishman,³ **reversing the language shift** does not only imply the fostering of early language acquisition, fluency in the different varieties of a first or second language and everyday use within the school environment, but also involves promoting the growing social use and intergenerational transmission of a language that is still not the mother tongue of the majority of the population, the aim being to enable each successive generation to start out with a slightly greater advantage than the one before.

2. Indicators on sociolinguistic evolution

In light of the above, over ten years ago the Basque Government's Deputy Ministry for Language Policy decided to establish a simple, reliable, homogenous, ongoing and insightful system of indicators throughout the Basque Country, in an attempt to assess the aspects listed below in two ways: simultaneously (in diverse territories and social groups) and longitudinally (in the same territory or social group):

- I. The intergenerational transmission of the Basque language, in particular family transmission or early language acquisition at school.
- II. Inhabitants' language mobility (Basque language retention, loss or incorporation rates), according to first language.
- III. The use and growing social functionality of the Basque language:
 - based on the differences in use between family, social and institutional functions, above all among young *new Basque speakers*⁴ or people who have learned Basque as a second language;
 - paying special attention to identifying the socio-structural and psycholinguistic factors that exert the strongest influence: density of Basque speakers in the closest relational networks (family, friends, work, etc.) and speakers' relative fluency in Basque (either as a first or second language) in comparison with Spanish or French.

The system also strives to reflect the diverse dimensions that contribute to a person's social identity, namely sociodemographic factors (gender and age); socio-professional level (academic qualifications, profession, employment situation); geographical factors (the three political-administrative communities of the Basque Country; legally established language zones, diverse sociolinguistic zones, provinces, regions and municipalities; and, in municipalities with a population of over 10,000, neighbourhoods or districts); language identity; origin and cultural identity, among others. To do so, we rely on two basic information sources:

- The censuses and municipal registers of inhabitants in the BAC that are carried out/compiled once every five years and which since 1981, have included questions regarding the level of Basque language skill (comprehension and oral and written expression), the first language acquired up until the age of three and the primary language used at home.⁵ On the basis of the information gathered by this means, we have compiled a series of more or less synthetic categories (language level (annex 2); language mobility (annex 3) including retention, loss or incorporation of the Basque language; and use in the home (annex 4) in accordance with language mobility).
- Sociolinguistic surveys carried out in 1991, 1996 and 2001⁶ encompassing the entire Basque Country. With a sample of over 6,300 individuals, these surveys complement the

3. "Limitaciones de la eficacia escolar para invertir el desplazamiento lingüístico". *Primer congreso de la Escuela Pública Vasca, Ponencias Internacionales* (Estudios y Documentos sailean 9.a). Gasteiz: Eusko Jaurlaritzaren Argitalpen Zerbitzu Nagusia, 1990.

4. According to Xabier Aizpurua, *New Basque speakers* or *euskaldunberris* are those who although don't have Basque as first language (or mother tongue) are able to speak it "well" or "fairly well" (in a scale of 5 categories; the other three are "some", "a little" or "none"). They are therefore bilinguals whose L1 is not Basque.

5. The results of the census carried out in 2001 are not yet available.

6. The results of this last sociolinguistic survey have not yet been published.

information gathered from the censuses, although they are not representative of the lower provincial levels.

Currently, the Deputy Ministry for Language Policy's Co-ordination Department is in the process of implementing a project designed to establish a national system of language policy and sociolinguistic evolution indicators in order to enable an ongoing assessment of these factors and to provide relevant information to both the authorities and the bodies and organisations (citizens in general, families, language normalisation groups, professionals, entities and associations) involved in the Basque language normalisation process.

The establishment of a national system of language policy indicators is a project that has featured in many of the action plans developed by the Deputy Ministry for Language Policy. It is a stable, ongoing objective involving the following activities:

- a. Definition of indicators;
- b. Construction or calculation of previously defined indicators;
- c. Continuous improvement of the indicator system.

The project's main aim is to define and construct a system of indicators capable of providing information regarding the language policy situation throughout the Basque Country. The system must be compatible with current international models (such as those established in Catalonia and Quebec, etc.) and must be suitable for application in the various areas of the public sector. The indicators should refer to the contextual factors of language policy, as well as to such areas as costs, functioning and results. The project, therefore, has no established time limit, but is rather an ongoing initiative subject to periodic reviews and updates.

In order to establish effective indicators, reliable and periodic data sources are required. To this end, we need to forge even closer links with the Basque Statistics Institute (EUSTAT) as well as the other government departments and institutions in order to enable closer co-ordination between the said project and other assessment studies that constitute the natural data sources for some indicators, especially those referring to the processes and results of specific sectoral action plans.

The action plans set in motion by the Deputy Ministry for Language Policy during the 1995-1998 and 1999-2002 periods already recognised the need for a systematic assessment of language policy and anticipated the need to establish a national system of indicators.

As a result, in 1996 the make up of the Basque Language Advisory Board was altered to include a number of organisations and representatives from social initiatives, in addition to the BAC government authorities working in the field of language policy (government, provincial governments and municipal associations). The Basque Language Advisory Board set up a number of working groups to carry out specific tasks within the framework of the overall project:

- a. assessment of the strong and weak points of the sectorial plans of action implemented over recent decades; and
- b. analysis of the budgets earmarked for promoting Basque language use.

The results of this assessment formed the basis of the General Plan for Promoting Basque Use, which was approved by the Basque Government on 28 July 1998 and ratified by the Basque Parliament on 10 December 1999.

Today, we are still working on the establishment of a national system of indicators. The primary obstacle hampering the construction of such a system is the need for internal coherence and the establishment of relations between indicators, which in turn requires the adoption of a theoretical reference model. International experiences however, have demonstrated the practical impossibility of establishing such a model.⁷ It is therefore preferable to establish an operational reference framework that will enable us to distribute the indicators coherently and relate them to each other.

7. In general, it is believed that the theoretical substratum provided by social sciences fails to enable the compilation of an effective conceptual model. In any case, we believe that the *Reversing Language Shift* theoretical model formulated by J. Fishman in 1991 and revised ten years later may serve as an effective base for our operational reference framework.

This functional reference framework may comprise the following five sections, which in turn would cover a multitude of different indicators:⁸

- a. Context (total and year-by-year population; GDP per inhabitant; relationship between population and economic activity; immigrant population and age; etc.);
- b. Resources (public spending on promoting Basque language use; proportion of the working population employed in the field of language normalisation (teachers, language technicians, translators, interpreters, journalists, etc.));
- c. Legislative development and sectorial plans of action (percentage of students in the Basque education system according to language model (A, B, D, X) and educational phase, in both the public and private sectors; presence of Basque songs in media broadcasts; and dissemination (in terms of the number of copies published) of local and regional newspapers (free), indicating the percentage of articles written in Basque; etc.);
- d. Processes (number of administrative entities, educational centres or companies with Basque language plans; etc.);
- e. Results (intergenerational Basque language transmission, including the family environment, according to age; Basque language use in formal and informal environments; etc.).

It is difficult to determine the exact number of indicators that should be included in the system. It is therefore very important to establish effective criteria for their selection,⁹ namely:

- Relevance and significance: indicators should provide significant information about relevant areas of language policy.
- Immediacy: indicators should give a quick, global overview of the sociolinguistic and language policy situation, offering a synthetic vision of the most characteristic traits.
- Technical soundness: i.e. validity and reliability.
- Feasibility: indicators should be relatively easy to obtain and calculate, both in terms of the information required and their cost.
- Durability: long-term stability of the indicators used, in order to enable longitudinal studies of the sociolinguistic and language policy situation.
- Selection agreed by consensus: the indicator selection process is always difficult, given that it requires a consensus between different perspectives that do not necessarily coincide or have the same set of priorities. It is therefore vital that the said process be carried out on the basis of general consensus.

3. Principal results

Having said this, we will now proceed to outline the principal conclusions drawn from the sociolinguistic studies carried out by the Deputy Ministry for Language Policy. These studies show an extremely complex and changing situation characterised by:

- Significant changes in the structure of our population, as a result of: *a*) a drastic decrease in population resulting from an abrupt drop in birthrate (especially among the youngest members of society), causing a simultaneous increase in the average age of the population; and *b*) the gradual influx of immigrants which looks set to increase even more over the coming years.
- Significant qualitative changes in the Basque speaking population, as a result of the gradual reduction in native Basque speakers as a direct consequence of the massive increase in young bilingual citizens for whom Basque is their second language (among the youngest sectors of the population, those who have learnt Basque as a second language now outnumber native Basque speakers). Both groups are qualitatively very different, both from the perspective of their fluency and their relative ability to express themselves in Basque or Spanish, and from the point of view of

8. In principle, we are working with a preliminary list of just over 100 indicators.

9. National Institute of Quality and Assessment. (2000). *Sistema estatal de Indicadores de la educación 2000*. Madrid. Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport.

the density of Basque speakers in their network of family, social (and work) relations, a factor which has an enormous influence on their respective language uses.

It is precisely these deep-rooted transformations (both occurring simultaneously) that prevent the enormous increase in bilingual speakers and the slight increase in Basque use according to age from being more noticeable in our society. In any case, the following is a list of traits (which we will explore in greater detail later on) that characterise the sociolinguistic evolution of our country:

- The majority of the population is in favour of positive action aimed at promoting Basque, a minority and lesser-used language.

- The progress made with regard to the intergenerational transmission of the Basque language has been spectacular, thanks to the incorporation of thousands of new speakers as a result of the Basquisition of the Basque education system.

- Basque family transmission is almost 100 percent. Despite this, however the percentage of people for whom Basque is their sole first language has remained more or less the same in terms of the total population, although it has increased slightly if we take into account those for whom both Basque and Spanish are their first languages (simultaneously).

