TALKING PUPILS

THE ARRUE PROJECT 2011

Research results
and contributions
of experts

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HEZKUNTZA, HIZKUNTZA POLITIKA ETA KULTURA SAILA

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Authors: Part 1. Iñaki Martínez de Luna and Pablo Suberbiola, (The Sociolinguistics Cluster), Mikel Zalbide (Department of Education, Language Policy and Culture - Basque Government), Arrate Egaña and Eduardo Ubieta (ISEI-IVEI)
Articles of Part 2: Xabier Aizpurua, Eduardo Ubieta and Arrate Egaña; Jeroen Darquennes; Iñaki Martínez de Luna; F. Xavier Vila; Mikel Zalbide; Jokin Aiestaran, Jasone Cenoz and Durk Gorter; Jasone Aldekoa; Josu Amezaga; Eduardo Apodaka; Iñaki Artola, Santos Izagirre and Iñaki Iturain; Miren Azkarate; Xabier Bengoetxea; Iñaki Biain; Paul Bilbao; Jean-Baptiste Coyos; Nekane Goikoetxea; Jone M. Hernández; Itziar Idiazabal; Asier Irizar and Joxpi Irastortza; Pello Jauregi; Lionel Joly; Ibon Manterola; Matilde Sainz, Karmele Perez Lizarralde and Idurre Alonso

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PREFACE

The presentation of a new book is always a reason of joy. It is even more encouraging when it comes to match both substance and form with one of our dearest goals. This objective is, if we are not wrong, the only Basic Law that the Basque Parliament has enacted: the Basic Law of the normalization of Basque. That law 10/1982 of November 24, among other things in its 17th Article says: The Government will take measures to ensure the students the real possibility to have a proficient practical knowledge on both official languages, on equal terms, by the end of compulsory education studies. At the same time, it will ensure environmental use of Basque, making it a vehicle of normal expression, both in internal and external activities and performances. Thus, the educational system has already received a singular order: scholars should know both Basque and Castilian equally at a practical level and in turn school should strengthen and promote the use of Basque among students.

We know that the most basic laws establish the general principles, and rarely introduce much specificity. To begin with, what does "to have a proficient practical knowledge" mean? Which is precisely the minimum level of proficiency that corresponds to Basque? There have been several assessments these past 30 years in order to find a direct answer to these questions. We recall, for example, the first research of EIFE (Euskararen Irakaskuntza: Faktoreen Eragina). Since then there have been many researches done, both in universities and in the Administration to proceed with this assessment. On the one hand, they are noteworthy, first, and without neglecting any other work, the results that are being obtained through EGA (Euskarazko Gaitasun Agiria) examinations referring to the level of Basque of over 17 year olds during the last 33 years, and on the other, the extensive work of all types of assessment developed by ISEI - IVEI in recent years.

That law not only talks about the need to achieving that level of proficiency. The use of language in schools is also a stated purpose of that law. This aim is to be taken into account as the level of practical competence. Is Basque spoken in schools? Who speaks or writes in Basque, where in the school (in the classroom, on the playground ...) and what do they use Basque for (spoken or written) in those moments? A priori, it is a difficult question to answer: What technique can you use so that students speak Basque among them (in the playground, in the hallways ...)? How do you assess situations of code-mixing or code-switching, which otherwise are not isolated in our schools? Among the factors to be taken into account in the assessment, which are the factors that have the greater or lesser ability to prophesy the results when evaluating the oral production of students? Is the same result obtained for students aged 10 or aged 14? The Arrue investigation arose to answer questions such as these, or many others similar to these. After many years of work, now for the second time, we will publish the latest results obtained in this book. We know that not only the Basque speaking persons but also the Spanish speaking ones (vernacular and foreign) have a vested interest in the outcome of these experiences. We have prepared a trilingual publication, in order to attend and respond with greater proximity to each of the groups of readers.

As the vice-minister of Language Policy clearly states in his introduction talking of this research results, the results can be taken as more and more certain ones. In short, I would highlight the following three:

a) The school is a key area to strengthen the oral production of the students.

b) Even so, school itself is not enough to influence on changing intergenerational language. Speech that has spread in society has had its way among students, to the extent that it gets closer to a spontaneous interaction space, and particularly as the students grow older.

c) The school by itself is not sufficient to fulfil all that the law intends, but it is provided with some important features: some of them are profusely applied by teachers and some others, perhaps due to its inherent difficulties, are not so far developed.

These considerations, and many others, have been pointed by the different experts who participated in the conference of January 31, 2013. This publication allows us to enjoy of the findings of all of them. With this introduction I intend to hand out an invitation to the reader so that he or she can quietly read them and so that he or she can try to draw their own conclusions. This has been the priority of the Department since it was formed 35 years ago, and we so will it be in the future too. Much is at stake in this field, and the Basic Law of the normalization of Basque impels us to go further than to a mere intuitive phase.

Finally I want to thank, on behalf of the Department, to all involved without fail in the extensive research: the Cluster of Sociolinguistics, its effective partner ISEI-IVEI and Basque Service who fixes his work on the institutional technical side within the field of language standardization in schools. As the great Orixe (Nicolas Ormaetxea, 1888 – 1961. He was a Basque language famous writer and poet) said: "Geroak esan beza, "herri bat izan zan"; edota hats emaiogun, hortan iraun dezan" ("Let the future say "it was a country" or let us give it encouragement to remain so).

ARANTZA AURREKOETXEA BILBAO
Vice-minister of Education. Basque Government.

PROLOGUE

It is a real pleasure, as the Viceminister of Education pointed out, to write a short preface to this publication. The extent of the Arrue research work and the intensity of its explanatory efforts justify this feeling. Few tasks are for public managers of language policy in the country, so attractive, encouraging and, at par, intriguing as this analytical effort. The reason is obvious: we are in front of the core element of social transformation that our society is living these last decades. The Basque school has opened its doors to the Basque language. We have turned standard, from kindergarten to university, what was once use to be rare (in part it was banned) adjusting the effect of our own language to the new requirements. Attempts have been a collective process in which they have converged citizen initiative and deliberate effort of public managers. This has happened in the limited space of time of a single generation: the substantial change has been played by the generation that has recently begun to retire or is close to retirement age.

At a second thought, it has been a major change. We lacked the usual resources when this rapid transformation process was undertaken. We had barely enough school material in Basque which was inexcusable to reference a set of academic knowledge in schools where Basque is vehicular language. There weren't either enough teachers with adequate oral and written knowledge Basque. This deficiency was particularly pronounced in everything related to language skills to translate academic precise formulations of a certain level in conceptual formalization: it is not the same thing to talk informally about the weather or about a routine domestic experience, or to formulate a resolution of second degree equations correctly, or even briefly explain the inherent socio-cultural, economic or scientific-technical elements typical of the Enlightenment. In such situations, everything started from very humble levels. Hence the road toured out long. Of course, as true as this is that for all purposes there is still a long remaining way to be done: it is not excessive to say that, in this case also, the bottle can be either half full or half empty.

These changes have been conveyed through a social project that pivots in two official languages. To the extent that the popular will is reflected in the free electoral ballots of ideas and feelings, it becomes clear the preference of the majority of citizens. We desire that every student should dominate both official languages. For this reason significant changes have overcome these last decades, regarding to school organization of linguistic behaviour. This desire, among other references, has a strong support in the legislation that explicitly formulates scholar Basquisation. This legislation gives a greater relevance to the use of Basque in schools, not just to learning it. We are faced with the known requirement of Law 10/ 1982 on the normalization of the use of Basque; it reflects the compromise agreed by the first writers of it. This law's 17th article specifically says that: on the one hand, the public authorities should take measures to ensure sufficient practical knowledge of both languages, and on the other, they will look that the contextually weaker language become vehicle for normal communication in schools, both orally and by written.

This requirement is inserted into a legal-linguistic frame that gives parents the right to choose the language of instruction in which their children are to pursue their studies. Briefly, the frame pivots on the principle of individuality of language rights. No one is unaware that this principle implies operational difficulties. Basque schooling must attend language wise, two objectives rather than one. There are some people that evaluate this in negative terms: given the manifest imbalance in which languages are in contact, how can we reach the double objective school prescribed by 17th article? The argument carries weight. I understand, however, it is far from being as strong as it first appears. And the achievement of the provisions of the article cannot be dealt in strictly school terms only. It is a proven fact that schooling D model doesn't ensure by itself the full realization of this objective. The reality is more complicated. The linguistic behaviour of the students, after certain age and particularly in outside classroom interaction contexts, does not lend itself to strict compartmentalization: no school is isolated by a glass chamber made out of language standards

prevalent in its environment. Thousands of interpersonal or group interactions present in every social habitat become evident somehow in the school settings. Storylines which ignore this elementary consideration drag a heavy burden.

School and society go hand in hand. This is a fact that teachers and principals of state schools have already verified and accepted. They before anyone else have learned to incorporate this data into schooling programmes. They are right: the linguistic behaviour of the students can realistically only be addressed if combined with informal interaction networks (family and neighbourhood friends, sport activities and city life in general).

This is where Arrue is particularly pertinent: it sheds light on interconnected realities, and allows sociolinguistic questions of clear interest. After a third of a century since the initial formulation of the current institutional paradigm has elapsed, we may ask: have we achieved the objectives set out by law? To what extent these objectives have been achieved? Arrue provides elements to advance some initial answers. It lets us know what language students of different ages use among themselves or with teachers in various school environments. It equally contributes to identify with some precision the factors that best predict the nature and extent of the school variability of idiomatic behaviour. Something was needed to urgently start talking about this and other related topics, stripped of the heavy burden of mere impressionistic approaches.

It already time to search for integrated responses, where possible generally accepted, based on the available empirical evidence. We have to identify the elements that best describe the variability of the linguistic behaviour. Why are these elements so enlightening, when explaining this variability, the different intra-school sites (classroom on one side, yards on the other) and their different role relationships? These are complicated questions, full of consequences and, therefore, an urgent response needs to be forwarded. That's precisely where the importance of Arrue project lies. The study is clarifying the real nature of the event, identifying shadows. It is on the other hand giving the formulation of future prospects, in which the school event can be analysed within a broader sociolinguistic context.

PATXI BAZTARRIKA
Vice-minister of Language Policy. Basque Government

TECHNICAL PROLOGUE

This book *Talking pupils* is the result of a collaboration project of special significance. What is unusual about it is that besides presenting a long-term piece of research and publishing its results, it also includes within one and the same volume the views and reflections of different players who could be affected by the conclusions and proposals for the future. This is precisely what we are offering through this book: firstly, the results of *The Arrue Project 2011,* and secondly, 23 contributions covering experts' views on and analyses of this research.

The *Arrue* project is a piece of research run from 2004 onwards between the Education Department of the Government of the Basque Autonomous Community and the Sociolinguistics Cluster, so it has now reached its conclusion. Its aim was to study what language use is like in the school environment among students in the Basque Autonomous Community [region comprising Araba-Alava, Bizkaia and Gipuzkoa]. In 2010, we took a significant step forward in the work as a result of the collaboration agreement struck with the ISEI-IVEI, the Teaching System Evaluation and Research Body. This move meant that the data for the Arrue research were collected through questions specifically incorporated into the *Diagnostic Evaluation*. So in 2011 the data were gathered on all the students in the 4th year of Primary Education and in the 2nd year of Secondary Education in the Basque Autonomous Community, in other words, data on over 17,000 students in each year.

So this research forms the core of this book Talking pupils. But as pointed out already, it has two parts. The first part presents the *Arrue Project 2011* research, publishes its results and gathers its conclusions under the title *Primary-4 and Secondary-2 pupils' language use in schools. Research based on disgnostic evaluation (Basque Autonomous Community).*

This first part provides the details of the research (Part 1) and a detailed description of the population studied (Part 2). That is followed by the results of the research, firstly in general and then in a combined way showing connections between different variables. In other words, it starts off by showing what *language uses are like in the school environment* among the students and between students and teachers (Part 3), and then an analysis is made of the variables that determine these uses (Part 4). Finally, part 5 covers the main conclusions of the research.

The second part of the book under the heading *Expert's Views and Explanations* offers 23 opinion articles providing a critical interpretation of the research. There are some differences in these articles that are worth pointing out. In fact, we asked three experts or expert teams who had had the chance to get to know the work first hand to provide a deeper interpretation of the research. Firstly, our colleagues Xabier Aizpurua, Eduardo Ubieta and Arrate Egaña, as the ISEI/IVEI heads of the research obviously have interesting perspectives when it comes to interpreting the results and assessing the appropriateness of conducting the research itself using the Diagnostic Evaluation. Secondly, Iñaki Martínez de Luna and Mikel Zalbide have been familiar with the *Arrue* project right from the start, so they have been in a good position to offer first-hand news about its work and the meaning of innovation. They have been in a good position to provide interesting interpretations based on their broad sociolinguistic knowledge. Thirdly, apart from these authors, we felt it would also be interesting to offer contributions from outside the Basque Country. With this aim in mind, we have included the opinion articles of F. X. Vila (Catalonia) and Jeroen Darquennes (Belgium). We are sure that these international angles will be helpful in providing the readers with a broader perspective on the *Arrue* project.

Bearing in mind the limitations on the length of the book, we had to ask all the remaining contributors for shorter opinion articles. Among them are university researchers and lecturers (at the UPV/EHU-University of the Basque Country and the Mondragon University), teachers

and experts who have been working in the field of education for many years (experts or advisers on Language Normalisation in the Education Department of the Government of the Basque Autonomous Community), sociolinguistics researchers in other fields (Euskaltzaindia-Royal Academy of the Basque Language, and the IKER-CNRS-National Research Council of Bayonne) or experts from organisations involved in promoting the Basque language (Kontseilua). We are sure that all these contributions will enable us to offer a broad, full perspective on the results of the research. We should like to take this opportunity to extend our warmest thanks to all the experts who have contributed to this book.

ISEI-IVEI (Basque Institute for Research and Evaluation in Education)
Soziolinguistika Klusterra (Sociolinguistics Cluster)

PART 1.

The Arrue Project 2011

Primary-4 and Secondary-2 pupils' language use in schools. Research based on disgnostic evaluation (Basque Autonomous Community).

Iñaki Martínez de Luna, Mikel Zalbide, Pablo Suberbiola, Arrate Egaña and Eduardo Ubieta

1. THE BACKGROUND

1.1. BACKGROUND TO THE ARRUE PROJECT

The Arrue Project is a research programme on language use by pupils in school created by Soziolinguistika Klusterra, which had previously collaborated on other projects, and the Basque Government's ministry of education.

This is a topic of widespread concern for everyone working in the schools of the Basque Autonomous Community (henceforth BAC), and in particular among people working in the area of language normalization, who are constantly searching for answers to questions such as: Why is pupils' language use in the school environment such as it is? In what way is language use influenced by the language of pupils' homes, or by the language of the town they live in? And most importantly of all: What is the best way for schools to promote use of the Basque language? And where are the limits?

Arrue is not a project aspiring to find quick, easy answers to such questions. For one thing, language use is a complex phenomenon in a country with a pattern of language contact like the Basque Country. For another, the sociolinguistic situation in the BAC is one of immense diversity. Furthermore, it is worth bearing in mind that research into language use and the variables that determine it is not yet a highly developed discipline in our country or, for that matter, anywhere.

The Arrue Project was defined as a research programme taking into consideration all the aforementioned points. Its chief objective is to study language use at school, with the development of a suitable conceptual and methodological apparatus as an intermediate goal towards that end. The following table sums up the main surveys and analyses that have been performed each academic year since the programme commenced in 2004:

2004-2005	• Initial surveys in residential courses
2005-2006	• First large-scale data collection in schools: Primary 6th Grade (50 schools / 80 classes / 1,300 pupils)
2006-2007	• Statistical analysis of the 05-06 data • Qualitative case study of seven classes of special interest
2007-2008	• Second large-scale data collection in schools: Primary-6 (50 schools / 1,500 pupils)
2008-2009	• Simplified data collection (Classroom Profile Questionnaire) and analysis. Primary-2, Primary-6, Secondary-1 and Secondary-4 level pupils • Analysis of classroom dynamics: teacher's methods, group dynamics • Methodological adjustments and tests in Secondary-4 • Publication of a book on the results to date
2009-2010	• Computerized data collection software • Review of the theoretical underpinning
2010-2011	• Agreement with ISEI-IVEI to adapt Arrue tests to the Evaluation Diagnostic • ED2011 data collection: Primary-4 and Secondary-2 (more than 17,999 pupils in each grade)
2011-2012	• Analysis of the 2011 data

1.2. THE OBJECT OF STUDY: LANGUAGE USE IN THE SCHOOLS

Over seven years Arrue has measured and analysed language use in schools using a number of different approaches. During this period different methods have been tried out and adjustments made, at all times keeping the project focused on the analysis of language use.

Legislation about the Basque language in the BAC[1] charges the public administration with the task of ensuring that pupils completing secondary education have Basque language skills and that a Basque-language environment is created in schools by making Basque a regular medium of education. Assuming these responsibilities, there are two reasons why it is desirable to study pupils' oral language use. One is that it is a well-established fact, borne out by many years' experience, that the only way to attain a level of competence in a language is by using it. The other is that by analysing pupils' language use it is possible to find out what situations are produced in the schools of the BAC under different sociolinguistic conditions.

1.3. THE EXPERT GROUP AND ORGANISATION

From the start the Arrue project has always been a joint initiative under the supervision of a Monitoring Committee bringing together delegates from the Basque Government's Ministry of Education, Universities and Research[2] and from the Soziolinguistika Klusterra together with members who have been rotated on an annual basis, including Normalization Officers from the Ulibarri Programme, staff from IRALE and advisors from the Ministry of Education.

An important change came about in the Arrue Project in the 2010-2011 academic year when its brief was combined with that of the Basque Institute for Evaluation and Research of the System of Education (ISEI). Since 2010 the project is supervised jointly by the Ministry of Education, Soziolinguistika Klusterra and ISEI.

The Monitoring Committee defines Arrue's yearly goals, agrees on the functions of the project participants and monitors achievement of the programmed objectives. The tasks of the Ministry of Education, Universities and Research include provision of the project's economic resources and making sure that the project responds to the needs of the BAC's schools. ISEI's job is to facilitate access to data collection for Arrue through the Evaluation Diagnostic test, and to provide assessment to ensure that the measurements performed in the project comply with general evaluation criteria. Finally, Soziolinguistika Klusterra has the job of studying language use and analysing the data.

1.4. DATA COLLECTION FOR ED2011

The data presented in this report form part of the Evaluation Diagnostic [ED] test carried out in the Basque Autonomous Community [BAC] by ISEI between the 7th and the 25th of March, 2011. Details about the test may be found in two documents on the Internet: (1) *Ebaluazio diagnostikoa 2011. Emaitzen txostena eta aldagaien azterketa. Lehen Hezkuntzako 4. maila*[3] and (2) *Ebaluazio diagnostikoa 2011. Emaitzen txostena eta aldagaien azterketa. Derrigorrezko Bigarren Hezkuntzako 2. maila*[4].

[1] "The Basque Government shall take all possible measures aiming to ensure that pupils completing their compulsory education are sufficiently competent in both official languages to be really capable of using them in like conditions; moreover, it will ensure a Basque language atmosphere, making the Basque language a customary medium in internal and external [school] activities and in administrative actions and documents."

Basic Law for the Normalization of the Use of Basque (10/1982, 24th of November). Chapter 2. Use of Basque in Education. Article 17

[2] Through the Directorate of Innovation in Education and the Basque Language Service.

[3] http://www.isei-ivei.net/eusk/argital/ED11/aldagaien%20analisia/ED11_LH4_Emaitzen_txostena_aldagaien_analisia.pdf

[4] http://www.isei-ivei.net/eusk/argital/ED11/aldagaien%20analisia/DBH2_Emaitzen_txostena_aldagaien_analisia.pdf

Since the Evaluation Diagnostic is a census study, all pupils in year four of Primary School and year two of Secondary School in schools financed with public money (i.e. both public schools and state-subsidized ones) took part in the 2011 test, as indeed in previous tests.

Table 1. **PARTICIPANTS IN THE DIAGNOSTIC EVALUATION**

	Schools	Classes	Pupils
LMH4	522	986	18,636
	Schools	**Classes**	**Pupils**
DBH2	329	865	17,184

Great care was taken to make sure that all pupils in school in these grades took the tests, whatever their personal situation or characteristics might be; however, as stipulated by the rules of the Evaluation Diagnostic, the scores of pupils who are exempted from certain classes on account of their particular situation have not been incorporated into the study.

2. DESCRIPTION OF THE MAIN VARIABLES OF THE POPULATION COVERED BY THE STUDY

2.1. CHARACTERISTICS OF PUPILS

2.1.1. Schools and pupils

Pupils in 522 schools that teach fourth year of primary were in the study, making a total of 18,636 pupils. And pupils studying in second year of secondary school in 329 schools also took part, giving data for 35,844 pupils in all.

2.1.2. Age and sex

Most (91%) of the Primary-4 pupils were born in 2001 and were thus nine or ten years old when the data were collected. Most (79,9%) of the Secondary-2 pupils were born in 1997 and were thirteen or fourteen years old at the time.

In both grades, there are somewhat more boys than girls, but there is not a great difference. Such differences are normal in studies of populations of young people.

2.1.3. Percentage of local basque speakers

The percentage of Basque speakers in the town where a school is located[5] is information of crucial imporance when analysing language use at school. The following table provides statistics on proportions of local Basque speakers on a nine-degree scale, showing for each group the number of pupils in each grade and the percentage they represent of all the pupils in the study.

Table 2. **NUMBER OF STUDENTS IN EACH GRADE AND THE PROPORTION OF LOCAL BASQUE SPEAKERS**

	Primary-4		Secondary-2	
	Nº of pupils	%	Nº of pupils	%
80.70% or more	761	4.1	506	2.9
From 70.11% to 80.69%	1,089	5.8	945	5.5
From 60.57% to 70.10%	1,089	5.8	1,123	6.5
From 50.24% to 60.56%	2,103	11.3	2,000	11.6
From 40.35% to 50.23%	2,753	14.8	2,635	15.3
From 31.46% to 40.34%	1,663	8.9	1,507	8.8
From 24.64% to 31.45%	3,832	20.6	3,559	20.7
From 20.26% to 24.63%	3,458	18.6	3,274	19.1
Less than 20.26 %	1,888	10.1	1,635	9.5
TOTAL	**18,636**	**100.0**	**17,184**	**100.0**

The data show that most pupils are at schools in towns where Basque speakers are a minority. For instance, 49% of pupils in Primary-4 are located in towns where Basque speakers make up between 0% and 40% of the total inhabitants. And 27% of the pupils attend a school in a locality where between 60% and 100% of the inhabitants speak Basque. The corresponding statistics for Secondary-2 pupils are very similar.

[5] According to EUSTAT, 2006 data.

2.1.4. Mother tongue

Figure 1.
PRIMARY-4: MOTHER TONGUE

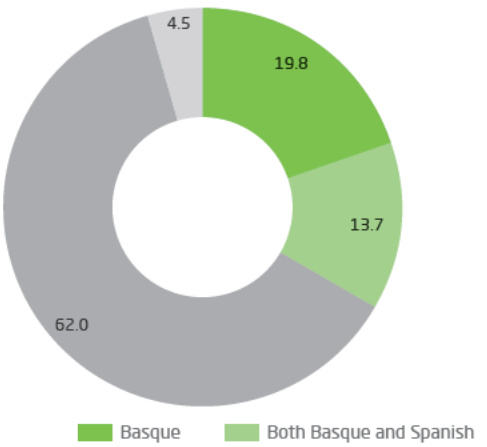
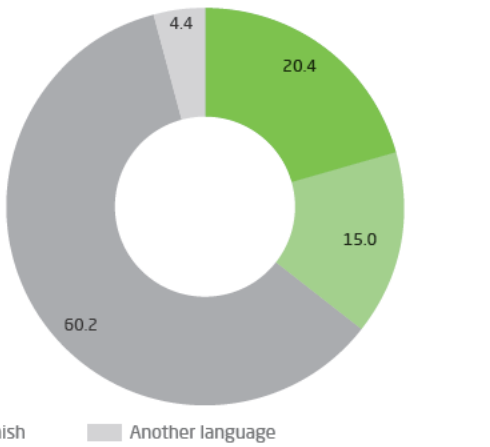


Figure 2.
SECONDARY-2: MOTHER TONGUE



In both grades the mother tongue of the majority (sixty to sixty-two percent) of the pupils is Spanish. About a third (33-35%) of the pupils have Basque, or both Spanish and Basque, as their first language, while 4% acquired a language other than either Basque or Spanish in their first three years of life.

Although it is only a small difference and there is only a four years' age difference between the two groups, it is worthy of note that there are more pupils with Basque, or Basque and Spanish, as their first language in Secondary-2 than in Primary-4, with a difference of 1.9 percentage points[6]. This may be a point for further consideration by specialists in the area of language transmission in the BAC.

2.1.5. Language models

Figure 3.
PRIMARY-4: LANGUAGE MODELS

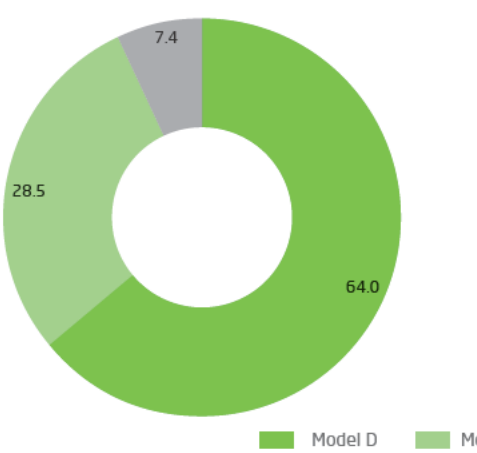
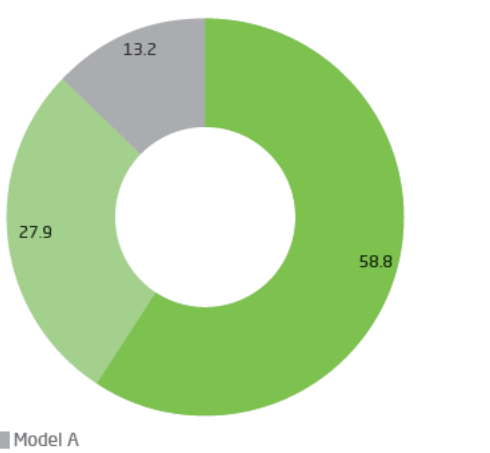


Figure 4.
SECONDARY-2: LANGUAGE MODELS



[6] We can assume that on average the parents of the Primary-4 pupils are four years younger than those of the Secondary-2 pupils. This survey did not collect data about the languages that the parents are able to speak, but on the basis of these first language data, it does not look as if the number of parents transmitting Basque as the first language is rising much among the younger generations.

The diagrams above show the distribution of pupils by language model (Model D schools are Basque-medium with only Spanish language taught through Spanish as a subject; in Model A the teaching medium is Spanish except for Basque language, taught as a subject; in Model B schools, approximately half the curriculum is taught in each of the languages). Most Primary-4 and Secondary-2 pupils in the BAC are enrolled in Model D. There are proportionally slightly more Secondary-2 pupils than Primary-4 pupils in Model A and fewer in Model D, with a difference of between five and six percentage points.

2.1.6. Place of origin

The father of 77% and the mother of 78% of Primary-4 pupils were born somewhere in the Basque Country. The corresponding percentages for Secondary-2 pupils are slightly lower at 73% and 75% respectively. Interestingly, the inverse pattern is found with pupils whose fathers and mothers were born in a different autonomous community: in Primary-4 these represent 14% of fathers and only 12% of mothers, and in Secondary-2 the percentages are 17% and 15%. The proportion of both fathers and mothers of pupils in either grade who are foreign-born is between ten and eleven percent.

When it comes to the pupils themselves, the great majority (around 88-89%) in both Primary-4 and Secondary-2 were born in the Basque Country. Of the pupils born outside Euskal Herria or the BAC, more come from abroad than from another part of Spain, in both Primary-4 and Secondary-2.

Pupils in Primary-4 born outside the Basque Country vary widely with regard to how long they have lived in the BAC, whereas of those in Secondary-2, nearly half (48%) have been here for six years or longer.

2.1.7. Speaking skills: relative fluency

Figure 5.
PRIMARY-4: RELATIVE FLUENCY

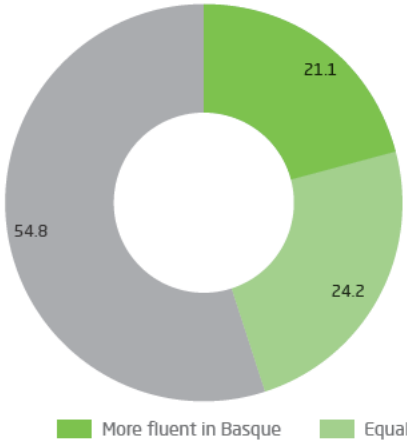
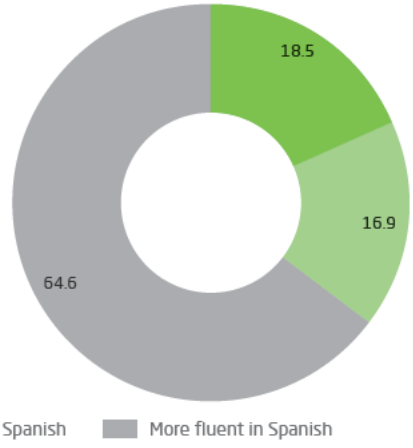


Figure 6.
SECONDARY-2: RELATIVE FLUENCY



More fluent in Basque | Equally fluent in Basque and Spanish | More fluent in Spanish

Among pupils in either grade, those who speak Spanish more fluently than Basque are in the majority, but their predominance is greater in the secondary school group. The total proportion of pupils who are more fluent in Spanish is ten percentage points higher in Secondary-2 than in Primary-4. The proportion of pupils more fluent in Basqe varies by three points between Primary-4 (21.1%) and Secondary-2 (18.5%). The biggest difference between the two groups is in the proportion who are equally fluent in both languages: 24.2% in Primary-4 versus 16.9% in Secondary-2.

Let us recall (see 2.1.4 above) that the proportion of pupils whose first language is Basque is very similar in both grades.

2.1.8. Language preference

Figure 7.
PRIMARY-4: DO YOU LIKE..?

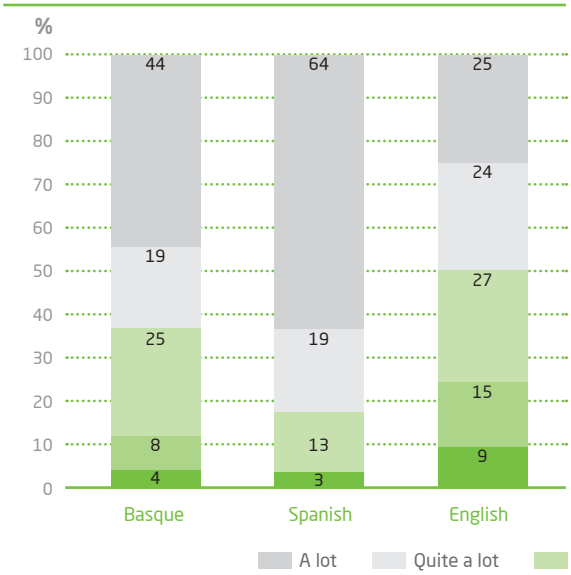
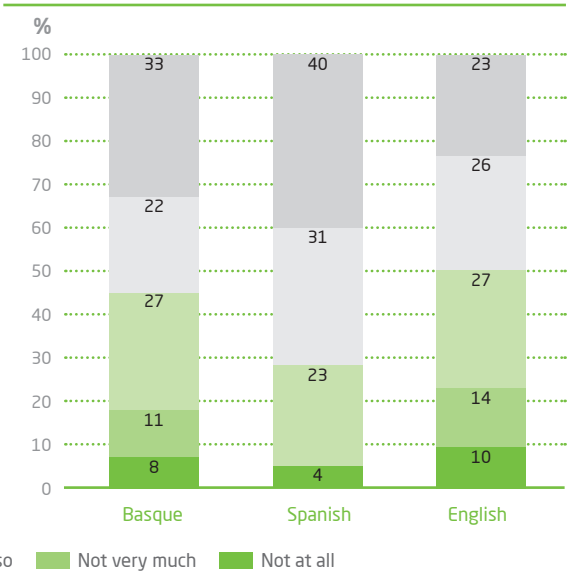


Figure 8.
SECONDARY-2: DO YOU LIKE..?



A lot | Quite a lot | So-so | Not very much | Not at all

Among Primary-4 pupils, the majority like Basque "quite a lot" (19%) or "a lot" (44%), whereas only 12%, all told, either like it "not very much" or "not at all".

Among the Secondary-2 pupils also, the majority like Basque "quite a lot" or "a lot" but in a somewhat smaller proportion (22% and 33% respectively), while those who like Basque "not very much" or "not at all" amount to 19% of the total.

In both grades the majority like Spanish "quite a lot" or "a lot". However, among Primary-4 pupils the proportion who like it "a lot" is 64% and "quite a lot" 19%, whereas in Secondary-2 those who like Spanish "a lot" are only 40% and "quite a lot" 31%. Those who like Spanish either "not very much" or "not at all" comprise 4% of pupils in Primary-4 and 6% in Secondary-2.

For preference to English there is proportionally not much difference between one grade and the other. Those who like English "not very much" or "not at all" make up around 24% or 25% of both grades, and a similar percentage for both grades of 49% like English "quite a lot" or "a lot" in both Primary-4 and Secondary-2.

By and large, if we group together the category pairs "not at all / not very much" and "quite a lot / a lot", we find that pupils who like Basque and Spanish are less numerous in Secondary-2 while the numbers of those who dislike them rise, whereas in the case of English the degree of preference or lack of preference remains stable.

2.1.9. Mental representations: Perceptions of difficulty

Most Primary-4 pupils consider Basque "easy" (25%) or "very easy" (36%). In Secondary-2 a similar proportion of pupils consider Basque "easy" (26%) but the number who think it is "very easy" drops so sharply it is practically halved (to 18%).

Basque is "difficult" or "very difficult" for 9% of Primary-4 pupils and 20% of Secondary-2 pupils.

Spanish is considered "very easy" by 61% of Primary-4 pupils and "easy" by 23%, while 3% think it either "difficult" or "very difficult". Among Secondary-2 pupils, however, fewer (35%) say that Spanish is "very easy". The number of pupils who consider Spanish "easy" rises somewhat (to 33%).

Figure 9.
LMH4 - ZER IRUDITZEN ZAIZU...

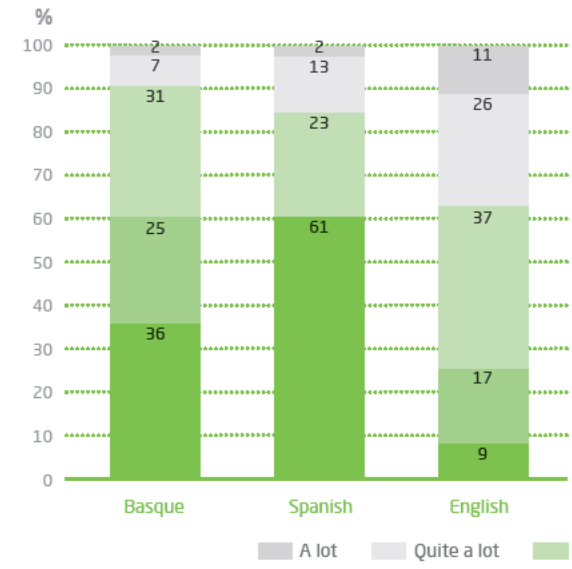
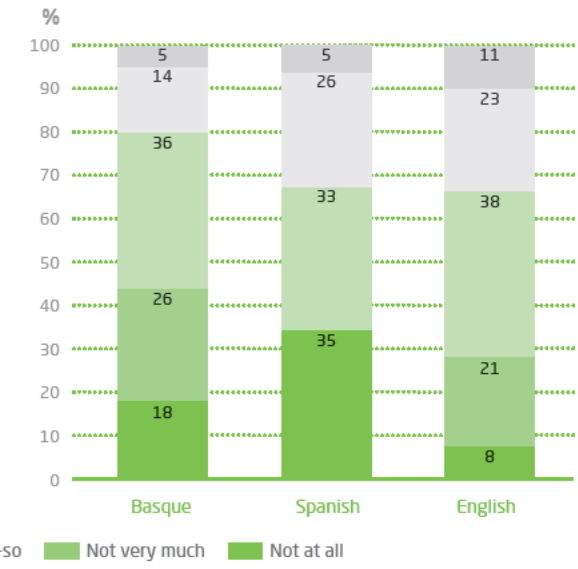


Figure 10.
DBH2 - ZER IRUDITZEN ZAIZU...



Asked whether they think English is difficult or easy, the answers given by pupils varied little from Primary-4 to Secondary-2, with differences of less than four percentage points in each case. In general, the number of pupils who think of English as "difficult" or "very difficult" is proportionally greater than for Basque or Spanish.

2.1.10. Mental representations: Situations and activities (Secondary-2 only)

Only Secondary-2 pupils answered these questions, so no comparison between grades can be made here.

To test which language pupils associate with a given situation or activity, they were shown pictures representing the latter and asked about them without using words to refer to the situation or activity in question[7], in order to avoid suggesting one language or the other through the words used. It is therefore preferable to discuss the results with the pictures that were used in view, since it is these that were the basis of the results, although in a written description of the results we will use words to refer to the activities and situations.

In the opinion of a large proportion (47%) of Secondary-2 pupils, Spanish goes best with the picture representing the *family* (see the first picture in Table 3). With the picture of *friends* (the second picture), 41% thought that Spanish goes best and 33% said that Basque went best.

The largest proportion (49%) responded that Basque goes best with the picture of education (the third picture); but in the case of the pictures that represent *politics* (the fourth picture), *information technology* (the fifth) and the world of work (the sixth), most pupils said that Spanish goes best (59%, 66% and 56% respectively.

[7] In the questionnaires pupils were shown pictures and asked: *Which language do you thinkgoes best with these situations, places or people?*

Table 3.
WHICH LANGUAGE GOES BEST WITH...?

	Basque goes best	All three languages are equally OK	Spanish goes best	English goes best
	20%	20%	47%	13%
	33%	17%	41%	9%
	49%	23%	20%	8%
	7%	19%	59%	15%
	9%	23%	56%	12%
	7%	21%	66%	6%

2.1.11. Language of media consumption

Television

Figure 11.
PRIMARY-4 - WHAT LANGUAGE IS YOUR FAVOURITE TV SHOW IN? (%)

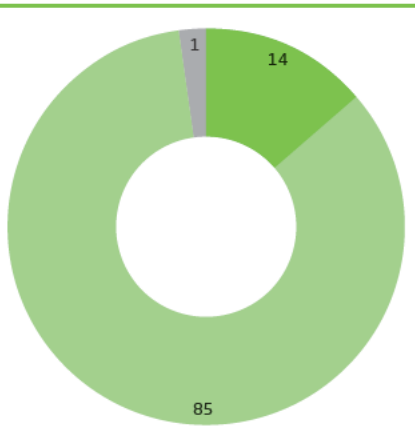
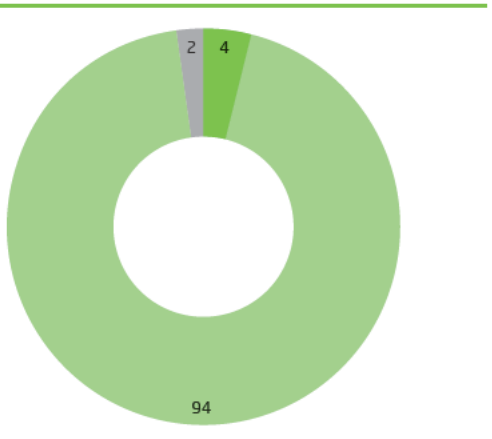


Figure 12.
SECONDARY-2 - WHAT LANGUAGE IS YOUR FAVOURITE TV SHOW IN? (%)



Basque Spanish Another language

Music groups and singers

Figure 13. PRIMARY-4 - WHAT LANGUAGE DOES YOUR FAVOURITE GROUP OR SIGNER SING IN? (%)

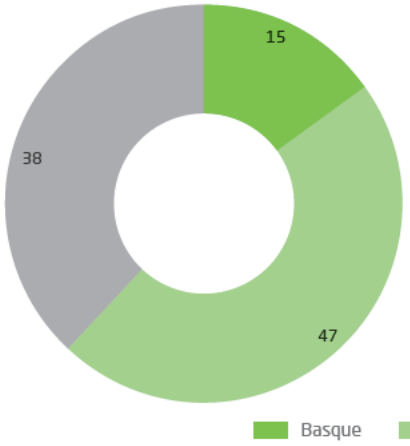
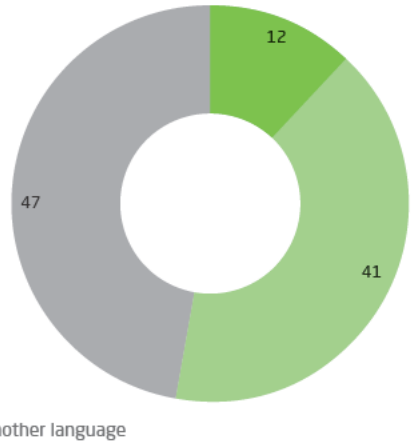


Figure 14. SECONDARY-2 - WHAT LANGUAGE DOES YOUR FAVOURITE GROUP OR SIGNER SING IN? (%)



Basque Spanish Another language

Overwhelmingly the main language of mass media consumption is Spanish. A very high proportion of pupils (74% and 93%) in grades Primary-4 and Secondary-2 are consumers of websites, TV programmes and films in Spanish. Consumption of Basque-language media is below 20% (from 3% to 16%). The difference between the two grades as regards consumption of television and films is striking, but not so for websites. The TV programme seen most by 14% of Primary-4 pupils is in Basque, whereas the corresponding proportion for Secondary-2 pupils is ten points lower at just 4%. The data for watching films is similar, with 12% of Primary-4 pupils watching in Basque as opposed to only 3% of Secondary-2 pupils.

Again for radio, the programmes most listened to by pupils are chiefly in Spanish (67%, 72%); however the consumer figures for Basque are higher in radio than in the other three domains so far considered (television, websites and films): 29% in Primary-4 and 25% in Secondary-2.

And finally, when asked about the music groups and singers that they most like to listen to, 15% of Primary-4 pupils and 12% of Secondary-2 pupils preferred music in Basque. There is a notable consumption of groups in languages other than Basque or Spanish, which are preferred by 38% of Primary-4 pupils and 47% of Secondary-2 pupils.

2.1.12. Language use: Family

Figure 15. PRIMARY-4 - USE AT HOME (MEAL TIMES) (%)

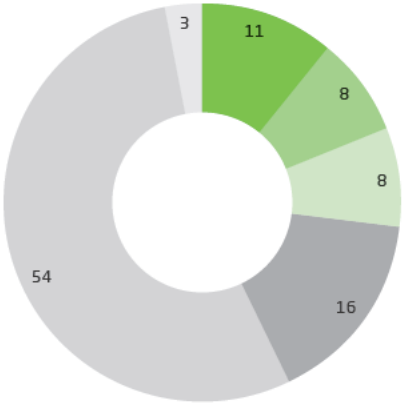
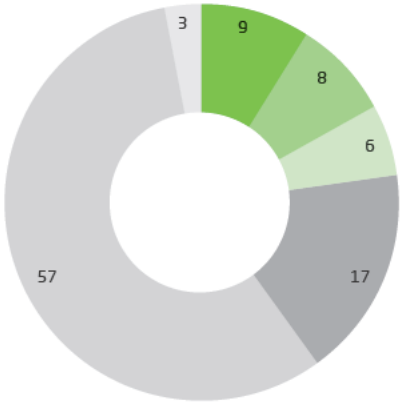


Figure 16. SECONDARY-2 - USE AT HOME (MEAL TIMES) (%)



Only Basque More Basque than Spanish Both equally (Basque and Spanish)
More Spanish Only Spanish Another language

Situations at home where all the members of the family are gathered together, such as meals or television viewing time, give an accurate picture of language use in everyday family life. In such situations, in the homes of most pupils (70%, 74%) in these two grades only Spansh or chiefly Spanish is spoken. In the situations in question, 17% and 19% of pupils speak only or chiefly Basque at home. There is not much difference between the grades: two percentage points lower in Secondary-2 as regards pupils in whose homes only Basque is spoken, and three point higher for homes in which only Spanish is spoken.

Table 4.
LINGUISTIC USE AT HOME. PRIMARY-4

Primary-4	Always or mostly Basque	Always or mostly Spanish	Another language	
With father	24%	72%	4%	100%
With mother	26%	70%	4%	100%
With siblings	31%	67%	2%	100%
Parents to each other	14%	82%	4%	100%

Table 5.
LINGUISTIC USE AT HOME. SECONDARY-2

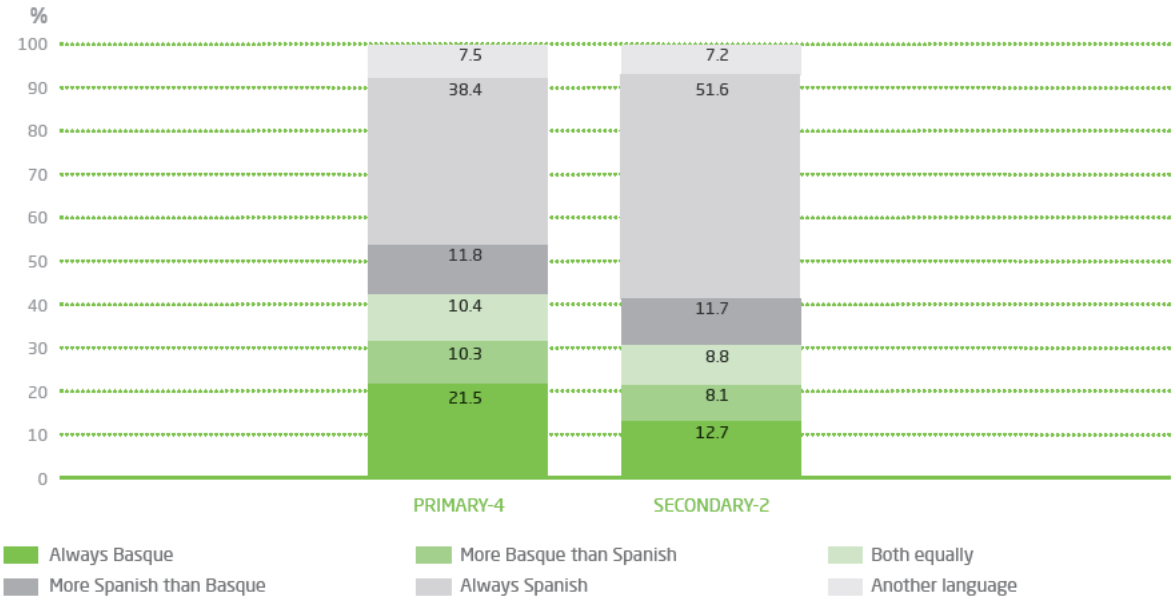
Secondary-2	Always or mostly Basque	Always or mostly Spanish	Another language	
With father	21%	76%	4%	100%
With mother	21%	75%	3%	100%
With siblings	27%	71%	3%	100%
Parents to each other	12%	85%	4%	100%

Most pupils (70%, 76%) in both grades always or usually speak Spanish with their parents. The proportion of them who always or usually speak with their parents in Basque is three to five points lower in Primary-4 than in Secondary-2. More pupils (27%, 31%) use Basque with their siblings, and their percentage is four points lower in Secondary-2 than in Primary-4.

Language use by pupils' parents in both grades when speaking to each other is in similar proportions: the percentage of parents who use Basque is two points higher for Primary-4 pupils, and that of parents who use Spanish is two points lower. The percentage of parents who speak to each other in Spanish is 10-12 points higher than the percentage of pupils who speak to their parents in Spanish.

2.1.13. Language use: Outside school

Figure 17.
PRIMARY-4 AND SECONDARY-2: LANGUAGE USE IN OUT-OF-SCHOOL ACTIVITIES (%)



There is a substantial difference between Primary-4 and Secondary-2 in pupils' language use in activities outside school. As seen in Figure 17, 32% of younger pupils always or usually speak Basque in such contexts; 50% always or usually speak Spanish. But among Secondary-2 pupils the proportion who speak Spanish is 13 points larger, and the proportion who speak Basque is 9 points lower.

Two other variables were also measured in connection with language use outside school in the ED 2011 test: pupils' language use in private classes, and the language they speak at summer camp. The findings may be see in the Appendix at the end of this report (Appendix I, point 13).

2.1.14. Language use: On chat with friends

Figure 18.
PRIMARY-4 - WITH FRIENDS ON CHAT (%)

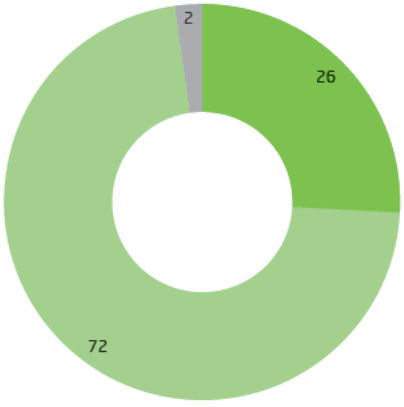
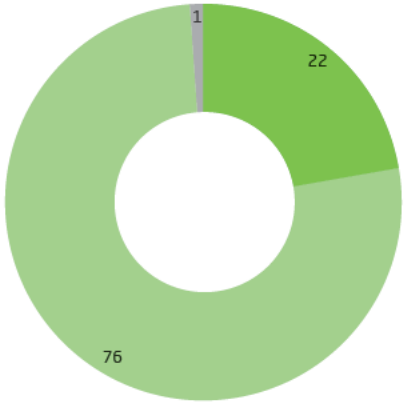


Figure 19.
SECONDARY-2 - WITH FRIENDS ON CHAT (%)



Basque Spanish Another language

The information contained in this variable has to do with the use of new technologies and specifically with pupils' language use when communicating with their friends. 72% of Primary-4 pupils and 76% of Secondary-2 pupils have recently used Spanish when chatting with their friends. The difference between the grades in this respect is smaller than in many of the other variables we have examined in this section of the report (for language use outside school and relative fluency).

However, it should be borne in mind that a large number of Primary-4 pupils (4276 pupils, or more than a fifth of the total) did not provide valid responses to this question. This may indicate that the habit of using chat has not been fully acquired yet by pupils at the age of Primary-4.

2.2. LANGUAGE MODELS, MOTHER TONGUE AND THE PERCENTAGE OF LOCAL BASQUE SPEAKERS

In many cases, the characteristics and variables of pupils described in the preceding section (2.1) exert an influence on language use at school. Moreover, several of these features are mutually linked in the present day Basque Autonomous Community. In the present section we will look at links between the language model pupils are enrolled in, their mother tongue and the number of people who speak Basque in the town where pupils' schools are located.

2.2.1. Language model choice according to mother tongue

Figure 20.
PRIMARY-4 - LANGUAGE MODEL, BY MOTHER TONGUE

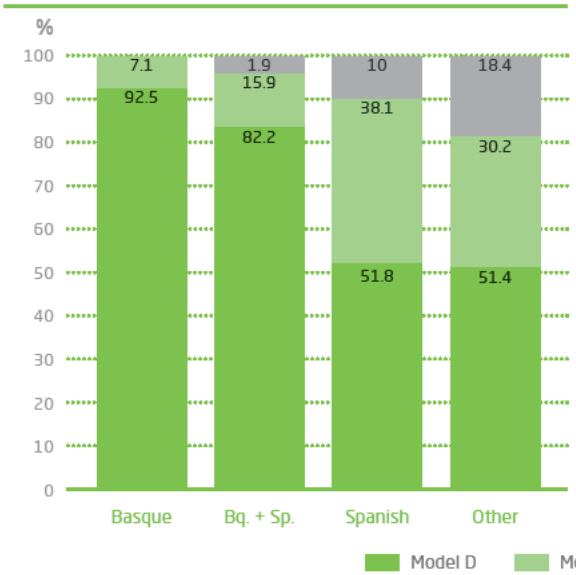


Figure 21.
SECONDARY-2 - LANGUAGE MODEL, BY MOTHER TONGUE

In 2.1.4 and 2.1.5 we noted the proportions of pupils with different mother tongues among the population covered by the study; we also looked at their distribution in terms of the language model of their school, and noted the statistics for each of the two grades surveyed. Cross-referencing these two variables reveals a clear connection between mother tongue and language model distributions both in Primary-4 and in Secondary-2. By and large, pupils whose mother tongue is Basque, or both Basque and Spanish, are far more likely (eighty to ninety percent) to go to a Model D school than those whose mother tongue is Spanish.

It is also found, when comparing the two grades, that pupils whose mother tongue is another language constitute a much larger proportion (twenty percentage points higher) of those studying in Model A in Secondary-2 than in Primary-4.

2.2.2. Language model, by proportion of local Basque speakers

Table 6.
LANGUAGE MODEL, BY PROPORTION OF LOCAL BASQUE SPEAKERS. PRIMARY-4

Primary-4	Model D	Model B	Model A	
Basque speakers < 30[8]	49.5%	39.7%	10.8%	100%
Basque speakers between 30 and 60	70.7%	23.3%	6%	100%
asque speakers > 60	94.9%	5.1%	0%	100%

Table 7.
LANGUAGE MODEL, BY PROPORTION OF LOCAL BASQUE SPEAKERS. SECONDARY-2

Secondary-2	Model D	Model B	Model A	
Basque speakers < 30	42.4%	35.4%	22.2%	100%
Basque speakers between 30 and 60	66.7%	26.9%	6.4%	100%
asque speakers > 60	94%	6%	0%	100%

Even after taking into account the percentage of Basque speakers in the town where a school is located (as in Tables 6 and 7 above), the distribution between language models is still skewed: in towns with a higher proportion of Basque speakers the tendency to enrol pupils in Model D is generally higher in both Primary-4 and Secondary-2.

As with pupils's mother tongue (see the preceding point), language model choice is also linked to the percentage of Basque speakers in the locality where the school is located. When analysing and evaluating language use at school in the BAC, these facts are highly relevant since the effect of each variable separately is added to that of the other variables.

[8] *Ikastetxea kokatua dagoen herriko euskaldunen proportzioak* (EUSTAT, 2006). The exact percentages are < 30% = < 31.45%; 30% to 60% = 60.56% < > 31.46%; > 60% = > 60.57%.

2.3. PERCEPTIONS OF DIFFICULTY, RELATIVE FLUENCY AND MOTHER TONGUE

In this section we look at two other comparisons that may throw further light on the analysis of pupils' language use at school. First we examine the relationship between pupils' mental representation of Basque as a difficult or easy language on the one hand, and their mother tongue on the other (2.3.1.). Then we will consider the link between pupils' perception of their own relative fluency in the two languages and their mother tongue (2.3.2).

2.3.1. Perceptions of the difficulty of Basque, by mother tongue

Figure 22.
PRIMARY-4 - PERCEPTION OF DIFFICULTY OF BASQUE.
ALL PUPILS AND L1=SPANISH

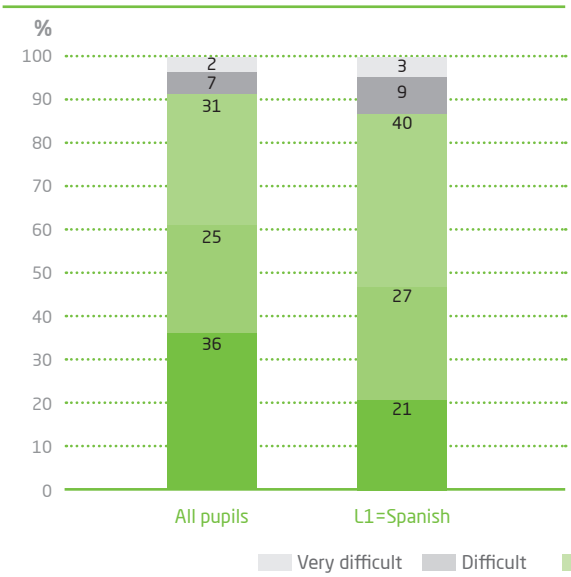
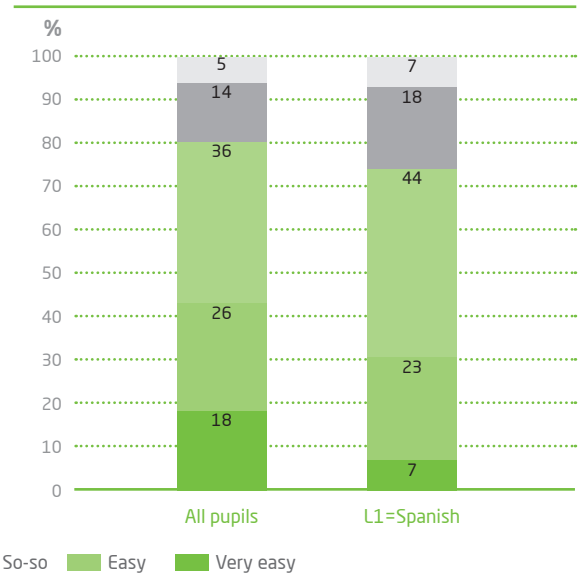


Figure 23.
SECONDARY-2 - PERCEPTION OF DIFFICULTY OF BASQUE.
ALL PUPILS AND L1=SPANISH



In 2.1.9 we looked at pupils' mental representations of Basque as either a difficult or an easy language, comparing the perceptions of Basque, Spanish and English in this respect in the minds of pupils in the two grades.

Now we will focus our attention on a specific point, cross-referencing two variables: the percentage of pupils who consider Basque easy or difficult and how this percentage varies according to pupils' mother tongue. In Figures 22 and 23, the column on the left shows statistics for the whole population; the column on the right shows the statistics for those whose mother tongue is Spanish only. There are two chief reasons why a comparison is made here with pupils whose first language is Spanish. One is that Spanish is the first language of most of the pupils surveyed (62% in Primary-4, 60% in Secondary-2); the other is that our purpose is to find out to what degree pupils' perception of Basque as difficult or easy is determined by the factor of their mother tongue.

Of pupils throughout the BAC in Primary-4 (see Figure 22), 9% consider that Basque is "difficult" or "very difficult". If we only take pupils whose mother tongue is Spanish, this rises to 12%. In other words, according to 88% of the pupils in the BAC whose mother tongue is Spanish, Basque is "so-so", "easy" or "very easy".

19% of all pupils in Secondary-2 in the BAC think that Basque is "difficult" or "very difficult" (Figure 23), but when we limit ourselves to pupils whose first language is not Basque this statistic rises by six percentage points to 25.5%. On the other hand, three out of four Spanish-mother-tongue pupils (74.5%) believe that Basque is "so-so", "easy" or "very easy".

In short, then:

— The percentage of all pupils in the BAC who view Basque as a difficult or very difficult language is not very high: nine percent in Primary-4, 19% in Secondary-2.

— Although the factor of whether a pupils' first language at home is Basque or Spanish does affect this view, the extent of the effect is not very great: the percentage of those in Primary-4 whose only mother tongue is Spanish who think that Basque is difficult or very difficult is a mere three points higher than the percentage of the whole population; and only six points higher in the case of Secondary-2 pupils.

— Hence most pupils anywhere in the BAC with Spanish as their mother tongue think of Basque as being "so-so", "easy" or "very easy": this is true of 88% of the pupils in Primary-4 and 74.5% of those in Secondary-2. This may be considered a triumph of bilingual education in the BAC, in so far as only a small percentage of pupils, even when their home language is Spanish, think of Basque as difficult.

2.3.2. Relative fluency, by mother tongue

Here is another comparison between variables. Some general statistics of pupils' relative fluency for the whole survey population were presented in 2.1.7. These are based on pupils' own reports about their fluency when asked in which language they find it easier to speak[9]. Most (55% in Primary-4, 65% in Secondary-2) of the pupil population as a whole report that they are more fluent in Spanish than in Basque. When we break down that overall figure, classifying pupils according to their mother tongue, we obtain the graphs shown in Figure 24 (for Primary-4) and Figure 25 (for Secondary-2).

Figure 24. **PRIMARY-4 - RELATIVE REPORTED FLUENCY, BY MOTHER TONGUE**

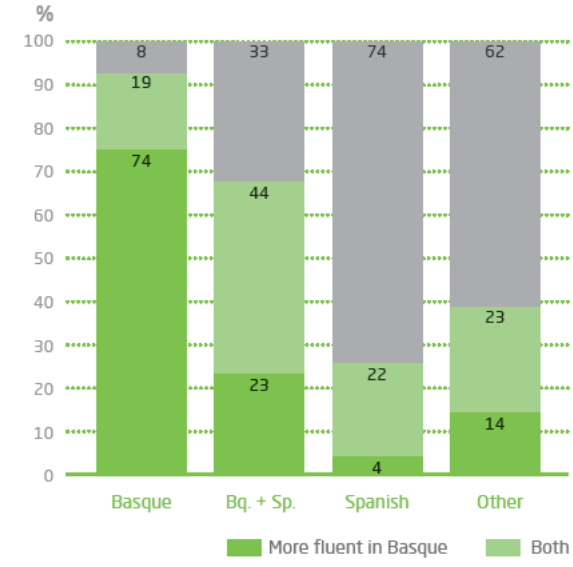
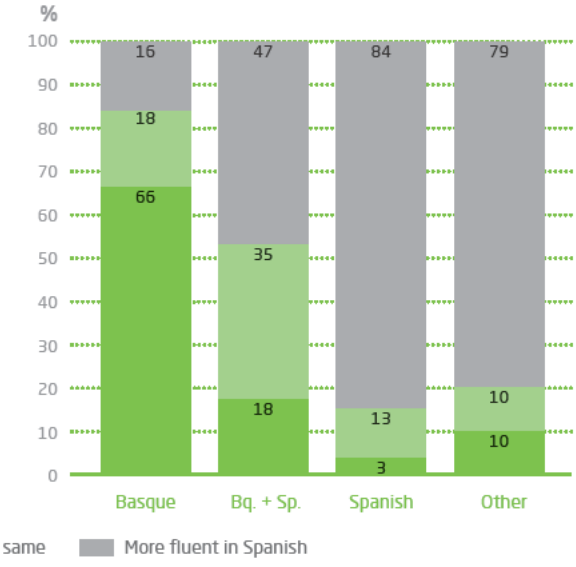


Figure 25. **SECONDARY-2 - RELATIVE REPORTED FLUENCY, BY MOTHER TONGUE**



[9] Question: *In which language are you generally more fluent?* More fluent in Spanish / More fluent in Basque / Equally fluent in both.

Grouping pupils together depending on whether their first language is Basque, Spanish, both or neither, we find that their reports of relative fluency in one or the other language vary greatly from group to group in both Primary-4 and Secondary-2. However, it would be mistaken to put the causes of these relative fluencies down to pupils' first language as the only factor.

Many factors go hand in hand in the present-day situation in the BAC which jointly affect all pupils. For example, when we single out just BAC pupils whose mother tongue is Basque we are focusing on pupils who not only all learnt Basque at home but also on those who, on average, live in places where there are more Basque speakers, have more Basque-speaking friends, have available a wider range of locally provided leisure activities, and so on. And when, on the contrary, we single out pupils whose only mother tongue is Spanish, we are talking about a group of young people with far fewer opportunities to acquire fluency in Basque, not only at home, but also in their general surroundings: who for the most part live in areas where less Basque is spoken, who have fewer opportunities to participate in activities where Basque is spoken, and who have fewer friends who are fluent Basque speakers.

There are still some further observations to be made about the data shown in these graphs. A comparison of the two grades provides valuable information about the opportunities that are available in the schools and society of the BAC for pupils to become fluent in Basque and in Spanish and to use these languages.

Whichever language is the pupil's mother tongue, a general trend for pupils' relative fluency to evolve in a direction that favours Spanish emerges from a comparison of the data for Primary-4 and Secondary-2 pupils. This trend is clearly manifested when we compare the data for pupils whose mother tongue is Basque on the one hand, or Spanish on the other, in the two grades surveyed: in Primary-4, 74% of pupils whose mother tongue is Basque are more fluent in Basque. Similarly, 74% of pupils whose first language is Spanish are more fluent in Spanish. However when we come to Secondary-2, only 66% of pupils (eight percentage points fewer) whose native language is Basque are more fluent in Basque, whereas 84% (an increase of ten points) of pupils whose mother tongue is Spanish are more fluent in Spanish. In both cases, Spanish is winning.

We may suppose that the meaning of these statistics is that given the real-life situation of pupils in the BAC today at school, in the family and in society generally, as pupils grow older (in the present case, from nine or ten years old to thirteen or fourteen), the use of Spanish progressively comes to acquire greater importance in their daily lives than the use of Basque. Consequently, even with equal opportunities at school for both languages, pupils' relative fluency (within the pair Basque-versus-Spanish) still tends to gravitate in the direction of Spanish.

3. LANGUAGE USE AT SCHOOL

Following the general profile of the survey population provided in Section 2, we are now ready to present the main subject of the Arrue study, an analysis of pupils' language use in and around school. This section will present data about Primary-4 and Secondary-2 pupils' language use at school. A distinction will be made between language use in interactions among classmates and interactions between pupils and teachers. We shall also distinguish between language use inside and outside the classroom. Hence there are in all four situations of use to consider:

a) Pupils' language use at school: with classmates in the classroom
Based upon pupils' self-reporting in response to questions[10]. This is language use between pupils that takes place inside the classroom, so presumably, since it is inside the classroom, it is to some extent at least influenced by the language in which they are studying and the rules of language use promoted by the teacher and/or the school.

b) Pupils' language use at school: with classmates on the playground
The playground is the pupils' least controlled domain of language use at school, with the minimum amount of supervision or rules, yet at the same time it is still within the larger school environment. As in the case of classroom use, we are again concerned with interactions among pupils, hence between equals. The data was obtained from pupils' responses to questions[11].

c) Pupils' language use at school: with teachers in the classroom
For pupils the teacher is a person of authority who, along with other rules and principles of the school regarding their behaviour, conveys to pupils certain expectations regarding language use, and who is to some extent at least responsible for their enforcement. Furthermore, the use of language between pupils and teachers inside the classroom is obviously closely linked to the language used in teaching. The pupils were asked what language they speak to their teachers in the classroom[12].

d) Pupils' language use at school: with teachers outside the classroom
The teacher's authority and connection with the language of teaching is of course not restricted to the physical space of the classroom. Pupils can often be expected to continue using the same language with their teachers outside class that they use inside the classroom, but given that there is a change of context it makes for an interesting topic. In order to collect data on this kind of language use, pupils were asked what language they speak to their teachers outside the classroom[13].

Our analysis of pupils' language use at school, then, is based on the study of these four aspects of use (labelled a, b, c and d). This was supplemented with an independent variable representing a fifth kind of language use at school: the language that teachers speak among themselves.

Language use among the teachers
From the pupils' viewpoint, what we might call the school's *linguistic environment* is made up of many elements. One of these elements consists of what language use the pupils observe taking place in interactions between teachers, so pupils were asked what language the teachers speak to each other[14].

[10] Question: *Say what language you use in the following situations: .../... With your classmates inside the classroom.*

[11] Question: *Say what language you use in the following situations: With your classmates on the playground.*

[12] Question: *Say what language .../... YOU normally speak to the teachers in inside the classroom.*

[13] Question: *Say what language .../... YOU normally speak to the teachers in outside the classroom.*

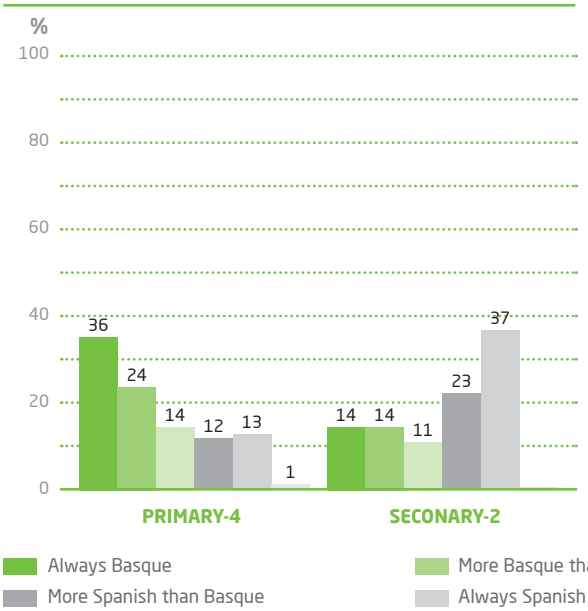
[14] Question: *Say what language .../... your teachers normally speak to each other in.*

3.1. LANGUAGE USE AMONG PUPILS AND WITH TEACHERS

3.1.1. Language use

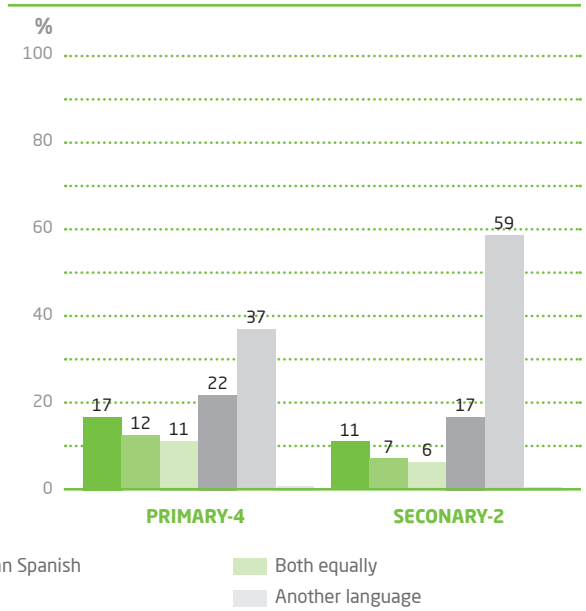
a) Among classmates in the classroom

Figure 26.
AMONG CLASSMATES IN THE CLASSROOM



b) Among classmates on the playground

Figure 27.
AMONG CLASSMATES ON THE PLAYGROUND



The statistics concerning what language is used among classmates inside the classroom varies greatly between the two grades. In Primary-4 60% of pupils, but in Secondary-2 only 28%, always or usually speak Basque. 25% of pupils in Primary-4 always or usually speak Spanish; in Secondary-2, 60% do.

In both of the grades surveyed, the great majority of pupils always or usually speak Spanish to their classmates on the playground. However, there is a lot of variation between the grades. The percentage of pupils in the BAC who always or usually speak Spanish is sixteen points higher in Secondary-2 (75%) than in Primary-4 (59%).

In relation to the language use in the classroom seen in 3.1.1, things change a lot on the playground, particularly in the case of Primary-4 pupils. Inside the classroom, most Primary-4 pupils (60% of them) always or usually speak to each other in Basque; but on the playground most (59%) always or usually speak Spanish. In the case of Secondary-2 pupils the difference is not so noticeable but their use of Basque is still much more limited on the playground than in class, and three out of four pupils (75%) always or usually speak to their classmates in Spanish on the playground.

c) With teachers inside the classroom

d) With teachers inside and outside the classroom

Figure 28.
WITH TEACHERS INSIDE THE CLASSROOM

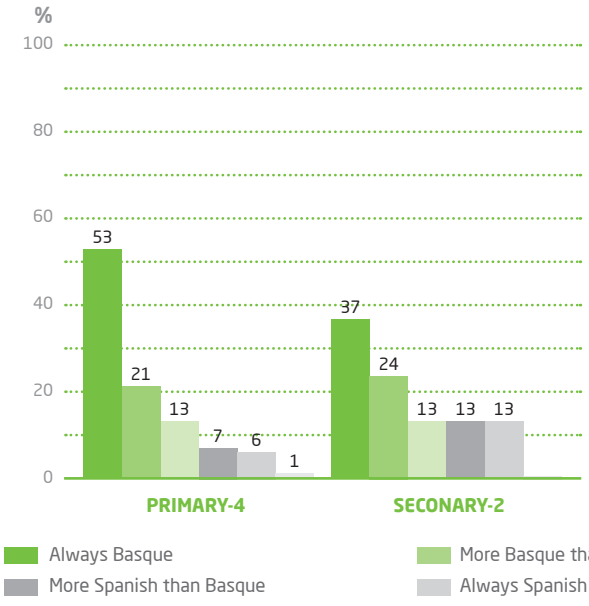
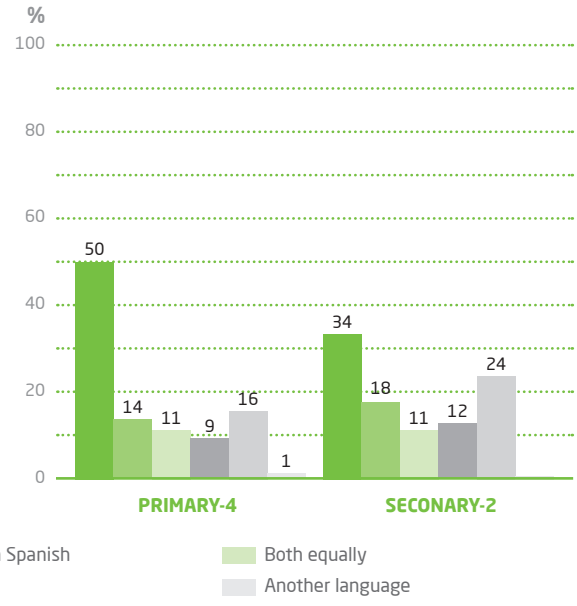


Figure 29.
WITH TEACHERS INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE CLASSROOM



More than half (53%) of the pupils in Primary-4 in the BAC always speak to teachers in Basque in the classroom. The percentage of pupils in Secondary-2 who always or usually speak Basque is 12 points lower than in Primary-4, but even so the usual pattern in either grade is for pupils to speak Basque to the teacher when in class. 13% of pupils always or usually talk to the teacher in class in Spanish in Primary-4, and 26% do so in Secondary-2.

Outside class, 64% of Primary-4 pupils always or usually speak Basque to the teacher, as opposed to 52% of Secondary-2 pupils. About 24% of pupils in Primary-4 always or usually speak to the teacher in Spanish outside the classroom, and about 36% in Secondary-2 do so.

Inside the classroom: with a classmate or the teacher...

Comparing the data given in 3.1.1.a and 3.1.1.c/d, it is seen that pupils behave quite differently inside and outside the classroom, whether they are talking to each other or to the teacher, especially in Secondary-2.

74% of Primary-4 pupils in the BAC always or usually speak Basque to teachers in the classroom. For speaking to their classmates, this drops to 60%. 13% of pupils always or usually speak in Spanish in the classroom to teachers, and 25% to their classmates.

But those differences become much greater in the case of Secondary-2 pupils. When talking to their teachers, 61% of pupils in the BAC always or usually speak Basque, while 26% always or usually speak Spanish in the same situation. The figures change drastically in interactions between pupils: in that case, 60% always or usually speak Spanish, and 28% always or usually speak Basque.

Summing up…

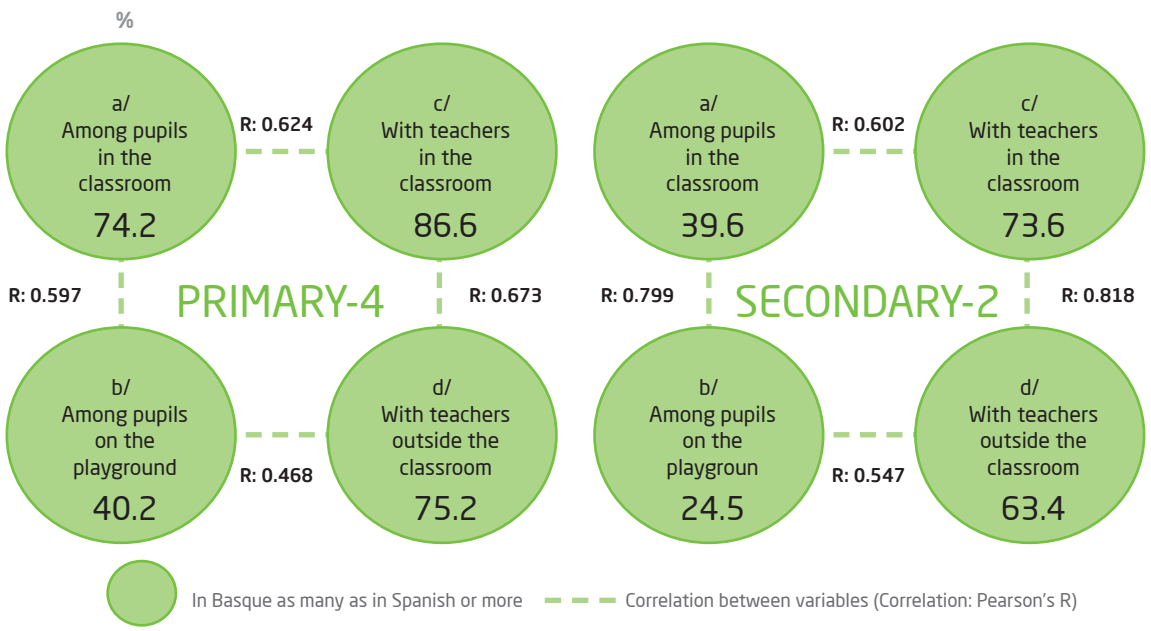
So to sum up the main ideas about pupils' language use among themselves and with teachers, we may say that the majority of Primary-4 pupils always or usually speak Basque to teachers both inside and outside the classroom and to their classmates inside the classroom. But in their interactions with classmates on the playground a larger percentage of pupils always or usually speak Spanish. The majority of Secondary-2 pupils mostly speak Spanish to their classmates both inside and outside the classroom, and Basque to the teachers both in and out of class.

3.1.2. Correlations between language uses and percentages of pupils who mostly speak Basque

We have seen what percentage of pupils use Basque, Spanish or another language in their interactions with their classmates and teachers inside and outside the classroom. Now we are going to study how these four categories of language use correlate with each other in Primary-4 and Secondary-2.

Diagram 1 brings together two kinds of data: it shows the degree of correlation between the four uses in both grades (Pearson's R), and at the same time another kind of information has been added: the percentage of pupils in the BAC in each grade for each kind of use distinguished above (a, b, c and d) *who use Basque as much as or more than Spanish*[15]*:*

Diagram 1.
THE PERCENTAGE OF PUPILS IN THE BAC WHO USE BASQUE AS MUCH AS OR MORE THAN SPANISH



As Diagram 1 shows, the proportion of Primary-4 pupils who *use Basque as much as or more than Spanish* with their classmates is much higher (by almost 35 percentage points) inside the classroom than out on the playground. In Secondary-2, use of Basque is much more limited all round than in Primary-4, i.e. both inside and outside the classroom, and the difference between the two settings is substantially smaller.

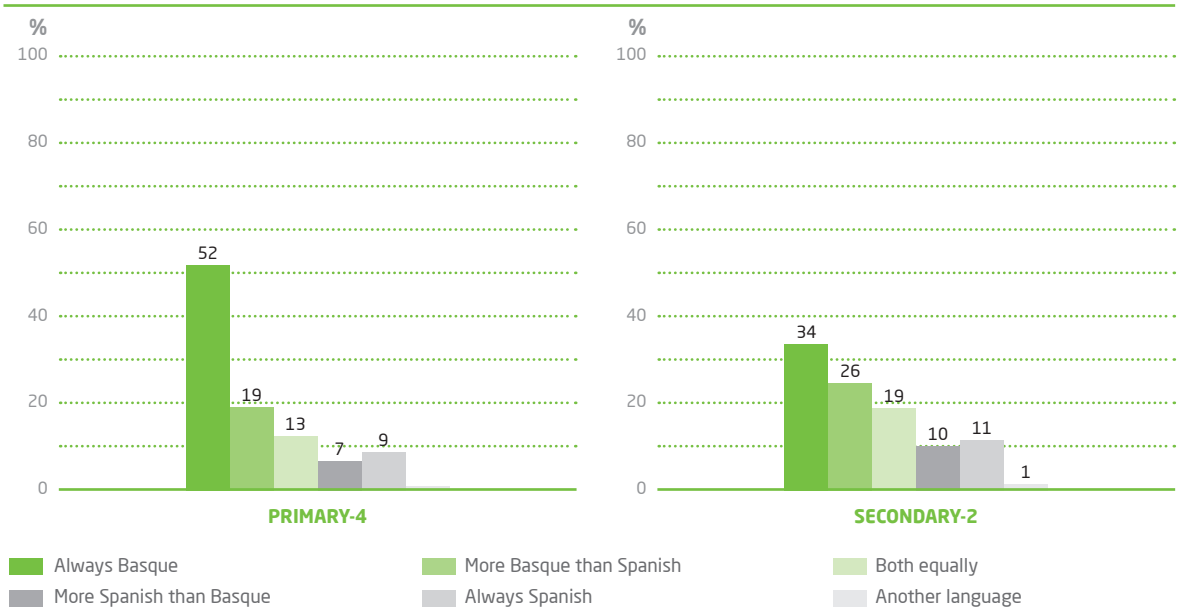
In their interactions with teachers, the proportion of pupils who *use Basque as much as or more than Spanish* is 10-11 percentage points higher in the classroom than outside in both Primary-4 and

[15] Proportions of *pupils who use Basque as much as or more than Spanish* have been calculated by adding together the original responses [Always Basque], [More Basque than Spanish] and [Both equally] (the data are given in Appendix II).

Secondary-2. Of the correlations between language use in different situations, that for Secondary-2 pupils when talking with their classmates, comparing inside the classroom and outside, is very high (R: 0.799); the same correlation is much lower for Primary-4 pupils (R: 0.597). When we look at language use with teachers, the correlation between use inside and outside the classroom is far greater in Secondary-2 than in Primary-4 (R: 0.818 versus R: 0.673)[16].

3.1.3. Language use among teachers

Figure 30.
TEACHERS AMONG THEMSELVES



To conclude this section, Figure 30 shows our data on the language use of teachers among themselves. In both grades, more interactions between teachers in the BAC take place in Basque than in Spanish, and the difference is more pronounced in Primary-4. According to pupils' reports, interactions between 71% of Primary-4 teachers are always or usually in Basque, but only 60% in Secondary-2. The percentage of teachers who always or usually speak Spanish to each other is five points higher in Secondary-2 (21%) than in Primary-4 (16%). When interpreting these statistics we need to bear in mind that the proportions of pupils in the different language models (A, B and D) is different in the two grades. The percentage of Secondary-4 pupils in Model A, 13%, is six points higher than that of pupils in Primary-4 (6%).

3.2. COMBINED LANGUAGE USES AT SCHOOL

So far we have looked at the overall distribution of language uses at school. This gives us a picture of the main trends in each grade regarding interactions with different interlocutors in different settings. The next step is to analyse whether there are similar or different trends for distinct interlocutors and grades.

To identify general patterns, in this analysis six questionnaire items were conflated to four values[17] deemed sufficient for the purpose. The tables that follow only list the most usual combinations of values.

[16] All the correlations between uses at school shown in the diagram are statistically significant, with a 99% degree of reliability.

[17]

QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSE	CUMULATIVE RESPONSE	ABBREVIATION
Always in Basque	Mostly Basque	BQ
More Basque than Spanish		
Both equally	Both equally	BOTH
More Spanish than Basque	Mostly Spanish	SP
Always in Spanish		
In another language	In another language	OTHER

We have looked at how habitual language uses at school in different settings with different interlocutors combine. Let us see which patterns predominate in accordance with these choices.

Table 8. **COMBINED LANGUAGE USES AT SCHOOL (PRIMARY-4)**

W/ classmates		W/ teachers		Total pupils	%
playground	classroom	classroom	outside class		
BQ	BQ	BQ	BQ	4,437	24.4
SP	BQ	BQ	BQ	3,014	16.6
SP	SP	SP	SP	1,736	9.6
BOTH	BQ	BQ	BQ	1,177	6.5
SP	SP	BQ	BQ	1,098	6.0
SP	BOTH	BQ	BQ	692	3.8
SP	BQ	BQ	SP	611	3.4
SP	SP	BQ	SP	404	2.2
SP	SP	BOTH	SP	384	2.1
SP	BOTH	BOTH	BOTH	354	2.0
			Other combinations	**4,272**	**23.5**
			TOTAL	**18,179**	**100**

In terms of the whole sample, the greatest percentage (24%) of Primary-4 pupils belong to the category of pupils who mostly speak Basque to all interlocutors in all settings. Although their proportion is smaller (17%), the second largest category is that of pupils who mostly speak to their classmates in Spanish on the playground but speak to them in Basque when in class, and speak to their teachers in Basque anywhere. There is also a significant percentage (10%) who mostly speak Spanish in all settings with all interlocutors.

Table 9. **COMBINED LANGUAGE USES AT SCHOOL (SECONDARY-2)**

W/ classmates		W/ teachers		Total pupils	%
playground	classroom	classroom	outside class		
SP	SP	SP	SP	3,906	23.3
SP	SP	BQ	BQ	2,936	17.5
BQ	BQ	BQ	BQ	2,731	16.3
SP	BQ	BQ	BQ	1,004	6.0
SP	SP	BOTH	SP	803	4.8
SP	BOTH	BQ	BQ	796	4.8
SP	SP	BQ	SP	702	4.2
SP	SP	BOTH	BOTH	642	3.8
SP	SP	BQ	BOTH	493	2.9
BOTH	BQ	BQ	BQ	421	2.5
			Other combinations	**2,311**	**13.8**
			TOTAL	**16,745**	**100**

The largest group (23%) among Secondary-2 pupils is made up of pupils who mostly speak Spanish with all interlocutors in all settings. Two other groups stand out: in one of these (18%) the pupils mostly speak Spanish to their classmates inside and outside the classroom, and Basque to their teachers inside and outside the classroom. In the other (16%), pupils mainly speak Basque to classmates and teachers, in class and out of class.

3.3. COMPARISONS OF LANGUAGE USE AT SCHOOL

In 3.1 and 3.2 we have profiled pupils' language use at school with respect to the surveyed population as a whole. In the present section we are going to classify this population in terms of four variables in order to find out how their language use varies according to these categories, namely percentage of Basque speakers in the locality, pupils' mother tongue, the language model of their class and the sex of the pupils.