- Basque language use (especially in more formal environments, but also in informal situations) is on the increase, although ten years later and to a much lesser extent than the increase in language ability. Despite this, speakers who usually express themselves in Basque are in the minority in all age groups (almost never exceeding 25 percent), although there are notable differences between the different groups: among the older members of population, i.e. those born before 1937, hardly any differences were found between those who express themselves in Basque, those who know how to speak the language correctly and those for whom Basque is their first language, either solely or in conjunction with Spanish; among the younger members of the population however, i.e. those born after 1977, the number of habitual Basque speakers was slightly higher (this is the only age group in which Basque language use was recorded as being slightly over the 25 percent mark), although, and this may seem somewhat paradoxical, the number of habitual users is double that of those for whom Basque is their first language and accounts for just over half of those who know how to speak the language correctly.

As we said earlier, the progress made in the area of intergenerational transmission has been spectacular: while in 1981 the number of monolingual Spanish speakers was double or even triple that of Basque speakers (or bilingual speakers) in all age groups, 15 years later, the number of bilingual speakers under the age of 25 was far higher (even double) than the number of monolingual Spanish speakers in the same age group. However, as mentioned above, the abrupt drop in birthrate has prevented this increase in bilingual speakers from being reflected in figures pertaining to the total population.

Nevertheless, since the increase in bilingual speakers is mainly due to the Basquisition of the education system, only a third of bilingual speakers speak with greater fluency, ability and ease in Basque than in Spanish. In this sense, the percentage of new Basque speakers (i.e. those for whom Basque is not their native language) among the bilingual population is increasing and this important qualitative change has a direct influence on Basque language use, given that the target conditions required for speakers to express themselves habitually in Basque are, in this case, significantly less favourable. It is therefore necessary to set in motion specific programmes designed to provide these young bilingual speakers with an opportunity to improve the language skills acquired at school, thereby preventing their loss upon leaving the educational system. In this sense it is important to establish additional social reinforcers, at both an emotional level (love, approval and consideration of family, peers and other significant figures from all generations and levels of intimacy) and an instrumental or practical level (prizes, positions and occupations and other tangible proofs of success and achievement that are appropriately valued by society), in order to enable these skills and abilities to take root and become self-sustaining and contextually independent.

From the perspective of language mobility, it is worth mentioning that in the BAC Basque language gains have been significantly higher than losses (which have dropped drastically); in Navarra, gains have been slightly higher than losses; and, by contrast, in the Northern Basque Country, losses have far outnumbered gains. This is a faithful reflection of the language policies implemented in each of the three territories over recent years.

On the other hand, the majority of bilingual speakers in the BAC express themselves principally in Basque, or in Basque and Spanish, not only in the family context but also in their immediate community (friends, work colleagues, priest) and even in more formal contexts (bank, town hall), with the exception of the health service. Basque use has increased significantly over recent years¹⁰ in all areas of use analysed. However, the number of speakers who express themselves habitually in Basque, which has, in absolute figures, increased over recent years, has decreased in percentage terms with respect to the entire group of Basque speakers. This number has, however, increased with respect to the total population, which is a direct consequence of the enormous increase in bilingual speakers in our society for whom Basque is not their first language.

In short, the profile of Basque speakers is undergoing such a radical transformation that the traditional identity traits (Basque speakers as those for whom Basque is their first language, those who know how to speak the language correctly and those who use it habitually at home and/or with their friends) are becoming increasingly difficult to recognise (the number of Basque speakers for whom Basque is their first language is decreasing and the number of those who use Basque as a habitual form of expressing themselves is increasing). Are we not then on the threshold of a change in the prevailing social structure that has, until now, guaranteed among Basque speakers the predominant use of Basque in areas such as the family and among friends? Is this the end of the situation of diglossia that has enabled the survival of the Basque language for so many years?

As regards the factors that influence use, the analyses carried out on the basis of both the sociolinguistic surveys (annex 6 and 7) and censuses (annex 8 and 9), clearly show that the density of Basque speakers in the individual's relational network and his/her relative language skill in the first and second language are the most significant factors:

- In order to guarantee a predominant use of Basque in the home, the density of Basque speakers in that environment must be above 80%.
- In the home, use by those for whom Basque is their first language is ten times greater than by bilingual speakers and more than 20 times greater than by new Basque speakers.

Synthetic maps of BAC municipalities with populations of over 10,000 (divided into neighbourhoods or districts) clearly show the progress made by the Basque language from the point of view of the increase in the density of Basque speakers in social relational networks. However they also show that, today, this increase in density is insufficient and does not reach the threshold required to guarantee a more generalised social use (Gasteiz (annex 10); Bilbao (annex 11); Donostia (annex 12).

To conclude, we shall now offer an overall view of the intergenerational transmission of the Basque language, paying specific attention to the contribution made by family transmission.

According to the 1996 Municipal Register of Inhabitants, there are 539,467 young people in the BAC born between 1996 and 1990, who lived at home with their parents (both mother and father). For the purposes of our analysis, we have divided this group into five categories, according to the language skills of the parents:¹¹

- **Category X:** both parents are Spanish speakers; this category accounts for seven out of every ten young people analysed (390,731 - 72.4%).

10. The results of the 3rd Sociolinguistic Survey of the Basque Country have yet to be published.

11. We have not specified whether it is the father or the mother who speaks Basque.

- **Category A:** one of the parents is either a native or new Basque speaker and the other is a Spanish speaker; this category accounts for one out of every ten young people analysed (57,978 - 10.7%).
- **Category B** both parents are new Basque speakers; this category accounts for 9,848 young people, two out of every hundred (1.8%).
- **Category B reinforced:** one of the parents is a Basque speaker and the other is a new Basque speaker; this category accounts for a total of 7,167 young people, one out of every hundred (1.3%).
- **Category D:** both the father and the mother are Basque speakers; this is a large category that accounts for just over one out of every ten young people analysed (73,743 - 13.7%).

We have analysed the evolution of intergenerational and family transmission of the Basque language for each of the five aforementioned categories, after dividing the young people into another five groups in accordance with their date of birth (those born between 1966 and 1970; 1971 and 1975; 1976 and 1980; 1981 and 1985 and finally, those born between 1986 and 1990). The results are as follows:

- **Category X:** evidently there can be no family transmission (except in very isolated and specific cases) and intergenerational transmission of the Basque language is very low (less than 40% in all groups), despite the fact that a significant increase has been observed among the youngest subjects.
- **Category A:** intergenerational Basque language transmission is high and has increased considerably up to 80%; this is basically (in over 60% of cases) owing to family transmission, which has also increased significantly thanks to those who have transmitted both Basque and Spanish simultaneously as joint first languages.
- **Category B:** intergenerational Basque language transmission is found in almost all cases (over 90%), but in more than two thirds this is the result of transmission through the school environment rather than family transmission; in any case, we should note that the latter method (family transmission) increases exponentially from 6.2% in individuals born between 1966 in 1970 to 31.1% in those born between 1986 and 1990; in the latter group, the results were more or less the same for those who transmitted Basque as the sole first language and those who transmitted it in conjunction with Spanish.
- **Category B reinforced:** here too, intergenerational Basque language transmission is found in almost all cases but, in contrast to the previous group, it is mainly the result of family transmission; we should also point out that in almost two thirds of the cases studied, Basque was transmitted as the sole first language.
- **Category D:** again, intergenerational Basque language transmission is found in almost all cases and is almost exclusively the result of family transmission.

Finally, a comparative analysis between those born between 1966 and 1970 (annex 13) and those born between 1986 and 1990 (annex 14) showed an increase in parents from category A, formerly a very small group, and categories B and B reinforced, which were practically residual. From the result of the analysis we can underline the very positive evolution not only of intergenerational Basque language transmission, but also of family transmission in this type of family.

4. Final conclusions

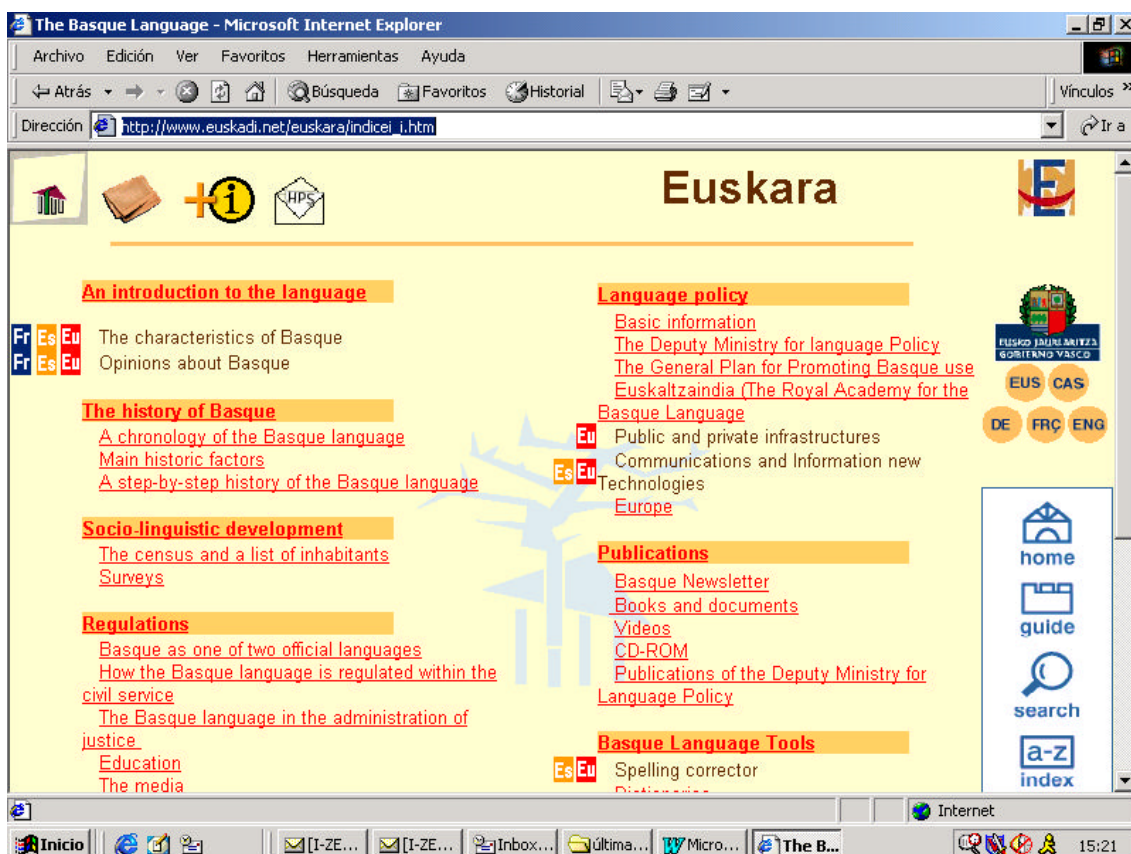
In light of the indicators studied, we can perhaps draw two final conclusions:

- In the BAC, significant progress has been made by the Basque language from the perspectives of demography (universalisation of bilingualism), geography (particularly in urban areas) and functionality (progressive increase in both use and intergenerational family transmission, even by parents who are new Basque speakers). Rather than a decrease in Spanish speakers in general, this phenomenon has simply led to a decrease in *monolingual* Spanish speakers. In short, extreme cases on both sides have decreased rapidly, giving way to situations of linguistic and cultural integration and merging. This is the result of firm social support and the positive action programmes implemented in favour of the Basque language at the beginning of the 1980s.

- On the other hand, much less progress has been made in Navarra, where Basque language promotion policies were introduced later and are much less intensive than in the BAC. Finally, in the Northern Basque Country, the Basque language is suffering an uninterrupted decline and its intergenerational transmission is by no means guaranteed.

5. Sociolinguistic studies carried out by the Deputy Ministry for Language Policy

These information is available at: http://www.euskadi.net/euskara/indice_i.htm



- Euskal Herriko III. Soziolinguistikazko Inkesta / III^a Encuesta sociolingüística de Euskal Herria. Vitoria-Gasteiz. (2001).

- Evaluación del impacto económico de las actividades relacionadas con la promoción del euskera en la Comunidad Autónoma del País Vasco. Vitoria-Gasteiz (2000).

- IKEI. RECLUS, euskararen eredu prospektiboa / RECLUS, modelo prospectivo del euskera (1998).

- Nekane JAUSORO. Gazte-helduak. Hizkuntza-gaitasunetik erabilerara. (1997). (Contract signed by the Department of Sociology II of the Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitateko).

- Evaluación del impacto económico de las actividades relacionadas con la promoción del euskera en la Comunidad Autónoma del País Vasco. Vitoria-Gasteiz (1997)

- Euskal Herriko II. Soziolinguistikazko Inkesta 1996 / II^a Encuesta sociolingüística de Euskal Herria (1996). Vitoria-Gasteiz. (1999).

- II Mapa Sociolingüístico / II. Soziolinguistikazko Mapa. Vitoria-Gasteiz. (1997/1998/1999).

- "La utilidad de las encuestas en el proceso de planificación lingüística" (1998). On June 5, 1998 Mr. Pádraig O'Riagain on behalf of The Linguistics Institute of Ireland signed the contract 98-06-NOR-0074-00 with the DG XXII of Education, Training and Youth of the European Commission in order to coordinate the project in which the Vice-Ministry of Language Policy of the Basque Government took part.

- "Planificación lingüística en el contexto europeo" (1998). On April 14, 1997 Dr. Glyn Williams on behalf of the University College of North Wales signed the contract 97-06-NOR-0040-00 with the DG XXII of Education, Training and Youth of the European Commission in order to coordinate the project in which the Vice-Ministry of Language Policy of the Basque Government took part. (1998).

- "Política a desarrollar para la conexión entre la producción lingüística y el uso de la lengua" (1997). On November 25, 1996 Mr. Pádraig O'Riagain on behalf of The Linguistics Institute of Ireland signed the contract 96-06-AUT-0145-00 with the DG XXII of Education, Training and Youth of the European Commission in order to coordinate the project in which the Vice-Ministry of Language Policy of the Basque Government took part.

- Euskal Herriko I. Soziolinguistikazko Inkesta (1991) / Iª Encuesta sociolingüística de Euskal Herria (1991). Vitoria-Gasteiz. (1992).

- Soziolinguistikazko Mapa. 1986. urteko eroldaren arabera Euskal Autonomi elkarteko azterketa demolingüistiko / Análisis demolingüístico de la Comunidad Autónoma Vasca derivado del Padrón de 1986. Vitoria-Gasteiz (1989).

We have tried to give an overall view of the sociolinguistic studies being carried out by the Deputy Ministry for Language Policy and the principal results thus obtained, attempting to present the information as attractively and comprehensively as possible through the use of graphs and images. If you require any further information, please do not hesitate to contact:

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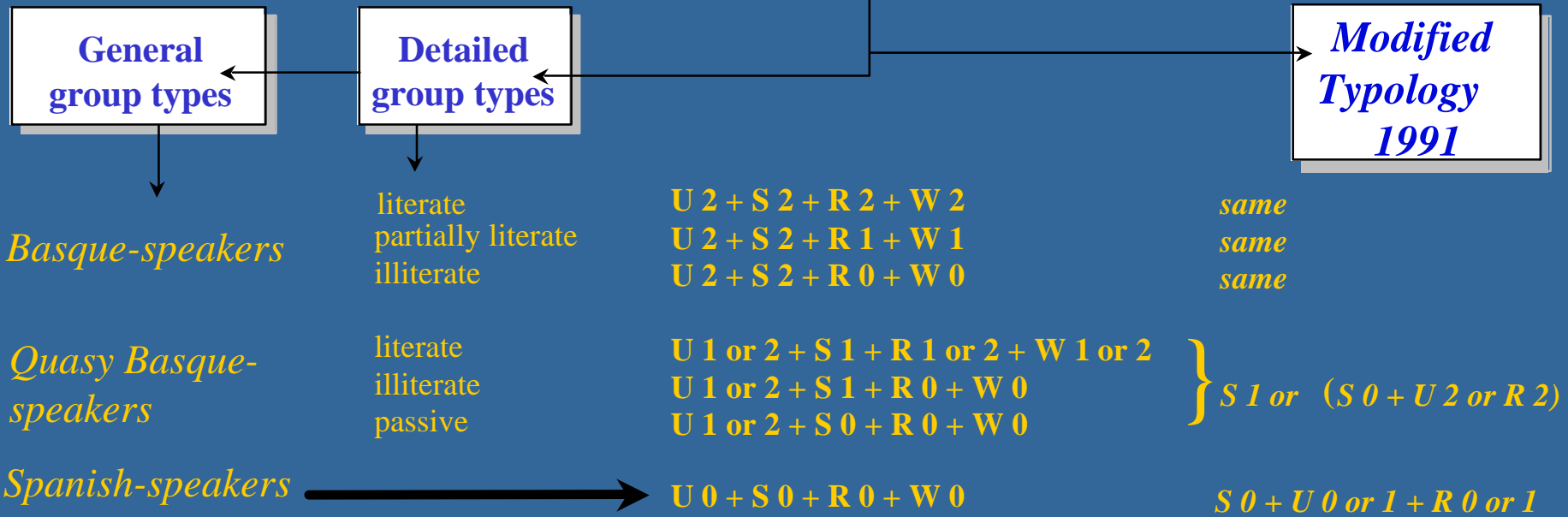
Basque-Speaking Population (Ladislao Velasco, 1866-1868)

TERRITORY	SPEAKERS	BASQUE SPEAKERS	%
Northern Basque Country (1866)	123.000	80.000	65,04
Southern Basque Country	780.217	391.000	50,11
Navarra (1867-68)	300.328	60.000	19,97
Alava (1867)	120.494	12.000	9,59
Bizkaia (1867)	183.098	149.098	81,43
Gipuzkoa (1867)	176.297	170.000	96,42

Group types obtained from the question on knowledge of Basque

Item included in the 1981, 1986, 1991, 1996 and 2001 censuses on Knowledge of Basque

Understand?	U	}	Not at all	0
Speak?	S		With difficulty	1
Read?	R		Well	2
Write?	W			



Language Mobility

Groups obtained from information about knowledge of Basque L2 and mother tongue

Mother tongue

E	Basque
C	Spanish
E&C	Both
O	Other

Basque as L2

EUALF	Literate Basque-speakers
EUPALF	Partially literate Basque-speakers
EUNALF	Illiterate Basque-speakers
CUASI	Quasy Basque-speakers
ERD	Spanish-speakers