3.3.1. Language use at school according to the local percentage of Basque speakers

In a,b, c and d below, data for language use at school are broken down according to *the percentage of local Basque speakers* in the town where the school is located, splitting them into three groups[18]. The differences are substantial and statistically significant. A shows the use of languages in interactions between pupils in the classroom.

a) Among classmates in the classroom

Figure 31.
AMONG CLASSMATES IN THE CLASSROOM:
BASQUE = > 60%

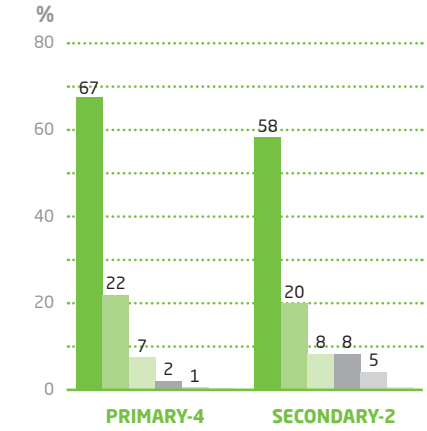


Figure 32.
AMONG CLASSMATES IN THE CLASSROOM:
BASQUE > 30% < 60%

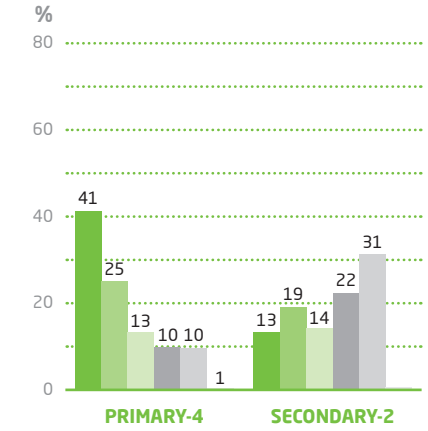
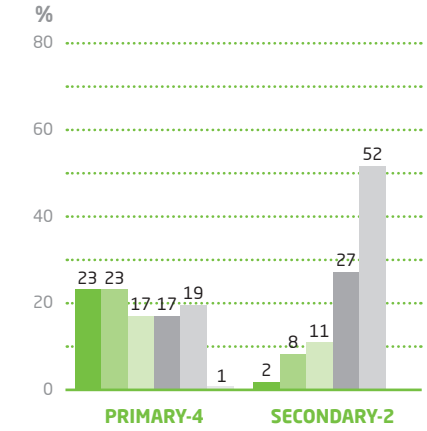
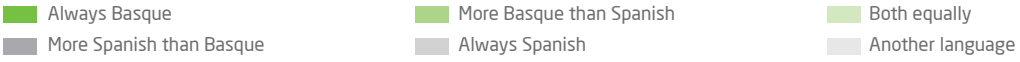


Figure 33.
AMONG CLASSMATES IN THE CLASSROOM:
BASQUE = < 30%





[18] Exact percentages: ">60%" stands for 60.57% or more. "30% < > 60%": between 31.46% and 60.56%. "<%30": 31.46% or less.

b) Among classmates on the playground

Figure 34.
AMONG CLASSMATES IN THE PLAYGROUND:
BASQUE = > 60%

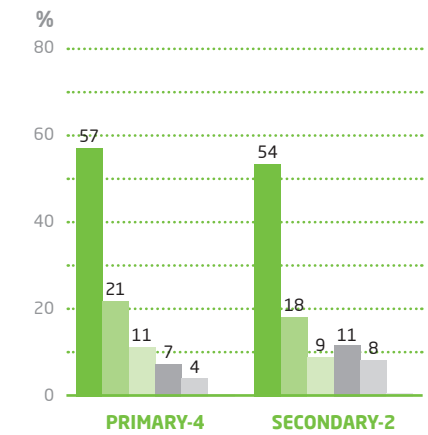


Figure 35.
AMONG CLASSMATES IN THE PLAYGROUND:
BASQUE > 30% < 60%

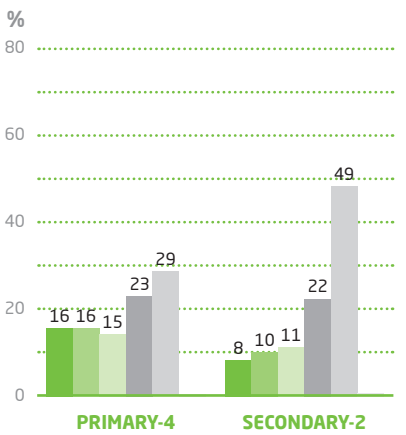
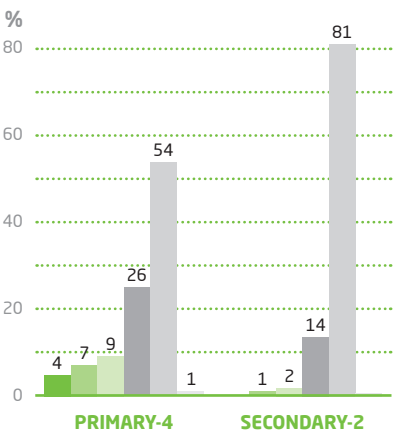
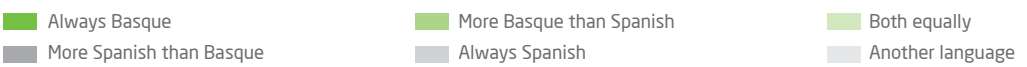


Figure 36.
AMONG CLASSMATES IN THE PLAYGROUND:
BASQUE = < 30%





In B, represented by figures 34, 35 and 36, statistics are shown for language use on the playground in correlation with the *percentage of Basque speakers in the town.*

c) With teachers in the classroom

Figure 37.
WITH TEACHERS IN THE CLASSROOM:
BASQUE = > 60%

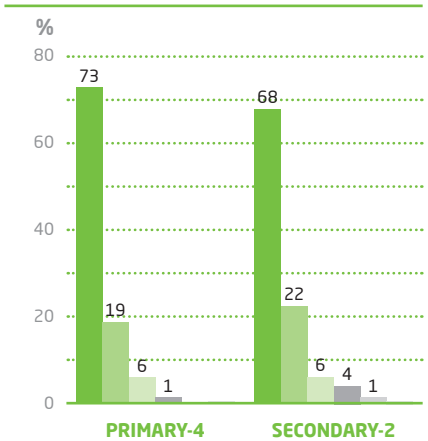


Figure 38.
WITH TEACHERS IN THE CLASSROOM:
BASQUE > 30% < 60%

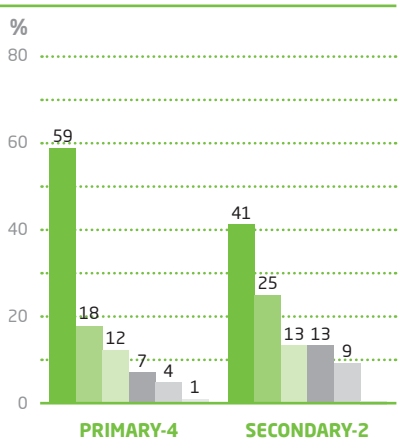
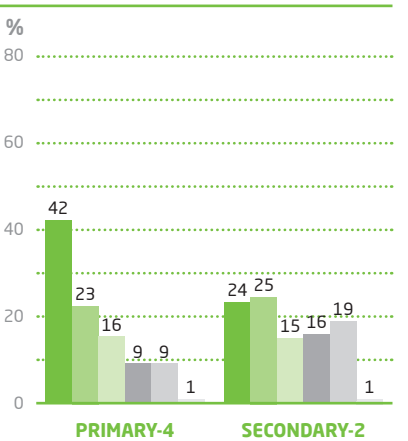
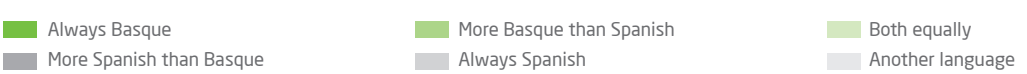


Figure 39.
WITH TEACHERS IN THE CLASSROOM:
BASQUE = < 30%





The graphs in figures 37, 38 and 39 present a comparison of the statistics for language use by pupils with their teachers inside the classroom. As with the other three comparisons in this section (A, B and D), the graph on the left (Figure 37) gives data for schools located in towns in the BAC where over 60% of the population is Basque-speaking, the graph in the middle (Figure 38) shows data for towns that are between 30% and 60% Basque-speaking, and the graph on the right (Figure 39) profiles pupils at schools in towns with fewer than 30% Basque speakers.

d) With teachers outside class

Figure 40.
WITH TEACHERS OUTSIDE CLASS:
PROP = >%60

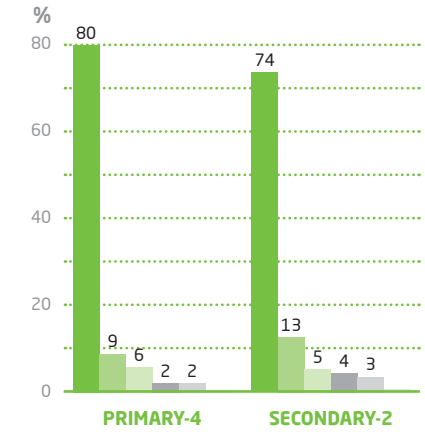


Figure 41.
WITH TEACHERS OUTSIDE CLASS:
PROP = %30<>%60

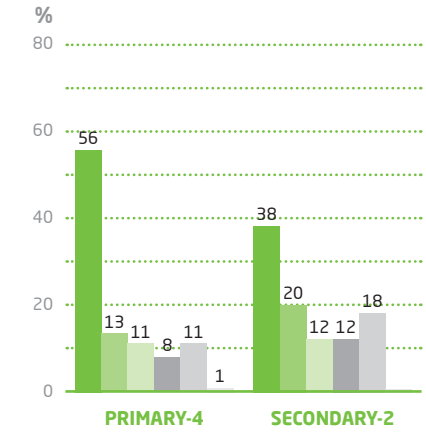
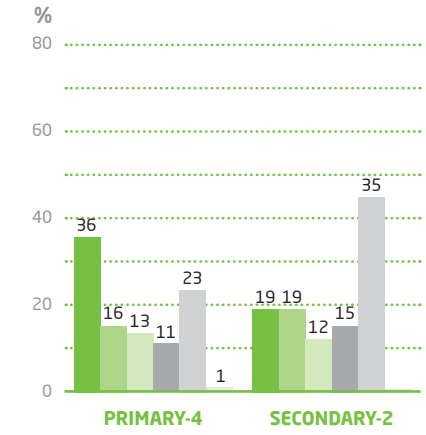
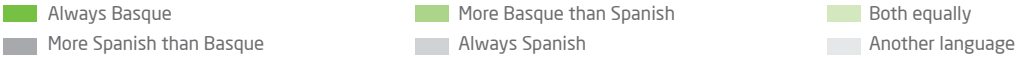


Figure 42.
WITH TEACHERS OUTSIDE CLASS:
PROP = <%30





The graphs in Figures 40, 41 and 42 show the language use of pupils with their teachers outside the classroom, classifying pupils in the same manner as in A, B and C.

3.3.2. Language use at school according to pupils' mother tongue

As in 3.3.1 we shall examine pupils' four categories of language use at school, while carrying out another comparison, this time with pupils' classification in terms of their *mother tongue*. Patterns of language use vary widely from one situation to another in a statistically significant way (in terms of χ^2-distribution) for both Primary-4 and Secondary-2 pupils.

a) Among classmates in the classroom

Figure 43. WITH CLASSMATES IN THE CLASSROOM:
MOTHER TONGUE = BASQUE

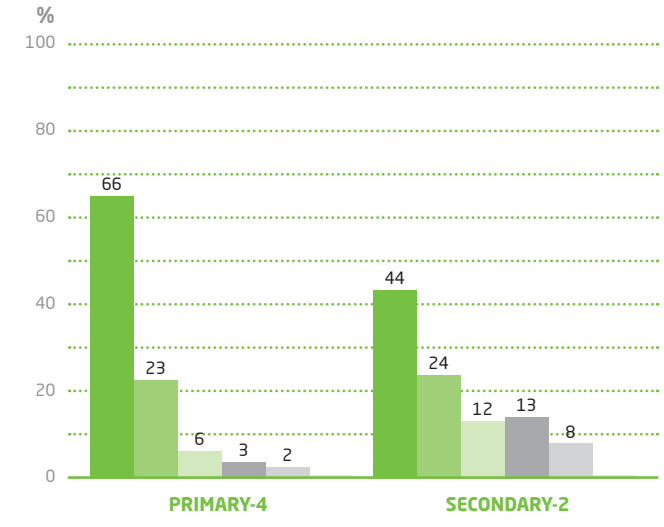
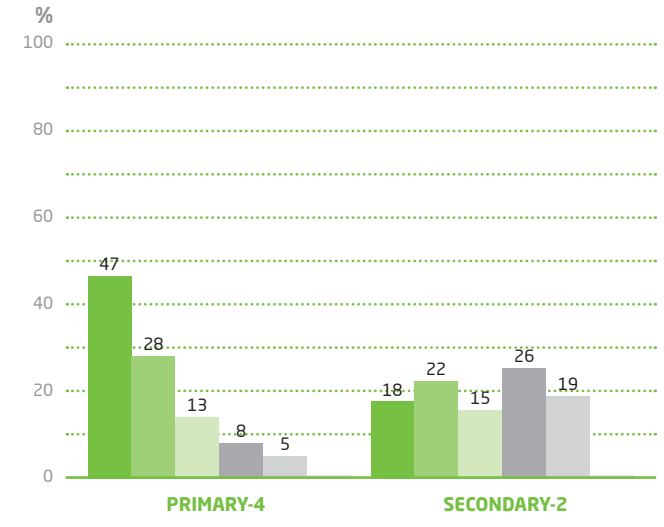


Figure 44. WITH CLASSMATES IN THE CLASSROOM:
MOTHER TONGUE = BOTH (BQ/SP)



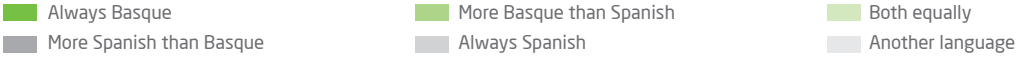


Figure 45. WITH CLASSMATES IN THE CLASSROOM: MOTHER TONGUE = SPANISH

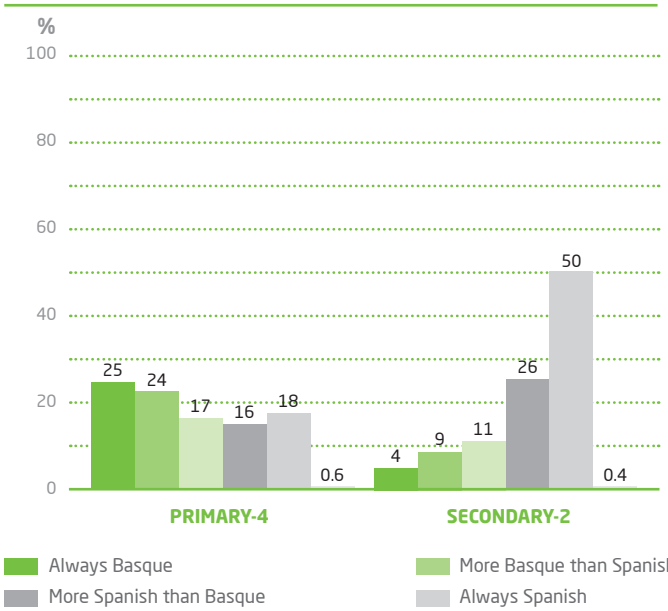
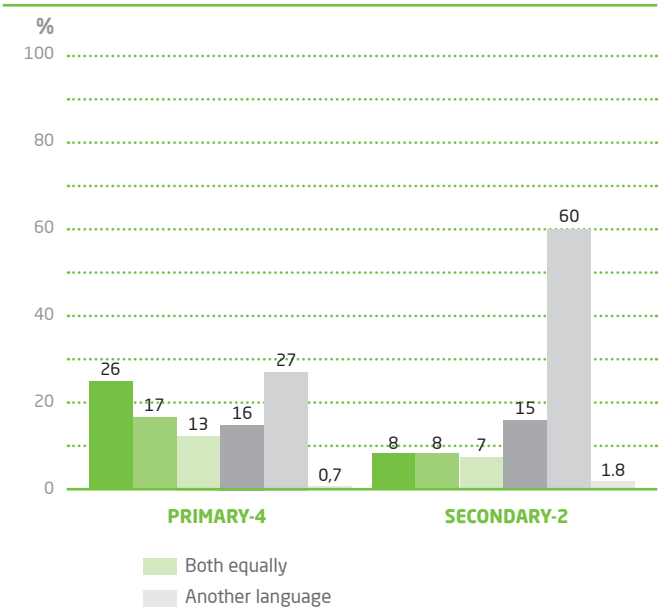


Figure 46. WITH CLASSMATES IN THE CLASSROOM: MOTHER TONGUE = OTHER



In the first comparison (A) we focus on pupils' language use inside the classroom. The first graph (Figure 43) shows the statistics for all pupils who acquired Basque as their first language at home up to the age of three. The second graph (Figure 44) shows pupils who acquired both Basque and Spanish as first languages. The third graph (Figure 45) represents pupils whose first language is Spanish, and the fourth (Figure 46) those pupils whose mother tongue is another language (i.e. neither Basque nor Spanish).

b) Among classmates on the playground

Figure 47. WITH CLASSMATES ON THE PLAYGROUND: MOTHER TONGUE = BASQUE

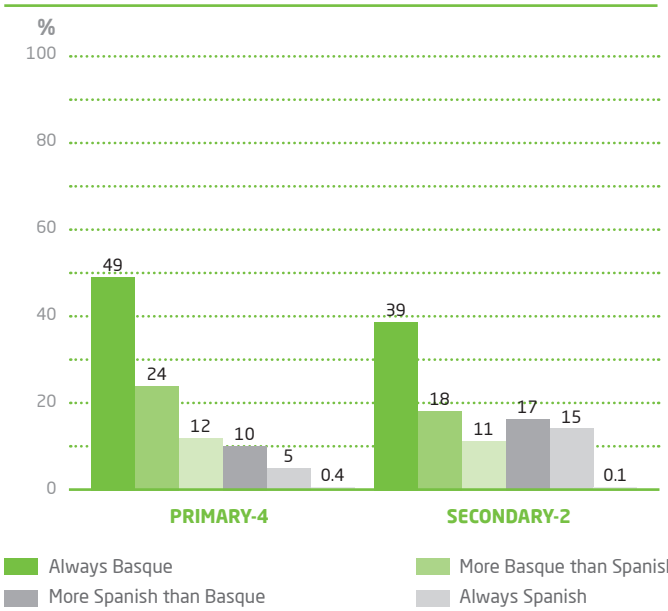


Figure 48. WITH CLASSMATES ON THE PLAYGROUND: MOTHER TONGUE = BOTH (BQ/SP)

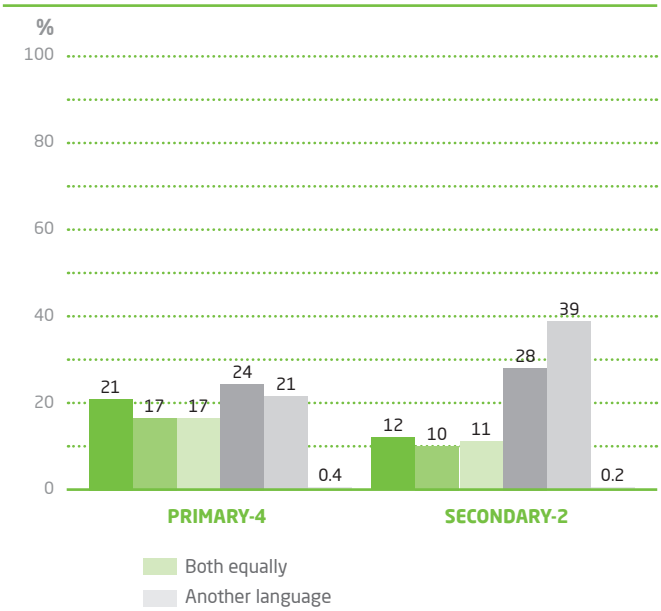


Figure 49. WITH CLASSMATES ON THE PLAYGROUND: MOTHER TONGUE = SPANISH

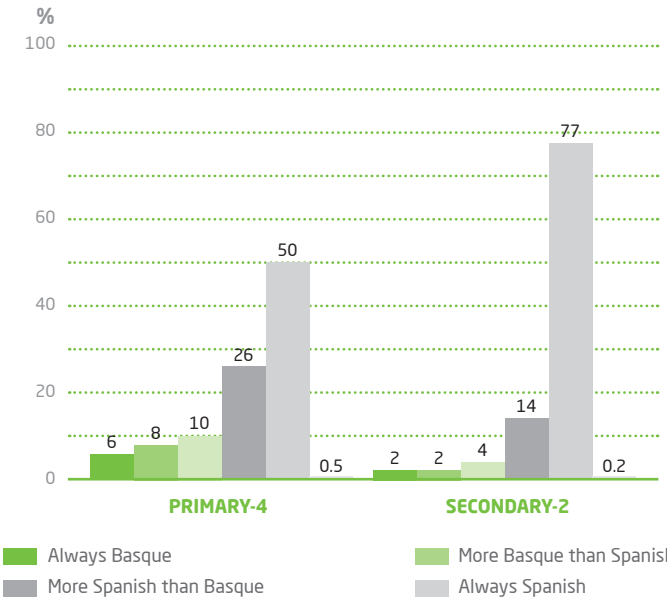
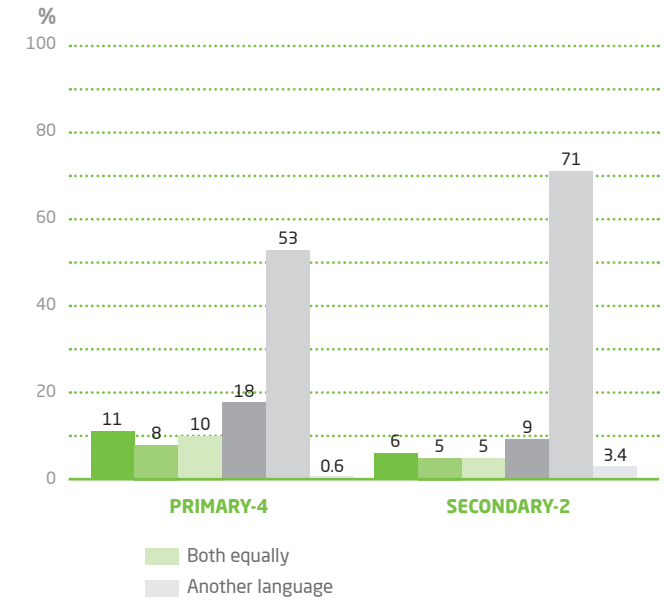


Figure 50. WITH CLASSMATES ON THE PLAYGROUND: MOTHER TONGUE = OTHER



In B, pupils are again divided into four groups depending on their mother tongue and their patterns of language use compared, this time with regard to their behaviour on the playground (see Figures 47, 48, 49 and 50).

c) With teachers in the classroom

Figure 51. WITH TEACHERS IN THE CLASSROOM: MOTHER TONGUE = BASQUE

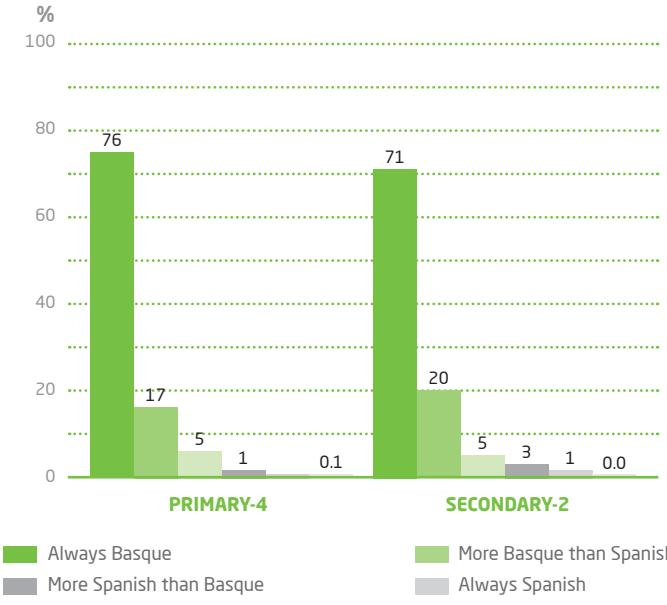


Figure 52. WITH TEACHERS IN THE CLASSROOM: MOTHER TONGUE = BOTH (BQ/SP)

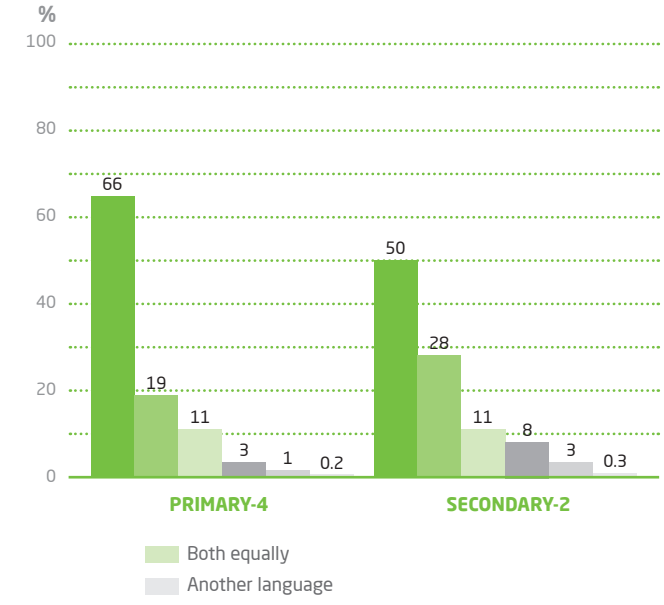


Figure 53. WITH TEACHERS IN THE CLASSROOM: MOTHER TONGUE = SPANISH

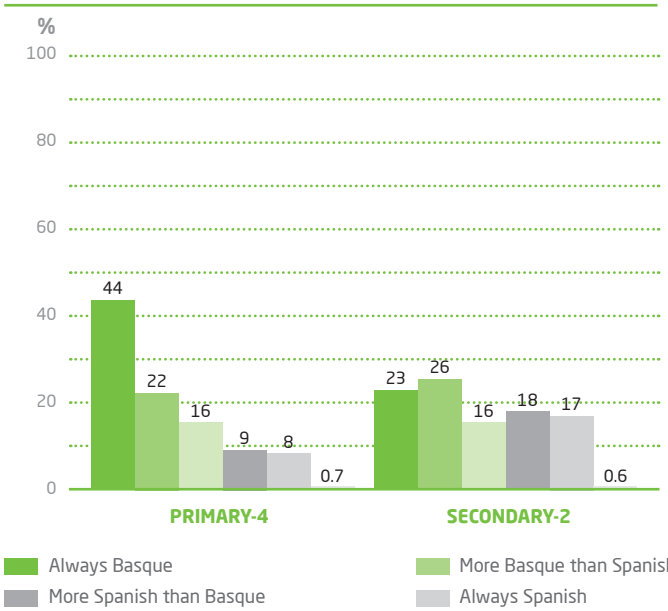
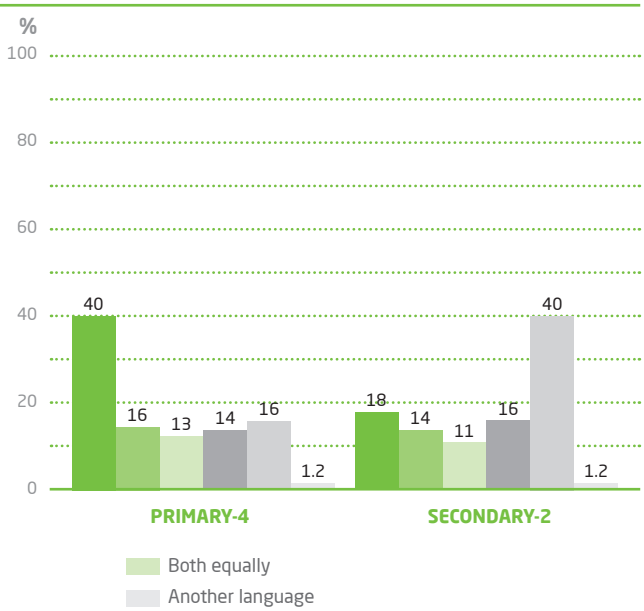


Figure 54. WITH TEACHERS IN THE CLASSROOM: MOTHER TONGUE = OTHER



In C, data are presented on the language use of pupils when talking to their teachers in the classroom, while comparing the patterns for groups of pupils depending on their mother tongue (see Figures 51, 52, 53 and 54).

d) With teachers outside classroom

Figure 55. WITH TEACHERS OUTSIDE CLASSROOM: MOTHER TONGUE = BASQUE

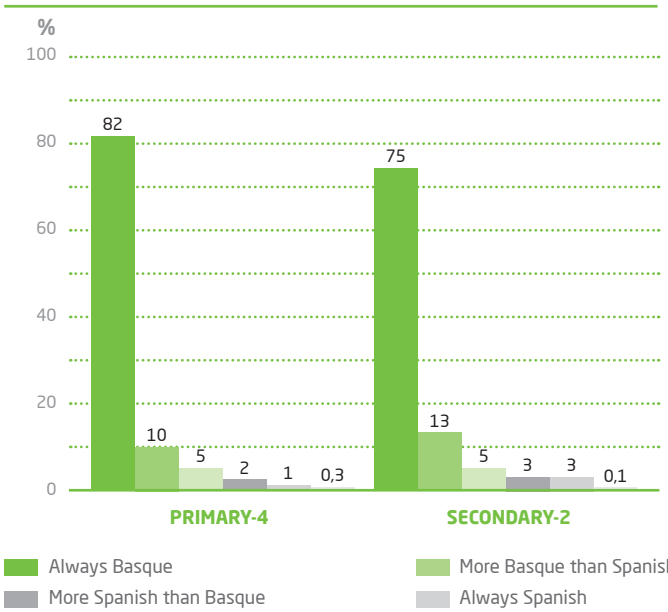


Figure 56. WITH TEACHERS OUTSIDE CLASSROOM: MOTHER TONGUE = BOTH (BQ/SP)

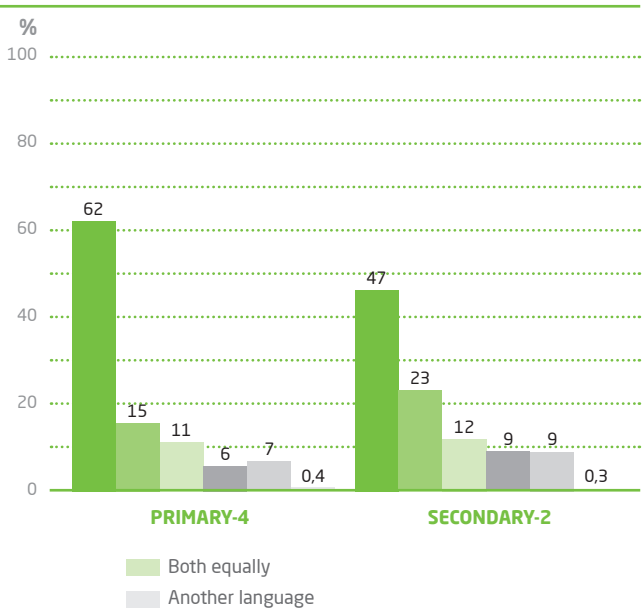


Figure 57. WITH TEACHERS OUTSIDE CLASSROOM: MOTHER TONGUE = SPANISH

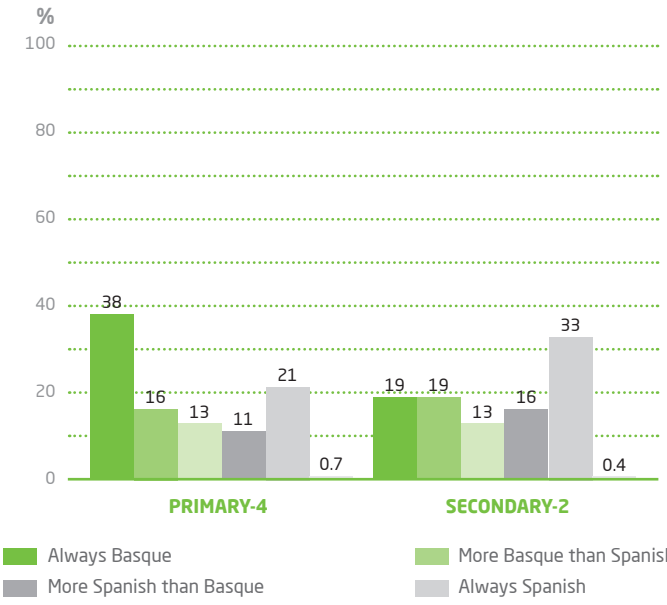
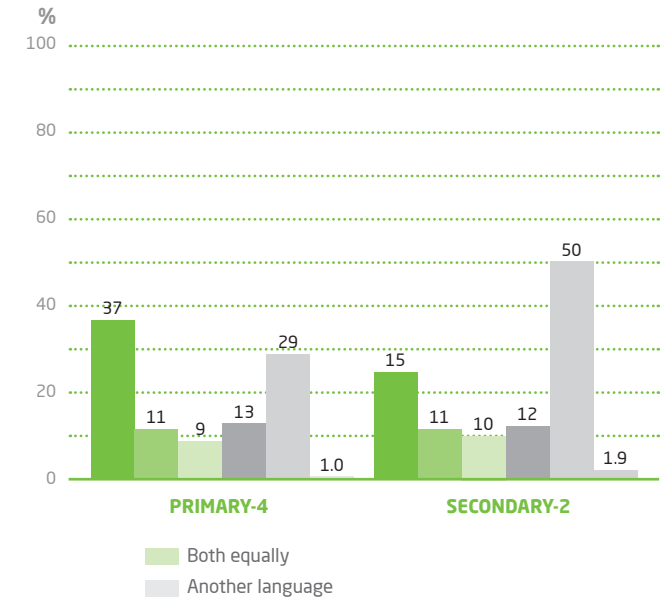


Figure 58. WITH TEACHERS OUTSIDE CLASSROOM: MOTHER TONGUE = OTHER



Finally we look in D at the data for pupils' interactions with their teachers outside the classroom, with a breakdown according to pupils' mother tongue (see Figures 55, 56, 57 and 58).

3.3.3. Language use at school according to the language model of the school

Next, we shall compare language use statistics for pupils going to schools where different *language models* are implemented. In this case pupils are classified according to whether they are being educated within Model D (i.e. through Basque), Model B (bilingual) or Model A (through Spanish). The differences observed in the four areas of language use studied (a, b, c and d) are statistically significant (in terms of χ^2-distribution) both in Primary-4 and Secondary-2.

a) Among classmates in the classroom

Figure 59. WITH CLASSMATES IN THE CLASSROOM: LANGUAGE MODEL = D

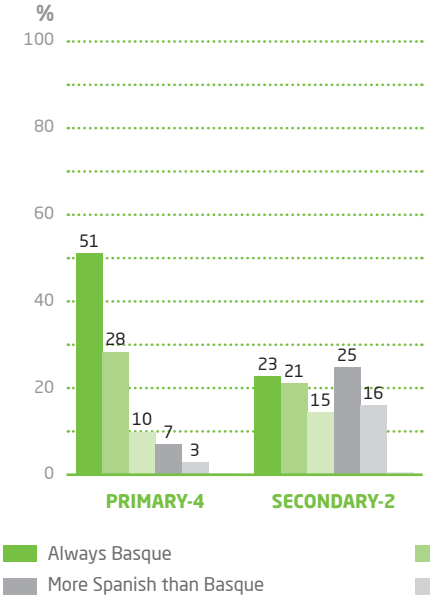


Figure 60. WITH CLASSMATES IN THE CLASSROOM: LANGUAGE MODEL = B

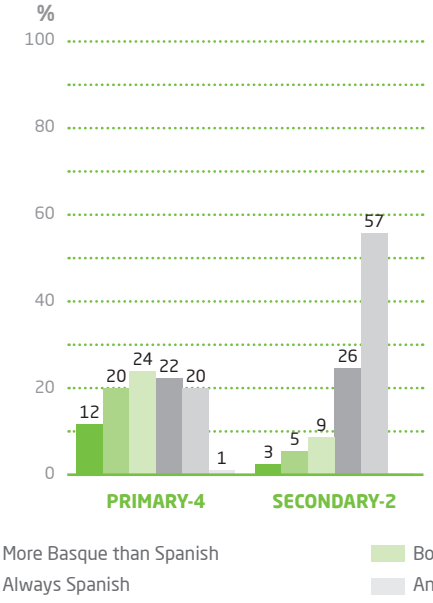
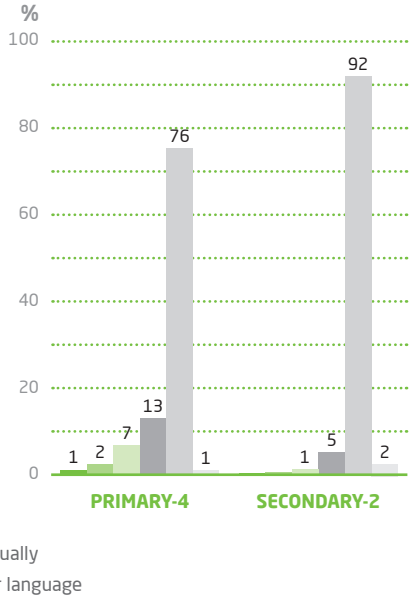


Figure 61. WITH CLASSMATES IN THE CLASSROOM: LANGUAGE MODEL = A



Figures 59, 60 and 61 show the data for language use among classmates in the classroom classified according to the *language model*. The graph on the left (Figure 59) gives data for Model D; the second graph (Figure 60), Model B; and the one on the right (Figure 61), Model A.

b) Among classmates on the playground

Figure 62. WITH CLASSMATES IN THE PLAYGROUND: LANGUAGE MODEL = D

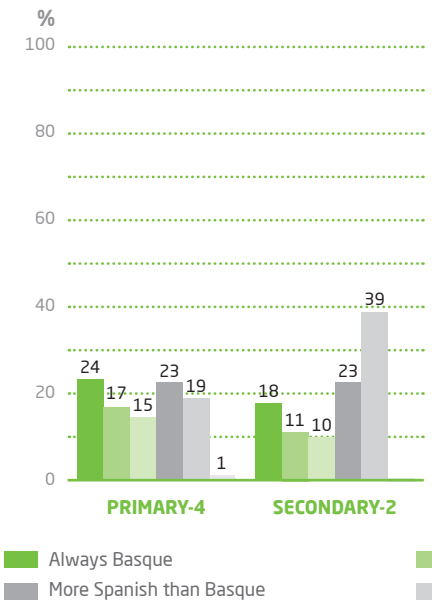


Figure 63. WITH CLASSMATES IN THE PLAYGROUND: LANGUAGE MODEL = B

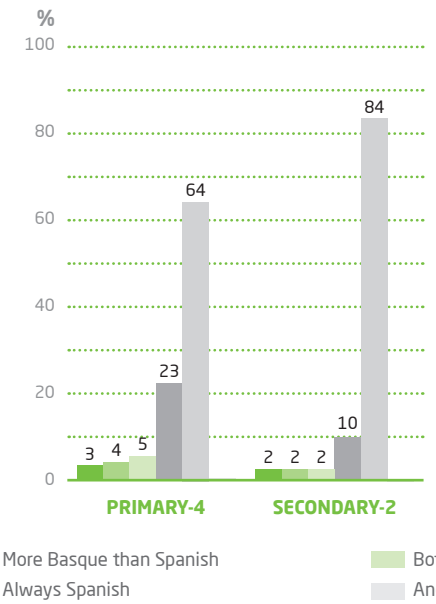
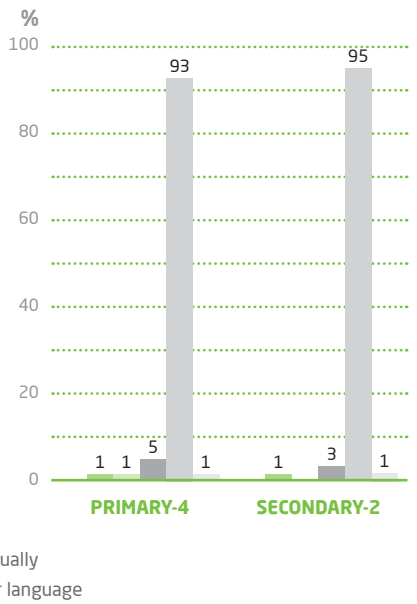
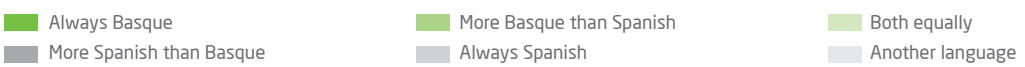


Figure 64. WITH CLASSMATES IN THE PLAYGROUND: LANGUAGE MODEL = A





The graphs in Figures 62, 63 and 64 give the data for language use on the playground according to Language Model.

c) With teachers in the classroom

Figure 65. WITH TEACHERS IN THE CLASSROOM: LANGUAGE MODEL = D

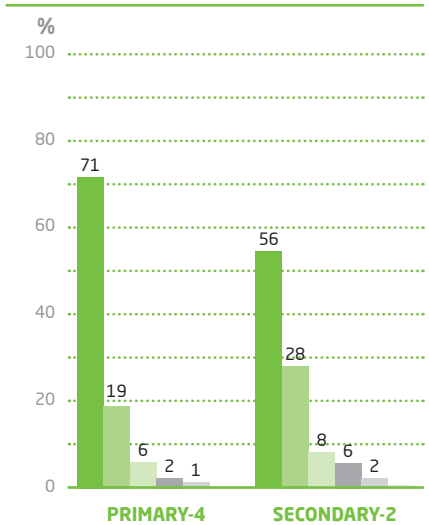


Figure 66. WITH TEACHERS IN THE CLASSROOM: LANGUAGE MODEL = B

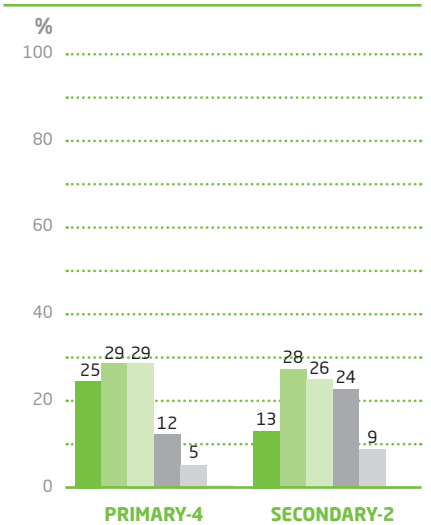
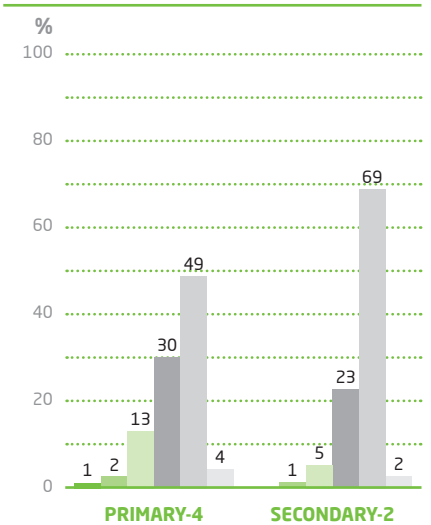
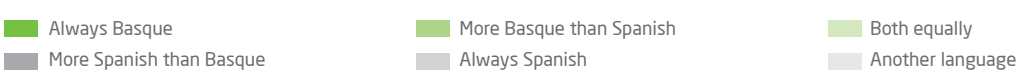


Figure67. WITH TEACHERS IN THE CLASSROOM: LANGUAGE MODEL = A





Statistics on the use of languages by pupils to teachers in the classroom for each of the language models found in Basque schools are given in Figures 65, 66 and 67.

d) With teachers outside classroom

Figure 68. WITH TEACHERS OUTSIDE THE CLASSROOM: LANGUAGE MODEL = D

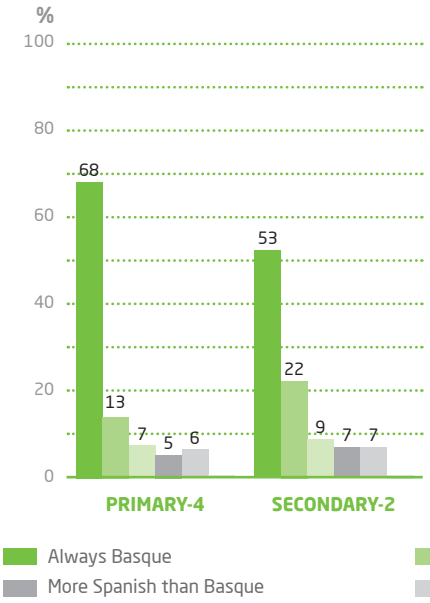


Figure 69. WITH TEACHERS OUTSIDE THE CLASSROOM: LANGUAGE MODEL = B

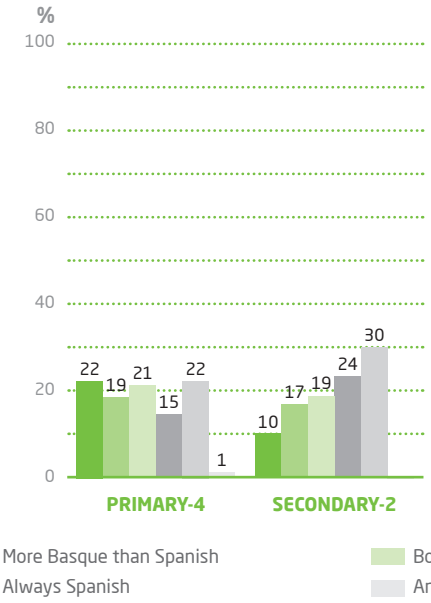
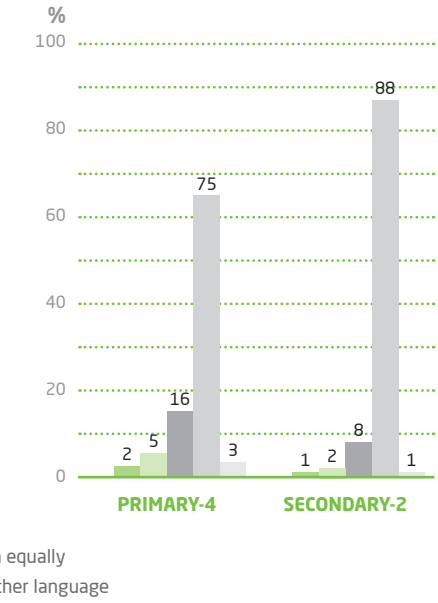
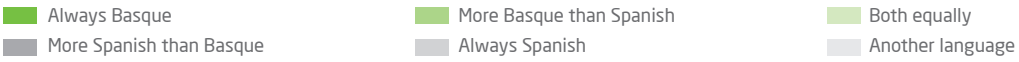


Figure 70. WITH TEACHERS OUTSIDE THE CLASSROOM: LANGUAGE MODEL = A





And finally, in Figures 68, 69 and 70 the data on language use by pupils to teachers outside the classroom are given, again broken down by language model.

3.3.4. Language use at school according to the sex of pupils

In this section we will look at a fourth comparison of language use at school by pupils, considering in this instance the role of the pupils' sex: how do girls' and boys' language use compare? The differences found in the four kinds of language use studied (a, b, c and d) when considering the gender distinction are much less striking than in the case of the other three variables that have been discussed in (3.3.1, 3.3.2 and 3.3.3). However, the existing differeces are still statistically significant (in terms of χ^2-distribution) in most cases[19].

[19] In A, C and D the differences are statistically significant (in χ^2-distribution terms) with both Primary-4 and Secondary-2 pupils. In B, only in the Primary-4 group of pupils..

a) Among classmates in the classroom

Figure 71.
WITH CLASSMATES IN THE CLASSROOM: SEX = GIRL

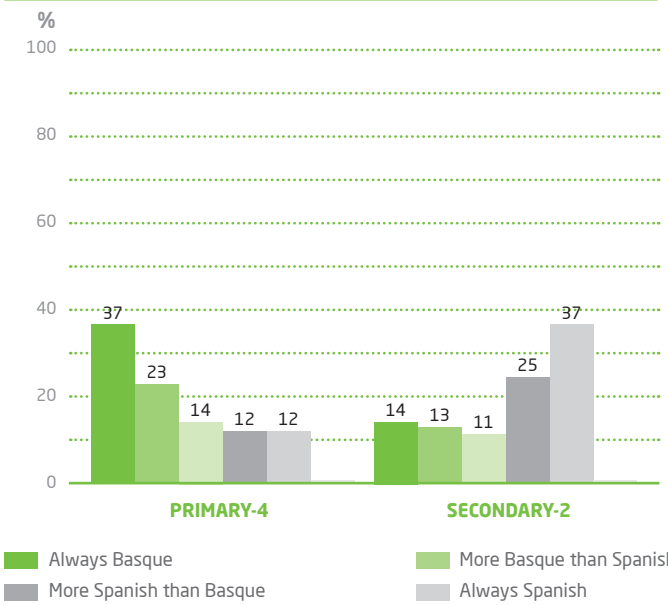
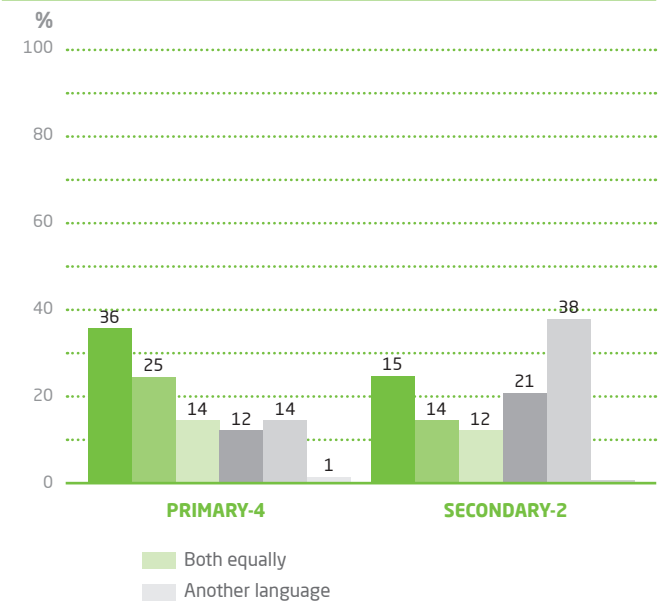


Figure 72.
WITH CLASSMATES IN THE CLASSROOM: SEX = BOY



The graphs in Figures 71 and 72 show the patterns of language use of pupils with their classmates differentiated by the sex of the pupil: the graph on the left (Figure 71) shows the language use of girls, that on the right (Figure 72) that of boys.

b) Among classmates on the playground

Figure 73.
WITH CLASSMATES IN THE PLAYGROUND: SEX = GIRL

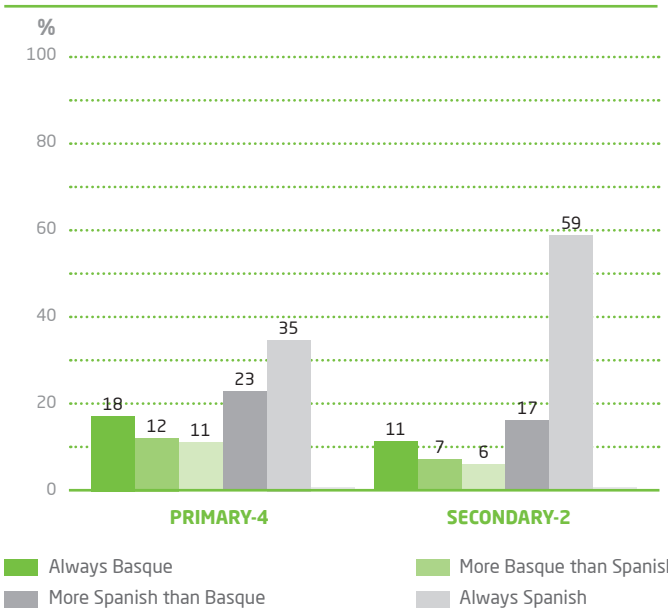
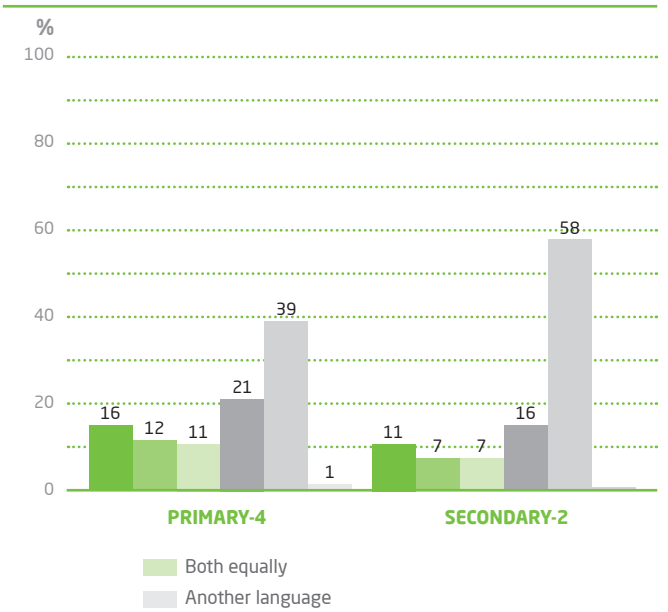


Figure 74.
WITH CLASSMATES IN THE PLAYGROUND: SEX = BOY



Figures 73 and 74 show pupils' language use with other pupils on the playground, classified by their sex. The contrast between girls and boys in Primary-4 is statistically significant, that for Secondary-2 is not.

c) With teachers in the classroom

Figure 75.
WITH TEACHERS IN THE CLASSROOM: SEX = GIRL

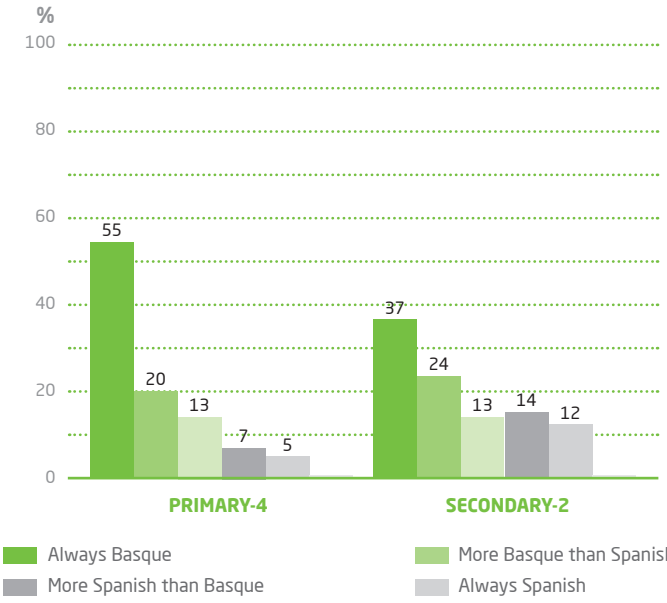
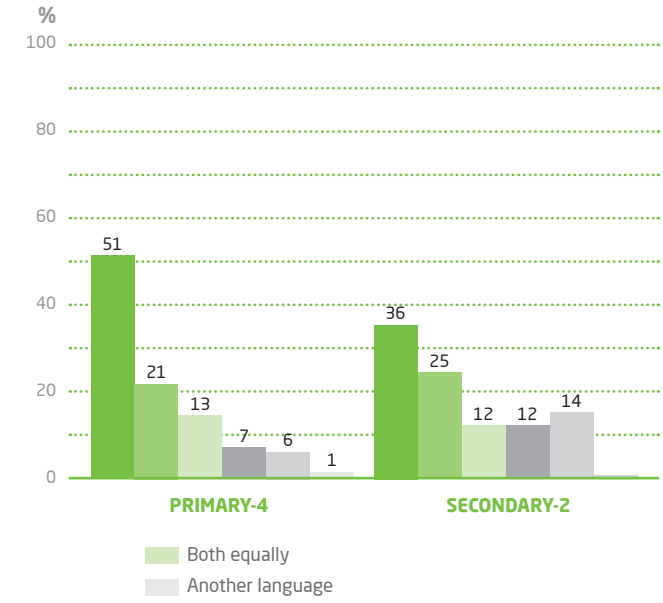


Figure 76.
WITH TEACHERS IN THE CLASSROOM: SEX = BOY



Figures 75 and 76 show the language use of pupils when speaking to teachers in the classroom, differentiating between the language use of girls (Figure 75) and boys (Figure 76).

d) With teachers outside classroom

Figure 77.
WITH TEACHERS OUTSIDE THE CLASSROOM: SEX = GIRL

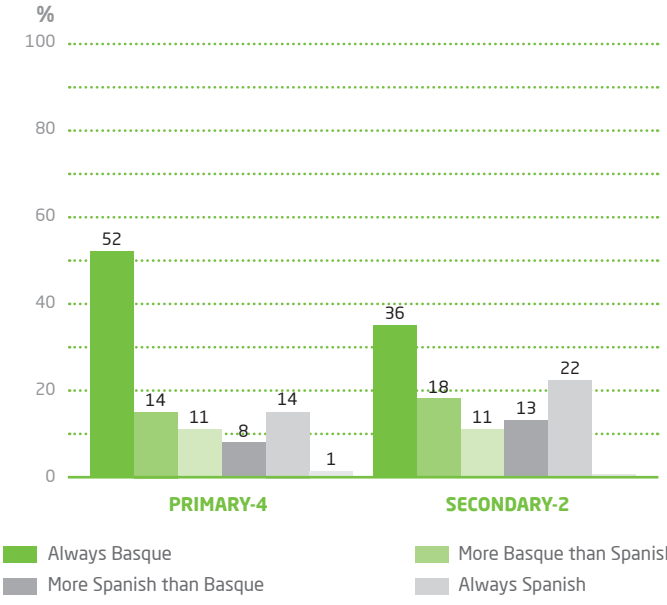
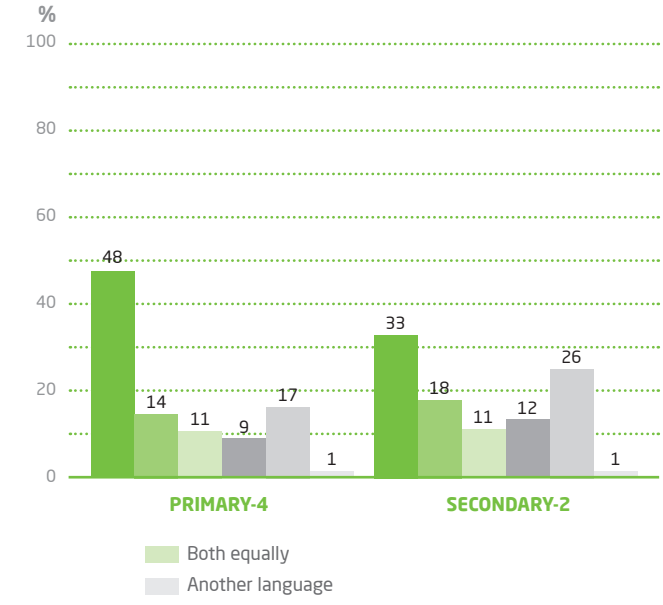


Figure 78.
WITH TEACHERS OUTSIDE THE CLASSROOM: SEX = BOY



To conclude this section, here in Figures 77 and 78 are the numbers for pupils' choice of language when addressing their teachers outside the classroom.

3.3.5. General findings

The factor *percentage of local Basque speakers*
This variable has a strong influence upon language use at school in both Primary-4 and Secondary-2, particularly in the case of language use among classmates (not so much use with teachers). Where language use between the pupils is concerned, it is clearly the case that in the strongest Basque-speaking areas (>60%) Basque predominates among Secondary-2 pupils and there is only minor fluctuation between Primary-4 and Secondary-2, unlike in other areas. Less variation is observed in interactions with teachers between conversation inside and outside the classroom. In all three areas and both grades, Basque predominates in interactions with teachers, except in the one case of Secondary-2 pupils in the least Basque-speaking areas (<30%).

The *mother tongue* factor
The impact of this variable is also strong, and again the differences observed are much greater in interactions among pupils than in those between pupils and teachers, in both of the grades studied. In language use among classmates, the difference between the classroom and the playground is striking with Primary-4 pupils: the language use of pupils with both Basque and Spanish, or Spanish only, as their first language is completely different in class and in the playground.

The factor of *language model*
As we saw in 2.2 above, when we compare the language model statistics we are not only comparing language models, since the children enrolled in one model or in another tend to have different profiles: they may have different home languages, live in different places, and so on. Their patterns of language use are completely different in Model A, B and D schools, whether we look at use between pupils or use with teachers. In Model A schools where the Basque language is only taught as a subject, use of Baque is very limited, even with teachers. In Model B (bilingual), there is some degree of balance between the two langages inside the classroom in Primary-4, but everywhere else Spanish prevails, except when talking to the teacher, where both languages have a place. In Model D (where everything is taught in Basque except for Spanish, which is taught as a subject), Basque clearly predominates when talking to teachers in both Primary-4 and Secondary-2. Both languages are heard in the Secondary-2 classroom and in Primary-4 on the playground. In Secondary-2, Spanish predominates in the playground.

The factor of *sex*
When we compare pupils in terms of their sex, some differences are to be noted at times but they are smaller than those observed for the other three variables considered. There is a certain general tendency for girls to speak somewhat more Basque at school than boys in both Primary-4 and Secondary-2, but with only a few percentage points' difference. This difference is somewhat more pronounced in language use with teachers than among pupils. Among Secondary-2 pupils, the difference between girls' and boys' language use among pupils on the playground is so small as to be statistically insignificant.

4. INTERRELATED VARIABLES: LANGUAGE USE AT SCHOOL AND OTHER FACTORS

In Section 3 we examined four aspects of pupils' language use at school, focusing on percentages of pupils as a unit. This section takes the analysis of pupils' language use at school one step further by exploring interrelationships between that use and other variables.

These interrelationships will be analysed first using correlations (4.2) and then multiple regressions (4.3). As a reference point for these analyses a dependent variable was used which serves to some extent to synthesize the language use data studied above in a single variable. In 4.1 the dependent variable is defined and its composition explained (4.1.1), then its values for Primary-4 and Secondary-2 pupils in the BAC will be presented (4.1.2).

4.1. THE DEPENDENT VARIABLE: PUPILS' GENERAL LANGUAGE USE AT SCHOOL

4.1.1. Composition and weighting

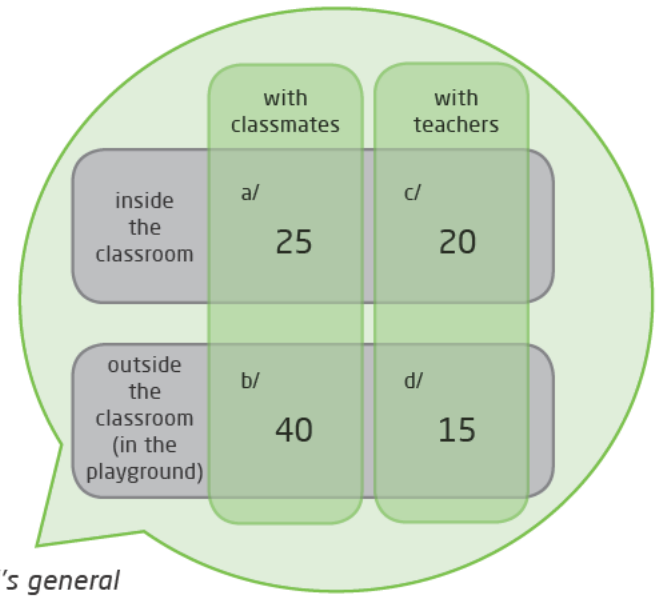
For this study it was decided to create a single dependent variable in order to be able to analyse interrelationships between pupils' language use at school and other variables. This will be a combined variable which indicates pupils' overall language use when at school. In Section 3 pupils' language use at school was broken down into four distinct aspects of use, as follows:

ANALYSIS OF PUPILS' LANGUAGE USE AT SCHOOL (SECTION 3)
a. Among pupils in the classroom
b. Among pupils on the playground
c. With teachers in the classroom
d. With teachers outside the classroom

To produce the dependent variable, after considering different options it was decided to develop a combined variable by combining variables *a, b, c* and *d*. This is a single variable synthesizing pupils' language use at school, which sums up pupils' whole language use while they are at school, specifying it in Spanish < > Basque parameters. The new variable thus obtained is referred to as *Pupils' general language use at school*. Being a single synthetic index, this does not allow us to break use down into different domains and interlocutors, but on the other hand it simplifies the task of analysing how pupils' language use at school is relevant to other variables.

The four aspects of use (a, b, c and d) were combined into a single combined variable, the *Pupils' general language use at school* index, but the four aspects were not given equal weight in this dependent variable. Diagram 2 shows the relative weight assigned to each of the four use types in the dependent variable:

Diagram 2. **PUPILS' GENERAL LANGUAGE USE AT SCHOOL**



Pupil's general language use at school

Why were the four components of language use weighted differently in this index, and how was this particular weighting, rather than any other, arrived at?

The Pupils' general language use at school index expresses overall language use by pupils while they are at school. In order to determine weightings within overall langage use, the following three parameters were taken into consideration:

a) *Amount of speech activity:* even though normally this cannot be quantified exactly, it is evident that Primary-4 pupils (not to mention Secondary-2 ones!) put in more time conversing with and talking to each other than to their teachers. This is a matter of fundamental importance: conversation (which draws on all our competence to emit messages and interpret other peoples' messages) fully activates speakers' language use. Spoken, verbal communication in particular plays a central role.

b) *Kind of speech activity:* as a basic part of development for social life, informal language use among pupils plays a more significant role, intimately connected with their daily thoughts, wishes, fears and anxieties, than formal activities focused on curricular items of skill and knowledge development. This is a fundamental point: most of us do not have much need in our normal everyday lives for Pythagoras' Theorem (and for the kind of language used to formulate it): true, it may contain patterns that are useful in contexts of formal interaction, but except for certain kinds of activity within certain types of professional occupation, these rarely occur in most gatherings of speakers, especially in the Basque speech community (on account of the currently prevailing functional differentiation between Basque and Spanish).

c) *Situational parameters of the speech activity:* (the who and where of the speech situation): in yet other ways, communication with teachers differs from that with other pupils in terms of factors determined by the speech situation. Some kinds of communicative activity are more spontaneous while others are more subject to situational constraints, which moreover involve parameters of solidarity and/or authority. This is clearly relevant to the options for development with regard to future activity.

How might these qualitative arguments be given expression on the quantitative plane? To the best of our knowledge there is no single, clearcut, objective solution to this problem. The general priorities are clear enough, but they cannot be reduced to a numerical formula in a way which is neutral, objective and not

open to debate. One may attempt a rough approximation that tries to capture the relative priorities but it is difficult and perhaps impossible to provide, a priori, a solid, objective formulation.

Notwithstanding these difficulties and obstacles, it was decided in this study to aim at an approximation which attempts to reflect priorities, and the result is the weighting presented in Diagram 2 above which was employed to produce the *Pupils' general language use at school* index, a dependent variable obtained as shown in Table 10:

Tablea 10.
PUPILS' GENERAL LANGUAGE USE AT SCHOOL (100%)

a. Among pupils in the classroom	b. Among pupils on the playground	c. With teachers in the classroom	d. With teachers outside the classroom
25%	40%	20%	15%

4.1.2. General values of the variable for Primary-4 and Secondary-2 pupils

Thus to obtain the combined index *Pupils' general language use at school,* each pupil's four language use indices, represented in Table 10 by a, b, c and d, were combined applying the weighting shown.

Values for the combined variable are arranged on a one-to-five scale where 1 means exclusive use of Spanish at school (or to be more precise, exclusive use of a language other than Basque[20]) and 5 represents exclusive use of Basque at school (in the case of a pupil whose responses on all four items is "always in Basque").

Table 11 shows the frequencies and percentage for all pupils of values for Primary-4 pupils and Secondary-2 pupils in the combined *pupils' general language use at school* index. Absolute numbers are given for pupils situated at the two extremes of the scale (1 and 5), while intermediate values are grouped into the following ranges: from 1.01 to 1.99, from 2.00 to 2.99, from 3.00 to 3.99, and from 4.00 to 4.99).

Table 11.
PUPILS' (GENERAL) LANGUAGE USE AT SCHOOL. FREQUENCIES AND PERCENTAGES IN PRIMARY-4 AND SECONDARY-2

1 [NO BASQUE] ← → [ALL BASQUE] **5**

		1 [No Basque]	**1.01 → 1.99**	**2.00 → 2.99**	**3.00 → 3.99**	**4.00 → 4.99**	**5** [All Basque]
PRIMARY-4	Maizt.	860	2,167	4,351	5,164	3,580	2,057
	%.	4.7	11.9	23.9	28.4	19.7	11.3
SECONDARY-2	Maizt.	2,000	4,118	4,945	2,715	1,585	1,382
	%.	11.9	24.6	29.5	16.2	9.5	8.3

The dependent variable *Pupils' general language use at school* for Primary-4 pupils and Secondary-2 pupils combines pupils' language use with other pupils and their use with teachers in a single index. Looking at the frequencies and percentages shown in Table 11, it is obvious that Primary-4 pupils speak more Basque

[20] Pupils whose answers on all four use types is "Always in Spanish", and so who use Spanish exclusively at school, are assigned a 1 on this scale. Although far fewer in number, some pupils responded "In another language" (i.e. neither Basque nor Spanish) and these have been counted together with the "Always in Spanish" group when calculating the combined index. Hence it would be more accurate to say "Everything in a language other than Basque" rather than "Everything in Spanish". In any case, the percentage of pupils who responded "In another language" does not reach even 1% in any of the four language use categories.

than Secondary-2 pupils. The latter speak more Spanish, much more, or to be more precise, they speak much less Basque. 59.4% of the pupils in Primary-4 score 3.00 or more on the combined index, as opposed to 34% of pupils in Seconary-2.

4.2. CORRELATION ANALYSIS

4.2.1. Introduction: a word about "correlations"

Sometimes we notice that depending on what value pupils are assigned in a given variable, there is an effect on their score in another variable. Through statistical analysis we can find out whether these variations are due to a relationship between the two variables and whether it is a statistically significant one or the product of chance, a mere coincidence. The way this is done is through statistical measurements of the association or *correlation* between the variables in question.

The most widely used parameter for correlation analysis is Pearson's R, an indicator which measures the direction and strength of a linear correlation between two quantified variables, plotting the result on a scale that ranges from -0.999 to 0.999. When two variables are correlated with each other in the same direction R will have a positive value; when in the opposite direction, the value of R will be negative. The lowest possible value is 0, which indicates that the variables are unrelated; the highest value possible is either 1 or -1, both of which indicate that the variables are completely linked, either directly or inversely as the case may be.

4.2.2. Correlations with Pupils' general language use at school

In 4.1 it was explained that a combined variable has been designed by means of which to analyse to what extent other variables are associated with or have an effect on pupils' language use at school, by combining four different aspects of pupils' language use at school (a, b, c and d). This is the *pupils' general language use at school* index. In the present section on correlations, this is taken as a dependent variable. A series of tables will show measurements of correlation of independent variables with this dependent variable.

When analysing independent variables, in some cases information about different variables is combined to give combined variables. Such combined variables will be labelled "[Comb]" in the tables. Altogether nine consolidated variables were developed for the analysis, compiled from the information contained in a total of 27 independent variables. Here is one example:

— One of the combined variables created is *Language use at home [Comb]*. To produce this variable, information from five independent variables were combined (see Table 14): these are language use with the father, language use with the mother, language use with siblings, language use when everyone is at home together, and language use with parents.

Other variables' correlations with the *pupils' general language use at school* index are shown in the following tables. In Table 12, the main table that sums up information about all the variables, the correlations of the nine combined variables and others are laid out. In total there are seventeen variables in the list for Primary-4 pupils, and 23 for the Secondary-2 pupils[21]. Following this general table, the variables that have been combined in these consolidated variables are described in nine tables (Tables 13 to 21), as well as the correlation of each of these with the dependent variabe.

Here is the master list of correlations for Primary-4 and Secondary-2:

[21] The questionnaire for Secondary-2 pupils had a section that the Primary-4 pupils didn't, *Which language goes best?*, which provides data for six variables (see 2.1.10).

Table 12. **CORRELATIONS WITH THE VARIABLE PUPILS' GENERAL LANGUAGE USE AT SCHOOL**

PRIMARY-4	R		SECONDARY-2	R
Language model	0.679	1	Language use in organised activities outside school [Comb]	0.763
Language use in organised activities outside school [Comb]	0.627	2	Language use at home [Comb]	0.697
On chat with friends	0.592	3	On chat with friends	0.687
Relative fluency	0.574	4	Relative fluency	0.652
Language use at home [Comb]	0.568	5	Language model	0.630
Language preference Basque vs. Spanish [Comb]	0.545	6	Language preference Basque vs. Spanish [Comb]	0.622
Media and culture consumption [Comb]	0.530	7	Mother tongue	0.616
Difficult/easy Basque vs. Spanish [Comb]	0.526	8	Media and culture consumption [Comb]	0.604
Mother tongue	0.524	9	Percentage of local Basque speakers	0.598
Language teachers speak to each other	0.522	10	Difficult/easy Basque vs. Spanish [Comb]	0.539
Percentage of local Basque speakers	0.494	11	Language teachers speak to each other	0.529
Language preference Basque vs. English [Comb]	0.395	12	Language preference Basque vs. English [Comb]	0.431
Difficult/easy Basque vs. English [Comb]	0.376	13	Which language goes best with...? Information technology	0.384
Place of origin [Comb]	0.237	14	Which language goes best with...? Family	0.374
Overall academic performance [Comb]	0.099	15	Difficult/easy Basque vs. English [Comb]	0.354
School's socioeconomic (ISEK) index	0.082	16	Which language goes best with...? Teaching	0.349
Pupil's socioeconomic (ISEK) index	0.054	17	Place of origin [Comb]	0.327
		18	Which language goes best with...? Political events	0.287
		19	Overall academic performance [Comb]	0.189
		20	Which language goes best with...? World of work	0.179
		21	Which language goes best with...? Friends	0.156
		22	Pupil's socioeconomic (ISEK) index	0.102
		23	School's socioeconomic (ISEK) index	0.095

All 17 variables for Primary-4 and 23 for Secondary-2 listed in Table 12 show a significant correlation with the dependent variable *pupils' general language use at school*[22]. For Primary-4 pupils, the variable with the strongest correlation of all is *language model* (i.e. whether the pupil goes to a Model A, B or D school), while for Secondary-2 pupils the strongest correlation is with *language use in organised activities outside school* [Comb]. On the whole, variables which reveal the identity of pupils' day-to-day life such as the language used in their out-of-school activities, what language they speak to their friends[23] or the language of their home correlate very closely with the language use of pupils at school in the case of Secondary-2 pupils; these correlations are somewhat weaker for Primary-4 pupils. But the correlation with the school's language model is a strong one in both grades, although it is strongest in Primary-4.

As regards pupils' mental representations of Basque, Spanish and English in terms of perceived difficulty and language loyalties, in both grades [Basque vs. Spanish] correlates more closely than [Basque vs. English] with the dependent variables: i.e. *Language preference Basque vs. Spanish* [Comb] has a closer

[22] The level of reliability is 99% in all cases.

[23] The variable *On chat with friends* was analysed here. Although this refers to a rather specific situation, we consider that this provides a fairly good indicator of pupils' language use with their friends.

correlation than *Language preference Basque vs. English* [Comb], and *Difficult/easy Basque vs. Spanish* [Comb] is closer than *Difficult/easy Basque vs. English* [Comb]. Moreover, in both grades the dependent variable is more closely linked to language preference (i.e. whether they "like" Basque and Spanish/English) than with the perceived difficulty of each language.

Language that teachers speak to each other correlates to a striking degree with dependent variables in both age groups; more strongly than *Proportion of local Basque speakers* for Primary-4, for instance. This variable may be a good indicator of the school's overall language environnment. While it is self-evident that the choice of language model has a lot to do with pupils' language use at school, this variable's high correlation rate would seem to suggest that the fact of teachers using one language or another among themselves strongly influences the choice of language that pupils will speak to each other in school.

Although the correlations of pupils' language use at school with their academic grade average (i.e. *Overall academic performance* [Comb]) and their socioeconomic status (the *ISEK* indices) are of some significance, their impact is not as great as that of the other variables. The correlations observed suggest, for one thing, that pupils who do better at school tend on average to use somewhat more Basque at school, and for another, that pupils with a higher socioeconomic status tend on average to use somewhat more Basque at school. These two correlations are statistically significant, but only to a very weak degree, as the tables show.

The *Which language goes best with...?* questions, finally, all correlate significantly with *Pupils' general language use at school.* That is to say, there is a significant connection between using Basque to a greater or lesser degree in school and thinking that Basque "goes with" a variety of social situations and domains.

Now that we have noted the general correlations in Table 12, in the following tables we shall set out the breakdown and correlations of the composite variables that have been used:

Table 13. CORRELATIONS WITH PUPILS' GENERAL LANGUAGE USE AT SCHOOL

PRIMARY-4	R		SECONDARY-2	R
Language use in organised activities outside school [Comb]	0.627		Language use in organised activities outside school [Comb]	0.763
What language do you speak at summer camp, or when you go camping?	0.593	1	What language do you speak in extracurricular activities?	0.724
What do you speak in extracurricular activities?	0.573	2	What do you speak in summer camp, or when you go camping?	0.687
What do you speak in private classes?	0.412	3	What do you speak in private classes?	0.569

Table 14. CORRELATIONS WITH PUPILS' GENERAL LANGUAGE USE AT SCHOOL

PRIMARY-4	R		SECONDARY-2	R
Language use at home [Comb]	0.568		Language use at home [Comb]	0.697
What language do you speak with your brothers and sisters?	0.550	1	What language do you speak with your brothers and sisters?	0.675
What language do your family speak when they are all together at home (at meal times, watching TV and so on)?	0.521	2	What language do your family speak when they are all together at home (at meal times, watching TV and so on)?	0.660
What language do you speak with your mother?	0.486	3	What language do you speak with your mother?	0.599
What language do you speak with your father?	0.476	4	What language do you speak with your father?	0.578
What language do your parents speak among themselves?	0.392	5	What language do your parents speak among themselves?	0.501

As we have seen, the combined variable *language use in organised activities outside school* [Comb] is very closely correlated with pupils' language use at school, especially in Secondary-2. The information on the three variables in Table 13 has been merged into a combined variable: the language pupils speak in *extracurricular activities, summer camp and when camping and in private classes*[24]. For Secondary-2 pupils, language use in *extracurricular activities* shows the highest correlation (R: 0.724) with *Pupils' general language use at school;* in Primary-4, on the contrary, language use at *summer camp or when going camping* has the highest correlation (R: 0.593).

The combined variable *Language use at home* [Comb] represents the five variables shown in Table 14[24]. The correlations are stronger in Secondary-2 than in Primary-4. Moreover, the ordering of the correlations of the five free variables is the same in both grades: the dependent variable correlates most closely with the language pupils speak *with their brothers and sisters,* and most weakly with the languages *parents speak among themselves.*

Table 15. **CORRELATIONS WITH PUPILS' GENERAL LANGUAGE USE AT SCHOOL**

PRIMARY-4	R		SECONDARY-2	R
Language preference Basque vs. Spanish [Comb]	0.545		Language preference Basque vs. Spanish [Comb]	0.622
Do you like Basque?	0.534	1	Do you like Basque?	0.628
Do you like Spanish?	0.328	2	Do you like Spanish?	0.321

The composite variable *Language preference Basque vs. Spanish* [Comb] is obtained by combining the two variables shown in Table 15[26]. Both variables correlate significantly in both grades, and the closest connection is that between pupils' language use at school and "liking Basque". The meaning of the change of signs (from negative to positive) is that pupils who "like Basque more" make more overall use of Basque at school, and pupils who "like Spanish more" use less Basque.

Table 16. **CORRELATIONS WITH PUPILS' (GENERAL) LANGUAGE USE AT SCHOOL**

PRIMARY-4	R		SECONDARY-2	R
Media and culture consumption [Comb]	0.530		Media and culture consumption [Comb]	0.604
What language is your favourite radio programme in?	0.484	1	What language is your favourite radio programme in?	0.565
What language is your favourite website in?	0.405	2	What language is your favourite website in?	0.483
What language does your favourite group or singer sing in?	0.320	3	What language does your favourite group or singer sing in?	0.345
What language is your favourite TV show in?	0.314	4	What language is your favourite TV show in?	0.233

The four variables listed in Table 16 enter into the composition of the combined variable *Media and culture consumption* [Comb][27]. In each item pupils had the option of giving as their answer "Basque", "Spanish" or "Another language". The resulting combined variable may be considered a quantitive indicator (which permits the calculation of correlations), which cannot be done with the component variables individually. In this case the correlations of the four variables can be given as references *(radio, website, TV and music),* but statistically they do not offer a basis for the calculation of correlations. The ordering of the free

[24] These three variables were given equal weight in the composition of the combined variable (33.3% each).

[25] The component variable most heavily weighted in the consolidated variable here is *What language do your family speak when they are all together...?* (50%), followed by *use with the mother* (15%), *with the father* (15%), *with brothers and sisters* (10%) and *parents among themselves* (10%) in that order.

[26] Computing pupils' responses to both questions into the total, "Prefer Basque", "Both the same" and "Prefer Spanish" are differentiated in the combined variable.

[27] All four variables were weighted equally, i.e. 25% each.

variables is the same in both grades, the factor correlating most closely in all four cases with *pupils' general language use at school being what language is your favourite radio programme in?*

Table 17. **CORRELATIONS WITH PUPILS' GENERAL LANGUAGE USE AT SCHOOL**

PRIMARY-4	R		SECONDARY-2	R
Difficult/easy Basque vs. Spanish [Comb]	0.526		Difficult/easy Basque vs. Spanish [Comb]	0.539
How do you see Basque?	0.494	1	How do you see Basque?	0.481
How do you see Spanish?	0.250	2	How do you see Spanish?	0.262

To obtain the combined variable *Difficult/easy Basque vs. Spanish* [Comb], the values for two variables were combined to provide a measure of which language was perceived as being easier or more difficult, Basque or Spanish[28]. Similar results emerged for this variable in either grade, and naturally the sign changes between the Basque and Spanish questions.

Table 18. **CORRELATIONS WITH PUPILS' GENERAL LANGUAGE USE AT SCHOOL**

PRIMARY-4	R		SECONDARY-2	R
Language preference Basque vs. English [Comb]	0.395		Language preference Basque vs. English [Comb]	0.431
Do you like Basque?	0.534	1	Do you like Basque?	0.628
Do you like English?	0.224	2	Do you like English?	-0.001

The combined variable *Language preference Basque vs. English* was formed out of two free variables as shown in Table 18, comparing pupils' responses on the two languages[29]. In Primary-4, *Pupils' general language use at school* is linked much more strongly to "liking" Basque than to liking English (R = 0.534 versus 0.224). In Secondary-2 there is no significant link between *Do you like English?* and the dependent variable; that is to say, liking English or not liking it is not linked to using more or less Basque at school.

Table 19. **CORRELATIONS WITH PUPILS' GENERAL LANGUAGE USE AT SCHOOL**

PRIMARY-4	R		SECONDARY-2	R
Difficult/easy Basque vs. English [Comb]	0.376		Difficult/easy Basque vs. English [Comb]	0.354
How do you see Basque?	0.494	1	How do you see Basque?	0.481
How do you see Spanish?	-0.045	2	How do you see Spanish?	-0.038

The two free variables shown in Table 19 were combined to yield the combined variable *Difficult/easy Basque vs. English* [Comb]. The values of the correlations in the table indicate that pupils' representations of Basque as a "difficult" or "easy" language is strongly correlated with the dependent variable. On the contrary, the representation of English as "difficult" or "easy" has hardly any bearing at all on pupils' speaking more or less Basque at school either in Primary-4 or in Secondary-2 (there is a very slight correlation that is nonetheless statistically significant and negative in both grades, with R under 0.05.).

[28] The responses "Basque is easier", "No difference" and "Spanish is easier" were differentiated in both items.

[29] The responses "I prefer Basque", "It makes no difference" and "I prefer Spanish" were differentiated in both items.

Table 20. **CORRELATIONS WITH PUPILS' GENERAL LANGUAGE USE AT SCHOOL**

PRIMARY-4	R		SECONDARY-2	R
Place of origin [Comb]	0.237		Place of origin [Comb]	0.327
Where was your mother born?	0.215	1	Where was your father born?	0.291
If YOU were born outside the Basque Country, how long have you been living here for?	0.203	2	Where was your mother born?	0.283
		3	If YOU were born outside the Basque Country, how long have you been living here for?	0.272
Where was your father born?	0.198			
Where were you born?	0.163	4	Where were you born?	0.246

The *place of origin* [Comb] variable was obtained by combining the variables listed in Table 20, thus taking into account whether or not the pupil's parents were born outside the Basque Country (see 2.1.6 for details). All four variables correlate significantly with pupils' *general language use at school* in both grades, and in all four the correlations are somewhat stronger for Secondary-2 pupils than for pupils on Primary-4.

Table 21. **CORRELATIONS WITH PUPILS' (GENERAL) LANGUAGE USE AT SCHOOL**

PRIMARY-4	R		SECONDARY-2	R
Overall academic performance [Comb]	0.099		Overall academic performance [Comb]	0.189
What marks did you get in... Basque?	0.194	1	What marks did you get in... Basque?	0.244
What marks did you get in... Maths?	0.086	2	What marks did you get in... Maths?	0.169
What marks did you get in... English?	0.056	3	What marks did you get in... English?	0.131
What marks did you get in... Spanish?	0.002	4	What marks did you get in... Spanish?	0.112

Overall academic performance [Comb] is based on a combination of the marks achieved by the pupil in four subjects the previous year[30]. The degree of correlation found is quite low in both grades, but somewhat higher in Secondary-2. On average pupils whose academic performance has been better tend to use slightly more Basque at school. However, in Primary-4 the correlation between marks in Spanish and the dependent variable is too weak to be statistically significant.

4.3. MULTIPLE REGRESSION ANALYSIS

4.3.1. Introduction: a word about multiple regressions

In Section 4.2 the relationships between a number of different variables and *pupils' general language use at school* were analysed using correlations. It is impossible to predict language use at school on the basis of a single variable: in a linguistic situation such as exists in the BAC, the effect of home, school and family conditions (among others) on language use at school is a complex phenomenon. These variables are linked to each other in multiple ways, so the only way to come close to predicting pupils' language use to some extent is by taking all of them into consideration.

The statistical technique of multiple regression analysis is used to predict the value of a dependent variable from a set of free variables. Through this analysis we create a model of sorts to predict values of the dependent variable.

[30] In the case of this question it was the pupils' parents who provided the response. The four marks provided were given equal weight (25% each) when calculating the combined variable.

For the interpretation of a multiple regression analysis it is important to look at the ability of the entire model to predict the dependent variable. The order of variables is noted; the contribution of each variable beyond what could be predicted from the variables preceding it (the change in R2) is calculated; and finally, variables that may be omitted from the model as unnecessary are identified.

4.3.2. Variables used in the multiple regression analysis

Table 22. VARIABLES USED IN THE MULTIPLE REGRESSION ANALYSIS

01	Language preference Basque vs. Spanish [comb]	
02	Difficult/easy Basque vs. Spanish [comb]	
03	Relative fluency	
04	Mother tongue	
05	Language use at home [comb]	
06	Place of origin [comb]	
07	Pupil's group socioeconomic index	
08	Language model	
09	Language teachers speak to each other	
10	Language use in organised activities outside school [comb]	
11	Percentage of local Basque speakers	
12	Media and culture consumption [comb]	
13	Which language goes best with...? Family	(Secondary-2 only)
14	Which language goes best with...? Friends	(Secondary-2 only)
15	Which language goes best with...? Teaching	(Secondary-2 only)
16	Which language goes best with...? Political events	(Secondary-2 only)
17	Which language goes best with...? World of work	(Secondary-2 only)
18	Which language goes best with...? Information technology	(Secondary-2 only)
D	Pupils' general language use at school	

Table 22 shows the set of independent variables used for the regression analysis in this study. The dependent variable (marked "D" in the table) is *Pupils' general language use at school* as in the correlation analysis; to account for this value, a set of twelve independent variables was used in the analysis of Primary-4, and eighteen in that of Secondary-2[31].

The symbol "[Comb]" after six of the variables in this table means that these are combined variables which have been calculated, in this study, by combining several variables. Their exact composition was described in section 4.2. Table 21 lists the variables that have gone into each of these six "combined" variables and specifies the section where the makeup of each has been indicated.

[31] As Table 22 shows, twelve independent variables were used in both grades and an additional six, belonging to the *which language goes best with...?* set, were added in the study of Secondary-2.

Table 23.

	Combined variable	For details
01	Language preference Basque vs. Spanish [comb]	See section 4.2.2, Table 15 and and accompanying explanation
02	Difficult/easy Basque vs. Spanish [comb]	See section 4.2.2, Table 17 and and accompanying explanation
05	Language use at home [comb]	See section 4.2.2, Table 14 and and accompanying explanation
06	Place of origin [comb]	See section 4.2.2, Table 20 and and accompanying explanation
10	Language use in organised activities outside school [comb]	See section 4.2.2, Table 13 and and accompanying explanation
12	Media and culture consumption [comb]	See section 4.2.2, Table 16 and and accompanying explanation

4.3.3. General regression analysis of Primary-4 and Secondary-2

Multiple regression analyses were performed on all the pupils for whom there was data in all twelve variables listed in Table 20 (eighteen in the case of Secondary-2): 16,506 pupils in Primary-4 (from a total populationi of 18,636) and 15,531 pupils in Secondary-2 (total population: 17,184). The statistical foundation of this study is thus a strong one.

A multiple regression analysis was performed for each of the two grades using the stepwise technique, taking *pupils' general language use at school* as the dependent variable in all cases; the results presented in the following tables are mathematical models permitting us to "predict" the values of this variable. However, in the Arrue study, what is most interesting for us in the regression results is not the ability they give us to "predict" language use so much as the valuable opportunity it provides better to understand the complex mechanisms involved in determining the language use of pupils at school in the BAC.

Table 24 presents the result of a multiple regression performed on Primary-4 pupils, and Table 25 presents the results for Secondary-2 pupils.

Table 24. **MULTIPLE REGRESSION. DEPENDENT VARIABLE: PUPILS' GENERAL LANGUAGE USE AT SCHOOL**

	PRIMARY-4	R	R^2	Changes in R2	Significance of change in F
1	(08) Language model	0.676	0.457	0.457	0.000
2	(10) Organised activities outside school	0.780	0.608	0.608	0.000
3	(03) Relative fluency	0.801	0.642	0.642	0.000
4	(09) Language teachers speak to each other	0.818	0.668	0.668	0.000
5	(11) Percentage of local basque speakers	0.825	0.681	0.681	0.000
6	(01) Language preference basque vs. Spanish	0.831	0.690	0.690	0.000
7	(06) Place of origin	0.833	0.694	0.694	0.000
8	(12) Media and culture consumption	0.835	0.697	0.697	0.000
9	(02) Difficult/easy basque vs. Spanish	0.835	0.698	0.698	0.000
10	(07) Pupil's socioeconomic index	0.835	0.698	0.698	0.001
11	(05) Language use at home	0.835	0.698	0.698	0.010
	Indicator omitted: (04) Mother tongue	**Total explanatory power of the model** TOTAL: 69.8% **N: 16.506**			

The regression model for Primary-4 has a 69.8% capability to predict the value of the dependent variable (language use at school). It makes use of data for eleven variables to achieve this:

— The variable *mother tongue* is left out of this model because it does not make a significant difference to the prediction already obtained from the other eleven variables and because the influence of the family is captured better by *use at home*.

— The first variable in the model is *language model,* followed by *organised activities outside school, relative fluency* and *language teacher speak to each other*. With just these four variables the ability to predict language use is already 66.9%.

— Two out of the four most significant variables, the first and the fourth, are directly linked to the school's linguistic conditions.

— The second and fifth variables in the statistical model reflect to a large extent the sociolinguistic conditions outside school in the town where the pupil lives.

— Factors directly referring to conditions in the pupil's home and family do not figure at the top of the list in the regression model, although *relative fluency,* in third place, is linked to language use in the home. *Place of origin* is in seventh place and *language use at home* is in eleventh place.

The next table shows results for Secondary-2 pupils:

Table 25. MULTIPLE REGRESSION. DEPENDENT VARIABLE: PUPILS' (GENERAL) LANGUAGE USE AT SCHOOL

	SECONDARY-2	R	R^2	Changes in R2	Significance of change in F
1	(10) Organised activities outside school	0.764	0.584	0.584	0.000
2	(08) Language model	0.831	0.691	0.107	0.000
3	(05) Language use at home	0.857	0.735	0.044	0.000
4	(09) Language teachers speak to each other	0.870	0.758	0.023	0.000
5	(11) Percentage of local basque speakers	0.878	0.771	0.013	0.000
6	(01) Language preference basque vs. Spanish	0.881	0.776	0.005	0.000
7	(03) Relative fluency	0.883	0.779	0.003	0.000
8	(12) Media and culture consumption	0.884	0.781	0.002	0.000
9	(06) Place of origin	0.884	0.782	0.001	0.000
10	Which language goes best with...? Teaching	0.885	0.782	0.001	0.000
11	(07) Pupil's socioeconomic index	0.885	0.783	0.000	0.000
12	Which language goes best with...? Friends	0.885	0.783	0.000	0.001
13	(02) Difficult/easy basque vs. Spanish	0.885	0.783	0.000	0.002
14	(04) Mother tongue	0.885	0.783	0.000	0.007

Indicators omitted:
Which language goes best with...? Family
Which language goes best with...? Political events
Which language goes best with...? World of work
Which language goes best with...? Information technology

Total explanatory power of the model
TOTAL: 78.3%
N: 15.531

The regression model for Secondary-2 has a 78.3% capability of predicting the dependent variable of *pupils' general language use at school.* It makes use of values for fourteen variables to achieve this:

— Four of the eighteen variables considered have been left out of the model because they do not make a significant contribution to the prediction obtainable from the other variables. All four involve pupils' perceptions of each language *(which language goes best with...? family; political events; world of work; information technology).*

— The first variable in the regression is *organised activities outside school,* followed by *language model, language use at home and language teachers speak to each other.* Just these four variables account for 75.8%, and further variables do not contribute a great deal more.

— Two of the four most significant variables, the second and the fourth, have to do with linguistic conditions at the school.

— The first and fifth variables, on the other hand, are concerned with questions outside the school and reflect rather the sociolinguistic situation in the pupil's home town.

— Of the first three variables that predict most about pupils' language use at school, the one most closely connected to conditions at home or in the family is LANGUAGE USE AT HOME; in consequence, the impact of this variable is very significant in the Secondary-2 grade.

— There are six variables included in the analysis of Secondary-2 that are not present in that of Primary-4, namely those belonging to the *Which language goes best with…?* section. Four of the six make no contribution to the predictive model, but two do: *Teaching and Friends.* The two variables that top the statistical model as contributing most to the model concern are *language use outside school* and the *language model*. This suggests that perhaps the two mental representations that contribute something are connected to these two most influential variables.

Comparing the multiple regression analyses for Primary-4 and Secondary-2:

— In general, the model for Secondary-2 has greater predictive capacity than that for Primary-4; there is more useful information in the variables used for predicting *pupils' general language use at school* in Secondary-2 than for Primary-4.

— Of the twelve variable used in both regressions[32], there is none that was excluded from the model in both of the analyses. The pupils's mother tongue was left out in the Primary-4 analysis but was included in the Secondary-2 analysis although it makes the smallest contribution of any of those present in the analysis.

— The first four variables play the biggest part in predicting the dependent variable in both cases: in Primary-4, the whole model accounts for 69.8% while the top four variables account for 66.9%; in Secondary-2, the whole model accounts for 78.3%, of which the top four account for 75.7%. Overlooking their different orders, three variables figure in the top four in both models: *language use in organised activities outside school, language model* and *the language teachers speak to each other.*

— One is struck in particular by one difference between the regression models for Primary-4 and Secondary-2: *language use at home* acquires great salience in Secondary-2 (being ranked third), whereas in Primary-4 its influence is very slight indeed in comparison to other factors. In other words, pupils' *language use at home* tells us much more about what their *general language use at school* will be in Secondary-2 than in Primary-4.

— P*ercentage of local basque speakers, language preference basque vs. spanish* and *place of origin* occupy practically the same place, being important in the Primary-4 and Secondary-2 regression models, although they are not at the top of the lists.