Detailed group types

General group types

Literate native Basque-speakers	E	+	EUALF	→	Native Basque-speakers
Partially literate native Basque-speakers	E	+	EUPALF		
Illiterate native Basque-speakers	E	+	EUNALF		
Literate Co-mother tongue bilinguals	E&C	+	EUALF	→	Co-mother tongue Bilinguals
Partially literate co-mother tongue bilinguals	E&C	+	EUPALF		
Illiterate co-mother tongue bilinguals	E&C	+	EUNALF		
Literate new Basque-speakers	C/O	+	EUALF	→	New Basque-speakers
Partially literate new Basque-speakers	C/O	+	EUPALF		
Illiterate new Basque-speakers	C/O	+	EUNALF		
Partially new Basque-speakers	C/O	+	CUASI	→	Partially new Basque-speakers
Partially Spanishized Basque-speakers	E	+	CUASI	→	Partially spanishized
Partially Spanishized bilinguals	E&C	+	CUASI		
Totally Spanishized Basque-speakers	E	+	ERD	→	Totally Spanishized
Totally Spanishized bilinguals	E&C	+	ERD		
Native non Basque-speakers	C/O	+	ERD		

Language Use

(Group types obtained by combining language mobility and language use at home)

Language mobility

VAS	Native Basque-speakers
BIL	Co-mother tongue Bilinguals
NVAS	New Basque-speakers
PNV	Partially new Basque-speakers
VPC	Partially Spanishized Basque-speakers
BPC	Partially Spanishized bilinguals

Language used at home

E	Basque
C	Spanish
E&C	Both
O	Other

General group types

Active Basque-speakers	VAS	+	E
Active Basque-speakers in both languages	VAS	+	E&C
Passive Basque-speakers	VAS	+	C/O
Active co-mother tongue bilinguals	BIL	+	E
Active co-mother tongue bilinguals in both languages	BIL	+	E&C
Passive co-mother tongue bilinguals	BIL	+	C/O
Active new Basque-speakers	NVAS	+	E
Active new Basque-speakers in both languages	NVAS	+	E&C
Passive new Basque-speakers	NVAS	+	C/O
Partially active new Basque-speakers	PNV	+	E
Partially active new Basque-speakers in both languages	PNV	+	E&C
Partially passive new Basque-speakers	PNV	+	C/O
Partially active Spanishized	VPC or BPC	+	E
Partially active spanishized in both languages	VPC or BPC	+	E&C
Partially passive Spanishized	VPC or BPC	+	C/O

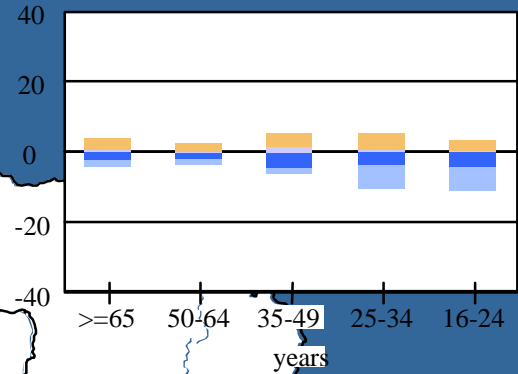
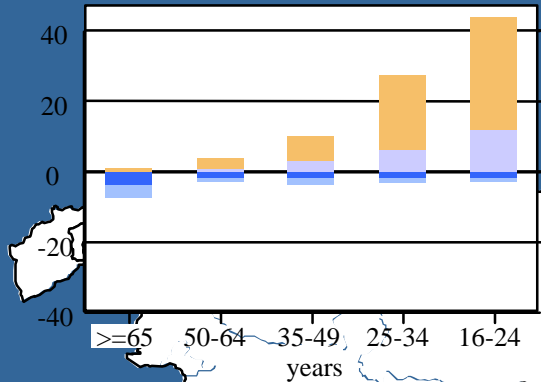
Detailed groups types

Groups	1, 4 and 7
	2, 5 and 8
	3, 6 and 9
	10, 13 and 16
	11, 14 and 17
	12, 15 and 18
	19, 22 and 25
	20, 23 and 26
	21, 24 and 27
	28
	29
	30
	31 and 34
	32 and 35
	33 and 36

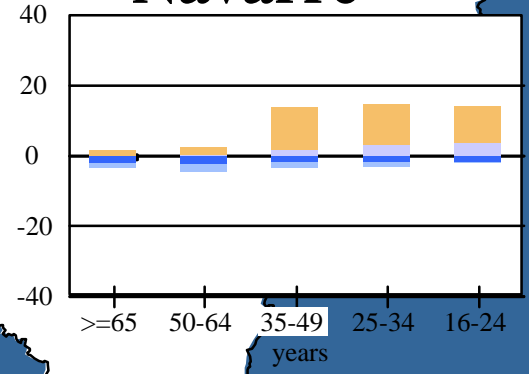
Gains and losses of Basque by territories and age (%)

Northern Basque Country

BAC



Navarre



Spanish/French as L1

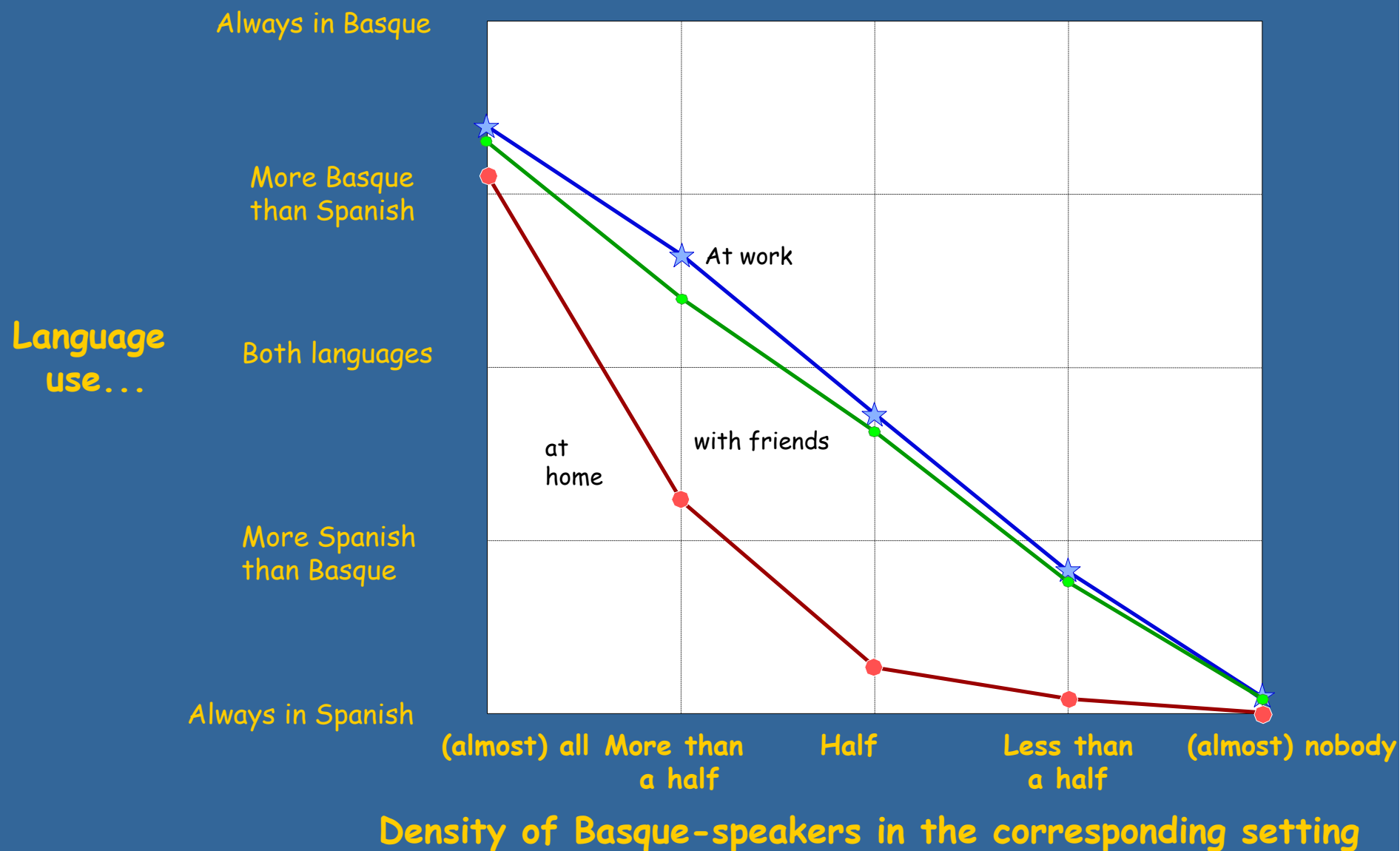
- Speak Basque Weak (Orange)
- Speak Basque Good (Purple)

Basque as L1

- Speak Basque Nil (Dark Blue)
- Speak Basque Weak (Light Blue)