— *Pupil's socioeconomic index* is present in both models so it clearly must play some role in predicting pupils' language use at school, yet its ranking in the models is low in comparison to other variables.

[32] Six further variables were used in the Secondary-2 regression, but there are twelve that coincide in both.

5. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

5.1. CONCLUSIONS ABOUT THE ANALYSIS

Four areas of language use were studied in order to analyse pupils' language use at school: with fellow pupils in the classroom, with fellow pupils in the playground, with teachers in the classroom and with teachers outside the classroom. Data for all pupils in the BAC in fourth grade of primary school (aged nine or ten) and in second grade of secondary (aged thirteen or fourteen) were analysed through a Diagnostic Evaluation test run by ISEI-IVEI.

1. The overall trend in pupils' language use with each other in the classroom does not just change but actually reverses from one of the two grades analysed to the other: in Primary-4 most pupils speak to each other in Basque in class (60% always or usually speak Basque), whereas in Secondary-2 most use Spanish (60% always or usually speak Spanish).

2. In both of the grades studied most pupils always or usually speak Spanish to each other in the playground, but not to the same degree: in Primary-4, 59% always or usually speak Spanish, as compared to 75% in Secondary-2.

3. When speaking to teachers the predominant pattern in both age groups is to use Basque in and out of the classroom. In class, 74% of Primary-4 pupils always or at least usually speak to teachers in Basque, and 61% of Secondary-2 pupils. In interactions outside the classroom the corresponding figures are 64% in Primary-4 versus 52% in Secondary-2.

4. An index called *pupils' general language use at school* was constructed and used in this study that sums up pupils' overall language use when in school, with values on a scale from one to five where the lowest score, 1, means that a pupil says *everything in Spanish* and a 5 means that a pupil says *everything in Basque.* On this scale the average score for Primary-4 pupiils is 3.26, while that for Secondary-2 pupils is 2.60.

5. Language use between pupils at school (more than that between pupils and teachers) shows a clear correlation with the linguistic environment in which pupils live outside of their school, both within the family and in other social relationships; each one varies depending on the other. On the whole, it may be concluded from our data that among Primary-4 pupils the school acquires a sort of autonomous existence with respect to surrounding society. However, at the Secondary-2 level the connection to external social reality is much stronger, with the result that Basque language use among pupils is weaker in Secondary-2 than in Primary-4. This data might be thought of as revealing a tendency, as we move from younger to more mature pupils, towards convergence with the prevalent rules of language use in society. To take one example that illustrates this trend: in Primary-4, 49% of pupils whose home language is Spanish speak to their classmates in Basque inside the classroom; in Secondary-2, 13%.

6. We also looked at the relationship between *pupils' general language use at school* and other variables. Among Primary-4 pupils the variable with the highest such correlation is *language model* (i.e. whether the class is in Model A, B or D), while among Secondary-2 pupils their language is most closely linked to *language use in organised activities outside school,* of all the variables studied.

7. When we try to predict *pupils' general language use at school* on the basis of other variables, multiple regression analysis proves to have greater explanatory power when applied to language use by Secondary-2 pupils (78%) than by Primary-4 pupils (70%). Thus the information collected in the study is more useful for predicting language use at school by Secondary-2 pupils than Primary-4 pupils.

8. When we contrast the A, B and D language models, the same main variable comes to the fore as an explanation for *pupils' general language use at school* in multipile regression analyses at both Primary-4 and Secondary-2 levels, namely *language use in organised activities outside school.* This signals the important indirect influence of the linguistic environment outside school, i.e. in society and in the town, on language use at school. No doubt an important role is played in this respect in determining pupils' general language use not only by the society as a whole but, particularly, by the family. It is likely that the choice of organised out-of-school activities is controlled by the pupils' families in the case of Primary-4 pupils and also, though perhaps to a lesser degree, in that of Secondary-2 pupils too.

   Analyses were also performed classifying pupils according to their *mother tongue* or the *percentage of local Basque speakers,* confirming that pupils' linguistic environment outside school does indeed influence their language use at school: but while *pupils' general language use at school* is accounted for to some degree by whether their *mother tongue* is Basque or Spanish, or by the amount of Basque spoken in the town where they live, one variable with a striking degree of relevance here is *language use in organised activities outside school,* usually in Primary-4 and always in Secondary-2.

9. Another salient variable in these analyses of both Primary-4 and of Secondary-2 is the *language teachers speak to each other.* This factor of language use by teachers may be considered to mirror the linguistic situation of the school in question and to indicate whether or not special care is taken in the schools in connection with the Basque language. This correlation points to the fact that a school has other opportunities for influencing the language situation among pupils apart from the the language models per se.

10. Most of the variables included in the analysis correlate with *pupils' general language use at school* both in Primary-4 and in Secondary-2. Many of the correlations are quite close, for instance *language use in organised activities outside school, On chat with friends, language model, language use at home* or *media and culture consumption,* all of which have correlations between 0.4 and 0.8. With others there is a correlation but it is a much weaker one, such as pupils' *academic performance* or their *socioeconomic status* (correlations below 0.2).

11. Pupils' main language of media consumption by far is Spanish in both age groups. Of the media they consume, the highest percentage of Basque is found with radio (29% in Basque in Primary-4 and 25% in Secondary-2). Similarly in the statistical correlation of these levels of consumption with *pupils' general language use at school,* the correlation for radio is greater than that of the other media analysed: television, internet and music.

12. As regards language use by girls and boys there is in general very little difference between the sexes at school. Girls in Primary-4 have a slight edge over boys in favouring Basque in their linguistic behaviour when interacting with other pupils on the playground among Model D pupils (with classmates in the classroom there is hardly any difference, and also very little indeed when pupils interact with teachers). In Secondary-2, girls' and boys' uses of Basque are very similar no matter whether they are in class or on the playground.

13. The significance of variables as factors determining *Pupils' general language use at school* varies according to the school's language model. For example, in Model B, *relative fluency* is more important than *language preference (Basque vs. Spanish)* as a factor in both grades. In Model D, on the contrary, the opposite is the case: preference or motivation is the more important determining factor. This means that unless a sufficiently high level of Basque language proficiency is acquired (as is often not the case in Models A and B), it is impossible to achieve consistent Basque language use. On the other hand, given that most Model D pupils have greater and more consistent Basque language proficiency, the key to language use depends on other factors, such as motivation and language preference.

14. Those Model D pupils who have acquired *another language* at home as their mother tongue use Basque more often on the playground than those whose only *mother tongue* is Spanish. According to the study, we may conclude that the tendency to use Basque at school of pupils who speak *another language* is due to the fact that they live in an atmosphere and conditions —in the family[33] and some social domains— that are more favourable to Basque than is the case for pupils whose home language is Spanish. This comparison once again shows that the linguistic environment in the society at large and locally exerts a strong indirect influence upon language use within the school.

15. Still on the subject of Model D pupils, when we look at *pupils' general use of Basque at school* in terms of sociolinguistic setting we find that the percentage who *always speak Spanish* is very low and remains constant regardless of what sociolinguistic setting they live in. But the proportion of those who *always speak Basque* increases strikingly as the proportion of people in the town who speak Basque increases.

5.2. CONCLUSIONS ABOUT HOW TO ENCOURAGE PUPILS' USE OF BASQUE AT SCHOOL

The variables considered here suggest, within the study's limited scope, that there are indeed things to be done to help increase pupils' use of Basque at school, beyond the already familiar Language Models. In some cases they are areas that can be developed within the school domain, while in others they pertain to a broader dimension within the family/society dichotomy. In all cases, they involve the school and/or the school community.

The main areas where measures might be taken for all pupils are:

— First and foremost, the area of *language use in organised activities outside school.* Clear options may be found within the society/family dichotomy to act upon pupils' use of Basque, creating and enhancing conditions favourable for the use of Basque in girls' and boys' organised activities. Creating favourable conditions may be understood in two ways here: as bringing about more real opportunities for using Basque in one's everyday, immediate surroundings, or as the existence of a more widespread tendency to speak Basque in individuals who are looked up to in society.

— The importance of the social and domestic environment is also brought into focus by the prominence of the *media and culture consumption* variable in the study (especially in Models A and B).

— The correlation between the *language teachers speak to each other* and pupils' language use at school has been noted repeatedly. Here is yet another opportunity in the school itself to favour the use of Basque at school, beyond the formal Language Model, by paying more attention to the language used among teachers and other school staff, and promoting Basque language use here too.

Depending on the school's language model, other key areas where special attention might be paid in our efforts to support more use of Basque at school are the following:

— In Model B schools, Basque language proficiency *(relative fluency).*

— For Model D schools, motivation: language preference *(Basque vs. Spanish).*

As for most Model A pupils, it is almost out of the question for the majority to speak Basque very often, and variables associated with the family, in which there is little opportunity to intervene, namely *place of origin and Language use at home,* play a large part in determining their linguistic behaviour. Model A faces great challenges to get pupils to speak Basque, and the goal of having them speak a little at school comes up against obstacles imposed by the immediate environment (school and family) and the broader context (the town).

[33] For instance, by opting for Basque-language social events and offerings even if Basque is not spoken within the family.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX I: PUPIL CHARACTERISTICS. FREQUENCY TABLES

1. SCHOOLS AND PUPILS

Table 1. SCHOOLS AND PUPILS

	PRIMARY-4	SECONDARY-2	Total
Schools	522	329	851
Pupils	18,636	17,204	35,844

2. AGE AND SEX

Table 2. WHEN WERE YOU BORN?

PRIMARY-4			SECONDARY-2		
	Frequency	%		Frequency	%
1999	18	0.1	1994	3	0.1
2000	1,475	8.6	1995	982	8.6
2001	15,602	91.2	1996	2,459	91.2
2002	5	0.0	1997	13,730	0.0
2003	1	0.0	1998	9	0.0
Total	17,101	100.0	Total	17,183	100.0
Null Responses	1,535		Null Responses	1	
TOTAL	18,636		TOTAL	17,208	

Table 3. SEX

	PRIMARY-4		SECONDARY-2	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Girls	8,994	48.5	8,360	48.6
Boys	9,556	51.5	8,823	51.3
Total	18,550	100.0	17,184	100.0
Null Responses	86		1	
TOTAL	18,636		17,184	

3. PERCENTAGE OF BASQUE SPEAKERS IN THE TOWN

Taula 4. PERCENTAGE OF BASQUE SPEAKERS IN THE TOWN

	PRIMARY-4		SECONDARY-2	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
%80.70 or more	761	4.1	506	2.9
from %70.11 to %80.69	1,089	5.8	945	5.5
from %60.57 to %70.10	1,089	5.8	1,123	6.5
from %50.24 to %60.56	2,103	11.3	2,000	11.6
from %40.35 to %50.23	2,753	14.8	2,635	15.3
from %31.46 to %40.34	1,663	8.9	1,507	8.8
from %24.64 to %31.45	3,832	20.6	3,559	20.7
from %20.26 to %24.63	3,458	18.6	3,274	19.1
under %20,26	1,888	10.1	1,635	9.5
TOTAL	18,636	100.0	17,184	100.0

4. MOTHER TONGUE

Taula 5. **WHAT LANGUAGE DID YOU SPEAK AT HOME UP TO THE AGE OF THREE?**

	PRIMARY-4		SECONDARY-2	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Basque	3,601	19.8	3,414	20.4
Basque and Spanish	2,499	13.7	2,515	15.0
Spanish	11,281	62.0	10,092	60.2
Another language	825	4.5	737	4.4
Total	18,206	100.0	16,758	100.0
Null Responses	430		426	
TOTAL	18,636		17,184	

5. LANGUAGE MODEL

Table 6. **LANGUAGE MODEL**

	PRIMARY-4		SECONDARY-2	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Model D	11,936	64.0	10,112	58.8
Model B	5,314	28.5	4,801	27.9
Model A	1,386	7.4	2,272	13.2
TOTAL	18,636	100.0	17,184	100.0

6. PLACE OF ORIGIN

Table 7. **WHERE WAS YOUR FATHER BORN?**

	PRIMARY-4		SECONDARY-2	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Basque Country	14,086	76.5	12,281	72.8
Another autonomous community	2,523	13.7	2,818	16.7
Abroad	1,795	9.8	1,781	10.6
Total	18,404	100.0	16,880	100.0
Null Responses	232		304	
TOTAL	18,636		17,184	

Table 8. **WHERE WAS YOUR MOTHER BORN?**

	PRIMARY-4		SECONDARY-2	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Basque Country	14,422	78.3	12,599	74.6
Another autonomous community	2,200	11.9	2,458	14.5
Abroad	1,793	9.7	1,838	10.9
Total	18,415	100.0	16,895	100.0
Null Responses	221		289	
TOTAL	18,636		17,184	

Table 9. WHERE WERE YOU BORN?

	PRIMARY-4		SECONDARY-2	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Basque Country	16,446	88.6	14,928	87.9
Another autonomous community	698	3.8	469	2.8
Abroad	1,408	7.6	1,589	9.4
Total	18,552	100.0	16,986	100.0
Null Responses	84		198	
TOTAL	18,636		17,184	

Table10. IF YOU WERE BORN OUTSIDE THE BASQUE COUNTRY, HOW LONG HAVE YOU BEEN LIVING HERE FOR?

	PRIMARY-4		SECONDARY-2	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Over 8 years	475	22.8	705	34.5
6 to 8 years	338	16.2	270	13.2
4 to 6 years	446	21.4	362	17.7
2 to 4 years	491	23.6	430	21.1
Less than 2 years	331	15.9	274	13.4
Total	2,081	100.0	2,041	100.0
Null Responses	16,555		15,143	
TOTAL	18,636		17,184	

7. RELATIVE FLUENCY

Table 11. WHICH LANGUAGE ARE YOU GENERALLY MORE FLUENT IN?

	PRIMARY-4		SECONDARY-2	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
In Basque	3,879	21.1	3,112	18.5
Basque and Spanish equally	4,441	24.2	2,855	16.9
In Spanish	10,068	54.8	10,888	64.6
Total	18,388	100.0	16,855	100.0
Null Responses	248		329	
TOTAL	18,636		17,184	

8. LANGUAGE PREFERENCE

Table 12. DO YOU LIKE BASQUE?

	PRIMARY-4		SECONDARY-2	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Not at all	710	3.9	1,302	7.7
Not much	1,407	7.6	1,852	11.0
So-so	4,585	24.9	4,508	26.7
Quite a lot	3,570	19.4	3,643	21.6
A lot	8,122	44.2	5,554	32.9
Total	18,394	100.0	16,859	100.0
Null Responses	242		325	
TOTAL	18,636		17,184	

Table 13. **DO YOU LIKE SPANISH?**

	PRIMARY-4		SECONDARY-2	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Not at all	227	1.2	362	2.1
Not much	556	3.0	664	3.9
So-so	2,458	13.4	3,902	23.1
Quite a lot	3,414	18.6	5,248	31.1
A lot	11,738	63.8	6,683	39.6
Total	18,393	100.0	16,859	100.0
Null Responses	243		325	
TOTAL	18,636		17,184	

Table 14. **DO YOU LIKE ENGLISH?**

	PRIMARY-4		SECONDARY-2	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Not at all	1,690	9.2	1,725	10.2
Not much	2,814	15.3	2,322	13.8
So-so	4,947	26.9	4,520	26.8
Quite a lot	4,380	23.8	4,419	26.2
A lot	4,561	24.8	3,874	23.0
Total	18,392	100.0	16,860	100.0
Null Responses	244		324	
TOTAL	18,636		17,184	

9. MENTAL REPRESENTATIONS: DIFFICULTY

Table 15. **HOW DO YOU SEE BASQUE?**

	PRIMARY-4		SECONDARY-2	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Very easy	6,557	35.7	3,061	18.2
Easy	4,512	24.5	4,388	26.0
So-so	5,636	30.6	6,117	36.3
Difficult	1,228	6.7	2,391	14.2
Very difficult	459	2.5	901	5.3
Total	18,392	100.0	16,858	100.0
Null Responses	244		326	
TOTAL	18,636		17,184	

Table 16. **HOW DO YOU SEE SPANISH?**

	PRIMARY-4		SECONDARY-2	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Very easy	11,183	60.8	5,884	34.9
Easy	4,295	23.4	5,535	32.8
So-so	2,343	12.7	4,435	26.3
Difficult	351	1.9	779	4.6
Very difficult	213	1.2	225	1.3
Total	18,385	100.0	16,858	100.0
Null Responses	251		326	
TOTAL	18,636		17,184	

Taula 17. **HOW DO YOU SEE ENGLISH?**

	PRIMARY-4		SECONDARY-2	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Very easy	1,569	8.5	1,283	7.6
Easy	3,124	17.0	3,498	20.8
So-so	6,812	37.1	6,358	37.7
Difficult	4,808	26.2	3,934	23.3
Very difficult	2,066	11.2	1,784	10.6
Total	18,379	100.0	16,857	100.0
Null Responses	257		327	
TOTAL	18,636		17,184	

10. MENTAL REPRESENTATIONS: SITUATIONS AND ACTIVITIES

Table 18. **WHICH LANGUAGE GOES BEST WITH...?**

SECONDARY-2	Frequency	%	
Basque goes best	3,352	19.9	
All three are equally OK	3,402	20.2	
Spanish goes best	7,863	46.8	
English goes best	2,199	13.1	
Total	16,816	100.0	
Null Responses	368		
TOTAL	17,184		

Table 19. **WHICH LANGUAGE GOES BEST WITH...?**

SECONDARY-2	Frequency	%	
Basque goes best	5,595	33.3	
All three are equally OK	2,751	16.4	
Spanish goes best	6,923	41.2	
English goes best	1,548	9.2	
Total	16,817	100.0	
Null Responses	367		
TOTAL	17,184		

Table 20. **WHICH LANGUAGE GOES BEST WITH...?**

SECONDARY-2	Frequency	%	
Basque goes best	8,160	48.6	
All three are equally OK	3,783	22.5	
Spanish goes best	3,438	20.5	
English goes best	1,406	8.4	
Total	16,787	100.0	
Null Responses	397		
TOTAL	17,184		

Table 21. **WHICH LANGUAGE GOES BEST WITH...?**

SECONDARY-2	Frequency	%
Basque goes best	1,164	6.9
All three are equally OK	3,163	18.8
Spanish goes best	9,878	58.8
English goes best	2,585	15.4
Total	16,790	100.0
Null Responses	394	
TOTAL	17,184	

Table 22. **WHICH LANGUAGE GOES BEST WITH...?**

SECONDARY-2	Frequency	%
Basque goes best	1,110	6.6
All three are equally OK	3,580	21.3
Spanish goes best	11,009	65.6
English goes best	1,091	6.5
Total	16,790	100.0
Null Responses	394	
TOTAL	17,184	

Table 23. **WHICH LANGUAGE GOES BEST WITH...?**

SECONDARY-2	Frequency	%
Basque goes best	1,483	8.8
All three are equally OK	3,901	23.2
Spanish goes best	9,375	55.8
English goes best	2,029	12.1
Total	16,788	100.0
Null Responses	396	
TOTAL	17,184	

11. LANGUAGE OF MASS MEDIA CONSUMPTION

Table 24. **WHAT LANGUAGE IS YOUR FAVOURITE WEBSITE IN?**

	PRIMARY-4		SECONDARY-2	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Basque	2,711	16.2	2,633	15.7
Spanish	13,692	81.7	13,700	81.7
Another language	366	2.2	427	2.5
Total	16,769	100.0	16,760	100.0
Null Responses	1,867		424	
TOTAL	18,636		17,184	

Table 25. WHAT LANGUAGE IS YOUR FAVOURITE TV SHOW IN?

	PRIMARY-4		SECONDARY-2	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Basque	2,479	13.6	700	4.2
Spanish	15,532	84.9	15,782	93.9
Another language	280	1.5	334	2.0
Total	18,291	100.0	16,816	100.0
Null Responses	345		368	
TOTAL	18,636		17,184	

Table 26. WHAT LANGUAGE DOES YOUR FAVOURITE GROUP OR SINGER SING IN?

	PRIMARY-4		SECONDARY-2	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Basque	2,632	29.5	4,043	24.9
Spanish	8,491	67.3	11,656	71.8
Another language	6,726	3.2	538	3.3
Total	17,849	100.0	16,237	100.0
Null Responses	787		947	
TOTAL	18,636		17,184	

Table 27. WHAT LANGUAGE IS YOUR FAVOURITE RADIO PROGRAMME IN?

	PRIMARY-4		SECONDARY-2	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Basque	2,479	13.6	700	4.2
Spanish	15,532	84.9	15,782	93.9
Another language	280	1.5	334	2.0
Total	18,291	100.0	16,816	100.0
Null Responses	345		368	
TOTAL	18,636		17,184	

Table 28. WHAT LANGUAGE WAS THE LAST FILM YOU SAW IN?

	PRIMARY-4		SECONDARY-2	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Basque	2,311	12,6	586	3,5
Spanish	15,784	86,2	15,989	95,1
Another language	224	1,2	244	1,5
Total	18,319	100,0	16,819	100,0
Null Responses	317		365	
TOTAL	18,636		17,184	

12. LANGUAGE USE: FAMILY

Table 29. WHAT LANGUAGE DO YOU SPEAK WITH YOUR FATHER?

	PRIMARY-4		SECONDARY-2	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Always or usually Basque	4,354	23.9	3,435	20.6
Always or usually Spanish	13,173	72.4	12,648	75.8
Another language	671	3.7	599	3.6
Total	18,198	100.0	16,682	100.0
Null Responses	438		502	
TOTAL	18,636		17,184	

Table 30. WHAT LANGUAGE DO YOU SPEAK WITH YOUR MOTHER?

	PRIMARY-4		SECONDARY-2	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Always or usually Basque	4.,	26.0	3,559	21.2
Always or usually Spanish	12,850	70.3	12,649	75.4
Another language	680	3.7	575	3.4
Total	18,277	100.0	16,783	100.0
Null Responses	359		401	
TOTAL	18,636		17,184	

Table 31. WHAT LANGUAGE DO YOU SPEAK WITH YOUR BROTHERS AND SISTERS?

	PRIMARY-4		SECONDARY-2	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Always or usually Basque	4,875	30.8	3,956	26.6
Always or usually Spanish	10,576	66.8	10,493	70.6
Another language	386	2.4	405	2.7
Total	15,837	100.0	14,854	100.0
Null Responses	2,799		2330	
TOTAL	18,636		17,184	

Table 32. WHAT LANGUAGE DO YOU SPEAK WITH YOUR BROTHERS AND SISTERS?

	PRIMARY-4		SECONDARY-2	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Always or usually Basque	2,447	13.5	1,985	11.9
Always or usually Spanish	14,879	82.4	14,068	84.5
Another language	742	4.1	588	3.5
Total	18,068	100.0	16,641	100.0
Null Responses	568		543	
TOTAL	18,636		17,184	

Table 33. WHAT LANGUAGE DO YOUR FAMILY SPEAK WHEN THEY ARE ALL TOGETHER AT HOME (AT MEAL TIMES, WATCHING TV AND SO ON)?

	PRIMARY-4		SECONDARY-2	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Only Basque	2,033	11.0	1,478	8.8
More Basque than Spanish	1,444	7.8	1,332	7.9
Both equally (Basque and Spanish)	1,507	8.2	925	5.5
More Spanish than Basque	2,872	15.6	2,923	17.3
Only Spanish	9,951	54.1	9.680	57.4
Another language	596	3.2	536	3.2
Total	18,403	100.0	16,874	100.0
Null Responses	233		310	
TOTAL	18,636		17,184	

13. LANGUAGE USE: OUTSIDE SCHOOL

Table 34. WHAT DO YOU SPEAK IN PRIVATE CLASSES?

	PRIMARY-4		SECONDARY-2	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Only Basque	3,074	26,0	2,082	14,9
More Basque than Spanish	1,190	10,1	1,081	7,8
Both equally (Basque and Spanish)	1,383	11,7	1,256	9,0
More Spanish than Basque	999	8,4	1,342	9,6
Only Spanish	3,051	25,8	5,856	42,0
Another language	2,139	18,1	2,311	16,6
Total	11,836	100,0	13,928	100,0
Null Responses	6,800		3,256	
TOTAL	18,636		17,184	

Table 35. WHAT DO YOU SPEAK IN EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES?

	PRIMARY-4		SECONDARY-2	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Only Basque	3,553	21.5	2,011	12.7
More Basque than Spanish	1,697	10.3	1,278	8.1
Both equally (Basque and Spanish)	1,725	10.4	1,384	8.8
More Spanish than Basque	1,957	11.8	1,847	11.7
Only Spanish	6,355	38.4	8,159	51.6
Another language	1,242	7.5	1,133	7.2
Total	16,529	100.0	15,812	100.0
Null Responses	2,107		1,372	
TOTAL	18,636		17,180	

Table 36. **WHAT DO YOU SPEAK IN SUMMER CAMP OR WHEN YOU GO CAMPING?**

	PRIMARY-4		SECONDARY-2	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Only Basque	4,099	29.3	2,454	16.0
More Basque than Spanish	1,814	13.0	1,886	12.3
Both equally (Basque and Spanish)	1,827	13.1	2,057	13.5
More Spanish than Basque	1,469	10.5	1,928	12.6
Only Spanish	4,325	31.0	6,152	40.2
Another language	434	3.1	815	5.3
Total	13,968	100.0	15,292	100.0
Null Responses	4,668		1,892	
TOTAL	18,636		17,184	

14. LANGUAGE USE: WITH FRIENDS ON THE INTERNET

Table 37. **WHAT LANGUAGE DID YOU LAST CHAT TO YOUR FRIENDS IN?**

	PRIMARY-4		SECONDARY-2	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Basque	3,701	25.8	3,717	22.3
Spanish	10,403	72.4	12,697	76.3
Another language	256	1.8	237	1.4
Total	14,360	100.0	16,651	100.0
Null Responses	4,276		533	
TOTAL	18,636		17,184	

APPENDIX II: USES AT SCHOOL. FREQUENCY TABLES

1. AMONG CLASSMATES IN THE CLASSROOM

Table38. WHAT DO YOU SPEAK TO YOUR CLASSMATES IN THE CLASSROOOM?

	PRIMARY-4		SECONDARY-2	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Only Basque	6,667	36.4	2,417	14.4
More Basque than Spanish	4,363	23.8	2,313	13.7
Both equally (Basque and Spanish)	2,567	14.0	1,930	11.5
More Spanish than Basque	2,209	12.0	3,815	22.7
Only Spanish	2,434	13.3	6,284	37.4
Another language	94	0.5	64	0.4
Total	18,334	100.0	16,823	100.0
Null Responses	302		361	
TOTAL	18,636		17,184	

2. AMONG CLASSMATES ON THE PLAYGROUND

Table 39. WHAT DO YOU SPEAK TO YOUR CLASSMATES ON THE PLAYGROUND?

	PRIMARY-4		SECONDARY-2	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Only Basque	3,047	16.6	1,870	11.1
More Basque than Spanish	2,247	12.2	1,182	7.0
Both equally (Basque and Spanish)	2,075	11.3	1,070	6.4
More Spanish than Basque	4,035	22.0	2,776	16.5
Only Spanish	6,857	37.4	9,863	58.6
Another language	88	0.5	57	0.3
Total	18,349	100.0	16,818	100.0
Null Responses	287		366	
TOTAL	18,636		17,180	

3. (SECONDARY-2 ONLY) WITH BEST FRIEND ON THE PLAYGROUND

Table 40. WHAT DO YOU SPEAK TO YOUR BEST FRIEND ON THE PLAYGROUND?

SECONDARY-2	Frequency	%
Only Basque	2,173	12.9
More Basque than Spanish	1,046	6.2
Both equally (Basque and Spanish)	978	5.8
More Spanish than Basque	2,951	17.5
Only Spanish	9,568	56.9
Another language	103	0.6
Total	16,819	100.0
Null Responses	365	
TOTAL	17,184	

4. WITH TEACHERS IN THE CLASSROOM

Table 41. WHAT DO YOU SPEAK TO YOUR TEACHERS IN THE CLASSROOM?

	PRIMARY-4		SECONDARY-2	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Only Basque	9,716	53.0	6,147	36.5
More Basque than Spanish	3,767	20.5	4,121	24.5
Both equally (Basque and Spanish)	2,402	13.1	2,112	12.6
More Spanish than Basque	1,295	7.1	2,221	13.2
Only Spanish	1,068	5.8	2,143	12.7
Another language	99	0.5	78	0.5
Total	18,347	100.0	16,822	100.0
Null Responses	289		362	
TOTAL	18,636		17,184	

5. WITH TEACHERS OUTSIDE THE CLASSROOM

Table 42. WHAT DO YOU SPEAK TO YOUR TEACHERS OUTSIDE THE CLASSROOM?

	PRIMARY-4		SECONDARY-2	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Only Basque	9,164	50.0	5,761	34.2
More Basque than Spanish	2,579	14.1	3,035	18.0
Both equally (Basque and Spanish)	2,044	11.1	1,866	11.1
More Spanish than Basque	1,585	8.6	2,047	12.2
Only Spanish	2,860	15.6	4,044	24.0
Another language	111	0.6	68	0.4
Total	18,343	100.0	16,821	100.0
Null Responses	293		363	
TOTAL	18,636		17,184	

6. LANGUAGE USED AMONG THE TEACHERS

Table 43. WHAT DO YOUR TEACHERS SPEAK IN TO EACH OTHER?

	PRIMARY-4		SECONDARY-2	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Only Basque	9,548	52.1	5,672	33.7
More Basque than Spanish	3,402	18.6	4,386	26.1
Both equally (Basque and Spanish)	2,372	12.9	3,144	18.7
More Spanish than Basque	1,335	7.3	1,686	10.0
Only Spanish	1,600	8.7	1,842	10.9
Another language	81	0.4	94	0.6
Total	18,338	100.0	16,824	100.0
Null Responses	298		360	
TOTAL	18,636		17,184	

APPENDIX III. QUESTIONS FROM THE 2011
Diagnostic Evaluation questionnaire used in the Arrue Project

PRIMARY YEAR 4

PUPIL QUESTIONNAIRE

1. When were you born?

	1999		2000		2001		2002

2. Gender:

Girl 1

Boy 2

3. Where was your father born?

A. In the Basque Country 1

B. In a different autonomous region 2

C. In another country 3

4. Where was your mother born?

A. In the Basque Country 1

B. In a different autonomous region 2

C. In another country 3

5. Where were you born?

A. In the Basque Country 1

B. In a different autonomous region 2

C. In another country 3

NOTE: Only answer the next question if you were born outside of the Basque Country. If not, leave it blank and move on to the next one.

6. If YOU were born outside of the Basque Country, how long have you lived here?

A. Less than two years ..... A

B. Between two and four years ..... B

C. Between four and six years C

D. Between six and eight years ..... D

E. More than eight years ..... E

[...]

11. What language do you speak with your father? *(Please tick only one box)*

A. Always or almost always Basque 1

B. Always or almost always Spanish 2

C. Another language (Arabic, Chinese, Romanian, English, etc.) 3

12. What language do you speak with your mother? *(Please tick only one box)*

A. Always or almost always Basque 1

B. Always or almost always Spanish 2

C. Another language (Arabic, Chinese, Romanian, English, etc.) 3

13. What language do you speak with your brothers and sisters? *(Please tick only one box)*

A. Always or almost always Basque 1

B. Always or almost always Spanish 2

C. Another language (Arabic, Chinese, Romanian, English, etc.) 3

14. What language do your parents speak with each other? *(Please tick only one box)*

A. Always or almost always Basque 1

B. Always or almost always Spanish 2

C. Another language (Arabic, Chinese, Romanian, English, etc.) 3

15. What language do you speak with your family when you're all together? (At lunch, at dinner, when you're watching television, etc.) *(Please tick only one box)*

A. Only Basque 1

B. Only Spanish 2

C. More Basque than Spanish 3

D. More Spanish than Basque 4

E. Both equally (Spanish and Basque) 5

F. Another language (Arabic, Chinese, Romanian, English, etc.) 6

16. What is your opinion of these languages? *(Please tick only one box)*

A. Do you like Basque?

Not at all	Not very much	So-so	Quite a lot	A lot
1	2	3	4	5

B. Do you like Spanish?

Not at all	Not very much	So-so	Quite a lot	A lot
1	2	3	4	5

C. Do you like English?

Not at all	Not very much	So-so	Quite a lot	A lot
1	2	3	4	5

How easy or hard are these languages for you?

	Very easy	Easy	So-so	Hard	Very hard
D. Basque?	1	2	3	4	5
E. Spanish?	1	2	3	4	5
F. English?	1	2	3	4	5

17. In general, what language are you more fluent in (in terms of SPEAKING)?
(Please tick only one box)

A. I am more fluent in Spanish 1

B. I am more fluent in Basque 2

C. I am equally fluent in both (Basque and Spanish) 3

[...]

27. What language do you usually speak in each of the following situations?
(Please tick only one box)

B. With your classmates when you are in class

Always Basque	More Basque than Spanish	Both equally	More Spanish than Basque	Always Spanish language	Another
1	2	3	4	5	6

C. With your friends from school during break and in the playground

Always Basque	More Basque than Spanish	Both equally	More Spanish	Always Spanish than Basque	Another language
1	2	3	4	5	6

D. In private classes

Always Basque	More Basque than Spanish	Both equally	More Spanish	Always Spanish than Basque	Another language
1	2	3	4	5	6

E. In activities outside of school

Always Basque	More Basque than Spanish	Both equally	More Spanish	Always Spanish than Basque	Another language
1	2	3	4	5	6

F. At summer camp

Always Basque	More Basque than Spanish	Both equally	More Spanish	Always Spanish than Basque	Another language
1	2	3	4	5	6

28. What language...

	Basque	Spanish	Other
A. ... is your favourite website in?	1	2	3
B. ... is your favourite television programme in?	1	2	3
C. ... does your favourite band or singer sing in?	1	2	3
D. ... is your favourite radio programme in?	1	2	3
E. ... was the last film you saw at the cinema in?	1	2	3
F. ... did you use the last time you chatted with your friends?	1	2	3

29. In general, what language... *(Please tick only one box per line)*

A. ... do YOU speak when you talk to your teachers in class

Always Basque	More Basque than Spanish	Both equally	Gaztelaniaz	More Spanish than Basque	Another language
1	2	3	4	5	6

B. ... do YOU speak when you talk to your teachers outside of class

Always Basque	More Basque than Spanish	Both equally	Gaztelaniaz	More Spanish than Basque	Another language
1	2	3	4	5	6

C. ... do your teachers speak among themselves

Always Basque	More Basque than Spanish	Both equally	Gaztelaniaz	More Spanish than Basque	Another language
1	2	3	4	5	6

[...]

OHARRA: Hurrengo galderari erantzun iezaiozu bakarrik Euskal Herritik kanpo jaio bazara. Bestela, joan hurrengo galderara.

31. What language did you speak at home up to the age of three?

A. Basque	1
B. Spanish	2
C. Both Basque and Spanish	3
D. Another language	4

32. What marks did you get last year in these subjects?

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
A. Basque	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
B. Spanish	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
C. Maths	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
D. English	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J

SECONDARY YEAR 2

PUPIL QUESTIONNAIRE

1. When were you born?

	1995		1996		1997		1998

2. Gender:

Girl 1

Boy 2

3. Where was your father born?

A. In the Basque Country 1

B. In a different autonomous region 2

C. In another country..... 3

4. Where was your mother born?

A. In the Basque Country 1

B. In a different autonomous region 2

C. In another country..... 3

5. Where were you born?

A. In the Basque Country 1

B. In a different autonomous region 2

C. In another country..... 3

NOTE: Only answer the next question if you were born outside of the Basque Country. If not, leave it blank and move on to the next one.

6. If YOU were born outside of the Basque Country, how long have you lived here?

A. Less than two years..... A

B. Between two and four years ..... B

C. Between four and six years C

D. Between six and eight years ..... D

E. More than eight years ..... E

11. What language do you speak with your father? *(Please tick only one box)*

A. Always or almost always Basque 1

B. Always or almost always Spanish 2

C. Another language (Arabic, Chinese, Romanian, English, etc.) 3

12. What language do you speak with your mother? *(Please tick only one box)*

A. Always or almost always Basque 1

B. Always or almost always Spanish 2

C. Another language (Arabic, Chinese, Romanian, English, etc.) 3

13. What language do you speak with your brothers and sisters? *(Please tick only one box)*

A. Always or almost always Basque 1

B. Always or almost always Spanish 2

C. Another language (Arabic, Chinese, Romanian, English, etc.) 3

14. What language do your parents speak with each other? *(Please tick only one box)*

A. Always or almost always Basque 1

B. Always or almost always Spanish 2

C. Another language (Arabic, Chinese, Romanian, English, etc.) 3

15. What language do you speak with your family when you're all together? (At lunch, at dinner, when you're watching television, etc.) *(Please tick only one box)*

A. Only Basque 1

B. Only Spanish 2

C. More Basque than Spanish 3

D. More Spanish than Basque 4

E. Both equally (Spanish and Basque) 5

F. Another language (Arabic, Chinese, Romanian, English, etc.) 6

16. What is your opinion of these languages? *(Please tick only one box)*

A. Do you like Basque?

Not at all	Not very much	So-so	Quite a lot	A lot
1	2	3	4	5

B. Do you like Spanish?

Not at all	Not very much	So-so	Quite a lot	A lot
1	2	3	4	5

C. Do you like English?

Not at all	Not very much	So-so	Quite a lot	A lot
1	2	3	4	5

How easy or hard are these languages for you?

	Very easy	Easy	So-so	Hard	Very hard
D. Basque?	1	2	3	4	5
E. Spanish?	1	2	3	4	5
F. English?	1	2	3	4	5

17. In general, what language are you more fluent in (in terms of SPEAKING)?
(Please tick only one box)

A. I am more fluent in Spanish	1
B. I am more fluent in Basque	2
C. I am equally fluent in both (Basque and Spanish)	3

[...]

27. What language do you usually speak in each of the following situations?
(Please tick only one box)

A. With your friends from school during break and in the playground

Always Basque	More Basque than Spanish	Both equally	Gaztelaniaz	More Spanish than Basque	Another language
1	2	3	4	5	6

B. With your classmates when you are in class

Always Basque	More Basque than Spanish	Both equally	Gaztelaniaz	More Spanish than Basque	Another language
1	2	3	4	5	6

C. With your friends from school during break and in the playground

Always Basque	More Basque than Spanish	Both equally	Gaztelaniaz	More Spanish than Basque	Another language
1	2	3	4	5	6

D. In private classes

Always Basque	More Basque than Spanish	Both equally	Gaztelaniaz	More Spanish than Basque	Another language
1	2	3	4	5	6

E. In activities outside of school

Always Basque	More Basque than Spanish	Both equally	Gaztelaniaz	More Spanish than Basque	Another language
1	2	3	4	5	6

F. At summer camp

Always Basque	More Basque than Spanish	Both equally	Gaztelaniaz	More Spanish than Basque	Another language
1	2	3	4	5	6

28. What language...

	Basque	Spanish	Other
A. ... is your favourite website in?	1	2	3
B. ... is your favourite television programme in?	1	2	3
C. ... does your favourite band or singer sing in?	1	2	3
D. ... is your favourite radio programme in?	1	2	3
E. ... was the last film you saw at the cinema in?	1	2	3
F. ... did you use the last time you chatted with your friends?	1	2	3

29. In general, what language... *(Please tick only one box per line)*

A. ... do YOU speak when you talk to your teachers in class

Always Basque than Spanish	More Basque than Spanish	Both equally	Gaztelaniaz than Basque language	More Spanish	Another
1	2	3	4	5	6

B. ... do YOU speak when you talk to your teachers outside of class

Always Basque than Spanish	More Basque than Spanish	Both equally	Gaztelaniaz than Basque language	More Spanish	Another
1	2	3	4	5	6

C. ... do your teachers speak among themselves

Always Basque than Spanish	More Basque than Spanish	Both equally	Gaztelaniaz than Basque language	More Spanish	Another
1	2	3	4	5	6

30. In your opinion, what language suits the following situations, places or people best?
(Please tick only one box per line)

A.

Basque	Spanish	English	All three are equally siutable
1	2	3	4

B.

Basque	Spanish	English	All three are equally siutable
1	2	3	4

C.

Basque	Spanish	English	All three are equally siutable
1	2	3	4

D.

Basque	Spanish	English	All three are equally siutable
1	2	3	4

E.

Basque	Spanish	English	All three are equally siutable
1	2	3	4

F.

Basque	Spanish	English	All three are equally siutable
1	2	3	4

NOTE: Please respond to the following questions using the information you've brought from home.

31. What language did you speak at home up to the age of three?

A. Basque 1

B. Spanish 2

C. Both Basque and Spanish 3

D. Another language 4

32. What marks did you get last year in these subjects?

	Unsatisfactory	Adequate	Fair	Good	Excellent
A. Basque	A	B	C	D	E
B. Spanish	A	B	C	D	E
C. Maths	A	B	C	D	E
D. English	A	B	C	D	E

PART 2.

Contributions of experts

GENERAL USE OF THE BASQUE LANGUAGE IN SCHOOLS AND STUDENTS' BASQUE SKILLS

XABIER AIZPURUA, EDUARDO UBIETA AND ARRATE EGAÑA

ISEI-IVEI - Basque Institute for Research and Evaluation in Education. Basque Government

1. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this study will be to analyse the use of the Basque language in schools. The selected study sample was 6th Year Primary (aged 11-12) and 2nd Year Secondary (13-14) students.

The variable for Basque language use is completed with testimonies sought out using a questionnaire on Basque language use provided for this purpose: when they use the language, how often, with whom and in which contexts.

The variable could turn out to be very interesting as we get an idea of the variation in language use, both in schools and in inter-student relationships. We will present this information in two sections:

a) Demographically, meaning Basque language use by all the selected students.

b) We will analyse the relationship between this use and learning Basque language skills.

These two aspects (use of the language and its learning) will be developed over the report sections below, including any correlations that emerge between them. To tell the truth, it seems reasonable to assume there is a relationship between use and knowledge of the language, meaning possessing greater knowledge when the language is used more. This would be the effect to be generated in the variable, because if not, it would not be properly formulated or we would be prone to theoretical inconsistency.

Data from the study was obtained from the Diagnostic Testing carried out by ISEI-IVEI in 2011. As mentioned initially, complete samples of 6th Year Primary and 2nd Year Secondary were evaluated. On the other hand, the Basque Government Department of Education, Linguistic Policy and Culture Basque Language Service, along with the Sociolinguistic Cluster (the Arrue group) showed an interest in this assessment, particularly due to the questionnaire that students had to complete. The questionnaire was produced alongside the assessment, and students were asked questions on language use. In addition, the Arrue group researchers introduced some interesting study questions.

Subsequently, the behaviour of all the selected questions was studied, although the four questions from the Index or from the enquiry produced by Arrue for this report were analysed, as presented below.

2. THE VARIABLE "GENERAL USE OF THE BASQUE LANGUAGE IN SCHOOL BY STUDENTS": DESCRIPTION

In this section we are presenting the four questions that make up the variable *general use of the Basque language in school by the students*. Jointly, as previously mentioned, the demographic data will be reflected alongside the results obtained on Basque language skills.

We wish to obtain the following information with the questions in the Diagnostic Testing Questionnaire:

—Who do they speak to in Basque (students among themselves or students with teachers)?

—Where do they speak Basque (inside or outside the classroom)?

After presenting this data in the demographic field, it will be compared with Diagnostic Testing results on Basque skills.

The students were asked the following questions:

1- State which language you use in the following contexts: *(Please only tick one box in each row).*

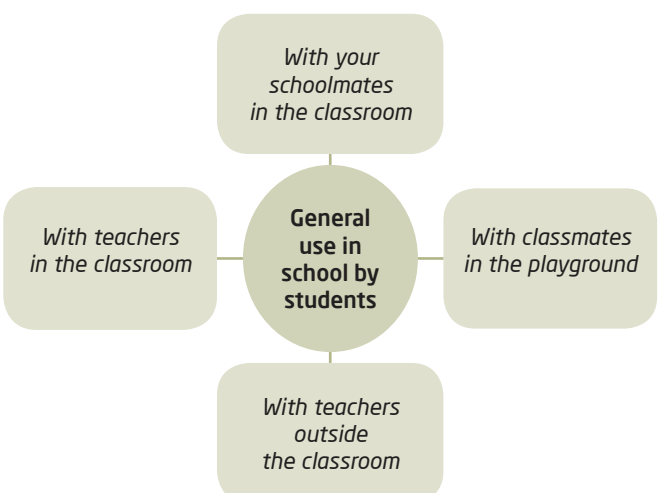
1. With your classmates in the playground:
2. With your classmates in the classroom:
3. With teachers in the classroom:
4. With teachers outside the classroom: izan

(They have to put their answer in the following grid, giving it a score from 1 to 5)

Always in Basque	More in Basque than in Spanish	Equally
1	2	3
More in Spanish than in Basque	Always in Spanish	In another language
4	5	6

The following diagram represents the linguistic connections established and the contexts where they occur:

Image 1. **LINGUISTIC CONNECTIONS AND CONTEXTS**



The following points analyse each question in the variable and the relationship that Basque language use has with the three Basque skills results.

A) Language used with classmates in the classroom and basque skills results

The figures appearing in the following graphs show the language that students use to talk to each other (vertical axis). This data is compared against the Basque skills results from the 2011 Diagnostic Testing (vertical axis). The data corresponds to 6th Year Primary (on the left) and 2nd year Secondary (on the right).

The vertical axis shows the total figure for use by students (100%): frequency with which students use Basque, Spanish and other languages. Along the horizontal axis, on the other hand, we have the Diagnostic Testing score, from 0 to 300 points.

As you can see, in cases where Basque is most used in both stages (meaning data from the last row: Always in Basque), they have obtained better results in the Basque skills evaluation. Therefore, when the use of Basque is strengthened, its actual learning also gets better results.

In Secondary, the use of Basque is more moderate in general terms, although in terms of results, it maintains the same correlation observed in Primary Education. It seems that Primary schools take more care with use (particularly outside the classroom) but this is nothing more than a hypothesis.

B) Language students use with classmates in the playground and basque skills results

The following boxes reflect use and results from the two stages: with classmates in the classroom and in the playground. This situation is compared with the Basque skills results (image 3).

It highlights the difference in data that appears in Primary for the *always in Basque* use: this is usually 36.4% in the classroom (as seen on the previous graph) but in the playground (this graph) it is 16.6%. This difference is not as clear at Secondary as in both cases the data is quite moderate, if compared with Primary data. Regardless of this, the trend remains the same: when Basque is used more, the results are better; or the opposite: the higher the results, the greater the use.

C) Language used by students with teachers in the classroom and basque skills results

This question is used to study which language the students use to speak to teachers in the classroom and the relationship between this data and the Basque evaluation results.

The image 4 show data from both stages:

Basque use has increased, if we take into account data from previous graphs. Therefore, the students use Basque more to speak to teachers than their classmates: *always in Basque,* exactly 53.0% of cases in Primary and 36.5% in Secondary. The difference is clear if we compare it with data from previous cases.

Image 2. USE OF THE LANGUAGE BY STUDENTS AMONG THEMSELVES AND BASQUE SKILLS

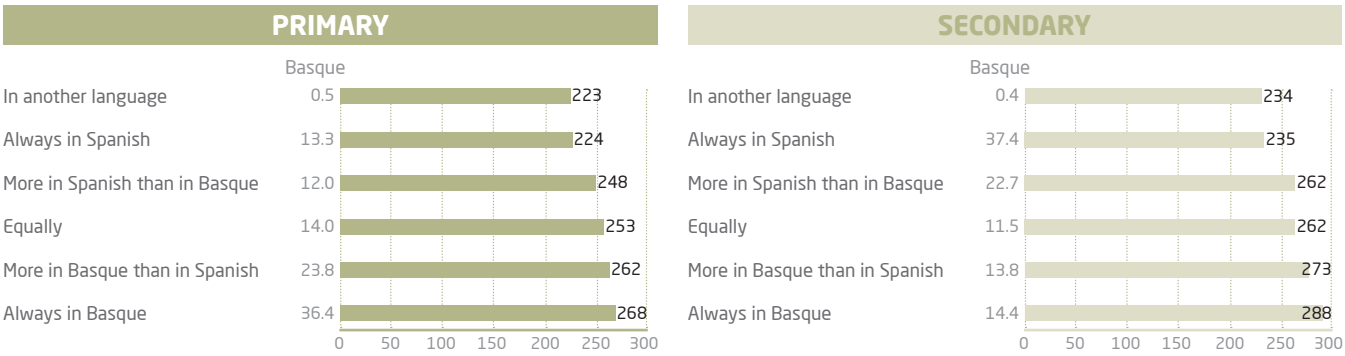


Image 3. USE OF THE LANGUAGE BY STUDENTS AMONG THEMSELVES IN THE PLAYGROUND AND BASQUE SKILLS

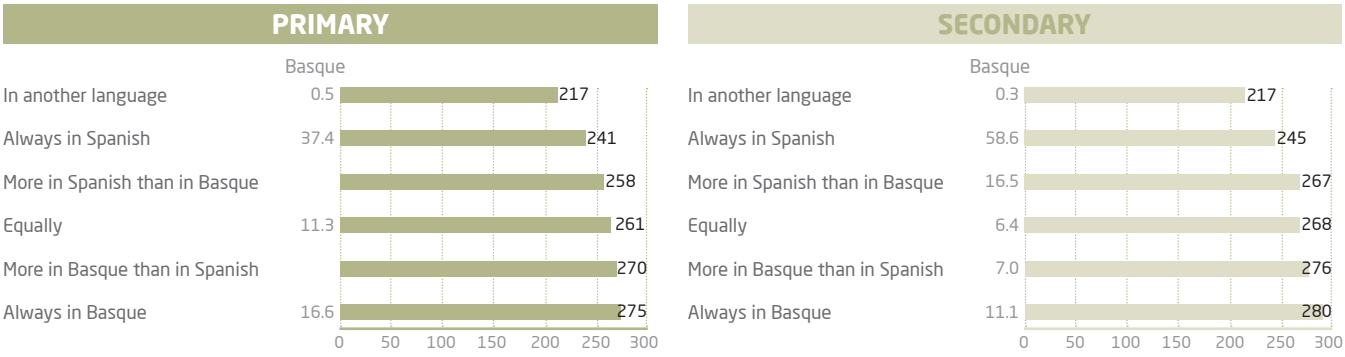


Image 4. USE OF LANGUAGE BY STUDENTS WITH TEACHERS IN THE CLASSROOM AND BASQUE SKILLS RESULTS

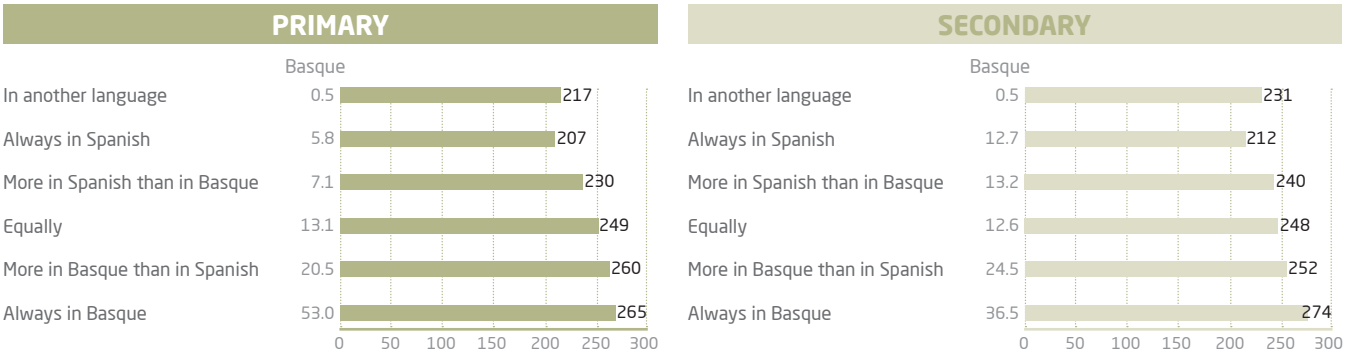
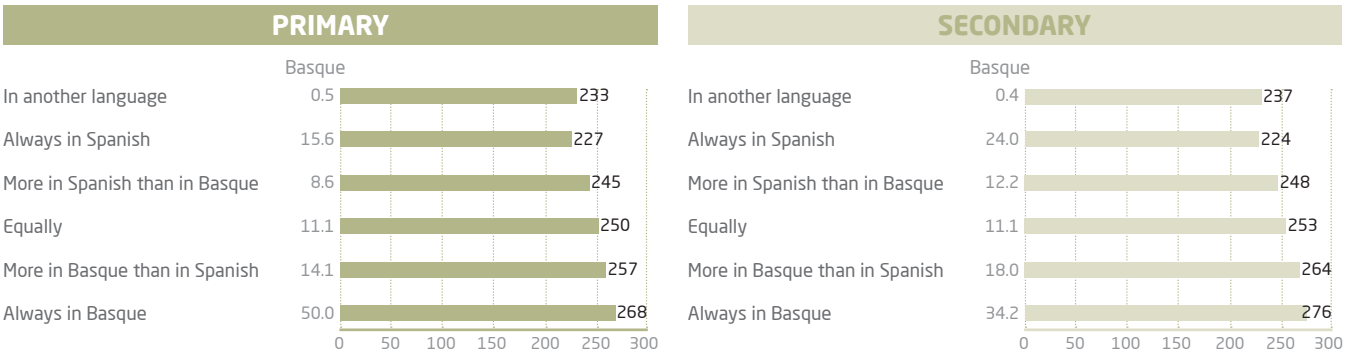


Image 5. USE OF LANGUAGE BY STUDENTS WITH TEACHERS OUTSIDE THE CLASSROOM AND BASQUE SKILLS



The graphs also show that Primary students use Basque with teachers more than in Secondary. As in previous cases, students with the best results are in the *always in Basque* usage level, confirming the trends seen from the start.

D) Language used by students with teachers outside the classroom and basque skills results

This section presents the language used by students to speak to teachers outside the classroom and the relationship between this data and Basque assessment results (image 5).

The usage figure in both age groups drops when exchanges take place outside the classroom, although differences are small so as far as talking to teachers in Basque is concerned, the figure is similar inside and outside the classroom. In the light of this data, it seems that teachers have a great influence on the use of Basque.

As in the previous case, the best Basque skills results once again go hand in hand with greater use of the Basque language.

3. VARIABLE "GENERAL USE OF THE BASQUE LANGUAGE IN SCHOOL BY STUDENTS": DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

While we offered specific data related to each question in previous points, this section looks at data from the general variable: general use of Basque by students. In this case, it is not compared against Basque skills results as just usage is analysed.

We should remember that this variable's usage average is composed of previously analysed questions or partial variables that compile the use of Basque at a specific time.

The value of this average will come into force with the next evaluation, because this is when these values can be compared.

Use is reflected in both stages, Primary and Secondary, and data is given on the students (initial grid) and schools. The figure, average and its typical deviation are also given.

Primary students use Basque more at school than Secondary students, as shown by the average. This trend is also corroborated in the schools.

These results can be seen graphically on the image 7. The scale from 1 to 5 shows the levels: Level 1 refers to students who do not use Basque at school and 5 refers to students who always use it. It should be taken into account that the averages reflected above and below correspond to the student, not the school.

4. VARIABLE "GENERAL USE OF THE BASQUE LANGUAGE IN SCHOOL BY STUDENTS", BY MODEL

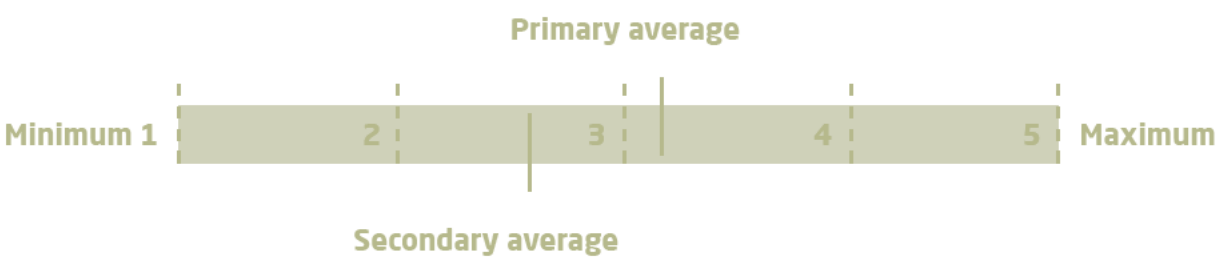
We will analyse the same results below as seen in the previous section, reflected graphically.

As we have seen up to now, the variable *use of the Basque language at school by students* seems to be closely linked to the Basque language skills assessment results, given that schools or students' usage concurs with their results. In

Image 6. GENERAL USE IN SCHOOL BY STUDENTS

STUDENTS	N	Average	Typical deviation	SCHOOL	N	Average	Typical deviation
PRIMARY	18,179	3.26	1.18	LH	522	3.29	1.07
SECONDARY	16,745	2.59	1.25	DBH	329	2.54	1.11

Image 7. USE OF BASQUE BY STUDENTS ACCORDING TO SCHOOLS AND LEVEL OF STUDY



addition, as we will see in this section, this correlation is confirmed with each linguistic model.

This is reflected in the image 8.

The graph's vertical axis shows the average results for Basque skills, classified in these figures (100-300). The straight line graphically represents the relationship between the two axes. It also shows us that the greater the use, the greater the Basque linguistic skill.

The horizontal axis represents the Basque language used by students in the school, between levels 1 and 5 (1 is scarce use and 5 is communication entirely in Basque, with both students and teachers). The small dots represent each school according to their model. In other words, the school will appear alongside its model and if there are more than two models, more dots will appear. Model A students are marked in blue, Model B in green and Model D in red, as shown on the graph text.

With all this, we should highlight that in the Secondary graph, there are many students that use Basque very little (1 and 2), almost never (some in model A and B), despite having a high level of Basque (above 250 points). More model D schools have a use figure between 4 and 5 than between 2 and 3. In addition, looking at the Primary graph, many schools with high use (4 and 5) do not obtain such a high Basque assessment result (under 250 points). This is clearly shown by the Diagnostic Testing data.

In fact, as the red line goes up, it can be seen that there is large scale correlation, meaning that the use of Basque goes hand in hand with the Basque skills results, although there are some exceptions. This double transfer would suppose that using the language boosts knowledge of the actual language and vice versa. This condition can prove to be essential in schools, even accepting that some schools with the same use levels obtain different Basque skills results, so there are other emotional factors.

The image 9 show the general use by means of another grouping: we have set levels from 1 to 6 (where 6 is the level of highest use) and we do not know how appropriate it is to use the term *level* to reflect this idea, as it might cause confusion with teaching levels, despite the fact that the concept is duly presented. The image reflect these usage groupings and their values (the results however do not appear), in both stages and in the case of students and schools.

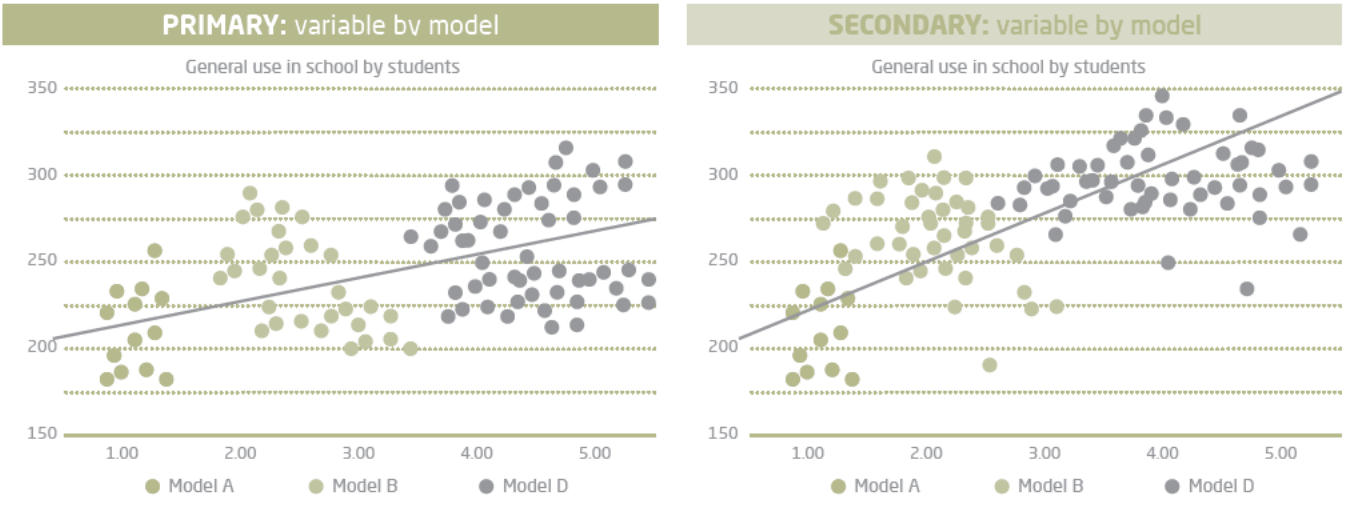
Both in the student section and in the school section, continuous use is still greater at higher levels, and this trend is higher in Primary than Secondary.

The image 10 represent the data that appears in the table linked to the results. The results score is between 200 and 290 (on the vertical axis).

There are 80 points between the two ends of the usage scale. This is a wide margin telling us that the level rises along with the use.

On the other hand, the main Primary group is 4th Year (9-10 year olds), and the years around this are also high (3rd and 5th year); at Secondary however, levels are uniform, putting most schools/students at level 3. Therefore, at Primary there are more students in high levels than at Secondary.

Image 8. GENERAL USE IN SCHOOL BY LINGUISTIC MODEL



This score sets a new hypothesis: the curve axis is more vertical at moderate levels. This means that schools with scarce use have to make a greater effort, always knowing full well that this effort will be more effective in terms of results than in other levels.

The general variable appears in these graphs, depending on linguistic model; only models B and D appear given that the majority of students are in these two models (between 92 and 98%).

Here as well, some model B students, as previously mentioned, present very good results, similar to model D, but they correspond to the 6th level of use: meaning that they use Basque a lot.

Image 9. **USE OF BASQUE BY SCHOOL YEAR: DEPENDING ON STUDENTS AND SCHOOLS**

			PRIMARY		SECONDARY	
STUDENTS		Value	N	%	N	%
General use in school by students in 6 levels	Level 1	1	860	4.73	2,000	11.94
	Level 2	1.01-1.99	2,167	11.92	4,118	24.59
	Level 3	2.00-2.99	4,351	23.93	4,946	29.54
	Level 4	3.00-3.99	5,164	28.41	2,714	16.21
	Level 5	4.00-4.99	3,580	19.69	1,585	9.47
	Level 6	5	2,057	11.32	1,382	8.25
	Total		18,179	100	16,745	100

In the case of model B, usage is concentrated on levels 2, 3 and 4. Any with less use obtain highly precarious results. Any with results over these levels get similar results to model D (image 11).

Model D students are grouped into models 4 and 5, and their results are appropriate for these models of use.

CONCLUSIONS

Taking into account what has been reflected by this data, and as a conclusion, it might be said that it seems that use influences Basque skill results and that knowledge of the language indicated by these results might also boost its use. Although it was already supposed, this study has shown that the numbers corroborate this hypothesis. On the other hand, this trend is also followed through the models.

Image 10. USE OF THE BASQUE LANGUAGE AND GROUPED RESULTS

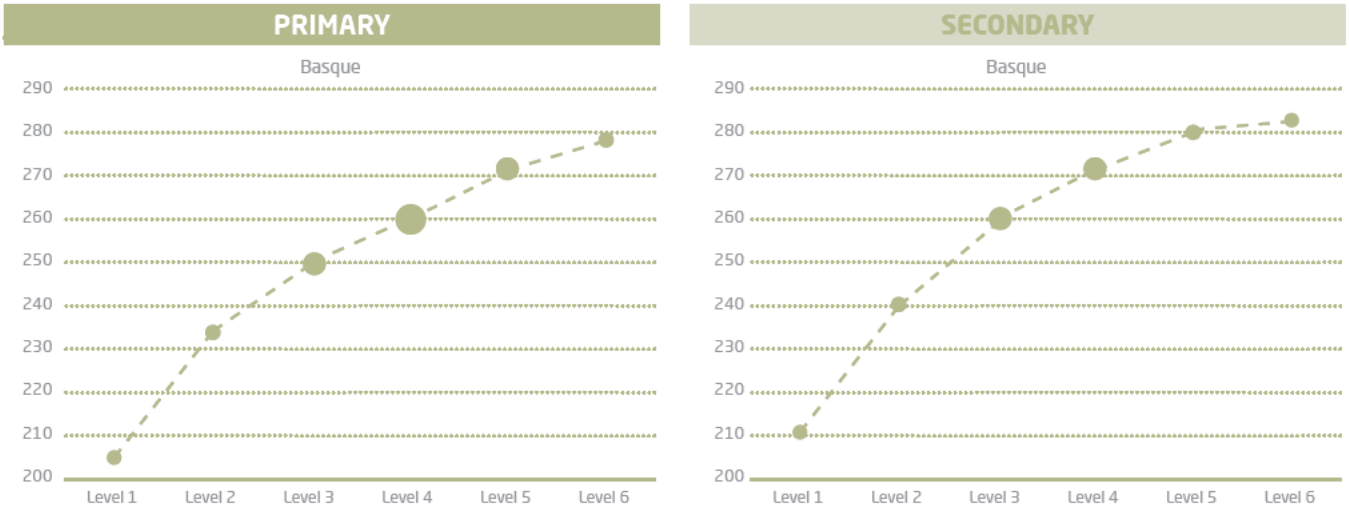
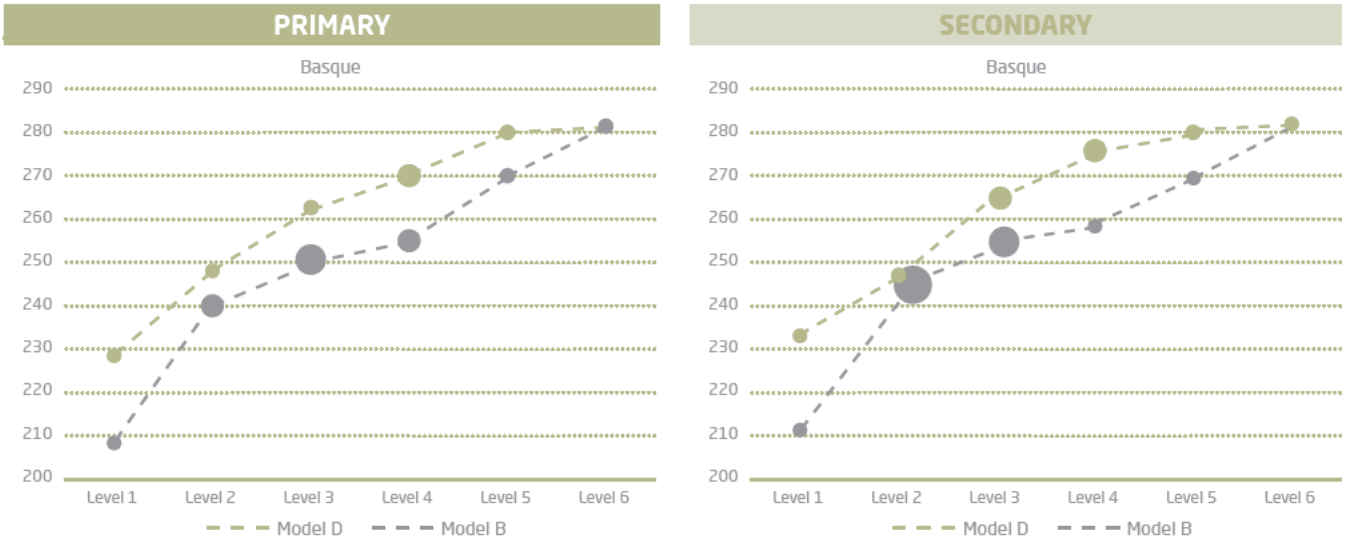


Image 11. USE OF THE BASQUE LANGUAGE AND RESULTS GROUPED BY LINGUISTIC MODEL



LANGUAGE USE AT SCHOOL IN THE BASQUE AUTONOMOUS COMMUNITY - THE ARRUE PROJECT AS A SOURCE OF INSPIRATION FOR MINORITY LANGUAGE ACQUISITION PLANNING IN EUROPE

JEROEN DARQUENNES
University of Namur. Belgium

1. INTRODUCTION

The Basque Country is fascinating in many respects. It is fascinating from the point of view of (maritime) history, from the point of view of the study of historical population movements, from the point of view of cultural studies and most certainly also from the point of view of the language sciences. The structural features of the Basque language, for example, since long appeal to historical-comparative linguists who are interested in comparing the syntactic, morphological and lexical features of Basque with those of other languages in the hope of revealing parts of its still puzzling origins. Sociolinguists and sociologists of language who focus on different aspects of the individual and societal use of language varieties in language contact settings are especially interested in diachronic and synchronic changes in the vitality of Basque in the three parts of the Basque Country: the Northern or French Basque Country, Navarre and the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC). And in the European language planning community the BAC is well-known for the determination and care with which language planning officers contribute to securing and reviving the intergenerational transmission, the visibility and the individual and societal use of Basque.

Especially during the last decade, language officers in the BAC have gained a lot of respect for the self-critical and conscientious way in which they monitor, evaluate and remodel their language planning initiatives (especially those in the educational realm) in a fruitful dialogue with academia. A recent example of intensive cooperation between language planning officers and academia is the Arrue project that was launched in 2004. Conceived by the *Soziolinguistika Klusterra* in close cooperation with the Basque government's ministry of education this project aims at carefully studying and monitoring the use of Basque in schools in the BAC from a qualitative as well as from a quantitative point of view. The most recent phase of data collection in the context of the Arrue project took place in 2011. The preliminary results concerning this data collection were published in December 2012 in a research report entitled *The Arrue Project: Diagnostic Evaluation 2011: Statistics of Pupils' Language Use* (the report will be referred to as the Arrue report in the remainder of the text).

The aim of this contribution is to present and discuss a number of selected data resulting from the last phase of the Arrue project. Largely based on a talk presented at the occasion of the latest annual meeting of the *Soziolinguistika Klusterra* (Donostia/San Sebastian, 31 January 2013) during which parts of the above cited report were discussed, it especially focuses on the language use of pupils in Primary 4 and Secondary 2 with their peers and their teachers at school (i.e. both in and outside of the classroom). Before presenting and discussing the results on the basis of the information provided in the Arrue report, this contribution first offers a sketch of the Arrue project as a language planning (evaluation) tool against the background of a sketch of the current situation of Basque in the BAC.

2. THE ARRUE PROJECT AS A LANGUAGE PLANNING (EVALUATION) TOOL

It is commonly known that the position of the Basque language, which had been in a situation of relatively stable language contact with Spanish for centuries, started to weaken towards the end of the 19th century. From that moment on, emerging processes of industrialization and urbanization, followed by a language policy that was clearly in favour of monolingualism under the Franco regime (1939-1975), by the globalization of the economy and the mass media as well as by waves of immigration (cf. Cenoz 2008; Zalbide & Cenoz 2008: 6) contributed to an increase of what one could call the 'social linguistic pressure' of Spanish on Basque. Already in the 1950s, however, measures and efforts got under way "aiming at maintaining and expanding both the number of speakers and the domains in which Basque is used" (Aldekoa & Gardner 2002: 339). The initiatives developed under the Franco rule might indeed have been more voluntary than the ones that are developed these days, yet they also helped to sow the seeds of more coordinated and systematic approaches to language policy and planning as they emerged soon after the Basque Autonomous Community came into being in 1979.

From the early 1980s onwards, the government of the BAC especially started to invest in the development of efforts aimed at complementing the declining intergenerational transmission of Basque in the family by offering Basque language education at school (cf. Gardner & Zalbide 2005). Language planners in the BAC since long share Fishman's opinion that the school alone cannot be held responsible for successes and/or failures in language maintenance (cf. Gardner & Zalbide 2005: 56). They are, however, convinced that the promotion of language acquisition in the educational realm certainly in Europe has an important role to play in contexts in which the intergenerational transmission of the language is hampered. And this because, as Gruffudd (2000: 173) states, the acquisition of such a language is essential "before any long-term progress can be made in furthering the use of that language in the various aspects of community life."

In order to restore and secure the place of Basque in education, the Basque government soon after the creation of the BAC promulgated the *Law on the Normalization of the Basque Language* (1982) which ensured the possibility of using either Basque or Spanish as the language of instruction. The *Bilingualism Decree* of 1983 established three school models that still exist today and are often cited in literature on bilingual or multilingual education:

— Model A schools in which Basque is offered as a second language;

— Model B schools in which both Spanish and Basque are offered as a subject and are used as languages of instruction for approx. 50% of the curriculum;

— Model D schools in which Basque is used as a language of instruction and in which Spanish is taught as a subject for 4 up to 5 hours per week (cf. Cenoz 2008: 16).

Model D was "originally created as a language maintenance program for native speakers of Basque" (Cenoz 2008: 16). Over the years, however, the popularity of the D model and of the use of Basque as a language of instruction has increased. When the three school models were established, approx. 20% of the pupils had Basque-medium teaching (Zalbide & Cenoz 2008: 10). In the school year 2008-2009 (cf. Cenoz 2008: 17) about 8.8% of all the pupils at the level of primary education attended a model A school, whereas 29.96% enrolled in model B and 60.47% in model D schools. At the level of secondary school, 52.64% attended a model D school, 27.54% a model B school and 19.08% a model A school. The general assumption is that the popularity of model D schools will continue to increase in the years to come.

On the one hand, the success of model D schools (and one could add the model B schools as well) is positive in that these schools (especially the D model schools) give Basque speaking pupils the opportunity to maintain and/or improve their knowledge of Basque while at the same time they contribute to passing on Basque to pupils who have no knowledge of Basque when they enter school. On the other hand, one has to take care of not overestimating the effects of the rise of the population in model D schools on the future of Basque. Even though they are quite happy with the positive evolution in model D schools, Basque language planning officials as well as Basque academics point out that not just the number of pupils is important. One also needs to carefully look at the sort of Basque competences the pupils develop at school. And one has to find out in how far the increase of the popularity of model D also leads to maintaining or increasing the use of Basque in society.

With the creation of the *Basque Institute for Evaluation and Research of the System of Education* (ISEI) the language planning officers precisely aim at obtaining data on, for example, the Basque competences of pupils in primary and secondary education as well as on their usage of Basque. In 2010-2011 the *Soziolinguistika Klusterra* reached an agreement with the ISEI to adapt the Arrue tests to the Evaluation Diagnostic of the ISEI. Following that agreement, a survey comprising all Primary 4 and all Secondary 2 pupils in the BAC was organized between 7 and 25 March 2011. A total of 18,636 pupils in Primary 4 (spread over 522 schools and 986 classes) and 17,184 pupils in Secondary 2 (spread over 329 schools and 865 classes) participated in the survey. With the survey extensive information on language use in (and outside of) schools as well as on language competences and attitudes of pupils aged between 9 and 10 years old (Primary 4) and 13 or 14 years old (Secondary 2) was obtained.

As the researchers of the *Soziolinguistika Klusterra* write in their report, Arrue "is not a project aspiring to find quick, easy answers" to questions concerning individual and societal language use among youngsters in the BAC. They therefore take the time to get to the bottom of the collected data by means of sophisticated statistical analyses. The publication of analyses that are complementary to the ones already presented in the Arrue report is therefore something to really look forward to since it will be further help to adjust existing language planning initiatives and to inspire new language planning monitoring and evaluation activities in the BAC as well as in other parts of Europe.

3. DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

As mentioned above, the Arrue project covers a wide range of data dealing with the Basque competences, the attitudes towards Basque and the use of Basque in the case of Primary 4 and Secondary 2 pupils. In this paper, the focus will be on the language use of these pupils with their peers and their teachers at school, in and outside of

the classroom. The presentation of the results is structured in such a way that a presentation of the overall results is followed by a presentation of results based on more sophisticated statistical analyses.

It needs to be stressed here that the author of this paper did not make an active contribution to the collection and the analysis of data. The project was prepared and the data were collected and analyzed by the members of the *Soziolinguistika Klusterra.* The purpose of this paper is to shed an 'external' light on the results as presented in the Arrue report, not with the aim of imposing an external opinion on Basque policy makers and planners but with the aim of offering —albeit rather parsimonious— additional input for a further discussion of results in the light of future language policy and planning in the BAC. In order to make the data analysis as easy to digest as possible, the choice was made to reorganize some of the data as presented in the report. I.e.: in terms of language use the results for 'always Basque' and 'more Basque than Spanish' were added up, rounded off and renamed as 'usually/always Basque' and a similar procedure was followed in case of the results for 'always Spanish' and 'more Spanish than Basque'. The results for 'equal use of Spanish/Basque' were left aside. Care has been taken to reduce possible mistakes while reorganizing the data to the minimum. In case any mistakes would have crept into this contribution, they are, of course, the author's.

3.1. SOME GENERAL RESULTS

The general results for the self-reported language use of Primary 4 and Secondary 2 pupils with the peers and teachers in and outside of the classroom can be summarized as follows:

If one looks at Table 1 and at the overall results for Primary 4 and Secondary 2 separately, one notices the following tendencies:

— *Primary 4: language use with peers*
If one compares the use of Basque with peers in the classroom (60%) with the use of Basque with peers on the playground (29%), one notices that it drops with 31%. On the playground, the use of Basque gives way to the use of Spanish (59%) the position of which is not that strong in the classroom (25% of the pupils in Primary 4 claim to use it with their peers).

— *Primary 4: language use with teachers*
The difference between the use of Basque with teachers inside (74%) and outside of the classroom (64%) amounts to 10% in the case of Primary 4 pupils. When talking to the teachers Spanish is used by 13% of Primary 4 pupils inside the classroom and by 24% of them outside of the classroom which means that the use of Spanish increases with 11% outside of the classroom, yet remains fairly low there as well.

— *Secondary 2: language use with peers*
In the case of Secondary 2 pupils the use of Basque with peers in the classroom is limited to 28%. On the playground the use of Basque drops to 18%. The use of Spanish, on the contrary, flourishes both inside and outside of the classroom. 75% of the respondents in Secondary 2 claim to use Spanish with their peers on the playground. 60% claim to use it in the classroom.

— *Secondary 2: language use with teachers*
In the classroom, 61% of Secondary 2 pupils use Basque with the teachers whereas 26% use Spanish. Outside of the classroom the percentage of pupils who use Basque with their teachers amounts to 52%. 36% claim to use Spanish with the teachers outside of the classroom.

If one now compares the percentages for Primary 4 pupils as presented in Table 1 with those for Secondary 2 pupils, the following general picture emerges:

— Primary 4 and Secondary 2: language use with peers
The use of Basque with peers in the classroom drops from 60% in Primary 4 to 28% in Secondary 2. The use of Spanish with peers in the classroom augments from 25% in Primary 4 to 60% in Secondary 2. Thus, the use of Basque more than halves in Secondary 2 as compared to Primary 4 whereas the use of Spanish more than doubles.

Table 1. GENERAL RESULTS FOR LANGUAGE USE WITH PEERS AND TEACHERS IN AND OUTSIDE OF CLASSROOM IN THE CASE OF PRIMARY 4 (P4) AND SECONDARY 2 (S2) PUPILS

	P4		S2		P4		S2	
	Classroom	Playground	Classroom	Playground	Classroom	Outside class	Classroom	Outside class
Usually / always Basque	60%	29%	28%	18%	74%	64%	61%	52%
Usually / always Spanish	25%	59%	60%	75%	13%	24%	26%	36%

As to the use of Basque with peers on the playground, the percentage drops from an already rather low 29% in Primary 4 to an even lower 18% in Secondary 2. On the playground, Spanish rules in Primary 4 (59%) and even more so in Secondary 2 (76%).

— *Primary 4 and Secondary 2: language use with teachers*
The percentage of pupils who use Basque with the teachers in the classroom is 13% lower in Secondary 2 (61%) than it is in Primary 4 (74%). An almost equal drop can be noticed when comparing the result for the use of Basque with the teachers outside of the classroom in Primary 4 (64%) with Secondary 2 (52%). The use of Spanish with teachers outside the classroom is higher in Secondary 2 (36%) as compared to Primary 4 (25%).

What is especially striking about the results as presented so far, is the considerable decrease between the use of Basque with peers in the classroom when comparing the results of Primary 4 (60%) with the results of Secondary 2 (28%). However, one also needs to be cautious when interpreting these results. First of all, it should be stressed that the results are not to be interpreted as the results of a longitudinal study. Typical for a longitudinal study, at least in broad terms, is that one and the same group is repeatedly investigated by means of the same method over a certain period of time. The Arrue sample from 2011 does not allow for such a comparison. It 'only' offers the possibility to compare two different groups of pupils that took part in the same survey. One can therefore not conclude that the use of Basque with peers in the classroom drops in a rather spectacular way from Primary 4 to Secondary 2 for one particular generation of pupils. And secondly, and perhaps even more importantly, the results as presented above are to be interpreted as *overall* results for two groups of pupils that are to be considered as highly heterogeneous rather than highly homogenous groups. As Table 2 shows, the pupils do not all live in the same area, they do not share the same mother tongue, and they do not attend the same type of school.

Nearly half of the Primary 4 and the Secondary 2 pupils live in an area where the percentage of local Basque speakers amounts to less than 30%. About 35% of the Primary 4 and the Secondary 2 pupils live in an area where the percentage of local Basque speakers is to be situated between 30% and 60%. The minority of the pupils in Primary 4 and Secondary 2 (some 15% in each group) lives in an area where the percentage of local Basque speakers amounts to more than 60%.

Looking at the results for 'mother tongue', one sees that 62% of the Primary 4 pupils and 60.2% of the pupils in Secondary 2 listed Spanish as their mother tongue. 19.8% of the pupils in Primary 4 and 20.4% of the pupils in Secondary 2 have Basque as a mother tongue. The percentage of Basque-Spanish bilinguals amounts to 13.7% in Primary 4 and 15% in Secondary 2. And approx. 4.5% of the Primary 4 and the Secondary 2 pupils have a mother tongue that is different from either Basque or Spanish.

As to the type of school attended by the pupils in Primary 4 and Secondary 2 the following situation emerges:

— A minority of Primary 4 (7.4%) and Secondary 2 pupils (13.2%) attends model A schools.

Table 2. **BASQUENESS OF AREA OF LIVING, DISTRIBUTION OF MOTHER TONGUE AND CHOICE OF SCHOOL MODEL IN THE CASE OF PRIMARY 4 (P4) AND SECONDARY 2 (S2) PUPILS**

	P4	S2
area > 60% Basque	15.7	14.9
area < 60% and >30% Basque	35	35.7
area < 30% Basque	49.3	49.3
mother tongue Basque	19.8	20.4
mother tongue Basque + Spanish	13.7	15.0
mother tongue Spanish	62	60.2
Mother tongue other language	4.5	4.4
school model D	64	58.8
school model B	28.5	27.9
school model A	7.4	13.2

— Slightly less than one third of the Primary 4 (28.5%) and the Secondary 2 pupils (27.9%) attend model B schools.

— The majority of Primary 4 (64%) and Secondary 2 pupils (58.8%) attends model D schools.

That the pupils' geographical background as well as their mother tongue and the kind of school they attend have a certain influence on the language they use with their peers and with their teachers in as well as outside of the classroom is shown in the next section.

3.2. CROSS-TABULATIONS

Section 3.3. of the Arrue report contains cross-tabulations that show how the language use of pupils with peers and teachers in and outside of the classroom varies according to the pupils' geographical background, their mother tongue and the type of school they attend[1]. These cross-tabulations are presented and commented on below.

3.2.1. Language use and area of living

If one looks at each of the groups (i.e. Primary 4 and Secondary 2) separately, one notices that there seems to exist a certain connection between the 'Basqueness' of the area in which the pupils live and the use of Basque with their peers and their teachers. Pupils living in an area where the percentage of local Basque speakers amounts to more than 60% make more use of Basque than pupils who live in an area where the percentage of Basque speakers is to be situated between 30% and 60%. And these pupils in turn make more use of Basque than pupils living in an area where the local percentage of Basque speakers is lower than 30%.

Another tendency is that the percentages for the use of Basque with teachers are higher than the percentages for the use of Basque with peers. Table 3 also shows that the percentages for the use of Basque in the classroom are higher than the percentages for the use of Basque outside of the classroom.

If one compares the results for Primary 4 with the results for Secondary 2, the following general picture emerges:

1. The percentages for the use of Basque with peers and teachers in and outside of the classroom are higher for Primary 4 than for Secondary 2 pupils.

2. If one compares the differences between Primary 4 and Secondary 2 along the lines of the percentage of local Basque speakers in the area in which the pupils live, one notices that the decrease of the use of Basque with peers in the classroom (89% vs. 78%) and on the playground (78% vs. 72%), on the one hand, and the decrease of the use of Basque with teachers in the classroom (92% vs. 90%) and outside of the classroom (89% vs. 87%) is rather low for pupils living in an area with more than 60% local Basque speakers. For pupils in areas with less than 60% of local Basque speakers the differences between the percentages in Primary 4 and Secondary 2 are not that dramatic in case of language use with teachers. As far as the use of Basque with teachers is concerned, it can be noted that the percentages are never below 50% in Primary 4. In Secondary 2 the percentages for use of Basque with teachers only drop below 50% in the case of pupils living in an area with less than 30% local Basque speakers. The percentages for the use of Basque with peers in the classroom and on the playground are, however, low to very low in Secondary 2 for pupils living in an area with less than 60% of local Basque speakers. Looking at the same category of pupils in Primary 4, one also notices low percentages for the use of Basque with peers on the playground. The percentages for the use of Basque with peers in the classroom are better than those in Secondary 2. Even in the case of Primary 4 pupils living in an area with less than 30% of local Basque speakers they almost amount to 50%.

Table 3. LANGUAGE USE WITH PEERS AND TEACHERS IN AND OUTSIDE OF THE CLASSROOM FOR PUPILS IN PRIMARY 4 (P4) AND SECONDARY 2 (S2) ACCORDING TO THE BASQUENESS OF THE AREA OF LIVING

	With peers usually / always Basque				With teachers usually / always Basque			
	P4		S2		P4		S2	
	Classroom	Playground	Classroom	Playground	Classroom	Outside class	Classroom	Outside class
area > 60% Basque	89	78	78	72	92	89	90	87
area < 60% and >30% Basque	66	32	32	18	77	69	66	58
area < 30% Basque	46	11	10	1	65	52	49	38

[1] The Arrue report also provides information on gender differences. These differences are not commented on in this contribution.

3.2.2. Language use and mother tongue

Looking at each of the groups separately, the weight of Basque in the mother tongue repertoire has an influence on the use of Basque with peers and teachers. Pupils who have Basque as their sole mother tongue are clearly more inclined to use Basque in the classroom or with their peers than those who either have Spanish/Basque as their mother tongue or those whose mother tongue is Spanish. One also notices that the percentages for the use of Basque with teachers are higher than the percentages for the use of Basque with peers.

If one compares Primary 4 and Secondary 2, table 4 shows the following results:

1. The percentages for the use of Basque with peers in and outside of the classroom are (in most cases: considerably) higher and the percentages for the use of Basque with teachers are (in some cases: only slightly) higher for Primary 4 than for Secondary 2 pupils.

2. In the case of bilingual pupils and pupils who have Spanish as their sole mother tongue, the use of Basque on the playground is already restricted (i.e. way below 50%) in Primary 4 and even more restricted in Secondary 2. The use of Basque on the playground in the case of Secondary 2 pupils whose mother tongue is Basque (57%) is also rather low as compared to the use of Basque on the playground (73%) by Primary 4 pupils whose reported mother tongue is Basque.

3. One notices that bilingual pupils in Primary 4 (75%) show fairly good results as compared to bilinguals in Secondary 2 (40%) as far as language use in the classroom is concerned. Even almost half of the pupils in Primary 4 whose mother tongue is Spanish use Basque in the classroom. In Secondary 2 their share in the use of Basque drops to 13%. There is, however, a considerable drop in the percentage of the use of Basque in the classroom for those pupils whose mother tongue is Basque: from 89% in Primary 4 to 68% in Secondary 2.

3.2.3. Language use and school model

If one looks at the results for Primary 4 and Secondary 2 separately, one notices a decline of the use of Basque by the pupils as the share of Basque in the school model diminishes. The percentages for the use of Basque with teachers are almost in all cases higher than the percentages for the use of Basque with peers.

If one compares the results for Primary 4 with those for Secondary 2, the following picture emerges:

Table 4. LANGUAGE USE WITH PEERS AND TEACHERS IN AND OUTSIDE OF THE CLASSROOM FOR PUPILS IN PRIMARY 4 (P4) AND SECONDARY 2 (S2) ACCORDING TO THE PUPILS' MOTHER TONGUE

	With peers usually/always Basque				With peers usually/always Basque			
	P4		S2		P4		S2	
	Classroom	Playground	Classroom	Playground	Classroom	Outside class	Classroom	Outside class
Mother tongue Basque	89	73	68	57	93	92	91	88
Mother tongue Basque + Spanish	75	38	40	22	85	77	78	70
Mother tongue Spanish	49	14	13	4	66	54	49	38

Table 5. LANGUAGE USE WITH PEERS AND TEACHERS IN AND OUTSIDE OF THE CLASSROOM FOR PUPILS IN PRIMARY 4 (P4) AND SECONDARY 2 (S2) ACCORDING TO THE CHOSEN SCHOOL MODEL

	With peers usually/always Basque				With peers usually/always Basque			
	P4		S2		P4		S2	
	Classroom	Playground	Classroom	Playground	Classroom	Outside class	Classroom	Outside class
Model D	79	41	44	29	90	81	84	75
Model B	32	7	8	4	54	41	41	27
Model A	3	1	1	1	3	2	1	1

1. There are moderate changes as far as the use of Basque with teachers is concerned in the case of model D pupils. The changes are a bit more substantial in the case of model B pupils. In the case of model A pupils the changes are extremely small because of the simple fact that the percentages for the use of Basque in Primary 4 as well as in Secondary 2 face rock bottom.

2. Looking at the use of Basque in the classroom in Primary 4 and Secondary 2, the scores are extremely low in model A schools were Basque hardly plays a role. The percentage drops from an already low 32% (Primary 4) to an even lower 8% (Secondary 2) in model B schools. And as far as model D schools is concerned, the use of Basque in the classroom comes down from 79% in Primary 4 to merely 44% in Secondary 2.

3. The figures for the use of Basque on the playground are very low in the case of pupils attending model A and model B schools. They hardly reach above 40% in the case of Primary 4 pupils in model D schools. In the case of Secondary 2 pupils in model D schools, the use of Basque on the playground is limited to 29%.

3.2.4. Comments

On the basis of the above cross-tabulations it is possible to discern a number of general tendencies in the language use of pupils in Primary 4 and Secondary 2 in schools in the BAC:

— If one has a look at the school models, one notices that the use of Basque with teachers and peers both inside and outside of the classroom is very restricted in model A schools. This hardly comes as a surprise given the fact that model A schools are schools in which Basque hardly plays a role since it is only offered as a subject.

— Model B schools, as explained above, are schools in which both Spanish and Basque are taught as subjects and are used as language of instruction for approx. 50% of school time. In model B school, the use of Basque with teachers is 54% in classroom in Primary 4 and drops below 50% in the other cases. This means that Basque does not play a very great role in language use with teachers in Primary 4. It plays an even smaller role in the case of conversations with peers in and outside of the classroom. In Secondary 2 the situation is far from better.