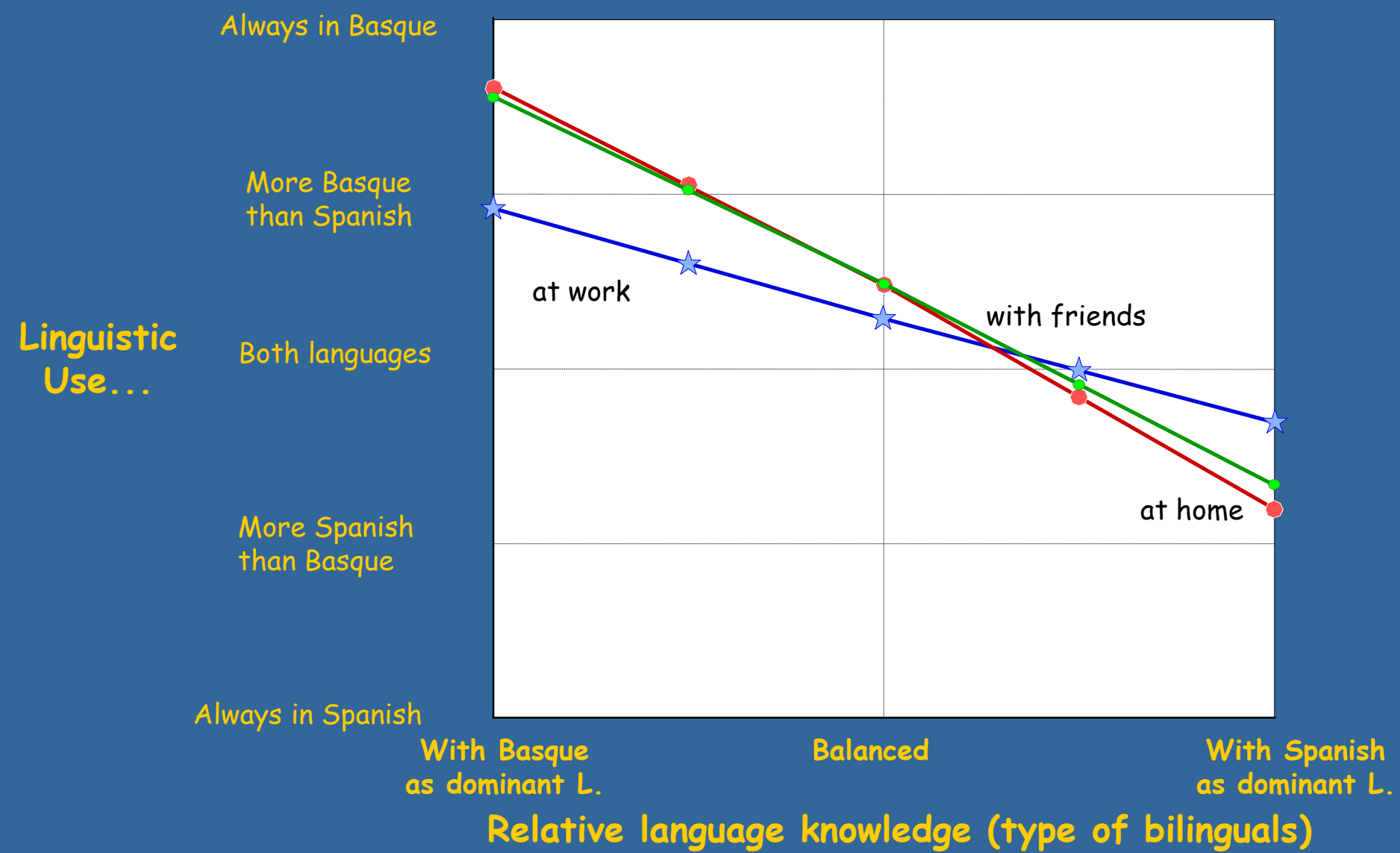
Source: 1996 Sociolinguistic Survey. Basque Government

Language used according the density of Basque-speakers. BAC (Only Basque-speakers, 1996)



Source: 1996 Sociolinguistic Survey. Basque Government

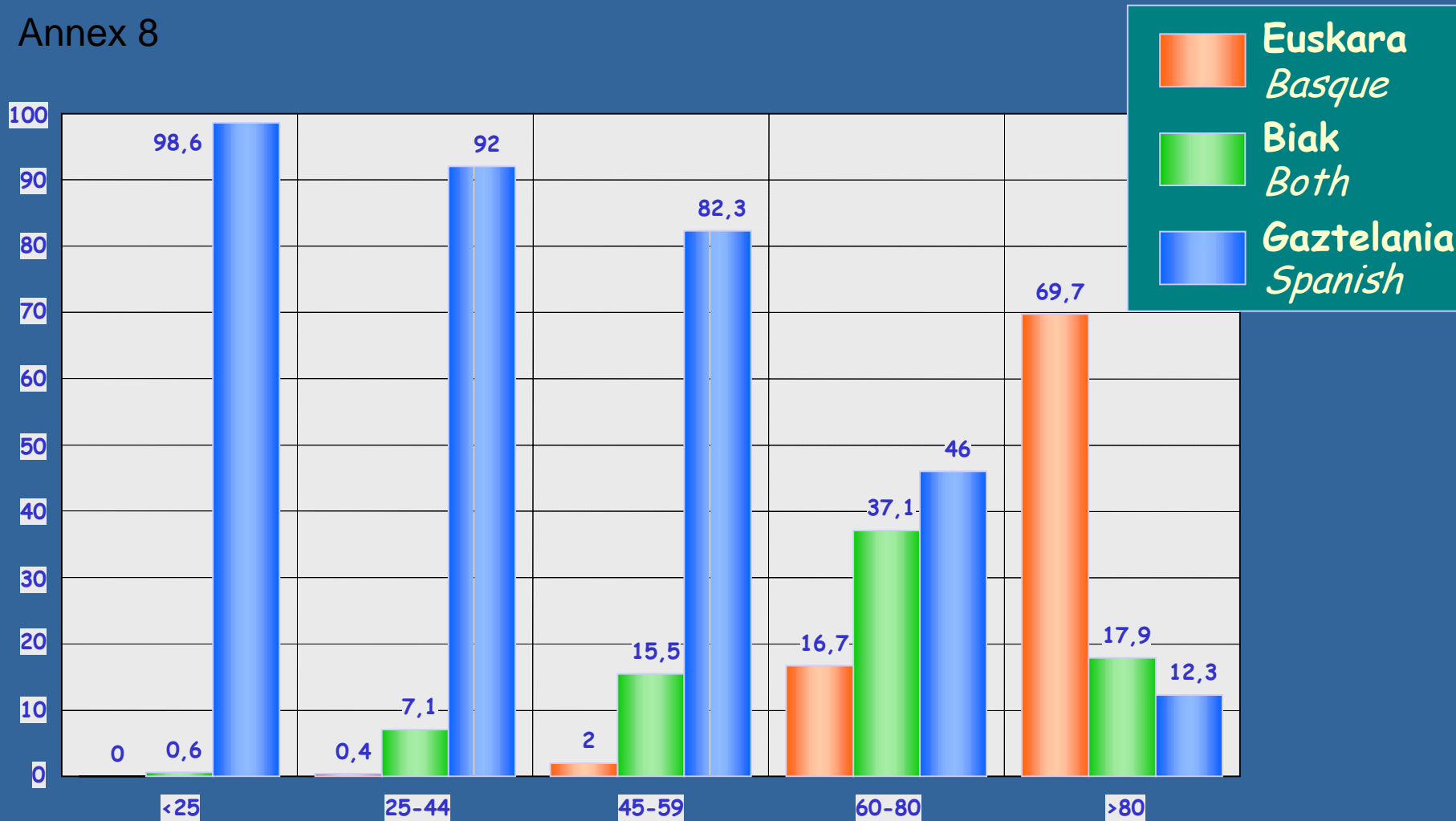
Language use according to the relative language knowledge. BAC (Only Basque-speakers, 1996)



Source: 1996 Sociolinguistic Survey. Basque Government

Etxeko hizkuntza 1996, euskaldunen dentsitatearen arabera. EAE (%)
Language used at home 1996, according to the density of Basque-speakers in the household. BAC (%)

Annex 8



DENTSITATEA / DENSITY (%)

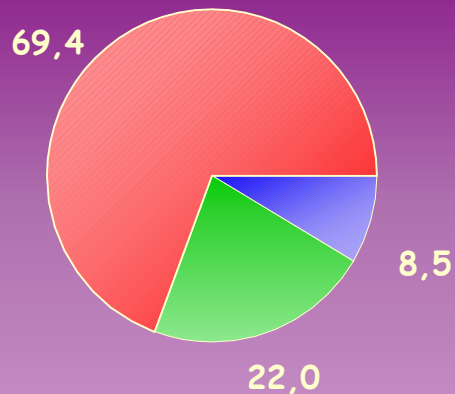
Source: 1996 census. Basque Government.

Etxeko hizkuntzaren erabileraren tipologia. EAE (%)

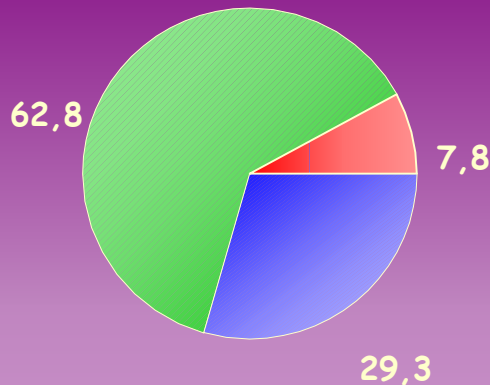
Typology of language use at home. BAC (%)

Annex 9

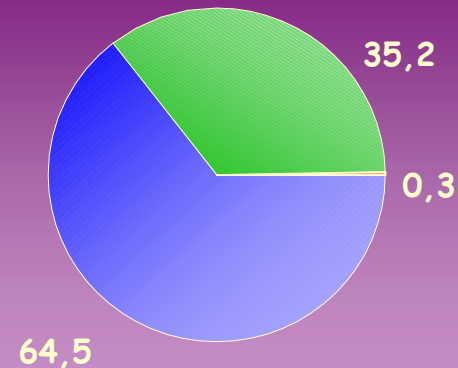
Euskaldun zaharrak
Native Basque-speakers



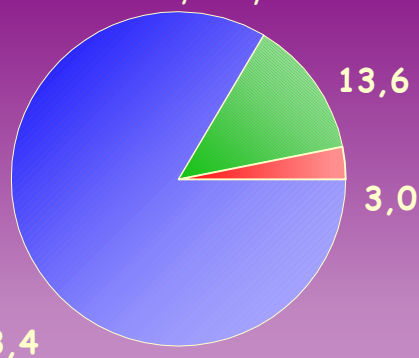
Jatorriz elebidunak
Co-mother tongue Bilinguals