— Also in model D schools, the percentages for the use of Basque with peers in and outside of the classroom are not all that rosy. Less than 50% of the Secondary 2 pupils use Basque in the classroom whereas 79% of pupils in Primary 4 use it. On the playground in model D schools the use of Basque is also not guaranteed since only 41% of the pupils in Primary 4 and 29% of Secondary 2 pupils use it.

Part of the explanation for the rather low overall results for the use of Basque on the playground could certainly be the presence of pupils who do not have Basque as a mother tongue and/or who live in areas with a limited percentage of local Basque speakers. It would therefore be interesting to try and find out in how far the exposure to different degrees of Basqueness in their area of living and/or a different mother tongue repertoire influences the use of use Basque with peers and teachers within model D and/or model B schools. On the basis of the results as presented so far, as well as on the basis of the results for 'language model choice according to mother tongue' (Figure 20, 21 of the Arrue report) and 'language model choice according to the proportion of local Basque speakers' (Tables 6, 7) one could assume that quite a number of 'linguistic profiles' can be distinguished among the pupils in Primary 4 and Secondary 2 of which the following two could be the most 'idealized':

1. Suppose that a pupil has Basque as a mother tongue and lives in an area where the amount of local Basque speakers amounts to more than 60% then the chances are rather high that this pupil will use Basque with his peers and teachers in Primary 4. Pupils with such a profile might also be among the pupils using Basque most of the time with fellow pupils and with teachers in Secondary 2. Such pupils probably attend model D schools rather than model B or model A schools[2].

2. Suppose that a pupil has Spanish as a mother tongue and lives in an area where the percentage of local Basque speakers is below 30% the chances are rather high that such a pupil will make very little use of Basque with his peers and teachers. One also expects such pupils to attend model A schools, although — given the information on the success of model D schools and partly also model B schools — the chances are quite high that quite a lot of pupils with this profile attend model D or B schools (cf. also tables 6, 7 and figures 20, 21 of the Arrue report which confirm that).

Next to these two 'idealised' profiles, other profiles are possible such as (1) pupils who have Spanish as a mother tongue and live in areas with more than 30% of local Basque speakers, or (2) Spanish-Basque bilinguals who live in an area with more than 60%, less than 60% and more than 30%, or less than 30% local Basque speakers. It could be interesting to try and find out what kind of language

[2] The results presented in the figures 20, 21 and tables 6, 7 of the Arrue report show that 92,5% of the Primary 4 pupils and 91,7% of the Secondary 2 pupils who report to have Basque as their mother tongue attend model D schools. Model D schools are also attended by 94,9% of Primary 4 pupils and 94% of Secondary 2 pupils living in an area with more than 60% of local Basque speakers.

use patterns such pupils develop in model B and model D schools in Primary 4 as compared to Secondary 2. On the basis of the results as presented so far, these language use patterns are hard to predict. However, when taking into account the results for language use according to the mother tongue, on the one hand, and language use according to the Basqueness of the area of living, on the other hand, the impression is that especially the bilinguals (yet to a certain extent also the pupils whose mother tongue is Spanish) at the level of Primary 4 try to 'catch up' with the pupils whose reported mother tongue is Basque as far as the use of Basque with peers in the classroom and the use of Basque with teachers in and outside of the classroom is concerned. The same can be said about Primary 4 pupils living in areas with less than 60% of local Basque speakers. Moving to Secondary 2, however, the efforts made to use Basque with the peers in the classroom diminish. And in the case of pupils having Spanish as a mother tongue and those living in areas with less than 30% of Basque speakers also the use of Basque with teachers is under pressure.

It is, at this stage, hard to say what causes pupils in Primary 4 who do not have a strong Basque profile (i.e. whose self-reported mother tongue repertoire does not only contain Basque and/or live in an area where the amount of local Basque speakers is lower than 60%) to be more inclined to use Basque especially with their peers than Secondary 2 pupils who do not have a strong Basque profile. In order to try and find out what really influences the language use of pupils in Primary 4 and Secondary 2, the researchers of the *Soziolinguistika Klusterra* calculated correlations between variables and also made use of multiple regression analysis.

3.3. AN INDEX OF 'PUPILS' GENERAL LANGUAGE USE AT SCHOOL'

In order to facilitate the calculation of correlations and multiple regressions, the researchers of the Soziolinguistika Klusterra combined the results for pupils' language use with peers (inside and outside of the classroom) and pupils' language use with teachers (inside and outside of the classroom) into a combined variable which they labeled 'pupils' general language use at school'. Each of the components that constitute the variable were given a different weight (cf. explanation in section 4 of the report). On a scale from 1 (no use of Basque at all) to 5 (use of Basque at all times), the average index for Primary 4 and Secondary 2 pupils reads as follows:

— Primary 4: average score of 3.26

— Secondary 2: average score of 2.60

Based on the results of the survey as presented so far, the results for Primary 4 (well above 2.5) and Secondary 2 (slightly higher than 2.5) hardly come as a surprise. An obvious goal for language planners is, of course, to try and improve the use of Basque especially in Secondary 2. In order to do so, one needs reliable information on the factors influencing the language use of the pupils investigated. In the Arrue report, such information is given in the sections containing the results of the correlations and the multiple regression analysis.

Table 6. **CORRELATION OF THE VARIABLE 'PUPILS' GENERAL LANGUAGE USE AT SCHOOL' WITH OTHER VARIABLES BOTH FOR PRIMARY 4 (P4) AND SECONDARY 2 (S2) PUPILS.**

	P4	S2
	R =	R =
Language use in organized activities outside school [cons]	0.627 (2)	0.763 (1)
Language use at home [cons]	0.568 (5)	0.697 (2)
On chat with friends	0.592 (3)	0.687 (3)
Relative fluency	0.574 (4)	0.652 (4)
Language model	0.679 (1)	0.630 (5)
Language loyalty Basque vs. Spanish [cons]	0.545 (6)	0.622 (6)
Mother tongue	0.524 (9)	0.616 (7)
Media and culture consumption [cons]	0.530 (7)	0.604 (8)
Percentage of local Basque speakers	0.494 (11)	0.598 (9)
Difficulty/ease of Basque vs. Spanish [cons]	0.526 (8)	0.539 (10)
Language teachers speak to each other	0.522 (10)	0.529 (11)

3.4. CORRELATIONS AND MULTIPLE REGRESSION ANALYSIS

3.4.1. Correlations

The idea behind the calculation of correlations is to find out in what way a dependent variable (in the case of the Arrue report: the pupils' general language use at school) correlates with a number of independent variables which are either single variables or again combined ones (cf. section 4.2 of the Arrue report for details). Table 6 below lists eleven such variables. The decision was made to list only those variables with a (rather) strong correlation (the albeit somewhat arbitrary choice was made for an R with a value higher than .450). For the sake of clarity: The numbers between brackets reflect the order of strength of the variables in Primary 4 and Secondary 2. And a high R-value reflects a strong correlation.

The picture that emerges from table 6 is the following:

— In the case of Primary 4 pupils the dependent variable shows the strongest correlation with the 'language model' (R = .679) whereas in the case of Secondary 2 pupils it shows the strongest correlation with 'language use in organized activities outside school' (R = .763).

— If one looks at the 'top 5' of correlations, one notices that the same variables have a place in the 'top 5' of both Primary 4 and Secondary 2. Only the order of importance is different for those variables other than 'chat with friends' (place 3 in Primary 4 and Secondary 2) and 'relative fluency' (place 4 in Primary 4 and Secondary 2). 'Language use at home' shows a stronger correlation in Secondary 2 (place 2) than in Primary 4 (place 5). 'Language model' shows a stronger correlation in Primary 4 (place 1) than in Secondary 2 (place 5). The variable 'language use in organized activities outside school' scores high in Secondary 2 (place 1) and in Primary 4 (place 2).

— Next to 'language use in organized activities outside of school', 'chat with friends' and 'language use at home' also other variables that, as such, have no direct connection to life at school, show strong correlations with the dependent variable. That is the case for: 'media and culture consumption', 'percentage of local Basque speakers', 'mother tongue' and 'language loyalty'.

— It is also interesting to see that the 'language which the teachers speak to each other' figures among the variables that show an R-value that is relatively high.

3.4.2. Multiple regression analysis

As clearly explained in the Arrue report the purpose of multiple regression analysis is to predict the value of a dependent variable from a set of free variables. The idea is to figure out to what extent a set of independent variables will influence the dependent variable. One could also refer to the independent variables as "predictor variables" since the purpose of multiple regression analysis is to find out the predictive value of the independent or predictor variables concerning the scores of the dependent variable (cf. Brace et al. 2012: 206). For the purposes of the Arrue project, it is, however, not so much the predictive value that is the issue at stake. The emphasis is put on the identification of those factors that exert an influence on the language use of pupils. Table 7 below contains a list of the five most significant variables in Primary 4 and Secondary 2. The numbers again reflect the order of the variables in the case of Primary 4 and Secondary 2. It should also be mentioned that the multiple regression analysis had greater explanatory power when applied to language use by Secondary 2 pupils (78%) than it has in the case of Primary 4 pupils (70%).

Table 7 presented above shows that some parallels exist between Primary 4 and Secondary 2 in the sense that 'language spoken by the teachers to each other' and the 'percentage of local Basque speakers' occupy the same place (i.e. place 4 and 5 respectively). The first two variables simply change order: Whereas 'language model' occupies the first place in Primary 4 it occupies the second place in Secondary 2. In the case of 'organized activities outside of school' it is the other way around. The top 5 in the case of Primary 4 is completed by 'relative fluency' (which 'only' occupies place 7 in the case of Secondary 2). The top 5 in

Table 7. **MULTIPLE REGRESSION ANALYSIS CONCERNING BOTH PRIMARY 4 (P4) AND SECONDARY 2 (S2) AND WITH 'PUPILS' GENERAL LANGUAGE USE' AS A DEPENDENT VARIABLE**

P4		S2
1	Language model	2
2	Organised activities outside of school	1
3	Relative Fluency	7
4	Language teachers speak to each other	4
5	Percentage of local Basque speakers	5
11	Language use at home	3

the case of Secondary 2 is completed by 'language use at home' which occupies place 3 (and only occupies place 11 in the case of Primary 4).

3.4.3. Some comments

The correlations and the multiple regression analysis allow us to further explore some observations that were already presented above (cf. section 3.2.4).

1. There clearly is a margin to improve the use of Basque most certainly among peers in the classroom and on the playground, and also with teachers in Primary 4 and even more so in Secondary 2. From the cross-tabulations presented in section 3.2. we know that this most certainly is the case for pupils whose mother tongue is either Spanish or Spanish and Basque and who live in an area where the percentage of local Basque speakers is lower than 60%. Yet, the analysis of correlations as well as the multiple regression analysis shows that not only variables such as 'mother tongue' and the 'percentage of local Basque speakers' influence the use of Basque in the school setting. Variables such as 'language use in organized activities outside of school', 'language use on chat with friends', and the 'language use at home' are also important (from a statistical point of view even more important than 'mother tongue' and 'percentage of local Basque speakers'). There is, thus, an influence of patterns of societal language use on patterns of language use at school which is stronger in Secondary 2 than in Primary 4 (cf. next point). Language planners and language planning scholars are since long aware of that. Zalbide & Cenoz (2008: 16), for example, state that the weakening of the societal "breathing spaces" of Basque and the retreat of Basque in domains such as "the home, the local community, friendship networks and the local worksphere" has "important implications for the educational system". These implications are not explicitly mentioned by Zalbide & Cenoz in the slipstream of this quote, yet it is obvious that the authors are thinking about implications in the sense that (a) the language use patterns outside of school penetrate the language use patterns at school, and (b) that because of that, the school more and more faces the challenge of having to contribute to converting knowledge of Basque into actual use of Basque (again especially in the case of pupils who do not have a strong Basque profile).

In the past decades, quite a lot of initiatives were launched to try and bridge the gap between knowledge and use of Basque in schools in the BAC. Details are provided by Aldekoa & Gardner (2002) who, among other things, refer to the creation of the NOLEGA unit within the Basque Ministry of Education back in 1984 and the creation of the Ulibarri program in the mid-1990s. As it can be read on www.eurekalert.org (last consulted on 18 March 2013), the Ulibarri programme is run by the Education Department of the Basque Autonomous Community Government. It started during the 1996-1997 academic year and aims to revive the use of Basque in schools. Each school has its own LNP-Language Normalisation Project built on the basis of its own ecosystem, and Ulibarri brings all these LNPs together under the umbrella of the education system. Ulibarri is a language plan prepared by the education system and designed for schools; it encourages the use of Basque through knowledge stemming from the education system and using the LNP as the vehicle.

Since not all schools in the BAC participate in the Ulibarri programme (or certainly not to the same extent), it would be interesting to know in how far differences exist in terms of the language use pattern of pupils between schools that have taken initiatives to improve the use of Basque and schools that haven't. And in all cases it would be interesting to try and find out in what way language use in the (urban or rural) areas where the schools are located is stimulated in school-external settings by means of top-down as well as bottom-up initiatives since, as Zalbide & Cenoz (2008: 19) rightly claim, "[t]he success or failure of the school-based Basquisation process depends on factors external to the school, on the reward and sanction system operating in the vast domain, external to the school". What seems especially problematic, even in the BAC that counts as a success story in language planning literature, is to convince people to spontaneously contribute to language maintenance by means of grassroots activities. In this respect, the following phrases taken from Martínez de Luna & Azurmendi (2005: 90-91) are quite illuminating:

> "We are inclined to think, on the one hand, that the revival process of the language has — necessarily — become specialized and technified, and this impedes the comprehension of it by citizens and their direct participation in it. On the other hand we would say that to a certain extent as a result of the previous point, citizens have lost the feeling that they are the main actors in language normalization and have delegated responsibility for the process to local government officials and the specialists.
>
> The main reason for this relative social distancing lies, in our view, in a great lack of awareness among the Basque population of the "sociolinguistic process"; for example, ignorance about the complexity and duration which any language revival process inevitably entails and also about the need for society to be involved in this achievement. Basque society has relinquished, at least partially, what Sztompka calls, the "agency" of the process."

Convincing people in a globalizing world in which processes of individualization outrun processes of

'Vergemeinschaftung' to act as sociolinguistic agents in favor of a minority language is one of the hardest tasks language planners face these days.

2. Section 3.2. has shown that certain differences as to the use of Basque exist between Primary 4 and Secondary 2 pupils. An intriguing question in this respect is the one regarding the possible reasons behind the differences between Primary 4 and Secondary 2. One possible explanation could be that Primary 4 pupils show a somewhat greater dedication to school activities and are more eager to discover Basque as their own or as a new language in comparison to Secondary 2 pupils. That is, however, only a guess that would need to be further investigated along with the language competences of Primary 4 and Secondary 2 pupils and the general attitudes of these pupils towards language learning and language usage in general and the learning and usage of Basque in particular. In order to explain the differences one could also try and link the results to the way in which Basque is taught at the level of Primary 4 and Secondary 2 and the way in which the teaching of Basque also invites the pupils to actively use the language with each other in the classroom setting and outside of the classroom (cf. Aldekoa & Gardner 2002). It could very well be that differences in language teaching pedagogy are of help in explaining some of the differences between Primary 4 and Secondary 2 for those pupils who do not have a strong Basque profile. And another point that deserves attention is the analysis of the way in which the close social networks of the pupils inside and outside of the school (and the possible changes in these networks from primary to secondary school) influence the pupils' language use at school and outside of the school (cf. Martínez de Luna & Suberbiola 2008).

4. OUTLOOK

To conclude, it needs to be stressed again that the analysis presented here is a preliminary and parsimonious one. In order to increase the value of the analysis, it would have to be linked in a much more thorough and less superficial way to existing observations on language use at schools in the BAC, to the other results presented in the Arrue report (i.e. results on language competences, language attitudes and language use in general) and especially also to results of available qualitative studies. I would therefore like to express my hope that the researchers of the *Soziolinguistika Klusterra* will find a way to link the quantatitave data to qualitative data as they have been collected, by the way, in previous phases of the Arrue project. I would also like to urge the researchers of the *Soziolinguistika Klusterra* to try and aim for a fine-grained analysis of the data concerning certain subgroups of the Primary 4 and Secondary 2 samples. For language acquisition planning in the BAC it could, e.g., prove interesting to aim for a detailed analysis of language use by different subgroups (according to mother tongue, area of living, school-external language use patterns, etc.) in the different school models, and especially in model D schools which are under quite some pressure due to the enormous increase in popularity. Such analyses would help us to better grasp and understand the heterogeneity of the school population in the BAC and could help language planners (in the BAC and beyond) to further reflect on tailor made approaches aiming at the promotion of the use of Basque (or other languages that face social pressure in a situation of societal language contact) at school and when classes are over.

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BASQUE IN THE EDUCATION SYSTEM IN THE BASQUE AUTONOMOUS COMMUNITY: A SOCIOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION

IÑAKI MARTÍNEZ DE LUNA
UPV/EHU - University of the Basque Country

SUMMARY

This paper aims to analyse and explain the motivations that students in the education system of the Basque Autonomous Community (CAV) have for the language they use at school. To carry out this task, we have started out from the theoretical and conceptual developments in socialisation that Sociology provides us with (see for example: Giddens, 2007). Analysis has been carried out on fourth-year students in Primary Education and second-year students in Compulsory Secondary education, and in this way we have also been able to how language habits have evolved among these age groups.

AS HUMAN BEINGS WE ARE NOT BORN AS MEMBERS OF A SOCIETY

At an international level, sociolinguistics usually studies the procedures for language socialisation, in order to analyse the process of language acquisition in boys and girls in greater depth (Kendall, 2006: 226), among other aims. Based on this idea, we began to reflect on the initial living conditions that human beings usually ourselves in when we are born, in order to check whether there are any possible similarities between these initial processes and the process of language acquisition (Giddens, 2007; Martínez de Luna, 2009: 11-42).

— In general, according to the concept of socialisation that has spread all over the world, human beings are not born as members of a society, but we become members of society alter a long process (Berger & Luckmann, 1968). *We can also say that human beings are not born as members of a specific language community either, but we become one, also after a long process.*

— When we are born, people are helpless and dependent on the acceptance and protection of the group. *A limitation and sense of helplessness that also occurs as far as human beings' language is concerned: the newborn don't know any language.*

— However, human beings as a species have the ability to learn; furthermore, they also have the ability to communicate and pass on what they have learnt. *As they grow, human beings will gradually master a language, until they are able to make use of this, among other things, as a communication tool.*

— As a result, after they are born, human beings need to continue to be reborn, reborn into the group, in order to become members of this. *At the same time as they become members of the group, they are also reborn into a language community (or several), and become members of this.*

— Human beings avoid their basic weakness in this way: through socialisation and social integration. *In the same way the newborn also overcome their sense of linguistic helplessness through the process of language acquisition.*

— This socialisation process can be carried out in various ways; in fact, each culture has its own particular way of socialising its members. *A newly-born child's First language will also depend on the language community that they are born into; as a result, each language community has its own First Language or its own kina of speakers.*

Finally socialisation includes these two levels: the conversion of the newborn into a member of the group and into a *member of the language community.*

There is more than one way of understanding socialisation, depending on the academic school or tendency. Some schools of thought, for example, explain the impact of socialisation as a one-way aspect:

> "…the process through which humans learn and internalise, during their lives, the sociocultural elemnts of their environment, and integrate them into their personality structure under the influence of significant experiences and social agents, and in this way they adapt to the social environmant in which they must live." (Rocher, 1980: 133-134).

However, there is a more dynamic idea about the concept of socialisation. For example, symbolic inter-actionists do not conceive of the individual as a passive subject; according to them, we give a certain amount of time in our socialisation process to initiative:

> "…socialisation is not a one-way process in which actors receive information; this is a dynamic process in which actors give shape to and adapt information to meet their own needs." (Manis & Meltzer, 1978: 6; in Ritzer, 2002: 272)

The dynamic perspectives of socialisation also reject allocating boys and girls a merely normative role. On the contrary boys and girls are recognised to have the ability to actively intervene:

> "The normative approach conceives of socialisation as merely being a series of stages during which 'complete' adults teach 'incomplete' children the habits of society. (…) Children are not passive, incomplete receptacles; on the contrary, they are active participants in the socialisation process because they have the ability to reason, form ideas and acquire knowledge. Socialisation is a two-way process." (Ritzer, 2002: 327-328)

Aside from these numerous definitions, below we show the description that Fernández Palomares provides of socialisation:

> "So, socialisation must be placed in the overall context of society as a general framework for social relations; linked to other social spheres such as the economy, power and politics, ideology…" (Fernández Palomares, 2003).

SOCIALISATION AND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION, TWO PARALLEL PROCESSES

If all these social aspects are taken into consideration within socialisation, and given the vast amount of relations that are formed in or around this socialisation process, few people would question that language also forms part of socialisation. Quite the opposite, as it is accepted that language acquisition is an element that forms part of comprehensive cultural socialisation:

> "As the language is learnt and used in a cultural context, we have observed that language and culture are indivisible aspects." (Tannen, 2006: 393).

In a clear didactic fashion, Malores Etxeberria provides us with evidence that language socialisation is an element in a broader process:

> "The home and school form the two pillars of children's education, and both need to aim in the same direction so that this education process bears its fruits (...). And questions of language cannot be kept separate from this situation." (Etxeberria, 2006).

As the connections and similarities between socialisation and the language process are the purpose of our analysis, in the following lines we are going to look at both phenomena in parallel, and are going to take an analysis of certain characteristics of socialisation as a starting point. In fact, certain characteristics of socialisation are not only worth emphasising but are also useful, from the linguistic point of view:

1. Socialisation is basically carried out through a process of formal learning, and not through formal education. In this, implicit formulations of rules and values are just as important as explicit ones. In this way, socialisation is a learning process, although not all learning is socialisation:

   — On an explanatory or learning level, it is especially habits and practices that are internalised, and not intellectual knowledge. The aim is to understand both the social aspects of relationships and how relationships function. It is the living language that is learnt, *the one used by that the language community, and not, for example, formal knowledge like grammar.*

   — Legitimisation or justification (values): an ethical assessment is given to social aspects and to how relationships function. The legitimisation of this society is passed on. *The language is also linked to certain values, and certain ideas regarding language that exist in society are passed on: whether this is a language to be valued or looked down on, to be loved or hated, a useful or marginal language, etc.*

2. In this learning process, apart from internalising the culture of the group, human beings adapt their behaviour and conduct to fit in with this culture. They also internalise a complex network of social relations, and learn how to behave with the family, at school or in their town or village, among other environments. In fact, in the socialisation process we assimilate the roles of a society or human group, and to a large extent, we act in accordance with the roles we have acquired. *As for the language, we learn where/what/with who we should use a specific language or variant: in our circle of friends a specific language and register, but with our grandparents, in class or at work, etc, other registers. A complex set of language codes and rules for using the language are internalised in each and every social situation and relationship.*

3. In the socialisation process, the aim is to integrate human beings into society; human beings join one group, and

at the same time, they move away from other human groups. Or to put it another way, it fixes and establishes <us/the others>. *At the same time and in the same way, they become members of a specific language community, and clearly show their differences with members of other language communities: Basque against Galician, French, Spanish, etc. New speakers join their own community of speakers.*

4. Human beings form part of society and take part in it. *Human beings learn a language and take part in this language community; they use its language and become speakers of this.*

5. This behaviour on the one hand means that people become attached to the environment or group, and on the other, ensures the cohesion of this group. *Among those people who share the same language, a language community is created, unlike what happens with the speakers of another language, and in this aspect, their closeness and complicity are quite clear.*

6. On becoming human beings, those who socialise guarantee the survival of this group. Socialisation acts as a guarantee of social reproduction. *On becoming members of a language community, we ensure that this language community will continue.*

7. Socialisation is an endless process that occurs throughout our entire lives. *Speakers are also continuously learning a language, and adapt to meet the new needs of the language.*

8. Socialisation, as an internalisation of the social order, is also a social control mechanism, because we internalise the required compliance with our rightful social roles. *By learning a language we also internalise the need to use this language correctly and appropriately, not only as far as its grammar is concerned but also with regard to social aspects: how to use it and what terminology and register (among other aspects) to use depending on who we are speaking to.*

9. However, socialisation does not completely determine society; it only achieves a level of agreement or unanimity regarding behaviour, and never an inflexible unavoidable copy of what has been learnt. We actively contribute to society, that is, as socialised people we can make innovations in the rules and values that are passed on, and make changes in these. *Languages are not passed on inflexibly without changing, and in themselves they are gradually transformed from one generation to the next. Just like values and social rules, speakers of languages continually develop and change these over time: speakers influence a language.*

Finally, human beings are the result of our environment; not in a merely deterministic sense, but to a large extent this is the case. At the same time, socialised human beings also influence the environment in which they have been socialised, to a greater or lesser extent. *Speakers are also the result of the language community that they belong to, but at the same time, they also transform the language that they have internalised and assimilated.*

Furthermore, socialisation and the learning of a first language go together, or if you prefer, learning a language is merely an aspect of socialisation. *Whether we do so as members of society or as speakers of a language: what we see is what we learn!*

We have reached a clear conclusion: although up to now we have analysed, in parallel, socialisation and the learning of a language, from now on we will have to conceive this question as a feature of a single process that has numerous aspects: to put it another way, linguistic socialisation. Society and language form an indivisible couple. As a result, if we go into the basic aspects of socialisation in greater depth, we will be able to have a better understanding of the linguistic process.

PROCESSES AND STAGES IN SOCIALISATION

As far as the aforementioned characteristics are concerned, we need to distinguish between three processes in socialisation:

— Cognitive process: *psychologically,* socialisation is a learning process, or to put it another way, human beings are taught the culture of a specific human group. *Language acquisition is also a cognitive process, as the language of a community of speakers is taught: vocabulary, syntax or sentence construction, verb conjugations, social norms associated with the language, etc.*

— Identification process: *sociologically* and *anthropologically* socialisation is not restricted to passing on certain contents, as human beings, as well as unconsciously and invariably assimilating these contents, also identify with these: nation, religion, ethnic group, culture, profession, status, etc. *The language is also "contaminated" by all or some of these concepts: nation, ethnic group, culture, profession, status, etc, until the new speaker, after acquiring the language, identifies with this language (my/our language), and in our case, feels they are Basque-speaking.*

— Affective process: human beings also need coexistence, interaction, communication, affection and physical

contact, and not just any kind, but top-quality forms of these. *Exactly the same thing happens with a language, for example, by assimilating ideas like the following: our beloved Basque language, precious language of our home (Basque) as against unfamiliar language (another language), original local language as against externally imposed language, etc.*

— Other aspects are also combined with this social teaching, such as biological inheritance and personal experience. *Perhaps biological inheritance is not an extremely important factor in a speaker's character and development, but personal experience is: for example: feeling comfortable or not in using a language, feeling integrated or discriminated against, having a complex because of certain limitations in their abilities or feeling proud about being fully able to use it, problems due to the desire to use Basque, feeling forced to learn and/or use Basque against their will, etc.*

These first three processes interact with personal experience to create an unrepeatable human being with a unique character. It is at this stage that human beings will become members of society, as until this point they were not socialised. *A unique unrepeatable speaker is created out of the interaction between these aspects and characteristics of language: a specific clearly-defined Basque speaker.*

It is for all these reasons that socialisation is vitally important for human beings *(and for speakers),* and in order to be able to understand the details of such an interesting process better, we are now going to analyse, even though this will only be in superficial way, the stages that we normally distinguish between in this process, and the characteristics of these. In fact, this may be of great help to us to understand the process of acquiring a language and its basic characteristics.

We can basically distinguish between two kinds of socialisation: *Primary Socialisation and Secondary Socialisation.* In any case, as various changes have occurred in contemporary societies after certain new situations have emerged, the idea of *Tertiary Socialisation* has also been developed. Here we will deal with the three of them.

Primary socialisation
This occurs in infancy and is the basic pillar of socialisation. It is at this time that the basic social categories are assimilated that will be used throughout our entire lives: making distinctions according to sex and gender, distinguishing between good and evil, etc.

This level of socialisation originally occurs within the family (especially) and at nursery school, as well as at school, and through *Other Significant Agents,* that is, through agents who are extremely important models for boys or girls: father and mother, brothers and sisters, teachers, etc. In this process a complete way of seeing the world is assimilated, and the primacy of emotional and moral elements can clearly be seen.

The first language or mother tongue (L1) is the one received at home, in the early years of our childhood, absolutely directly from the mouths of our family. From then on, this language will be the most important, most internalised and most characteristic one for all speakers. Among Basque-speakers, the people who form part of this group are those whose first language is Basque, who are also called "euskaldun zaharrak" ("old Basque-speakers or speakers from birth"). They form a minority among children and young Basque-speakers at the present time.

Secondary socialisation
This occurs outside the family to a large extent: in the education system, among our friends, and especially through the media. It begins approximately at puberty and is carried out through *Other Generalised Agents.* This is a process that goes beyond specific people, and abstract social roles are perceived and internalised in this. Professional and political skills are also learnt. The greater the range of work, the more complex socialisation will be: we learn to act as a trade union member, teacher, citizen of a state, resident of a town, coach of a sports team, etc.

As a result, in this process the way to behave in the institutional framework is internalised (in the job market, as a citizen, etc). The emotional/moral elements that need to be taken into account in this learning process are to be found in broader contexts. This Second Socialisation process is methodical and systematic, unlike Primary Socialisation.

On the one hand, there are those who, as their home or family language is different (first language), have learnt Basque as a second language (L2) through the education system or the Euskaltegi (centre for learning Basque); that is, the "euskaldun berriak" ("new Basque speakers"). It is precisely this kind of Basque speaker that is most common among children and young people nowadays, and as a result of this, the second language they learn (Basque) is not as internalised as the other one in most cases. So, those who have learnt Basque as a second language are unlikely to master it to the same degree as their other language, or to put it another way, they will speak their other language better than Basque.

On the other hand, if those who have had Basque as a first language are also immersed in this language at school, they will achieve this level of linguistic socialisation to a much greater extent. As the degree of linguistic socialisation they have built up is so great, the level of competence in Basque that this kina of speaker has will be greater than their competence in the other language in many cases; and in other cases, both levels of competence will be comparable.

Tertiary Socialisation

In the last few years, the idea of tertiary socialisation has emerged. The aim of this kind of socialisation is to show a specific case of adults whose main characteristic is as follows: when an adult in particular plays down what they have learnt in a specific environment and prefers or needs to internalise the rules and values of another culture or society (García Ferrando, 2005: 119-121)

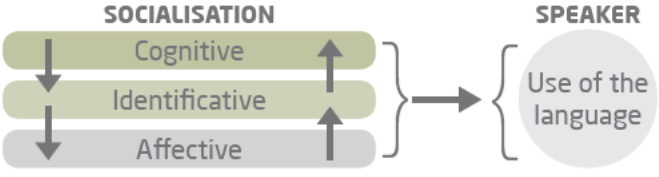
So, tertiary socialisation is based on trans-culturation, that is, it consists of the person in question being immersed in societies or model systems that are quite different to the society in which they were born or grew up, so that for example, immigrants have to adapt to this society, and are forced to learn new rules, values and customs.

Their linguistic socialisation will depend on what their tertiary socialisation is like. Those immigrants who cannot speak Spanish, can only socialise in Spanish, in Basque (as well) or in both languages.

RESEARCH DATA FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF GENERAL SOCIALISATION

We are now going to show the hypothesis that can be reached based on the previous theoretical developments: "The more complete the student's socialisation in Basque is, the more they will use this language".

Image 1. THE THREE TYPES OF SOCIALISATION FUNCTIONS AND THE USE OF LANGUAGE



Hypothesis:

> "The more complete the socialisation process in Basque among students, the more they will use this language."

That is, the more complete the process of linguistic socialisation is at a cognitive, identificative and affective level, the greater the student's attachment to this language will be when it comes to behaving as a speaker of this; or to put it another way, when it comes to sticking with this language community's use of Basque.

On the other hand we have already mentioned that the first language (L1) is the key to language socialisation, and that in the other language learnt outside the family sphere (L2) a more superficial degree of socialisation is usually achieved. This weaker level of socialisation may occur in the three functions (cognitive, identificative and affective), but it is particularly clear as far as the cognitive function is concerned. However, numerous people whose L1 is Basque also have Basque as the language they study in at school, so this language will be much more integrated into their language socialisation process. On the other hand, if speakers from another language community learn Basque at school, they will only have this language as a L2. As a result, the degree of socialisation in Basque that this type of student will be more superficial than the level attained in the family sphere, and will always depend on the language model of their studies and on the Basque-speaking environment at their school.

From this point of view, we need to bear in mind that 33.5% of fourth-year students in primary education and 35.4% of second-year students in Compulsory Secondary Education have Basque as a first language, solely or together with Spanish[1].

Among model D students, the figures for those people with Basque as their L1 are higher: 46.2% and 51.8% for these learning levels, respectively.

So, the main language socialisation agent (the family) is Basque-speaking only in a minority of cases; most often, the family has been socialised in another language, despite the fact that for model D students the figures for these two groups are more similar. If we take into consideration the approaches in this study, another source of socialisation, apart from the family and school, would be the percentage of Basque speakers in the town or village.

As for the *cognitive function,* 55% of fourth-year students in Primary Education recognise that they find it easier to express themselves in Spanish than in Basque, and in the case of second-year students in Compulsory Secondary Education, this degree of recognition reaches 66%. The amount of this cognitive limit[2] with regard to students' ability to express themselves in Basque varies significantly along with the conditions for socialisation:

— Regarding the use of their home language: in the fourth year of Primary Education, those with a greater ability to speak in Spanish represent 6% of the total, for those

[1] The sons and daughters of mixed families have been included in the group of students whose first language is Basque; that is, students whose first language, apart from Basque, is also Spanish. Students from mixed families make up 13.7% of fourth-year students in Primary Education and 15% of second year students in Compulsory Secondary Education. Despite the fact that in this case we have included the socialisation of students in the community of Basque-speakers, it would be interesting to know what kind of language socialisation these people who have grown up and been brought up in bilingual families.

[2] Basque speakers are usually bilingual (or polyglot), and one of the minimum conditions for speaking in Basque on a personal level is that their ability in both languages should be equivalent; otherwise, the tendency to speak in the other language will be greater.

students who use Basque to the same extent or to a greater extent than Spanish; 51% in the case of those who speak more in Spanish than in Basque; and 79% in the case of those who always speak in Spanish at home. As for the cognitive data on these characteristics for second-year students in Compulsory Secondary Education, in the same order as the one used for fourth-year students in Primary education, the figures are as follows: 7%, 57% and 87%.

— According to the language model for their studies: in the fourth year of Primary Education, 40% of the students in model D have a greater ability to speak Spanish, 78% of the students in model B, and 93% of the students in model A. As for the data for second-year students in Compulsory Secondary Education, in the same order as the one used for fourth year students in Primary Education, the figures are as follows: 50%, 82% and 93%.

— According to the number of Basque speakers in their municipality: 19% of fourth-year students in Primary Education, express themselves better in Spanish in municipalities with a large percentage of Basque speakers; 48% in municipalities with an average percentage of Basque speakers, and 71% in municipalities with low percentages of Basque speakers. As for the data for second-year students in Compulsory Secondary Education, in the same order as the one used for fourth-year students in Primary Education the figures are as follows: 25%, 60% and 80%.

As conditions for socialisation in Basque are limited or very limited for numerous students, shortcomings occur in the formation of their cognitive functions. These shortcomings are more obvious in the case of second-year students in Compulsory Secondary Education than in fourth-year students in Primary Education.

The *identificative function* develops not just their own identity but also the identity of the group: "Us" *versus* "The others". I'm a Basque speaker, we are Basque speakers; Basque speakers *versus* speakers of other languages. Identities that reinforce the attachment to the group and its cohesion, that is, they affect closeness, links and complicity among members and speakers of the same language community.

The research does not provide any direct data that allows us to note the level of identification directly. In the absence of this, we have used the first language to extract information about this function, in some way. In fact, any experience that boys and girls may have in primary socialisation that takes place within the family is appropriately added to the core of their identity and personality. As we mentioned a few lines above: "(…) the newborn's First Language will depend on the language community that they have been born in". Boys and girls that grow up in Basque-speaking families have Basque as a first language (L1), and so in most cases they usually have a more characteristic feeling of belonging to the Basque-speaking group. On the other hand, as speakers of a different language community have Basque as a L2, they may make this feeling of "belonging" to the Basque-speaking community their own through the education system. However, even among families of different language communities to Basque there are usually a lot of people who feel attached to Basque, and so it can happen that they transfer to their sons and daughters the feeling of indirectly belonging to the community, or to put it another way, although the parents have not been able to make their sons and daughters Basque-speaking directly, they can pass on the identity-defining value of Basque to them.

In any case, you might think that most of the students whose L2 is Basque might identify more with their L1 than with the language they have learnt later on. From this point of view, we need to bear in mind that the L1 of 67% of the students in the Fourth year of Primary Education and of 65% of those in the second year of Compulsory Secondary Education has not been Basque —solely or together with Spanish[3]— and that these figures for model D students are also 53.8% and 48.2%, respectively. As a result of this, a large majority identifies with another language that is different to Basque, despite the fact that in the case of students in model D the figures are reduced to half of this group[4].

In these conditions, there are numerous students who are far from having a correct socialisation process as far as the identificative function with Basque is concerned.

The answers provided by students regarding their attachment to Basque or to the other language can be considered to be illustrative of the *affective function*. On developing this attachment, primary language socialisation

[3] Students whose first language is Spanish as well as Basque, have also been included in the group whose first language is Basque, and students belonging to families with these characteristics (to mixed families) make up 13,7% in the fourth year of Primary Education and 15% in the second year of Compulsory Secondary Education. Despite the fact that, in this case, these students have been included as identifying with the community of Basque speakers, and as this type of family is increasingly more common, it would be interesting to know what kind of language identity those people who have grown up and been brought up in bilingual families have. Knowing the characteristics that are combined in this kind of family, we could think that a varied range of cases would appear: in some cases, the same identity as genuinely Basque-speaking families, and in other, the same as non-Basque-speaking families.

[4] The types of analysis carried out with the cognitive function, according to the home language, the language model and proportion of Basque speakers in the municipality, will not be repeated with the identity-defining function or with the affective function, as the results show a similar trend and this piece of work would go on for too long.

usually has an extraordinarily large impact through the family and the first few years at school: *"our beloved Basque versus an unfamiliar language", "original local language versus an external language, etc".* In Basque-speaking and pro-Basque-language families the feeling in favour of Basque will be more deep-rooted in most cases; apparently this is something typical of these families.

Nevertheless, as we have already mentioned with regard to the identificative function, families in the non-Basque-speaking community can also be favourable to Basque, and in these cases, the children of these can assimilate their affection for Basque from their own homes. Whether this is true or not, students may receive this kind of socialisation influence at school (or in other spheres of society as well), whenever the school also promotes the affective function as well as cognitive contents.

In this research paper, students who have shown a greater attachment to Spanish than Basque reach 47% in the fourth year of Primary education and 46% in the second year of Compulsory Secondary Education. So, this is a slightly lower figure than the rest, which is slightly lower than the figure for those who have acknowledged a greater degree of attachment to Basque or a similar one to both languages. Among Model D students, there is more favouritism towards Basque, and there is a lower proportion on the other hand, of those who put their attachment to Spanish first: 32.8% in the fourth year of Primary Education and 29.1% in the second year of Compulsory Secondary Education.

So, if we measure them in this way, the affective function is more widespread than the cognitive and identificative functions among students. Nevertheless, this affectivity doesn't spread to the entire student world, as almost a third of them only show an affective tendency towards Spanish. The affective function in socialisation in Basque is also weak for a section of our society.

Personal experience forms another aspect that inevitably influences whether language socialisation is completely carried out. Depending on the experiences they have had with the language, students will feel uncomfortable regarding Basque, and depending on whether they find themselves in a pleasant or unpleasant situation, they will express themselves in Basque enthusiastically or reluctantly. All this is true with regard to what they have experienced and learned through education as well as other social situations outside school. As a result, in personal experience we also need to take into consideration how students consider this language in society: whether it is useful or marginal, prestigious or looked down on, etc.

When Secondary education students were asked which language they thought was the most appropriate between English, Spanish and Basque in six different social situations or activities, Basque was only considered to be the most appropriate in the education system (49%). According to these students, Spanish was the most appropriate language in the other five cases: in the family (47%), in leisure camps (41%), in lectures or speeches in public (59%), in ICT (56%) and especially in the world of work (66%).

If analysis is only carried out on Model D students, the importance given to Basque increases in all the aforementioned social spheres. Nevertheless, in the list of priority areas only one sphere is added to the education system: leisure camps (43%). The proportion of students who also consider Basque to be most important in the family sphere (29%) approaches the percentage of those who prioritise Spanish (35%) as far as Model D students are concerned, but it is still less than this.

As a result, since they are not immersed in a Basque-speaking social environment, experience teaches numerous students that Basque is only the most appropriate language for the education system, and for other social situations Spanish is more suitable[5]. Furthermore, youngsters correctly perceive that Basque has a relatively weak presence in the language market, and this idea directly affects their choice of language:

> "(...) they are youngsters who are living in a period of expansion for the major languages who have languages like Spanish, French, English and German available to them. These languages are powerful, urban, complex, open and widespread and offer numerous possibilities. As this is the case, the nuance provided by Basque proves to be unattractive in most cases, as in the world of the young it is usually considered to be a small, simple, limited and conflictive language." (Hernandez, 2000: 81)

This is the language model in which, it seems, numerous youngsters are socialised in the Basque Autonomous Community, as is also the case to a certain degree with Model D students who may have a closer relationship to Basque.

Based on the three functions of socialisation and on personal experience, we can sum up the level of compliance achieved in socialisation in Basque as follows:

— The degree of socialisation in Basque of students in the CAV is far from being total, although among Model D students it is more complete.

[5] In general, this trend could be seen in the 2005-2006 academic year, in a piece of work carried out following the Arrue research line with 1,300 students from 50 schools and 80 sixth-year groups in Primary education (see: Martínez de Luna, Suberbiola & Basurto, 2009).

— It is not successfully carried out in any of the three functions of socialisation in most students; among Model D students, the affective function is most widespread.

— The cognitive function is more restricted according to second-year students in Secondary Education than according to fourth-year primary school students; on the other hand, the affective function is more widespread among second-year students in Secondary Education than among fourth-year students in Primary Education.

— Personal experience has taught many second-year students in Secondary Education[6] that Basque is only suitable for the education system, and Spanish is the most appropriate language for most other social situations and functions. Among Model D students, however, this restricted viewpoint expands slightly, and Basque is also considered to be the most suitable language for leisure camps, as well as in education.

As the results of socialisation with regard to Basque are so limited, we can presume that the level of use of Basque will also be very restricted.

THE USE OF BASQUE IN THE LIGHT OF LANGUAGE SOCIALISATION

Let's not forget that, to measure language use in students' school environment, four types of use have been studied: *in class with classmates, in the playground with classmates, in class with teachers and outside class with teachers.* These are studies carried out on all forth-year students in the Basque Autonomous Community in primary education (9-10 years of age) and on second-year students in Secondary Education (13-14 years of age). In this study we have created and made use of a scale that sums up, in some way, all these uses of language: *General use of students at school.* In order to simplify analysis and interpretation, this reliable indicator will be the main subject of discussion in the following lines.

As we have already mentioned in previous sections, it can be expected that language use among students in the Basque Autonomous Community will adapt to the teaching and models that students have received through socialisation agents. Currently, in language socialisation in our Autonomous Community, Spanish, in general, has a certain advantage, and this is why students will mainly show a tendency to prioritise Spanish in their language use. Here is a specific example: in the transition from the fourth year in Primary school to the second year at Secondary School, when students recognise the reduction in their relative ability to express themselves in Basque (in comparison with Spanish), at this age they also experience a decline in their average use of Basque: from 3.26 to 2.60 (on a scale of 1 to 5). (Soziolinguistika Klusterra, 2012a: 61).

As well as the decline they show in their cognitive function, students in the transition from the fourth year of Primary Education to the second year of Secondary Education will gradually open up and adapt further to the behavioural models in non-Basque languages that prevail in society. In this way, the use of Basque will be reduced in favour of Spanish. In general, the results of this study match the aforementioned approaches:

> "Most of the variables analysed in the study are connected with general use by students at school, both in the fourth year of primary school, and the second year of Secondary School. Many of these connections are solid, such as for example: use in organised out-of-school activities, use when chatting with friends, language model, use at home or in the case of certain variables such as the media or consuming culture (...)." (Soziolinguistika Klusterra, 2012a: 62).

If we look at these in greater depth, we can see that three of the first four most important variables to explain *general use by students at school* are repeated in the case of fourth-year students in Primary Education and second-year students in Secondary Education:

> "In both cases in which the first four variables form most of the prediction model for the dependent variable: for the fourth year of Primary Education, the model shows 69.8% altogether, and with the first four variables, 66.9%; on the other hand, for the second year in Secondary Education, it shows 78.3% altogether, and with the first four, 75.7%. Apart from the order, three of these four variables are the same in both years: use in organised out-of-school activities, language model and use among teachers themselves." (Soziolinguistika Klusterra, 2012a: 60).

Although the order of this variable depending on its importance is different in both cases, the importance of these three variables is confirmed as the three reappear in the first places for both age groups. (Soziolinguistika Klusterra, 2012a: 58-59). Let's analyse the three of them, one by one.

Two of these variables refer absolutely directly to the school environment: the first of them is the language model and the other, language use among teachers themselves. The first one depends on the formal organisation of the school, and the second one, on the other hand, may be a reflection of the concern and planning that exist regarding

[6] This test was not carried out among fourth-year students in Primary Education.

Basque at the school. As a result, this emphasises the great importance of the formal conditions and those connected with the internal running of the school in language socialisation.

On the other hand, the atmosphere that exists in society regarding the language also appears among these three aforementioned variables: the language that students use in organised out-of-school activities. This is a reflection of certain linguistic conditions that can be found in the society where students live, such as for example, the demand in Basque for infants and youngsters, encouraged by both public administrative bodies and by political institutions.

However there is also another variable that directly shows the importance of the social environment: that is, the proportion of Basque speakers in the municipality. In both the fourth year of Primary Education and in the second year of Secondary Education, this variable comes fifth when it comes to analysing the variables connected with language use.

The family is another of the stable agents that we can find in these variables. In fact, on the one hand, when it comes to choosing organised out-of-school activities, the family has a lot to say, especially in the case of fourth-year students in Primary Education, and on the other, we must also think that after the other two aforementioned variables at school, the family also has a great deal of influence. That is, the choice of language model and the type of school for their children's education is usually in the family's hands.

However the information about the role played by the family is not restricted to these aforementioned activities and situations. For example, the third variable to explain *general use by students* in the second year of Secondary Education *at school* is the language usually used at home, and although it appears slightly behind this, its use is also taken into consideration in the fourth year of Primary Education. So, we once again come up against the family, which makes it quite clear that the language socialisation process received through the family influences the foundations of language use.

Students have been divided up according to their language model and the group of students for each model has been taken one by one in order to analyse the most closely related variables when explaining *students' general use at school.* If we do it this way, the main and most important variable in models A, B and D has been the language used in organised out-of-school activities. From this moment on, the following variables have not been the same in the three models. Among model B students, for example, the second variable is the relative ability to speak the language, both in the fourth year of Primary Education and in the Second Year of Secondary Education. On the other hand, in model D, the second variable is attachment to the language. (Soziolinguistika Klusterra, 2012a: 63) (Soziolinguistika Klusterra, 2012b: 4-9).

These differences, as a hypothesis, can be interpreted as follows in the light of language socialisation:

a) According to the cognitive function, unless a minimum ability to express oneself in Basque is achieved, it is impossible to achieve any permanent use (as usually happens in models A and B); that is why language ability appears to be closely connected to *student's general use at school,* as the level obtained in this by students is very varied and it is included with great importance in statistical analysis.

b) On the other hand, as the ability of most model D students is greater and more similar, the key to language use is provided by other characteristics, among others, the attachment to Basque that corresponds to the affective function.

To close this section, we are going to show one of the conclusions drawn from the research analysis regarding second-year students in Secondary Education:

> "(...) in the variables that most influence students' language use at school, so, the linguistic environment and language conditions that exist in society in close proximity, at school and in the family, play an important role. In any case, we mustn't forget certain, mainly individual, variables, especially, language ability and attachment to Basque or Spanish. This reveals the numerous and varied aspects that language use has, both at school and outside it." (Soziolinguistika Klusterra, 2012b: 50).

These conclusions are linked to the hypothesis that we aim to prove: *"The more complete students' socialisation in Basque, the more they will use this language".* The data on the family, school and municipal sphere (always within the limits of this research) have shown us this.

SOME SPECIFIC CASES TO LOOK IN GREATER DEPTH INTO THE IMPACT OF LANGUAGE SOCIALISATION

To study the link between language socialisation and *students' general language use at school,* up to now we have mentioned standard or general situations. In this section, however, we are going to take a look at certain specific, clearly different cases, in order to assess whether our hypothesis is valid or not.

LIFE CYCLE

A great many authors have stressed how important time is, such as for example, Giddens, Adam or Sztompka. Among other things these authors have stressed that in our own personalities or in society's, the time dimension plays a very important role when it comes to placing and linking the group's experiences or interaction models in a macro-, mezzo and micro-social perspective.

Adding his support for this position, Iñaki Iurrebaso offers us a working hypothesis, called the *life cycle of Basque,* which can be summed up as follows (Iurrebaso, 2012: 119):

1. Girls and boys are the ones who know and use Basque most.

2. In adolescence, many of them change their linguistic habits to another language.

3. As they get older, many youngsters gradually go back to using Basque.

4. As they get older once they are adults, in the belief that they have successfully "passed on the language" to their children, they once again pick up the habit of turning back to the other language.

Regarding the first two steps, the results if this research corroborate Iurrebaso's proposition, as the habit of making use of the other language becomes more marked as child students grow up and start the transition towards adolescence: if we measure language use according to *student's general use at school,* the proportion of students that only speak in Basque or speak more in Basque than in the other language reaches 58% among fourth-year students in Primary Education and 33% in second-year students in Secondary Education, or to put it another way, between both age groups the use of the language goes down 25 points.

Here is another example of this trend: in the fourth year of Primary Education, 49% of students whose first language is Spanish always, or most of the time, speak in Basque with other students, and in the second year of Secondary education this proportion goes down to 13%. (Soziolinguistika Klusterra, 2012a: 48, 61).

The argument that the influence of socialisation is involved in this is also reinforced by other data. For example, a few lines prior to this we have mentioned that the proportion of students who only speak in Basque or speak more in Basque than Spanish has gone down by 25 points among students in the transition from the fourth year of Primary Education to the second year of Secondary Education. However, when the three conditions for socialisation occur at the same time in favour of Basque, this decline between the age groups is reduced as follows: when their first language is Basque (on its own or together with another language); when their studies are in model D; and finally, when the proportion of Basque speakers in their municipality is greater than 60.6%, use of Basque by students has gone from 93% to 80% in the transition from the fourth year of Primary Education to the second year of Secondary education. That is, in the group of students who have grown up in the most ideal conditions for socialisation in Basque, the *students' general language use at school* variable only goes down by 13 points.

In this way it is precisely a profound complete socialisation process that ensures a high level of language use, and slows down the serious deterioration that affects all students in the transition from childhood to adolescence. In actual fact age doesn't completely explain the change that occurs in language use.

EXPANSION OF SOCIALISATION AREAS

As students grow up, time leaves its mark on language use. Although this is what the data show us, perhaps the reason for this is not the passing of time in itself. Perhaps one of the reasons for this language development in boys and girls is the transition from primary to secondary socialisation, that is, the opening up from the tiny world of the family and school to the wide world of society.

In fact, statistical studies have revealed that domestic language use is the third most important variable to explain *students' general language use* in the second year of Secondary Education *at school*. In the case of fourth-year students in Primary Education, however, this variable is linked with use, but it appears at a much lower level, to be more precise, in eleventh place. So, the aforementioned change may not be a mere question of time or age; it is more likely to be the result of becoming immersed in new quite different socialisation conditions as people gradually get older.

So, this change between ages can be extended to another interpretation, although this is only as a hypothesis:

> "In general, based on the data obtained we could conclude that the school, as an area, ensures that fourth-year students in Primary Education attain a certain level of autonomy from society. However, in the second year of Secondary Education the links with reality outside school are much closer, and as a result, the use of Basque among students themselves is less than in the fourth year of Primary Education. We can claim that the data show a trend towards convergence

between younger and older students, as far as the general rules for language use in society are concerned." (Soziolinguistika Klusterra, 2012a: 61).

Perhaps the key to the change between these age groups can be found in the expansion of the language socialisation environment, which leads to the weakening of the more Basque-speaking influence in favour of the social conditions of other languages.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN GENDERS

We know that gender and sex are not the same, but what is true is that they are both very closely related. Furthermore, the only way to detect gender in research often consists of taking a look at sex. At this point we have also gone on to analyse sex-specific linguistic behaviour, as behind this we can find gender, which may well be the genuine subject of study.

In fact girls and boys can be socialised in different subcultures, and as a result of this, on occasions language socialisation can pass on certain differences; differences that, for their part, may be reflected in language use. According to certain currents in the field of linguistics, for example, variability has been linked to gender differences:

> "…the different approach emphasises the idea that women and men belong to different subcultures. (…) In linguistics terms, the differences in women's and men's speech are interpreted as reflecting and maintaining gender-specific subcultures. A great deal of work is now being done on children's socialisation in single-sex peer groups, and on the consequent development of gender-differentiated linguistic styles." (Coates, 1993: 13).

The purpose of our study is not language variation, but what is known as code-switching. In any case, according to certain research carried out in our region, girls show a slightly higher tendency than boys to speak in Basque, but only under certain conditions: "the sex variable, however, prevails when higher levels of use of Basque can be seen, and only among boys and girls who meet perfect conditions for speaking in Basque" (Martínez de Luna, Suberbiola & Basurto, 2009: 157).

We are therefore going to put forward the following hypothesis: the motive for the different linguistic behaviour that can be seen in each of the sexes could be the specific subculture that different genders entail. (Soziolinguistika Klusterra, 2012b: 27).

In the fourth year of Primary Education there is a slight but persistent trend: the tendency of girls to speak more Basque than boys. Although this difference between sexes is not very great, it is repeated in various situations in various ways, such as for example: In model A, even though language use is carried out almost exclusively in Spanish, girls speak slightly more in Basque than boys; in model D among students who always speak in Basque, there are more girls than boys. So, in certain cases, girls' linguistic behaviour is slightly more favourable to Basque than boys' behaviour, regardless of whether their level of Basque is high or low. In addition, among students in model D, we can also see another notable difference if we look at the variables that appear connected with language use. Although the most important variable in both sexes is the language used in students' organised out-of-school activities, there are differences in the second most important variable: among girls, a cognitive feature (ability) appears to be influential, whereas among boys, another variable with a symbolic affective linguistic dimension is influential: attachment to Basque. (Soziolinguistika Klusterra, 2012b: 27).

Nevertheless, the same aforementioned author lets us know the doubts and debates that have arisen around these studies, when speakers form part of both sexes: "However, the reader should be aware that this approach is controversial when applied to 'mixed' talk…" (Coates, 1993: 15).

Although in this research clues have emerged regarding the differences in language use depending on gender among fourth-year students in Primary Education, in the second year of Secondary Education, on the other hand, these differences have lessened until they have almost disappeared. (Soziolinguistika Klusterra, 2012b: 47) As a result, there are conflicting results between the age groups according to the research or the purpose of these, and so we have aimed to study the data a little further, in order to look at the question in greater depth.

To do this, in each language model we have studied whether there are differences according to the sexes, as, otherwise, the nuances regarding gender could remain hidden under these variables. On examining models A, B and D in the second year of secondary Education one by one, no significant difference has been found among students in their level of language use, nor in the list of variables that usually have most influence on this. However, although linguistic behaviour according to sex also provides similar results in model D, there is a small difference between girls and boys, and the level of use in Basque by girls is always usually higher than the level of use by boys *(students' general use at school)*. Despite this, it is difficult to draw clear conclusions in this regard, as this difference is very small (Soziolinguistika Klusterra, 2012b: 53).

Could it be that the different gender-specific subcultures that exist in children's socialisation become less important when they reach adolescence? Or, on the other hand, is it

all about what has been previously mentioned by Coates? That is, can it be that in the case of fourth-year students in Primary Education relations are mainly between individuals of the same sex, and in the second year of Secondary Education, on the other hand, they are more common between both sexes? In this point, we do not have any data that allows us to answer these doubts, but the aforementioned claim remains as a hypothesis for another research study.

ADAPTIVE CAPACITY OF FOREIGNERS AND LOCALS

At this point we have taken as the subject of analysis those students who study in model D but without Basque having any presence as a first language. As a result, boys and girls whose first language is Spanish or another foreign language are the subject under study. Can it be said that these boys and girls whose first language is this other foreign language undergo tertiary socialisation? Or to put it another way, to what extent do they undergo trans-culturation in another reference system that is quite different to the society or family in which they were born and raised?

It is true that at the present time this type of student represents a new kind of language socialisation at school, as they are immersed in the Basque-speaking model. Those that speak another foreign language can be included more easily with the label of tertiary socialisation. Doubts emerge, above all, with students whose first language is Spanish, especially when their families are locals. In this way, it is more obvious that immigrants (or the descendents of immigrant families) need to adapt to the new Basque speaking environment of the education system, as they are forced to learn new rules, values and customs and as a result, they are immersed in a third kind of language socialisation, so to speak.

Based on this, two notable characteristics have appeared in all the girls and boys in the fourth year of Primary Education, and when the analysis has been repeated with students in Model D only, these characteristics have stood out even more:

— Students whose first language is not Basque or Spanish, but another one, use Basque slightly more than students whose first language is Spanish.

— The amount of students who only speak in Basque is also seven points higher among those who have another foreign language as their mother tongue than those who have Spanish.

Why do these differences appear in linguistic behaviour between the subgroup of students whose first language is Spanish and those who speak another foreign language as their mother tongue? What are students like whose first language is Spanish and what are those like with another language as their mother tongue? Or to put it another way, do these two different groups who study in model D and always speak in Basque have basic different characteristics?

To satisfy our curiosity we have taken a highly specific group as the subject of a new study: students who study in model D and always or nearly always speak in Basque, in accordance with the *students' general language use* variable - 890 students altogether. They have been classified into two different groups, according to their first language: on the one hand, those who have only had Spanish as a first language, and on the other, those students with another first language (789 and 101 students, respectively). This has enabled us to learn that those students with another language apart from Spanish as their mother tongue have the following characteristics in greater proportions (more significant statistically):

— *Socio-demographic characteristics:* students and their families are foreigners; and form part of a low socioeconomic level.

— *Sociolinguistic characteristics:* they speak Basque better than Spanish; they are slightly more attached to Basque than to Spanish; they use Basque in out-of-school activities; they consume media in Basque; they live in municipalities with a 60% percentage of Basque speakers or more. What these two groups have in common is that they do not use Basque at home.

Furthermore, this analysis has been repeated with 1,234 second-year students in Secondary Education who meet these basic characteristics, and these boys and girls have confirmed the same trend.

We can sum up the results by stating that students who tend to speak Basque more often (those who have another language that is not Spanish as their second language) have been socialised in a social environment that is more favourable to Basque, despite not having Basque as a home language or mother tongue. This is the reason why students whose mother tongue is *another language that is not Spanish* use Basque more than students with *Spanish* as a mother tongue. This also occurs when both groups start out from basically the same conditions: families whose first language in not Basque and educated in linguistic model D.

We can draw the following conclusions from these results: families[7] or surrounding societies who have channelled

[7] The families of these students, although they are not Basque-speaking, may help socialisation in Basque in the cognitive function, for example, by choosing a Basque-speaking language model for their children's studies. Apart from this, they may also influence the affective and identificative functions.

students' language socialisation (even when their first language or home language is not Basque) have a great influence on the use of Basque by students at school.

However there is also another piece of data that complements and defines the aforementioned hypothesis, although it is absolutely provisional: among those who always speak in Spanish at school, the proportion (this is not a definitive piece of data[8]) of those who have *another language* as their mother tongue is greater than the proportion of students whose first language is *Spanish*. So, the aforementioned affect for Basque will also be repeated for another language that is not Basque: in the group of students who live in contexts in which their family or surrounding society are utterly unfavourable for Basque, the proportion of those who always speak in Spanish is greater among those who have *another language* as their mother tongue than among those who have Spanish as their mother tongue (Soziolinguistika Klusterra, 2012b: 14, 51-52).

As we have said before: their language socialisation process will depend on what their tertiary socialisation is like. When all's said and done, it may be sufficient to explain the aforementioned hypothesis more generally: regardless of whether they are originally locals or foreigners, students solidly socialised in family or social environments that are more favourable to a particular language, will also tend to speak this language at school.

FINAL REFLECTIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Following the Arrue research line, we have analysed the use of Basque in the educational environment of the Basque Autonomous Community, and to do this, we have taken into account all fourth-year students in Primary Education and in the second year of Secondary Education. In this endeavour, the main conceptual idea we have used has been socialisation, and we have tried to find similarities between the conversion of an individual into a speaker of a language and socialisation itself.

1. First conclusion: language socialisation, the branch of a trunk

In order to achieve this aim, we have noted certain conditions in which students undergo the cognitive, identificative and affective dimensions of socialisation in Basque; to be more precise: those dimensions regarding the language environment of the family, school and municipality.

As a result of this work, we have accepted that being born in a human group (through socialisation) and becoming a member of a language group (through language socialisation) are events that cannot be separated. General socialisation and language socialisation are different parts of a single tree: the first would be the trunk, while the second would be the branch that emerges from this trunk. We can reach this conclusion if the concepts and contents are analysed from the point of view of sociolinguistics.

We have explained the importance of the agents that take part in language socialisation, and we have shown the complexity and the complex links in the process that leads us from socialisation to use. We can therefore conclude that, as well as appropriate, the perspective of socialisation can also be useful when it comes to analysing and understanding *students' general language use at school.*

2. Second conclusion: socialisation, a tree, and socialisation in basque, a bonsai

Based on the research data, the balance of language socialisation in adolescents is bittersweet, in general. That is, both in non Basque-speaking family environments, and in non-Basque-speaking school conditions (language model or environment), or non-Basque-speaking municipal environments, socialisation in Basque has not been complete in most cases.

Or to put it another way, the cognitive, identificative and affective processes and personal experience of language socialisation have not been complete enough and the combination of limited agents seems to produce a poor level of spoken Basque.

Some boys and girls have grown up in more suitable conditions for socialisation in Basque, and in their case, *students' general use at school* has been greater. However, there have been few of them and they represent a very small proportion of all students.

3. Third conclusion: language socialisation, the flow of all the tributaries

A wide river can attain a large volume of water if it has many tributaries with small flow that come from the same basin. This image is also useful for us to understand what is required to ensure that students are socialised in Basque, and through this socialisation they express themselves in Basque at school. In fact, to ensure that language socialisation is successful, it is vital that all agents work in the same direction, so that all their influences build up and nurture each other. As the results have shown us, students will only use the language through a language socialisation process that meets these conditions.

[8] This group that has been studied is very small as it has been chosen based on very strict conditions: students' first language must not be Basque, they must study in model D and always speak in Spanish at school.

In this study it has been made quite clear that the family, school and immediate environment have a close connection with language use. That is, when the family, school and socialising agents in society are favourable to Basque in the three functions (cognitive, affective and identity-defining), *students' general use at school* increases.

4. Fourth conclusion: the destiny of the life cycle, in question

Apart from this, it has been made clear that it is possible to reduce (and perhaps, prevent) the decline in the use of Basque in the transition from childhood to adolescence (apparently, from primary to secondary socialisation). In fact, judging by the data, when the conditions in which students in the second year of Secondary Education usually find themselves when it comes to being socialised in Basque are more appropriate than usual (the best that we can find nowadays), these students do not stop using Basque in the transition from the fourth year of Primary Education to the second year of Secondary Education so much; in adolescence they usually keep up the high level of use that they had in childhood to a larger extent.

On the other hand, as we have pointed out before, in the fourth year of Primary education the school is more autonomous as far as social conditions are concerned than in the second year of Secondary Education, and this influences students' linguistic behaviour. The difference between these age groups may be due to the fact that the modes of socialisation are different in each one of them. Between the first two stages in the life cycle (childhood and adolescence), therefore, use of Basque doesn't necessarily have to decline if the conditions of language socialisation are suitable, and regardless of age, long-lasting.

5. Fifth conclusion: as individuals we tend to do what we see around us

We have already seen that among students whose first language is not Basque, but Spanish or another one, and who also study in model D, those who are foreigners, or to put it another way, those who do not have Spanish as a first language, use Basque slightly more than those who do have it as a first language.

Nevertheless, it has been proved that people's origins are not what encourages or restricts greater use of Basque. In fact, the data have made it clear that those who use Basque to a greater extent have benefited from better socialisation conditions in this language. Those who always speak in Spanish are also more common among those with a different language to Spanish as their L1 than those whose L1 is Spanish. That is, use of Basque or Spanish increases among students with the same profile, depending on the conditions that one and the other experience.

When all's said and done, regardless of whether the person in question has been born here or somewhere else: their language use will depend on their socialisation. That is, regardless of whether they are in Basque or Spanish, when these socialisation conditions are far-reaching, the use of the same language increases.

6. Sixth conclusion: there are no major sex-based indicators

As we consider the sex variable to be the only way to reflect gender, we have analysed language use by boys and girls. Girls have shown a slightly greater tendency to make use of Basque in the fourth year of Primary Education, but the difference between both sexes disappears in the second year of Secondary Education. The range of possibilities provided by both local and international studies is wide-ranging and conflicting and these conflicting tendencies are reflected in the results of this research study.

In order to draw some conclusions, the set of ideas that we offer here as a hypothesis is as follows: a) In certain characteristics there may be various types of sex and gender-specific socialisation, and this is why language use may be slightly greater among girls. b) In any case there are variables, such as the family, school or municipality, that have a far greater influence on socialisation than gender does, and the fact that this influence is much greater may conceal the small differences that gender establishes with regard to linguistic behaviour. c) There may also be a greater contrast between boys and girls as far as socialisation is concerned (without forgetting about the influence that age has) in the fourth year of Primary Education than in the second year of Secondary Education. As a result of this, probably the minor differences in language use in childhood are reduced in adolescence, until they nearly disappear.

7. Seventh conclusion: the hypothesis is confirmed

The hypothesis put forward previously *(the more complete students' socialisation in basque, the more they will use this language)* needs to be adapted in the light of the preliminary data in this research study.

So, the key is to ensure that the functions and dimensions in language socialisation to increase the use of Basque at school are more appropriate. In this process, the agents at school, in the family and in the immediate environment are essential, bearing in mind the socialisation conditions established by these.

If language socialisation is reinforced, perhaps the use of Basque at school will increase in social environments apart from school. If this were to happen, this would be a step forward in the normalisation of Basque.

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PROMOTING LANGUAGE USE IN THE SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT: SOME LESSONS FROM CATALONIA[1]

F. XAVIER VILA

University Centre of Sociolinguistics and Communication (CUSC). Universitat de Barcelona

INTRODUCTION

First of all I'd like to thank you. Almost five (5) years ago I first came into contact with the Arrue Project and the Sociolinguistics Cluster. Before that, I already knew that that you were tenaciously working for the survival and normalisation of Basque in your homeland. However through my last visit, I also had the chance to learn from close up about the scientific quality of the work that you are carrying out. To tell you the truth, at that time I was surprised and puzzled by all the projects that they presented to me.

Today, five years later, you are giving me a second chance to get to know the characteristics of your research, and I can see once again that the pace and quality of your work, far from diminishing, has been reinforced. Little by little, thanks to your constant work, you are drawing international attention to research on Basque sociolinguistics. I'm really pleased about this and I must congratulate you for the work you have done. Because of all this, it's a great pleasure for me to be here with you to learn and work together and share your aims within my modest possibilities[2].

And now, if you don't mind, I'm going to carry on in Catalan.

First of all, I would like to point out that as Catalans and Basques we have something in common: we are concerned about similar issues. This is something that we must bear in mind, as these issues do not arouse the same concern everywhere. In the publication that is being analysed today in the Arrue report, various questions are raised: Why is language use by students at school the way it is? What influence do the children's home environment, family origin and the languages in the town have? And, above all what is the most effective way to encourage the use of Basque through schools and what are the limits on this? This is a something that concerns both Basques and Catalans, as we know that our languages are in difficult situation. However as has already been said, not everyone has the same concerns as we do.

I thought that the report was very interesting and well prepared, and so I would like to congratulate its authors. However, I have spoken to several people during the last few days and as far as I have been able to see, some of them have an extremely negative viewpoint. Just let me say that I probably wouldn't agree with them, because I think that the work that schools have done in the Basque Country is much better than you might think seen from the inside. Seen from the outside, after reading the report, I really do think that your language policy in the education field has a lot of positive aspects, and I think that you should consider these properly.

So that you can understand what I'm saying more clearly, I'd like to propose a simple exercise that I recently carried out myself: one day, play the role of a foreigner, take some skis and head, for example, for Cautarés, in Gascony (in French, Cauterets). Just as I found when I got there from Catalonia, you would be surprised to see how many people speak Basque. A few weeks ago, I made a calculation off the top of my head: about 30% of the people on the ski slopes spoke in Basque. These were mainly middle-class families, who were enjoying themselves and going about their daily business; that is, they were not carrying out any kind of political activity. These people were talking in Basque, enjoying themselves in Basque and arguing in Basque —there was a bit of everything, of course—, because this was what their daily lives were all about. I have here an indicator so that you can see to what extent you have managed to get Basque away from the dynamics of minority languages. However, let's not forget that in the same land where I heard Basque there is a native language that is seriously in danger of dying out: Gascon-Occitan. In Cautarés, in theory, they speak Gascon. Although, if nowadays you go looking for Gascon, you will find Basque. This is a really good sign for Basque, and a very bad one, on the other hand, for Occitan.

[1] Report presented at the Congress of the Basque Sociolinguistics Cluster. / Basque Sociolinguistics Cluster, Kursaal, San Sebastián, 31/01/2013.

[2] In the original text, the paragraphs before this point are in Basque. *(Translator's note).*

RESEARCH CARRIED OUT BY THE CUSC ON EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLINGUISTICS AND THE RESOL PROJECT

We can debate this subject, if you agree. However, I have come here with a different aim: I have come here to see how we can help you at the CUSC[3], my research centre, to analyse the results of the language policy in your country. At the CUSC we have been carrying out what is known as educational sociolinguistics for a long time. This is a line of research that analyses various processes in languages in a variety of school environments: in language learning, in language use and in the transformation of mental pictures, to be precise. We have carried out studies at almost all levels. For example, we have studied foreign communities, and as far as we have discovered, the Japanese who live in Catalonia have maintained their language repertoire in their own educational institutions. We have also carried out studies on variations in language use from Pre-school Education to Primary Education. We have analysed languages at university, and we have also carried out studies on Secondary Education and pre-school Education. From all the work we have done, the study that on this occasion will be most interesting for you is the longitudinal study called RESOL[4]. This acronym conceals a play on words: in actual fact, the name comes from the word resocialitation, but in Catalan the word *resol* means to resolve. If we compare it with Spanish, the verbal form *resuelve* has the same meaning. The name of the project also has its own story.

About ten years ago, our teachers —mainly Secondary Education teachers— and the people that worked in education claimed that "the school has failed; the school fails because the children who pass from Primary to Secondary Education do not carry on speaking in Catalan, because they give up Catalan, because they stop using Catalan". There was a kind of clamour among people working in education. That is why people like us who are modest and humble and who like to do things properly come to think "ah! all right, let's analyse this. If they say that this is what's happening, we're going to analyse it". So we launched a project called RESOL, a longitudinal research panel: we selected children from the sixth year of Primary Education and we monitored them. For the moment, we have data from up to the 4th year of Secondary Education, and during this year and the next we will follow them until the end of baccalaureat or vacational training. We will lose some of these children, as they will enter the job market. However, we will obtain an interesting perspective on how their educational path has evolved.

I will mainly use the RESOL Project data to answer the three questions stated below. I think that you will find these useful for making comparisons with what is happening in the Basque Country, and more specifically, with the Arrue project.

— Does the school, as the main social institution assimilated by the child, influence interpersonal uses and boost the presence of Catalan? How?

— Does the school encourage students to consume culture in Catalan? How?

— What are the linguistic consequences of the passage from Primary to Secondary Education; that is, how can this change from younger to older children be explained?

RESOL is a Project with many aspects that analyses different variables based on different methodological perspectives. In general, it deals with practices, knowledge and the psycho-social dimension, including opinions, conduct and linguistic self-confidence. To collect data, we have used various methods. On the one hand, we have the demoscopic data that we will be using today, regarding various subjects: language learning, interpersonal uses, cultural consumption, opinions and self-confidence. In this respect, as far as language practices are concerned, RESOL has various research aims: family use, that is, the first language, the one used with brothers and sisters and parents; interpersonal oral language use, that is, social networks, the people that have contact with children, and instructional uses at school, and cultural consumption. However, in the light of the research carried out by Arrue, I need to comment on something. As we have discovered through the Catalan experience, at least as far as our society is concerned, there is not much difference between use inside and outside school, regarding interpersonal use. What does this mean? It means that if two children speak in Catalan outside school, they also speak in Catalan at school; and if they speak in Castilian outside school, at school they will also speak in Castilian. However, there is one difference: one that can be seen while teachers are specifically carrying out controlled school activities. But then the question isn't "what language do you speak to your classmates in?", but "what language do you speak while the teacher is looking at you, when you are making a presentation or you are debating something?" On the other hand, the *public* language spoken with classmates is a

[3] http://www.ub.edu/cusc/

[4] For further information: http://www.ub.edu/cusc/sleducativa/projecte/resocialitzacio-i-llengues-resol-els-efectes-linguistics-del-pas-de-la-educacio-primaria-a-secundaria-en-contextos-plurilingues/

variant of the language that is spoken with the teacher, and cannot be considered as a measurement of spontaneous use. We have accepted this detail for quite some time, and so we have placed less interest in the question: "what language do you speak to your classmates in?", because we think that it is ambiguous and difficult to analyse.

As well as the demoscopic data, we have also carried out oral expression tests in the RESOL project. We ask students to carry out a test made up of two activities, and we then assess the sub-samples. In this test children first carry out an academic activity, and then an interpersonal one, both in Catalan and in Castilian. The tests are designed so that they are completely parallel. For example, with regard to their vocabulary range, we very carefully analyse what specific vocabulary they must use in one language and the other, so that the results can be compared. Finally, the project also has discussion groups about languages, identities and cultural habits. From all these data, I will now focus on the demoscopic data.

Just let me say a couple of things about the population that we analysed. When we began the research, we raised the problem of the population to be studied. We first left aside the idea of carrying out a census study, because that meant that we needed to analyse 60,000 people. As you will understand, with the resources for analysis that we have available, it is impossible for us to analyse so many people. But if we took a random sample, this raised another serious problem for us, as we wanted to monitor the same population, so that the change from one year to another wouldn't produce any uncontrollable bias. The aim was to form a research panel and monitor the same population. However, even in this case, choosing isolated individuals from the entire area and monitoring them for years was very expensive. So, how on earth did we do this? We decided to choose certain towns, according to their sociolinguistic profile, and monitor all the children in the sixth year of Primary Education (see image 1). We decided to monitor the children in the following towns: Mataró, a town with more than 100,000 inhabitants; Sant Just Desvern, a middle and upper-class town on the outskirts of Barcelona; Sant Joan Despí, a middle-class town next to Barcelona; a part of the "county" of La Noguera; a number of towns and villages in the centre of la Franja, i.e., the Catalan speaking region in Eastern Aragon and a sample from the towns of Inca and Palma on Majorca. Although I am going to talk about Majorca, the data from Inca and Palma are not representative, as they are two different case studies (the entire population is not included). Furthermore, some tables also include data from Vic. I haven't mentioned this town before, because, strictly speaking, it doesn't form part of the RESOL project. But, we have the data from a project that had been carried out previously there, and in some cases they will be valid.

When it came to choosing towns, we bore various criteria in mind, such as for example, the size of the town, its social typology, the area it forms part of, and the native and immigrant population. As a result, we chose a number of quite different towns. All the towns that we analysed have their own special features, and can even turn out to be quite different from each other. Let's take the place of birth as an example. As you know, the population of Catalonia has increased a great deal over the last ten or fifteen years: it has a million and a half inhabitants more. For us the world has changed a lot. Ten years ago I had never seen an Ecuadorean, and nowadays, in some towns in Catalonia, 5% of the population is Ecuadorean. What I mean is that a huge change has occurred so it was important to bear in mind that there are people among us who were born outside the Catalan-speaking area (CST, Catalan-speaking territories), that is, people born in the Spanish state and in other countries of the world. So, as you can see, the percentages of informants born outside the CST are quite different. For example, 20% in la Franja is in theory, it is an

Image 1. **DEMOGRAPHIC COMPOSITION OF RESOL TOWNS (INCLUDING VIC)**

Area	2009 data		RESOL project, 2007-08	
	Population	Population born outside the Spanish state	Informants, in 6th year of primary Education	Informants, born outside CST
Vic	39,844	22.8%	342	15.9%
Noguera	40,213	16.7%	169	16.6%
Sant Just Desvern	15,811	14.7%	158	7.9%
Manlleu	20,647	21%	192	18.2%
Mataró	121,722	16.5%	1,017	15.7%
Sant Joan Despí	32,030	10%	247	15.7%
Franja (Llitera & Baix Cinca)	28,230	9.6%	208	20.3%

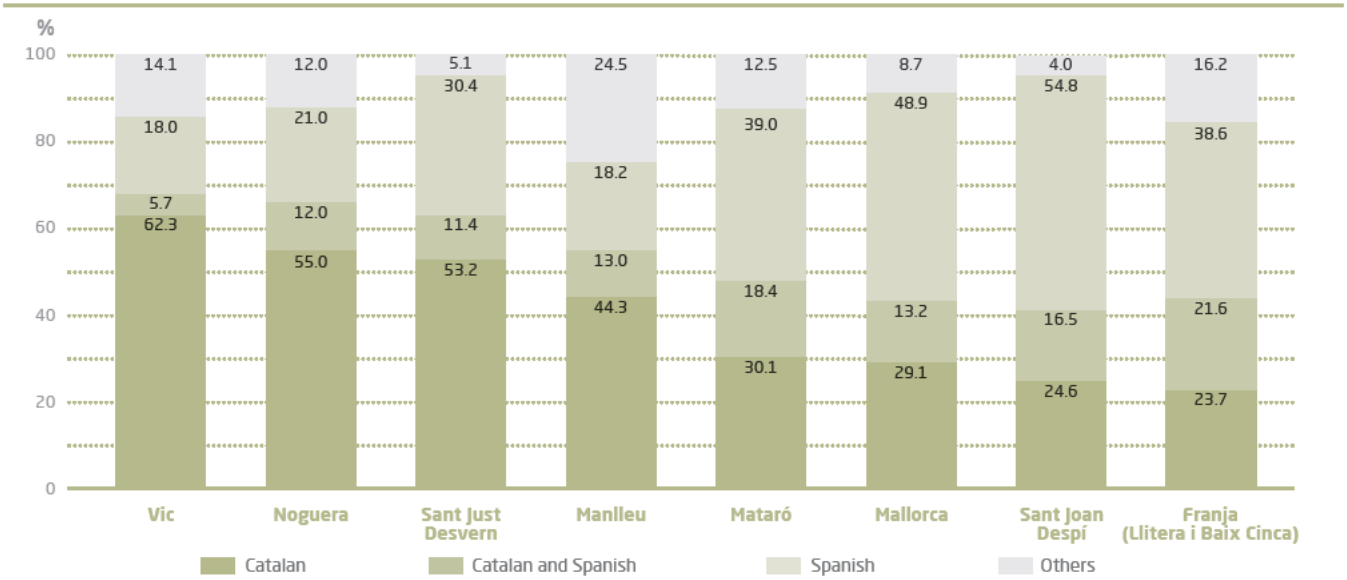
isolated rural area, and 20% are Rumanian, Ukrainian and Spanish-speaking Aragonese. And take a look at the data for Manlleu: 18%, more or less, are Moroccan and Latin American. The percentages are fairly high everywhere, or at least they were when we took the sample, before the crisis hit... At the moment, I don't know if we need to talk about new immigration, new emigration or new re-emigration. The data show that people are leaving, but we still don't know what impact this will have on our sociolinguistic reality. In any case, now is not the time to deal with this subject.

If instead of looking at geographical origins we look at the first language (image 2), the differences between towns are also considerable. In Vic, for example, the language of 62% of the students that are now studying in the second year of A levels is Catalan, for 5.7% it is Catalan and Castilian, for 18% it is Castilian, and the other 14% speak other languages and combinations (mainly, Moroccan Amazigh). However, there are different cases, such as in Sant Joan Despí, for example: the population that speaks Catalan as a first language is only 24%, 16% have both and 55% have Castilian as a first language.

The data shown here always leave room for interpretation, and so, we will never know to what extent they are exact and reliable. In this case, I must acknowledge that for various reasons, the biggest suspicions are raised by the bilingual students in the first year, who claim that they learnt Catalan and Castilian at home. Their percentage may be exaggerated, and behind this there may be some of those who have Castilian as a first language. The fact is that these people, for different reasons —"at nursery school they used to speak to me in Catalan", "the neighbour used to speak to me in Catalan", etc.— , consider themselves to be native bilinguals. Previous research on this subject suggests that, the phrase "speaking a language" is not understood in the same way by those who have Catalan as a first language or by those who speak Castilian. What does this mean? It can be more easily understood by using an example. Among Catalans it is quite common to code-switch between Catalan and Castilian as well when telling jokes: *"Va un tio a una botiga i demana: 'Muy buenas, ¿que tienen alpargatas?.'* I el botiguer li contesta: *'Sí, muy buenas*[5]*'".* So after noting how he has alternated languages, ask the person who has told the joke the following question: "You two, what language do you usually speak in?" Normally he will answer you that he speaks "in Catalan". And if you ask him again "Are you sure? Always?", he will probable reply, "of course I am" and "Didn't you hear what we said?" In other words, there is a factor that influences the meaning of speaking in one language or another: Catalan speakers have internalised a series of norms and among these code-alternation is taken for granted, as if it didn't matter.

My mother used to say things like this to me, for example: *"Ahir a TV3 John Wayne va dir: 'Alto, forastero*[6]*'".* But John Wayne has never spoken in Spanish on TV3! I have always spoken in Catalan with my mother, and she doesn't realise that she is repeating to me in Spanish what TV3 has said in Catalan. This mechanism of discourse is highly internalised by Catalan speakers —especially by the young— and they are not even aware of it. On the other hand, the mechanism that takes code alternation for granted doesn't

Image 2. **FIRST LANGUAGE IN RESOL TOWNS (INCLUDING VIC)**



[5] «A man goes into a shop and asks: "Hello, So you've got espadrilles?". And the shopkeeper answers: "Yes, very good ones"». *(Translator's note).*

[6] «Yesterday, on TV3, John Wayne said: "Hold it right there, stranger"». TV3 is Catalonia's TV first channel and never broadcast films in Castilian. *(Translator's note).*

work the same in Castilian speakers. They are not so used to alternating languages, and so any slight alternation is important for them. This is why it is very common for them to say that they speak in Catalan and Castilian in interactions where they just switch to Catalan for a word or two, interactions that in the eyes of Catalan speakers take place entirely in Castilian. This doesn't mean that either one or the other is lying: they perceive reality differently, and that is very important. In my opinion, this doesn't invalidate the quantitative data; however, we will always need to analyse this more carefully. In fact, the observation data also need to be analysed carefully, because it's not the same thing to talk in front of someone who is observing us as it is to talk while nobody is observing you.

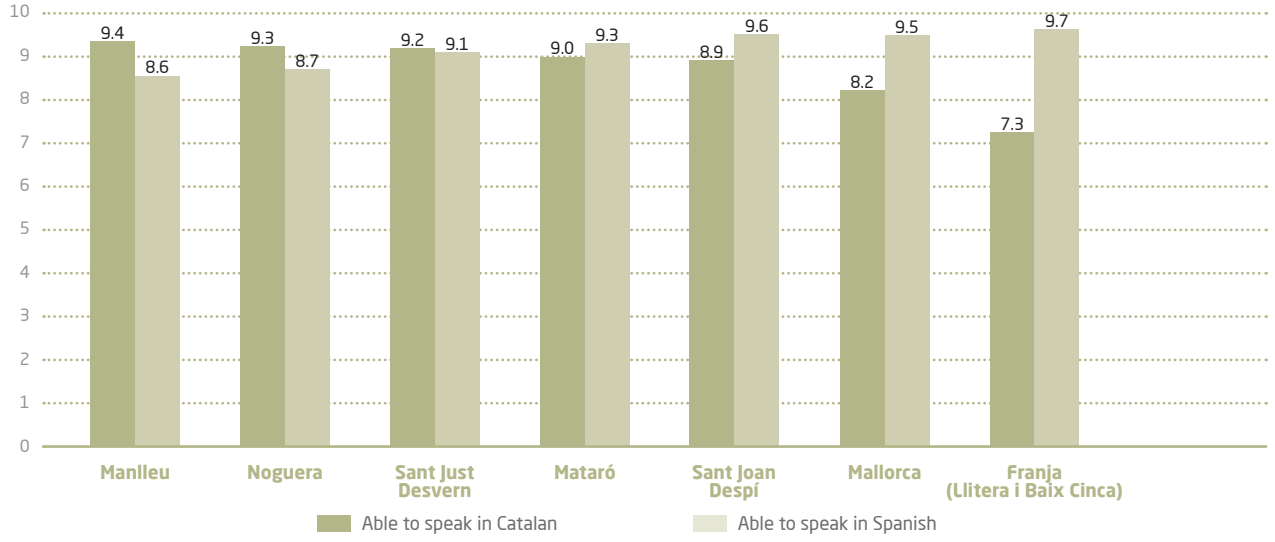
SOME RESULTS OF THE RESOL PROJECT

What result do our education models provide with regard to language proficiency? Below we show the data for the sixth year of Primary education. We asked students to grade to what extent they have a good command of Catalan and Castilian on a scale of one to ten. Children in the Spanish education system are fairly well acquainted with this, and so they are used to using it. This doesn't mean that the scale exactly reflects the students' language proficiency, as far as for example verbal fluency and lexical precision is concerned; despite all this, it is an assessment, a self-assessment, that comes in useful when carrying out quantitative studies.

So, what is that image 3 shows? In the Catalan education system, theoretically the basic language of communication is Catalan and as you can see, the results achieved in Catalan and Castilian are very good, almost outstanding: 8.9; 9; 8.7; 8.6; 9.4; 9.6; 9.3; 9.1; 8.7... In Majorca, both languages are used in the education system: that is, children are not distributed by language (at least up to now, as a president has just appeared with innovative ideas). As a result, children in the Balearic Islands have been taught at least half of their classes in Catalan. I think that the result of this can be seen quite clearly: the level of knowledge in Castilian that these children claim to have is no greater than the level claimed by Catalan children. For example, the data for Sant Just Desvern or Mataró (30% of the population is Catalan-speaking) are no higher than the data for Majorca. On the other hand, children in Majorca have a poorer command of Catalan than Catalan children do. Finally, as far as the la Franja is concerned, its school system has not gone through too many changes since Franco's time: that is, Catalan is an optional language, and you can learn it, if you behave well, if the headmaster at the school feels like it, if at the same time there is no Origami class and apart from this if the town hall hasn't forbidden it. More than 80% of the children in the region learn Catalan, but as you can see, the level of knowledge is quite lower. But, why is this? If we look at the origin of families, we will be able to see this more clearly (image 4).

Each bar in this graph corresponds to a town, and students are grouped together according to their place of birth: children born in Catalan-speaking territories with both parents also from Catalan-speaking territories (children of "real Catalans", in short); children of mixed couples born in Catalan-speaking territories (one member of the couple is Catalan and the other is Andalusian, one Catalan and the other Galician, one Valencian and the other Moroccan); children born in Catalan-speaking territories with both parents from outside these; and finally, children born outside Catalan-speaking territories.

Image 3. **KNOWLEDGE LEVEL OF CATALAN & SPANISH IN RESOL TOWNS. 6TH YEAR OF PRIMARY EDUCATION**



I think that we can clearly see that the Catalonia's school model has managed to equal the levels of competence as far as knowledge of Catalan and Castilian are concerned, at least in the first three categories. Children born in another territory who begin their schooling there and then enter the Catalan education system do not achieve as good a level of knowledge as natives do in Catalan or in Castilian, but this phenomenon is universal. Undoubtedly, foreigners everywhere speak, at least, with an accent.

However, what happens in the education systems in the Balearic Islands and the Franja (Llitera i Baix Cinca)? In general, the results for the level of knowledge of Catalan are much lower. To put it exactly, in the Franja (Llitera i Baix Cinca), children born outside Catalan-speaking territories cannot speak Catalan; children born in Catalan-speaking territories with both parents from outside these just about achieve a higher result (7.2); the results of those who have one parent from Catalan-speaking territories is 7.6; and finally, note how native children with native parents assess their own level of proficiency with a lower mark. As we have already said, we need to bear in mind that these data show their level of knowledge, and are not experimental tests. Nevertheless, the difference between Catalonia and the other territories is extremely large. And as the data show, Catalan schools provide a better level of knowledge of Catalan than any other schools.

Image 4. KNOWLEDGE LEVEL OF CATALAN AND SPANISH IN RESOL TOWNS, ACCORDING TO FAMILY ORIGIN. 6TH YEAR OF PRIMARY EDUCATION

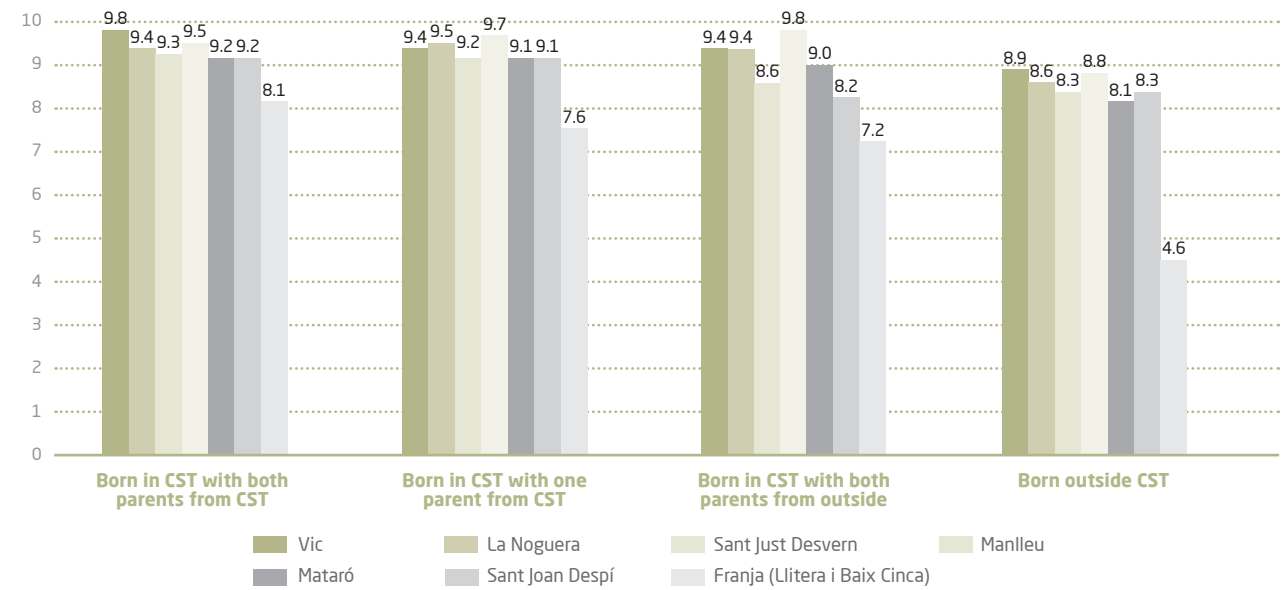
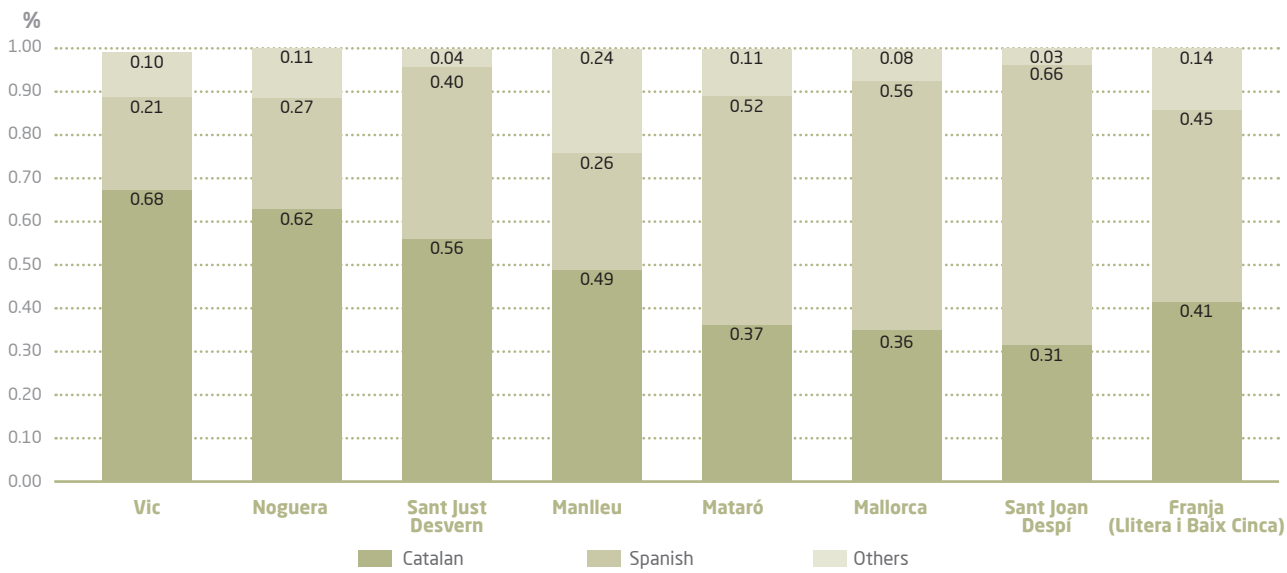


Image 5. LANGUAGE USE WITH PARENTS IN RESOL TOWNS (INCLUDING VIC). 6TH YEAR OF PRIMARY EDUCATION



After analysing the results for levels of knowledge superficially, let's take a look at the first question stated at the beginning. How does the school encourage the interpersonal use of the language? To answer this, we will analyse interpersonal usage among sixth-year students in Primary Education, and we will compare the results obtained with people at home and with friends. Note, for example, what happens in Vic. When we completed the questionnaire, 68% of the children in the town spoke in Catalan with their parents (image 5), and a much higher percentage did so with their brothers and sisters (image 6). Maybe this is an extreme case. On the other hand, note what happens in Sant Joan Despí and in the Franja (Llitera i Baix Cinca): the percentages for usage are similar in both cases.

In some towns there are huge differences as far as other languages are concerned. In Vic and Manlleu, the use of other languages —especially Amazigh and Arabic— is much greater with parents than with brothers and sisters (it goes down from 10% to 4% and from 24% to 10%, respectively, to the benefit of Catalan). On the other hand, in the Franja (Llitera i Baix Cinca), as immigration has been more recent, the use of other languages goes down from 14% to 9%, but to the benefit of Castilian.

As we can see, changes are taking place within families. In fact, if we compared the first language of children with the language that they currently speak with their parents, we would see these changes in exactly the same way, especially among foreigners. They don't speak with their

Image 6. LANGUAGE USE WITH BROTHERS & SISTERS IN RESOL TOWNS (INCLUDING VIC). 6TH YEAR OF PRIMARY EDUCATION

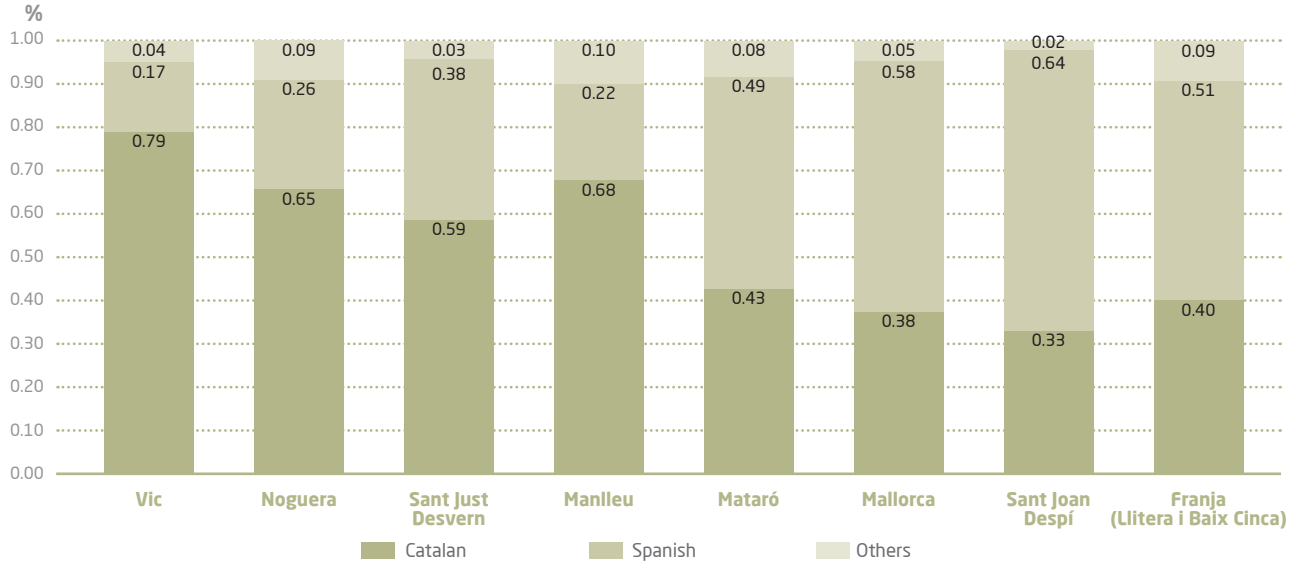
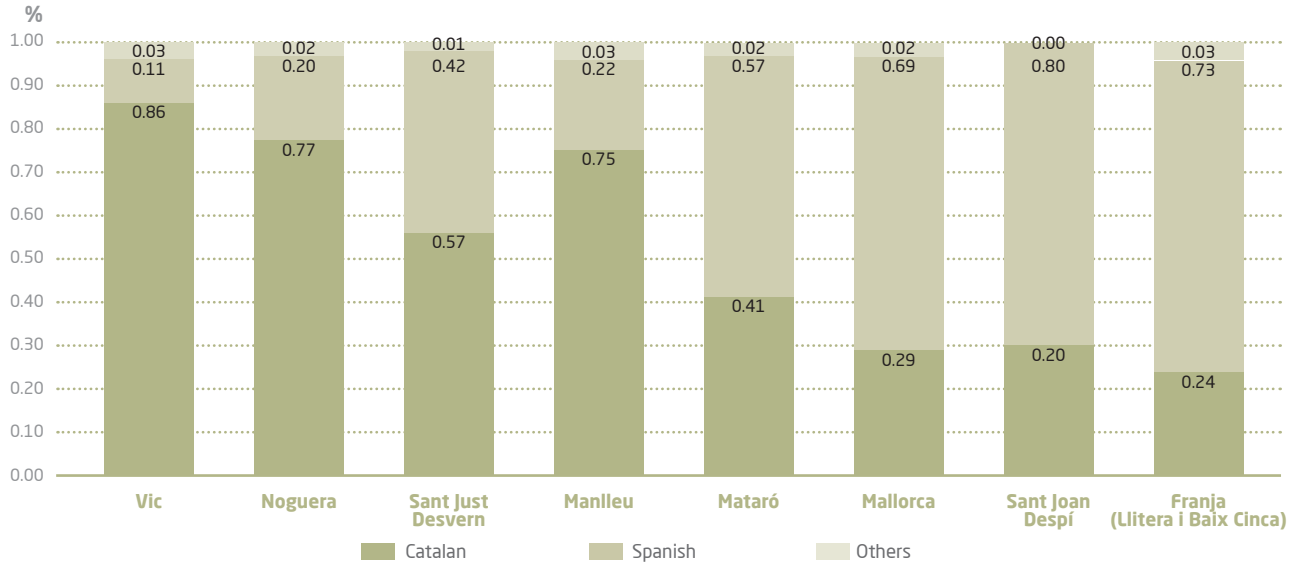


Image 7. LANGUAGE USE WITH FRIENDS IN RESOL TOWNS (INCLUDING VIC). 6TH YEAR OF PRIMARY EDUCATION

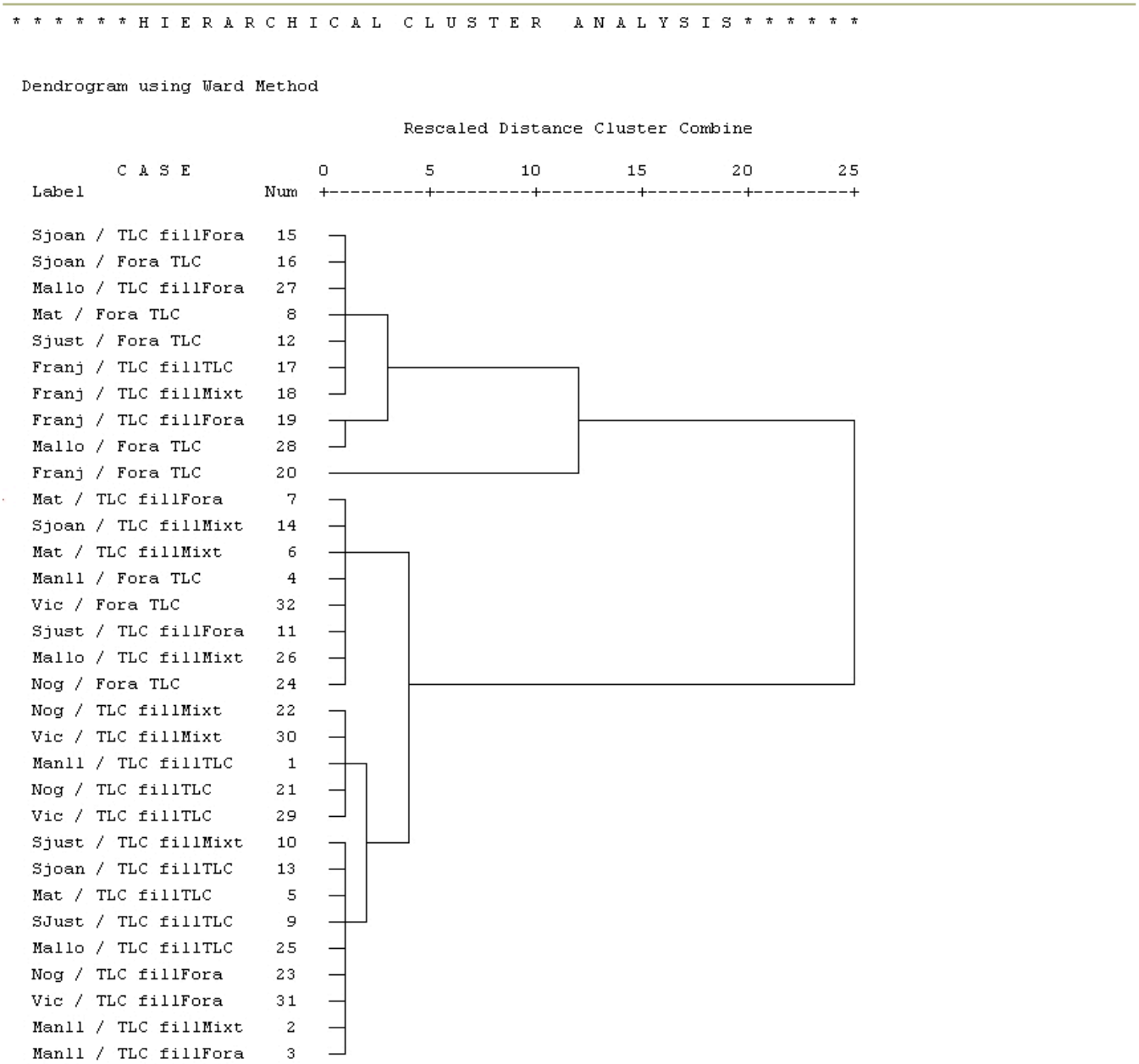


parents as they did when they lived in their countries of origin. Changes occur, especially when the children reach adolescence, which is the most variable group.

What happens among friends? This is what image 7 shows us.

In this case the languages other than Catalan and Castilian also go down considerably. They don't completely disappear, but compared to the percentage of those that use another language with their parents, they go down considerably. To be fair, it is quite striking to teachers in Vic or Manlleu that some of their students speak to each other in Amazigh, and therefore they may say that "all of them speak in Amazigh", they tell you that the Catalan children learn some Amazigh, and they tell you that... The data that we have show us that some children use Amazigh; nobody says that they don't use it among friends, but the decline is quite notable. As for Catalan and Castilian, we can see a kind of tendency. In Vic and La Noguera, for example, more and more children speak in Catalan to their friends; on the other hand, in Sant Joan Despí, despite having the same education model as in Vic and La Noguera (in theory, at least), the use of Catalan declines, compared with the language used with their parents. Finally, in other places, the data remains the same, as for example, in Sant Just Desvern.

Image 8. **CONGLOMERATES OF GROUPS ACCORDING TO ORIGIN IN RESOL TOWNS. 6TH YEAR OF PRIMARY EDUCATION**



To tell you the truth, what all this means is that there are local dynamics, numerous local dynamics. Various factors influence these: on the one hand, children's origins, as children who have Catalan as their first language or those with Castilian as their first language don't act in the same way; on the other hand, those whose parents were born in Catalan-speaking territories, those with one parent born in Catalan-speaking territories, those with parents born outside Catalan-speaking territories and children born outside Catalan-speaking territories don't act in the same way either. If we form conglomerates —image 8—, we can basically see that in some towns, especially as far as some groups are concerned, there is a greater tendency to use Castilian, and in other towns, a greater tendency to use Catalan.

To put it another way: in the case of certain minoritised languages, all the sociolinguistic trends are quite clear, everything is heading in the same direction, that is, there is a language shift process and everything is heading in the same direction. With regard to Catalan, however, at the moment there are some really conflicting dynamics: in some places one thing happens and in others something else occurs.

Look what happens if we use association statistics, that is, statistical tools that show us the relationship that exists between different factors in image 9. Normally, family origin is very closely linked to the language spoken with parents; much more so than to the language spoken with brothers and sisters. Nevertheless, the language spoken with brothers and sisters is more closely linked to family origin that the one used to speak to friends. The further away we get from the family environment, the less important the influence of family origins.

There are also large differences regarding this point. In Manlleu, for example, all families act according to their origins, but among friends it is very important to use the local language. However, let's compare this with what happens in Majorca: the difference between the languages used in the family and among friends is much less. In fact, these data remind us that in the Balearic Islands Spaniards who are not Catalans or Valencians are called "forasters" —just like in the Far West— or "peninsulares", so that the difference between natives and mainlanders is obvious. Although at school both languages are spoken, it seems that these two groups are much more clearly differentiated in Majorca than in Manlleu.

Now is the time to answer the first question we asked beforehand: Does school influence interpersonal uses? The answer is that the language used at school doesn't condition the language among peers. In the towns that we have analysed, the children's demo-linguistic composition predicts fairly accurately the choice of language used among peers, whatever the language of communication may be at school. I cannot go into detail here, but in Sant Joan Despí —where classes, in theory, are given in Catalan—, children use Castilian more and more to speak among friends. For example, bilingual family uses are redistributed. As a result, in places where most inhabitants are Castilian speakers, there is a tendency to use Castilian; and in places where most people are Catalan speakers, to use Catalan. Finally, we need to mention that the stated level of knowledge is an indicator of secondary importance; perhaps because it is not a sufficiently precise method for performing calculations.

Nevertheless, we can say —and it is very important to take this into account— that the school does act as a *relative* counterweight; that is, the school does have some influence, and acts as a relative counterweight to the power of Castilian. Let's recall what happens in the Franja (Llitora i Baix Cinca): children tend to speak much more Castilian with their friends that with their parents. Why? It's because Castilian speakers don't learn Catalan and because Catalan speakers use their language unconfidently. That is why we need to be cautious about spreading pessimistic messages about schools. As the school is the main counterweight,

Image 9. **ASSOCIATION STATISTICS (AND VALUES): USE OF CATALAN BY GROUPS WITH PARENTS, BROTHERS AND SISTERS AND FRIENDS ACCORDING TO THE FAMILY'S GEOGRAPHICAL ORIGIN, DISTRIBUTED BY TERRITORY**

Territory	Parents	Brothers and sisters	Friends
Noguera	0.61	0.57	0.27
Sant Just Desvern	0.48	0.31	0.35
Manlleu	0.74	0.42	0.21
Mataró	0.51	0.47	0.37
Mallorca	0.66	0.53	0.50
Sant Joan Despí	0.42	0.34	0.27
Franja (Llitora i Baix Cinca)	0.55	0.39	0.39

if we allow resignation to spread among teachers and we tell them that they are not doing their job properly... Well no! This is like shooting yourself in the foot, and it's better to prevent this from happening. Undoubtedly, we need to analyse what other counterweights can be formed, but it is precisely the school that we need to pay special attention to. Second question: does the school encourage students to consume culture in Catalan? How? Once again I'll use the data gathered in the RESOL project on sixth-year children.

Let's start with reading. With regard to the books read by sixth-year children without being forced to do so, the languages appear in image 10 divided as follows: Catalan is at the bottom, Castilian is above Catalan, and on the narrow strip at the top are the other languages and combinations. Someone might ask: So Catalan children read in Amazigh? No, these figures are mainly for English. Nevertheless, we don't need to remind you that voluntary reading is not universal, but is totally conditioned by various factors. Some read and others don't, and for example social class is a very important factor. While completing the questionnaires, this is what they said to me somewhere (and I'll quote it literally, including language and intonation): "Teacher, do *The seven little pigs and the wolf* count?". And I answered: "Hey! But you're eleven or twelve and you're just about to go on to Secondary school". And the student told me: "The thing is I haven't read anything else".

Image 10. LANGUAGE OF THE MOST RECENT BOOKS READ OUTSIDE SCHOOL IN RESOL TOWNS. 6TH YEAR OF PRIMARY EDUCATION

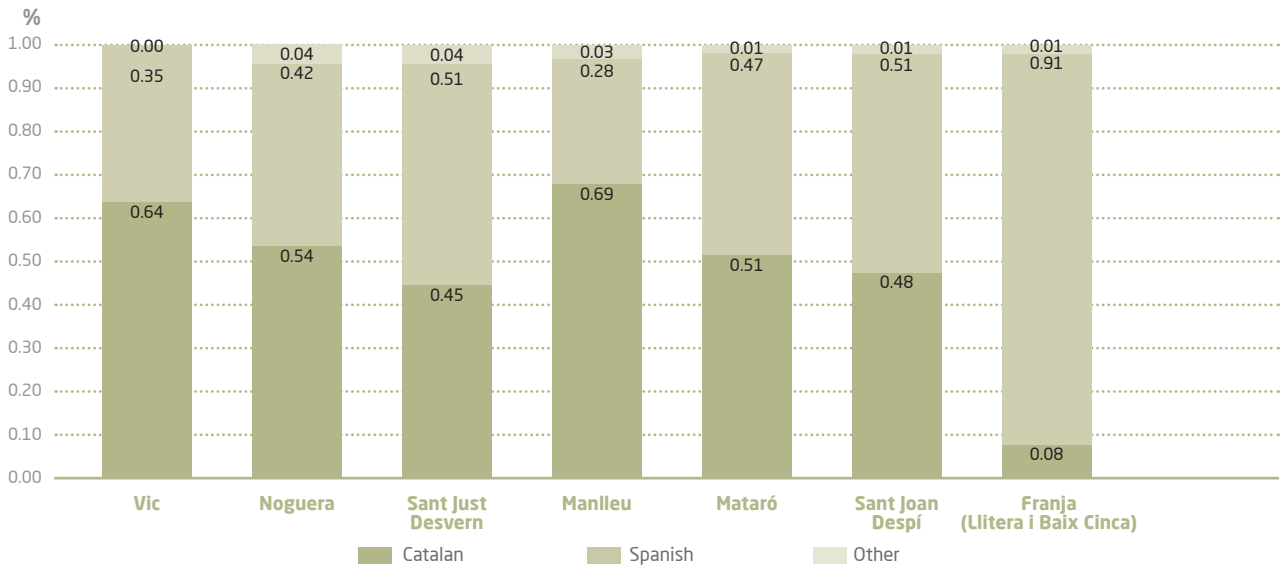
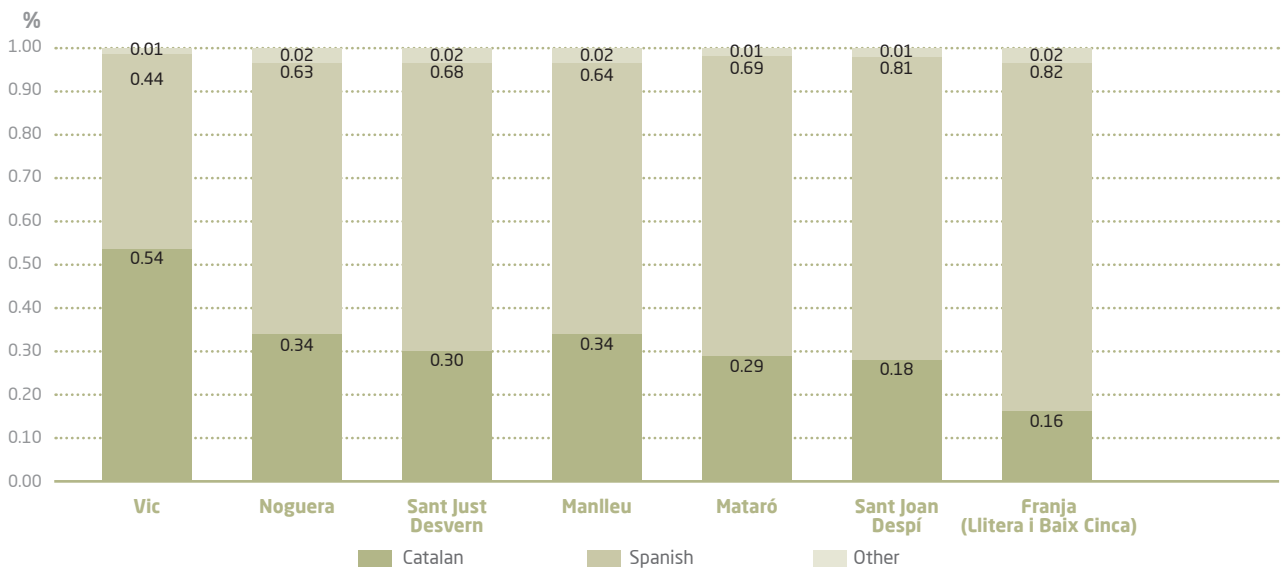


Image 11. LANGUAGE OF THE MOST RECENT PROGRAMMES SEEN ON TELEVISION IN RESOL TOWNS 6TH YEAR OF PRIMARY EDUCATION



Television is consumed by children quite differently, because it is more universal, and everyone watches it. Nevertheless, the programming on offer is much greater in Castilian. There are more channels in Catalan than in Basque, but even so, consumption is quite a bit higher in Castilian than in Catalan. This doesn't mean that Catalan has no presence, because it has, and furthermore it's considerable. But the presence of Castilian is much greater and that of the other languages, on the other hand, is very limited. At this point we need to bear in mind that television stations in Spain dub programmes, and they usually dub them into Castilian. As a result, as someone told me recently, children identify with Spanish things, because they see them on television. It's paradoxical that the Germans in the Second World War, the American Indians or the superheroes help to turn children into Castilian speakers, but, after all, it's rather logical; that is, with a certain kind of television, there are certain consequences.

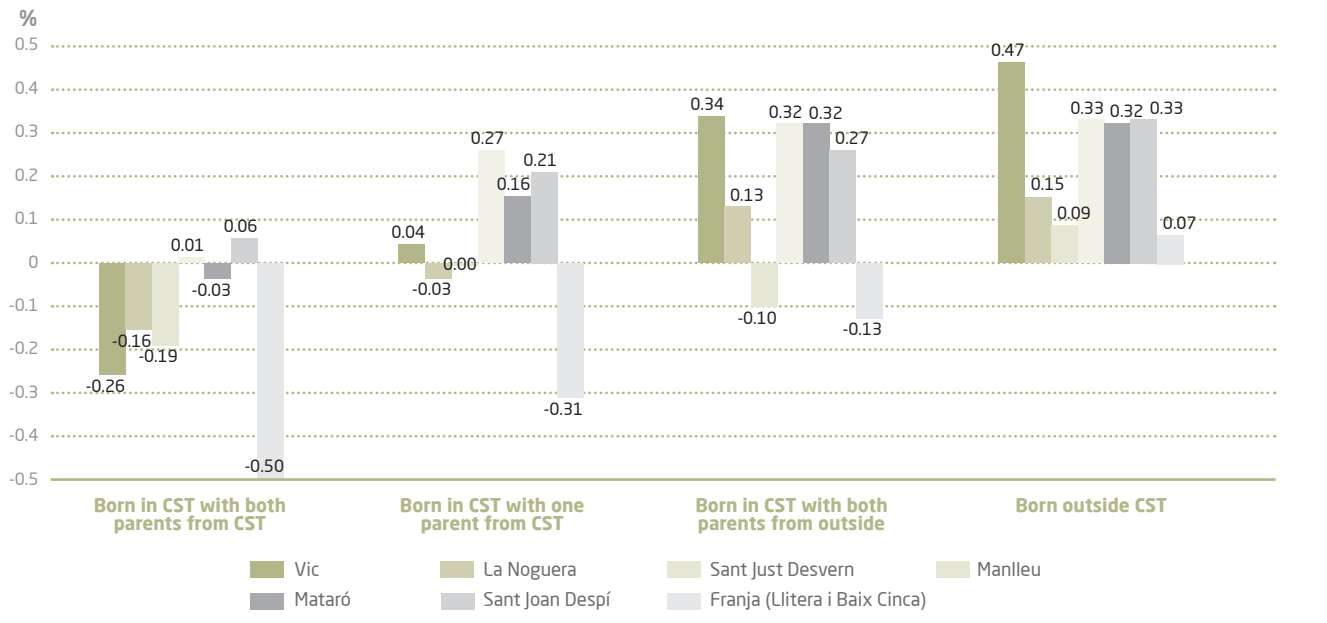
However, and this is interesting, as far as the trends for watching television are concerned, linguistic demography is a much better indicator than the school language model. But demography is not everything. The way they consume television is very similar in the Franja (Llitora i Baix Cinca) and Sant Joan Despí, but the percentage of children that speak Catalan with their parents is greater in the former than in the latter.

Somehow, the social status that Catalan has in teenagers' lives —especially at school— has helped to continue to attract viewers in Sant Joan Despí; in the Franja (Llitora i Baix Cinca), on the other hand, the lack of presence of Catalan outside the family environment has reduced the attraction of television.

It's worth mentioning that with regard to cultural consumption there is a certain connection with language. If we link the language used with parents and the cultural consumption of books (image 12), we can see that Catalan speakers use Catalan more to speak with their families than to read books, wich can be regarded as a linguistic deficit. In the Franja (Llitora i Baix Cinca), children don't read in Catalan so the deficits occur in all categories. On the other hand, children from other groups (to be precise, children born in Catalonia with both parents from non Catalan-speaking areas, and children born outside Catalan-speaking territories), have begun to use Catalan. Furthermore, there is a slight connection, although it is highly imbalanced, as Catalan-speaking children of natives born in Catalonia use Castilian a lot, more than those from the other extreme use Catalan. Use of Castilian is much more widespread, as can be seen in the previous data.

As a result, let's answer the second question: among children that are about to reach adolescence, cultural consumption in Catalan is limited compared to the importance that Catalan has as a first language. Cultural consumption is linked to the first language and the local environment, but demo-linguistics doesn't explain, or doesn't totally explain cultural consumption. Furthermore, Catalan is used much more for reading than for watching

Image 12. **LANGUAGE OF THE MOST RECENT BOOKS READ LINKED TO THE LANGUAGE USED WITH PARENTS IN RESOL TOWNS ACCORDING TO FAMILY ORIGIN 6TH YEAR OF PRIMARY EDUCATION. INDICATORS.**



television. Having got this far, we can see that the school has a certain amount of influence, as it helps to create cultural leisure activities, especially activities in Catalan. There is also a certain use of second languages, regardless of whether it is Catalan or Castilian.

Let's move on then to the third question: How does language use evolve throughout children's schooling process?

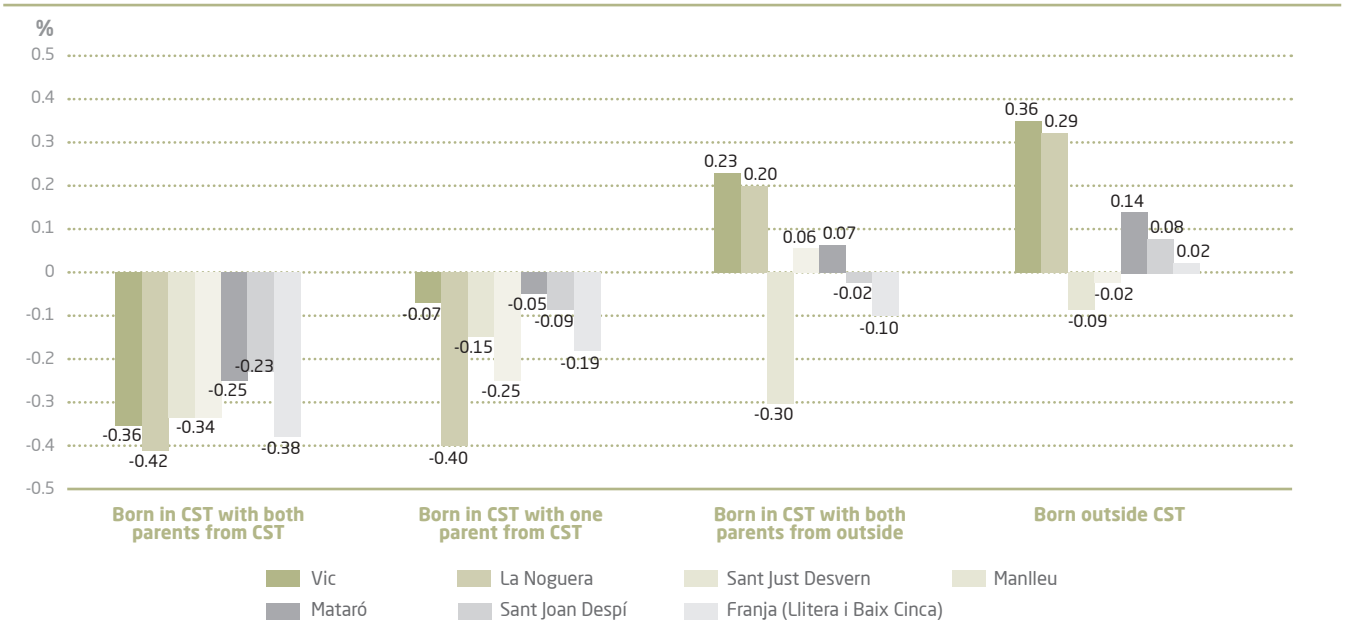
As the question refers to how this evolves, we will use the data from the 6th year of Primary education, and 1st and 4th years of Secondary education. We need to pay great attention to comparisons between age groups and these must be interpreted carefully. We must bear in mind that when comparative analysis is carried out between two age groups, we have at least four options for setting out a hypothesis.

1. First hypothesis: what the younger children and the older ones tell me is different, *because the younger ones are undergoing generational renewal*. Renewal may mean speaking more in language X, due to the fact that this generation, for whatever reason, speaks more in language X. To put it another way: when these children grow up, they will continue to speak more in language X, because their generation is not like the previous generation, as far as this aspect is concerned. For example, the younger generation might know more Catalan and use it more than the previous generations. Or the other way round: there may be more speakers of other languages and Catalan may be used less. As the children grow up, these distinguishing features don't necessarily have to change, and so these changes would survive throughout the entire period of growing up. Both are examples of *generational change* and are linked to the apparent-time hypothesis; that is, we shoulder our behaviour over time so that what our grandparents are currently doing reflects what people used to do in days gone by.

2. Second hypothesis: *change according to age;* that is, a change according to their age at any time. In this model differences can be seen between the younger and older children, because children at each age don't have the same social attitudes. In our society, for example, adolescents behave more aggressively than younger children, and the social construction of adolescence entails these changes in attitude. To put it another way: when the younger children get older, they won't have the same behaviour as they did when they were younger, as they will adopt the behaviour of the older children. And when they get even older, they will act differently.

3. Third hypothesis: the origin of the difference between the older and younger children is due to *exogenous factors that result from differences in historical periods;* that is, when the younger ones reach the age of the older ones, the historical context will be different. For example, as we saw when we launched the RESOL project, children consumed less television in Catalan when they went from Primary to Secondary School. We thought that this was because there were very few programmes in Catalan for adolescents. Shortly afterwards, a new television channel was set up, mainly aimed at adolescents, and so it was likely that for the following year consumption of television would increase, not because of any evolution

Image 13. LANGUAGE OF THE MOST RECENT PROGRAMMES SEEN ON TELEVISION LINKED TO THE LANGUAGE USED WITH PARENTS IN RESOL TOWNS ACCORDING TO FAMILY ORIGIN. 6TH YEAR OF PRIMARY EDUCATION INDICATORS



itself in individuals, but due to the change in programmes being offered. Unfortunately, this television channel closed down in 2012 because of the cuts, and as far as we can tell, the number of adolescents that consume television in Catalan has gone down again, because the programming on offer has been reduced. This hypothesis is closely linked to the first one, but it is not exactly the first one.

4. Finally, although all the hypotheses are different *a priori,* it is true that in practice the three phenomena can occur at the same time. In fact, it is likely that at the same time a generational change, a change according to their age and/or a change in the historical context will occur. It is very difficult to analyse this, as if we don't have a permanent sample, we cannot know what is happening, until a few years have gone by and we can know the answer.

In our case, bearing in mind that we have analysed the same children throughout the entire path they have followed (that is, we do not have two independent samples but one single continuous one at two consecutive times), we cannot talk about differences between two generations: in any case, we can see changes according to age and/or changes according to the historical period[7]. And what do the RESOL Project data show regarding language uses?

To begin with, we will analyse the language used in the classroom (image 14). Remember that in theory, the language used for teaching in Catalonia is generally Catalan. As the data for sixth-year children show, in Mataró 68% of the students only spoke in Catalan to teachers, and the teachers spoke only in Catalan to 75% of the students. A year later, there were further changes. The percentage of those who only used Catalan went down by almost ten points, and bilingual uses (that is, children who said "now,

Image 14. DIFFERENCES IN LANGUAGES USED IN THE SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT BETWEEN THE 6TH YEAR OF PRIMARY EDUCATION AND THE 1ST YEAR OF SECONDARY EDUCATION. MATARÓ. PERCENTAGES

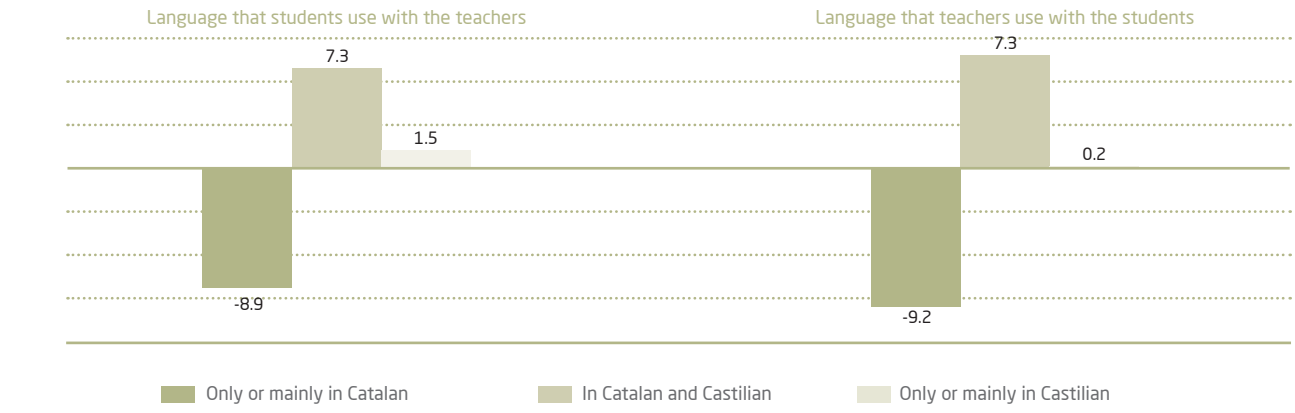
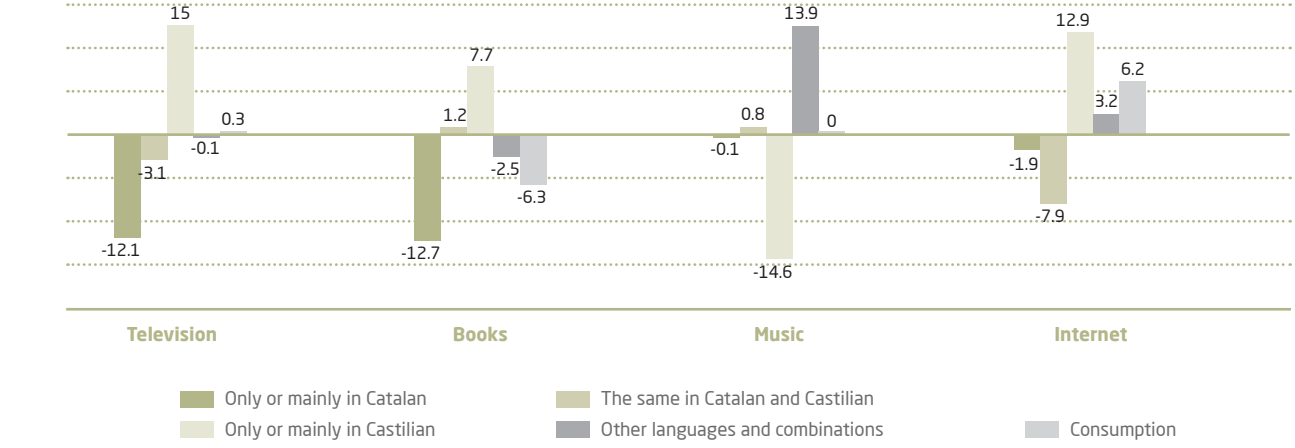


Image 15. DIFFERENCES IN LANGUAGES USED TO CONSUME CULTURE BETWEEN THE 6TH YEAR OF PRIMARY EDUCATION AND THE 1ST YEAR OF SECONDARY EDUCATION. MATARÓ. PERCENTAGES



[7] There is also a fifth option: that the origin of the changes is due to alterations in the sample. To control these, the losses occurred each time data have been gathered should be compared.

since I have entered Secondary Education, I speak to the teachers in Catalan and Castilian") went up by seven points. The percentage of those who answered, "no, I only speak in Castilian", also went up but only by 1.5%. And what did secondary school teachers do? Well, it turns out that the number of those who only used Catalan also went down, and the number of those who spoke in both languages went up; in this case, the number of those who only spoke in Castilian went up very little, because each student has more than one teacher and because it is very difficult that all teachers to speak only in Castilian. In fact, it seems that in Catalonia there are no schools that only teach in Castilian. Private schools or subsidised ones do not teach only in Castilian, because there is no demand for it. However, some of them have plurilingual models. This annoys some political parties, but to tell you the truth, several associations of private schools have told us the following: "No, we cannot offer classes in Castilian, because we don't have any". Nevertheless, with the passage from Primary to Secondary Education, the use of Catalan goes down, despite the fact that it is still the main language.

As far as the language for consuming culture is concerned, according to what the data for sixth-year children show us, there were a very large number of books read in Catalan. As for music, they listened to very little in Catalan, while in English, on the other hand, they listened to a lot. And on the Internet, the presence of Catalan was very limited. What happened after a year? Take a look at image 15. With regard to television, consumption in Catalan went down a lot, and consumption in Castilian went up. As for books, Catalan went down a lot, as did reading in general. As for music, Catalan didn't go down, because it had no margin to do so; on the other hand, Castilian went down a lot and English went up. And on the Internet, Castilian went up, as did English, but not so much.

Let's now take a look at interpersonal oral uses. As you will remember, in Mataró, 33% of usage was only in Catalan, 16.6% in Catalan and Castilian, 45% only in Castilian and the remaining 3.8% in other languages. What happened when the children went on to Secondary Education? Use of Catalan, of Catalan and Castilian, and of other languages and combinations went down, while Castilian, on the other hand, went up 3.9%. However, don't be confused by what you see in the graph, because the changes are very small, especially if we compare them with the changes in other areas that we have just seen.

Image 16. DIFFERENCE IN LANGUAGES USED WITH INTERLOCUTORS ON THE SOCIAL NETWORKS BETWEEN THE 6TH YEAR OF PRIMARY EDUCATION AND THE 1ST YEAR OF SECONDARY EDUCATION. MATARÓ. PERCENTAGES

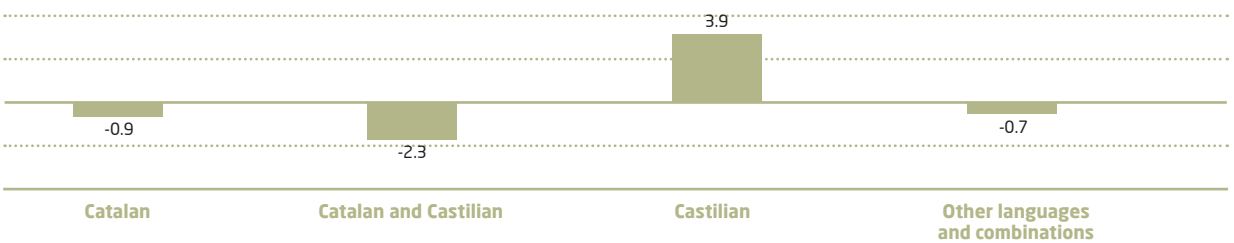
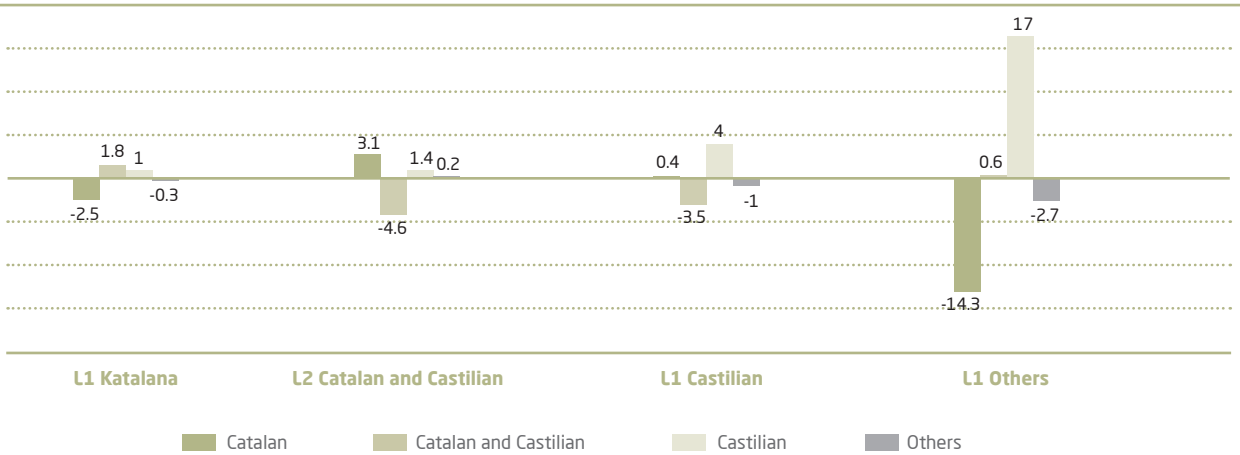


Image 17. DIFFERENCE IN LANGUAGES USED WITH INTERLOCUTORS ON THE SOCIAL NETWORKS BETWEEN THE 6TH YEAR OF PRIMARY EDUCATION AND THE 1ST YEAR OF SECONDARY EDUCATION, ACCORDING TO THEIR FIRST LANGUAGE. MATARÓ. PERCENTAGES



If we analyse these result according to the children's first language, the changes are very small as far as Catalan speakers, bilinguals and Castilian speakers are concerned. Although it may be strange, the biggest changes are the ones that occur among speakers of other languages. To be precise, the children that particularly changed their language practices were the Moroccan girls. Why? We have our suspicions, but we cannot answer the question categorically. As a result, we will have to analyse this in greater depth.

We are now going to compare these results with the ones in Manlleu. This will mean that we will be able to analyse a longer stage, as we have the data for between the 6th year of Primary Education and the 4th year of Secondary Education. Image 18 shows the languages children use on the social networks —their real relationships, not those on the Internet—. These data are for 6th-year children in Primary Education, and for the 1st and 4th years of Secondary Education and children born in Catalan-speaking territories and those born in Morocco are clearly differentiated.

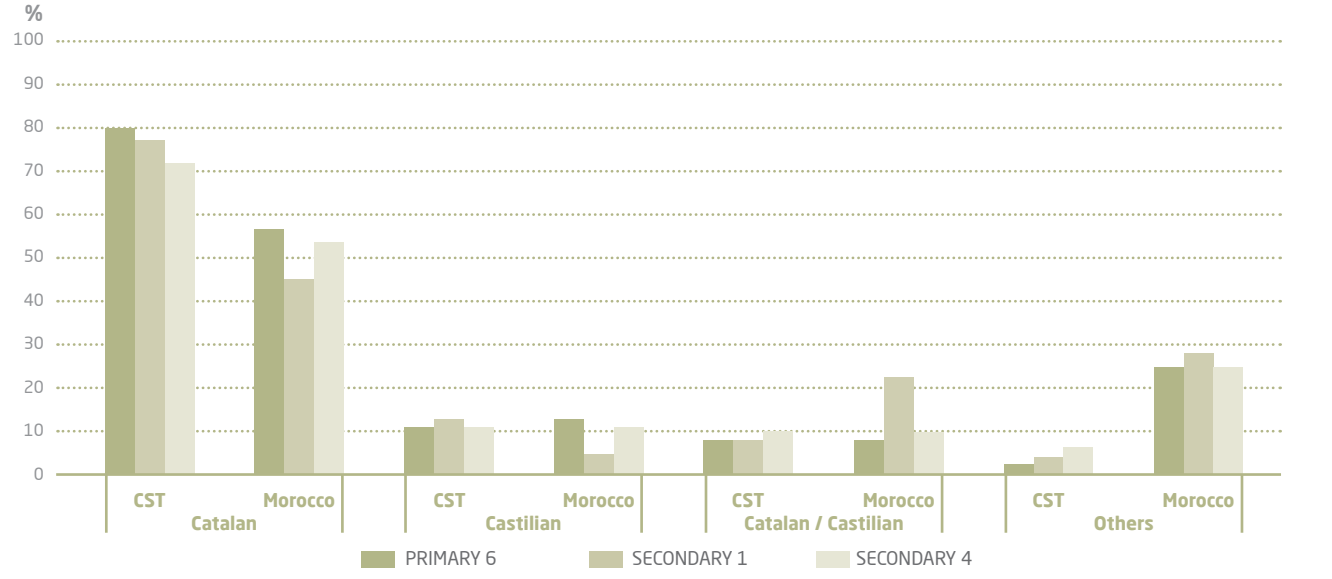
As the data show, the changes have been very limited: Catalan goes down a bit, Castilian undergoes some slight changes, Catalan and Castilian go up slightly and the other languages undergo changes. The biggest change is the slight increase in other languages and combinations, both in children born in Catalan-speaking territories and outside Catalan-speaking territories, with a trend that conflicts with the one in Mataró. Why is this? Maybe some children of Moroccan origin —born both in and outside Catalonia— use their first language a bit more when they reach Secondary Education, perhaps due to ethic segregation, because they have to take charge of various responsibilities in the family... Once again, we would have to analyse this question, but the change is so slight that it doesn't indicate any significant trend.

You are probable utterly confused by now, as the situation seems to be chaotic, and it is reasonable for us to wonder what on earth is going on in Catalonia. Does everyone just do what they feel like? This is not exactly the case but it is true to a certain extent. A wide variety of changes have occurred, depending on the field in question. In general, Catalan has gone down a bit, but only slightly. Nevertheless, the third question needs to be answered step by step:

First of all, although we haven't analysed this in depth, we need to mention that the levels of proficiency in Catalan and Castilian do not undergo many changes, as the informants assess themselves in a similar way in the 6th year of Primary Education and in the 1st and 4th year of Secondary Education. However, both languages have gone down a bit, perhaps because the informants are more and more pessimistic about their levels of competence.

As far as cultural consumption is concerned, in general reading books has decreased, and use of the Internet, on the other hand has increased. As for languages, culture consumed in Catalan has gone down as far as television and books are concerned (and this is precisely our strongpoint). On the other hand, consumption of television, books and the Internet and music in English has increased. It seems that growing up entails listening to more music in English, and this seems to be particularly important among children whose first language is Catalan. This could be an interesting research aim, and of course, a suitable course of action for business and public policy.

Image 18. DIFFERENCES IN LANGUAGES USED WITH INTERLOCUTORS ON THE SOCIAL NETWORKS IN THE 6TH YEAR OF PRIMARY EDUCATION AND THE 1ST AND 4TH YEARS OF SECONDARY EDUCATION, ACCORDING TO THEIR FIRST LANGUAGE. MANLLEU. PERCENTAGES



As for the language used at school, Catalan is still first, as it is true that it is still the main communication language there, although more and more children who go to secondary school tell us the following: "No, no, some teachers speak to me in Catalan, and others in Castilian".

Finally, with regard to interpersonal uses, we need to make it quite clear that few changes have taken place. Nevertheless, depending on the field in question, there is a slight trend towards using Castilian more. In any case, in general, the demo-linguistic composition doesn't change and uses are closely linked to the first language. The impression we have is as they advance in the educational cycle and they change to a different stage, speakers of other languages are the ones that stop speaking Catalan.

To sum up, when students go from Primary to Secondary Education, the use of Catalan decreases in the school environment —at Secondary school more Castilian is used than in Primary Education— and in cultural consumption; on the other hand, this decline is less pronounced in interpersonal uses. Nevertheless it doesn't increase. The stated level of knowledge of Catalan is not a good indicator of uses: family origin, on the other hand, is much more important. We have discovered various dynamics depending on the type of use: interpersonal use and television or book consumption, among others, are different. The same person can also follow dynamics that may be contradictory. There are different trends that can even be contradictory, depending on the context in each place. This means that the national averages mislead us; they mislead us or they don't provide us with exact information: I don't know if this has decreased, or I don't know if it has advanced... at the moment, Catalonia is a kaleidoscopic place, and each colour here has its own dynamics.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

I think that I have run out of time, and so I'll finish right now. Just let me sum up, in a word, the questions at the start of this report:

The first question was this one: "Does the school, as the main social institution assimilated by the child, influence interpersonal uses and boost the presence of Catalan? How?". According to the data from the RESOL project, the school's influence must be analysed properly. In the system that we currently have in Catalonia, the school can and does provide children with knowledge of Catalan that otherwise would not be reached by many children. As a result of this, the school is the linguistic counterweight to external influences (especially, the media). When some sectors ask for "linguistically-balanced" school models, they deliberately forget that the school isn't an island in the middle of a void. From what we have seen in the data from the Franja (Llitera i Baix Cinca) and Majorca, a process of *castilianization* accompanies the mass-media imbalance encouraged from Madrid, and the school acts as a wall to hold this phenomenon back. However, the school cannot change children's language use; at least not in the current conditions.

The second question was this one: "Does the school encourage children to consume culture in Catalan? How?" The answer is ambiguous. Everything leads us to think that the fact that schooling is in Catalan encourages children to read in this language. On the other hand, it doesn't seem to have much influence in other fields: in music, television and the Internet, for example.

Finally, the third question was this: "What influence does the change from Primary to Secondary Education have on language?" According to the data that we have, Catalan decreases in this process, but depending on the aspect that is analysed, the decline is different. In fact, the biggest decline occurs in the language used as a means of instruction. As for cultural consumption, the use of Catalan declines, but this decline is less pronounced. And the smallest decline occurs in the case of interpersonal uses. The causes and dynamics of these decreases differ depending on the town, but apparently the group that tends to use Catalan less consists of speakers of other languages. Why is this? Maybe the Primary Education environment boosts the use of Catalan in this group, because outside school, these groups are considered to be non-Catalan speakers, by definition. It is also possible that some members of these groups suffer from a certain degree of ethnic segregation when they reach adolescence.

To finish things off: in Catalonia hopeful discourses (some even verge on crowing) exist side by side with doomsayers. I have heard a colleague say that "all the indicators are negative". This claim is false: according to a lot of the indicators that we have, the situation is stable: at the most there has been a slight decline, but this is not catastrophic. To put it precisely, as our data show, in the process of passing from Primary to Secondary Education, Castilian increases slightly, especially in the school environment, but not in private contexts. This doesn't mean that the results are good: we still have a long way to go before we can consider that Catalan is in no serious danger. But fortunately, Catalan doesn't seem to be in intensive care.

END OF THE PRESENTATION AND DEBATE

I do hope that my reflections and data have proved to be useful; let's focus now on the debate. Thanks again for being so kind.

FURTHER INFORMATION ON THE RESOL PROJECT

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Vila i Moreno, F. X. 2011: "La recerca sociolingüística educativa escolar als països de llengua catalana: elements per a un balanç", in *Treballs de Sociolingüística Catalana,* 21, 205-219.

SCHOOL AND LANGUAGE: NEW WINE IN OLD WINESKINS

MIKEL ZALBIDE

Department of Education, Language Policy and Culture of the Basque Government

1. INTRODUCTION

The Basic Law concerning the normalisation of the use of Basque sat very clear aims for the degree of knowledge and use of Basque that students should obtain. In Article 17 of this Basic Law it is stated that: "The Government shall take those measures that aim to guarantee students the genuine possibility, in equal conditions, of having enough practical knowledge in both official languages when they complete their compulsory education studies and shall ensure a Basque-speaking environment, by making this a normal means of expression in both internal and external activities and in administrative documents and actions". In short, students must show satisfactory level of verbal fluency in both languages, and activities in Basque must have an appropriate presence in the school environment. This is, among many other specifications, what is stated in the Basic Law concerning the Normalisation of the Use of Basque (LNUE).

This law aimed not just to normalise the knowledge of Basque but also its use. From the very beginning, in its title the LNUE is not a law for the normalisation of the knowledge of Basque, but for the normalisation of its use. This is something that we often tend to forget, when it comes to assessing the positive and negative aspects of the law. As a result, focussing in the analysis of education, the main aim of the law was not to ensure that Spanish-speaking students learnt Basque. This wasn't the aim of it, or better to say, it wasn't meanly it. Encouraging the use of Basque among students who were originally Basque speakers or Spanish speakers represented another operational aim, which was just as important as the aforementioned one. This second point is rarely mentioned, but it appears in the same article. And this second point is precisely the starting point for the Arrue project. The public authorities must guarantee the use of Basque in relations at school between students and teachers, and to a certain extent in relations outside school as well. The task of reinforcing and guaranteeing this must be measured, just as is done with the level of ability achieved by students.

We must not get obsessed with article 17 of the LNUE. This dual aim is not the only provision included in the Basic Law on the Normalisation of the Use of Basque. It is one of the most demanding provisions, but it is not the only one. The aforementioned dual aim must be achieved by bearing in mind parents' wishes. As a result, the aim will be met by taking parents' wishes into account, and, if possible, the influence of the relevant sociolinguistic area. This is what the law states, and this is what has been done, in general, in this third of a century. The efforts made to encourage the use of Basque in the school context have been carried out in environmental conditions based on an individual criterion regarding language rights. All this must also be borne in mind so that we can assess the positives and negatives in the obtained results properly.

Let us now go to the conclusions. What has been done since then? What has been achieved? It has been deployed in all without doubt, a major legislative, organizational and educational effort. Extensive work on the one hand, and a delicate task on the other, in view of the fragility of the starting point and disparity of (sometimes vehemently opposed) points of view and existing approaches in this regard. It is clear in any case these last thirty years have of course undeniable shown progress toward meeting the goals set by the law, overcoming many obstacles and difficulties. However, how far have we come as far as the use of Basque and Spanish in the school environment is concerned? Is there a direct link between the current situation and that initial aim? Where has the use of Basque peaked, and where is its greatest weakness? In what contexts does Basque predominate among students, and in what contexts does Spanish do so? If we recall the central role we wish the use of Basque to play in the school environment, is there something to be improved or modified to meet this objective? Where must we place greater emphasis and how must do we do this in order to be able to obtain this improvement? The questions follow one after the other, and the answers are not relevant enough, general enough, or clear enough.

As the task of assessment was considered to be fundamental, a few years ago it was decided to carry

out systematic research to clarify the aforementioned questions. Which language do students use in the school environment? Which factors basically determine their choice of Basque or Spanish? In short, the *Arrue* project seeks for the answers to these questions. Thus a clarification of the events and correlates based in school language use is being shaped gradually. So it all started how it could be otherwise, by initially choosing a series of specific aims to later open up to more comprehensive goals in order to proceed in a second phase to expand horizons. And finally the time has come to make some of its conclusions public. It is time for everyone to savour the ripe fruit that is the result of the work carried out and to start, to a certain extent, a quiet reflection on the subject in question.

To what extent has the education system managed to ensure that the younger generations use Basque in the school environment? What can schools do, here and now, to ensure that our minority language becomes the usual language for relations at school among the youngest students? How could this attempt be analysed, with its negatives and positives aspects, from a theoretical perspective? Without doubt, we have made progress in this field. I remember how we analysed this subject thirty-five years ago, when explaining in public our intentions regarding the normalisation of the school environment. We tackled the subject with great enthusiasm and complete optimism: with great enthusiasm, but in general, with very little technical knowledge. What we know today is not great either. But there is a great difference: the technical information that we had available at that time to tackle the arduous task in question was utterly insufficient. We were really keen, with boundless enthusiasm, and we were really soundly determined to attempt this. But the technical information we had was very poor: poor, and in general, considerably limited.

We didn't act, however, blindly. We used to consult technical bibliography of people that knew better than us, with no doubt they were ahead of us on the subject and, on top of that, they were more accessible to us because we shaped some elements and characteristics of diver nature: we particularly paid attention to whatever came from the Catalan-speaking regions. They were ahead of us comparatively, as they had already carried out a significant reflection process[1] and analysis. It's not a secret if we say that L. V. Aracil, F. Vallverdú and Miquel Siguan[2], were for years amongst many others, a shared reference point. We shared, if I am allowed, a catalanocentric perspective in addressing the complex issue of the social organization of language behaviour in general, and its application to Education in particular. In that practical field also there were certainly plenty of subjects for researching and learning. The study of *Quatre anys de catalá a l'escola,* made by Catalan researchers and published under the auspices of the Generalitat of Catalonia was for many of us an important source of inspiration and reference. In addition to what was published, it was discussed at conferences, seminars and other events. Who can forget the annual meetings of Sitges, directed by Professor Miquel Siguán? The Catalan world has remained pioneer. What is today, despite the transmission of theoretical knowledge developed there has been far and lies sometimes to be all that could be expected profitable.

The technical documentation available (in Europe and elsewhere) was far from been equally accessible however. At that time we didn't know much about the theorising and specific results from beyond the Pyrenees. We had very little information on the field of sociolinguistic knowledge produced over 130 years in German-speaking countries[3]. We didn't know about what was going on in France very well either, despite the fact that its sources were relatively close. In addition, we only had superficial knowledge of publications from Belgium and the Netherlands[4]. Finally, we had no more than a slight idea about the basic conceptualisation made by Mac Rae in 1975 (which partly came from the work Lukas did in 1907), or we simply knew nothing about it.

In the same way, the little we knew about this knowledge in North America, we picked it from second- or third-hand sources. To start with, we hardly knew anything about the theoretical formulations and jurilinguistic applications from Canada: only a few experts among us spoke about the technical characteristics of the immersion experience carried out by Wallace A. Lambert[5] and the numerous contributions made by William Mackey, director of the *CIRB* in Quebec[6]. We knew even less about the conceptual revolution in sociolinguistics in the USA, and the innovative path it had followed, and about the daring remodelling process in sociolinguistic knowledge promoted

[1] We already knew that in the Catalan-speaking territories they had gone further than we had. We also got hold of various books from the area; not just from Catalonia; we received more publications from the Valencia area, 35-40 years ago than from Catalonia.

[2] See, for example, L. V. Aracil 198, F. Vallverdú 1972 & Miguel Siguan 1982 y 1985.

[3] In the German-speaking countries there is a long tradition going back about 130 years in the field of sociolinguistics. At that time a great effort was made that continues today to work normatively on subjects related to this field. We hardly knew anything about that, and what is even worse, nowadays we are not much better off as far as this discipline of knowledge is concerned.

[4] The technical bibliography in Belgium and the Netherlands was and is important to clarify the subject we are dealing with here, but unfortunately we didn't realise this until much later.

[5] See, for example, William E. Lambert & G. R. Tucker, 1972.

[6] See, for example, William F. Mackey 1976, 1979, 1983; see also, William F. Mackey & Jacob Ornstein 1977.

up to that time, that began at Bloomington University in 1964. We hardly knew anything about the great Joshua A. Fishman, the main driving force behind the most important intellectual remodelling process, or about the impressive contribution he had made[7]. And the same thing can be said about Spolsky's work[8]. Later on we learnt about Jim Cummin, Fred Genesee and other younger specialists. We were utterly ignorant in those early days.

In any case, we also had cause to think that we were not totally outside the mainstream: The thing is that at a time that was devoted to boosting Basque cultural activity, we also had some sound intellectuals. They not many but sound in perspective and in theoretical scope, and they helps clarify and comprehension of this particular matter. By then we already knew about the wide-ranging and prolific path followed by J. M. Sánchez Carrión "Txepetx"[9]. We were familiar with thw divers sociolinguistic planning of differents university professors. We knew perfectly well professor Koldo Mitxelena at the UPV, and among the younger professors, Maria Jose Azurmendi, and we were also aware of the explanations of jurilinguistics, provided by professor José Antonio Obieta at Deusto[10]. Iñaki Larrañaga at Siadeco was also well known[11], due to his tireless efforts as a pioneer of language planning, as was Mikel Lasa, for his systematic approaches to the bilingual education system[12]. Last but not least, we knew about the Royal Basque Language Academy's White Book[13]: a publication that compiled and updated much of the sociolinguistic knowledge, with the collaboration of various specialists in the country. So the available matter was not so small. The significance of those people was, if I'm not mistaken, relevant when going concocting the basis that the current institutional framework based on linguistic normalization.

If we had to point out just one of those pioneers in sociolinguistics, we would stress Jose Maria Sánchez Carrión "Txepetx", for the active influence he has had on one and all.

For years his work *El Estado Actual del Vascuence en la Provincia de Navarra (1970). Factores de Regresión. Relaciones de Bilingüismo* has been (and , in a way it still is) a conceptual basic reference within this theoretical web. That study carried out in 1972 the researcher handled information that had been checked using a conceptual framework, which despite the elapsed time, still holds on: the collective use of Basque and other languages, the language ability of specific speakers, and finally, the opinions and attitudes regarding use, speakers and languages[14]. That contribution was extremely important. Alter four long decades, the principles behind the theory he stated at the time are still valid: many questions in the current *Arrue* Project fall within the framework of that publication from 1972. The *Arrue* study also undertakes an analysis of speakers' oral expression in a defined collective: primary 4th students and compulsory secondary 2nd year students. We take into account the linguistic use of language of this group of speakers, their language competence and their attitudes; this adds a dynamic analysis to the descriptive one and opens doors to a prescriptive analysis.

Use of speakers in any of the languages and their linguistic competence also had a notable influence on the basic law on the normalisation of the use of Basque. The order priority between both concepts is quite clear: the law basically aimed to 'normalise language use', and not the 'ability of its speakers'. Despite the limitations and shortcomings outlined above, the task of learning and the application of basic sociolinguistic concepts that could help more profitably deploy the measures foreseen in the new legal framework were resolutely untamed. Progress has been made, no doubt, in this endeavour. We have not always reached the level of conceptual development that would be desirable, but we are far from the lean baseline. As a result we can now, on issues of language and society, addressing the theoretical and empirical analysis without resorting almost exclusively to external sources. On top of this, there is another significant event: the accessibility to external and internal sources, is much greater and incomparably faster, and is poised to make substantial progress. To the profound revolution wrought in the field of dissemination of cognitive content online must be added,

[7] See, for example, Joshua A. Fishman, 1965, 1976, 1983, 1985, 1989, 1990, 1991, 2001 & 2006. See, also, Joshua A. Fishman & John Lovas 1970.

[8] See, for example, B. Spolsky (ed) 1972.

[9] See, for example, Sánchez Carrión, J. M. "Txepetx" 1972, 1974 & 1987.

[10] See José A. Obieta, 1976.

[11] See *Bases para un futuro plan de actuación a favor de la normalización del euskara and Estudio sociolingüístico del euskara,* supervised by Iñaki, called Siadeco, both in 1978.

[12] See, among others, Mikel Lasa 1978 & 1980.

[13] We need to especially stress Juan San Martin and Jose Luis Lizundia, as their responsible management made it possible to pursue that wide-ranging collaboration, and Martin Ugalde, as he played a decisive role in unifying and adapting the different varied work carried out by many participants.

[14] Txepetx also used all the research methods within his reach, in very orderly fashion: the *descriptive* research method (what happens in a precise moment and in a specific conversation space, when so-and-so and what's-his-name are talking about this and that?), *kinetic* (what was going on before and what is going on now regarding use and ability?), *dynamic* (why are the use, ability to speak and recognition of Basque in decline? On the other hand, why is Basque thriving in some areas?), *prospective* (where are we heading on this road?) and *prescriptive* (what could be done, and what should we do to keep Basque alive?).

on the other hand, a particularly significant domestic data: we have the specialized HABE library, one of Europe's best bibliographical on language acquisition and on sociolinguistics and sociology of language. Investigations in university and specialized field, last but not least, are in continuous progress: the collaboration of public administration (as in this case) with specialized research centres is included. There is one last reason to draw an encouraging picture regarding the evolution of the sector: the rich background of long experience. Initially we were unaware of the side marginal effects that to a generalization of bilingual educational framework could lead. We did not know how it would affect the generalization to the language skills of students and how their behaviour patterns in schools could evolve their oral language. The elapsed third of the century is shedding light on this and other issues, so that, even if we had not moved in the meantime in the theoretical knowledge, we would at least have an empirical evidence body incomparably greater than the initial one.

In short, we are in adequate conditions to force a reflection work. We could use for it relevant theoretical and technical information that could be contrasted with the practical experience of a devoted generation of teaching professionals who do their task professionally and emotionally. This allows us to discern more accurately which the results are, and which they could be in a generalized bilingual educational system when achieving a higher level of language proficiency of students and use of Basque in in schools. We want to talk about these and other points today, on the one hand to evaluate their values, virtues and achievements and on the other, to recognize its limitations and shortcomings

2. INITIAL SOCIAL CONDITIONS

Around 1975 Basque was severely restricted in nine out of ten schools in the Basque Country[15]. That precise socio-educational context was prevailing by the time when the previous political regime came to an end. It was a biological ending alright, but filled with hope for broad social sectors, excited about the likely alternative scenarios. Sometimes there is a tendency to overlook or undervalue many of the defining sociological elements of that period of time. When explaining, criticizing and justifying what was happening subsequently in the school setting or with the social factors, there was rarely any lustre at all[16]. This negligence hinders a proper understanding of the process and subsequent achievements and limitations of language standardization in schools. There is no doubt when saying that the sociological factors had, at that time, a substantial weight. They have continued to be important later, and they still are today, despite the fact that over the last third of a century we have witnessed significant changes in the sociological sphere. That past situation doesn't explain the present one.

The Basic Law of the Normalisation of the Use of Basque has just celebrated its 30th anniversary. On this occasion we have heard, particularly authorized persons lucid insights and in general considerations of authority and scope over that law. But hardly anyone has bothered to recall the context that this law was launched in, and in which context it was formulated, discussed, adapted and finally passed[17]. If we are not wrong, it is the only basic law issued by the Basque Parliament. When circumventing that particular social context, it is taken for granted that the social use of language doesn't suddenly change from one year to another. However known as the fact is, it does not seem convenient to silence it. It could be good to start from a calm analysis of the sociolinguistic happenings during the 25 years before the LNUE was passed[18]. So, let's pick up the thread again: how were things, let's say between 1955 and 1980, with regard to our use of language among inhabitants of the Basque Autonomous Community, the kinds of language abilities shown by native speakers, and in general, the opinions and attitudes of the community of speakers?

2.1. INTERPERSONAL USE OF BASQUE AND OTHER LANGUAGES

The Basque-speaking community had been considerably reduced towards the second half of the twentieth century: particularly reduced, and above all, highly restricted in its socio-functional fields. An increasingly smaller proportion of the population used it for fewer and fewer functions. This decline had its corresponding territorial

[15] In Primary education, Basque was outside the school, in nine out of every ten cases. If we also included Secondary Education (and, it goes without saying, the university sphere), the presence of Basque at school wouldn't reach 5 %.

[16] In order to be able to appreciate the situation at that time properly, I usually recommend and mention the following sources: The request presented on the 22-II-1967 by a group of priests in the Azpeitia area; the *Informe sociológico sobre la situación social de España,* by *FOESSA* (1970);,and *Euskara gaur,* by *Gaur S.C.I.* (1971). There are far from being the only available sources of information. But they definitely deserve to be read at leisure.

[17] The LNUE was passed by a large majority, but not unanimously. One day we will have to take up this subject again so that we can explain many events of the last third of a century properly. To be able to appreciate most of the circumstances in the process of preparing the law, see, especially, the huge publication entitled *Ley Básica de Normalización del Uso del Euskera* from 1991.

[18] Quite a few people will think that "these are things from the past". "We have known by heart what happened for quite some time now". This could well be the case, but I think that looking over things can prove to be useful for the reflection process we are dealing with here. And actually, when it comes to assessing this, it is just as important to specifically analyse the end result as it is to consider specifically the starting point.

consequences. The usual everyday sphere of Basque was clearly reduced to specific districts. Generally Spanish was totally predominant in the street, while the use of oral Basque (not for reading or writing though) was relegated to smaller rural areas. And even in many breathing spaces[19] a way of life gradually became established that included both realities: many Basque speakers went on to continue living in the farmhouse, but not from the farmhouse. Simultaneously this tendency began to shift: a quarter of a century before the LNUE was passed, the Basque-speaking community became more urban, especially in Bizkaia and Gipuzkoa. As it urbanised, its lifestyle gradually changed: the urban Basque-speaking population who moved out of the farmhouses and their descendants had to transform their homes, professions, friendships, family environment and social networks. They became completely immersed in this modernisation process, and this change entailed the results that we are all familiar with. Basque survived more in Gipuzkoa., It became more and more the stronghold of the Basque-speaking community. Gipuzkoa maintained the highest percentage of Basque speakers; it also was the area where the highest concentration of them was gathered.

This remodelling process coincided with an even broader social transformation against the backdrop of intensive immigration. From 1950 onwards, huge masses of emigrants, almost 700,000 people, arrived in Bizkaia, Araba and Gipuzkoa. This wave of immigrants considerably weakened the demo-linguistic presence of Basque. Many emigrants, and a lot of their descendants, continued to be monolingual Spanish speakers. Mass immigration, on the one hand, and a high birth rate on the other, led to rapid demographic population growth. The three provinces and Navarre grew, not just demographically, but also economically. Furthermore, intensive immigration and growing industrialisation led to the creation of numerous urban centres. In a short period of time a great many homes, and even entire neighbourhoods, were built. The street and the factory became totally predominant. In this modernised urban environment, in the factories and in everyday life in urban neighbourhoods, the secular and traditional socio-functional compartmentalisation of Basque and Spanish was clearly diminished as a result of this, and was even shattered in many places. Spanish totally or partially appropriated functional spheres that belonged exclusively Basque up to then. As a result, Basque ended up being deprived of exclusive functional areas or activity spheres, in this new urban environment.

However, not everything was negative. The small villages and farmhouses with a Basque-speaking environment didn't completely disappear. There Spanish began to spread out with the radio or the television. Despite losing more and more ground to Spanish, Basque survived in these specific contexts: it remained alive especially in large family circles and among close friendships (these speakers were keener to Basque). Common informal oral expression in Basque was still alive, inside and outside the home: Basque was spoken in the bar and in the square, at work next to the home and at fiestas, religious servings and popular celebrations. By combining the "traditional way of life" with life in the street, many small towns, villages and farmhouses were able to establish the socioeconomic foundations required to carry on living in Basque in everyday informal use domains and in direct interaction nets: this is the baseline of language transmission between generations. Thanks to these foundations and to the fact that the impact of immigration and urbanisation was minimal in this context, in the aforementioned breathing areas, new generations of Basque speakers continued to emerge. In many cases they were large families, and as only one child used to stay at home, the rest went to the village and became the driving forces behind a Basque identity.

Even if Basque show signs of further weakness, it was also operative outside these areas, particularly in Bizkaia and Gipuzkoa. In some cases Basque was 'listened' in the street, while many families, particularly in neighbourhoods and surrounding villages, held a partial basis of Basque collective life. That restricted use of language, mainly within the family, was perceptible in the capitals. Additionally, this restricted use of Basque began to pick up in other areas of use. This city resurgence of Basque was felt to some extent in Bizkaia and was evident, especially in Gipuzkoa. It was fortuitous: there was a deliberate attempt to strengthen the use of Basque, without limiting the oral plane: it set as one of its main objectives of youth literacy. Starting from this previous work was gaining intensity a new literature: new in substance and form. An effort was made to disseminate news and periodicals, especially, by (re)creating the Basque school. All these initiatives sought to open doors to an urban, "new society" based in part or (intentionally) all in Basque. The work at hand this sociolinguistic philosophy was not, for various reasons (including the attitudinal spectrum of the Basque population in general), not easy. This spectrum was very fragmented and, in a way, polarized. The view of the detractors of Basque was also particularly rooted in the urban environment. So it was in that inhospitable Hintergrund where, since 1955, resumed its journey organized effort to promote Basque culture and language.

[19] The terminological fountain of "breathing space" is J. A. Fishman's *Reversing Language Shift* (Fishman, 1991). I intend to publish a complete study on the "breathing space" concept as soon as possible. In the meantime, the reader interested in this can review all that I have written in the last twelve years or on this subject in particular.

2.2. SPECTRUM OF LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

The sociolinguistic situation of the country led to very different opinions, attitudes, views and value judgments about the proper place for each language in social life present and particularly future, as its speakers. Not only were there different opinions: in many cases there were antithetical approaches. We will make four attitudinal prototypes in order to summarize the diversity and complexity of the operative approaches in that social context.

a) *Basque as a threat.* Once completed the unification of the nation-state in terms of full political and operational integration, Basque posed to individuals and not a few instances a serious obstacle to the subsequent sociocultural fusion. There were people who considered harmful to keep up the social use of the Basque language and its associated culture, particularly in urban life. For those who thought so, the corollary was clear: the more weakened and residual Basque was the better. It is true that after 1955 began, here and there, such nuanced views.

   Languages other than Castilian provoked, however, some uneasiness. The Castilian was, in essence, the natural and proper means of communication for anyone that felt as a modern urban dweller. It was a natural environment and, for many, the only convenient one.

b) *Favourable attitude towards Basque language and culture, without involving active engagement.* In the country there was also a moderate attitude favourable to Basque and to its associated culture: a diffuse but sensible experience in the sociocultural order. Not lavished on explicit statements and, in particular, showed a firm commitment to making major commitments to the contextually weak language. Basque dimension was considered to be worth of a respect: it should not be subject to scorn. The appreciation of culture and the Basque language came with its idiosyncrasy. Positively it valued both, but it didn't associate with it a moral obligation to strong personal commitment. His personal agenda in relation to the preferred model of future society did not include an explicit reaffirmation of the social use of the Basque language. It showed certainly in favour of the "Basque essence" in general and in particular of "Basque language", but this favourable sentiment did not include a deliberate intention of pawning in it an intellectual effort, a physical availability, financial resources and their affective sphere. This view contained a clear leitmotiv: "The life of the people is broader and deeper than its linguistic dimension. This broad perspective must prevail. If within that global perspective Basque goes ahead, the better. But we don't want to convert configuring elements of social life, attractive it may be, in the vortex and the inspiring source of social change in course".

c) *Rigorous defence of being Basque.* A committed approach of language loyalty. Within a sociocultural process, which for the time being has been little studied, in the period 1955-1980, some strongly favourable positions to Basque and their associated culture appeared and were spread. Part of the "Basque loyalist" or "euskaltzale" world began to witness attitudes and behaviours growing strongly for the Basque language and culture. That society sector lived the Spanish language as an intrusive element. Basque was weakening dramatically: the effect of social use was suffering a serious setback. The generality of elements that had supported the Basque ethnocultural authenticity, naturally including the language, gave unmistakable signs of difficulty or inability to ensure intergenerational continuity. For this "Basque loyalist" or "euskaltzale" sector, Spanish-speaking or Basque-speaking, Spanish symbolized by far a great danger of irretrievable loss and the inability to regenerate of Basque. To start with, the undeniable social spreading of Spanish denoted a damage that never should have been inflicted on the Basques should things have happened as they should. The attitude of this "Basque loyalist" or "euskaltzale" world pivoted in a firm defence of Basque authenticity. Its behaviour was associated increasingly to an active and explicit commitment for that authenticity.

d) *Bilingual recognition of being Basque.* Not all those citizens committed supporting Basque language displayed such a compromising viewpoint. Not everyone in the "Basque loyalist" or "euskaltzale" community was in favour of having a single language society. Many citizens didn't associate support for Basque with the prohibition and loss of Spanish. They preferred a modus vivendi based in both languages. That's what they thought and what in fact they applied in their everyday life. For most of these bilingual Bascophiles Spanish was a valuable attribute, an essential tool for addressing their future. Many of these people were more familiar with Spanish especially where formal styles of language prevailed both in the areas of use and the role relationships. Spanish opened them furthermore the door to all the state in general and to a lot of places all around the world. Spanish also gave them access to the entire state and to many parts of the world. They genuinely wanted the best for Basque, and were prepared to make personal or family commitments to support Basque (by learning the language to a certain extent or by sending their children to study at ikastolas which are Basque medium schools), but without abandoning Spanish.

It is not easy to establish how important each of these points of view was in the 1955-1980 period. As far as we

know, no in-depth analysis has been carried out on this question. It is not easy either to determine when one viewpoint or another spread in a specific place, nor when or how one point of view in particular became predominant. However we cannot forget that they were all present in diverse periods in the Basque society during the last quarter of the century. Otherwise, certain developments that we have been able to note from 1980 onwards would be difficult to explain. Among other things, it would be difficult to explain why oral expression in the school environment of students in the Basque Autonomous Community has evolved as it.

2.3. KIND OF BILINGUALISM USED BY SPEAKERS AT THAT TIME

By 1975-80 monolingual Basque speakers had disappeared in the Basque Country. By that time it was already difficult to find monolingual Basque speakers, except for a few children under the age of six-eight and some very old people in isolated mountainous areas. On the other hand, there were a lot of monolingual Spanish speakers. These were the large majority. Basque speakers were generally bilingual, they were those that spoke Basque fluently but to a certain extent they spoke it in very few occasions. Some were bilingual Basque speakers; this is to say they expressed themselves better in Basque than Spanish. These were frequently found in the 'breathing space'-s by J. A. Fishman described. Some others could be considered to be "balanced" bilinguals: they expressed themselves equally fluently in Basque and Spanish in their everyday routine activities. And finally, the bilingual Spanish speakers knew Basque and used it when convenient or necessary, but spoke more often and more easily in Spanish. The latter were clearly the majority, and formed the largest group of speakers together with the monolingual Spanish speakers, in the increasingly larger urban environment in Bizkaia and Gipuzkoa. At that time this is what the main kind of bilingualism among speakers in the Basque Autonomous Community consisted of. Intergenerational transmission also reflected a negative balance: as monolingual Basque speakers were dying out, bilingual Basque speakers were becoming fewer, while the number of bilingual Spanish speakers and of monolingual Spanish speakers was increasing.

Nevertheless, a totally different phenomenon began to emerge in society simultaneously. From a certain moment on *new Basque speakers* began to appear: Persons whose mother tongue was Spanish and that from a certain age on, they strived and succeeded in learning Basque as a second language. At first this new phenomenon could be seen mainly in the capitals or their outskirts, to later spread in other directions. In general, the new Basque speakers were active bilinguals: usually, they had no serious problems expressing themselves in Basque, both orally and in writing.

2.4. DEMOGRAPHIC, ECONO-TECHNICAL AND TOWN PLANNING CONDITIONS

To begin with, let's analyse the main demographic event at that time: the contraceptive pill. Up to about 1975 this pill didn't become widespread among us. This phenomenon, together with mass immigration after 1955, had a huge impact on the school environment in the country, both on the number of students and, above all, on these students' domestic and neighbourhood environment. During the sixties and seventies we assisted to an important increment and consolidation of the student's population. There were much many children and youngsters in the households, in the streets, in the squares and in the playgrounds. The new trend towards birth control that gradually spread in Europe from 1963 onwards didn't immediately become established in certain countries in the South: on the one hand this was the case for the catholic Ireland, Portugal, Italy and Spain, and on the other, in Israel, for quite different reasons, where natural control procedures remained in effect, a quasi-exclusive way sometimes. In most of industrialised secular Europe the birth rate went down after 1963. In Southern Europe, on the other hand, this didn't happen in general. This was even less the case among us, as we had to add newly arrived children of emigrants of these last 10-15-20 years to the new-borns of parents from the Basque Country. Because of all of this, the birth rate went up considerably among us, instead of going down. After almost ten stable years beginning in the 1960s, the birth rate reached its peak in the second half of the 1970s. As a general rule, at that time 40,000 children a year were born in the Basque Autonomous Community.

The new trend towards birth control took its time getting here, but it finally arrived. The decline of births that many other countries went through in twenty five, it also happened in the Basque Country. This decline came to stay, and finally from about 40,000 births a year[20] we suddenly went to 16,000. This drop of the birth rate had a big influence in various aspects of the social life. It was a sudden fact and to a certain extent, unforeseen; in fact, by the time that the law on the normalisation of Basque was drawn up such a drastic decline was not envisaged, nor were the important consequences that this had at school. The thing is that it was generally thought that the aforementioned "stable" birth rate (40,000 births a year) would carry on like that for years.

[20] This fairly stable trend reached its peak in 1977: that year there were 41,100 births in the Basque Autonomous Community.

Let's go on to the econo-technical events of that period. The traditional rural environment declined irremissibly. The working sphere became mainly shifted into industry and, increasingly, into the service sector. The traditional way of life and the characteristic activities carried out in the countryside, were passed on from one generation to the next and despite many constraints, these had guaranteed for Basque an objective basis for continuity. The aforementioned set of econo-technical innovations modified significantly the basis of intergenerational transmission. When the LNUE was debated and then passed, most of the Basque Autonomous Community, especially Bizkaia and Gipuzkoa, had already begun to feel the powerful impact of that clear transformation. The fact that the Basic Law of Normalization of the Use of Basque had pointed mainly towards the school, so that intergenerational continuity of language could be warrantied, may have had something to do with that impact. This means that this is related to it, but not only to it.

Finally, let's mention briefly that, the main current trend regarding town planning. As we have already mentioned, town planning, and later urban development underwent spectacular growth among us in the period from 1955 to 1980. In Bizkaia and Gipuzkoa this was a well-known phenomenon. In any case, the trend towards urbanisation was not exclusive to Gipuzkoa and Bizkaia, but could also be seen in Alava, especially in Vitoria, and in Navarre, Pamplona and its surrounding area. As it is well known, this has also considerably changed the way of life and expressive needs of Basque speakers concerning their interpersonal communication guideline. To put it another way, it forced Basque speakers to live alongside Spanish speakers, who were mainly monolingual in general. This change was a definitive and thorough on: it didn´t have anything to do with going weekly or monthly to markets, or occasional having appointments with the doctor or the notary in Spanish. The newly urbanised Basque-speaking citizens would have to live alongside Spanish-speaking, and speak in Spanish with them 99 per cent of the occasions.

It wasn't a strictly unilateral process. The urbanized Basque population could show sometimes contact with other urban Basque-speakers to try to create breathing spaces mainly for the use and promotion of their language and culture. The most known application regarding this was the creation, in these breathing spaces, of Basque-medium schools that taught in Basque. This counteracted, in a way, the declining tendency of the social use of Basque. By doing this, on the one hand, we tried to retain the risk of loss of Basque and on the other to recover what we had already lost. In some occasions what was sought was to conquer new spaces for the use of language. This process generated, in certain areas, a trend of learning of Basque, particularly among the young generation: this was the first time in the known history of the Basque language that something of the kind occurred.

Some persons and qualified authorities made their best to adequate Basque to more formal functions, by written and in wider areas of interaction. The Congress of the Royal Academy of Basque Language in Arantzazu was of particular relevance. So are to mention other initiatives held before 1968, and later ones as well, under the leadership of the academy. That Basque modern and urban culture produced simultaneously, evident novelties in the fields of song, theatre and oral and written literature. These creative activities of several kinds got this way a real new mark: new by its form as well as by its content. The media (not the press, but certainly some radio programs of Gipuzkoa and some other periodical publications of Biscay and Gipuzkoa) began their journey in Basque. It was there where emerged a strong initiative to hold Basque schools, who were initially articulated around the ikastolas (Basque-medium schools) and later on were expanded into the rest of schools with divers intensity and extension as well. That initiative was already well linked to the social life when in 1982, LNUE passed. The law aimed to approve and expressly legalise and had a wide social support. Although it was broadly accepted, it didn't reach the magnitude that it later had. It is convenient to keep all this in mind to thoroughly understand the school evolution that took place from 1982 to nowadays.

3. LANGUAGE USE IN THE SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT: SOURCES OF VARIABILITY

Let's go back to the *Arrue* study. How can the results of this study be interpreted from a socio-linguistic perspective? Let's point out, first of all, that this study doesn't more or less representative measured sample. The *Arrue* study doesn't analyse only a sample of students in the Basque Autonomous Community; it analyses the entire student community in Primary 4th and in Compulsory Secondary 2nd. This is something that proves to be striking: there are not many studies carried out among us that gather systematic data on almost 36,000 pupils and analyse it by following scientific criteria. This has been due to the fact that advantage of the diagnostic assessment carried out by the ISEI-IVEI has been taken and that such a comprehensive sample was provided. This is something that is not only striking, but is also innovative in our field. The questionnaire and research method used here have already been carried out previously on various occasions, and it is the scope that provides another dimension to the research work. It also provides another level of accuracy, as far as the samples are concerned. To this respect, the *ISEI-IVE*'s participation, agreed simultaneously by the Department, has been vital. The technical guidance provided by ISEI-IVEI regarding the general lines that the research method should follow has also been quite valuable.