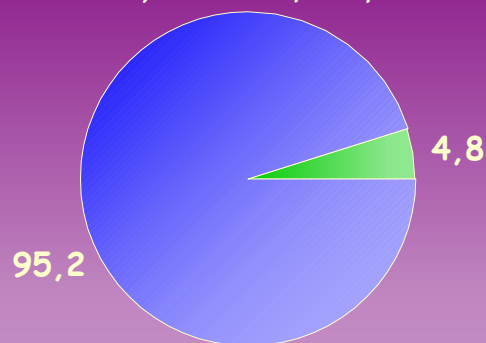
Partzialki erdaldunduak
Partially Spanishized



Euskaldun berriak
New Basque-speakers



Partzialki euskaldun berriak
Partially new Basque-speakers



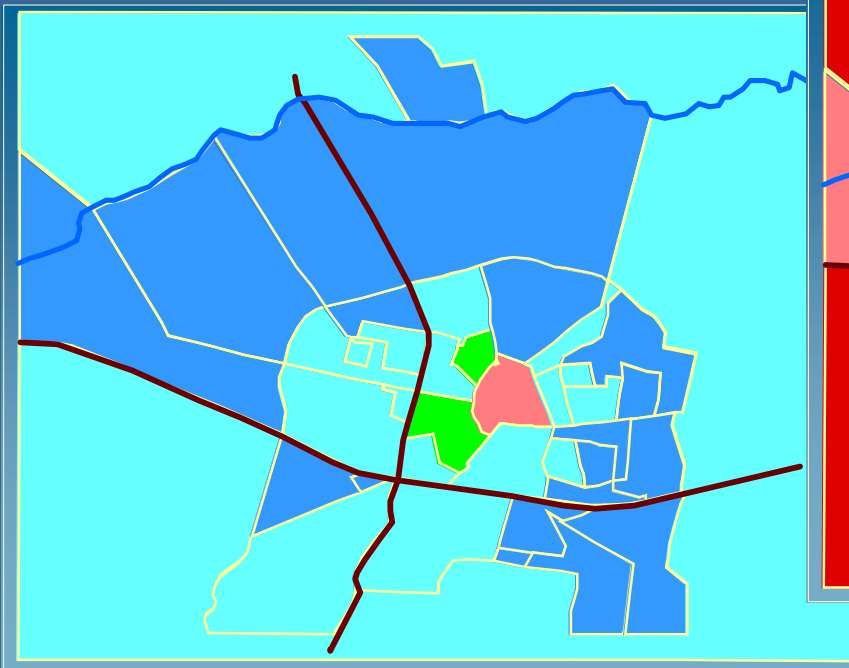
Source:
1996 census
Basque
Gouvernement.

 **Euskaraz aktiboak**
Active in Basque

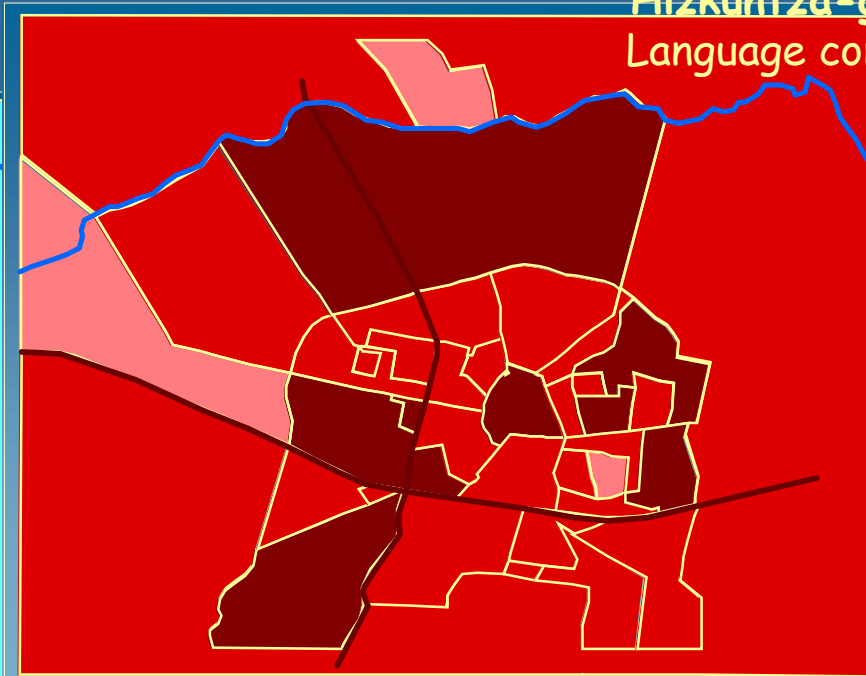
 **Bietan aktiboak**
Active in both L.

 **Euskaraz pasiboak**
Passive in Basque

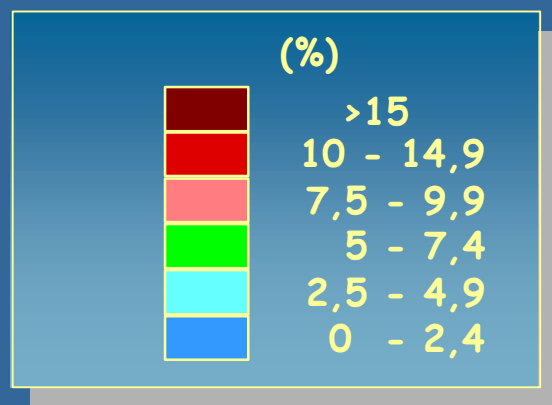
Ama-hizkuntza
Mother tongue



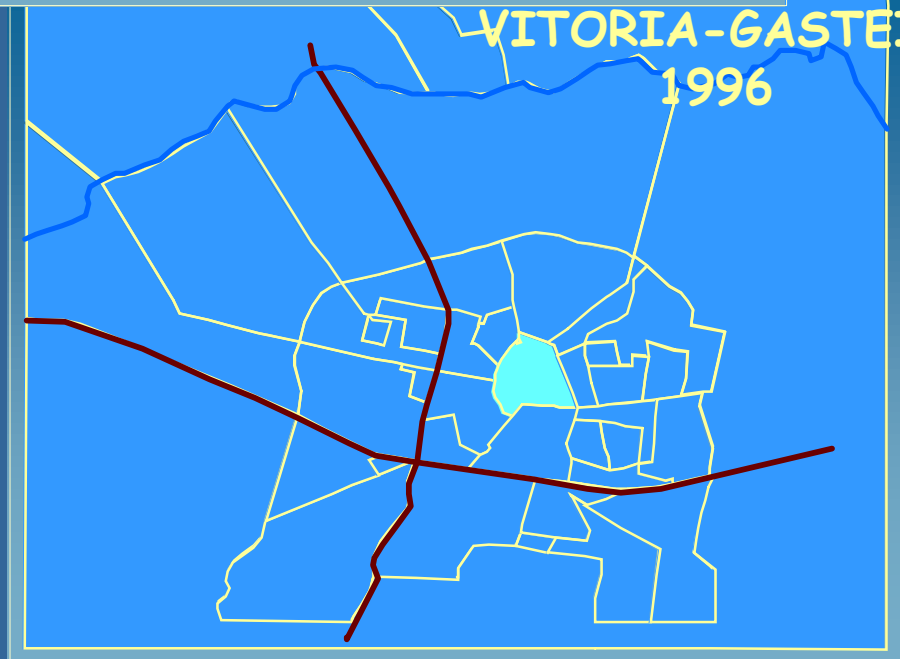
Hizkuntza-gaitasuna
Language competence



Etxeko hizkuntza euskara
Basque as language used at home

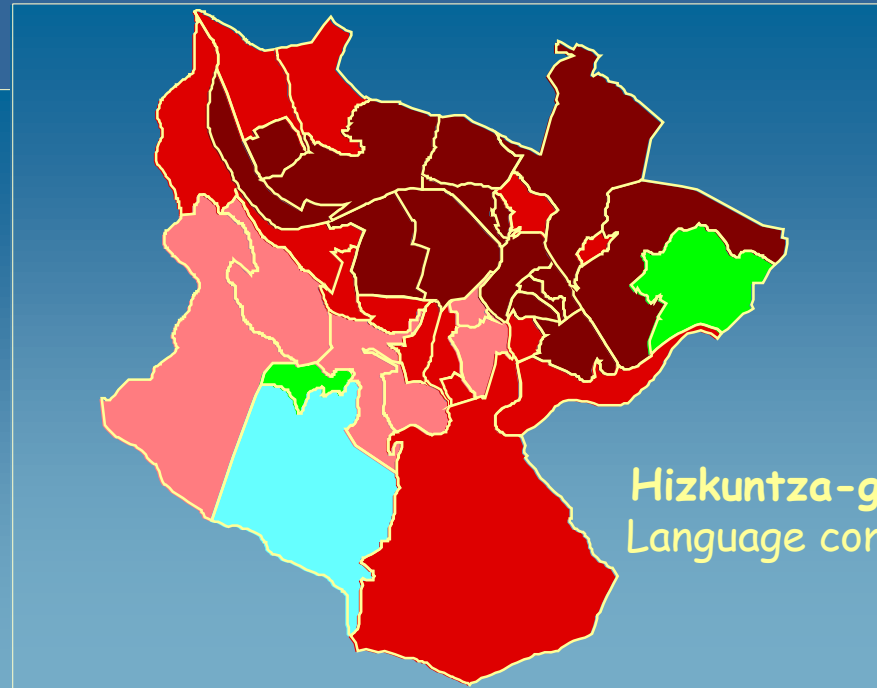
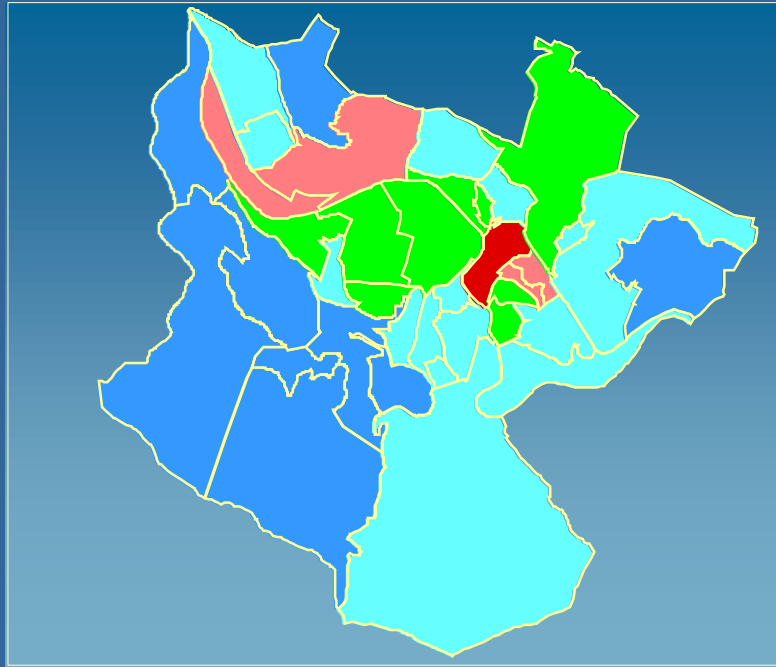


VITORIA-GASTEIZ
1996



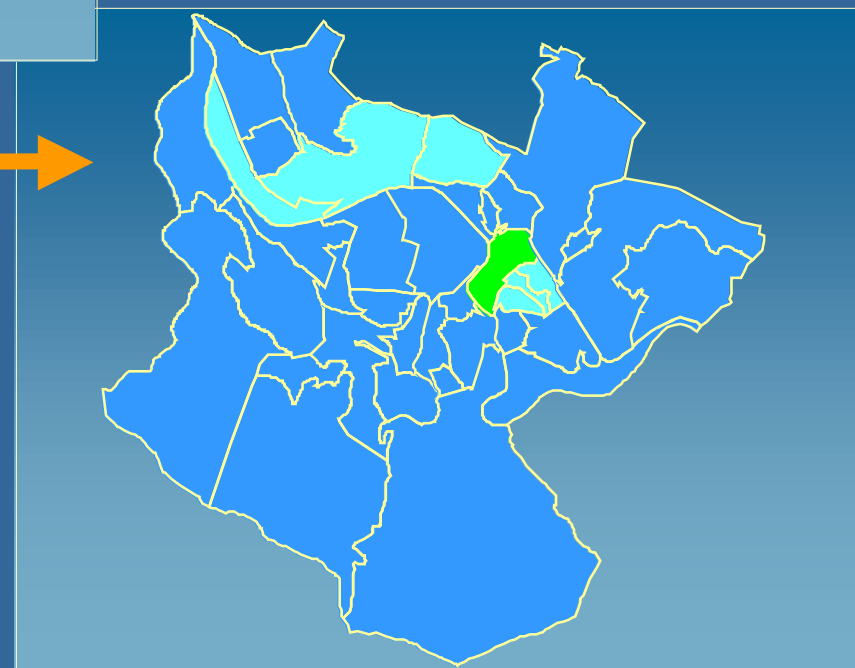
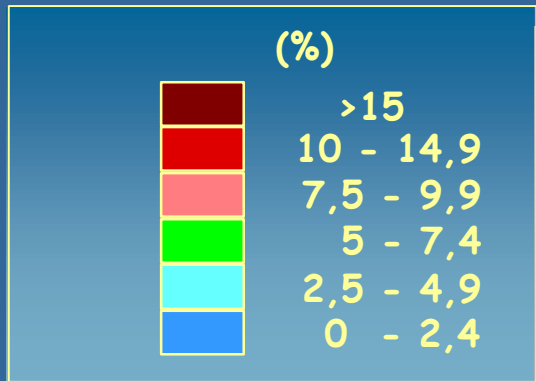
Source: 1996 census. Basque Gouvernement.

Ama-hizkuntza
Mother tongue



Hizkuntza-gaitasuna
Language competence

Etxeko hizkuntza euskara
Basque as language used at home

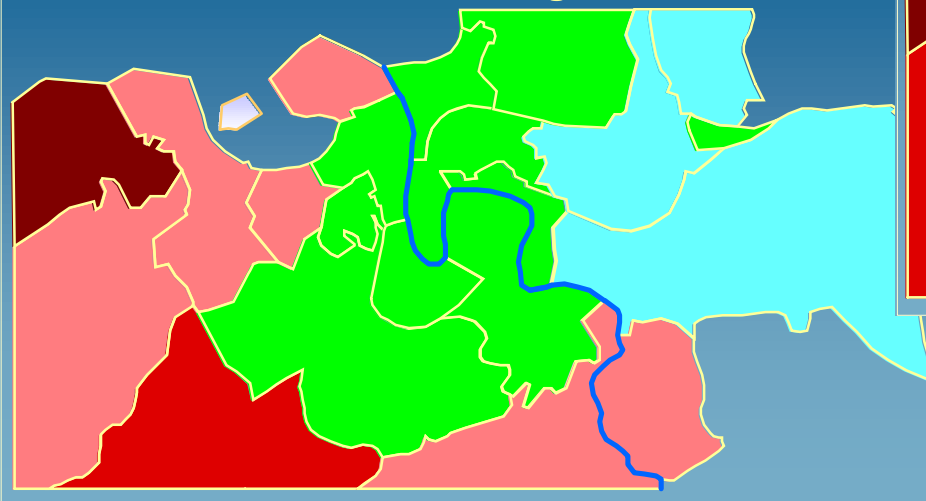


BILBAO
1996

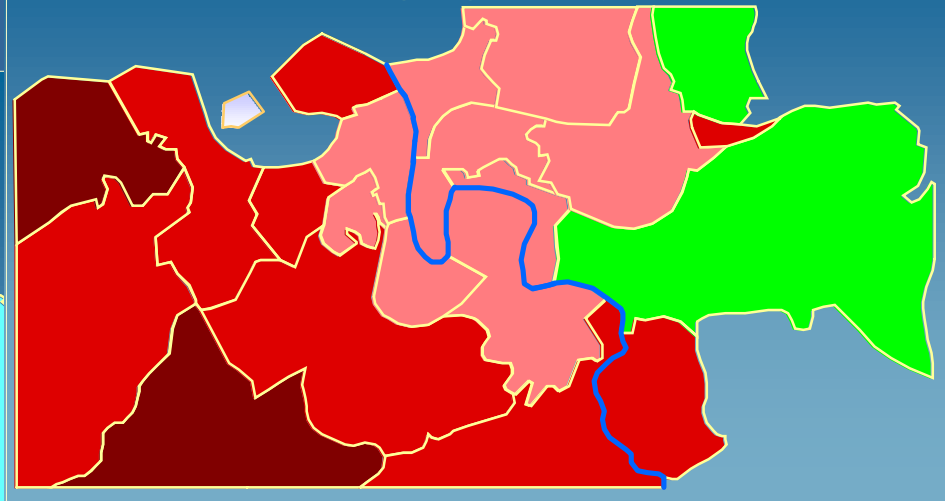
Source: 1996 census. Basque Gouvernement.

**DONOSTIA-SAN SEBASTIÁN
1996**

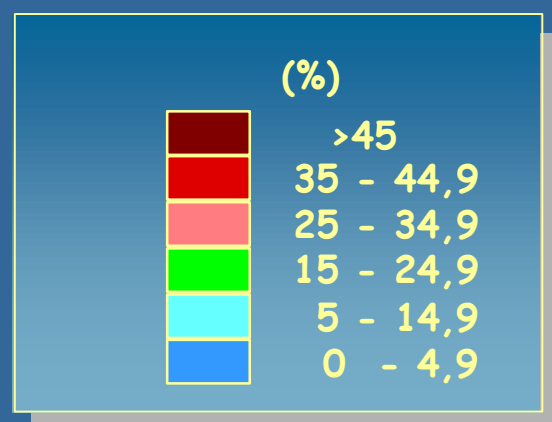
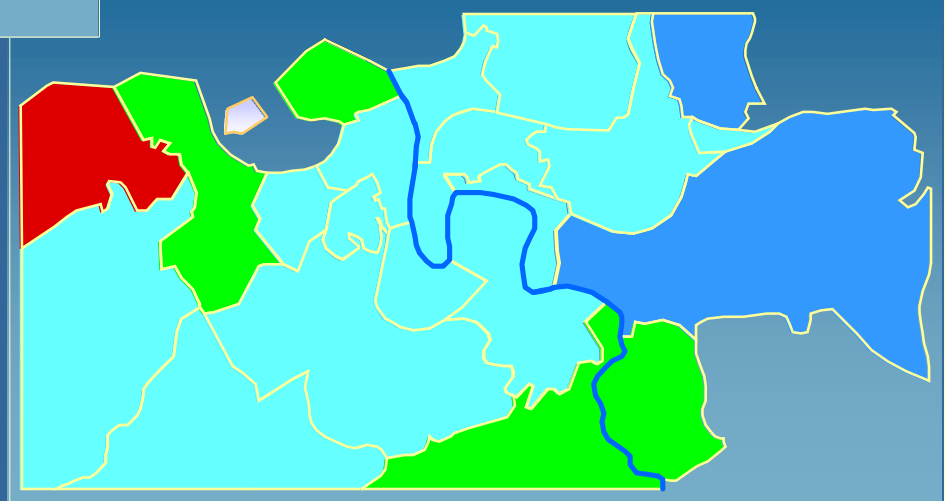
Ama-hizkuntza
Mother tongue