What does this Arrue study teach us about language use in the school environment, students' language competence and their opinions and attitudes? What does it show us about the correlations between some variables and others? What does it show us finally, in the multiple regression analyses that can be considered to be valid determining factors? A detailed explanation of all this has been provided to us (in accordance with the *ISEI-IVEI)* by the Sociolinguistics Cluster technical managers. As a result, I am not going to crudely repeat in summarised form what others have set out perfectly clearly. I would just like to focus, if I may, on certain points that I think are fundamental, only on some of them, not in all of them. In the results of these research lines, there have been observed some glimpses that confirm previous perspectives. It could be mentioned that the data is relatively familiar to us since long time, and forms a relatively comprehensive list, gathered in the section that could be called "OLD wine in NEW wineskins". However the list that really interests me is a different one and I would like to present it to you here. These are certain contributions that for the moment have not been extensively included in our technical bibliography. We have called this section "NEW wine in OLD wineskins". We will mention various "new" data in this section that shows us the school area of the last few decades, from the sociology of language perspective. Let's focus, then, on the question:

a) *The school, the stronghold of Basque.* Some might think that this is an assessment that goes too far, almost a provocation, given that for a long time we have been used to hearing the opposite. Nonetheless, that's the way things are, in my opinion. It is true, of course, that the presence of Basque is weak in many schools and even weaker in playgrounds, basically among students over a certain age. This is a fact, and the study itself clearly reflects direct evidence of this weakness. The general result, however, is quite different: currently there is no sphere of activity, let alone spheres of institutional initiative, that can show such sound results as those of the classroom as far as the strengthening of the use of the language is concerned. Let's not forget that students spend most of their time at school in the classroom, not in the playground. From an in-classroom perspective, the school is more Basque-speaking than the home, especially outside the increasingly rarer oases that are still left, when it comes to reinforcing activity in Basque[21]. *Arrue* has made this reality clearly visible to everyone: at home, when people gather around the table, exclusive usage of Basque is about 10% (this is not the case in personal relations between couples: in these, Basque has a larger place, especially among relatives). At school, in any case, the most moderate usage figures are clearly bigger than those for usage around the table at home (28% in Primary 4th among classmates, in the playground), although this goes down to the level of the percentages at home in Secondary 2nd. In the classroom the percentages obtained among classmates are somewhat higher (60% and 28%, respectively), figures that are even higher in interaction with teachers (in the soundest case, these percentages reach 71% and 61% respectively in the classroom). It is quite clear: if for a long time the school was the place where what was learnt at home was lost, at the present time it fulfils a quite different function: the school is currently a space where it is possible to confirm the competence level in Basque brought from home or even a place to learn what they haven't been able to learn at home and use it to a certain extent. The results are what they are, and they are far from the dream models of total fluency in Basque. Obviously this is a new conclusion: we speak, not without reason, about what is desirable and what is possible regarding schools, and no one, however, has paid proper attention to this new conclusion. It is true that in the last few years there have been people among us who have begun to realise the reality of this situation: the first to become aware of this fact have perhaps been the HNT (language normalisation experts) at the 18 Berritzegunes (innovation centres) of the Department of Education by using the *"class photo"* and the dynamic assessment tools in the *ULIBARRI* projects, among others. What initially seemed to be an unusual and striking piece of data in its field, has been clearly confirmed by *Arrue*.

b) *The powerful influence of the home, the neighbourhood, the street and close acquaintances.* Furthermore, the gap that exists between the elaborate formal language style used in the classroom between students and teachers, and the informal speech used by young people is clearly reflected in this study. Even if they live in a Basque-speaking breathing space and study in model D, one thing is the dominant use in the classroom and another thing is use outside it. And what can we say if we go out of the school: the supremacy of Spanish is prominent as far as cultural consumption by the younger generation is concerned. This is obvious regarding television, literature and the press, not so much in the radio. As for information and new communication media, Spanish is still predominant, apart from English. Because of all this, there is a clear gap between the use that is hoped to be encouraged through the school and the cultural consumption that occurs in various fields. The school is not a complete fortress: the influence of the outside world does penetrate it, and above all, the oral expression that occurs inside it has a limited influence on the outside. On the other hand, this study constantly shows us the complex way in which,

[21] In these as well, this happens more and more often.

on the one hand, the school and on the other, close acquaintances, the street and the neighbourhood, are linked. We are trying to establish how close this link is. So, how far does the contribution made by the school go when it comes to reinforcing usage of Basque among the younger generation? How broad and deep is this contribution compared to the influence of the usual socialisation agents and those who have made their presence felt recently? Which is stronger when it comes to determining the language used by schoolchildren: the language used to teach at school or the one spoken in the home-neighbourhood-playmates-village? Let's assume that, taking things to extremes, we could make a theoretical comparison that does not exist in current practice: on the one hand, students who live in a breathing space and who always or mainly speak in Basque with their family and siblings, in the village square or with their group of friends but who are enrolled in model A; on the other hand, as occurs mainly in the urban settings, students that only or mainly speak in Spanish at home with their brothers and sisters and their family, in the street or in the village square but who study in model D. If these two situations could be compared, we would clearly be able to see to what extent oral expression at home, in the neighbourhood and with the group of friend's influences the language used in their school environment. This subject will be dealt later on, due to its importance[22].

c) *Variability produced by "who speaks to whom".* In general, language use is usually variable in language contact environments. This also happens in our area between Basque and other languages. This is what happens in the broad social spectrum, and in the same way, it also occurs, at school: the old format "who speaks what language to whom, and when" is still quite valid in the school environment in the Autonomous Basque Community. Students' usage varies depending on who they are talking to (classmate or teacher) and varies depending on where they are talking (in the classroom or in the playground). The subject of conversation can also influence variability, although we may be speaking to the same interlocutor in the same place. These results from *Arrue* clearly corroborate the most basic principles of socio-linguistics. We can state that these results are from the "old wine in new wineskins" group, viewed from the academic perspective of the wider world. In our context, however, they have more of an innovation than anything else. We all usually speak far too easily about use, as if this were a globally uniform variable, without talking into account the context markers "who, to whom, where, about what". *Arrue* shows us that we also need to pay special attention to this source of variability.

d) *Age-based variability.* This is also an important variable, as students at a certain age act differently when speaking compared those who are slightly older than them. Why is this so? It is because the microcosm of the school establishes its rules more effectively with children (including its rules of expression) than with youngsters. The school creates and reinforces its own reward system in the first few years of students' schooling. As it does this, the school is able to establish a kind of compartmentalisation with regard to the main rules of oral expression between the community at school and the broader society outside. Because of this, despite speaking in Spanish at home, in the neighbourhood and with their group of friends, students speak in Basque until they reach a certain age in various schools, especially in the classroom but not just there, because this is how the school rules de facto or expressly establish this. As these students grow older, however, the situation changes: the school's ability to establish rules weakens and is cancelled out. Why is this so? It is because socialisation mechanisms are also in force at school. Children are initially heavily influenced by their parents, brothers and sisters and people in their immediate environment as far as learning one thing or another, or speaking in this language or that one, is concerned. From a certain moment from then on, the school becomes extremely important, and remodels usual forms of expression in some cases. The school becomes extremely important at this time: the classroom and the school environment outside it play an extraordinarily important role in forming the shared value judgements, beliefs and behavioural norms that these young students learn and partly acquire. That is to say, the school has an undeniable influence on the socialisation of children of this age, including language use. This influence can even become predominant in certain spheres, including their oral expression. However, from a certain moment on, things start to change: different kind of socialisation agents start to become more influential in these students' lives and school's effectiveness weakens considerably. Finally, from a certain moment on, students think about what they are going to do outside the school rather than about its explicit rules: what they are going to do, especially, when they reach maturity and have to look for a job. They adapt their behaviour to meet the real social context they will face in the future: even when they are still at school. That is why they are increasingly freed from the

[22] Elsewhere there are studies that reflect on and confirm this aspect: regarding the situation in Wales (on transmission mainly through the family) see, for example, V. K. Edwards & L. Pritchard Newcombe 2003, 2005a & 2005b. On the situation that we are going through here these two sources are essential: Euskara eta Gazteak Lasarte-Orian. Hizkuntz jokaerak (Basque and young people in Lasarte-Oria. Language behaviour) written by Joxemari Iraola in 1994 and Euskara eta gazteak Lasarte-Orian (II). Hizkuntzazko jokaerak (Basque and young people in Lasarte-Oria (II). Language behaviour) written by Pello Jauregi in 2003.

shackles of the explicit rules regarding spoken expression at school. They behave in a much less confined way with regard to these rules, and bring the path they follow into line with the sphere of profound implicit rules of expression at school (especially of their classmates). Among other questions, this is what the *Arrue* study corroborates for us. So, the main path followed by young people is none other than the insertion and socialisation process that the new generations undergo and that 20th-century sociology has constantly shown us.

e) *Gender, a weak source of variability.* We know that gender has formed an important source of variability in the Basque language community, since long time. Let's not forget the bilingual men in the Roncal as against the women who could only speak Basque. Making the leap from competence to practice, it is quite clear that nowadays in several breathing spaces in Gipuzkoa among people more or less over 40 years of age, women tend more easily towards Spanish. How are things in the school world? According to the *Arrue* results, nowadays gender is not, at least not substantially enough, a source of variability in oral expression. Boys and girls behave similarly, in the same places and with the same interlocutors, when speaking in Spanish or Basque. Similarly, but not exactly the same. The fact that oral expression is not substantially a source of variability does not mean, of course, that it never is a source of variability. *Arrue* also shows us some clear undeniable results in this field. It is obvious that compartmentalisation by gender is an area with a limited capacity to intervene and play a dynamic role, but that it also needs to be taken into account.

f) *The role of models, as a source of variability in oral expression in the school world*. The importance of models A, B or D is quite clear when students come to express themselves in Basque or Spanish. The influence of this source of variability is clearly reflected in the results of this study, especially in Primary 4th. Model D students speak more often in Basque, both in the classroom and (less often) in the playground, whereas model A students are at the opposite extreme. Model B students are halfway between them, although closer to model A as they grow older. It is true that the model is the main determining factor in language use in Primary 4th[23]. It is true that model D students speak more in Basque than model B students, and the model B students speak more than model A students. This is true but it's not the entire truth: most children, more than 90%, who are from Basque-speaking homes, and who live in Basque in their surrounding neighbourhood, with their group of friends and others, currently study in model D, and this is extraordinarily important as far as the level of use of Basque in the school environment is concerned. Model B or A students, if they were from Basque-speaking homes in the same proportion as model D students, would also speak more in Basque among themselves than the current students in these models. That is to say, the fact that model D students speak more in Basque is only partly due to the model: the influence of the home environment or of the predominant trend in the neighbourhood or in the village must be taken into account. This is something that experts who want understand this reality cannot avoid. The *Arrue* research provides also good help for this. The importance of the time spent in class is there: it is quite clear, especially among Primary 4th students. Educating students in Basque (with the highest possible number of hours of exposure to Basque) or ensuring that they study in other languages has an undeniable influence. This is also a factor that needs to be considered to a certain extent. The model is just one of the many factors that means that students' oral expression tends to favour one language or another (that is to say, the language of study), but it is not the only factor, and perhaps it is not the main one. This is particularly the case from a certain age onwards. This line of research carried out by *Arrue* also provides new wine.

g) *Motivation is also a factor to be taken into account,* when it is linked to use. Its effectiveness is rather weaker, however, when we want to link this to the learning or acquisition task. The leap from learning to practice is large, and instead of becoming bigger this leap becomes greater as students grow older. There is no doubt that opinions and attitudes and motivation are linked to language use, just like most of the emotional aspects of any speaker. The level of strength, the extent and the purpose of this link require, however, greater clarity. Although a complete answer has not been obtained in this attempt, it is obvious that it has been possible to draw some valid conclusions. The multiple regression results are enlightening. The search that is usually carried out leaves a narrow margin for the group made up of motivation and opinions and attitudes, as a determining factor in use in the school environment by students in the Basque Autonomous Community.

h) *Contribution made by Arrue to the general model of the sociology of language.* Nowadays a phenomenon also occurs that is often found in the history of the sociology

[23] Being a determining factor and being a cause of it are two different things, however. As Fishman stated at a conference held here, oranges and gloves are good determining factors between each other: at the time of year when oranges are eaten, you can see more gloves in the street than at other times, and vice-versa. However, there is no relation of cause and effect there between the two. Most oranges are eaten in winter, and gloves are mostly worn in winter: this winter period is their main link. Something similar happens to us (but not the same), partly, regarding the bilingual models.

of language. *Arrue* shows us the almost inevitable predominance that society as a whole, and the general rules for socialisation among the younger generations, in particular, has. Students' oral expression is not a random event; it doesn't just appear as a result of pure chance. It is highly unlikely that it could be otherwise, given that people's oral expression has little to do with exclusive individual choice and a lot to do with the activity marked out by the context.

4. HAS IT BEEN WORTHWHILE?

Has it been worthwhile to endure the task of reviving Basque through the school? Is it worthwhile assessing the results? Maybe the answers that have to be given to these questions could be poor for some people. Some might even calmly say: "So many shattered hopes, so many resources undertaken, so much time spent and in the end, just this!" I think that thinking in those terms is wrong. When we refer to normalising the use of Basque through the school, we are talking about one of the fundamental purposes of our society, about its viability and its feasible limits, Even if it were only for this reason, we should pay special attention to the attempt to revive Basque through the school carried out by an entire generation throughout a broad third of a century in the Basque Autonomous Community (and, in another dimension, throughout the entire Basque Country)[24].

The results of the study match most of the time, whether we like it or not, within the frame of the school reality we are currently facing. We cannot consider as something negative the fact that the result of the study matches with this reality; it is rather a first approach leading us to think that the work may be correct. Knowing what is going on and displaying this knowledge through a wide-ranging, contrasted and contrastable basis is a prior function of most means of improvement.

Furthermore, we are not the only ones to ask ourselves about this question. "Is it worthwhile trying to revive languages in decline? Is it worthwhile going through assessing the achieved results?" This was asked to the expert J. A. Fishman in 1964 when he edited his comprehensive study, perhaps the best known on this subject led in the United States[25]. He carried out a detailed study of about fifty language communities in the United States, community by community. The conclusion he reached was not particularly satisfactory as far as the revival of languages was concerned. His academic colleagues at the university, in view of all this said to him: "with all that you know about this and that; is it really worthwhile studying "wretched things" like this? Wouldn't you be better off studying vigorous, modern and strong language communities?" We now know which his answer was: "medicine is an elaborate, sound, important science. Thanks to the knowledge acquired through practising it over many centuries, can we cure certain illnesses; we all resort to this knowledge whenever we feel we need to. How have we managed to compile such broad knowledge and discover such useful applications? By analysing totally healthy communities or by examining those who are ill (or even those whose life is in danger), and by trying, if possible, to cure some and save others? Illness often provides more valuable information than health itself. The basic determining factor of health, its main source of explanation, is often found in the lack or absence of health. The purpose of studying these weaknesses is usually a basic academic task for doctors trying to find perfect health. Mutatis mutandis, studying weak languages is not at all embarrassing for anyone. It's not embarrassing or in vain, but progress for science and a valued source of health for society". In our case, the perspective provided by Joshua A. Fishman is fully valid. For this very reason is the *Arrue* study outstanding.

5. AS FAR AS LANGUAGE REVITALIZATION IS CONCERNED, NOT EVERYTHING IN BASQUE SCHOOLS IS UNSATISFACTORY; EITHER MOST THINGS

The Basque school has advantages that very few others can offer as far as the revival of weakened languages is concerned. Below we are going to state some of these:

[24] We are not the only ones to have attempted this kind of assessment, or at least, reflections on the subject. The Irish reflection process was perhaps the first to be carried out from a broad perspective: see J. Macnamara 1971. "The limits of the school in the attempt of reviving languages" by Joshua A. Fishman in 1990 and the updated English presentation *(Reversing Language Shift: Theoretical and Empirical Foundations of Assistance to Threatened Languages,* 1991) are still indispensable sources at the present. For a specific comparison between continents see *Conditions for language revitalization: A comparison of the cases of Hebrew and Maori* by B. Spolsky, 1995. Regarding speakers of native languages in South America see Hornberger, N. H. and King, K. A. 1996: *Language Revitalization in the Andes: Can the schools reverse language shift?* Regarding Canada see Marie Mc Andrew, M. Pagé & M. Jodoin 1999 or, especially, Marie Mc Andrew, C. Veltman, F. Lemire & J. Rossell 1999: Concentration ethnique et usages linguistiques en milieu scolaire. As for Wales, see "Spread Welsh – persuade the children to use it" by D. Davies, 2005. For a more positive perspective, see, turning to our area, the work by Jasone Aldekoa & Nikolas Gardner in 2002 "Turning Knowledge of Basque into Use: Normalization Plans for Schools" and, especially, Jasone Aldekoa's doctoral thesis. Perhaps from this perspective, the contributions made by M. Zalbide may be helpful: "Normalización Lingüística y Escolaridad: un Informe desde la Sala de Máquinas" from 1999, "Irakas-sistemaren Hizkuntz Normalkuntza: Nondik Norakoaren Ebaluazio-saio bat" from 2000 and *Euskararen legeak hogeita bost urte. Eskola alorreko bilakaera. Balioespen-saioa,* 2011.

[25] See Joshua A. Fishman et al, 1965: Language Loyalty in the United States.

a) The level of competence of students who are Basque speakers at home, and their ability to express themselves in Basque, can be reinforced by the school: the competence that they bring from home can be extended and enriched: speakers can reinforce the process that goes from the informal registers used at home to more formal ones, they can extend oral usage to the spheres of writing and reading; by doing so, this can open doors to a unified language model and also generalise knowledge of this very language model within the entire language community. This is not something trivial at all.

b) It can also turn Spanish-speaking students into Basque speakers, to a certain extent. We say "to a certain extent" because every schools works within its own characteristic determining factors and because learning mainly comes through practice, or as a part of it, not in place of it. A similar thing used to happen and still happens nowadays, with Latin, French or English. Young people that learn French or English (only) at school and then go off to Paris or London, often have no way of practising normally with local people. At school (only), in general, you cannot acquire fluent expressive competence in L2. The school cannot offer this complete level of competence, but each year it turns thousands of Spanish-speaking students into bilinguals. This bilateral process may pose many kinds of restrictive obstacles, but it also has some sound advantages. The students' need or convenience to be integrated into interaction networks outside school, can be easier for them because they have got a basic level in language acquired beforehand, and it may turn out to be easier for them from this point on. This is also the positive side of the Basque school: it is not an insignificant advantage, even if it may be an advantage "to a certain extent".

c) Furthermore, the school can provide "the place that it deserves" to the Basque dimension of the curriculum. The Basque Autonomous Community has jurisdiction in establishing about 45% of the curriculum. This option also proves to be a great blessing: if the multidimensional perspective can properly be set, it can be quite helpful not only to one extent, but to many more as well (including language revitalization). Next generations will be able to take advantage of a rich source of popular knowledge and multiple collective identities, so that it fits in better with more global trends, customs, value approaches and contributions. Some steps have been taken in this direction, and more could still be taken[26]. The school system provides a good opportunity for this.

d) *The school, a pool of new Basque thinkers and leaders.* Currently, groups of students, intra-group leadership patterns and the first clusters of especially talented classmates often begin to emerge and stand out at school. This is what happens in most schools and it also is what partly happens in our schools. This factor also needs to be taken into account. If any language community wants to survive intergenerationally, it needs its own reflective thinkers, its creative agents, its elites and leaders. There is not a language community in the world that doesn't have these. If these happens in language communities which have a secured language from an intergenerational perspective, then this factor becomes even more vital in communities like ours. Schools also play a role in this chore, and there is no doubt that they provide various tools to help with this[27], although this task is not the exclusive responsibility of the school, far from it.

To summarize: we can see certain weaknesses and shortcomings at schools. These cannot be played down, not even to keep in silence. The opportunities, advantages and capacities that it offers are also enormous. These also need to be taken into account. Both sides need to be considered, not just one, before issuing strict judgments. The school on its own cannot be the driving force behind language normalisation: neither as far as use is concerned, nor with regard to mastering L2. In this regard, the Law on the Normalisation of the Use of Basque was too optimistic, (too optimistic or, to be more precise, too school-centric), very probably. Although it may not be the driving force behind language normalisation, the school proves to be a vital tool in the century that we just happen to live in and in this developed part of the world that we live in that enables us to make progress in pursuit of this aim.

6. SIZE OF THE TASK THAT REMAINS TO BE CARRIED OUT: SEARCH FOR NEW PARADIGM

We are facing a huge task, with regards to the future: this is what the Arrue study has shown us. We have a lot of work to do, particularly referring to a thorough analysis of the one-time "first learn the language, and then use it" paradigm with all its bright and darks, in order to change it later to a certain extent. In the 1977-82's, we had to bore in mind this other paradigm: "learn the language at school, and then use it in the street". We often acted out of ignorance, by simplifying the link between learning the L2 and using the L2, which was basically unidirectional.

[26] To appreciate what has been achieved and what still remains to be done, this contribution may prove to be helpful: Antoni Segura, (coord.), Pilar Comes, Santiago Cucurella, Andreu Mayayo & Francesc Roca, 2001: *Els llibres d'història, l'ensenyament de l'història y altres històries.* Barcelona: Fundació Jaume Bófill.

[27] Urruzuno & Barriola contests, experiences carried along for years now, show, for example, the extraordinary importance they have had to this respect.

In modern-day society the "learn at school and then use it" approach of 1982 is still quite debatable. Furthermore, the period in which the Law of Basque was passed and nowadays period are not the same: in some aspects, the current school system is weaker than it used to be when dealing with the teaching of Basque as a profitable L2. This social transformation also means that we need to reconsider the original paradigm used for that law. I mean to change "paradigm", not necessarily the law itself. We need to reconsider and remodel certain basic components of it from that time. What needs to be changed? Above all, the approach we took to the global acquisition process of languages (L1 and L2), not to the acquisition process carried out through the school. Although it is nowhere written, many of us bore in mind the cause and effect pattern when linking learning the L2 and using the L2 for teaching: at the beginning of the old paradigm there is a student's work in it (with one kind of motivation or another); in first place this learning task belonged the school. "If the school does its job well, then students will learn Basque, and if they learn it properly, they'll use it". This is, clear and simply, how the 1982 paradigm proved to be for us.

Are things like that in the real-life world of real speakers? Let's consider the European experience in the second half of the 20th century. Some 50 or 60 years ago, part of the Mediterranean population, millions of people altogether, migrated to the industrialised Europe (to Germany, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Switzerland...)[28]. Many Portuguese, Spaniards, Italians, Greeks or Turks as well went there to work. They went over there alright, and millions of them stayed there ever after. When they got there, these emigrants (a large majority of them) didn't speak any German, French or the relevant L2. What has happened to these emigrants? What happened, especially, to those who have stayed there to live? Do they express themselves (when they need or want to) in the L2? How did they learn this L2? We do not have any major demo-linguistic study in our possession. But we do have, however, the beforehand accumulated experience, which is fairly repetitive. What has become of the well-known Spanish emigrants in Paris? What has become of a large number of Spanish, Italian, Greek or (more recently) Turkish emigrants? In twenty years will they be persons that either won't know any German at all, or if they know some, they won't use it? The cases that we know show us something quite different: after ten-fifteen-twenty years most emigrants speak German in Germany and French in France. At home and among friends (depending on with whom have they married, or where do they live, or …) they may continue to use their L1, but outside this context they often express themselves in the L2. It is true that some know this L2 better than others: the children also know L2 far better than their parents. But in the street none of them get lost: most of them get along fairly well using the destination language. In shops and in the workplaces they can as well manage fairly well. This is the main panorama after ten-fifteen-twenty years; it's not a thorough one, but it still is a quite spread one.

What have they done in these industrialised countries to get so many people (many of them illiterate or semi-illiterate in their L1) to become (to a certain extent) speakers of a "foreign" L2 after ten-fifteen-twenty years? Did they organise sound motivation campaigns in the beginning to encourage these emigrants to learn the L2? Did they then send them to German or French schools to learn the L2? Did these emigrants go to their factories once they had learnt this second language properly (and not before) to start work with this recently learnt L2? Obviously not: things didn't happen like that at all. It is a fact that each emigrant followed a specific path to acquire their L2 in each place, but all their paths crossed at a single fundamental point: they learnt the L2 by practising it. If you allow me to use a simple metaphor, these emigrants "learnt to ride a bike by pedalling"; not through intensive courses. They now know L2 because they began to use it to interact with their immediate workmates, their neighbours and all other citizens. Language use has brought forth language competence, at least just as if, or not in a larger extent as if, it were the other way round. To start riding a bike it is essential to pedal, coming back the metaphor. Otherwise, you cannot learn to ride a bicycle.

That's precisely what school barely does, and what it barely can do: "to pedal" and "get people to pedal". On the board you can explain quite clearly, and you can draw if you like, what a bicycle is: "these are the pedals, these is the handlebar, this back part there is the saddle, the two parts down there are the wheels, those are the brakes" and so on. You can also explain what you need to do to ride a bike: "first pass one leg over to the other side, then sit on the saddle, start to set a pedal in motion and release the brake, then set the second pedal in motion,..". In vain: after drawing all this on the board and showing it all in great detail, give each of the students a bicycle and tell them to get on it and ride. You can be sure that, at first, none of them is able to go for ten metres without falling off. This is the main flaw in our 1982 paradigm: the "learn the L2 first (at school) and then use it" sequence is not true. The main method for learning any language is active practice, and

[28] We could add to this panorama the situation regarding immigration in Great Britain. For the explanation of this immigration with a large non-European component (from India, Pakistan, Africa...), we should add more complex reasons. So, for the time being we are going to leave this aside. We need to point out though, that the final result with regard to oral expression there is also very similar to ours: after ten, fifteen twenty years there are very few immigrants in Great Britain who do not know English at all, or do not use it (when they need to), although in this case the phenomenon of the close language communities (comparatively) must be taken into account.

mutual interaction. We must establish as soon as possible a new paradigm that places practice at its very heart (with the help of the school, not through the school), if we want to normalise the use of Basque.

Someone will already have thought at this point: "This is exaggerated. Isn't the Basque school good enough, on its own, to ensure that the broad generations of children who are Spanish-speaking at home (more than three-quarters of children) become sound Basque speakers and that Basque expands and becomes predominant in our streets and in our fields? Doesn't the school trigger off "setting the pedal in motion" in the metaphor to launch the use of Basque? Let's start with this last question: yes, it partly does[29]. It is not true that Basque is taught only as a subject at school. Especially in model D, and it is in model D that most pupils study in the Basque Autonomous Community, school subjects are learnt in Basque, and as a result, Basque is spoken in the classroom, for many hours a year and for even more hours during school years. In model B nearly half of the content is also taught in Basque in classrooms. As a result, having to learn subjects in Basque at the Basque school reinforces and spreads activity in Basque. So yes, Basque is spoken in the classroom, for many hours a year and for even more hours during the school years. But how many hours are those, on the other hand, in the light of all the hours that students are awake? The model D classroom offers a limited number of hours (about 16% of students' waking hours a year), for students to be in communicative interaction (with teachers and among themselves). Model B classrooms offer fewer hours (about 10%) and those in model A even fewer (about 3%)[30]. Model D students spend most of their waking hours a year outside the classroom[31]. This goes without saying for model B students and even more clearly for model A students. Of course, it is the language (Basque, Spanish) that they use outside the classroom in numerous spheres of expression, social networks and interaction contexts (as part of these 84% of the hours that they spend awake) that they develop with "agile pedalling". These more or less 16% of their waking hours that they spend in the model D classroom in contact with Basque, are a lot: much fewer than those they spend outside it, however. On the other hand, there are differences from one model to another: if we restrict ourselves to these contact hours in the classroom, model D has a capacity for exposure that is 500% more compared to model A. If, on the other hand, we compare this to all the hours a year that the student is awake, and this is the main point of comparison for the development of the capacity for oral expression among the young, the model D classroom offers 13% more time than the model A classroom: only 13%. We are quite used to taking into account this 500% going from model A to D. Not used, however, to recognising and considering that this huge differential inside the classroom is 13% from an overall perspective. The conclusion, nonetheless, is quite clear: most of the hours of exposure to Basque and to other languages that schoolchildren have, are, to a very large extent, outside the classroom. Without taking this into account, the "classic" formulation for learning Basque as a L2 ends up being blunt: "first learn it (at school), then use it (at school and outside it)". This model[32] doesn't stand up.

The matter doesn't end there: even when practice in the classroom is in Basque, what kind of activity are we referring to? There are various ages involved here. However, from a certain age onwards, students' main activity is listening as far as formal explanatory transmission is concerned. Listening, and on another level, reading[33]. Students, above all, listen and read, in the long hours that they spend in the classroom[34]. It is true that new technologies have the power to change how things are arranged, and that to a certain extent, they are changing this. Anyway, the main distribution pattern of hours of exposure has not been radically changed, as far as we know. Students spend most of their time in the classroom listening and reading. That is why they can listen to and read in Basque better than they can write and speak it. They often develop their listening competence in the classroom, day after day, and their reading competence doesn't get left behind either. Our students acquire a level of language competence especially in what they develop in practice in the classroom. In what they do not develop or develop to a very limited extent, however, they do not acquire this.

When instead of being receptors of messages they transmitters or simply take part in verbal interaction, students' practice in the classroom is often not (it cannot

[29] It does so, especially, in certain environmental conditions. See, among many others, Agurtzane Elordui 2006 & Eizmendi et al. 2007.

[30] See Zalbide 1991.

[31] Outside the classroom or inside it learning either Spanish or a foreign language(normally English).

[32] This is the case with most of the students in the Basque Autonomous Community who are Spanish speakers or bilingual Spanish speakers at home. The subject is quite different for students who study in model D (occasionally in B) who are Basque speakers or bilingual Basque speakers at home. Different, but not totally different: the development of these Basque-speaking students' oral expression, reading and writing through the school also has its limitations. These limitations are quite clear in the case of youngsters who speak Spanish as soon as they get out of school and, especially in their cultural consumption and in the world of work, live in an environment that establishes the convenience or need to read and write in Spanish.

[33] The teacher is who speaks most, not to the individual student, in classroom hours.

[34] This practice in the classroom is often usually receptive-passive (listening, reading); students spend less time reading (on their own, aloud) than listening, let alone answering the teacher verbally or giving oral explanations on the subject being studied in front of all their classmates.

be, most of the time) a kind of living language, with meaningful (let alone sociable-intimate) fluency[35]. The teaching practice in the classroom is usually closer to the formal register. Because of all this, the classroom displays serious structural limitations for it to be a broad sphere of expression and source of competence for students.

If we bear all this in mind, the results shown by the *Arrue* study are not surprising. What would be surprising in itself is if they were to show anything else. The school cannot, on its own, fully revive a seriously weakened language: a vulnerable ethno-linguistic entity that has been declining from an intergenerational perspective in its number of speakers and concentration, as well as in its socio-functional compartmentalization, needs more global ways to revive it to halt its decline and move forward, in a direction and to the extent agreed on by consensus by a broad social base. *Arrue* shows us the need for this more global kind of Basque reinforcement effort, among other things. Instead of the "learn now, do later" model unwaveringly defended and accepted by everyone (absolutely everyone), we need to put into practice the formulation, "learn by doing" in the school, and of course, outside the school.

If we want to revitalize a weakened language (basically, a weakened language community), and this is what our legislation points out, it is not enough to renew the model. It is advisable to also consider a different framework of priorities, because the task of turning people into Basque speakers through the school on its own is unacceptable[36]. First of all we need to maintain and treasure those physical breathing spaces, the social networks and role relationships that are mainly expressed in Basque (because they need to be or it's convenient for this, or because at least they provide a good opportunity for this). From this point of view, we need to constantly stress that the breathing spaces are a vital priority: no less than they were before, now that some of they have begun to decline. Anyway, we cannot restrict ourselves to the subject of the breathing spaces, obviously: in the comprehensive context of the urbanized settings in which the everyday use of Basque has a comparatively strong presence, the social networks in Basque that are alive must be maintained, and as far as possible, it is advisable to also create new ones, in order to reinforce the opportunities for Basque speakers to speak in Basque with other Basque speakers. It remains to be seen[37] whether all this can be done without a process of compartmentalisation, or whether, as I believe, we will have to invent, create a consensus and act decisively to ensure the survival of a new kind of socio-functional[38] and geo-territorial compartmentalisation for this[39]. However, we all have a huge task ahead of us[40] to try and find those social formulas that may help to achieve these two aforementioned aims: as citizens and also as members of a language community. It is a difficult, important task[41] that requires a source of flexible creativity. That is, it is one of the most satisfying tasks that human beings can offer themselves, both individually and collectively. This is what, among other things, the *Arrue* study is inviting us to do, and it is not a trivial invitation.

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[35] A clear exception from this aspect is what some students do in the classroom, verbally or instrumentally, with other students.

[36] To reorganise the framework of priorities, for its part, the attempts to assess the ground covered usually prove to be very helpful. For Galicia, see, for example, Henrique Monteagudo & Xan Bouzada Fernández. 2002. For our case, there is, for example, Zalbide 2011.

[37] The fact that this remains to be seen is not something that everyone is so sure about. see P. Nelde, M. Strubell & G. Williams, 1996: *Euromosaic: Production and reproduction of minority language communities in the European Union*.

[38] We are therefore not talking about reconstructing the classic *Diglossia* by Charles A. Ferguson,1959, but inventing, and especially, reaching a consensus on a new formulation that would be necessary here and now.

[39] On the need to consider a new socio-functional & geo-territorial compartmentalisation process for Basque and other languages in this new scenario, see the monographic issue of *BAT* magazine.

[40] This maintenance and reinforcement activity must be carried out starting with territorial organisation, always leaving asise the solution of *ghettos*. In order to do this, we need to start out, if possible, from a fire that is still burning: not when it has totally gone out.

[41] Some difficulties are technical, and others are political-operational. There are also other kinds: for example, the attitude that some of us and others usually adopt regarding the ethical legitimacy of taking decisions for the future on the social dimension of language issues. How far is language normalisation an "objectifiable" task, on the same level as health policy, town planning or traffic policy? For some this is something extremely questionable. See, with regard to the old format "language planning, for whom?" R. L. Cooper 1989, Kaplan & Baldauf 1997,Albert Branchadell 2000 & Xabier Erize 2001.

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STUDENTS' LANGUAGE USE: REFLECTIONS AND PROPOSALS

JOKIN AIESTARAN, JASONE CENOZ AND DURK GORTER
UPV/EHU - University of the Basque Country

This diagnostic evaluation is a solid contribution within the research line of the Arrue project. The project addresses one of the issues which has brought about most attention and concern among people dedicated to the promotion and dissemination of Basque and its linguistic normalization. The specific subject of investigation of Arrue is language use in the educational environment, but it obviously has much wider implications and opens the way for deep reflections.

Language use is not exactly a new focus of attention among us. The very name of the main law in the field of education and promotion of Basque —*the Basic Law 10/1982, of 24th November, of the normalization of the use of Basque*— shows that back then, like now, the ultimate goal was to normalize the use of Basque. It is true, however, that in the last few years the growing gap between knowledge and use has become a hotly debated issue in our society. Knowledge of Basque is continuously growing, but its use is not increasing at the same rate. Why? What factors influence this? How could this gap be diminished? Which role should the school play in this matter?

Paradoxically, this concern is largely based on a successful experience. Indeed, although we could talk at length about the strengths and weaknesses of the educational system, it is undeniable that the increase in the knowledge of Basque has come mainly through the work of schools. This has created a new situation, or at least it has added new aspects to the traditional profile of the Basque speaker. We have only to look at the younger age groups: in many cases, the first language of these young people is not Basque, they manage better in formal use environments than in informal environments and have few opportunities to use Basque in their environment. This new situation will surely have to be addressed by the educational system, but, as stated Zalbide (2010: 1403) in his analysis of the evolution of the Basque Law: "Now we know something we ignored in the 1977-1982 period: that the school cannot, by itself and in isolation, substantially modify, and much less reverse, the oral practice of the new generation, not even by implementing the most Basque model."

Why is the language use of pupils in the school the way it is? It is certainly a hard question to answer. As stated in the introduction of this diagnosis, the phenomenon of language use is complex and depends on many variables. In this regard, it is noteworthy the effort of the Arrue project to develop a set of rigorous conceptual and methodological tools to better apprehend and understand this complexity. In the following lines, the methodological contribution made by this research will be examined.

THE METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

All methodological options have their strengths and limitations. Before looking through them, it should be noted that this analysis is a specific result of a wide line of research; therefore, its goal is to complement and enrich previous contributions and —hopefully— fuel future research studies.

Regarding the characteristics of the data collection, the most remarkable aspect, at first sight, is the sample size. Indeed, more than to a sample we could refer to a whole population, since all the students in the Primary 4 and Secondary 2 levels took part; in total, 35,844 students. This enormous number of participants confers great soundness to the research. Moreover, several variables have been taken into account and different statistical analyses have been used to analyse in depth the relationships between language use and those variables. As we move into the content, an attempt will be made to elaborate on some of those associations, but, as a first methodological conclusion, the design of the research allows for the development of a rigorous, complete and detailed analysis.

When designing a research project, a number of decisions have to be made, some of which are inevitable. In this research, one of them has been the use of a *self-report* type of questionnaire based on the answers given by the students. Although this option makes it more effective and simpler to apply the methodology and particularly to collect the data, it brings about certain risks. Baker (2011: 29-33), referring to language competence, mentions some of the

problems of this approach, which should also be taken into consideration in this analysis. For example, respondents, consciously or unconsciously, often tend to give a "good image" of themselves, in the present case exaggerating their use of Basque. On the other hand, in personal questions about oneself, the knowledge of self or the capacity of self-perception is a factor of great importance. Likewise, in this case it could be presumed that the school can condition the pupils' answers; for example, in a school with a firm commitment to promote Basque, the students may be tempted to give the "right" answer.

A debatable decision which influences one part of the research is the criteria used in the configuration of the dependent variable designed for the correlation and multiple regression analyses. In order to create the *general school use of pupils* dependent variable, four uses have been combined, giving each a different weight: language use among the students in class and in the playground (40% and 25%, respectively) and with the teaching staff in and out of class (20% and 15%). In the diagnostic evaluation, when explaining the weighing parameters, it is said that there is no single or clear solution. Nevertheless, and regardless the weight given to each use, it may be questionable to merge oral practices which occur in such different circumstances. That seems to be the case, for example, of language use in the playground —what Aldekoa and Gardner (2002) call the *acid test* to measure the success of the linguistic planning at school— and use with the teaching staff, which is greatly influenced by power relations.

All in all, this quantitative research has a great descriptive power, and that is precisely its main value. It is an exploratory investigation, without previously set hypotheses, and it includes numerous variables which influence language use. It provides a complete overview, an image rich in details. Therefore, it offers a solid base to explore the chiaroscuros of the whole picture, to examine certain aspects of the investigation with greater detail and to further elaborate on the reasons that lie behind the oral practices of the young people. Following the line of thinking of this investigation, in the last section a proposal for a qualitative intervention will be made.

REFLECTIONS ON USE

The flood of data that this investigation provides allows us to draw many different conclusions. A good starting point could be to analyse the results under the perspective of the school-society pairing, since, in the light of this relationship, the limitations and possibilities of the educational system can be more clearly appreciated. In this sense, one of the main conclusions is that the school, in a greater or lesser degree, acts as a counterweight in favour of Basque in all situations, also with respect to its use. For instance, on average 60% of the pupils in Primary 4 always or almost always communicate in Basque with their classmates, and 25% always or almost always use Spanish in this situation. Even more illustrative is that 49% of the pupils whose primary language is Spanish communicate with their classmates in Basque. It could be said that, in many cases —depending on the socio-linguistic characteristics of each place—, the school can become a kind of fortress and even an isolation chamber for Basque. For many boys and girls who live in Spanish-speaking areas, the school may almost be the only environment in which they can nurture their Basque. It may seem a limitation of the educational system that the minority language often is, as expressed by Swain and Johnson (1997), a *school-only phenomenon,* but, to put things into perspective, we could simply ask ourselves: without the school, what would become of Basque?

Another relevant result of this study is that the use of Basque decreases considerably in Secondary 2: in the classroom. Twenty eight per cent of the pupils in that level always or almost always communicate in Basque with their classmates, and among those whose first language is Spanish, the proportion drops to 13%. In addition, the majority of Primary 4 and Secondary 2 pupils always or almost always speak Spanish to their classmates in the playground, but in the older level the proportion is noticeably higher (59% and 75%, respectively). This is also observed in the correlation between variables. The variables which refer to use in the students' social networks (in extracurricular activities, with friends and at home) have a close relationship with language use at school among pupils in Secondary 2. However, that relationship is somewhat weaker among pupils in Primary 4. In turn, the correlation between the language model and use is high in both levels, but higher in Primary 4. Therefore, it could be concluded that progressively the school ceases to be a fortress for Basque and, as the outside world takes on more strength, the linguistic behaviour of the students gets closer to that which prevails in society. To say it in another way, after an impasse, everything goes back to normal.

The subject of our research proposal will be to examine, precisely, this decline in the use of Basque in the older level (Secondary 2) with respect to the younger one (Primary 4). Two of the variables that have a decisive influence in the use of language are the linguistic model and the proportion of Basque speakers in the municipality where the school is located; therefore, those two variables are going to be considered for the design of our qualitative intervention. Next, we will briefly deal with other factors analysed in this research which may help explain the decline occurred.

With regard to the first language, one striking fact —which is indirectly mentioned in the diagnostic evaluation— is that the students whose first language is Basque or Basque and Spanish are more numerous in Secondary 2 than in Primary 4, although the difference is minimal (35% and

33%, respectively). Given the importance that is generally granted to the transmission of the language, one would expect that, over time, the tendency to transmit Basque as the first language would increase; nevertheless, according to the data this does not seem to be the case. If we relate first language and competence, it is significant that while 74% of students in Primary 4 whose first language is Basque manage better in Basque, the percentage drops to 66% among Secondary 2 pupils. Therefore, as the students become older, their relative ability to speak Basque declines. This is a clearly significant result, since language competence is, together with the density of Basque speakers, one of the main factors that influence the use of Basque. However, as a methodological caveat, the aforementioned capacity of self-perception, which is presumably sharper among Secondary 2 students, should not be ruled out as a factor with some influence on the results.

Furthermore, the research confirms that there is a great gap between language habits at school and habits in the consumption of media and culture. The data show that a great majority of students consume websites, television programs and films in Spanish. Moreover, from Primary 4 to Secondary 2, the percentage of those who consume in Basque drops significantly (in the case of television, for example, from 14% to 4%). In the field of new technologies, the data are more positive, and the decrease is smoother: 26% of pupils in Primary 4 chat with friends in Basque, and that percentage declines slightly in the case of Secondary 2 pupils (22%). At any rate, the presence of Basque in those spheres is rather limited.

Finally, the impressions about languages provide interesting insights. For example, regarding the consideration of Basque as a difficult/easy language, it should be emphasized that few students state that Basque is a difficult language, even among those whose first language is Spanish. In total, only 9% of students in Primary 4 and 19% of students in Secondary 2 said that Basque is difficult. Wether that language is more simple or complicated for them, the results reveal that students generally consider Basque as an inherent part of their lives. However, this positive reality is somewhat reversed in the representations about specific situations and activities. Basque is only predominant in education (for almost half the pupils Basque is the language which best adapts to this activity; Spanish, on the other hand, was only chosen by 20%). However, in situations or activities that in some way refer to the future or to the practical value of the language, such as politics, ICTs and the workplace, the majority of Secondary 2 pupils answered that Spanish is the language which best suits them (59%, 66% and 56%, respectively), leaving a very limited space to Basque (7%, 7% and 9%).

THE ORAL PRACTICE OF THE YOUTH: AN INTERVENTION PROPOSAL

As the research reveals, a number of factors need to be taken into account in order to understand the students' language use at school and the change that occurs from Primary 4 to Secondary 2. At those ages, young people experience changes in language use but also in many other aspects: socialization process, identity assertion, growing influence of friends, relationship with parents, etc. But we often ignore how they live through these changes themselves. With respect to language use, are they conscious of their language choices? What importance do they truly give to the way they develop their oral practice? To what point do they differentiate the languages in their daily routine?

In our qualitative intervention we intend to give young people a voice so as to hear their views on these issues firsthand, without intermediaries. In the first place, in order to understand the reasons that lie behind their choices, to know whether the questions we make are the right ones or we should try to make (to ourselves too) different questions. Additionally, our main aim is to activate the language awareness of the students, that is to say, to make them aware of their linguistic choices, for them to be able to decide how to act in this respect.

Ethnographic research may be suitable for this, and a number of different methods would be used to carry it out (observation, focus groups, diaries...). As for the sample, the participants would share, at least initially, the following characteristics:

— Model D pupils.

— From an area with a Basque-speaking proportion between 30 and 60%, from schools with many Basque-speaking parents.

— Secondary 2 pupils.

The main criterion for selecting students with these characteristics is our interest to analyse groups of students who are "at risk" of decreasing their use of Basque, in the belief that the intervention may be more effective for them. Model D students have been chosen because they have the highest ability to interact in Basque and because, at the same time, the Basque/Spanish choice is at "stake". As age increases, the trend in favour of Spanish acquires a greater strength: in Primary 4, Basque is dominant in the classroom, and in the playground both languages are used similarly. However, in Secondary 2 the two languages are balanced in the classroom, but in the playground Spanish is mainly spoken. As for the proportion of Basque speakers,

in the most Basque-speaking areas (> 60%) the difference in the use of Basque is small from Primary 4 to Secondary 2, and the latter also communicate with each other mainly in Basque. In the areas with an average of between 30 and 60%, the difference between the two education levels is very substantial: in Primary 4, 90% of the pupils speak more in Basque than in Spanish, and in Secondary 2 the percentage goes down to 60%; in the playground, the percentage of use drops from 64% to 45%. Finally, Secondary 2 pupils have been selected because they have actually experienced the change we intend to analyse.

The intervention may have several implications for the school activity. For example, it may serve to reflect on the best way to promote the use of Basque in school. It is often argued that the youth see Basque as an obligation, and that feeling can adversely affect its use. In this sense, insisting that they speak Basque can be beneficial at a certain age, but counterproductive at another. What do the youth say about this? How do they justify their position contrary to Basque, if they had it? What do they think about the discourse of adults on the subject, and their behaviour in practice? How can we develop strategies to attract the youth to Basque?

It would also be interesting to examine the actual linguistic practices of the youth, and to work on languages from the perspective of multilingual communication. Although multilingualism is part of our everyday vocabulary, at school, in practice, traditional monolingual perspectives are frequently imposed: languages are taken separately, and the relationships between the languages that multilingual speakers use are neglected. Instead, it would be interesting to focus the attention on the multilingual person rather than on individual languages. In this respect, how do the students use languages in informal settings? Are they aware of the fact that they mix languages? How can this affect the quality of the languages they use? Do they regard themselves as multilingual individuals?

There are always more questions than answers. As this diagnostic evaluation has made it clear, language use is a complex phenomenon with many intricacies and particularities. It is our task to move forward and keep on completing the picture, analyzing each and every detail and proposing different ways of looking at it.

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LIGHT AND SHADOWS IN REVERSING LANGUAGE SHIFT, OR "THE ROAD IS MADE BY WALKING"

JASONE ALDEKOA
Teacher. ULIBARRI Program

> «I feel like stopping after each paragraph and saying, now show me the data for that». (Fishman, 2005:12)

We know from experience that there is nothing like a tailor-made outfit that fits you perfectly, allows you to feel comfortable and move freely and easily. Isn't that right? Good tailors take their clients' measurements with great care and attention before they sew the suit together or sell the ready-to-wear model: "Stand up straight, put your shoes on, stretch out your arms, turn around, bend down, please!" To be honest, I don't like these fitting sessions one little bit. Who could possibly like them? Besides, you know you're going to go home empty-handed because they will still need to fix the hem or alter the waist. However, some time later, when we find ourselves wearing that same suit over and over again, the initial nuisance is soon forgotten.

It is well known that sensible language planning must follow a similar tailor-made pattern, and the necessary process to this effect has, among others, three fundamental milestones. Firstly, it is essential to take measurements, to make a diagnosis of the situation or design a strategy; secondly, the agreed project needs to be launched and the tactics defined; lastly, the attainments and errors made need to be evaluated. This assessment should be carried out in the light of the initial data and of the distance already travelled, in order to find out whether the steps taken have solved the problem or not, to verify the extent to which the process has been worth it, and to decide if it should continue, and in what form (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997; Zalbide, 2003, 2004a).

It is clear, and has been acknowledged internationally, that continual diagnosis, assessment and measurement processes have been carried out in the normalisation of the Basque language (Bourhis, 2003; Cenoz, 2009; Fishman, 1991; Thomas, 2001; Williams, 2010). Assessments and evaluations, diagnoses, data collection and measurements in general, all tend to prove awkward and tiresome but we have found that, if they are done properly, they are a valuable source of information, forming the basis for many new plans. Our clients and the international scope of our work give us a level of credibility that we have achieved through acting the way we have, and that is why we continue doing it.

USE: A KEY FACTOR

I feel that the origin of the matter in hand lies in the Law on the Normalisation of the Basque Language, dated 24 November 1982. We do know, however, that there were numerous pioneers and significant moments before the aforementioned law came about, but the object of that law (now over 30 years old) cannot be misinterpreted as its very title clearly defines its purpose: to reverse the language shift that has been going on for centuries in the Basque-speaking community's everyday life. In any case, if we had any doubts about the Basque title, due to the changes in the way Basque was written then and now, we would only need to look at the column in Spanish, which would tell us it was about the *normalisation*[1] *of the Basque language.*

As a result, the defined objective from the start has been to *fully integrate the individual in our Community through their knowledge and use* [of Basque] (BOPV [Official Gazette of the Basque Country], 16.12.1982). Furthermore, the titles of the proceeding chapters make the defined objective even clearer from the outset: The use of Basque in public administration within the territorial scope of the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country (Chapter 1); The use of Basque in education (Chapter 2); The use of Basque in the social media (Chapter 3); and the social use and other institutional aspects of Basque (Chapter 4). Consequently, in this article we will deal with the use of Basque, specifically on the effects that the contents of the four chapters from the aforementioned Law have on current pupils.

[1] *Normalització lingüística* or Language normalisation as concept was originally proposed by the Valencian soziolinguist Lluís Vicent Aracil in 1965 to refer to language planning that encompasess both the standarization and the use of the minority language. Although in content may vary slightly, nowadays we use it as equivalent to Fishman's (1991) *Reversing Language Shift.*

Schools, with their own particular ways, are one of the most important social actors in many experts' opinion, and are crucial to the maintenance and transformation of the social system (Bilbao, 2002). Schools fulfil two essential objectives in teaching and training pupils. On one hand, they aim to achieve the pupils' cognitive development; to this end, they teach each pupil to, at least, be able to read and write (i.e. literacy) and to count, classify and interpret (i.e. abstraction). On the other hand, with the help of the structure in place, they aim to achieve the pupils' personal, social and emotional development.

Before continuing, we must stress that, of all education's functions, in this article we are only concerned with language teaching. Nevertheless, the choice of that function does not significantly reduce the dimension of our task, because we are aware that, just as the mist covers the land, so do languages cover the entire education process. Languages are essential for a pupil's personal and cognitive development, as well as for the system's organisation, maintenance and continuity. In other words, education without language is unthinkable, at least not an education system as we know it. That is why, since the Basque education system began the pupils' language competences have been assessed at all times (Eusko Jaurlaritza, 2005a; Sierra & Olaziregi, 1989).

Article 17 of the Law stipulated that the Government should guarantee the widespread use of Basque in the school environment (Basque Government, 1990a). See the conclusions reached when taking stock of that period:

> "The schools' efforts over many years to promote the use of Basque have not been duly continued in society: not in the work arena, nor in culture or in general use […] Although knowing Basque is viewed more favourably and is considered to be more recommendable than before, it is still much more convenient to use Spanish.
>
> […]
>
> It may not only be schools' responsibility to find solutions to this social behaviour, but there is no doubt that solutions do, indeed, need to be found and implemented one way or another." (117-118).

That is, the education system was teaching Basque, but it had not succeeded in converting the youth to the use of Basque. In other words, although young speakers were competent in Basque, it had not become their regular language of use; i.e. knowing Basque did not, per se, result in it being used naturally. This was precisely the prevailing question and concern as we ushered in a new decade, the 1990s.

WHEN THE SCHOOL WENT IN SEARCH OF SPEAKERS

The 1990s began with the First Congress of Public Basque Schools (Basque Government, 1990b) and the slogan *Eskola Hiztun Bila* [The School in Search of Speakers] (Artola et al., 1991). In our country, more than in any other, the demand and response of society has been crucial for the general design of the Basque use promotion plan. This has been fundamental in the process of defining the steps and measures that needed to be taken at each moment to normalise the use of Basque through education. At this point we must highlight the change promoted by the growing demand (from the bottom-up) to generalise pupils' competence and use of Basque, i.e. to provide a solution to the aforementioned concern.

To sum up, in those early years of the second decade of Basque education, numerous experts, institutions and social actors of all kinds decided to tackle that shortcoming and that need. In fact, the concern for the lack of use shown by Basque pupils resulted in the emergence of a large number of individual and collective projects. They were many in number and high in quality, but we cannot name them all, not even those directly related to education. However, we can acknowledge the task undertaken, as the accumulated skills, reflection and experience, as well as the campaigns and seminars they brought with them, were the soul and basis of the education system's Language Normalisation Project (hereinafter the LNP), which was introduced in 1996.

As we have already mentioned, the LNPs are language plans to promote the use of Basque, both spoken and written, in the field of education: plans to promote the use of Basque in the school environment, among the members of the education community. To this effect, the plan obviously adapts to the conditions of each education community.

In any case, when we, as tailors, must take measurements, that is, when we want to locate the LNP in space-time coordinates, we realise that it is a complicated job. Firstly, because schools are complex institutions, not just classrooms, corridors and a playground. Secondly, because, in the relationships between the members of the education community, more than one language and more than one linguistic variant —both spoken and written— are used for relations and for the teaching itself. Also, because even though the school hours are limited, apart from the formal education itself, informal education and friendships also have a significant effect on the pupils' language ability.

For this reason, schools that have LNP carry out regular assessments, data compilations, evaluations, reports and diagnoses, and the Ulibarri programme has developed numerous resources to this effect, such as *Branka* (Erriondo & Isasi, 2000, 2008a, 2008b), *Mintzagrama* (Delgado & Matute, 2000; Erriondo & Isasi, 2009), *Erabilera informala* (Altuna, 1998; 2003) or *Gela-argazkia* (Zalbide, 2004), to name but a few. Thanks to these resources, the school becomes the tailor and the driving force of its education community; in other words, the tailor that can sew or adapt the suit to meet the measurements and shortcomings of each place and at each time. However, this is not all. The school itself, using the same resources, assesses the plan's efficiency and its attainments or failures. Consequently, the school manages the entire language planning process every four years.

Many efforts have been made to assess the efficiency of the Ulibarri programme as a whole, which has now been in place for sixteen years (Aldekoa & Gardner, 2002; Artola, 2010; Artola, Izagirre & Larrañaga, 2007; Erriondo & Isasi, 2011; Basque Government, 1990, 2005a, 2005b, 2005c, 2005d 2010; Garaialde, 2008; Zalbide, 2007a, 2010). In general, the LNP have been perceived as having a positive evolution. In other words, the LNP have been beneficial because they have had positive results in the knowledge of Basque and its spoken use on an individual, institutional and social level. The results obtained from the monitoring of LNP carried out over ten years on a regional level generally match those shown in the general sample of the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country (Table 7.43, Aldekoa, 2012: 297).

It is common knowledge that, in order for achievements to take on a significant dimension and be disseminated among the majority of the members of the education community for the future, it is essential to implement well-founded language planning with which all parties agree (Aldekoa, 2004; Fishman, 1991; Knapp, 1988; Erriondo & Isasi, 2011). Likewise, for that planning to be effective in the long-term, the medium-term plans and annual actions must be well defined, step by step (Basque Government, 2011a, 2011b).

If we have implemented firm and precise planning, systematic organisation and cooperation, how do we explain that short-term intervention has an effect on pupils' use of the language but that this effect disappears or diminishes in the long-term? Why does this happen? Is this a consequence of the methodology used in our reflections? Have we not duly fulfilled our responsibilities? Is it because school pupils cannot stray from the dominance configuration of their environment with education as their only support? Or because reversing the tendency to use the prevailing Spanish language in Basque society's everyday activities, i.e. achieve our reversing language shift, is perhaps too complex and long-term a task than we had originally believed?

Moreover, and on the same line, we must add that we, the teachers, the members of the Ulibarri programme, have a limited perspective that is local at best. As the years go by, we feel that we are always having to overcome the same difficulties, we get the impression that we are always at exactly the same point, as if we were, in a way, like a modern-day Sisyphus. As the pupils come and go, we see that the new arrivals of pupils have, at best, exactly the same language needs as those who have just left. The worst case scenario shows the opposite, that we find the new pupils have a lower level of Basque and are more inclined to use Spanish. In other words, whatever we do, the results

Figure 1. **EVOLUTION OF LNPS IN 2000-2010**
Evolution of the B06 sample during the period 2000-2010

			00-05	05-10	Total	Axis
INSTITUTIONAL ENVIRONMENT	General use		+	++	++	S
	Spoken use		+	++	++	S
	Written use		=	+	+	S
IN MEMBERS	Headteachers		=	++	++	S
OF THE EDUCATION	Teaching staff		=	=	=	S
COMMUNITY	Non-teaching staff		+	++	++	S
	Parents		+	++	++	D
	Pupils	In the school	-	=	-	D
OUTSIDE OF SCHOOL		Outside	=	-	-	D

Source: *Aldekoa, 2012*

\+ Slight rise ++ Significant rise = Same - Slight fall S Static D Dynamic

lead us to the same conclusions we reached back in 1990: that education teaches Basque, that our youth achieve language competence in Basque (Basque Government, 2005a) but that Basque is not their own natural language in which they orally communicate on a daily basis.

For this reason, so that the efforts of many teachers, parents and voluntary workers are not in vain, we need data that puts our approach into perspective. We must open new channels to processes that unravel the complexity of pupils' language use, depending on multiple and wide-ranging variables, and which help us to analyse each variable in greater depth; it is essential to carry out studies that place the function of schools on the global map of promoting the use of the Basque language. Using the metaphor put forward by Isasi (Erriondo & Isasi, 2011), once we have walked from the stern to the bow, we need an external reference to whether we are still moored in the port or we are sailing out to sea.

It is fair to say that all the doubts, suspicions and opinions expressed above, the new hypotheses that have been established and the described shortcomings have aroused our curiosity. Consequently, at this point, we know perfectly well that the first thing we need to do to find solutions to that complex phenomenon is to analyse and duly define school pupils' use of Basque today. That is, we need the most specific tools we can find to get as accurate a map of the school situation as possible. That is precisely the impulse that led us to embark on the Arrue study in 2004.

PUPILS' LANGUAGE USE IN SCHOOLS: ARRUE

What the pupils do in the school environment is the teachers' responsibility: in the classroom, in the corridors, in the playground or in outings, for example. We suspect that the same phenomena do not occur in the activities that are structured by the teaching staff inside and outside the classroom.

We have observed how our efforts do, in fact, result in provisional improvements in the short-term; however, due to the limitations of our follow-ups, we cannot verify the extent to which those results last or fade away. As we have seen in Figure 1 above, in the environment outside the classroom, the same trend has been observed as inside the classroom. In general, we have observed steps backwards in language use outside of the school environment, both in the case of Primary and Secondary Education pupils. In any case, there are significant differences between the two educational stages. The step backwards that has been observed in secondary education pupils' language use outside of the school environment is much faster than that observed in primary education pupils. We have our doubts as to the expansion of our efforts. Given the limited data we have at our disposal, we would at least like to believe that the rates corresponding to the pupils' language use in the school environment are, in general, higher than the random rates shown in children and young people at a municipal level. However, as we have explained above, the pupils' discursive practice shows significant relationships not just with the municipality's sociolinguistic characteristics, but also with the spoken use of their parents, teaching and non-teaching staff, headteachers and, lastly, with the general use within the school itself. As a result, we feel that it is harder to influence the pupils' spoken use in the school environment and, fundamentally, during their break times than it is to influence other areas. Suspicions, doubts, beliefs... but hey, who knows?!

To sum up, taking into account the suspicions, requests and experiences of the teaching staff in charge of language normalisation, and in close collaboration with advisory bodies and research entities, the Department of Education launched the Arrue project to respond to the following question: "Why is children and young people's language use in the school context the way it is?" (Martinez de Luna, Suberbiola & Basurto, 2009: 11).

In order to study the pupils' discursive practice in the school environment, it is essential to firstly develop the study tools and then design the best possible methodology. For both processes it is important to have in-depth knowledge of the school's characteristics and resources, purposes and needs. That is, to use the bottom-up impulse in the education community, as far as possible, for a top-down approach.

Pursuant to this question, we can say that, insofar as we are the study's clients, we believe that the Arrue project has, from the outset, acted by correctly merging both directions. That's our opinion, anyway. We feel that, throughout the Arrue project, the Sociolinguistics Cluster has repeatedly called on the participation of the education community; it has always taken into account our opinions, suggestions and requests. I can clearly recall back in December 2007, before the analysis of the available results at the time was published, that Pablo Suberbiola presented us with the following direct question/request: "From the education perspective, what study best meets schools' needs? In other words, from a functional and applied approach, what would be more useful, simple and applicable for teaching staff at schools?".

The contributions and suggestions made at that time were included in the Arrue study from then on. On this occasion also, we are aware that many wide-ranging contributions have been offered from the academic or education policy perspectives, so we will endeavour to briefly reply to the same request below. In short, there have been three main contributions offered by the Arrue project to schools'

needs, from a functional and applied perspective. The first offers direct, specific explanations of the issue's complexity, i.e. it has a descriptive function and acts as an indicator/predictor. The second is related to the assessment tools, and offers the school self-management resources. Lastly, it defines advice and recommendations to have an effect on use from an applied or prescriptive function.

USE IN THE CLASSROOM AND IN THE PLAYGROUND, WITH CLASSMATES AND WITH TEACHERS

In the previous section we have seen that ensuring an effective bearing on pupils' discursive practice is the objective of many interventions and concerns. Besides, we have known for some time now that the rate of use shown by pupils in the playground is a decisive indicator of the efficiency of our efforts: *Achieving spontaneous, informal use of the minority language at breaktime seems to be implicitly regarded as the acid test of successful language planning at the school level* (Aldekoa & Gardner, 2002:341). Nevertheless, although we have tried to find explanations, solutions or lines of intervention for those doubts and difficulties, we had found little in local or even international literature until 2009, when the results of the Arrue project up until that time were published.

Thanks to the book titled *Ikasleen eskola giroko hizkuntza erabileraren azterketa* (Martinez de Luna et al., 2009) we know which theoretical model the experts are using to analyse the pupils' language use in the playground. Likewise, we know that they had, at first, envisaged 111 variables for the study, which were later reduced to 25. We also learned that they classified those 25 variables according to their link-correlation with use in the playground, and they explained the 9 variables that could best describe that use.

As we can see in the report *Diagnostic Evaluation 2011: Statistics of Pupils' Language Use,* dozens of details from almost 36,000 pupils have been compiled (Basque Government and the Sociolinguistics Cluster, 2012). That's easier said than done!

Here we have the response to Fishman's request; here we have the data that will clear up our doubts. The descriptions of the numerous variables that were analysed in a sample of that size, and the calculations of the relative weight that those variables may have on the predictions, award the study relevance and legitimacy to draw conclusions and make the advice or recommendations shown in chapter 5.

We have already acknowledged that teachers in regional schools suffer from a lack of perspective: our perspective is frequently based on an insufficient sample. In any case, we are aware of our limitations and, insofar as we work for the education authorities and hence are participants in the process, we are also in favour of the study and the assessment. It is useful for us to know whether or not the theoretical framework that guides our teaching work and the procedures and dynamics we apply has an effect or not. That is what gives us the confidence to intervene correctly (and not incorrectly) as advisors and technical staff.

Thanks to the experts, we know that many other variables, such as the sociolinguistic characteristics of the pupil's immediate surroundings, the family's usual language, the linguistic model at the school or the behaviour in inter-school or similar relationship networks have a bearing on the pupil's language ability or discursive practice (Altuna, 2003; Decree 175/2007; Esnaola, 2003; Esnaola & Egibar, 2007; Hornberger, 2007; Martinez de Luna et al., 2009; Sierra & Olaziregui, 1990). But to what extent do they have an effect? This year's Arrue Report analyses those environmental surroundings in greater depth and detail, including the role relationships that arise in those settings. The entire third chapter of the report deals with the pupils' discursive practice; on one hand in the classroom, and on the other, in the playground. In both areas, with the teaching staff and with their classmates. Both are significant for language teaching, both in learning terms and for relationships. Chapter four analyses the use of language in the school environment according to another 17 and 23 additional variables such as language use at home, cultural consumption, the socioeconomic and cultural index of the pupil and of the school, and linguistic representations, among others.

Technical staff in one single school or region would be unable to strictly and definitely draw those conclusions. For that reason, in order to conduct significant and reliable studies, the Ulibarri programme must inevitably promote cooperation between the Basque Institute for Research and Evaluation in Education (ISEI-IVEI), the Sociolinguistics Cluster, the University of the Basque Country (EHU-UPV) and the Basque Summer University (UEU), as well as ensure the projects' continuity. Fundamentally because the experts from those institutions have the necessary technical and academic skills, they can carry out studies and descriptions of those experiences rigorously and with strict academic criteria. The fact is, if we want to bring together the results from the school sphere with those from the social sphere, we will have to ensure the exchange, cooperation and negotiation between the different actors involved in language planning. It is also essential, as well as advisable, that each actor (and all of them as a whole) periodically reflect on what has been done up until then, because new knowledge and the onset of innovative behaviour are constructed on the basis of what we know and do up until that moment. To be honest, we have seen that the weakest results obtained after implementing the LNPs over 16 years came in the social insertion and

spontaneous use of Basque; and to deal with use in the playground and outside of the school context, it is crucial that the school continues to cooperate with the other actors involved, as laid down in article 3 of the Law 1/1993 of Public Basque Schools.

We must add to this the publication of a bibliography, resources and tools on the aforementioned issue: the second fundamental contribution that we attribute to the Arrue project.

"GELA-ARGAZKIA" I.T. APPLICATION (PHOTOGRAPH OF THE CLASSROOM APPLICATION)

We have just mentioned that, thanks to Arrue, we know which characteristics best reflect pupils' language use. We now know that the "group language configuration" (Martinez de Luna et al., 2009:27) is the main factor indicating what pupils in that given group will do in the classroom, in the playground and in many other situations and contexts in the after-school environment. To evaluate what has become known as group language configuration, or *"dominance configuration"*, that is, to analyse the direction and dimension of the language shift, and based on international models, Mikel Zalbide, Head of Basque Language Services (2004, 2009), drew up and adapted a questionnaire called *Gela-argazkia* [Photograph of the classroom]. The Ulibarri programme, for its part, designed an I.T. application to process the pupils' responses, all the information that was gathered through the pencil and paper questionnaire, and made it available to all the schools.

Thanks to that application, the schools can define which is the dominant configuration in each classroom and in all of them together, defining the language configuration for each classroom using tables such as the one shown in Figure 2.

The *Gela-argazkia* application transfers the dimension of language shift and of reversing language shift to numbers. Foreseeing the environmental settings and main role relationships in the pupils' lives, which situations/contexts, who speaks what with whom, all this defines the language configuration of each group and the extent to which one of the languages dominates. Furthermore, taking into account the age group and the level at which Basque is present in the municipality where the school is located, it throws up other mean calculations; in this way, we are able to find out in which situation our group is found with regard to the total perspective of the sample. Thus we have a unique opportunity to make ourselves a tailor-made outfit. In other words, *Gela-argazkia* provides us with tools that help us to design, plan and manage specific interventions. Other useful tools to this effect are the school's strategic planning, the operational planning and the annual plan of action (Basque Government, 2011a, 2011b), as they include the school's long-term objectives, medium-term needs and the specific obligations and objectives to be met on a yearly basis.

With regard to the Ulibarri programme, the Arrue project and *Gela-argazkia* together, they have, on one hand, contributed to adapting the language planning theories, studies and experiences to Basque, and published them in Basque. On the other hand, they have revealed that if there is one place where the language shift towards Spanish is reversing back to Basque, that place is the school

Figure2. **EXAMPLE OF RESULTS FROM GELA-ARGAZKIA**

CHANGE ORIGIN		AREAS OF USE + ROLE RELATIONS															
UTTERANCE		1 Family			2 Neighborhood			3 Scool				4 Media				5 Sports	6 Church
COMMUNICATION CHANNEL		1.1	1.2	1.3	2.1	2.2	2.3	3.1	3.2	3.3	3.4	4.1	4.2	4.3	4.4	5.1	6.1
TO SPEAK	OUTPUT	2.06	2.73	-	2.06	2.00	2.41	3.35	4.00	3.00	3.88	2.47	1.83	-	-	2.71	2.80
	INPUT	2.00	2.53	1.65	1.75	2.12	2.06	3.75	4.12	3.29	4.18	2.47	1.83	1.47	1.87	2.71	2.80
TO READ	OUTPUT								D				1.83				
	INPUT								D				1.83		1.92		2.80
TO WRITE	OUTPUT								D				1.83				
	INPUT								D				1.83				

Source: *Ulibarri.info.*

Reference number: 14 **Age range:** Primary **Model of classroom:** D **Proportion of local Basque speakers:** 4
Number of classrooms: 105 **Number of students:** 1.260

context (Azurmendi, Bachoc & Zabaleta, 2001; Basque Government, 2009, Basque Government & Sociolinguistics Cluster, 2012; Martinez de Luna et al., 2009; Zalbide, 2007; 2010). In fact, the efforts made in other environmental settings or in areas of influence up until now have shown to be not particularly effective with our children and young people, and it seems that it is not possible to convert society to Basque with just an impulse from the school sector. At least not in thirty years.

Consequently, what should we teachers do? How should the Ulibarri programme proceed? Before concluding, therefore, we will now discuss the third main contribution of the Arrue Report.

ADVICE AND RECOMMENDATIONS TO INFLUENCE USE

From the functional and applied perspective, the compilation of conclusions and specific advice or recommendations covered in chapter 5, in light of the results and analyses of the report's previous chapters, is useful and applicable for teachers and technical staff. Given all the aforementioned reasons and limitations, those of us who deal directly with pupils need practical and useful tools, and models and advice that help us design the pattern before we start sewing the school uniform together.

Teachers are generally very creative; we are entrepreneurs with a wide range of resources that enable us to adapt to meet the wishes of pupils and parents. Who could deny that after seeing the results the Basque Education has achieved over the last thirty years? In any case, as we have mentioned earlier, in these periodic reflections, when it comes to drawing up the planning indicated at the beginning, experts' contributions explaining how to go from theory to practice, explaining the entire process, are very helpful. In other words, the Arrue Report offers a wider and deeper perspective of the shortcomings and errors, the objectives and guidelines, teachers' suspicions and opinions; it basically becomes our compass. It evaluates, analyses and verifies what we have detected with our own intuition, with our own experience. Our objective is to convert pupils into Basque speakers, to make Basque the pupils' natural habitual language, and we know that, even though we duly design the plans and strategies, it will be difficult for us to achieve it by ourselves, at least in the short-term. This is why, in moments of doubt, when we are lacking inspiration, when we are insecure or unsure, there is nothing better than the advice/recommendations and the model proposed by a theory based on specific data. That was exactly what we asked for when we received the previous publication, and that is exactly what we appreciate in this latest version.

Lastly, we should say that, in the most recent multi-year normalisation projects designed in the year 2010, it was directly or indirectly clear that we felt it necessary to influence areas such as language use in organised outside-of-school activities (Baraibar & Boan, 2007), use at home, cultural consumption and the media, and the use among adults who work with or around pupils. An example of all this can be seen in the actions organised for the pupils and their immediate environment (Artola, 2010, Arruti, 1993; Various authors, 2007, 2009, 2010, 2011a, 2011b; Aurrekotxea, Esparza & Larrea, 2005; Etxebarria-Ayesta, 1995, 2003; Gallaga, Ibarretxe & Rekalde, 2007; Perez-Urraza, 2007), all the activities carried out regarding the parents (Molinuebo, 2003), the actions associated with making the most of the radio, television, press and Internet in the Basque language (Basque Government, 2010) or the educational efforts carried out by the teachers (Zalbide, 2010).

Now, in the light of the data and analysis of the Arrue Report, we know that our previous intuitions were right. We know we were right then, and that we are on the right path now. In other words, our actions are not a meaningless pastime. Thanks to Arrue, we are in a position to respond to Fishman's initial request. Of course we are. The path that will lead us to the natural use of Basque by pupils is as arduous as it is long, but while we walk steadily, carefully and sensibly, we will get there... as they say in Italian, *Piano piano si va lontano.*

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THE ARRUE PROJECT. DIAGNOSTIC EVALUATION 2011: STATISTICS OF PUPILS' LANGUAGE USE

JOSU AMEZAGA

UPV/EHU - University of the Basque Country. Nor Research Group

The *Report on the general results* of the Arrue Project published for Primary 4 (more or less equivalent to UK Year 5) and Secondary 2 (more or less equivalent to UK Year 9) throws out enormously useful information. Based on a survey carried out on 36,000 pupils from public and state-subsidised schools in the Basque Autonomous Community, this study resulting from continued work over seven years offers hugely reliable data that show a number of results achieved by the school system in its work to go ahead in the normalisation of the Basque language. It also highlights focal points where action must be taken. Today, our knowledge of Basque and the Basque-speaking community is better than ever thanks to studies like these. For the same reason, the opportunities to take action and effectively direct efforts towards normalisation are also greater than ever. In this respect, we can only praise this work that should be welcomed as an essential tool for linguistic policy.

At first glance, the work highlights a number of obscure aspects. The title itself suggests the overriding concern as regards language use also found in many other places: look at the newspaper archives for opinions prompted by the results of the recently published *Sociolinguistic Survey* (Deputy Ministry of Linguistic Policy & Public Office of the Basque Language, 2012) and *Measuring Basque Language Use* (Sociolinguistics Cluster, 2012). I am absolutely convinced that among the objectives of normalisation this is the challenge requiring greatest attention in the short and medium term. Analysis of the data depicts a worrying scene: particularly in the areas where Basque should be gaining ground (Spanish-speaking family areas and contexts), use of the language falls dramatically with the move away from the formal teacher/pupil relationship, and as the pupils achieve greater autonomy (in other words, as they grow up).

However, the report opens the door to a more optimistic and —in my opinion— more interesting conclusion: as can be seen from the data, in the areas where it is possible to take action and action is effectively taken, a change of language towards Basque can be achieved. We must remember where we come from: we are a society where everyone speaks Spanish/French and some of us also speak Basque (depending on age, to a greater or lesser extent). Here we have a language that remains in a situation of total diglossia, classified by UNESCO among those in danger of extinction. In this context, almost all children in the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC) speak Basque with their teachers, which I understand confirms that action is possible and can bear fruit. On the other hand, the report concentrates to a greater or lesser extent on three main socialising spaces for children and youths: the home, the school and the street (understanding the latter in the generic sense). A linguistic policy can have very different kinds of influence with very different possibilities in each of these spheres and, in view of the data, it seems that the behaviour towards language of children and youths changes as they pass through the spaces we have mentioned.

This work shows us and, to a certain extent, explains what happens in these spaces, highlighting the areas where shortfalls exist and others in which action must be taken. I therefore write these lines in the conviction that it is better to draw optimistic conclusions than to dwell on the worrying aspects.

THREE SOCIALISING SPACES: THE HOME, THE SCHOOL AND THE STREET

Although the principle objective of the work is to describe and explain how Basque is used at school, the study also takes consideration of other variables, sometimes for the purposes of explanation and at others to set the context. These variables also help us to understand the situation in the home and in the street (i.e. in a space for children and youngsters other than the school); they therefore offer an interesting sequence.

It is commonly accepted that the home, the school and the street are basic socialising spaces for children and youths (although recent decades have seen the media added to these spaces). In sociology, socialisation is understood to be the process by which an individual becomes a

person. In this process, the individual internalises the culture around them and arms themselves with essential elements for life in society, among which language is one of the most important. Other spaces appear later on (like the workplace), but this report focuses on the analysis of childhood and adolescence. In each of these spaces, as we have said, linguistic policy can have very wide-ranging effects. That is why the results vary to such an extent.

THE HOME

The home (specifically the family) is the individual's first socialising space and the place where they will learn their mother tongue. In this respect, the 2011 *Sociolinguistic Survey* turns up a very interesting data point (which I have to say does not appear in the report at hand): today, when both parents are Basque-speakers, a vast majority of children learns the Basque language at home (97% in the BAC, 95% in Navarre and 87% in the Northern or French Basque Country). When only one of the parents is a Basque-speaker, most of them learn Basque at home, but to a lesser extent (71%, 67% and 56% respectively), and, more often than not, together with Spanish/French.

However, in the home, whenever possible, as well as transmitting Basque, children are prompted towards Basque when they start school. Obviously this is essential when the parents are not Basque-speakers. Thus, according to the report data, almost two thirds of the pupils analysed (59%-64%) receive their education in model D (all subjects in Basque), and a little under a third (28%-29%) in model B (at least half of the subjects in Basque). The report gives no data on the linguistic skills of these children's parents. However, if we study the figures published by EUSTAT for the BAC, we see that in their parents' most probable age group[1], 30% are Basque-speakers, 20% passive bilinguals and 50% monolingual Spanish speakers (EUSTAT, 2006). Hence, it becomes obvious that Spanish-speaking parents choose to convert their children to Basque by sending them to a Basque school.

As regards its use in the home, the report throws out the following data point: in 9% to 11% of the homes of the pupils analysed (depending on their level) Basque is the only language spoken. This could seem to indicate low use, particularly if we take account of the current percentage of Basque-speakers. However, the mathematical sociolinguistics of Txillardegi and Isasi revealed that one of the decisive factors of use in a bilingual community is the presence of monolinguals (Txillardegi, 1994). And we know that not all Basque-speakers live in homes exclusively composed of bilinguals. According to the latest census figures provided by EUSTAT, only 40% of Basque speakers live in such a situation (15% of the population of the BAC), while the others live with passive bilinguals or with monolingual Spanish-speakers. These figures date from 2006 (the 2011 figures have still not been processed). Analysing them by age, we see that in that year, 12% of children between the ages of 5 and 9 (i.e. 12% of the children who took the Arrue survey five years later) lived in homes where all members were Basque-speakers. We assume that the linguistic composition of these homes has not changed to any great extent in recent years. Therefore, to ensure a correct comparison, we should say that 12% of the children now surveyed live exclusively with Basque-speakers and that a percentage of 9% to 11% affirms that only Basque is spoken in their households. From here, we can conclude that, although the fidelity of Basque-speakers is not 100% to speaking Basque in the home, the level of fidelity to the language is really high when the conditions for doing so are favourable (i.e. when all other members of the home are also Basque-speakers). This becomes more significant if we remember that all Basque-speakers can generally express themselves in two languages (according to the report and to the *Sociolinguistic Survey),* that ability in Spanish is usually higher than it is in Basque and that we live in a situation of diglossia.

This other piece of information from the report is also important: the youngest in the home speak more Basque to one another than the parents do to each other: while situations where the parents always speak Basque represent 12%-14%, the percentage of siblings who always speak in Basque to one another more than doubles the former, 27%-31%. Of course, the level of knowledge of the language is very different between the two groups. But the data reflects the language use shift in the home.

The home is the most important space for early socialisation, meaning that it plays an outstandingly important part in linguistic normalisation. However, the question is to find a way to change behaviour in the home based on linguistic policy. It is obvious that in this space the way action is taken is more social than institutional, i.e. the action will take shape through values and behaviours promoted between people, rather than by the centres of power. It is more than likely that parents' motivations go a long way to explaining the data we have just seen (level of family transmission of Basque, education directed towards the Basque model, and use in the home). These motivations will be highly varied in nature (affectionate, ideological/political, pragmatic, etc.), and would deserve in-depth study, particularly in the case of the motivations underlying behaviours that lead to language change. The thing is, what prompts many thousands of new Basque-

[1] To establish the probable age, we took account of the fact that the difference between one generation and another is generally considered to be 30 years, meaning that the parents of the pupils studied in the report would be now between 40-45 years of age. Taking account of and increasing the EUSTAT population samples, we collected data on the group of citizens aged 35-49.

speaking parents to educate their children in a language that is not their own, accepting everything they will lose along the way (affectivity, expressivity, memory)? How can we understand that tens of thousands of parents will have their children educated in a model that won't allow them to help with their homework? We must realise that in most cases the language shift to Basque does not correspond to immigrants' need for integration (which may explain the linguistic shift encouraged in the home), nor to a shift from a language suffering from lack of prestige (a situation suffered by Basque for centuries) to another that doesn't. We must therefore take a closer look at the reasons and how they behave. This said; we can already forward a number of conclusions in this respect: in the first place, that a policy focussed on linguistic normalisation can and must act on motivations and, in the second, the certainty that the way the parents get motivations differs greatly from the way children and young people do it. We will come back later to this subject.

THE SCHOOL

Of the three socialising spaces in our analysis, school is the one that has the greatest facility to influence from the basis of linguistic policy; this is because it is the most srtictly regulated and the one that functions to a large extent through visible structures. Ultimately, the fact that a teacher is Basque-speaking, that the school material is in Basque or that, as a general rule, Basque is imposed in intra-school relations is a direct consequence of the will and resources employed. Despite the criticisms and limitations (we mustn't forget the question of the education models that don't transmit Basque), it is undeniable that in the last half century a great deal of work has been carried out to convert the school into an element capable of transmitting Basque, in the beginning from popular initiative and later from the institutions.

The figures generally highlight the fact that the greatest use of Basque is achieved in the school and that, the more strictly the norms are applied to relations (the most normalised in this respect is the teacher/pupil relation in the classroom) the greater the effective use of the language. In line with the above, in the multiple regression analysis, the formal aspect of the school (linguistic model) repeatedly appears as the most convincing explanation for pupils' general use of the language at school.

On the other hand, it is undeniable that the school represents an obvious factor in the linguistic integration of children from non-Basque-speaking environments and families, given that for many of them it is the only or one of the only places where they use Basque "normally".

We can therefore come to the conclusion that this is where linguistic policy obtains its best results.

However, returning to the multiple regression analysis, it seems that the school has its limitations. The situation is the same for all socialising spaces; their weight varies according to age. Thus, in the early years of a child's life, their home is the principle and almost only space; later the school gains greater presence. From a certain age children become increasingly more integrated to the third area, to the one we call "the street", which strengthens their socialisation to the extent that it eventually takes on greater relevance than at the school or in the home. The phenomenon is clearly reflected in the multiple regression analysis: if, among children aged 9-10, school is the main explanation for use of the language (it explains 45.7% of the dependent variable), among those aged 13-14 extra-curricular activities become the main factor (they explain 58.4% of its use) and the weight of the school (particularly the linguistic model) falls to 10.7%. When they reach adolescence, the youngsters enter a new world, raising new challenges for linguistic policy.

THE STREET

The activities and situations connected to the space we call "the street" appear as explanatory or contextual variables in the report. As we said above, we consider "the street" to be all contexts not directly included in the home or the school —always referring to youngsters between the ages of 9 and 14— and it is precisely some of these contexts that are analysed in the report: organised activities (private classes, extra-curricular activities or summer camps), the media or Internet. Although the measurement is partial, the data is highly illuminating.

It is therefore obvious that Basque use drops as the youngsters enter extra-curricular socialising spaces, particularly in the case of those from non-Basque-speaking contexts. In this home-school-street trail we see a clear-cut language shift, to the great suffering of the parents and education professionals who have put so much effort in the home and at school into converting their children and pupils to Basque. All figures in the report highlight this change, and in this point we can surely find more solid reasons for drawing negative conclusions from the study. Even more so if we take account of the fact that the report does not clarify what happens in the following phases and ages, meaning that we cannot know how use evolves as the youngsters approach adulthood and start integrating to other spaces —like university and work— have children, etc. According to the *Sociological Survey,* use increases with age, but we must remember that in this case we are referring to a survey carried out on the +16 population.

[2] This suffering undoubtedly lies in the pain for language so masterfully described by Enric Larreula (Larreula, 2002).

On the other hand, this language shift cross-cuts several linguistic dimensions. Taking as dimensions the three (use, knowledge and motivation) highlighted by Txepetx (Sánchez Carrión, 1987), we see that the first dimension, use, falls sharply in the passage from childhood to adolescence, and that the change occurs in all spheres: inside and outside school, in more formal or more informal relations, with their parents, teachers, class peers, friends and the media, etc. And not only that, but it touches all kinds of Basque-speakers (although to very different extents): whether they are native or new Basque-speakers living in Basque or Spanish-speaking environments. The general trend is perfectly reflected in the sub-section on "Combination of uses in the school sphere", which highlights that, although between children of 9 and 10 years the group speaking Basque in all school situations is clearly greater, among children of 13-14 years, the majority speaks Spanish in all of these situations[3].

The language shift also appears in the second dimension of Txepetx, i.e. in knowledge. Although the survey does not measure real knowledge, it does explore self-perception as regards ability and obtains a significant answer: as a general trend, youngsters aged 13-14 feel more awkward in Basque and more comfortable in Spanish than children aged 9-10. And this shift, as is the case with knowledge, is found in all sectors (as is the former, but to different extents), in native Basque-speakers and in new Basque-speakers.

The third dimension, motivation, is highly complex and the report offers very little information on the matter. However, it does indicate a number of elements that can be included in motivation, such as certain opinions and stances with respect to the language. This said, with the data available to us we cannot affirm that Basque has declined in favour of Spanish, given that it is a constant factor that pupils generally find Basque more difficult than Spanish and prefer the latter. Nevertheless, the difference between the two languages remains similar in both age groups. Thus, having analysed the data, it is difficult to draw clear conclusions on evolution according to age[4].

THE FUTURE CHALLENGE: TO GAIN GROUND IN THE STREET

As we have seen until now, to achieve the normalisation of Basque there is a greater need to act in the street than in the home and at school. It is here that the report finds the greatest limitations and the most disturbing problems. Often accusations have been thrown at the linguistic policy developed by institutions in the BAC, claiming that they have focussed their attention on the school, leaving other spaces on a different plane. Given that I generally agree with this criticism and based on conclusions drawn from the figures thrown out by the report, I believe we must take certain considerations into account.

In the first place, it is important to obtain a good understanding of what happens in the three spaces we have referred to, which are also explained in the report. Often, when concern is voiced with regard to Basque use we see an obvious tendency to consider that children convert to Basque thanks to the school but that the social context prevents them from using what they have learned, thereby relating both of the two dimensions referred to by Txepetx with a specific space, as though the school were the place where Basque is learned and the street the place where it is used. Thus, in most cases where use is mentioned —this report is an exception— no account is taken of use at school: hence, for example, the Sociolinguistic Survey considers the family, friends, workplace and formal sphere (not including school) as areas for measuring use. As I see it, it is a serious omission not to include the school in these spheres, particularly if we remember that it is a space that occupies several hours a day in children's lives. Also, Measuring Basque Language Use only measures use in the street, taking no account of use at school. But this point of view ignores an enormously relevant fact that must be taken into consideration: at school, Basque is used in direct relations, face-to-face (with teachers and the other pupils), in relations involving mediation (of school material) and in relations with machines (interfaces). In other words, the school, in addition to being a place for learning Basque, is also a place where the language is used. And today, I say this in passing; it is used more than ever before.

[3] To appropriately understand the data, we must remember that the distribution of linguistic models varies between the two groups and that the Basque model bears greatest weight among younger pupils: 64% of Primary 4 pupils are educated in model D, 29% in model B and 7% in model A. However, the figures provided for Secondary 2 pupils are: 59%, 28% and 13% respectively. As we have seen, the linguistic model is a hugely important variable in explaining language use, and these figures must therefore be closely borne in mind when drawing conclusions from the data. However, they do not seem sufficient in themselves to explain the language shift taking place in the use, in the perception of knowledge and in the opinions and attitudes.

[4] Whatever the case, this subject should be studied in greater detail. Generally speaking, it is not clear why, as they gain in age, the self-perception of ability in Basque diminishes and yet rises with respect to Spanish. Added to this, there appears to be no difference between the two languages as regards opinions on the difficulty of the language or the expression of whether or not they like it. In addition to being everyday tools of communication, Basque and Spanish are school subjects. We must therefore discover what specifically the pupil has considered on expressing their attitudes (like) and opinions (difficulty) with respect to both languages; i.e. if they refer to linguistic practice or to the language as a subject.

On the other hand, this simplification that Basque is learned at school and spoken in the street ignores a second fact reflected with crystal-clear clarity in the report: language is not merely used learned in the street, it is also learned in there; unfortunately, according to the data, more Spanish is learned than Basque in this way. In this respect, the information on the self-perception of linguistic ability is highly significant. As we have seen, as they grow older, youngsters feel more comfortable speaking in Spanish than they do in Basque, and this applies to all sectors and environments. Logically, we cannot believe that the ability to speak in Basque of children aged 9 or 10 falls by the time they reach the age of 13 or 14; it is more likely to improve or —at least— remain the same. We must therefore think that the linguistic requirements of the two age groups are different, the skills they acquire at home and at school are more suited to one age group than to the other, or to certain spaces than others. At school they can acquire skills to explain maths or geography in Basque, or to carry out functional conversations, but perhaps they do not acquire the same amount of ability to tell jokes or to express feelings. And these are essential for street use. The question is the following: where do they learn, having reached adolescence, new linguistic skills to deal with the new communication needs emerging at that age? With complete certainty, in the street, and, to a lesser extent, in the home or at school.

Thus, linguistic policy must move away from the "conversion to Basque at school and use in the street" mantra and promote knowledge of Basque, encourage use and boost motivation in all spaces.

The second observation is related to the above, given that, of the three spaces analysed, the street is the one that is most difficult to influence. As we said earlier, influence is easier at school (even if it is a very difficult task) due to it being a space subject to strong administrative control. Influence in the home is even more complicated and as we have explained, comes more from the social than the institutional spheres. Motivation, adherence, awareness and, in general, factors related to the conscious option of adults are vitally important here, meaning that it is essential to gain ground in these areas in order to convert the home into an agent of normalisation.

However, the street is the most complex of the three; for a start, because it is not a homogeneous space. The "street" category involves very widely varying situations and activities: some of them are organised and quite controlled by an agent (such as the summer camps mentioned in the report), while others have no formal structure (circle of friends). As we have seen, this space plays a highly important role in socialising adolescents, meaning that greater attention will certainly have to be dedicated to it than until now as a space for the normalisation of Basque. Here we should include among the essential actions to be taken those related to extra-curricular activities mentioned in the report, fostering motivation in these spaces, linguistic ability —skill associated to the needs that arise in that specific situation— and also use. In some cases dedicated institutional and social tools exist, but in others the tools are weaker.

As the school socialising process sees a fall in its weight in favour of the street, adolescents, particularly when coming from Spanish-speaking environments, find themselves in a situation where in certain contexts they still find use in the skills they learned at school, but these same skills are no longer as useful in certain new contexts. The adult new Basque-speaker is very familiar with this situation: even if they have learned Basque at a Euskaltegi (Basque teaching centre for adults) and have passed all their exams, they find that they are limited in certain situations, whether it be when using connotations, expressing provenance through their manner of speech, exteriorising their deepest feelings, etc. Highly motivated adult new Basque-speakers will make a superhuman effort to overcome these limitations, but what motivation does an adolescent new Basque speaker need to make the same effort, also taking account of the fact that their conversion to Basque was not the result of their conscious, personal decision?

In this respect, awareness campaigns that could have greater success with parents and adults in general will probably not have the same success with adolescents. These are people who have just entered the last stage of their personality building process —which is also the most traumatic— and they will certainly be more sensitive to models and references than to motivations assimilated through use of reason. This area of references —for example, famous or *Olympian* personalities according to the definition of E. Morin (Morin, 1966)— may be strategic in linguistic policy, just as textbooks may play the same role in another stage of conversion to Basque.

Another kind of tool, which has earned great importance in recent decades, is the media. I believe that far less has been done in this area than could have been. The media can work on the motivation, knowledge and use dimensions. In the first case, by influencing language-related images, presenting Basque as a living language, and multiplying the ability to become a reference of Basque-speaking Olympians, etc.[5]

Further, the media can contribute to the sphere of knowledge or of the *corpus* by, for instance, working the linguistic skills required by adolescents and youngsters. The mantra "television is not an instrument for learning Basque",[6] that we have heard all too often, highlights a mistaken view of television and of the teaching-learning process. We don't mean that television should broadcast master-classes in Basque, because learning does not mean receiving classes. What we mean is that television has been a tool for language shift in countries all over the world, in some cases for the purposes of standardisation (Italy), and in others to teach foreign languages (European languages in North Africa, or English in Northern Europe), etc. And for youngsters from non-Basque-speaking environments, television and all other media —each with its particular characteristics— can help them to develop new linguistic skills not taught at school. A number of experiences have already been carried out on the radio, which must be analysed and appraised in detail.

Finally, as regards use, the media should have been considered as another space of language use. In addition to face-to-face relations, the relations established through technological tools and institutions are acquiring increasingly greater importance in our lives, and relations such as these imply language use. Relations maintained through the media are also located in this sphere. They may also be an effective manner of contact and integration to the Basque universe for speakers of the language who live in all sorts of different Spanish/French-speaking environments (most of the youngsters analysed in the report are in this situation).

From the point of view of linguistic policy, I believe that in the last thirty years the media has received less attention than it should have, at least from the work of the public institutions. This applies to supporting and fostering media of popular initiative in Basque, to regulating media in Spanish/French and to the use of those created on public initiative as a tool of linguistic policy. I also feel that to a certain extent we have forever lost an opportunity, given that the media panorama has undergone great change in the last thirty years. We have gone from having a few large-sized media (when television networks were also publicly owned) to having all kinds of media: public/private; small/large, local/non-local, big screen/small screen, fixed/portable and endless other kinds. What has happened to the administration as regards the media is largely similar to what has happened at the nation-state with the economy: it has lost control – not totally, but to a great extent. And in these conditions, it is now far more difficult than before to use the media for the purposes of linguistic policy, meaning that it is also too late to do many of the things not done previously. Certainly, the attraction in its day of ETB1 among children left very positive results, but that has been left well behind and in today's panorama it seems unthinkable to recover that hegemonic situation. Whatever was not done at that time (for example, not dedicating more attention towards the adolescent population analysed in the report) would be more complicated to do today.

Lastly, we should pay close attention to the changes taking place in the media and, generally, in all communication modes in order to deal with the language shift occurring between the school and the street. The point is, bearing in mind that it is adolescents and youngsters who use these methods of communication much more intensively, it would be advisable to ask ourselves what possibilities we can find in the new situations and how this field can be influenced from linguistic policy. As we underlined at the beginning of this article, the report makes it very clear that when the opportunity to take action appears and that action is actually taken, linguistic policy shows spectacular results.

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[6] Coined from the very beginning of ETB (Torrealday, 1985, p. 41).

LECTIONS ON THE REPORT THE ARRUE PROJECT: DIAGNOSTIC EVALUATION 2011: STATISTICS OF PUPILS' LANGUAGE USE

EDUARDO APODAKA
UPV/EHU - University of the Basque Country

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS

The tool we have here in our hands must be welcomed with satisfaction. If it is continued with others of a similar nature they will show us the rights and wrongs of the investments made, because that's what evaluations do. However, the figures are disheartening. I don't know to what extent these figures reflect or construct reality, but in some way or another they are neither the most positive, nor the most satisfactory. The data confirms the negative image conveyed to me by knowledge of my closest environment, even without taking consideration of that general network introduced by the Arrue project. The key to this pessimism is not whether Basque is used a little or a lot, but the suspicion that the investment made was perhaps a waste of time. I suspect that teaching Basque is no more than the half-washed and disorganised impulse of many agents, useful but not efficient.

On the other hand, I must admit that when faced with this kind of work I am invaded by myriad methodological doubts and epistemological concerns. One of these, not the main one, but not the least important either, is related to concepts of attitude: tastes, desires, tendencies, behaviours, motives and others. I don't think we'll get very far if, with these purely indicative criteria, we do not receive detailed and exhaustive information on the context. *"Do you like it...?"* Is it possible that children have a general answer, one that can be used for everything? Do I like it for what reason? When? With whom? How[1]?

This is only an example; my main doubt arises with regard to cross-cutting and personal measurements: is the information given by the protagonists reliable? Do they have a sufficiently clear idea of what they are doing and why? I place essential importance on learning the methods, narrations, explanations and other factors used by people to provide information on their behaviour. But often the "study" itself is the regulating context of these sensible explanations. I have doubts regarding the ability to register of the "studied party" who, as well as providing information on their attitudes, must define and quantify their behaviour. And I have even greater doubts as regards the way these behaviours are classified and categorised: can we really tell in all cases if a discursive practice has taken place in Basque or in Spanish? Many students in the BAC (like all other speakers) do not use Basque/Spanish, but a combination of the two, a kind of mixed language known as *Euskañol*. Thanks to this, Basque is used by many people – but it's not clear how we should quantify that use: is it Basque or is it Spanish? Don't we perhaps require a mixed category? Whatever the case, these are my concerns; they are not the failings of this work.

And the last preliminary observation: I consider this kind of studies to be based on many, very many implicit concepts, ideas or opinions; there is still time to change many of them. I will mention some of them, but not all.

THE BONDS WITH LANGUAGE LAID BARE

Before commenting on the data, I would like to mention my general impressions on making my way through the Arrue report. These impressions are resumed in the title of this chapter; they are not new, I generally get the same impressions on observing the existing linguistic panorama, but the report has revived them for me. They are, therefore, as follows:

All habits are the result of a process of learning and of getting used to the language and language is a series of habits by means of which bodies recognise one another

[1] For example, there is something I believe to be important: in the question on whether or not they find it relatively easy to speak in Basque, between one age group and the other the percentage of those who say it is easier to speak in Spanish despite their mother tongue being Basque rises from 8 to 16%. In other words, the proportion of those who feel more at ease using Spanish duplicates in Secondary 2. But how must we understand this? Have they lost aptitude in Basque? Or, on the other hand, have they failed to achieve or assimilate in Basque all the pragmatic and psychosocial linguistic resources necessary in that age group? They are the confessions of the pupil, i.e. they express what they feel or know...

and come together, by means of which we become a *person* and establish associations. Habits are capacities we must cultivate; even the most normal of these habits have required a certain amount of preparation from us at one point or another.

We human beings need to cooperate to survive, we are group-loving creatures and language, one of the main tools given to us by evolution to relate to one another, is a capacity we must either learn or activate, because it is through that language that we organise the world, in as much as we organise ourselves, in as much as we are somebody in society. We cultivate that capacity constantly and adapt it; we adapt our language, our human language, constantly.

All human beings have a bond with the environment they have created: it is their environment and, of course, they have a bond, functional and emotional, with the language that unites the members of that social environment. Because that is the very nature of language. That is the essential bond with the language, but not the only one, given that people, in addition to adapting to the environment, have the virtue of projecting and constructing the said environment. And in these close environments, in the company of family members, neighbours and friends, people represent what are or what will be the collective habits or rules of the language of the said environment and adhere to these representations. The transmission of language and values, opinions and rules (including rules of use) of the said language always go hand in hand, and they change and transform jointly.

As a result, in my opinion there are two essential bonds with languages: one that we receive immediately we come into the world, the one that activates our ability to speak (that thing known as the mother tongue and which is not, of course, always the only one); the other, often just as binding as the former, the "discourse" around language: the ideological bond, materialised in projects. Summing up, one is the vital functional bond we have with the languages that we consider to be the languages of the soul and of the world *(psycho-functional);* the other, the binding value we give to the language with words, opinions and actions *(discursive)*.

We must therefore remember that we live in numerous social environments and that, to bond correctly or act correctly within these, we require other psycho-functional bonds ("psychological openings") to be able to live and act; and that we also make constant "comments" and "appraisals" on such practices. It would be difficult to find societies that have a single language or way of speaking; generally, every circle of relations creates and cultivates its own language and, consciously or unconsciously discusses and agrees upon what use is correct, what is not, what is good and what is bad, what is ours and what belongs to the others. At the end of the day, the rules of our oral expression.

The use made of a language is a question of adherence: specifically, adherence to the languages structured by the network of relations and its members. The bond is usually two-fold: due to nature and to conviction. Adherence (in the same sense as I have used bond) can be specified in rules: one direction is "we behave this way>we must behave this way"; the other is "we must behave this way>we behave this way". In other words, what we do *de facto* makes us "normative" and we have the ability to do *de facto* what we think *de jure*. In the case of Basque, both bonds are necessary and young people must learn both of them. In the name of a naturalness (that we don't have), we are shelving the "ideological or gnomic apparatus", i.e. non-reglamentary practices and, it goes without saying, we are shelving the discursive supplement required by the minority practices to "bond". If they are not going to assimilate by conviction what they have not learned by nature, where does a situation like this leave these youngsters? Light years away[2].

END OF THE CHILDREN'S WORLD

Having chosen pupils between the ages of 9-10 and 13-14 for these evaluation studies is a formalised option given that we are faced with a truly important age change. Only a few years later, relations with the world, needs and desires will change in a certain direction for these pupils, the social world will become increasingly wider and, as a result, the resources required to become *someone* in these worlds will also increase. But, above all, in these worlds the children will shake off dependence upon their parents and will place priority on the world that they are, supposedly, building for themselves: boys and girls of the same age will believe —and will make one another believe— that they have a young, autonomous world and they will define their needs and desires in that world. One of the questions we must define and regulate is how they express themselves, how they speak.

Let's look at that change of worlds in the section on "representations" (point 2.10 of the report). The question only posed to Secondary 2 (more or less equivalent to UK Year 9) pupils is correct: *What do you like best...?* I would classify the scenes according to whether the surroundings

[2] Of course, we could also turn around the reflection on these adherences and bonds that constitute no more than explanatory hypotheses. If the youngsters become accustomed, are educated by nature and by conviction in a language, they will adhere to it and make it their own; even if they lack the former, depending on the latter (i.e. on the consensus they enjoy in their sphere of relations) they will continue to cling to that language in one way or another.

are familiar or unfamiliar to the pupils: the factory or public conference will be less familiar to them than the family and the classroom. This means that their answer is essentially no more than their experience in the areas they know: 20% use Basque with their families (this seems to be general throughout, see annex 4) and 49% in the classroom (58.8% in model D). *What do you like best?* In itself, this is no more than the self-same normalisation resulting from living in that specific environment. They answer drawing on their own experience; they still don't have their own ideology with regard to the language. But they are willing to adapt to surroundings unknown to them in the future and they know that there, at work or in public relations, Spanish predominates and Basque is essentially left behind, at school and in their families, in the living environments of their childhood. How many will continue to use their mother tongue? We can anticipate an answer: those who have practical psycho-functional bonds with their mother tongue (because they have learned it, because it is the language used in their living environments, or because, although it is not the language used in their breathing space, the discourses or networks of values related to the language have trapped or ensnared them).

THE INCREDIBLE SHRINKING MAN

This is the title of a 1957 sci-fi movie. The curious adventure of a man: having been caught in a radioactive cloud he starts shrinking, until disappearing from view. That's how I perceive the use of Basque in the growing up and education process: increasingly more limited, increasingly smaller... and often finally even fading out of sight and hearing.

This data has ratified that impression; in this jump from one age to another we can start to see the beginning of a greater change: the younger ones speak Basque perfectly, when they are a little older they continue to speak Basque, but of poorer quality, and they continue to speak in Spanish in the classroom *and in the playground, and why should I continue to speak like the teacher, if I'm not the teacher, and neither are you...* What, then, is the radioactive cloud that makes Basque shrink?

In that 4-year period they become aware of just how narrow and small the Basque world is. The Basque speaking world is a brief world, small, insufficient. The possibilities increase with Spanish, and with English; what then will be left for Basque? The radio? Music? And are they not perhaps disappearing too[3]?

But the worst part is perhaps not the small size, the tininess of Basque. It would be even worse to feel "too controlled". In this respect, all of the data points towards the importance of losing or distancing themselves from the control of adults. When Secondary 2 pupils are controlled less by their parents to go to the cinema, listen to the radio or speak at school, when it is their own choice, they turn their backs on the "factor associated with parent control". Because it is absolutely not psycho-functional in their youth environment. 36% of Primary 4 (more or less equivalent to UK Year 5) pupils speak Basque with peers in the classroom, and 17% in the playground. In the case of Secondary 2 pupils, however, 14% speak with peers in the classroom and only 11% in the playground. And, as a hypothesis, I would say that the 11% is to be found: in the model D of Basque-speaking areas. In Primary 4, however, the percentage of those who use Spanish rises from 13 to 3% from the classroom to the playground, and in Secondary 2, with the disappearance of adult control, from 37% to 59%: most of them no longer speak Basque in the classroom.

But it would seem that adult control is essential in the classroom: in Primary 4, 60% of students always or almost speak Basque with peers in the classroom; with the teacher this figure rises to 74%. In Secondary 2 the figures stand at 28% with their classmates and 61% with the teachers. Summing up, the teacher plays an important part in Primary 4, but the need for a change in attitude with the teacher is far more pronounced in Secondary 2: teachers of Secondary 2 are at a much greater distance from their pupils, and will lose them in a short time, among other reasons because the obligation to change behaviour and speak Basque with the teacher will become too much of an effort or too difficult for the youngster[4]. So where will they get the strength to make the voyage, that effort-requiring adaptation?

Figures like these repeat themselves time and again, with the same general rule: the less the control of adults, the greater the use of Spanish. Added to all of this is the tendency to hyper-correct Basque: as if it were never correct, never free, as if it were practically no use for laughing (and playing), or for inventing new expressions away from the grip of adults. How many words have parents had to learn, influenced by their sons or daughters, in order to be "X" (where X is a time term to express a "quality" such as, for example, *guay* (slang for 'great' in Spanish); yet when do these children learn something from the adults, and in Basque?

Still today, for most of them, Basque is nothing but an artificial atmosphere. We can duly manipulate that

[3] Basque radio, for example drops almost 4 points from Primary 4 to Secondary 2; film almost 9 points, the pride in Basque music is watered down in Secondary 2 given the burning heat of music in Spanish (40.9 points) and of the music in other languages (47.2).

[4] In the correlations between uses, in page 31 of the report, for example, it is obvious that in Primary 4 the agent is the binomial classroom-teacher (if both disappear the use of Basque drops significantly); in Secondary 2, on the other hand, the classroom loses strength and the teacher becomes the sole agent, but their influence is also lower.

atmosphere in a hyper-controlled situation: at school or while doing organised activities... But how things change outside that controlled laboratory atmosphere!

THE DARK SIDE OF BASQUE

The loss of Basque is a vicious circle: the less Basque is used the less its competence and the less its usefulness, the more trivial the speaker and the language. All of this increases depending on the opacity of Basque; the point is that many living spaces are opaque for the Basque language; in other words, how much Basque is known by model A pupils, whose mother tongue is Spanish and who live in non-Basque-speaking towns? At the end of the day, Basque is a school subject.

Basque is fairly opaque for those who consider it to be nothing but a subject, particularly if in their surroundings Basque is nothing but a "symbolic embellishment". What part does Basque and speaking Basque play in functional living spaces (family, school, friendships, in the neighbourhood, the media) of these children or youngsters?

This opacity is, of course, a gradual question. Using the study data, let's say that the visibility of Basque is guaranteed in a municipality if the proportion of Basque speakers is higher than 30%; we could define this percentage as a minimum level. In municipalities falling below this level, it would appear that 10.8 of every 100 Primary 4 pupils study model A. In Secondary 2 the figure stands at 22.2: the opacity increases. The dark side, the shadows of conversion to Basque. In these municipalities, speaking in Basque with your peers in the playground is a wasted experience (see graph 36, page 35 of the report); there Basque is at most something limited to the classroom and essentially used with the teacher (graphs 39 and 42). Model A is the darkest of the dark corners (see graphs 61, 64, 67, 70: not a trace of Basque).

And how many of these pupils are there? Pupils who live in municipalities below that minimum level of Basque speakers: both in Primary 4 and Secondary 2, 49.3 of every 100 pupils. Half of the total number of pupils in the BAC lives in these Basque-speaking municipalities. Model D encompasses half of the pupils in these municipalities; it is rather a lot. But, as I was saying, I think it is normal, completely normal, that for these pupils Basque, and particularly speaking in Basque, is nothing but part of their education. Totally formalised, as a subject or artificial (and specific) relational model.

These youngsters are very normal, they have absolute pragmatic knowledge on passing from one relational circle to another: linguistic instinct, specifically, to duly adapt their register to the mercy of the social norms of the situation; naturally, when the register change is from Basque to Spanish, rarely the other way round, because they have not assimilated the capacity to make a change of that kind.

FAILURE OF THE SCHOOL TO PROVIDE REASSURANCE SKOLAREN PORROT LASAIGARRIA

Schools have been loaded with responsibilities and projects very important in appearance. Helped by pedagogy and didactics, the classroom should produce new awarenesses that would absolutely transform society. The school would seem to have failed: young people have not transformed society. The values included in the educational curricula have stopped there, and Basque too; the youngsters have not completely assimilated them. Meanwhile, until the school achieves this objective, society is very busy working on businesses in the present rather than in the future, and evaluates these projects periodically.

Forgive me for the irony, but I can't accept this way of thinking, particularly when a touch of scandal is added to its tone: when they say *these young chauvinists!* I wonder what our society has done for these abstractions to be different. Education has been assigned to the school, is if there were no other educational or socialising agent. I know it hasn't always been the case, and in the sphere of promoting the use of Basque perhaps it has been an exception in many cases; but not in all of them. And even more so, we have to admit that in the case of Basque the scandal will be smaller when it comes to relative failure of the school. I may be wrong, but if I consider the impression I have received from my close environment, I would say that most people agree with the subordinate role and function that has been given to Basque. As a result, it is fine in the school classrooms, there they take good care of it, and it is also fine for the playground and above all for speaking to babies and small children. When we leave our children in school, when we send our youngsters there, Basque goes with them in their satchels.

How many adults have learned Basque at the same time as their sons and daughters? How many have changed the language they use due to the influence of their sons and daughters. I would love to be able to say that there are many of them but, for the time being, with my impressions and the data reflected in the study, I would say that they are very few in numbers. Learning Basque is undoubtedly a good thing for the majority; something that will be useful somewhere, at some time, like English. It is an external factor, in places that don't live in Basque the language is nothing but an external investment, and not something that will change my surroundings (family, friends,

neighbourhood, municipality). In this respect, for many people it is reassuring to see that the Basque school has failed, that it has not changed us, that it has not made us complete Basque speakers: there is no danger. On becoming adults, these pupils very sensibly adapt to adult society.

SCARCE ECOLOGICAL USE OF EXPERIMENTS FOR CONVERSION TO BASQUE

I have presented the school as a laboratory, because it is where the experiment of conversion to Basque was carried out, with better or worse results. Duly controlling different variables, we have learned to influence the secondary variable. However, we were surprised on observing the ecological limits of the experiment: the ecological utility of the experiment is very scarce! And the study says: "in uses between peers in the classroom, we must highlight that in the strongest Basque-speaking area (>60%) the use of Basque predominates among Secondary 2 pupils and that, unlike the other two areas, the distance between Primary 4 and Secondary 2 is slight" (Sectgion 3.3.1). Obviously; in the other two areas the laboratory controlled atmosphere has nothing to do with the exterior atmosphere. The experiment, in the best case (model D), has tried to introduce a *Goenkale* (Basque soap) to the school, and the ecological utility of Basque is therefore limited to places like *Goenkale,* i.e. very few.

In other words, when we lose control of the variables we cannot influence Basque. The study duly defines these variables; some are typical of the environment (percentage of Basque speakers in the municipality, mother tongue or language spoken in the home[5] etc.), others are variables in the school environment, easier to manipulate: linguistic use of the teacher, linguistic model of the school, direct control by adults (in general, duly defined in table 12a, page 50, entitled "Correlation with variables *general use of pupils at school).*

We know what influences the use of Basque. But can that "controlled environment" be extended? Can the BAC (I wouldn't say the Basque Country as a whole) become a giant language lab? Can we plan an atmosphere of controlled variables in which we can have the influence we desire on the free variable (the use of Basque)? If we had the flow chart, we would have to solve numerous political and ideological questions: there isn't a single planner in this experiment, people are not a submissive and inert subordinate variable (they wish to play a leading part, even when they are young people), the same planning cannot be applied to all places and situations, the social inertias don't change with the taking of decisions, etc. In other words, there is no consensus, whether by nature or by conviction, to put such a flow chart into motion. That includes the school.

As a result, I think we have to forget about that flow chart I just mentioned. Conversion to Basque cannot be the school's responsibility, nor can we extend that "directed and planned" chart to society. Today conversion to Basque is a socio-cognitive conflict, if you like, a conflict of communication, and although its agents are often "militant" individuals, normally they are social structures and spheres that act almost undercover: forces that organise practices and lend them meaning[6].

The catalyst of sociocultural changes is not general pedagogy (based, ideally, on seduction, persuasion and argumentation), but socio-cognitive conflict: conflict to create, form, define, disseminate and achieve majority use of legitimate, sensible practices. Conflicts often choose the said channels (seduction, persuasion or argumentation), but they normally apply "more coercive" social processes: normalised pressure from the social environment, framework of legal coercion, processes of adaptation and conformation between groups or people, etc. The significant practices are often spread for involuntary reasons; however, they make absolutely no sense if, along with pure social conflict, they also triumph in socio-cognitive conflict.

The fronts of linguistic conflict do not have to be bloody, and they are not always struggles between languages; often the conflict takes the shape of a game or entertainment. But we mustn't forget that the game is not a simple game between individuals, there are no completely free choices, they are not only limited to the individual. That's why I consider it essential to define these border areas, and to find out what goes on in them.

[5] The language spoken in the home appears as a fixed variable in all regressive cases. Although in the case of Primary 4 pupils it appears in 11th position, in the case of Secondary 2 it is in 3rd place. We can therefore affirm that Basque is abandoned to a lesser extent if it is the language spoken in the home. In other words, there are practical, coherent environments and, as a result consistent speakers; the more homogenous the home, the school and the municipality with regard to the language, the greater the psycho-functional bond of the speakers with linguistic practices in these environments.

[6] An example: linguistic stress is a way of blurring the conflict by underscoring the psycho-social consequences of the social conflict. Using this concept in an evil fashion, we are presented with the uneasiness of the person as if it were the consequence of a "way of managing relations". But if we said that the stress is the consequence of linguistic oppression, the meaning of the practices and the manner of facing up to them would change easily.

THE BORDERS ARE THE KEY: THE WAR WILL BE WON ON THE FRONT

The studies give us an overall snapshot: "this is language use in the BAC". And my first doubt stems from this: "what "linguistic situation", what "communicative situation" is that BAC? None. General models can be useful for many questions. But, for example, I don't know what use a country's per capita GDP is if it is not accompanied, alongside, by an exhaustive description of the rate of inequality and the map of poverty in that country. And I would say the same about language use. A generalised study conceals from us the reality of each case (the reality we must directly live and manage) to, supposedly, give a wider perspective. But in the question of language use, the most interesting part lies in the cases, the specific situations of the social environments, and not in the general abstraction (and even more so when, as is our case, the "wealth", i.e. the use of Basque, is concentrated in a specific place).

I believe that we must cultivate casuistry or, to use a modern term, that we must develop ethnography, specifically the ethnography of communicative practices. By doing this, we would define different cases and single out the successful experiences; to a certain extent we already have something of the sort. But intuition tells me that the greatest interest lies in the border areas.

In Basque-speaking areas, how many model A pupils whose family language is Spanish use Basque? When and how? With whom and with what intention? Here I have a front line for the dissemination of Basque. That is where we must do our research. Another real "battle front": in non-Basque-speaking areas, how many model A pupils whose family language is Spanish use Basque? None? If that's the case, it has to be studied.

And, in the opposite case; why, in Basque-speaking areas, do boys and girls from Basque-speaking families educated in Basque not speak the language? (if such a case occurs): when they don't, with whom they don't, why not, with what intention... This is where we see the tendency of Basque to recede. I think we know more about this case than we do about the previous one. Given that we were completely convinced that speaking Spanish was going to put an end to the "Basque school", we didn't analyse the durability or the stubbornness of those practices. And yet we have conscientiously analysed and taken the Basque-speaker to pieces. Maybe we should point the spotlight somewhere else.

However, generally speaking, the time has come to relieve the school of its load; the school, in itself, will not achieve the normalised use of Basque. And it's not that we "have to help" it because it is its responsibility. The school must continue to do its job. But I consider that at this point almost all of us are aware that: promoting the use of Basque is a very complicated process of habit changing. These kinds of process are generally spiral processes: they grow from the inside out, but can also shrink from the outside in (we have seen the young population shrink downwards in this process). In order for processes to grow they require a centrifugal movement, and, although as from a certain point —difficult to forecast— the process will assimilate the majority of social energies (at which time, in addition to becoming a majority tendency, the change will have normalised itself, it will have become the rule and custom), meanwhile it needs, if you like, endogenous energies: energy towards the outside exercised by the agents located in the nucleus. We have made improbable efforts to unify, strengthen and add agents and efforts. But it has always been thought, very judiciously, that Basque should be played in an open field. On the other hand, even if it does have a spiral shape or development, like in other changes in behaviour, the hook, or the "ensnarement", is always a significant practice. There's no other way: the "Basque agents" must spread significant practices from the inside out. We have a very varied audience who are waiting to see a good performance, and, if it's really good, they too will want to play the leading part. And of course, to achieve this, the pioneer must be someone who has more powers and symbolic and functional resources. If this is the case, the data we receive through Arrue will change; otherwise the efforts of the school will remain inefficient.

COMMENTS FROM NOLEGA ON THE 2012 ARRUE STUDY

IÑAKI ARTOLA, SANTOS IZAGIRRE AND IÑAKI ITURAIN

NOLEGA. Programme for the Development of Linguistic Normalisation Act

We, the signatories of these comments, technicians at NOLEGA, have been working for the last 20-30 years on the development of intervention programmes to increase use of the Basque language. Our line of reasoning therefore follows the intervention point of view. In a nutshell: What can intervention programmes draw from the conclusions of Arrue? And if something is to be gained: For whom? Where? How?

THE 2012 STUDY

The Arrue study has taken another step forward along the path started in 2004. And it is anything but trivial. This time, they have analysed an almost total sample of Primary 4 (more or less equivalent to UK Year 5) and Secondary 2 (more or less equivalent to UK Year 9) pupils, hence we can say that the data contained in the report is completely reliable. The said research work confirms what we already suspected, and what we, the technicians and teachers who work to foster the use of Basque, have experienced and concluded in recent years. What were previously no more than our suspicions, intuitions and experiments have now become a reality with scientific backing thanks to this work. At first glance, you could say that the findings of Arrue had been suspected for some time in different places. Though true, it is also a fact that the suspicions, intuitions or conclusions of research work carried out with limited samples may have a short run when compared to other works of similar standards and opposite focus.

Taking account of the fact that the study was carried out at school, the Education System will have to draw its own conclusions and take the appropriate steps. But in the case of Arrue, the conclusions stretch beyond the school: it is the job of all society to read and self-critically reflect on the Arrue project. The research clearly demonstrates that the school cannot in itself achieve the objective. Going even further, the work highlights that the school is proceeding correctly, without denying that it has a great deal of space for improvement. Basque society must therefore draw its own consequences from the results of the Arrue study, and it must also assume responsibilities.

A FEW NOTES

Analysis of the study has thrown out a number of significant details. We would like to underline the following, in the certainty that they deserve to be taken into account in intervention programmes designed to increase the use of the Basque language.

1. The relative ability to speak Basque drops steeply from Primary 4 to Secondary 2: some 10 points. This means that, as regards meeting the needs of pupils in their everyday lives, Basque loses relative value as the pupil grows older. This is unquestionably related to ability, and perhaps even more so, to the gradual enriching of the linguistic functions typical of their age, and of the linguistic trends imposed in the socialisation process. This enrichment usually occurs in the same natural sphere as the development of linguistic function. The school cannot design all of these functional spheres, nor can it develop them. (2.1.7)

   Intervention: In all organisations created for children and youngsters, the point of view of LN (language normalisation) must be borne in mind at all times. The objective is that the use of Basque must be taken into account by all public and private institutions. But this would only take us to functions and spheres that can be offered in an organised fashion. And the non-organised informal area between pupils will still be there, right where it should be.

2. Adherence to the language. Do you like it? We have analysed this part very closely. And the point is that school can become an area that is liked. We believe that the school should set itself the objective that everyone, teachers, pupils and parents, come to feel comfortable in this area. Thus, if the school is an area that is liked, what is done in it will be liked too: Basque, Spanish, English... The answers conscientiously given seem to be fairly positive. There is adherence to Basque: a lot for 44%, quite a lot for 19% and average for 25%. And we would like to underline that teachers play an important part in achieving these figures. It can therefore be said

that the objective is largely met. Spanish has greater adherence. But this fact must be taken as totally normal given the nature of the sample. In Compulsory Secondary Education the adherence to Basque drops slightly, but we would place this fact within the fall in adherence to subjects typical of that age. In fact, the adherence to Spanish also drops. On the other hand, we find it disconcerting that the research work offers the options "quite a lot" and "average" in this section. (2.1.8)

Intervention: The school must take specific care of this area. The pupils' liking of Basque and the school is not just an extra, it is an essential objective. Specific attention must be paid to this objective and the pupil/person must be placed at the centre of our teaching work. Turning the spotlight on the pupil, on the person, instead of pointing it at the language or at educational objectives implies a qualitative change in the relationship of that pupil with the language or subject. But adherence to the language does not only concern the school; the adherence to language shown by pupils at school reflects the social situation. Thus, fostering and monitoring adherence to Basque —and in general to the values of language— must be a clear-cut objective for society.

3. Representations: difficulty. The conclusions of Arrue are as they were to be expected. In relative terms, the representation of Basque is more difficult than it is of Spanish; in absolute terms, however, the pupils don't seem to have any particular difficulty, taking account of the sample analysed. Also, when compared to English, they find Basque much easier (2.1.9).

4. Representations: situations/activities (Compulsory Secondary Education). Of the six situations/activities proposed to them, Basque falls within three: family, leisure and school. The representation of the family tallies with the sample. The one corresponding to the school tends towards Basque. The school is the area "reserved" for Basque. In our opinion, the data on leisure is not bad: 33% in Basque and 41% in Spanish. Basque therefore holds a "certain" place in the extra-curricular activities organised. There could probably be a discussion on analysis of the term "certain". Further, we are unsure whether leisure, represented by the picture (camping), includes sport or not.

   On the other hand, Basque holds a meagre place in another three situations/activities: new technologies, prestige and being someone and the working world. And here we have one of the keys! The first three situations (the family, leisure and school) are related to the pupils' life at the present moment. However, the other three (technologies, prestige and being someone and work) belong to the future. The youngsters project themselves into the future; see themselves in the future, dream of that future. In 2007, the Arrue project brought us data on other situations. Representations at compulsory level acquire great strength in the behaviours they engender. It is society's job to analyse and work on individual representations, and to foster the ones that are beneficial to that society. It must also, of course, channel complementary measures and make re-positioning possible. (2.1.10)

   Intervention: This area must receive specific treatment from all institutions and the media, highlighting the importance of the subject, analysing the measures taken in the area, setting strategies, designing protocols and programming and implementing specific activities. We believe that changing these social representations is something we must all do. And what can the school itself do? Be aware of the subject, take it into careful consideration with regard to didactic materials, take it into account continually in examples and exercises, offer models contrary to general perception and take different personages to school... The point is that teachers should also be "plugged into" the subject. In the same way that it is advisable for the whole teaching staff to be plugged in if they are to make progress with the subject of gender equality, it is also necessary with regard to these representations. At the end of the day, we have in our hands the essence of education; we help people to construct their integrity, their personality.

5. In the data provided as regards the broadcasting media, those referring to the place held by the Basque language on television are very low. In our opinion, this is a matter difficult to solve, for two reasons: on the one hand, there would have to be rivalry for quality if we want Basque television to gain viewers along with the other channels, at least if the aim is to offer the same kind of television as the rest; and, on the other, it seems that the new digital generation is increasingly pushing television to one side.

   Lastly, there is one hopeful data point related to the consumption of music; Basque occupies approximately 15% of the space for which the two majority languages compete, not a figure to be laughed at! (2.1.11)

   Intervention: To prompt pupils to listen to more music by providing them with access to digital music spaces with the objective of maintaining or increasing this function.

6. We found it interesting to compare the tables that reflect characteristics associated to the first language (graphs 1 and 2) with those on use in the family (graphs 15 and 16). Very boldly, we have drawn the following conclusions: Some of the pupils to whom Basque is transmitted in the home (33.5% of Primary pupils) do not later have the opportunity to live Basque as the family language. Perhaps they may use it between siblings, but not as a family language (there is a drop of around 10 points). This fact marks the need to direct the intervention towards

the parents. Also, in graphs 4 and 5 of this section, we can see that the process of decreased use in the classroom occurring between Primary 4 and Secondary 2 pupils also occurs in the home, with their parents, their siblings, etc.... although at a somewhat slower rate (2.1.12).

Intervention: The area of the parents is very important. But we mustn't forget that the parents, before having a family, were also children and later youngsters, citizens, a couple, father or mother of a new-born baby.... All of these preliminary stages leave their mark and therefore influence the behaviour they will have as speakers when it is their turn to become parents. It is specifically in this time that prejudices, beliefs, expectations, values, and, of course, abilities, are formed. Thus, the way these preliminary phases have been fashioned will establish their behaviour in the future as parents.

What must be done at school? Teachers have always addressed parents to guide them as regards the most appropriate behaviour, depending on whether they are Basque or Spanish speakers. However, we have not had much success in this type of initiatives, whether as regards the calls issued to parents, or the level of results achieved in practical behaviour. Here we are aware of certain very important experiences in regions like Buruntzaldea and Oarsoaldea.

It is essential to change the approach to parents. The subject is not Basque, or its use, but the child. The child and his or her future is what links parents and teachers. The child is the subject and the focus, he or she is the project of teachers and parents alike. We must speak to the parents on this subject, share our concerns and hopes, listen to their fears and desires, ask them for help and lend them ours, collaborate with them... This will make them our travelling companions in this subject and in the other challenges of education. The point is that the school is not a project for the parents, but for the teachers. The parents leave their children in the hands of teachers so that they will acquire the resources they will need in the future. On the other hand, it is essential that the parents commit to the school and are willing to collaborate.

7. Its use outside school: we believe that proposing the option "the same in both places" in graph 17 invalidates the result, because "the same in both places" is a bag where everything fits and mixes. (2.1.13)

   Intervention: One general consequence of the Arrue study is the highlighted need to increase the use of Basque in extra-curricular activities. We completely agree. However, we found great significance in the result of the image (camping) where the representations refer to "leisure": 33% in Basque, 17% in the three languages, 41% in Spanish and 9% in English. We could infer that the result with regard to Basque demonstrates that in outings such as these Basque is taken care of in an "important fashion". We don't know what the result would have been if the image had represented the "world of sport". It would probably have been lower than that 33%...

   The option "the same in both places" is very hazy. This phrase is very common in extra-curricular activities and its practical meaning is: "we can talk in both". In other words, the monitor knows Basque, although not always very well. Thus, anyone who knows Basque can speak in the language; but, in turn, anyone who doesn't know Basque or who doesn't speak it with ease, can speak in Spanish. The result is that in this kind of activities Basque is rarely spoken, but it is accounted for as "the same in both places".

   It is very important that extra-curricular activity monitors receive specific language training: methodology to increase use of the language, raise awareness of the importance of the part they play, coherence as a speaker; balance between ability and collaboration... All this must be carried out in the spaces where the recourses are prepared or, if this is not possible, in a special way with those who do the job. Today this is a matter difficult for the contracting institutions to control, often because these activities are awarded through sub-contracts to companies, and because in the contract requirements they are, at most, required to present a simple certificate of linguistic ability.

8. Usage: Within the circle of friends, through the Internet. Graphs 18 and 19 must be analysed in detail. We believe that very positive value must be placed on the presence of Basque in this area: 25% in Primary, and a little less, 22%, in Secondary school. We know that from the point of view of language correction and orality, digital relations are not particularly valuable tools. However, from a communicative point of view they are very useful, given their capacity to create and disseminate the living jargon used by youngsters. In fact, those means of communication are theirs, they belong to the youngsters who use them to communicate with one another; they are not part of the adult world, and they are free... It is crucial for Basque to have a place in that rebelliousness, in that desire to improve the world and in that desire to set themselves apart from the adult world so typical of young people. In our opinion, the figures thrown out by Arrue in this area are very good. We must remember that in Compulsory Secondary Education the use of Basque in a digital world is greater than its oral use in the formal (classroom) and informal (playground) spheres (2.1.14).

   Intervention: This is their world. Not only do we adults have no place in it, we're not even needed. We must foster the use of these technologies, but "covertly". We

must provide channels of access to information, build tools, or translate them, install free Wi-Fi hotspots... But we mustn't try to prompt use of these tools from formal activity in the classroom. Perhaps we could do so with the younger ones, so that they learn about a tool. Or perhaps later, as an exchange between schools... but otherwise we should leave that world to them. The figures on Basque usage are good or very good in that informal sphere, a sphere where no-one corrects you, where there are no judges, where communication is open, broad and spontaneous.

9. The tables on the linguistic models demonstrate that the Education System in the BAC has been highly successful in spreading knowledge of Basque, precisely because of the great expansion of models in that language. Of course means have been dedicated to doing so, but what has been the true catalyst of the success? What have we learned from that success? Ultimately, the "desire of the parents" has been decisive in the choice of model. And what underlies it all? What is the key to the success garnered in this area? Probably that behaviour by the parents is the result of a combination of certain superior elements: because it was their desire, because they believed in the future of Basque, because they felt that it was part of their identity, because, for ideological reasons, they wanted to make a space for Basque in the future, because they were aware of its cultural value or because they saw in it an instrumental value for work... The representations made at all times by society in general have led the parents to behave in such a way and, as a result, to the success of its dissemination. (2.2)

   The same can be said regarding the road covered in these years by teachers in their conversion to or learning of the Basque language. Thousands of people have covered the road in a short time. What have we learned from that success? What pushed all these teachers to take that option?

   Intervention: What does Basque relate to? What comes to mind when you listen to Basque? We should analyse the chain of equivalence[1] maintained permanently by Basque among citizens. If we also pass this analysis through the age sieve, it will show us the orientation we must give to the intervention through language policy: what interventions we must implement, in what spheres...

   This is not just a bright idea. It is a strategy used today in marketing to ensure that a product will be a success and survive over time. Is the chain of equivalence that Basque has today, in 2013, for citizens and parents, similar to the one it had in 1983? How do they compare? What has been gained? What has been lost?

PUPILS WITH ONE ANOTHER IN THE CLASSROOM

We have decided to pay special attention to this section. The most significant information brought to us by the study falls under this heading. We were a little surprised to see the brief amount of space subsequently dedicated in the study to drawing conclusions on the matter.

Basque usage inverts itself on the road from Primary 4 to Secondary 2 when the Basque-speaking percentage is lower than 60%. It has been impossible to maintain Basque usage in the classroom as the pupils grow older.

This information is neither new nor surprising. It is an observation spread by word of mouth between teachers for at least the last 20 years. Further, the 1982 Law on Normalisation also anticipated that to convert the school to Basque speaking and guarantee Basque usage, the system would find itself obliged to implement complementary measures. Thus, in 1984, the NOLEGA programme was born with that objective. Today, according to the frequently made comments of teachers, the impossibility to maintain usage of the language is spreading to increasingly younger ages. In other words, while a few years ago the move from Basque to Spanish took place at the age of 13-14, today it seems to occur much earlier. Arrue presents this information as completely reliable, and it is therefore highly valuable. The premonition is confirmed: the change has already largely taken place by the time pupils reach Secondary 2.

In our opinion, this is what happens, step by step, on the road from Primary to Compulsory Secondary Education:

— In the first place, we have the individual factors. Some people start feeling uncomfortable when they speak in Basque, either because their ability to speak the language

[1] Chain of equivalence is a concept very closely related to representations. The term comes from words pronounced by Lorea Agirre at the conference "Today being a Basque-speaker is a construction and a conscious option" ("Gaur egun euskaldun izatea eraikuntza eta hautu kontziente bat da", AED, 10-2012). Agirre considers it necessary to observe the underlying factors when we speak in Basque, "what we want to say to the other person when we speak to them in Basque is: I am different to you; or I am speaking to you in Basque because I consider you to be my equal and I therefore want to open a door so that you can come into the Basque language". What is known as the chain of equivalence is also a construction and, according to Agirre, we can build our own: "In other words, as if we wanted it to be our linguistic identity and we wanted others to see it". With respect to equivalence, she also prompted reflection by asking a question: "Can you be a feminist or an ecologist or the member of another movement that struggles to achieve social justice today without being in favour of the normalisation of Basque? And the other way round?" Agirre dared to lend a potential chain of equivalence to the word 'Basque': "Basque is an identity, a way of being a person and of being in the world. Basque is important because it is for me, for us. Basque is not a wall, quite the opposite, it is a network. It is integrating. Basque is a free territory. Basque is an option. Basque is culture. Basque is the world. Social justice speaks in Basque...".

is limited, or because they don't like it, because they have problems of identification, because they have no models for the new functions, because they place greater value on speaking the other language, because of lack of adherence, because they feel that they are less appreciated in that language... Starting in the playground and later in other areas, these people have started to "take their first steps" in Spanish.

— Reasons of this kind have prompted them to unite and form a little group of friends, they feel different... It they are punished, their behaviour will become more radical. Little groups of Spanish-speaking pupils have taken shape.

— Added to this, the said attitude can take on hues of vindication and attract other peers who had tended to speak Basque. The tendency has spread to other individuals and, finally, other sub-groups of people who speak in Spanish have appeared.

— There are more sub-groups that speak in Spanish than do so in Basque. They have surpassed the critical mass[2] and, therefore, the language of the greater group is now Spanish.

— The individuals and groups that continue to speak in Basque fall beneath the weight of this critical mass and, given that the language of the greater group is Spanish, they cannot continue to speak in Basque.

This process has not only taken place in the classroom, it repeats itself in the playground, in the neighbourhood, in the street, in the homes of certain friends... When and how did it happen? It didn't happen at a specific moment in time, but has been a process. Although teachers have been aware of the situation, they have been unable to do much to change it. Often teachers put a great deal of effort into controlling the situation, organising activities. But it is all in vain.

Basically, what has happened is that at some stage while individual and group identities were in the process of developing, Basque has lost wind and Spanish has gained in strength. Basque has been unable to maintain the value it had enjoyed until that time. Now Basque is no longer useful to pupils for the new needs that face them. At that age their identity is taking shape: values, references, prejudices, expectations, beliefs... Basque has failed to maintain the place it previously had. Usage is behaviour; and behaviour is the result of what has been built beforehand. Hence the shift to Spanish.

Our superior values, beliefs and expectations, once shaped, will guide our desires and behaviour in the future, until such time as they are replaced by other values or beliefs. Here we refer to the neurological levels of R. Dilts[3].

Intervention: Can something be done in the classroom? We think the answer is yes, but not forgetting that both the school and the classroom are only one part of a complete transformation.

The aim of the following lines is to correctly direct the effort we make at school; it is in absolutely no way intended to suggest a prescription to cure the issue as a whole:

— Teachers must be familiar with the mechanisms, influence strategies... that regulate the evolution of individuals and groups.

— If we want to reverse the evolution detailed above, the same path will have to be followed in the opposite direction. The group won't change back to Basque from one day to the next; there's no medicine for that. The recovery will begin with a few people, with a few small groups of Basque-speakers... Hence the importance of the Basque pupils' committees emerging in the Ulibarri programme. If some of these little groups attract others, there will be several groups who communicate in Basque and, if they surpass the critical mass, Basque will eventually become the language of the whole group. At that point even pupils with a strong tendency towards Spanish will start speaking Basque as the group language. The teacher can observe and facilitate the process, drawing on their conscience to offer pupils opportunities to reflect and re-position themselves, but there is no doubt that the process is a very difficult one and must come from the group.

— Working on and strengthening the group feeling in class. This is the path that may render truly effective

[2] The concept of critical mass and its use is based on the analysis carried out by Josu Mezo in the 2008 publication: *El Palo y la Zanahoria: Política linguística y Educación en Irlanda (1922-1939)* y *el País Vasco (1980-1998)*. We believe it is enormously useful to differentiate between the extensive and intensive policies carried out by the author, and the reflection made on them. Although in the publication everything is considered at macro level, we believe that the content is also applicable at micro levels; in other words, in the transformation of a class-group intensive (but not extensive) interventions can also be a road towards achieving the aforementioned critical mass.

[3] R. Dilts and neurological levels. Neurological Levels of Thought are a contribution by Robert Dilts based on the logical levels formulated by Gregory Batenson. The psychology branch known as NLP takes account of these levels to understand how we organise our thoughts. The analysis of these neurological thoughts will put us on the road to understanding behaviours. The objective of the intervention will not be the change of agents, but to make all individuals aware, in as far as possible, of the agents inside each one of us. All changes that occur at a higher level will have an influence on the lower level. However, changes occurring at a lower level will not necessarily cause changes in the higher levels.

results. The 2007 Arrue study highlighted the driving force of groups in language usage. Above we say that usage is a matter of behaviour. And behaviour, despite being something that corresponds to each individual, almost always follows the trend and dominant behaviour of the group. So, what can we do? Turn the class into a group! Form real groups, from a very early age; form groups with their own distinguishing features, specific tastes, values, objectives, projects... Teachers must also be a member of that group: share its concerns, desires and hopes, and the adherence to Basque; they must express their affection for the group... Thus, the class/group will adopt as its own values, such as respect, solidarity, equality, friendship, humour, the desire to study, respect for the language, the desire to speak in Basque, etc. This will introduce behaviours to the class/group that stem from the internalisation of values: respectful behaviour, equality, a good atmosphere, the desire to work, the use of Basque... In a group of this kind, when behaviour strays off the straight and narrow, the group itself will coax it back into the fold. Behaviour will not be reproached, but the group will recall the value that underlies their usual behaviour. If necessary, new approaches will be introduced, mainly to prevent its members from straying in their behaviour. These are the advantages of long-term belonging to the class/group, including the teacher. But in our schools, classes/groups break up and other new ones are created. When this happens we will have to be very careful not to forget to work on the new class/group. We will have to dedicate time and attention to constructing the identity of the new class/group: values, rules, wishes...

— As a result of the above, teachers must study how to proceed in a group. Specifically, they must train in strategies for creating and energising groups.

— On this road, it will be essential to make place for oral practice, by applying methods of interaction. We must stimulate to the greatest possible extent pupil-pupil and pupil-teacher communication in the classroom, leaving space for the pupils to express themselves orally, revising the role of the teacher, etc. This is the way to go, because it guarantees progress in the process of acquiring competence and other language skills.

In two words, the objective is not for pupils to use Basque. This will not be an objective at behavioural level. The objective will be much broader, more internal for the teacher, his or her own, and will have an autonomous effect on behaviour. The objective is to make pupils want to use Basque.

TEACHERS AMONG THEMSELVES

In this section, Arrue brings us some hugely important information which prompts us to raise a series of questions: Who is responsible for the use of language at school? What is the teacher's role at school? Should we be an example for pupils? In what way? In view of the results of the Arrue study, it seems that these questions do not always receive a unanimous answer. And going even further, it is clearly obvious that the answer has greater contradictions in Compulsory Secondary Education than it does in Primary (see graph 42). Within our project, if we want all our students to learn both languages for their use in the future, we are firmly convinced that special attention must be paid to this aspect.

Intervention: We must literally repeat the same, letter for letter, as indicated in the section on pupils. We must progress from being a team of teachers to become a group of teachers. In other words, we must work on the group aspect of the teaching staff: have a project, own identity, values, objectives and wishes... Here we include the objectives of the previous section. It will otherwise be extremely difficult to succeed. And remember that here too a few people must begin to attract another few, so that more and more teachers will become involved and eventually attain the critical mass. And our companion on the road will be enthusiasm, also the major catalyst of "contagion".

TEACHERS' ENTHUSIASM

Teachers' enthusiasm is another essential element that must be analysed and tended. Enthusiasm acts as a catalyst and is a great help in achieving progress. It is the driving power behind our energy; not only does it influence our happiness, willingness and creativity, but it similarly stokes our ideals. It is also the antidote to other moods, like sadness, desperation, frustration, depression... How are our teachers? What is their mood with regard to Basque? What is it with regard to its usage?

Disproportionate enthusiasm, 'deceptive' enthusiasm can be useful at times, but in the long term it starts to act as a hindrance and transforms into lack of enthusiasm. Enthusiasm is necessary, it lends motivation, but it must be reasonable. Great enthusiasm must also be accompanied by smaller amounts of the same. According to the experts, in great enthusiasm with long-term results we must explore channels that draw on micro-enthusiasm. Instead of waiting

anxiously for the results of great enthusiasm, it is better to start by enjoying and appreciating the fragments of enthusiasm that pop up in our everyday lives... By savouring specific qualitative results, we are assured that what we are doing is on the right road.

Sometimes we put most enthusiasm into unattainable objectives. When this happens, in the experts' opinion, it is advisable to explore autonomous enthusiasm. In other words, to inject enthusiasm into the things we can attain rather than into absolutely everything.

Have these recommendations been followed as regards the issue of Basque usage? Was the enthusiasm that we teachers put into use of the language reasonable? Was it long- or short-term enthusiasm? Are we capable of micro-enthusiasm? Is our enthusiasm autonomous? As a result, today, what is the position of the enthusiasm that drives teachers, those teachers who have put so much effort over so many years into this field? This is something the Arrue study cannot yet analyse; and far less the correlation or predictive value that this item may have with respect to usage.

In our enthusiasm we include certain stimuli with prejudicial effects, because they are unpleasant, because they quash our very enthusiasm, because they rob us of our motivation... These stimuli can deactivate our enthusiasm and throw sticks in our wheels if we are not prepared to tackle them. When these stimuli occur, we must draw on the ability to place ourselves in a positive psychological situation: constructive, creative attitudes... individually and as a group. And the positive stimuli we need and must create have to be stronger than the ones that pull us in the opposite direction if we are to neutralise them.

Basque teaching has been a massive tank of enthusiasm, and it still is today. But, at the present time, it is essential to address the enthusiasm of teachers and to reformulate it, transforming it into reasonable enthusiasm, so that they can enjoy the flowers that grow every day, appreciate what has been done until now and receive recognition for it, taking pleasure from the new direction, perhaps changing the way they have been doing things for years, changing their point of view... We must clearly define enthusiasm, but we must also nurture and feed it: every now and again we should monitor and re-launch it, analysing the energy and resources we are using...

And whose job is it to pump enthusiasm into the school and teachers? Enthusiasm can only be recovered, if it is recovered, through collaboration in a project that unites the school with society, through the joint work of parents and the school, through the positive consideration of the teachers' work, through the recovery of self-esteem in teachers, through the participation of parents in the school project, through the construction by our society of a solid and attractive project based on values, through enthusiasm and responsibility shared between all individuals as regards usage, being and feeling ourselves to be part of a people... That, we believe, is the key to an enthusiastic school that needs a society full of enthusiasm.

Whatever the case, enthusiasm also has an autonomous element that can only be propelled by the individual, that only we ourselves can feed, that is commanded by nobody, and that, once reality has been observed and accepted, lends the individual the ability to turn their sights towards a creative future. This quality does not come naturally to all of us, but we can work on it and develop it.

Enthusiasm is a small trip into the future, a positive emotion to visualise and feel the future. It can also be a way of fore-writing the future, a prophecy that will come true. Enthusiasm sets us out on the road to responsibility towards the future.

THE ARRUE PROJECT: TEACHING FROM THE 2011 EVALUATION DIAGNOSIS[1]

MIREN AZKARATE
UPV/EHU - University of the Basque Country

As opposed to the 80s, we are now used to distinctions being made between minoritised languages in Europe. Undoubtedly the European Charter on Regional or Minority Languages (which also includes regional languages) was an important step forward in the protection of minority languages in Europe, but it has not yet brought significant progress in the revitalization of many of them. Consequently it is not unusual that several minoritised languages of Germany, Italy, Poland or the Russian Federation are classified as *contested languages* in the many conferences that are organized on language policies and on language planning. On the contrary, the Sami, the Basques or the Welsh are regarded as communities that have managed to revitalize their languages[2]. In spite of that, it is true that there are significant differences among the Basque speaking territories; however, the report we are dealing with is restricted to the Basque Autonomous Community. Therefore, also my comments will be limited to this territory.

Our first aim was to recover the Basque language and we focussed our work, to a large extent, on linguistic transmission: on guaranteeing linguistic transmission in Basque-speaking homes and, in general, on gaining speakers through schools (although in no way do I wish to look down on adult pupils becoming Basque speakers). And, in addition to gaining speakers, we sought to add new fields of use for the Basque language: Administration, the media, leisure... In short, working from the scale proposed by Fishman (1991: 87-109) for promoting the use of minoritised languages *(Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale,* GIDS), an effort has been made to identify the most effective and feasible measurements and define priorities from among them (Aizpurua 2002: 153). Today, we can proudly say that parents are choosing linguistic model D, particularly for Infant and Primary Education, whilst linguistic model A barely covers 10% of children. It is true that model A becomes more widespread in the second cycle of Compulsory Secondary Education and at Baccalaureate level; nevertheless, model D still prevails (the situation is different in Vocational Training).

In addition, we started to run surveys and produce sociolinguistic maps: evaluating language competence at the beginning; evaluation of use was added in a second step. It was clear that the proportion of bilingual persons was increasing in the three provinces and this rise was significant among young people, fundamentally among children under 15 years old. Currently, almost 75% of our young people are bilingual. In addition, we have radio, television and written media in the Basque language. A major effort has been made to make room for the Basque language in ICTs and on the Internet. After designing and implementing the *General Plan to Promote the Use of the Basque Language* (1998), we got down to work on municipal plans; sector-based plans were also designed and calls for bids were launched for private agent funding. All this explains why the Basque language is not among these *'contested' languages* nowadays. In general, we consider that we did what had to be done[3].

As far as use is concerned, however, we find ourselves in an unexpected situation. I must admit that innocently, I thought that if students learnt Basque at school, then they would use it. I did not realise the complexities of acquiring a second language and its use, in terms of just how many factors affect it. Nor did I even consider that the Basque language would be L2 for students that speak Spanish at home and study Basque at school, or that it would only with great difficulty manage to achieve the status of a first language. We were convinced that schools would train the future's bilingual speakers. It is true that by 1991 we were conscious, we knew that School was in Search of Speakers [Eskola Hiztun Bila]; but in general I would say that concern for the use of the Basque language has become a priority over the last 15 years: indeed, we claimed that this was the right time to "take the leap from knowledge to facts" (Basque Government, 2005: 38) and we recognised that

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[2] Also Zalbide (2010: 183) stressed.

[3] Especially in the field of Education. In Zalbide (2010) we will find a deep and worthy balance.

"use is the next issue we have to deal with" "and for this purpose we should assign budgets, we should promote cooperation, in this perspective it must be positioned exemplary references (...). Increasing use (at home, in the street, in administration, in the workplace, in leisure) little by little, but constantly, whilst maintaining quality: these are fundamental goals to guarantee progress for the Basque language" (Basque Government, 2005: 18-19). Back then we were aware that we cannot ask schools to work miracles (Basque Government, 1993: 19), "experience has taught us that the process of promoting the use of the Basque language is much more dynamic and that factors outside schools are entirely much more decisive" (Basque Language Advisory Board, 2009: 49). In general, many experts in our environment have recognised school system's limitations, even for model D pupils (among many others, Aizpurua, 2002; Zalbide 1998, 2000, 2010[4]; Maia, 2012). And this concern has fundamentally grown due to carrying out Surveys, producing Sociolinguistic Maps every five years and publishing their results. The words of Iñaki Martinez de Luna in the 2012 *Argia* annual directory reflect the opinion that many of us share: "our idea of normalising the use of the Basque language a few decades ago is happening very slowly and we see this as a cause for great concern".

The report entitled *Talking pupils. The Arrue Project 2011* is a great opportunity, therefore, to think about what we have defended and claimed until now. It represents a chance to see, in the light of some information from the report, whether the data we have provided until now can be ratified or not and, above all, to define priorities for the future. Along these lines, I would like to compile my thoughts and concerns after reading the report. It is true that the report deals with language use data concerning students in Primary-4 (9-10 years old) and Secondary-2 (13-14 years old) at a specific moment in time; however it is very useful, in my opinion, in the light of many analyses and studies carried out in Language Policy and in the Education Department because these students' characteristics coincide with data generated by the latest surveys and maps. To start with, over half the pupils live in villages and cities with under 40% bilingual inhabitants; this accurately reflects the current environment of bilinguals (Baztarrika 2009: 197). Regarding the linguistic model, the majority attend model D or model B schools. Only 13% of Secondary-2 pupils study in model A. However, the first language of most students is Spanish and, at home, two out of every three students use only Spanish or fundamentally Spanish. However, there is a remarkable difference between the first language and use: Basque (or Basque and Spanish) is the first language of 33% of Primary-4 pupils and 35% of Secondary-2 pupils; however, only Spanish or fundamentally Spanish is the language spoken at home by 70% of Primary-4 pupils. This percentage rises to 74% in the case of Secondary-2 pupils (I will return to this matter later). In addition, the Language Spoken at Home variable has a clear weigh when predicting the variable dependent use at school at Secondary-2. As might be expected given the previous two facts, these students have more linguistic skills in Spanish than in Basque (the difference is almost 12 points in Primary-4 and in Secondary-2). It is no wonder, therefore, that, even without considering the use outside school, 59% speak Spanish, always or almost always, in the playground (at recess); and this percentage rises to 75% among Secondary-2 pupils! There is no doubt that the school should seek speakers, not only outside, bat even inside; in other words, the school does not provide students the skills for use, not at least skills comparable to those provided by family/home or by 'the street'.

What have we mentioned in our documents, however, regarding use? What our expectations were about the society of the future? On the one hand, we were sure that speaker density was vital for linguistic use, as well as the relative skill to use the language (Basque Government 2005: 70; 2008 54[5]). Regarding the first factor, we mentioned that over half the bilingual students live in the second sociolinguistic environment (the one in which the bilingual population represents between 20% and 50% of the total population). And we know - the report also reflects this - that many of these young people do not speak Basque as well as they speak Spanish (I will mention this limit later on). Therefore, there is no surprising the diagnosis made on the 25th anniversary of the Act of the Basque Language: "Basque speakers have increased in the BAC, particularly among young people. We mainly owe this proliferation of speakers to the school system. However, many of these speakers have little skill to use the Basque language... Instead of increasing, may be oral practice has decreased: instead of making progress, we receded in some cases in terms of productivity of word-formation or in the ability for expressions and turns of phrases... In many cases, instead of improving, it has worsened" (Zalbide, 2010: 166).

Despite all this, we have been optimistic when foreseeing how the situation of the Basque language could be within 20-25 years: "All citizens under 50 years old will be Basque speakers or, at least, passive Basque speakers, and thanks to this generalisation of bilingualisms, the use of the Basque language will expand to new geographic and functional fields. The use of the Basque language will consequently grow considerably except, probably, in areas that are currently more Spanish-speaking. The increase in use will be more obvious in formal language fields"

[4] The reader will be able to find in Zalbide's work (2010: 202-203) the contributions of several experts (Fishman, Spolsky and Hornberger, between others) on the need to insert the school achievements in the social life, in the frame of the effort for revitalizing the language.

[5] On this matter, there are no changes to the data provided by the *5th Sociolinguistic Survey.*

(Basque Language Advisory Board 2009: 31). The years that followed ratified what the Basque Language Advisory Board predicted, as it can be seen in the statement by Iñaki Martinez de Luna (2012)[6] on the basis of data taken from the *5th Sociolinguistic Survey* published in 2013 and the Street Usage Measurements; or the statement by SIADECO in the introduction to the document: General Basque Language Plan for Donostia / San Sebastián 2011-2015[7]. Predictions that were also ratified by the last Sociolinguistic Survey conducted in 2011: "The use of Basque has increased in all contexts of use in the BAC, with the exception of the home. This increase has been most pronounced in local council services (24.8%), in health care (19.8%) and at work (24.5%). Its use to communicate with children (22.8%) and with friends (21.3%) has also increased. Yet if one takes into account every member of the home, there has been no increase (it was 17.3% in 1991 and is 17.1% today)" (Basque Government 2013: 107, 110). I will come back to this question immediately because it is essential.

Before looking at the difference between formal and non formal fields, there is another issue I would like to highlight. Although different discourses state the opposite, over the last few years we have accepted that Basque and Spanish will not be symmetrical either in the future and that these differences will vary according to the territory. However, the goal we set ourselves was for Basque to be the first language in some functions[8]. This is important: in some functions, not in all; and not for all citizens. As Zalbide emphasised, only in a utopia could we imagine carrying out all functions in both languages, using both languages with everyone and for anything[9]. Consequently, as both languages cannot take up the same socio-functional space, the fundamental question for the future of the Basque language is as follows: Which functions will correspond to the Basque language and which ones will fall to Spanish? (Zalbide 2010: 197). Or in other words, what does the Basque language need to guarantee its future? The answer is extremely clear in my opinion (or at least part of this answer): meeting non formal functions. Fishman's formulation can serve as a basis when defining the effort made to promote the use of a language: when we are dealing with such a task , the goal is usually to go from meeting informal functions to meeting formal functions; however we should not forget the problem represented by not meeting informal functions, although both problems are closely linked (Fishman 2001: 11).

And whilst we are talking about informal functions, we should keep in mind that it is crucial the place where the language is acquired, at home or at school; in other words, where the transmission of the Basque language occurs. Scholars repeatedly mentioned how important it is that transmission takes place at home, in the family (among others, Fishman 1991: 77; Aizpurua 2002: 145; Baztarrika 2009: 59, 182; Zalbide 2010: 198). It seems that the Sociolinguistic Surveys show that we are on the right track on this matter, but there is still a lot to do[10]. However, we cannot ignore the 2011 Evaluation Report stating that Spanish is the first language of the majority of students. And there is a second piece of information we cannot forget. Schools have been teaching Basque to children for thirty years and more than once we have wondered how they will perform when becoming fathers and mothers those who have acquired the Basque language at school: "with regard to the near future, we are still unsure which language will be used predominantly in the social and, above all, family environments of this new group of bilingual speakers whose numbers are increasing so quickly within our society. We are also unsure what their behaviour will be as regards family transmission of the Basque language. These are questions to which we still do not have adequate answers" (Basque Government 2001: 19). I do not know if we have an answer today; but I do know for certain that we have concerns, in view of the data in the present report: although the first language for the majority of students is Spanish, there is a two point difference between Secondary-2 and Primary-4 (60% in Secondary-2 / 62% in Primary-4. However, it should also be added that there is a four point difference, on this occasion in favour of Primary-4, regarding the language spoken at home). One piece of information that provides food for thought, as

[6] 1. Growth in the use of the Basque language is far behind growth in the number of people who can speak the Basque language and the gap or difference between these two dimensions is increasingly wide. 2. However, definite progress has been made in fields where public administrations have intervened: certain formal areas, among children and young people and, fundamentally, in the BAC. 3. In informal fields with no intervention, on the other hand, progress has been scarce (friends and in the street) or practically nil (at home).

[7] Progress in use of the Basque language is clearer in structured, formal and institutional fields —where normalisation measures are more likely to come into play— than in informal and unstructured fields. Along the same lines, Baztarrika (2009: 201): "use has increased in the public field, in the field submited to rules by public administrations; on the other hand, this has not happened in more private fields; use has not increased in living rooms or kitchens."

[8] "We should not be afraid to admit that the aim is for all citizens to be capable of using the Basque language and that Basque should be the first language in some functions - not in all and not by all citizens. We should not be afraid to admit that the fields of use and the hierarchies between languages when meeting functions might vary in each territory" (Basque Government 2005: 40). Something similar was recognised in the approach to language policy for the 21st century (Basque Language Advisory Board 2009: 28).

[9] "There is not a single example of this type throughout the world and experts studying the tiny details of languages unanimously state that this social bilingualism with functional redundancy is unfeasible from an inter-generational perspective" (Zalbide 2010: 198).

[10] When parents are bilingual, 97% of children learn Basque at home; when one of the parents does not speak Basque, this percentage drops to 71% (Basque Government 2013: 94-95).

emphasised by the report authors: "it could be assumed that the parents of Primary-4 pupils, in general, are four years younger than parents of Secondary-2 pupils. In this study, data has not been collected on the parents' linguistic skills but in the light of the data on first language, it does not seem that the collective transmitting the Basque language as their first language is growing significantly among the younger generation. This question is decisive; although boys and girls are becoming bilingual at school, if later - when they are young people - they form a Spanish speaking family, the school system will have to start all over again teaching the next generation to speak Basque, to their sons and daughters (Fishman 2001: 11[11], Zalbide 2010:198).

We should add another thought to what we have just discussed on transmission: children that receive the Basque language at home learn Spanish at school when they are three or four years old —as Zalbide says, school is one of massive castilianization nuclei, that is, a place where Basque-speaking children learn Spanish— and what's more, these children usually form groups of Spanish speaking friends as they grow older (Zalbide 2010: 199). Therefore, we must conclude that it is vital that solid relationship networks that use the Basque language as their vehicular language be formed outside school. What is needed for that?

On the one hand, promote linguistic skills. We know that a great many students get by better in Spanish than in Basque. And, we know that, above all, they urgently need informal, familiar language registers in the Basque language, registers to express friendship and emotions. This is, in my opinion, one of the most important tasks. In 2005 we made a right diagnosis when we said "it is necessary to put greater emphasis on informal fields of use" (Basque Government 2005: 39) and when we claimed that one of the priorities for the 21st century's language policy should be "the move from the formal correction as a sole criterion to the communicative and expressive quality" (Basque Language Advisory Board 2009: 50). This same conclusion is reached by Zalbide (2010: 181) after twenty five years' experience: "the main hindrance is orality." If we know what to do, what we should do is get down to it (or work harder at least). Cooperation will be necessary among many agents, but we can count on the Mintzola Foundation, whose aim is to promote orality; we can count on the Bertso Schools[12], and we can count on the work carried out many years ago by Andoni Egaña, Kike Amonarriz and Joxerra Garzia... We need a thorough reflection on how the Basque language is taught, what aspects of the language are worked on.... But, in my opinion, this is one of the most important challenges of the coming years.

Secondly, we must promote students to use the Basque language in their relations in non formal functions. We are all aware of what the situation is. Without having to look any further, according to data from the 2011 evaluation regarding use outside school, 50% of pupils in Primary-4 and 63% of pupils from Secondary-2 always or almost always speak Spanish. Along this same line, 76% of Secondary-2 pupils use Spanish to chat with their friends on the Internet, even though 59% study in linguistic model D. With regard to this issue, we have taken Fishman (2001: 14) as an example once more: it is fundamental to merge the effort made at school with efforts in the home-family-neighbourhood-community[13]. Accordingly, the Basque Language Advisory Board (2004) stated that steps had to be taken towards the confluence of the plans both of schools and of municipalities to promote and strengthen the use of euskera; a similar statement was made in 2009 when discussing the priorities for the XXI century Language Policy: "a special effort should be made in Spanish speaking areas in any case to guarantee the use of Basque in after-school activities. For this purpose, it is necessary to boost cooperation protocols between schools and neighbourhood, local or citizen associations to offer students the chance to keep on using the Basque language in non formal fields" (Basque Language Advisory Board 2009: 48-49). Indeed, there is no doubt that Spanish-speaking areas must be considered very seriously, - let's not forget that half bilingual people live in environments where the proportion of Basque speakers is under 40%. And, as reflected by this report, in towns with a proportion of Basque speakers 30% < > 60%, 52% of Primary-4 pupils mainly use Spanish in the playground. This percentage rises to 71% in Secondary-2. It is clear, therefore, that Spanish becomes more important as the pupils get older. In the light of this data we should also read Zalbide's statement when analysing the results of the educational system's path over the last twenty five years: "the schools' efforts to teach Basque should be offered complementary and positive activities and relational networks: sport, organised leisure, offer of services for young people and, in general, any collective initiative that young citizens carry out in the neighbourhood, in the street or in social life" (Zalbide 2010: 180). The 2011 Evaluation Report demonstrates that we were not wrong: the compound variable *Use in after-school activities* has a very close correlation with

[11] "If Th is not successfully (intergenerationally) maintained at the n-P level (and mother tongue transmission is an informal, spontaneous, intimate n-P function), it will then have no mother tongue speakers within one generation who can use it for n-P functions. In that case, it can *still* discharge certain P functions, but they will have to be acquired anew generation after generation via exposure to a P institution that is under Th-control".

[12] Where children are trained to improvise verses, playing with words, rhymes…

[13] "School language efforts are often not linked to home-family-neighbourhood-community functions. Threatened languages cannot afford functionally diffuse or free-floating efforts" (Fishman 2001: 14).

language use in the school, particularly in Secondary-2. And, in general, "the variables that reflect the language of the pupils' everyday life (use in after-school activities, with friends and at home) have a very close correlation, in the case of Secondary-2 pupils, with use in school." Thus, it is clear that the objectives set in our documents are correct. Once again the key is how to make all actors to work in team: town councils, neighbourhood associations, schools and neighbourhoods, culture centres, Basque culture associations, leisure clubs, sports clubs… Despite the difficulties, we kept in mind what Fishman had to say (2001: 14): "post- and out-of-school functions for threatened language must also be increasingly assured for adolescents and young adults (e.g. clubs, sports teams, hobby group, etc.), otherwise these young post-scholars will have no further use for their threatened language until their own pre-parental period, by which time they may well have to relearn it".

Thirdly, it is true that schools have greater capacity, offering a more solid network to Primary pupils because whilst they are small, school can help them to improve their skills in the Basque language; this explains the rather high correlation that the Evaluation Report gives between the secondary variable *General pupil use in the school* and the free variable *Educational Model*. However, we should not forget that the linguistic habits, the custom of using one language or another with your friends, are adopted as a child; and that children spend many more hours outside school than inside. Therefore, we also need projects that relate school-home-neighbourhood for children at that age and at pre-school. One of them is the Parketarrak project promoted by the Donostia / San Sebastián City Council that, relying on parents' mutual understanding and participation and a recreational association working as an intermediary, aims for children to play in the park together in the Basque language. Cultural initiatives could be set up in culture centres or any other type of premises for children to speak to each other in the Basque language.

In any case, both in initiatives intended for young people and in those targeting children, instead of developing general plans and projects, programmes to match needs, capabilities and proposals from each village and neighbourhood should be given priority. Just as in the Language Planning sociolinguistic environments were taken into account and plans have been adapted to match each environment's needs, we should act in the same way regarding after-school activities.

One last observation. When the decision was made to establish a three model system at school (namely, A, B and D), we did not have too much experience or knowledge about first and second language acquisition; I do not think we even knew the terms L1 and L2. We have come a long way since then. Moreover, the last few years we have assimilated a new line of research, neurolinguistics, as the BCBL center (Basque Center on Cognition, Brain and Language) and the Gogo Elebiduna research team at UPV-EHU witness. The work by Laka, Santesteban, Erdocia and Zawiszewski (2012) will provide us interesting data, taking into account the quantity of children who start school and that they will assume the Basque language as L2, in other words they will be "non-native bilinguals". Aiming for communication skills, we should define where the obstacles will be to strengthen pupils' linguistic skills, which aspects of the language will be easier than others for them, etc. to be able to decide on the most appropriate methodology or find out what type of materials it would be best to create.

For the Basque language to make progress "we need eloquent speakers, young people that use the Basque language outside their school, in their daily life, without any type of hang-ups" (Zalbide 2010: 178). I would add that using it without any type of hang-ups first requires having sufficient linguistic skill. And the key to achieving this, to a large extent, lies outside schools (correlation in the Evaluation Report between the 27 free variables that it analyses and the secondary variable depending on the *use at school* compound variable is extremely enlightening). That is where our future will be decided. The aim of my article has been to highlight certain aspects to be taken into consideration to achieve the above mentioned eloquent speakers.

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THE ARRUE PROJECT. STUDY ON THE LANGUAGE USE OF PUPILS IN A SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT. GENERAL RESULTS REPORT

XABIER BENGOETXEA
Linguistic Normalization Technician

FOREWORD

Studies such as this one are greatly appreciated. The study's dimension and work are huge and it is clearly not something occasional that has been drawn up overnight. The Arrue project is long-running, and the study we have here forms part of that. The vast amount of data that was gathered to study the language use of pupils (numerous origins, models, sociolinguistic environments, education stages, pupils), the many variables that were analysed, the comparisons, correlations and other such tests with those variables, etc., give us a detailed picture of pupils' language use and of the different variables that are capable of having an influence on that use.

Studies of this kind are crucial for those of us who work in the field of education. They are essential contributions and must be taken into account. If we want to have an influence on pupils' language use, and that is, indeed one of our objectives, it is fundamental to know what the significant variables are in that use, to analyse how and when each variable has an effect, to discover the extent to which we can influence, to know to which variables we should give priority, and to analyse those types of questions extensively and in depth. To that effect, the information given in the general results report of the pupils' language use is a revelation. It throws fresh light on an old topic. It has analysed use in the school environment and which factors influence said use, and how. It is essential to have this information at hand if we want to have an influence on language use. If not, we could find ourselves adrift; we could end up ceaselessly acting in good faith, implementing all kinds of actions but without really knowing, without really being aware of where we are having an influence and without being able to assess the effect of those actions. The fact is, we often have a bearing here and there with the best intentions, but without knowing exactly where and how our initiatives are having an impact. The Arrue project breaks down numerous variables that have an effect on use, and it gathers enlightening consequences. It is up to us to take them on board in our daily work, in our planning, and act accordingly.

Furthermore, I would like to point out that this has been an interinstitutional study. The Arrue project was, and is still being, developed between several institutions. Cooperation is essential in such wide-ranging and comprehensive studies as these. The contributions made by many different institutions working in the field of education are also crucial to deal with future challenges in a coordinated manner.

The general results report is very specific and enlightening. The multiple statistical data submitted, the correlations and links between variables… they are all described with the utmost clarity and all set out in a didactic way. Plus, the conclusions drawn are also very clear and concrete. Consequently, I am not going to analyse that data section by section and draw conclusions from them, because they are clear enough by themselves. Over the next few pages, I will raise the questions that come to mind after reading the report and after interpreting its data and conclusions, and I will also cover certain points that particularly caught my attention.

THE SCHOOL: IMPORTANT, YET LIMITED, ACTOR

We used to think that schools could convert all the pupils within their walls to be Basque speakers. We thought that by teaching Basque, and teaching in Basque, we would firmly root our language in society. We thought that the very fact of knowing Basque would automatically mean it would be used; that the pupils would extend what they had learned at school to their future social environments and relationships. We realised some time ago that this objective was not so much a well-founded plan as a matter of wishful thinking. However, what it does not mean is that the school does not have an important function as regards the knowledge and use of Basque. What schools have achieved in the last 30 years is commendable. Regardless of the type of models, differences and shortcomings, it has managed to teach Basque-speaking pupils to read and write, and particularly through its immersion model, it has given

basic, solid knowledge of Basque to a large group of pupils whose spoken language at home is Spanish (Zalbide, 2010).

Our education system has different language models. We know the influence capacity of each one of them (ISEI-IVEI, 2007 and 2011). Model D is the one that best prepares our pupils. That relative fluency facilitates use, when the rest of the variables allow it to do so. This has been ratified by the Arrue project. The school's language model has a high correlation with the language use in the school. It is a very relevant indicator in both education stages. As we already well know, the aforementioned variable is associated with many other variables. For example, model D covers most of the pupils whose first language is Basque, whose relative fluency (spoken) is high; this model predominates in the zones where Basque is most commonly used, etc. However, in that correlation, the language model stands out as a significant variable.

Linked with the language model, there is another significant variable in both education stages, and which lies in the school's hands: the teachers' language use with each other. Not all the D models are the same. With regard to the stability of the language use between the school's members, there are major differences between schools. Regarding use of Basque, we teachers set an example for the pupils, whether good or bad. With our use of language, apart from offering input, we convey evaluations, attitudes, prestige, etc. If the use of Basque among teachers is firm and stable, if the school has clearly defined language use standards, then the school will have a greater ability to influence the pupil's language use. School is, for many pupils, one of the few references they have of Basque. The more Basque enveloping them at school, the stronger the input will be. If Basque is shown to be alive, if different variants of Basque are offered, then we will be offering the pupils more resources for them to discover and learn the language. Apart from being a model of behaviour, we will be giving Basque a level of prestige. The message we put across is not the same if the Basque we speak is dotted with interferences, with linguistic code switching, or if we simply speak in Spanish, than if we use Basque in a generalised, habitual way, if we speak good, erudite Basque. Our behaviour, our attitudes, our language use, unavoidably and unconsciously send continual messages about our representations on the language in question, on our adherence to that language, the role we give it, about the importance it has in our lives. Apart from using an erudite tone and register in Basque, we also need to influence the way in which the transmission is carried out, awarding prestige and showing our adherence to Basque. The transmission of a language is not only about transmitting the code itself. This will all have a bearing too. Consequently, the aforementioned variable influences the school's language use to a great extent, as the Arrue project reveals.

When the school clearly defines the standards of use; when the linguistic environment surrounding the pupils is firm, those pupils assimilate the standards to interact in Basque. However, as the pupil grows, the school's capacity to influence diminishes. The younger the pupil, the closer and more direct is his/her relationship with the school and the teachers. This enables us to ensure a closer control of the pupil's trajectory and gives us more possibilities to influence. The shadow of the teacher is long for those pupils. The higher the grade, in general, the shorter that shadow becomes, and many other variables start to influence the pupils. The language use at school of a Spanish Primary 4 pupil [P4, more or less equivalent to UK Year 5] is greater than that of a Spanish Secondary 2 pupil [S2, more or less equivalent to UK Year 9]. Although the older child would be expected to have greater language skills, his/her use is lower. As the pupils grow, they assimilate the norms and standards of society, of their close environment, and they adapt accordingly. Also, as they get older, the school and family environments lose their hold over these pupils, and the latter start to establish closer relationships with broader relationship networks. The school's capacity to influence diminishes as the pupil gets older. When the pupils are small, they spend much of their time at school and at home. Practically their only reference points are their parents and their teachers. As they get older, new reference points enter their lives, and the presence of other worlds of reference increases. New variables come into play in the decision-making process. Society's influence increases as the pupil gets older.

USE IN ORGANISED ACTIVITIES OUTSIDE OF SCHOOL

This is an important variable. "When it comes to explaining the general use of pupils at school, in most of the cases of P4 pupils and in all the cases of S2" (Arrue, 2012), it is the variable that has shown to be more capable of having an influence than any of the analysed variables, with regard to the pupils' language use. Apart from the formal education offered by the school, the pupil unavoidably needs the influence of other, more informal, spheres, both to reaffirm what he/she has learned and to learn more informal registers. The outside-of-school variables have a greater influence on the pupil's language use than many other variables in the school itself. Consequently, the outside-of-school factors become fundamental actors for language use in schools. The knowledge the pupils get from school is not strong enough to have an effect on their comprehensive language use if the relationship networks, the friendship environment and outside-of-school activities do not act as back-up. The relationship networks that are formed in these extra-curricular activities, with their periodicity, their own register, the habits they create, etc., are the most solid mainstays to guarantee language use in

school. If we intend to have a bearing on use, the influence of schools will be very limited if we do not make the extra-curricular activities act in our support. As far as that variable is concerned, the school's capacity to influence is minimal. The school can have an influence on the activities it organises itself, training the educators (through the programme hezitzaileek asko egin dezakete [educators can do a lot]), but many of the activities in which the pupils participate escape the school's influence. It is harder for the school to have an effect there.

SCHOOLS' LIMITATIONS TO INFLUENCE LANGUAGE USE

The Law on the Normalisation of the Basque Language from 1982 establishes the following on the objective of converting the pupils into Basque speakers: "The Government shall adopt measures aimed at ensuring that students have a real opportunity, on equal terms, to acquire sufficient practical skills in both official languages by the end of their compulsory education."

Can schools achieve this goal by themselves? How should we interpret the reference to sufficient practical skills?

We mentioned earlier that schools have a fundamental influence on the knowledge of Basque, the capacity to communicate, the pupils' formal register, etc.

It has obvious limitations to influencing the use of Basque. Let us remember that pupils spend most of their time away from school. A model D pupil spends 14 % of his/her waking time at school. In model B, this figure is 8 %, and in model A, 3 % (Zalbide, 2010). But what proportion of that time does he/she spend talking? Or simply listening to the teacher? What registers are encouraged in the classroom? That stiff academic language that is used in the classroom, is it really any use to them later when they want to chat with their friends about their feelings and their experiences? We could ask many more questions to this effect. Evidently, many variables have a bearing on this subject: the models, the teacher's example and behaviour, the way the language is treated in the classroom, and so on. Depending on whether these are of one kind or another, there will be differences in the pupil's language skills and knowledge, in the competences they need to use the language, in their communication abilities. However, if they never have the chance to put into practice what they have learned, what they have assimilated, they are hardly going to use it later at school. Knowledge and use are intertwined. You cannot use a language if you do not know it, but if you do not use it, your knowledge will not increase. In fact, the knowledge itself will grow fainter, it will deteriorate and diminish. Continuous use gives it strength and revives it, and enables the person to establish automatic mechanisms and habits to reach a level of simultaneity in their language use. If the language is not used in everyday dialogue, in habitual relationship networks, it weakens and diminishes. As J. Fishman quite rightly stated, the school's initiative is not enough to influence comprehensive language use. It is essential that what is learned at school is backed up outside of school, in relationship networks, in order to assimilate and strengthen what has been learned, to create habits and automatic mechanisms that will enable the pupil to use the language in other areas. This is the key to use. This is what the Arrue project ratifies. It tells us that the outside-of-school variables also have a bearing on use at school.

THE IMPORTANCE OF TRANSMISSION. CONCERNS

Transmission is crucial for a language to survive. If parents do not transmit a language to their children, that language is at risk of becoming extinct. Family transmission is the most appropriate and the cheapest option. Apart from transmitting the language itself, the feelings and experiences associated with that language, the adherence to that language, the importance given to it, customs and habits… an entire ethnoculture is transmitted. A language that is alive, with different registers and packed with meanings…

School is the second main pillar for transmission. A language is transmitted at school by it being taught. That is one of the responsibilities placed on schools. However, that transmission in schools evidently cannot substitute the first level transmission. Schools can do a lot for language transmission, and they do, but they face major obstacles in the process. The very nature of the teaching profession means that, among other reasons, the school will find it hard to transmit the feelings and experiences linked to the language as well as transmitting the linguistic code.

If the new generations of Basque speakers, after finishing their school education, go on to be parents and do not transmit Basque as a first language to their children, the school will then have to repeat the same process with the children as they did in the past with the parents; the same process will need to be implemented, the same path followed, without having advanced an iota (Fishman, 1990). So it is fundamental that pupils taught in Basque opt in to the language transmission of Basque. Do the representations and adherences shown as regards Basque in the Arrue study guarantee that this is going to be the case? To that effect, it is remarkable that the percentage of pupils whose first language is Basque is lower in Primary 4 (P4) pupils than those in Secondary 2 (S2). Moreover, this is not only the case with people whose first language is Basque, but it is the same for those who have received Basque and Spanish. The study's conclusions follow this same line. There are ups and downs in the language spoken at home.

The use of Basque has increased in formal spheres but the natural use of the language in intimate and emotional spheres is not increasing. In other words, in the family and non-formal spheres. One may think that the parents of P4 pupils, who are four years younger, should have greater knowledge of Basque, seeing as they would have started school after the year 1990, approximately. Nevertheless, this is not reflected in the data, in fact, the results show exactly the opposite. The decompartmentalisation between languages probably plays a part, which usually comes about in the home, as regards transmission (please see the Project's data on the language spoken at home), who makes up the couple, etc. In light of this data, we could say —although more studies will need to be carried out in the future— that, at this moment in time, schools are not strong enough to have an influence on this first level transmission. We could also say that the school's influence on the future is neutralised by the influence of society.

It is also interesting to look at the section on the language spoken at home. Once again, it is worth pointing out the differences between the language the parents use with their children, and the language they use between each other. Apart from the use itself, it would also be advisable to take into account what it transmits as regards perceptions, prestige, adherence, etc.

REPRESENTATIONS AND ADHERENCE

For the pupil, the Basque language's place is, fundamentally, at school. This is something that is reflected in the S2 pupils' representations. They give a very minor role to Basque in other situations or activities. They declare that they use Spanish in those other activities. That representation is probably related to what those pupils observe and perceive in their close environment. The pupils' perception about the usefulness of Basque is a significant reflection of reality. Let us look, for example, at the existing convergence between the first language and the family representation. 20.4 % of Secondary pupils have Basque as their first language. 19.9 % of S2 pupils claim that Basque is better suited to their family situation. Basque shows it has a worthy place at school and in their circle of friends, but the percentage of those who say that Basque is better suited with the other three activities (politics, ICT and the labour market) is very small. It is significantly smaller than the percentage of pupils whose first language is Basque. The pupils, even those whose first language is Basque, do not award Basque any relevant role in their activities outside of school and in their circle of friends. This fact will obviously have an effect on their language use behaviour. There is an underlying social/reward system in all this. The pupils pick up what this society defends in its discourse, and what it really rewards. As they see it, they do not place much instrumental value on Basque. They associate Basque with teaching. It has no significant link with other aspects of these young people's lives. They do not associate it with their interests, with their joy of life or with any relevant events. It is clear that this is not always the case, and there are, indeed, pupils who live their lives in Basque, but in the majority of these cases, their close environment has a greater influence than school.

Their representations as regards Basque will surely have an impact on their adherence to the language. All this, in turn, will have an effect on use.

CULTURAL CONSUMPTION AND THE MEDIA

There is another variable that affects pupils' use of Basque at school, and that, in my opinion, we must take into account: cultural consumption and the media

Today's pupils are raised in a media-filled environment. The constant presence of messages, an abundant cultural offer, the generalised use of social networks, to name but a few, are turning into major socialising agents.

These days, media culture is transmitted through the most powerful languages, in general. Normally, the more speakers a language has, the more powerful it will be, and the greater its cultural weight. Students today can access cultural productions in a range of languages. The world has become globalised and it is no longer difficult to find the content we want in one language or another. The proliferation of television channels, the existence of an almost endless choice of music groups, free Internet access, social networks, and so on, form part of this globalisation that often goes against minority languages. Minority languages bear less cultural weight, for obvious reasons. You only need to look at the number of television channels in Basque and the number in Spanish and other languages. How many groups sing in Basque? How many in other languages? The students' cultural consumption outside of the Basque-orientated school, is in other languages, and mainly in Spanish. They watch television in Spanish, listen to music in Spanish and English, surf the Net and have their social networks in Spanish. The presence of Basque in the above is generally pretty limited.

How does all this affect the pupil's language use at school? Firstly, we must stress the amount of time pupils spend outside of school. Much of that time is spent being subjected to media bombardment. Much, almost all, of this content they receive is in Spanish. This must all, inevitably, have an influence on many other spheres.

— Firstly, in the input they receive. As we have said, they spend as much time subjected to the media as they do in school. They receive enough input from the media to cancel out what they have received at school.

— The school contents, concepts, subjects and other material are usually in Basque. However, the pupils are often not interested in them, or we do not make them interesting enough. They are prepared in a specific linguistic register. They have to learn them because the education curriculum so demands. When they consume media, on the other hand, they are comfortable, at ease, developing and encouraging contents that they want to assimilate because of their interests. For whatever reason, those contents are mainly in Spanish.

— Cultural references. The media's cultural references tend to be generally based on languages other than Basque. They are fundamentally based on Spanish-speaking and English-speaking cultures. This fact will have an influence on terminology, on the expressions needed to develop any question they want to tackle. Do people not use terms or expressions from another language when they speak Basque? They live in a world immersed in Spanish-speaking references. Their socialising elements are Spanish-speaking. And that will inevitably affect their free, everyday discursive practice; it will affect how and what they will talk about when they are away from the teacher's sphere of influence. As well as the effect it has on the pupils' discursive practice, it also has other noteworthy consequences. That is, what perception are they internalising of the cultural value of Basque? With which cultural frameworks are they shaping their identity? The representation of Basque, the effect all this can have on the Basque language's prestige and adherence to the language, etc. How can we get those pupils to embrace Basque culture if their perceptions of culture in Basque, their cultural consumption and their world of reference are fed from other languages?

The challenge facing schools and society will be to achieve a predominant role in the media. It will be crucial to have powerful cultural resources and tools at our disposition and to continue to promote them. Bringing Basque culture closer to the pupils, informing them about it, encouraging it, making it appealing, making the pupil feel that those productions offer them something different, etc., are all positive factors to increase their adherence to Basque.

School is an important cultural tool, but in comparison, society, once again, has cancelled out its capacity to have an influence. This is what the data in the Arrue study shows. Society should add to the schools' cultural initiative by offering a decent, wide-ranging and attractive cultural offer, otherwise the pupils will continue to feed on other worlds of reference, which, apart from affecting language use, will influence their cultural references, on the terminology they use to develop contents, their vocabulary and their expressive capacity, weakening and, frequently, cancelling out the school's effect.

Perhaps this is one of the reasons why adherence to Basque is greater in Primary 4 than in Secondary 2. The influence of society through relationship networks and cultural offer, etc. increases as the pupil gets older.

INFLUENCE OF MANY OTHER VARIABLES

Although we have dealt with certain specific variables in greater detail, there are many other variables that are sufficiently significant in the report as to be taken into account. However, we will mention them only briefly and will only touch on two or three variables.

Proportion of Basque-speakers in the municipality. Similar relevance in both education stages. It is evidently a relevant factor: the more Basque-speaking a pupil's surrounding sociolinguistic reality is, the greater the possibilities that the pupil will put into practice what he/she has learned and improve his/her perception regarding Basque's utility and validity. This will also have an influence on the use of the Basque language at school.

Language spoken at home. This factor acquires great relevance in the case of Secondary 2 pupils. It is not as significant for Primary 4 pupils. In the case of the older pupils, the social norms around them and their language behaviour show greater convergence. We could think, as we have mentioned previously, that apart from the exemplary role as regards use, to a certain degree the pupils receive transmission related to the value of the language, attitudes and behaviour. This all has a more marked relevance for the older pupils. We may think that it is not as influential in the case of the younger pupils.

Relative ease for using the language. This is relevant in both education stages, although that relevance is greater for the Primary 4 pupils. We have already mentioned that the younger pupils adapt better to the language rules of Basque. When it comes to using Basque, the relative ease would take on a greater relevance than adherence to the language or similar variables. As for use at school, their perception of the usefulness of Basque, of adherence to the language and similar variables would have a greater influence in the case of the Secondary 2 pupils than on the younger pupils. However, relative ease is also a relevant variable for them. If we make that interpretation, schools should draw their own conclusions on analysing the variables that affect each education stage and the links and correlations between them.

LOOKING AHEAD

We have discussed several different variables that were analysed in the Arrue project. Some of them depend on the school directly; others, for example, are further away from their sphere of influence. Schools can have an influence on society but their capacity to influence is limited. Without the support of society, it will be difficult to get our pupils to be competent, aware and active. Society, apart from influencing language competence and the pupils' communication abilities, constantly transmits perceptions, attitudes and values related to language. All this has a significant effect on language use in schools.

What can schools contribute in this process? Where and how can they have an influence on increasing pupils' language use at school? What else can they do that they are not already doing?

We can find several answers in the Arrue project's general results report. The general conclusions mention the main spheres of intervention to increase Basque language use. I would like to make several very brief notes on the subject of those spheres.

— Firstly, it is important to be aware that language use is a highly complex social phenomenon. This must be taken into account when drawing up any kind of proposal. Language use is a result of many intertwined factors. It is difficult to define where each one's capacity to influence starts and where it ends, to define the way in which they are inter-related, etc. Many variables have an effect on that use and they are intertwined. In other words, if we influence one, we will indirectly influence others.

However, it is fundamental to analyse and study the correlations, links, etc. between the different variables.

— Schools can have a direct influence on certain variables. In other cases, however, their capacity to influence is minimal.

— Schools must be aware of their limitations. Studies such as these make that very clear.

— They must identify the variables on which they can have an influence, and implement projects to exercise that influence.

Optimising models. We must aim for Basque to envelop the pupils as far as possible in schools. Its presence cannot be limited merely to classroom hours, as many relationship networks are formed outside of the classroom. We must also extend the knowledge and use of Basque to those networks.

The teachers' language use with each other. Language training, awareness that one is setting an example, giving the language a sense of prestige, rules of use… We must make the school as Basque-speaking an environment as possible. The teacher is an important reference point for the pupil.

The pupils' communication abilities, working on their relative ease, adapting the curriculum and the teaching methodologies to offer them skills that will be useful in their daily lives.

Basque curriculum or Basque dimension of the curriculum. Pillars must be established to ensure adherence and make the pupils aware that they belong to a community. We must teach them the cultural creation of that language community, and provide them with resources so that they can participate in that community. Cultural consumption, knowledge and use of the media must be encouraged.

It is also important to work on the representations, language attitudes, the mainstays for language adherence, so that the pupils can make as educated a choice as possible.

— As well as the in-school variables, we must also find out about the outside-of-school variables that have an influence on language use in the school. We must be aware of their importance. We need to reflect on this matter and share our reflection with the rest of the education community.

— We should convey to parents how important it is that they have an influence on the variables in which they can play a part. Such as, for example, the language that is spoken at home, the attitudes, perceptions and adherence that we transmit about Basque, we should encourage them to be aware of the effect they have on their children's language use at school.

— We should coordinate with other social institutions and bodies on the adoption of measures in the activities in the pupil's close environment, particularly in outside-of-school activities, to ensure the use of Basque.

The aforementioned variables will need to be reactivated and so will many others, if we want to have an influence on pupils' language use. On one hand, we need strong schools, but on the other hand, it is essential to have society's support. School children are under an increasingly greater social influence. They take part in many outside-of-school activities, which gradually take on a more important role as the family's leading role decreases. Monitors, assistants, specialists, advisors... there is currently a growing collective that influences —and generally successfully— young people's language competence, opinions, values

and attitudes. However, all these actors operate away from the school and the family. The language they use is fundamental, one of the main variables, for pupils' language use at school. This is what the Arrue project report reminds us.