Hizkuntza-gaitasuna
Language competence



Etxeko hizkuntza euskara
Basque as language used at home

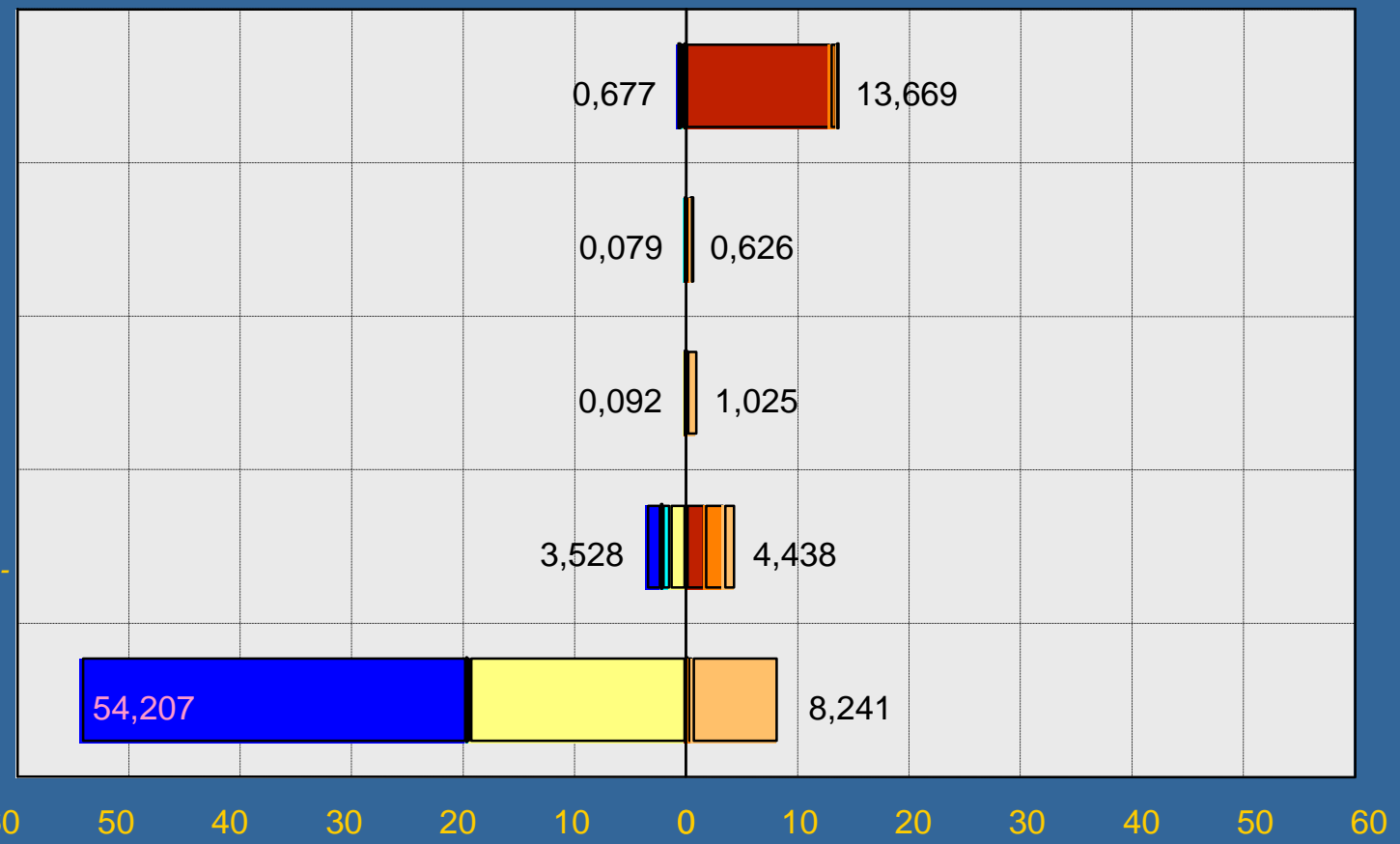


Source: 1996 census. Basque Government.

Typology of language mobility of children born between 1966-70 according to the language mobility of parents

Parents' typology

- Type D**
Both native Basque-speakers
- Type B strengthened**
one parent native Basque-speaker and one parent new Basque-speaker
- Type B**
Both parents new Basque-speakers
- Type A**
One Basque-speaking parent and one Spanish-speaking parent
- Tipox**
Both Spanish-speakers



Children born between 1966-70

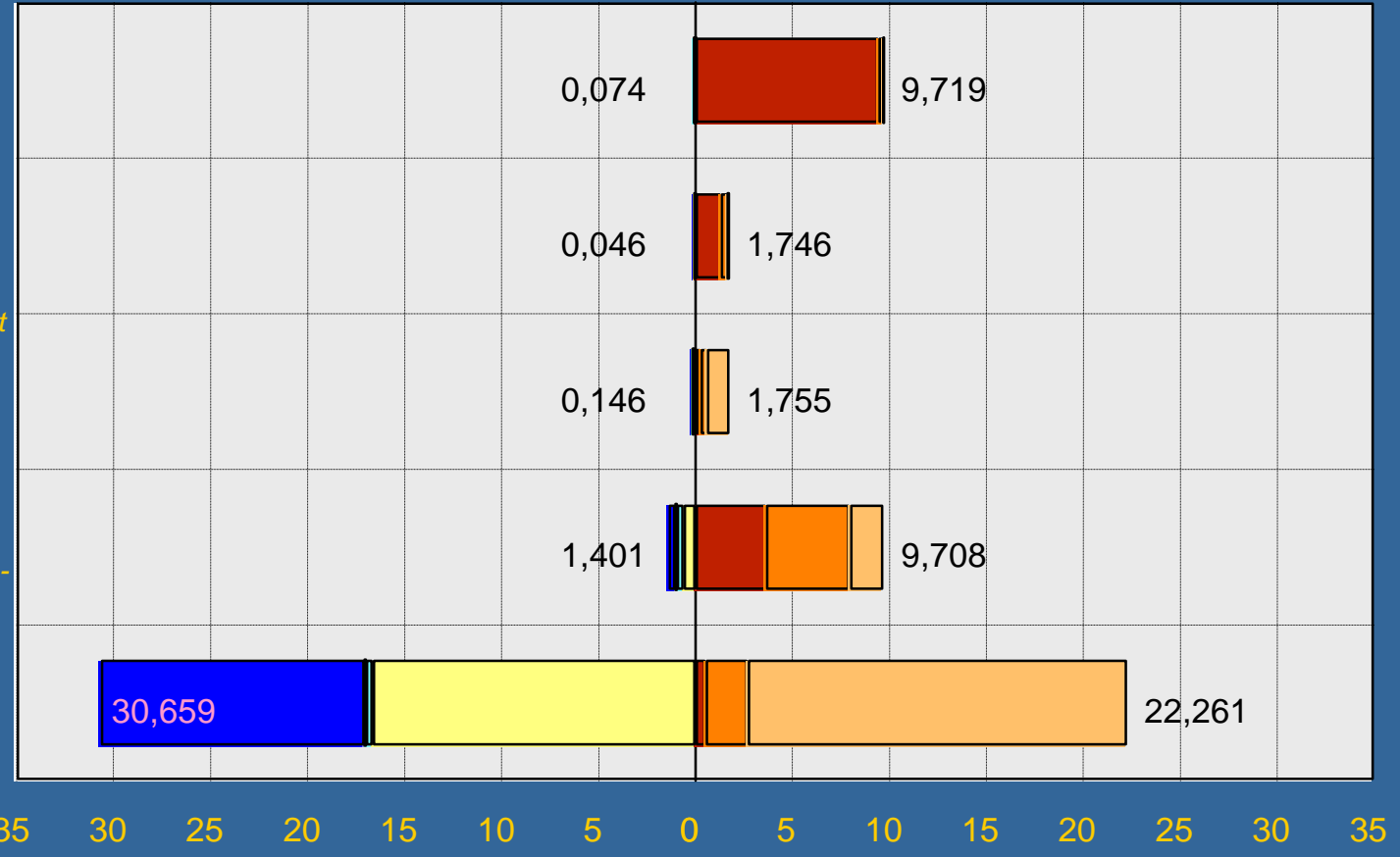
Native Spanish-speakers	Totally Spanished	Partially Spanished	Partially new Basque-speakers	Native Basque-speakers	Co-mother tongue bilinguals	New Basque-speakers

Source: 1996 census. Basque Government.

Typology of language mobility of children born between 1986-90 according to the language mobility of parents

Parents' typology

- Type D**
Both native Basque-speaking
- Type B strengthened**
One native Basque-speaking parent and one new Basque-speaking parent
- Type B**
Both new Basque-speaking parents
- Type A**
One Basque-speaking parent and one Spanish-speaking parent
- Type X**
Both Spanish-speaking parents



Children born between 1986-90

Native Spanish-speakers 	Totally Spanished 	Partially Spanished 	Partially new Basque-speakers 	Native Basque-speakers 	Co-mother tongue bilinguals 	New Basque-speakers
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Source: 1996 census. Basque Government.