This report on pupils' language use offers many points of reflection for those of us working in the field of education. It shows us our reality with fresh eyes, ratifying certain aspects that we already knew, and defining, quantifying and linking new, more precise elements. We must see it as an essential reference to guide our reflections and our initiatives. Let that be the case.

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SEVERAL PRACTICES SUGGESTED BY THE ARRUE DATA

IÑAKI BIAIN

Teacher. LP Advisor at the Berritzegune in Irun

INTRODUCTION

The Arrue project *(Research project on language use of pupils in schools[1])* is being quite fruitful. The report of the results[2] of the last phase (the study conducted along with the Diagnosis of the 2011 Evaluation) is also very interesting. It offers us a lot of data. I consider it interesting to read and analyse the data individually; and even more interesting to make comparisons between said data and results.

In this article I intend to review said results and analyse certain data which caught my eye. From said data and results I will pose several questions, observations, hypotheses and interpretations as well as some other conclusions.

1. INTERPRETATION OF DATA: LANGUAGE USE OF PUPILS IN THE SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT AND VARIABLE LINK TO IT?

The report on results accurately describes what the language use is in Primary 4 and Secondary 2, what variables correlate with the use of Basque and which of those variables have greater relevance to explain the use of Basque.

In summary, the situation it reflects is the following:

— With reference to the use of Basque, there is a great difference between pupils in Primary 4 and Secondary 2. The greatest difference is in the use with classmates in the classroom: the majority of Primary 4 pupils use Basque in the classroom; in Secondary 2 they use Spanish.

— The variables with greater relevance to explain the use of Basque are the following:

- In Primary 4: *Use in organised extracurricular activities, relative language competence and language use of teachers, among them; and fundamentally, the language model.*
- In Secondary 2: The most relevant variable is the *Use in organised extracurricular activities* and the *Language Model* and *Language use of teachers* coincide with each other again. On the other hand, there is a variable in Secondary which is not present in Primary: *the Language spoken at home.*

Below I mention certain data and relationships which catch my attention:

1.1. DESCRIPTION OF LANGUAGE USE OF STUDENTS IN THE SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT

Esan bezala, ikaskideen arteko erabileran alde handia
As I said, from Primary 4 to Secondary 2 there is a great difference between language use with classmates; fundamentally with regard to the use of Basque in the classroom. As stated in the conclusions, there is a sudden change in use.

1. It is not that the fundamental trend of the language used with classmates in the classroom has changed, but rather overturned (...): In Primary 4 the majority of pupils speak Basque with their classmates, in the classroom (60% always or almost always in Basque) and on the contrary in Secondary 2 the majority use Spanish (60% always or almost always in Spanish).

[1] For more information on the Arrue Project visit: http://www.soziolinguistika.org/Arrueproiektua.

[2] HHEE (2012): *Diagnostic Evaluation 2011: Statistics of Pupils' Language Use.* Sociolinguistic Cluster and the Basque Government [On the web] <http://www.soziolinguistika.org/files/arrue/2011txostena>.

2. On the playground the majority of pupils in both grades use Spanish with their classmates always and almost always, but in differing quantities: 59% of the pupils in Primary 4 (...) and in Secondary 2 75% of the pupils.

3. With teachers, in the two grades analysed, the fundamental trend is that the pupils speak to the teachers in Basque, both in the classroom and outside the classroom[3].

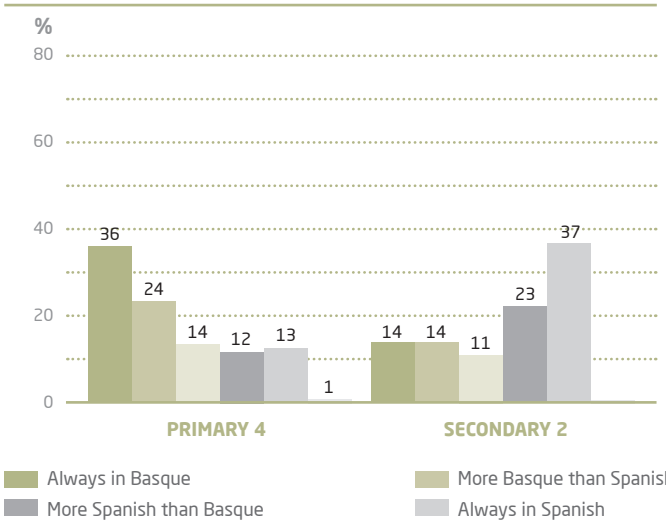
The graphs 1 and 2 show said change.

This data ratifies that reflected by studies prior[4] to the Arrue project: our youth are progressively getting closer to the rules and habits of use of the society that surrounds them. Not only does it confirm it, it also offers us more information or a more precise description. For example, defining the typologies of the most habitual user. By analysing said typologies great differences in profiles of use of pupils in Primary and Secondary are also detected (table 1):

— Among Primary 4 pupils, according to those who make up the most common profile (24.4%), tend to use Basque at school (with all classmates in all contexts); and as confirmed by those who make up the following profile (16.6%), speak Basque in almost all the educational contexts (except on the playground with their classmates).

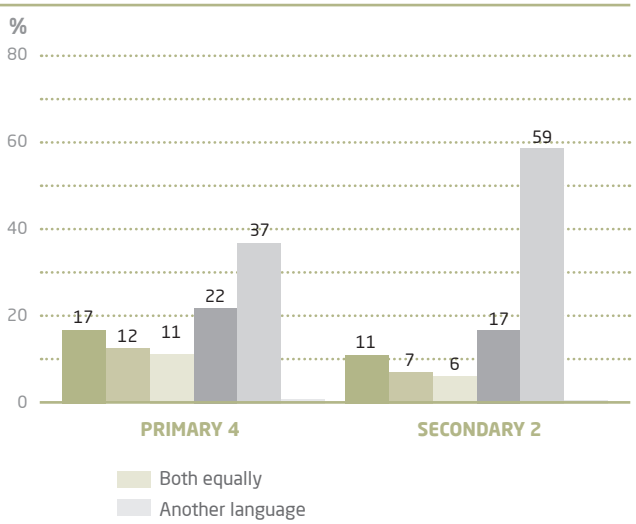
— The response by Secondary pupils is very different. Those who confirm using Spanish in all contexts are a majority (23.3%). The following group is those who confirm that they speak Spanish with classmates and Basque with teachers (17.5%), followed closely by those who use always use Basque (16.3%).

1. Graph
LANGUAGE USE WITH CLASSMATES IN THE CLASSROOM AND OUTSIDE THE CLASSROOM



Source: *Arrue Project 2011*. Graphic 26

2. Graph
LANGUAGE USE WITH CLASSMATES IN THE CLASSROOM AND OUTSIDE THE CLASSROOM



Source: *Arrue Project 2011*. Graphic 27

Table 1. LANGUAGE USE ACCORDING PUPILS PROFILE

With classmates		With teachers		PRIMARY 4	SECONDARY 2
On the playground	In the classroom	In the classroom	Outside the classroom		
Basq	Basq	Basq	Basq	24.4*	16.3*
Spa	Basq	Basq	Basq	16.6*	6.0
Spa	Spa	Spa	Spa	9.6	23.3*
Both	Basq	Basq	Basq	6.5	2.5
Spa	Spa	Basq	Basq	6.0	17.5*

[3] The Arrue Project. Diagnostic Evaluation 2011. Principal results. 5. General conclusions.

[4] HHEE (2009): *Ikasleen eskola-giroko hizkuntza-erabileraren azterketa, Arrue Programa. 2003-04 ikasturtetik 2006-07 ikasturtera egindako azterketa-lana*. Gasteiz: Basque Government.

On the contrary, in relation to teachers, they use Basque much more and there is no perceivable difference between Primary and Secondary, neither in the classroom (74% in Basque always or almost always in Primary; 64% in Secondary), or outside the classroom (64% in Primary and 52% in Secondary).

1.2. VARIABLES LINKED TO USE

The report on general results establishes the following by presenting the conclusions of the corresponding analysis[5]:

> "Among Primary 4 pupils, the variable with the highest correlation is the *language model* (the classroom being model A, B or D) and among those in Secondary 2, the variable *use in organised extracurricular activities* [Tr]. In general, the variables which reflect the language of pupils' everyday reality (use in extracurricular activities, with friends and at home) closely correlate with language use in the school environment, in the case of Secondary 2 pupils, and somewhat less in the case of Primary 4 pupils. The correlation between language use and language model is high in both grades but is superior in Primary 4".

And the general conclusions establish the following[6]:

> "School language use among pupils (not so between pupils and teachers) is closely linked to the language reality which pupils live outside of school -at home and in other social environments- and changes in function of that reality".
>
> "In view of the data, in general we can conclude that in the case of Primary 4 pupils the school environment achieves certain autonomy with respect to general society. On the contrary, in Secondary 2, the links to exterior reality are much tighter and as a consequence, the use of Basque between classmates is less in Secondary 2 compared to Primary 4. The data reflects that older pupils show a trend to converge with the general rules of language use in society". (...)
>
> "It has also been analysed what links the *general language use of pupils in school* has with other variables: among Primary 4 pupils the variable with the greatest correlation is the language model (…); among Secondary 2 pupils what language they use in the *organised extracurricular activities*". (…)

As a consequence, said conclusions exhibit what the relationship is between language habits of relationship networks and common core areas of pupils and its language uses in school.

The variables with a greater correlation are the following: *language model* in Primary 4 and *language use in organised extracurricular activities* in Secondary 2. The rest of the variables analysed show a correlation, greater or lesser, as can be observed in the following graph[7]:

Table 2. **CORRELATIONS WITH THE GENERAL LANGUAGE USE OF PUPILS IN THE SCHOOL**

PRIMARY 4	R	SECONDARY 2	R
Language model	.679	Use in organised extracurricular activities [Tr]	.763
Use in organised extracurricular activities [Tr]	.627	Language spoken at home [Tr]	.697
Use when chatting with friends	.592	Use when chatting with friends	.687
Relative language competence	.574	Relative language competence	.652
Language spoken at home	.568	Language model	.630
Basque/Spanish Adhesion [Tr]	.545	Basque/Spanish Adhesion [Tr]	.622
Media and cultural consumption [Tr]	.530	First language	.616
Basque/Spanish Easy/difficult [Tr]	.526	Media and cultural consumption [Tr]	.604
First language	.524	Proportion of Basque speakers in the municipality	.598
Language use of teachers, among themselves	.522	Basque/Spanish Easy/difficult [Tr]	.539
Proportion of Basque speakers in the municipality	.494	Language use of teachers, among themselves	.529

[5] *The Arrue Project. Diagnostic Evaluation 2011. Principal results. 4.2 Correlation analysis.*

[6] *The Arrue Project. Diagnostic Evaluation 2011. Principal results. 5. General conclusions.*

[7] *The Arrue Project. Diagnostic Evaluation 2011. Principal results.* The entire table is not shown here, only the most significant variables.

The same variables which show greater correlation are those which have shown greater capacity to explain the language use of pupils in the school in the multiple regressions (table 3).

1.2.1. Factors related to the school

As can be observed in the previous table, the most relevant variables are the *language model* and *language use of teachers, between them.*

1.2.1.1. Influence of the language model on the use of Basque

As we said, it is a variable with a great level of expository capacity and reciprocity. The data from the table also clarifies the existing difference in the language use of pupils in function of their language models (table 4).

It is no surprise that the *language model* would appear as an operational variable. But it the drop in the trend of Basque use is significant with classmates from Primary 4 to Secondary 2, in the model B classroom (from 4 to 1) (table 4).

The existing difference in the relationships with teachers between models B and D is also noteworthy, even in the classroom: in model D practically all pupils (90% in Primary and 86% in Secondary) speak Basque with their teachers always or almost always. In model B only 54% and 41%. The language spoken with teachers outside the classroom is also different between models B and D: in model D 81% and 75% (in Primary and Secondary respectively); in model B 41% and 27% (table 5).

Why is there such a difference in Basque use in pupils[12] from model B and model D? The reasons we usually give are the exposure time to Basque and the communicative competence they achieved as a consequence.

But isn't there some other reason? Several studies diminish the importance of exposure time since they verified that with the same exposure time great competence levels and very disparate use are achieved.

Table 3. **THE VARIABLES WITH GREATER CORRELATION**

In PRIMARY 4	In SECONDARY 2
Language model	Use in organised extracurricular activities
Use in organised extracurricular activities	Language model
Relative language competence	Language spoken at home
Language use of teachers, among themselves	Language use of teachers, among themselves

Table 4. **USE OF BASQUE WITH CLASSMATES, IN THE CLASSROOM AND ON THE PLAYGROUND**

	In the classroom[8]			On the playground[9]		
	D	B	A	D	B	A
PRIMARY 4	79	32	3	41	7	1
SECONDARY 2	44	8*	1	29	4	1

Table 5. **USE OF BASQUE WITH TEACHERS, IN THE CLASSROOM AND OUTSIDE**

	In the classroom[10]			Outside the classroom[11]		
	D	B	A	D	B	A
PRIMARY 4	90	54	3	81	41	2
SECONDARY 2	86	41	1	75	27	1

[8] Summarised data from graphics 59, 60 and 61.

[9] Summarised data from graphics 62, 63 and 64.

[10] Summarised data from graphics 65, 66 and 67.

[11] Summarised data from graphics 68, 69 and 70.

[12] And also in the knowledge of Basque, as we will see below.

Without denying the incidence of exposure time, I believe that in addition to that, many other factors have an influence. One of them is that Basque is or is not the main vehicular language in the school environment. This is to say, the functional value of Basque is in space-time. Joined to that, the mental representation which pupils make of the functional value of the language (by means of experiences in the school environment).

If the internal communication of the centre is done in Basque, the pupils experience school as an environment where the use of Basque is significant. And they will perceive that the use of Basque in this environment will make sense. But if the use of Basque and Spanish is alternated in school (also; and, even more, if Spanish predominates in the more important functions, as sometimes occurs) the mental representation made by pupils will be very different: reinforcing the image of Basque's limited value (and often the image of Basque as a second category language).

I would say that more than the time dedicated to Basque at the centre, the key is what is done in that time and, above all, how we behave in that time. What's more, I would say that the school environment, so that it is effective in promoting the use of Basque, must comply with the two conditions defined below (at least these two):

— Basque must be the main vehicular language of the school: in addition to the teaching-learning activities, also in the rest of the interactions. (And the pupils must see it that way).

— The students must have an active role in the school's communication activities: they must have a real opportunity to participate: Which is to say, we must use methodologies which promote the importance of the pupils, their active participation and interaction between classmates (and teachers).

1.2.1.2. Language use of teachers, among themselves

Correlative analysis tells us what relationship there is between said variable and the language use of the school environment. Multiple regression places it between the four main variables to explain said use (it is the fourth: both in Primary and Secondary).

What the report states is interesting:

> "The *language use of teachers* variable, among them it has a correlation to highlight, in both courses, with the dependent variable; in Primary 4, for example, greater than the *proportion of Basque speakers in the municipality* variable. Said variable can indicate the environment in which pupils move around in the school from a language perspective. It is evident that the fact that there is a language model or another has a tight correlation with the use of pupils in the school but the high correlation of said variable reflects the fact that language use of teachers is one or the other conditions language use of pupils in the school[13].
>
> Language use of teachers, among themselves is another highlighted variable in the analysis, both in Primary 4 and Secondary 2. The variable on language use of teachers can be considered a reflection of the language environment of the school, and in this manner, would indicate if the school cares for Basque in a special manner or not. The link to this variable will make it evident that, in addition to the language model, the school has other avenues to commit to the language behaviour of pupils"[14].

What is the language use of teachers, among themselves? The report presents the following results (about the base of the responses of the pupils (table 6).

It is clear that the use of Basque between teachers is greater than between pupils (according to pupil responses, 70.7% of teachers in Primary speak Basque with co-workers always or almost always; in Secondary 59.8%. Language use of pupils in the classroom: in Primary, 60% in Basque always or almost always, and 28% in Secondary).

But it seems, in addition to the language use of students, there are also differences between language use of teachers in Primary and Secondary.

Table 6. **WHAT LANGUAGE DO YOUR TEACHERS SPEAK BETWEEN THEMSELVES?**

%	Always speak Basque	More in Basque	In both equally	More in Spanish	Always in Spanish	In another language
PRIMARY 4	52.1	18.6	12.9	7.3	8.7	0.4
SECONDARY 2	33.7	26.1	18.7	10.0	10.9	0.6

[13] *The Arrue Project. Diagnostic Evaluation 2011. Principal results.* 4.2 Correlation analysis.

[14] *The Arrue Project. Diagnostic Evaluation 2011. Principal results.* 5. General conclusions.

1.2.2. Extracurricular factors (influence of language environment)

As I said, the extracurricular variables have a strong relationship with the use of the pupils (fundamentally used with other classmates). That is what the Arrue data reflects.

Let's remember the previous statement:

> "School language use among pupils (not so between pupils and teachers) is closely linked to the language reality which pupils live outside of school —at home and in other social environments— and changes in function of that reality".

These are the most significant variables of this language reality of the pupils' vital environment:

1.2.2.1. Use of Basque in organised extracurricular activities (extracurricular activities, field trips and summer camps and private classes)

It is a variable with a great capacity to explain the *general language use of pupils in the education centre,* above all in Secondary. (The variable with the most explanatory capacity is Secondary; the second is Primary, after the Language model).

Of the three variables which make up that "compound variable"[15], the Language of the extracurricular activities and the Language of the field trips and summer camp variables are those which present the greatest interrelationship with school use.

In any case, pupils who use Basque in said activities are not many (in Basque always or almost always, 31.8% of Primary and only 20.8% of Secondary) (table 7)..

We can observe that they are not many in comparison with those who use Basque in "natural relationships" with classmates (with classmates on the playground, in Basque always or almost always: 28.8% in Primary and 18.1% in Secondary. *Chat over the Internet in Basque with friends —over these last few years—:* 25.8% in Primary and 22.3% in Secondary).

In extracurricular activities the difference is also great between Primary and Secondary in that referring to Basque use (from 31.8% to 20.8%; less than one out of three). Arrue cannot explain what the cause is for the decline: if it is an option for youth or a decline in the offer; in any case, I would say that both reasons have an influence (without daring to say to what measure each makes an influence).

On the other hand, the use of Basque seems to increase in extracurricular activities link in one way or another to the school: *private classes and field trips and summer camps* (in the latter probably because the pupils also take into account "stays" organised by the centre itself) (tables 8 and 9).

Table 7. LANGUAGE USE IN EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

%	Only in Basque	More in Basque	In both equally	More in Spanish	Only in Spanish	In another language
PRIMARY 4	21.5	10.3	10.4	11.8	38.4	7.5
SECONDARY 2	12.7	8.1	8.8	11.7	51.6	7.2

Table 8. LANGUAGE USE IN PRIVATE CLASSES

%	Only in Basque	More in Basque	In both equally	More in Spanish	Only in Spanish	In another language
PRIMARY 4	26.0	10.1	11.7	8.4	25.8	18.1
SECONDARY 2	14.9	7.8	9.0	9.6	42.0	16.6

Table 9. LANGUAGE USE IN FIELDS TRIPS/SUMMER CAMPS

%	Only in Basque	More in Basque	In both equally	More in Spanish	Only in Spanish	In another language
PRIMARY 4	29.3	13.0	13.1	10.5	31.0	3.1
SECONDARY 2	16.0	12.3	13.5	12.6	40.2	5.3

[15] They brought together the three variables related with the school environment (Field trip and summer camp language, extracurricular activity language and private class language) into one composed variable: *use in organised extracurricular activities.*

It is clear that: language use of Secondary pupils in their extracurricular activities is closely linked with language use with their friends at school. But can we confirm that the first is what causes the second? Is there a cause-effect relationship between both or are they testimonies of the same behaviour?

1.2.2.2. Language spoken at home

This variable appears as a variable linked with language use of pupils in the school, both in Primary and Secondary; but only shows expository capacity in Secondary. The report establishes the following[16]:

> "The language spoken at home acquires much weight in Secondary 2 (…) and in Primary 4 its contribution is very very small. Said in another way, the *language spoken at home* of the pupils explains a lot more than *the general language use at school* of Secondary 2 over Primary 4."

How do we interpret this? Those who speak Basque at home are, maybe, those who continue speaking Basque at school as well?

When describing the language spoken at home the report offers us a lot of significant data:

In the language spoken at home differences can be seen between Primary and Secondary, and also domestic situations analysed. The piece of data is striking; the proportion of pupils whose first language (L1) is Basque is similar in both grades (what is more: it is somewhat higher in Secondary pupils).

On the other hand, it seems that the level of use changes in function of the domestic situation; in other words, in certain domestic situations Basque is more and in others less. At least that is what the data shows:

— At home, *when the entire family is together,* those who always or almost always speak Basque does not reach 20% (18.8% in Primary and 16.7% in Secondary).

— And the use of Basque among parents is significantly less: 13.5% in Primary and 11.9% in Secondary.

— Those who speak Basque with their brothers and sisters are greater: 30.8% in Primary and 26.6% in Secondary (but the parents of some are probably not Basque speakers) (tables 10, 11, 12 and 13).

Table 10. LANGUAGE SPOKEN AT HOME WHEN THE FAMILY IS TOGETHER

%	Only in Basque	More in Basque	In both equally	More in Spanish	Only in Spanish	In another language
PRIMARY 4	11	7.8	8.2	15.6	54.1	3.2
SECONDARY 2	8.8	7.9	5.5	17.3	57.4	3.2

Table 11. WHAT LANGUAGE DO YOUR PARENTS SPEAK TO EACH OTHER IN?

%	Always or almost always in Basque		Always or almost always in Spanish	In another language
PRIMARY 4	13.5		82.4	4.1
SECONDARY 2	11.9		84.5	3.5

Table 12. LANGUAGE SPOKEN WITH BROTHERS AND SISTERS

%	Always or almost always in Basque		Always or almost always in Spanish	In another language
PRIMARY 4	30.8		66.8	2.4
SECONDARY 2	26.6		70.6	2.7

[16] The Arrue Project. Diagnostic Evaluation 2011. Principal results. 4.3. Multiple regression analysys. General regression analysis of Primary-4 and Secondary-2.

The difference which Arrue reflects in the language spoken at home in accordance with domestic situations, on the other hand, it is also reflected in many other studies. For example, in the diagnosis done by schools included in the *Programa Ulibarri*[17] have detected similar differences in the language spoken at home when both parents are Basque speakers. It seems that many Basque speaking couples speak Basque with their children but not between themselves. That piece of data poses many questions: Why does this happen? In addition to at home, do they act in the same manner outside, for example, in their relationships with other Basque speaking parents and adults? What type of mental representation is made of the social and functional value by the children and youth who observe that behaviour in their parents? Will those models of use influence the language behaviour of youth?

1.2.2.3. First language of pupils (L1)

Although it does not appear among the most significant variables identified by multiple regressions, I will conduct a brief analysis of the variable since I think that the difference perceived between Primary and Secondary is significant with regard to Basque. It does not surprise me that said difference is great among those whose L1 is Spanish; but the difference is also significant among pupils whose L1 is Basque (from 92% to 66% in the classroom and from 73% to 53% outside the classroom)[18].

The report does not tell us if there are different trends or not in function of the proportion of Basque speakers in the municipality. But in view of that, in general, in municipalities with more Basque speakers the difference that exists is much less (data in the next section), we can contemplate a hypothesis: the trend to use Basque less and

Table 13. FIRST LANGUAGE OF STUDENTS (L1)

%	Basque	Both	Spanish	Another Language
PRIMARY 4	19.8	13.7	62	4.5
SECONDARY 2	20.4	15.0	60.2	4.4

Table 14. THOSE WHO STATE TO SPEAK IN BASQUE ALWAYS OR ALMOST ALWAYS, ACCORDING TO THEIR L1, WITH CLASSMATES

Ikaskideen artean	In the classroom[19]			On the playground[20]		
	L1 Basque	L1 both	L1 Spanish	L1 Basque	L1 both	L1 Spanish
PRIMARY 4	92	75	49	73	38	14
SECONDARY 2	66	40	13	57	22	4

Table 15. THOSE WHO STATE TO SPEAK IN BASQUE ALWAYS OR ALMOST ALWAYS, ACCORDING TO THEIR L1, WITH TEACHERS

Irakasleekin	In the classroom[21]			Outside the classroom[22]		
	L1 Basque	L1 both	L1 Spanish	L1 Basque	L1 both	L1 Spanish
PRIMARY 4	93	85	66	92	77	54
SECONDARY 2	91	78	49	88	70	39

[17] "Gela-argazkia" (Classroom photo) is a diagnostic instrument of Ulibarri Program Ulibarri Program which reflects the linguistic use of the classroom.

[18] And I find it even more surprising that the drop is more pronounced in the use in the classroom (drop of 28%) than on the playground (drop of 22%).

[19] Summarised data from graphics 43, 44 and 45.

[20] Summarised data from graphics 47, 48 and 49.

[21] Summarised data from graphics 51, 52 and 53.

[22] Summarised data from graphics 55, 56 and 57.

less as they grow, present in pupils whose L1 is Basque, will not be significant in municipalities in which there are more Basque speaking; it is more evident in municipalities whose population is equally divided and very evident in those with a majority of Spanish speakers. It seems that some pupils whose L1 language is Basque also show that "trend to converge", at least to a certain measure.

1.2.2.4. Proportion of basque speakers in the municipality

As the corresponding analysis shows, the Proportion of Basque speakers in the municipality has an evident correlation with the *general language use of pupils at school*. In any case, said variable does not appear among the four most significant variables identified by the multiple regression (it is in 5th place both in Primary and Secondary); but it does have a certain capacity (although not much) to explain the language use of pupils.

If we look at the data tables we observe the following: the less Basque speakers there are in the municipality, the more evident the detected drop is in the use of Basque for Primary and Secondary pupils; both on the schoolyard and in the classroom.

We can also observe that in municipalities with a large proportion of Basque speakers the use of Basque among classmates is high; both in the classroom and the playground, and great differences cannot be seen between language use of Primary pupils and Secondary pupils.

On the contrary, when the proportion of Basque speakers is half the use of Basque in the school environment is less, above all on the playground, and the difference between pupils from Primary and those in Secondary is very evident (tables 16 and 17).

1.3. OTHER STRIKING DATA

In this section we will analyse two variables which do not stand out among those with the ability to explain the language use of pupils but, in my opinion, can offer complimentary information so as to understand this complex phenomenon *(use between classmates):* relative language competence and language used by pupils with their teachers.

1.3.1. Relative language competence

A difference can also be observed in this variable between Primary 4 and secondary 2 and I consider it interesting to analyse said difference, above all when conducting the comparison in use of the pupils' *first language.*

It is evident that the relative language competence of Secondary pupils (or the perception they have of their language competence) is less than that of Primary pupils (In Primary 21.1% speak "Basque more easily" and 24.2% "speak both equally as well". In Secondary, 18.5% and 16.9% respectively). The collective of those who manage Spanish better suffer from an "increase" of 10 points from Primary to Secondary.

Table 16. **THOSE WHO STATE TO SPEAK IN BASQUE ALWAYS OR ALMOST ALWAYS, WITH CLASSMATES**

	In the classroom[23]			On the playground[24]		
	=>% 60	=% 30<>% 60	=<30	=>% 60	=% 30<>% 60	=<30
PRIMARY 4	89	66	46	78	32	11
SECONDARY 2	78	32*	10*	72	18	1

Table 17. **THOSE WHO STATE TO SPEAK IN BASQUE ALWAYS OR ALMOST ALWAYS, WITH TECHERS**

	In the classroom[25]			Outside the classroom[26]		
	=>% 60	=% 30<>% 60	=<30	=>% 60	=% 30<>% 60	=<30
PRIMARY 4	92	77	65	89	69	52
SECONDARY 2	88	65	49	87	58	38

[23] Summarised data from graphics 31, 32 and 33.

[24] Summarised data from graphics 34, 35 and 36.

[25] Summarised data from graphics 37, 38 and 39.

[26] Summarised data from graphics 40, 41 and 42.

Also, what attracts my attention is to see the existing difference between Primary and Secondary if we put the *relative competence and L1 of the pupils* are at the same level. And the thing is:

> "In primary 4 the percentage of those who better manage Basque is somewhat greater than those whose L1 is Basque (21.1% and 19.8% respectively). In Secondary it is less (18.5% and 20.4%).
>
> The opposite is true in Spanish: In Primary 4, those who manage Spanish better are less than those who have it as their L1 (54.8% vs. 63%). On the contrary, in secondary they are more (64.5% and 60.2%)" (tables 18 and 19).

It is noteworthy, above all if we take into consideration that the majority of pupils study in model D (64% in Primary and 59% in Secondary).

It seems that on out of every 10 pupils in Secondary whose L1 is Basque considers that they manage Spanish less, although they have conducted their studies in model D.

The surprise is even greater if we analyse the *relative language competence* in function of the *pupils' first language.*

— In Primary 4, 74% of the pupils whose L1 is Basque confirm that they manage Basque better and in the same proportion as pupils whose L1 is Spanish and confirm to manage Spanish better.

— On the contrary, in Secondary 2 the percentage of pupils with Basque as their L1 which state that they manage better in Basque descends to 66%. And on the contrary, among those with Spanish as their L1, the proportion of those who manage Spanish better increases to 84% (table 20).

Why this evolution?

How has the communicative competence developed (at school and in extracurricular activities) in Basque for these youths; and what is the perception that they have of their competence?

Are we sufficiently developing the *communicative competence in Basque* in our schools? Can we do something to cultivate awareness on their competence and optimize the perception of pupils? Which is to say, can we do something to reinforce the linguistic self-image of pupils?

Can we do something so that, in their competence and the awareness that they have of their competence, they can have "gains" instead of "losses"?

Table 18. **RELATIVE LANGUAGE COMPETENCE**

%	Better in Basque	In both equally	Better in Spanish	Another language
PRIMARY 4	21.1	24.2	54.8	4.5
SECONDARY 2	18.5	16.9	64.6	4.4

Table 19. **IKASLEEN LEHEN HIZKUNTZA**

%	Basque	Both	Spanish	Another language
PRIMARY 4	19.8	13.7	62	4.5
SECONDARY 2	20.4	15.0	60.2	4.4

Table 20. **FIRST LANGUAGE OF PUPILS AND DECLARED RELATIVE COMPETENCE**[27]

%	L 1 Basque and better in Basque	L1 Spanish and better in Spanish
PRIMARY 4	74	74
SECONDARY 2	66	84

[27] Summarised data from graphics 24 and 25.

Although the extracurricular factors (in the social sphere) are the main agents of competence (and perception); can the school do something to counteract said factors?

1.3.2. Language use in relation with teachers (vs. language use of teachers, between them)

As we mentioned previously, the use of Basque with teachers is greater than use with classmates. If we compare the data on language use with teachers with data from language *use with teachers, among them,* we will see that the results are very similar (tables 21 and 22).

It seems that that equality ratifies the conclusion we mentioned previously:

> "... The fact that the language use of teachers is one or the other also influences in the language use of pupils with their classmates"[29].

It seems that the pupils see the teachers who use Basque between themselves as natural/relevant interlocutors to speak Basque and, for that reason, they speak to them in Basque.

2. LINK WITH OTHER DATA FROM THE INVESTIGATION

Those same factors which Arrue relates with language use (model, language spoken at home, use of Basque in extracurricular networks such as leisure, etc.) also influence the Communication Competence (CC) acquired by pupils. And that is supported by the evaluations conducted by the Department of Education in the last decade (B1 and B2[30] studies, and Evaluation Diagnosis of 2009, 2010 and 2011). Said studies serve to compliment and reinforce that stated by Arrue.

Below I will present many other significant results from said studies.

2.1. KNOWLEDGE OF BASQUE: COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE (CC) IN BASQUE IN THE EVALUATION DIAGNOSIS

As confirmed by numerous experts, shades of grey can be seen in the results of the work conducted in the school to make the pupils Basque speakers.

In general, the achievements are not minor. This has helped many pupils who outside of the classroom have very little association with Basque (we refer to those whose L1 is Spanish or another language other than Basque[31] and live in an environment where Spanish is predominant), developing a basic competence (quite a solid base in many cases) and the pupil with Basque as an L1, it has helped him/her expand and reinforce that competence brought from home.

Table 21. **WHAT LANGUAGE DO YOU USE WITH TEACHERS?**

%	In the classroom Always or almost always in Basque	Outside the classroom Always or almost always in Basque
PRIMARY 4	74	64
SECONDARY 2	64	52

Table 22. **WHAT LANGUAGE DO YOU TEACHERS SPEAK BETWEEN THEMSELVES?**[28]

%	Always or almost always in Basque
PRIMARY 4	70.7
SECONDARY 2	59.8

[28] Almost all the students responded to this question: in Primary, 16,529 (of 18,636); and in Secondary, 15,812 (of 17,180).

[29] Arrue proiektua. EbDiag2011. Emaitza nagusien txostena, p. 51.

[30] ISEI-IVEI (2005): *Euskararen B2 maila. Derrigorrezko irakaskuntzaren amaieran (DBH4).* Eusko Jaurlaritza [Sarean]. <http://www.isei-ivei.net/eusk/argital/euskarab2-1.pdf>.
ISEI-IVEI (2007): *Euskararen B1 maila Lehen Hezkuntzan. Eusko Jaurlaritza* [Sarean]. <http://www.isei-ivei.net/eusk/argital/b1_euskara_definitivo.pdf>.

[31] Basque is the L1 of 20% of the pupils; Basque and Spanish of 15%; and Spanish or another third language are the L1 of 65% of pupils (according the Arrue data).

Nevertheless, I consider that said results are worse than what many of us would like. And it seems that the data from the Evaluation Diagnosis also confirms that suspicion. In that sense, I want to highlight certain significant data from the 2011 evaluation.

- A high percentage of pupils whose L1 is Spanish or another language achieves medium or high competence in Basque (64.6% in Primary and 58.5% in Secondary).
- That level of competence is greater among pupils whose L1 is a language other than Basque who study in model D (71.4% in Primary and 68.5% in Secondary) (table 23).

We can clearly see that the language model is a decisive factor once again and that the pupils with an L1 other than Basque who study model D achieve a higher level in Basque than those who study other models. The data collected below also makes it clear what the incidence of the language model in the CC in Basque (table 24).

Table 23. **CC IN BASQUE IN FUNCTION OF THE LANGUAGE SPOKEN AT HOME**

PRIMARY[32]
DE11 - Percentage of pupils in performance levels

Level and %	Basic	Intermediate	Advanced
Basque	12.4	32.8	54.8
Language other than Basque	35.4	38.7	25.9

SECONDARY[33]
DE11 - Percentage of pupils in performance level

Level and %	Basic	Intermediate	Advanced
Basque	15	46.2	38.8
Language other than Basque	41.5	41.8	16.7

D ereduan

DE11 - Percentage of pupils from Primary 4, by performance levels

Level and %	Basic	Intermediate	Advanced
Total model D	23.0	37.9	39.1
Basque	12.3	32.8	55.0
Language other than Basque	28.6	40.5	30.9

D ereduan

DE11 - Percentage of pupils from Secondary 2, by performance levels

Level and %	Basic	Intermediate	Advanced
Total model D	24.7	47.9	27.4
Basque	14.5	46.4	39.1
Language other than Basque	29.4	48.5	22.0

Table 24. **ECOMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE IN BASQUE, IN FUNCTION OF THE MODELS**

PRIMARY 4
DE11 - Distribution of the students of each model, according to the performance levels

Level and %	Basic	Intermediate	Advanced
Model A	73.2	22.6	4.2
Model B	35.3	39.4	25.3
Model C	23	37.9	39.1

SECONDARY 2
DE11 - Distribution of the students of each model, according to the performance levels

Level and %	Basic	Intermediate	Advanced
Model A	85.7	12.2	2
Model B	41.7	43.3	15.1
Model C	24.7	47.9	27.4

[32] ISEI-IVEI (2012): *Ebaluazio Diagnostikoa 2011, txosten exekutiboa*, LMH4. *Basque Government* [On the web]. <http://www.ediagnostikoak.net/edweb/eus/Informazio-materialak/ED11_exekutiboa/ED11_4LHTxostenExekutiboa.pdf>. Source of the data: Graphics 24 and 25, presented in table format.
ISEI-IVEI (2012): *Ebaluazio Diagnostikoa 2011, emaitzen txostena eta aldagaien azterketa*, LMH4. Basque Government [On the web]. <http://www.ediagnostikoak.net/edweb/eus/Informazio-materialak/ED11aldagaien%20analisia/ED11_LH4_Emaitzen_txostena_aldagaien_analisia.pdf>.
ISEI-IVEI (2012): *Ebaluazio Diagnostikoa 2011, emaitzen txostena eta aldagaien azterketa*, DBH2. Basque Government [On the web]. <http://www.ediagnostikoak.net/edweb/eus/Informazio-materialak/ED11aldagaien%20analisia/DBH2_Emaitzen_txostena_aldagaien_analisia.pdf>.
The reports which the Evaluation Diagnostic results develop divide the competence of the pupils into three basic levels: basic, intermediate and advanced and tell us how many pupils in the Basque Autonomous Community are in each (in percentages).

[33] ISEI-IVEI (2012): *Ebaluazio Diagnostikoa 2011, txosten exekutiboa*, DBH2. Basque Government [On the web]. <http://www.ediagnostikoak.net/edweb/eus/Informazio-materialak/ED11_exekutiboa/ED11_2DBHTxostenExekutiboa.pdf>. Source of the data: graphics 24 and 25, presented in table format.

On the other hand, as indicated by the data collected below, in addition to the language use, the difference between Primary 4 and Secondary 2 is also perceived in the communication competence in Basque (70% of pupils achieve medium or high competence in Primary; in Secondary it is 63.9%) (table 25).

Without a doubt there have been achievements. Nevertheless, the level of communicative Competence in Basque achieved by pupils from the Basque Autonomous community is less than that achieved in other competences. The results of the *Evaluation Diagnosis* of the last few years reflect the same: in general, there is a notable difference between the results from the CC in Basque and the results from the rest of the *capacities and competences*. Said in another way, the communication competence in Basque is the greatest shortage of the Basque Autonomous Region's education system and should be a priority in the education system's *Improvement Plan*.

As an example, in the table below we have compared the CC in Basque and Spanish[36] (taking into consideration that the results of the rest of the capacities assessed until now in the Evaluation Diagnosis and the results of the communication competence in Spanish shown are similar) (table 26).

On the other hand, the Evaluation Diagnosis offers us another piece of significant data: there are great differences between pupils in the communication competence in Basque according to their L1; the difference is not as significant in Spanish (tables 27 and 28).

Table 25. **COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE IN BASQUE**

PRIMARY 4 DE11 - Percentage of pupils in performance levels[34]			SECONDARY 2 DE11 - Percentage of pupils in performance levels[35]		
Basic	Intermediate	Advanced	Basic	Intermediate	Advanced
30.0	37.3	32.4	36.0	42.7	21.2

Table 26. **COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE IN SPANISH**

PRIMARY 4 DE11 - Percentage of pupils in performance levels[37]			SECONDARY 2 DE11 - Percentage of pupils in performance levels[38]		
Basic	Intermediate	Advanced	Basic	Intermediate	Advanced
11.3	61.3	27.4	11.9	58.6	29.5

Table 27. **COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE IN BASQUE IN FUNCTION OF THE LANGUAGE SPOKEN AT HOME**

PRIMARY 4 DE11 - Percentage of pupils in performance levels[39]				SECONDARY 2 DE11 - Percentage of pupils in performance levels[40]			
Level and %	Basic	Intermediate	Advanced	Level and %	Basic	Intermediate	Advanced
Basque	12.4	32.8	54.8	Basque	15	46.2	38.8
Language other than Basque	35.4	38.7	25.9	Language other than Basque	41.5	41.8	16.7

[34] Summarised data from graphic 11.

[35] Summarised data from graphic 11.

[36] It seems that the competence and level data is not totally comparable (since they have not been evaluated with the same criteria and tools). Nevertheless, it is startling that in Spanish there is hardly any difference between the Primary and secondary graphics and on the contrary there is in the Basque: the CC in Basque is less in Secondary compared to Primary.

[37] Summarised data from graphic 32.

[38] Summarised data from graphic 32.

[39] Summarised data from graphic 24.

[40] Summarised data from graphic 25.

2.2. IMPORTANCE OF THE SOCIAL USE FOR COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE IN BASQUE (B1, B2)

The B1 and B2 evaluations produce similar data surrounding the competence of pupils. In addition to the general data, they also offer other data which states what the incidence is and the importance of the language spoken at home and the proportion of Basque speakers in the municipality. Here is the data extracted from said studies:

2.2.1. Comparison of the influences of the language spoken at home and the language model (B1 evaluation)

According to the data from the B1 study, the *language model* is a very significant factor but when the *language spoken at home* is Basque, the influence of the language model is not as important. See the graphic 3.

The report interprets the following from said data:

> "when the language spoken at home is Basque the model does not have an impact. 62.5% of pupils in model D and 61.2% of those in model B beat the test. On the contrary, when the language spoken at home is not Basque, the influence of the language model is great when explaining the results."[41]

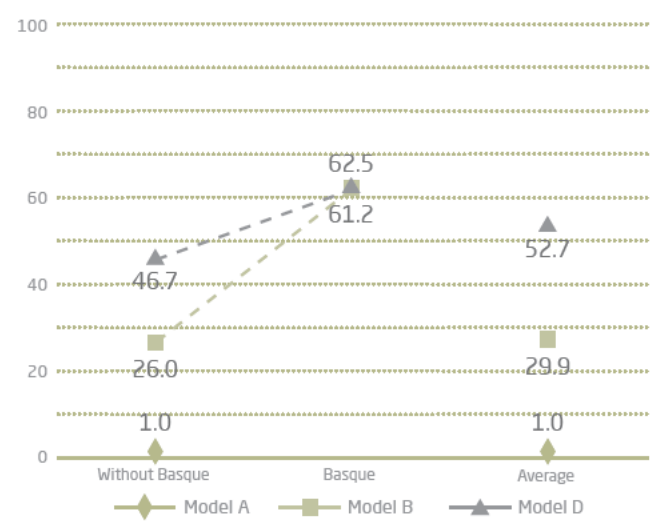
2.2.2. Proportion of basque speakers in the municipality and the language spoken at home

When the *proportion of Basque speakers in the municipality* is high, the difference between the results of the pupils with a Basque speaking family and a Spanish speaking one decreases (as the B2 evaluation shows). Which is to say, children from Spanish speaking families who live in eminently Basque speaking municipalities achieve much

Table 28. COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE IN SPANISH IN FUNCTION OF THE LANGUAGE SPOKEN AT HOME

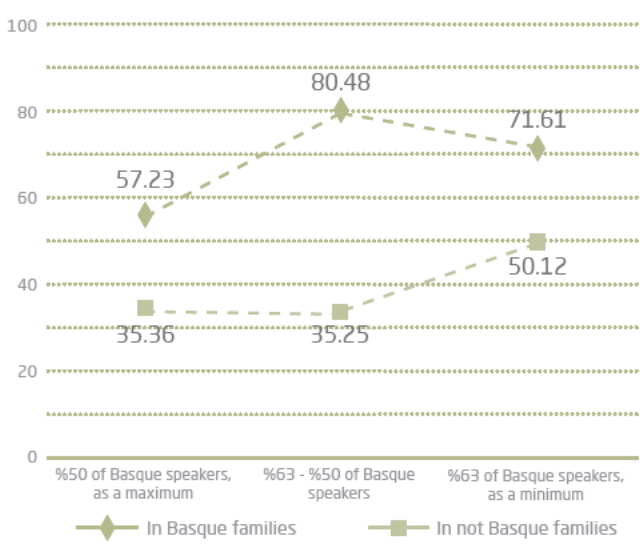
PRIMARY 4 DE11 - Percentage of pupils in performance levels[41]				SECONDARY 2 DE11 - Percentage of pupils in performance levels[42]			
Level and %	Basic	Intermediate	Advanced	Level and %	Basic	Intermediate	Advanced
Basque	11	65.1	24	Basque	11.3	62.0	26.7
Language other than Basque	11.4	60.1	28.5	Language other than Basque	12.1	57.7	30.2

Graphic 3. B1 BASQUE EXAM: APPROVED IN LANGUAGE MODELS, IN FUNCTION OF THE LANGUAGE SPOKEN AT HOME



Source: Txosteneko 24. grafikoa

Graphic 4. RESULTS IN FUNCTION OF THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC ENVIRONMENT AND THE LANGUAGE SPOKEN AT HOME



[41] Summarised data from graphic 38.

[42] Summarised data from graphic 25.

[43] See ISEI-IVEI (2007): Euskararen B1 maila, p. 52.

better results in CC in Basque than those who live in other sociolinguistic environments and their level of competence is quite close to those children whose L1 is Basque (graphic 4).

The report establishes that:

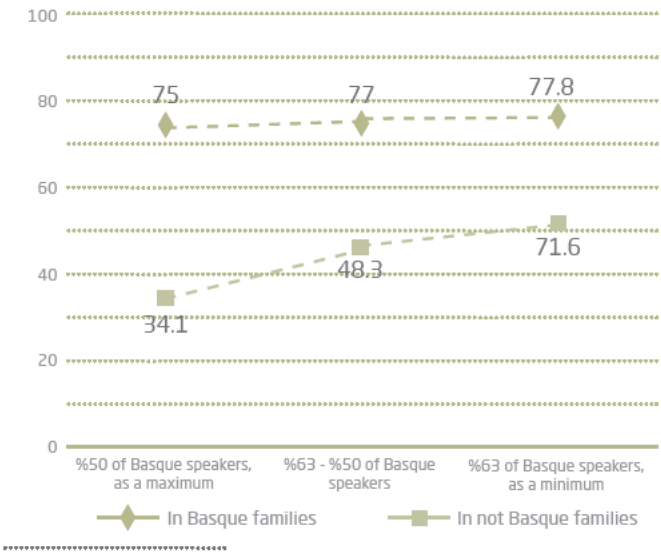
> "Pupils from families whose language spoken at home is not Basque, if they live in Basque speaking environments, improve their results by 15 points (if the average is 38.59%, in that case 50.12% pass)."[44]

If the evaluation also takes into consideration oral expression the improvement is even more evident (graphic 5).

> "Less pupils from families whose language spoken at home is not Basque pass the oral expression exam; specifically 46.9%. Nevertheless, it seems that the language environment of said pupils also has an influence. Those who live in municipalities whose proportion of Basque speakers or almost Basque speakers is 63% or greater benefit to a greater extent. 71.6% of those pupils pass the oral expression exam. That piece of data places them at the same level as those whose language spoken at home is Basque."[43]

Which clearly states how significant the influence of the proportion of Basque speakers can be in a municipality on the CC in Basque: those whose language spoken at home is not Basque achieve the same results as those whose language spoken at home is Basque (when oral expression is also evaluated). Why? Because, if it is not at home, they have many opportunities to speak Basque in their relationship networks.

Graphic 5. BASQUE EXAM WITH ORAL EXPRESSION: SOCIOLINGUISTIC ENVIRONMENT AND THE LANGUAGE SPOKEN AT HOME



[44] See ISEI-IVEI (2005): Euskararen B2 maila, p. 62.

[45] Ikus ISEI-IVEI (2005): Euskararen B2 maila, p. 63.

3. CONCLUSIONS

As a summary of the Arrue report, we can confirm the following: the use of Basque by pupils, in the school environment (fundamentally with classmates), is closely linked with language use in said centre *(language model and language use of teachers, among themselves)* and the language used in the closest extracurricular relationship networks *(extracurricular activities, language spoken at home...)*. In addition, in the measure in which the pupil grows the incidence of the extracurricular factors is even greater.

It is evident that the language behaviour of youth gets closer to the predominant language uses and rules of their closest relationship networks; said behaviour has been defined as a trend to converge or the "convergence rule". That way, when Basque is the habitual language of said networks, the pupils also use Basque at school (even in Secondary). But when Basque is not the predominant language in the relationship languages the trend is to use Spanish.

With the intent to understand the trend detected in our youth certain questions come to mind:

— Why do youth comply with the convergence rule?

— Does the incidence of the external factors explain everything or are there also other factors?

— Can we do something (more) in schools (and other educational environments) to counteract the incidence of said external factors?

I will propose a hypothesis to try to answer the first question: the fact that youth comply with this convergence rule is a consequence of the socialisation process (opening to the world). Beginning at a certain age, youth begin to move away from the shelter of the rules proposed by the family and school and get closer to "society's" predominant rules. With respect to language use as well, they tend to capture and assimilate the predominant language behaviours and uses in the environment. Said in another way, their *perception of the social value of the language* conditions their language behaviour.

In addition, in my opinion there are other significant "interior factors" which influence the language behaviour of many youth: the perception which each has of their language competence and their identification with the language. In other words: the ease with which they handle themselves in Basque, if they feel comfortable or tense and limited, if they feel that Basque is their language or only a school language, etc.; all influencing youth.

With the aim of developing that hypothesis we will present two routes depending on the language environment that the youth may have in their surroundings (although being conscious of what the extreme routes are and that there may be innumerable intermediate situations).

Therefore the pupil who lives in a firm Basque speaking environment...

— Will have the possibility to use Basque in many daily situations, of a diverse nature and more complex each time and, as a consequence, will have the opportunity to develop an expanded and rich competence in Basque.

— Will be able to live Basque as an important language, serving for life.

— Will have an opportunity to make a positive mental representation on the functional value and the social value of Basque.

The youth who lives in a different sociolinguistic environment, nevertheless...

— Probably feels that Basque has a limited social value.

— Probably considers that using Basque in everyday relationship networks is inappropriate and assimilates certain prejudices and stereotypes, old and new (belonging to *kasheros, violent and freakish...);* or probably must suffer the explicit pressure of the group *("don't go nuts, we're not in high school").*

— Probably developing limited communication competence in Basque or feel that it is like that and there are limitations to confront numerous language situations. And will not have the opportunity to develop communication capacities for certain situations not cultivated in school (such as friendships, for example) or assimilating the language resources and variants used in said situations.

— What's more, what is most probable is that they lose the communication competence in Basque as the opportunities to use Basque are also lost at the school itself (because Basque is used less and less between classmates because the interaction in the dynamics of classroom learning are usually very low or because the methodologies used are not active, interactive or communicative...).

— As a consequence, he/she probably feels a growing tiredness to use Basque and as the feeling grows that the language is very difficult will begin feeling that his/her competence is less and less.

— If our youth enter that dead end it is possible that they may reach a dangerous point: giving up or quitting as a Basque speaker.

Said hypothesis poses new questions:

— What can we do to face the convergence rule?

— Can we manage youth to have more positive perceptions on the use of the language?

— Can we influence the reinforcement of language security, self-confidence and self-perception of youth?

Said questions pose new challenges: we must continue investigating[46] to understand the internal processes of youth and youth collectives. We must carry out a qualitative and applied investigation[47] (Act to Investigate), in search of effective manners of intervention: attempting, acting and reflecting. In other words: we must try, collect results, evaluate, obtain conclusions and adjust the intervention model, or try new ways of intervening.

The most appropriate spheres to intervene are leisure, school and family (which is to say, the habitual vital spheres for youths). That is where we must intervene, and the more united the better; in cooperation[48]. In addition to working in said fields, it would also be good for the media to make its contribution and make an attempt to commit (because the media also influences youths significantly).

Leisure: organised extracurricular activities

We mentioned on many occasions how important the language environment of everyday relationship networks outside school is. In line with the statement, new questions occur to me: Is the Basque speaking environment united,

[46] In the last few years research has advanced greatly (in universities, in the SL cluster, in the HIZNET postgraduate course...), fundamentally from a sociolinguistic perspective. We have interpretive outlines and frameworks which are much richer to interpret certain situations and events. Nevertheless, we lack them to understand numerous processes and behaviours. ¿What are the language lives, beliefs and representations of our youth like? ¿How are the language habits and rules constructed in youth groups? There is still a lot to investigate.

[47] "Every now and again quantitative data is collected and in function of the data we define successes and defeats. But what do we know about the speakers' reasons? Why does one person speak in Basque and the other doesn't? Why does this person move closer to Basque and the other, with similar characteristics, doesn't? If we want to know all these keys, why don't we ask directly? We need qualitative studies to know what the mechanisms of people are when choosing a language and that way influence them afterwards". Mikel Irizar: 07-01-2013, "Ikertzeko premia", Berria (eiaro), <http://kanalak.berria.info/euskara/kolaboratzaileak/130/ikertzeko_premia.htm>

[48] In cooperation and not demanding, blaming or berating each other. We have reasons to agree on an end and project; we can share the responsibility. If we do it won't be complicated to define common and specific responsibilities and implement a framework of cooperation.

as it is and indissolubly, to certain specific demo-linguistic conditions? More specifically: Can Basque speaking relationship networks be achieved in municipalities with a majority of Basque speakers or can we influence it so that each time more youth can have solid Basque speaking relationship networks in their close environment? Is it possible to influence municipalities whose Basque speaking proportion is low to promote Basque in the everyday relationship networks and the spheres of activity of the language environment?

There is a lot for us to do: we must work to increase the use of Basque in organised social spheres correctly for youth. And in that sense, as of today the key is to influence organised leisure. That is the challenge; we must make an effort to create, in towns and neighbourhoods, an offer of stable, expanded and attractive organised leisure, in Basque and for all.

Its need is justified: the data very clearly reflects that the language environment of everyday relationship networks influences greatly on the language use and knowledge of youth.

Organised Basque speaking leisure would make a social environment where Basque can be spoken by all youth available. It would become a language integration environment, as well as an environment to practice language coexistence. Always applying strategies to invigorate the use of Basque, active participation and the adhesion of youth.

A project like that would be beneficial to all youth and, fundamentally, for those whose L1 is not Basque (meaning, for those with less possibilities to use Basque in their everyday networks). It would not be a discriminatory project but rather a conciliatory project which would accept everyone. In addition, it would be a very effective "training space": to develop competence in Basque, to increase security, to develop habits of use, to optimize the mental representations of Basque (about the functional value and the social value of Basque), to develop skills in language coexistence...

Consequently, I dare to say that, currently, the influence on the offer of organised leisure becomes a "strategic challenge".

School

Yes, we should influence organised leisure. But can we do something more inside the school? Can we do something more to counteract the influence of external factors? Can we offer youth of today, at school, the education they need to be active users of Basque? Can we work more efficiently to spread and reinforce the trend of using Basque among youth? Can we have an impact so that youth networks and collectives can opt to Basque and get accustomed to using it? I would say so.

Different experts have mentioned it: school, in addition to language education, should also offer sociolinguistic education to today's youth; what is more, some also add that it should prepare youth for linguistic coexistence. Which means that school, in addition to guaranteeing sufficient language competence, should also work to end with the restrictive prejudices, beliefs and perceptions which youth have about Basque and to feed the desire and habit of using Basque between youth. It should also work human and social attitudes necessary to act in an assertive and empathetic manner in an environment of linguistic coexistence.

What's more, the education curriculum gathers said objectives: both in the definition of the *Communicative Competence* and the *Citizen and Social Competence* fixed as fundamental objectives of education such as the contents and objectives from different areas and subjects *(language, social sciences, civic education, tutorship, ethics...)*.

I agree with these opinions. In my opinion the language competences (yes, in plural because there are various and multiple) which education should guarantee a Basque citizen[49] in the 21st century are the following:

— Communicative competence (bilingual-multilingual): ability to effectively act in very diverse communicative situations and spheres of use.

— Capacity to manage that bilingual-multilingual communicative competence in development with very diverse situations: now how to use the language repertoire conveniently.

— Ability to apply language coexistence: know how to act with language respect (in multiple relational networks and environments). Assertive and emphatic language behaviour (flexible, courageous), on the base of the principles of inclusion and solidarity.

And to offer that integral language education the school can do the following:

— Guarantee competence in Basque: Give youth the ability to manage themselves in multiple contexts with ease (formal and informal, written or spoken). Which is to say, guarantee that pupils know Basque correctly (that it may be easy for them). In order to:

[49] The younger generations may have Basque as a common language; most of them have a minimum competency of understanding in Basque and therefore they can speak Basque between them.

- Ensure a lot of input, plural and rich.
- Create many situations, very diverse and more complex, to use Basque. Convert the school and the classroom into a communicative environment, an environment for significant use of Basque.
- Do not forget that in addition to using the language it must also teach it (working the language competence itself). Work to use it appropriately in an ample repertoire of Basque textual genres, delve deeper into the Unified Treatment of Languages...
- In the areas of knowledge, delve deeper into the use of communicative-cooperative learning methods. Speak, read and write a lot to learn any material. If the school acts in this manner, in addition to delving into communication competences, it will work more on knowledge, skills and capabilities which are necessary to work in the area.
- Work textual genres, specific communication skills and languages in each area.
- Work the conscience on competence and progress.
- Intensify language security and confidence.
- Help pupils to prepare, develop and conduct monitoring of their personal project to further competence.

— Feed the desire to use it (promote/intensify the desire and decision). Optimize perceptions and beliefs. In order to:

- Work so that they can use Basque in any situation:
- So that they see that they are capable (work the self-knowledge and self-confidence which pupils have about their own competence).
- That they may see that their speakers are also capable (help end numerous stereotypes).
- Influence so that they can feel that it is appropriate to use Basque (help end various deep rooted prejudices: make them understand that supporting Basque is not discriminatory behaviour but rather useful and conciliatory).
- Optimize perceptions with respect to the language and its speakers: know the situation and progresses of Basque, know Basque speaking activities and people of reference...
- Know and value language plurality.
- Critically analyze and doubt prejudices surrounding languages and their use.
- Critically value and analyse the rules and habits of language use in society. As well as language troubles and conflicts. Forecast and assess more appropriate behaviours (proactive) that can be applied in these situations.
- Feed the desire to use Basque (personal desire and collective desire).
- Optimize experiences with respect to Basque (offer personal experiences and positive collective experiences). Work the emotional bond with the language.
- Analyse individual language use. Understand the importance and advantages of using Basque and help start a personal use plan.
- Analyse collective use. Analyse the importance and advantages of using Basque. Reach a consensus on the rules of use in the collective, help prepare and develop the collective use plan.

— Develop skills to use Basque and for language coexistence. Create opportunities so as to learn how to live and use Basque on equal terms. In order to:

- Cultivate emotional and social aptitudes (empathy, assertiveness...) in favour of the use of Basque (and to confront language conflicts).
- Cultivate inclusive behaviours, attitudes and skills for language coexistence (cooperation and language solidarity, responsibility and bravery). Practice those proactive behaviours.
- Organise activities so that they may learn to manage their multilingualism in bilingual situations.

Family

It has been frequently mentioned that the family behaviours and expectations significantly influence in the language behaviour of pupils. Arrue has also produced data to corroborate it.

But often the parents are not conscious of its influence. On the other hand, I believe that the process to convert children into Basque speakers is on the right track: I believe that the work conducted by the school and the advancement of Basque at a social level will guarantee that our children will know and use Basque perfectly.

I believe it is necessary to offer families opportunities to become aware of the influence they have and what type of contribution they can make. Sessions would have to be organised where families can have the opportunity to share their experiences and reflections and analyze what behaviour can be more useful so that their children can assimilate positive language behaviours and expectations.

What could we propose to current families so that they may contribute to the language education of their children?

—To all:

- Positively value Basque in the domestic sphere, ending stereotypes and prejudices about languages and helping to perceive the advancement of Basque.
- Encourage their children to participate in Basque activities and lead the way.
- Consume Basque cultural services and products and encourage their children to do the same.

— To the Basque speaking families:

- That they actively use Basque: in addition to their habitual speakers (at home and out), also with unknown people. This is to say, that they may be a proactive model of the language behaviours we want to promote in our children.

— To the Spanish speaking families:

- Appreciate the efforts made by their children to learn Basque.
- Encourage their children to delve deeper into the knowledge of Basque and for them to dare to use it.

Society, means of communication

In addition to the educators, there are other agents in our society who have a great influence on the perceptions, beliefs and behaviour of our youth. Emphasising the media among all of them (and fundamentally television) is not something trivial.

Basque media can do much more to offer a more adequate and positive image of Basque (both public and private media; but I will focus on public because it was created with the aim of contributing to the standardisation of the use of Basque). In view of that, they should ignore certain accents from these last few years[50] and make a firm and clear commitment to reinforce and increase Basque programming (expanded programming, plural and of quality, and for all ages). Precisely in line with the proposals carried out by many indigenous professionals and social agents over the last few months.

In addition, we cannot forget the role the media has to bringing cultural programming closer to the public in general. Arrue has reflected how low the consumption of Basque cultural products is among our youth; and I believe we have the indications and sufficient data to confirm that said consumption is also very low among adults. There is production but do they/we know them? Do youth know the literary or music production that exists for them? Does anyone inform them/us about this "world"?

Meanwhile, in all media they can hear time and time again, without breaks, the foreign music that is in style (fundamentally in Spanish and English).

The intermediation function is fundamental and, unfortunately, the current production in Basque is quite limited. It would be convenient to reinforce that intermediate function.

We have a lot to do in media, in organised leisure, in the family and school. We, the four agents, must work in conjunction in search of a common objective: that Basque is the language of all our youth (that all youth may know Basque correctly and be capable to use it). Current youth have an unequal opportunity and a challenge as well: that Basque is the common language of their generation, their language. And that can be a yearning desire for many of us (for the majority), because it would be a giant step in social cohesion, equality, language coexistence and social justice.

[50] I believe that certain behaviour, instead of promoting positive representations, reinforces the image of minorisation: giving priority to the Spanish channel (providing it with more economic and human resources and, as a consequence, offering more programmes in Spanish which are more diverse and more attractive), that Spanish is very present on the Basque channel (in the interviews conducted with public people and people on the street, on popular Basque comedy programmes…) and Basque, nevertheless, practically does not appear on the Spanish channel (Basque speaking people who could be people of reference are asked questions in Spanish or they are asked to repeat it in Spanish instead of using subtitles), Spanish is predominant on the web page (in the quantity of content, in the "most viewed" and the "don't miss" sections, current affairs and latest news…), etc.

PUPIL LANGUAGE USE: HOW TO INFLUENCE, BEYOND THE DATA?[1]

PAUL BILBAO

Secretary-General of KONTSEILUA, Council of Basque Language Social Organisations

First we would like to congratulate the Sociolinguistic Cluster for providing us the Arrue study. There is no doubt that it is an interesting tool to influence the future if we properly manage the conclusions of the study.

For this reason, by means of our contribution we wish to present various keys for the future. In short, we believe that it is necessary to turn the data offered in this study around and we must manage to make Basque the fundamental vehicular language of schools. Precisely there is where we wish to place our contribution; specifically in the strategies to change language habits.

A couple of interesting studies were published in the summer of 2012. On the one hand, we received the results from the 5th sociolinguistic survey and on the other, the 6th measuring in the use of languages on the street. Beyond the cold data of both studies, various interesting conclusions can be obtained; for example, that the current socio-linguistic conditions of Basque has touched ceiling, the difficulties of the speakers both at a personal and social level, that the impossibility to use it is an influence, etc. Consequently, it was quite clear that the conceptual framework defined around use is objectively false. Meaning that when the Basque speaker does not speak Basque it is not the consequence of a decision but rather an impossibility.

In addition, I would like to reiterate that it was often thought —and it was made to think— that the conversion to Basque of the person was sufficient to convert the society itself to Basque. Time has shown that that is not so; that by converting people to Basque we do not convert the society to Basque and, as a consequence, it is also strategic to convert spaces to Basque. The conclusion of the Arrue study places arguments which ratify that idea on the table.

In the first reading of the report the conclusions of the study surprised us too much. The study confirms the characteristics we foresaw by intuition. Nevertheless, we do not want to say that it is not necessary to turn over the conclusions. On the contrary, we must use the Arrue study information if we truly want to influence use.

Another study comes to mind published by the ISEI-IVEI entity of the Basque Government in 2005 relating to language competence. On that occasion as well there were conclusions which we already foresaw or suspected. Nevertheless, said study shows the urgent need to adopt courageous decisions to turn the situation around, which is to say, so that all the pupils can achieve the adequate language competence in Basque once obligatory education has ceased. For that reason it is incomprehensible to us that having passed eight years since said conclusions were reached that no decision has been made or any concrete policies have been applied to turn the situation around.

It is true that in accordance with the general data there are differences between the language habits of pupils in Primary and Secondary Schools and that the pupils, as they grow up, have a greater tendency towards Spanish. Additionally, the study clarifies the difference between language habits in the classroom and outside the classroom and, as a consequence, we know where the starting point is.

Nevertheless, although the general results show those questions, we consider that with an eye on the future the links between the variables analysed in the Arrue study are much more interesting. The habits of pupils whose primary language is Basque, the incidence of language competence of pupils, the importance of extracurricular activities, cultural consumption or means of communication, the social environment... It is necessary to pay special attention

[1] The principles which support the article are based on the proposals agreed to by the agents which make up the educational sector of Kontseilua. Entities which make up the educational sector of Kontseilua: EHIGE (Association of Parents of the Public School), Euskal Herriko Ikastolak (Share of Basque-language immersion schools), Kristau Eskolak (Catholic Schools), Sortzen-Ikasbatuaz and Hik Hasi. Documents published to date: *Ikasle euskaldun eleanitzak sortzen* [Achieve Multilingual Basque Speaking Pupils] (2007), *Euskararen erabilera areagotzeko estrategiak eskolatik abiatuta* (2009), *Eskolatik abiatuta euskararen erabilera areagotzeko zenbait programa* (2010), *Nola artikulatu jakintza-arloa eta hizkuntza? Zenbait lanabes eskolan erabiltzeko* (2011).

to that data because, thanks to that, we will be able to advance and progress down the right path.

We already know that knowledge, per se, does not lead to use; but it does influence it. The Arrue study also makes it clear, but it is no less true that without knowledge we cannot expect there to be use. What's more, the lack of awareness of a language not only deprives language liberty to that individual who does not know it but also to the person who does. It implements the dictatorship of monolingualism; meaning that those who do not know it do not use it and do not allow those who do know, to use it.

The environment of youth is of vital importance from the perspective of the reactivation of the recovery process of a language. On the one hand, because it is the future generation, the backbone and the motor of future society. And on the other hand, because different studies show that childhood and adolescence are when principle language use is fixed; which is to say, the decision to fundamentally live in one or another language is made in adolescence.

Needless to say, it has been discussed long and hard about the factors which influence use of a language. Ferguson spoke about diglossia, differentiating between the formal and institutionalised use and spontaneous familiar use. Fishman also radically differentiated between the spoken language at home and the language used outside the home and gave fundamental importance to the first. He gave central importance to close relationships: family, friendships, neighbours, daily relationships… Txepetx interrelates use with knowledge and motivation. Txillardegi links use with knowledge, with the size of the interlocutor, loyalty and adhesion. García affirms that the face-to-face density of Basque in the context and the characteristics of each individual (the ability to speak and Basque identity) influence use.

As a consequence, it is evident that there are different reasons which influence the use of a language. To write up our article we have based ourselves on the three reasons which influence use: those related to the individual, those linked to society and the relationship network between the individual and society:

1. Relating to the individual: Relative competence (the language which is more fluent), motivation, attitude, identity, etc.

   The conclusions of the studies also reflect the influence that the relative competence has on use. That way, the use of pupils is absolutely different in models A, B and D, with both classmates and teachers. In model A, Basque is almost not used between classmates and use with teachers is very limited. In model B the use in the classroom between Primary 4 classmates is balanced between both languages and both languages are used in the same proportion with teachers. Nevertheless, in Secondary Spanish is predominant. And use outside of the classroom is scarce, both in Primary and Secondary. In model D, Basque use prevails with teachers and the use of Spanish has more weight on the playground. Although, logically, it is the model with the most significant levels of use. As a consequence, if we want to influence use there is no doubt that the time has come to review the linguistic models currently implemented; meaning that, if it is necessary to start strategies to influence use in model D, then it is evident that it will also be necessary to adopt decisions linked to language competencies in models A and B. In accordance with the study by the ISEI-IVEI body previously mentioned, no Secondary 4 Pupil in model A showed adequate language competencies (level B2); in model B, 32.8% and in model D 68%. This data should make us think since it is difficult for us to talk about the use of a language or the conscious decision to use one language or another if there is no adequate competence in one of them.

   It is possible to turn this situation around, and that is what is suggested by the proposal entitled *Ikasle euskaldun eleaniztunak sorteen* [Achieve Multilingual Basque Speaking Pupils] by Kontseilua. We must guarantee that all pupils have adequate competence in our own language when finishing compulsory education and, to that effect, we must make decisions with the greatest promptitude possible. In addition, a decision of this nature would not divide or differentiate our adolescents and children in function of the language and must make social cohesion and equality in opportunities possible.

2. Linked to Society (context): presence of Basque and Basque speakers. What is expected of each, expectations and the rest. The study in question reveals the influence of the density of use.

   The Arrue study offers interesting data in that regard. And if we evaluate use in function of the proportion of existing Basque speakers in the municipality, the differences between the data are evident, and significant, statistically. If we compare it with other variables we can conclude that the density of Basque speakers has an enormous influence on use. What's more, all levels of use exceed 50% in the most Basque speaking areas. As a consequence, new steps will also have to be taken in the general Basque knowledge levels.

   Kontseilua has defended for a long time that to make our country Basque-speaking it is necessary to promote the universalisation of knowledge. It is well known that Basque, as in any other language, achieves speakers through three different paths; first by transmission; second, the education system and; third, the conversion of adults to Basque speakers. Therefore, it is evident that

if an effective language policy assumes the path of the universalisation of Basque use, said path would lead to, in the medium term, our towns and squares being more Basque-speaking and that fact would also influence the levels of use.

3. Relationship Network between individual and society; fundamentally, proportion of Basque speakers in the immediate environment. Said environment (family, friends…) act as a bridge between the individual and society.

   Also in this case, the Arrue study unequivocally shows the validity of the statement. It is when a comparison is made in the school environment in function of the primary language, the difference between all the uses analysed (between classmates in the classroom and on the playground and with teachers in the classroom and on the playground) are quite important and statistically significant both between Primary 4 pupils and Secondary 2 pupils.

   Kontseilua also had in mind the function of parents when it defined its programmes to promote the use of Basque. It is undeniable that parents have a lot to say concerning the knowledge and use of Basque. In fact, if parents adopt the custom to speak Basque, that decision will influence the model taught to their children. In addition, parents form part of an important relationship network. Starting with the group made up by the parents of the pupils in the classroom.

Nevertheless, we must take into account that although there are qualitative changes in the three criteria we just mentioned, that fact will not lead to the generalised use of Basque by itself. For that reason, to influence use it will be essential to take into account other variables.

In the first case we have the school. And we must establish that the school is an institution. We could say that it is more than that, even: school or the education centre creates community, it has a relationship of proximity, it influences the environment, it offers or could offer a space in which to speak and live in Basque; it teaches Basque and has demonstrated that in addition to teaching Basque it is useful in promoting its communication and use.

The first space within the education space is the classroom and, as a consequence, the main language objective to define for the classroom should be adequate competence in Basque and that life in the classroom is Basque. In that sense, the factor which most influences the education centre is the education curriculum. And the activities carried out inside the classroom should promote the use of the language. Which is to say, there should not be any difference between language education and language use. Let us take into account that languages are assimilated insofar as they are useful to communicate.

We cannot forget that it is necessary to define certain minimums with regard to language competence. Kontseilua defined those minimums in its *Ikasle euskaldun eleaniztunak sortzen* proposal. In relation to Basque, once compulsory education has been completed the pupils must have, as a minimum, a B2 level in Basque. Drawing from our current experience there are no technical-pedagogical reasons to achieve said competence, whatever the sociolinguistic environment is.

In our opinion each education centre must put an adequate framework into effect to promote the use of Basque and the learning and use of languages to merge classroom and extracurricular activities and develop them in a coherent manner. All the education centre's languages will have to be taken into account in the framework; the objectives for each of them will have to be defined and consideration will have to be taken regarding the comprehensive activity of the education centre to achieve said objectives. To achieve linguistic normalisation, the plans based on systematic approaches are much more effective than isolated actions. In the field of education, the curriculum, the didactic interrelations and relationships are considered essential in the language environment and other fields. It must define all the curriculums of the language environments and other fields within it: defining objectives, types of activities, methodology and evaluation.

Develop clear and coordinated sequencing of linguistic contents and objectives for all the languages taught and present at the education centre, that they all share the methodological perspective and agree on strategies which make possible the interaction between languages will be key to language development.

Also, the education centres must have a Linguistic Standardisation Plan which encompasses and unifies all projects of linguistic nature. Said plan will be part of the Language Project. In that sense, it will be very important to forecast fields of use for languages; meaning the area of pedagogy and at an institutional level.

Nevertheless, there is another element which we must take into account; specifically the work that must be carried out by other entities, bodies and environments. The school accomplishes its function, everything having to do with language competence and use. Nevertheless, it would be erroneous to base our strategy on the education centre.

The school and many other entities and institutions foreign to the school have a great responsibility to promote use.

The job of promoting use of Basque must constitute an exercise of cooperation between schools, families, sporting entities, leisure groups, associations in the fields of Basque and Basque culture, the rest of the administrations, etc.

Undoubtedly, to promote the use of Basque among children and adolescents means influencing language behaviour and language attitudes and to be able to influence them the social networks that said children and adolescents belong to will have to be taken into consideration. That way, to guarantee effectiveness we must take into account the quantitative weight that school has in children's and adolescents' time.

We must take into consideration the summary presented by Izaro Susperregi in his work *Euskal Aisiaren azterketa* [Study on leisure in the Basque Country] since, according to him, school only occupies 10% of the life of children and adolescents. Leisure (passive and active), on its part, 33%. The data highlights that we must influence more than school if we want to have an impact on said school as well.

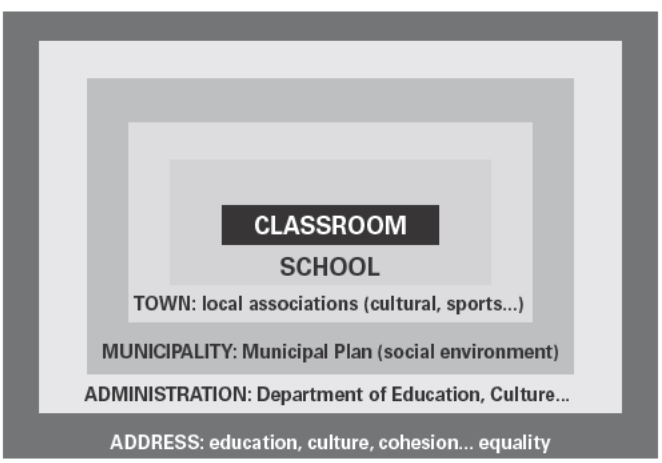
For that reason, precisely, to design the promotion strategies in use we must start in school and move outward. Begin in the classroom and end in the institutions. That way, if an important reform is conducted and adequate circumstances are met, the school will be able to convert its pupils into Basque speakers. In any case, although the education centre presents the adequate circumstances, the school cannot standardize Basque on its own. As a consequence, the first step must be to define the function which each agent must accomplish (see figure bellow):

All levels must be taken into account and in each of them the actions which can influence use will have to be defined: motivational session, creative surroundings, etc. That is the important point where the Basque conversion of spaces and the revolution which must occur in the environment of children and adolescents, in their leisure is located.

Lastly, we consider it important to highlight another factor to take into account in all of this, it will be necessary to create a rhetoric to make society aware of the importance of making people Basque speakers: so as to be conscious of what school can do —and cannot do— and, as a consequence, have an idea of what can be expected or not. The rhetoric should infuse and permeate all of society and institutions, going from town halls to higher education institutions, should be coherent and just.

And because each one must improve personally, I would like to stress that school has its function, specifically linked with the language competence of pupils. The experience of last decades has demonstrated that it is possible to convert the pupils into Basque speakers, independent of the sociolinguistic environment. As a consequence, it is necessary to adopt brave political decisions. Kontseilua has already defined what type of reform is necessary to obtain success in the language training of pupils, a proposal agreed to by educators. Let's fight for that objective: which, upon completing compulsory education pupils must have, as a minimum, a B2 level in Basque as well as Spanish and a B1 in English or French. That is what we must demand from school, but we must equip it with the tools to that effect. As stated before, school cannot standardize Basque, but on the contrary it can convert pupils into Basque speakers.

Let us then return to the beginning of the article since it is the best way to end: the Arrue study has left us interesting conclusions to progress in the use of Basque and, as a consequence, the regeneration of the language. We know what the current situation is and the data already shows us where we have made mistakes. Hence let's get to work. In these last few years Kontseilua, and the partners who make up our entity, have agreed on specific proposals to achieve multilingual Basque speaking pupils and advance in the use of Basque and we are convinced that if applied, when we analyse the conclusions of the Arrue II study in ten years the evaluations will be very different. May that be the case.



THE ARRUE PROJECT SEEN FROM THE NORTHERN BASQUE COUNTRY. SOME COMMENTS ABOUT THE LANGUAGE USE OF PUPILS IN 2011

JEAN-BAPTISTE COYOS
IKER - UMR 5478 (CNRS) - Bayonne

1. ABOUT THIS ARTICLE

I was invited to write a document of a limited number of pages about the report: Arrue proiektua, Ebaluazio Diagnostikoa 2011: ikasleen hizkuntza erabileraren datuak *(Arrue project, 2011 Diagnostic Evaluation: data on pupils' language use)*[1].

After reading it with great interest, I thought it adequate to analyse the data and comments I had from a Northern Basque Country (NBC) point of view, comparing where possible the characteristics and the use of Basque by pupils, finding myself before two situations and data which was completely different.

Hence this will constitute one of the concepts of reflection of these lines: This is the data for the Primary 4 and Secondary 2 pupils for the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC), and what are, or better said, what could be the data for pupils of the same ages in the NBC[2].

The other subject of reflection is the following: Why is the data for Primary 4 and Secondary 2 different if they live in the same society, in the same social organisation, in the BAC?

What I mean is that the reader will not find a general document here on the report data but rather some partial comments. Evidently, said comments will be quite modest since, on the one hand, I do not know the language education of schools in the Basque Autonomous Community well and, on the other hand, I am not an expert in statistics.

2. THE ARRUE PROJECT IN THE SOCIAL CONTEXT: THE TEACHING OF LANGUAGES AND THEIR USE IN BASQUE COUNTRY SCHOOLS

2.1. THE PLACE OF TEACHING IN POLITICAL TOOLS IN FAVOUR OF MINORITY LANGUAGES

Worldwide, teaching is the principle tool, or the only one, to protect minority languages which have not been transmitted in the family.

For example, in the Northern Basque Country, the public structure of language policy created in 2004, the *Euskararen Erakunde Publikoa* (Public Organism for the Basque Language) made a clear and understandable commitment to the teaching of and in Basque. The new policy's objective was to stop the decrease in the number of speakers by means of teaching. In the *Project for a language policy* that said organism wrote in 2006, it indicated the following priority of the new policy: "For that reason, the challenge of the language policy project is to structure and develop language learning through school since it is an indispensable tool which makes it possible to transmit Basque as a language which is taught and as a language for teaching at the same time." (p. 23).

In general, it is evident that in any language community the objective of teaching is not only to increase the transmission of the minority language but also to increase its use. To evaluate the effectiveness of these policies special tools are necessary, sociolinguistic surveys and sociolinguistic indicators.

[1] I would like to thank those responsible for the Arrue project which gave me the opportunity to write some comments about their report.

[2] In the Northern Basque Country, children between 9 and 10 years old study CM1 (the fourth grade of Primary Education = Primary 4), and adolescents between 13 and 14 study the fourth year course in high school (third year of Secondary Education = Secondary 2).

In this case, the Arrue project offers us some data and orientations to reflect on since its main focus of attention is the use of the language in the school environment (Section 1.1), with the following objective: "…above all, what is the most effective manner to promote Basque in schools" (Section 1.1). In my opinion that subject of study is quite limited if it focuses exclusively on language use in schools with Primary 4 and Secondary 2 pupils. To understand minority language use agents, Basque in our case, we must conduct a specific analysis to overcome ideas which are general, idealistic or too theoretical, taking into account that the phenomenon, the use and variable which drive them, is 'complex' (Section 1.1). Therefore, the evaluation of the 2011 Arrue project opens a new door for us.

2.2. EVALUATION OF THE USE OF BASQUE BY PUPILS IN THE NORTHERN BASQUE COUNTRY IN RELATION WITH THE BASQUE AUTONOMOUS COMMUNITY

Unfortunately, in the Northern Basque Country we have few sociolinguistic investigations on Basque and its use. For the purpose of comparison with the Arrue report, it would be useful to know data on the use of the language by pupils of the same age in the Northern Basque Country, knowing that in this territory teaching of Basque is much less than in the Basque Autonomous Community.

Basing itself on the 2000 survey *Etorkizuna aurreikusten 99: Euskal Herriko gaztetxoak eta euskara (Forecast of future 99: youth of the Basque Country and Basque,* I. Martinez de Luna and K. Berri-Otxoa, dir.) the Basque Cultural Institute published the results corresponding to NBC in 2001. A total of 528 Secondary pupils were surveyed from 23 schools (11 public institutes, 11 private and the Xalbador language immersion school). Hence, they were pupils of the same age as those from Secondary 2. But the results are already 14 years old and since the survey was conducted, the teaching of and in Basque has spread and changed considerably in the NBC. The social context has been foreign to this evolution.

In any case, we do not have any other survey that is similar to the Arrue project; the 1999-2000 one is unique. The *Sociolinguistic Surveys of the Basque Country* of the Basque Government, although they also include the Northern Basque Country, do not analyze population under 16. And neither do other sociolinguistic surveys available[3]. In the NBC the National Education System manages teaching but does not measure the use of Basque of pupils in school. It recently began to evaluate its language competences.

Nevertheless, despite having a lot of data and that which we have available is not up to date, we will conduct a "virtual" comparison, in as much as possible, between pupils in the Northern Basque Country and the Southern Basque Country.

3. CHARACTERISTICS OF PRIMARY 4 AND SECONDARY 2 PUPILS – AND PUPILS FROM THE NORTHERN BASQUE COUNTRY

Let us analyse some of the data collected in the Arrue project survey one by one, comparing that of Primary 4 pupils and Secondary 2 pupils.

3.1. FIRST GROUP OF CHARACTERISTICS OF PUPILS IN THE BASQUE AUTONOMOUS COMMUNITY

In the report, the first group of data refers to the characteristics (Section 2).

The proportion of Basque speakers of the district where the school is located is the same for Primary 4 and Secondary 2 (Section 2.1.3). This data had been foreseen.

The proportion of pupils who have Basque as a primary language is also very similar: Primary 4, 19.8% and Secondary 2, 20.4% (Section 2.1.4).

The difference is greater when the language models are compared. That way, the percentages in model D are: Primary 4, 64%; and secondary 2, 59%; in model B: Primary 4, 29% and Secondary 2, 28% (Section 2.1.5).

Up to that point, the report collects objective data. Based on the following characteristics, the data is subjective since it is obtained through responses by those surveyed.

Concerning the relative ease to speak the difference is notable. Expressing with greater ease in Basque 21.1% of pupils of Primary 4 and 18.5% of Secondary 2. Same in Basque and Spanish: 24.2% of Primary 4 and 16.9% of Secondary 2 (Section 2.1.7).

With regard to the adhesion of languages, it is said that "in Secondary 2 there are less who affirm that they like Basque and Spanish" (Section 2.1.8).

[3] *Euskal nortasuna eta kultura XXI. mendearen hasieran,* 2006, Baxok Erramun et al., Donostia/San Sebastián, Eusko Ikaskuntza.
Hábitos, Prácticas y Consumo en Cultura, País Vasco Norte 2007-2008, 2008, Basque Government, Basque Council on Culture, Euskal Kultur Erakundea, Vitoria-Gasteiz, Basque Government.

As for the difficulty of the languages, "Basque is 'difficult' or 'very difficult' for 9% of the Primary 4 pupils and for 20% of the Secondary 2".

In the following pages the characteristics related with the use of languages have been analysed. We are going to focus mainly on the use of Basque.

In the first place, it is a consumption language for mass media. I would include that characteristic in the section on use (listening comprehension is one of the four basic language skills).

The consumption of Basque is always greater in Primary 4 than in Secondary 2 (Section 2.1.11). Through television: in Primary 4, 14% and in Secondary 2, 4%. Through music groups and singers: in Primary 4, 15% and in Secondary 2, 12%.

Let's now analyse use at home. Only in Basque: in Primary 4, 11% and in Secondary 2, 9% (Section 2.1.11). Only in Spanish: in Primary 4, 54% and in Secondary 2, 57%. It is said that "…the situations in which all members are found together (meals, watching television…) offers a good photograph". Nevertheless, we must take into account that the choice of language is not the same during meals, at the table, or while watching television.

With family members (father, mother, siblings, between parents), in general, the use of Basque in Primary 4 is also higher than in Secondary 2.

And also in extracurricular activities. Basque is always spoken by: 21% of Primary 4 and 12.7% of Secondary 2. More in Basque than in Spanish: 10.3% of Primary 4 and 8.1% of Secondary 2 (Section 2.1.13).

With the circle of friends, by Internet: always speak Basque: 26% of Primary 4 (there were few responses); and 22% of Secondary 2 (Section 2.1.14).

It is evident that there are no exceptions: all the characteristics we have seen make it clear that Basque occupies a greater part of Primary 4 pupils compared to Secondary 2.

Also, the analysis of the relationship between the language model, the first language and the proportion of Basque speakers in the municipality where the school is located demonstrates that the results of Primary 4 pupils are systematically better than Secondary 2 (Section 2.2.1). This aspect is also confirmed in the comparison between the representation of Basque as difficult/easy and the first language, or between the relative ease and the first language.

3.2. ON THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN PRIMARY 4 AND SECONDARY 2 PUPILS: USE IN THE SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT

Also in this section, data has been compiled through the answers and the four types of use -use among pupils in the classroom, on the playground, with teachers in the classroom and with teachers outside the classroom- they have not been measured directly.

Always speak in Basque between each other in the classroom: 36% of pupils of Primary 4 and 14% of Secondary 2. More in Basque than in Spanish, 24% of Primary 4 and 14% of Secondary 2 (Section 3.1.).

On the playground, always speak in Basque between each other: 17% of pupils of Primary 4 and 11% of Secondary 2. More in Basque than in Spanish, 12% of Primary 4 and 7% of Secondary 2. As can be appreciated in this last data, in Primary 4 the reduction in use is evident if it is compared with use in the classroom. And yet, use is greater in Primary 4 than in Secondary 2: On the playground, pupils have more freedom compared to in the classroom and they prefer Spanish. The choice of language on the playground is freer and the feeling of pressure by the school is less for adolescents in Secondary 2 than among Primary 4 pupils.

In the classroom they always speak in Basque with teachers: 53% of pupils of Primary 4 and 37% of Secondary 2. More in Basque than in Spanish, 21% of Primary 4 and 24% of Secondary 2. As it can be appreciated, this last piece of data is better for Secondary 2 pupils.

Outside of the classroom they always speak in Basque with teachers: 50% of pupils of Primary 4 and 34% of Secondary 2. More in Basque than in Spanish, 14% of Primary 4 and 18% of Secondary 2. Also in this last piece of data it is better for Secondary 2 pupils.

In the last two types of uses the Secondary 2 pupils provide better data than Primary 4 with greater use of Basque than Spanish. The deviation is minimal: 3% and 4%. But among those who always speak in Basque, following the general trend, pupils from Primary 4 provide better results than in Secondary 2 and, in addition, in this case the deviation is slightly greater, in particular 16% in the two types of use.

3.3. SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF PUPILS OF THE NORTHERN BASQUE COUNTRY IN RELATION WITH THE BASQUE AUTONOMOUS COMMUNITY: AN IMPOSSIBLE COMPARISON

As we stated, we do not have much data on the Northern Basque country, but nevertheless, we will show some examples:

The learning model in school education has been made known but not by ages or by levels (see report *Irakaskuntzari buruzko Aholku Batzordea —Advisory Council of Education—* of the Public Organism for the Basque Language). Nevertheless, we can compare the corresponding numbers of Primary 4 pupils with those of Primary Education in NBC and the data of Secondary 2 with Secondary in the NBC (from 11-12 years and 14-15 years).

In the NBC, in the 2012-2013 course, 8.35% of the pupils study model D and 27.45% in model B. That means that 64.2% of pupils do not study Basque (there are very few children in model A, in which one or two hours of Basque are taught as a subject). In Secondary Education, 4.64% of pupils study in model D and 10.25% in model B. The remaining 85.1% is made up of those which do not have Basque in their curriculum and those who receive 3 hours of language class per week (the latter are very few).

It is evident that model D is scarcely extended in the NBC (Primary Education: 8.35%, Secondary Education: 4.64%), if we compare it with the BAC (Primary Education: 64%; Secondary Education: 59%). In addition, the drop from Primary to Secondary Education is more predominant in the NBC than in the BAC. In the NBC, the loss in model D is great, 3.71%, if we take into account that it begins with 8.35%. In model B it is a drop of 17.20%. In the BAC, the loss of pupils from Primary 4 to Secondary 2 is 5% in model D and 1% in model B.

The report *Etorkizuna aurreikusten 99... Iparraldeko egoera (Future Forecasts 99.... Situation in the Northern Basque Country,* see 2.2) of 2001 gathers the characteristics of some 13-14 year old adolescents of the NBC and the BAC. Both groups were the same age, but the samples were completely different: the NBC sample (1999) was made up by 528 adolescents; and the BAC (2011), 17,184.

The comparable data is poor. In 1999 the proportion of pupils who had Basque as a primary language was 7% in the NBC and 20% in the BAC. Let us remember that in 2011, that proportion is 20.8% among Secondary 2 pupils in the BAC.

In the 1999 survey only language use of Basque speaking children and adolescents was analysed, while the Arrue project looked at all of them. For example, in 1999, the interest in Basque is less among children and adolescents of the NBC compared to the BAC. Great interest: In the NBC, 25%; and in the BAC, 68%.

In 1999, Basque speaking children and adolescents who used Basque in their circle of friends were 41% in the NBC and 52% in the BAC. On the other hand, Basque speaking children and adolescents who used Basque in their family were 41% in the NBC and 29% in the BAC. We can conclude that in the NBC families speak more in Basque than in the BAC.

I would like to present the last figure with regard to youth of the NBC and the BAC to finalise my impossible comparison. It is data extracted from the *5th. Sociolinguistic Survey of the Basque Country,* of 2011, and refers to youth between 16 and 24. In 2011, 58.9% of these youth between 16 and 24 in the BAC were bilingual; while only 17.6% were, in the same age range in the NBC[4].

In short, and remembering that in the Northern Basque Country we do not have any work like the Arrue project which analyses language use of pupils aged 9-10 an 13-14 in schools, we can think that in the Northern Basque Country the use of Basque in educational centres is much less than in the Basque Autonomous Community.

4. SOME REFLECTIONS TO UNDERSTAND THE DIFFERENCE: FACTORS WHICH INFLUENCE USE

Why does Basque occupy a greater and better situation among Primary 4 pupils compared to Secondary 2? Why do they use it more? The general response to these questions could be found in this general consideration on page 26: "… that currently, with the reality that pupils in the BAC live in school, family and other environments of society, as they become adults (in our case, going from 9-10 years of age to 13-14), the social use of Spanish acquires more weight than Basque in pupils' day-to-day life".

Nevertheless, the first thing we can think is that because Primary 4 pupils are four years younger than Secondary 2, the general situation of Basque can be better in the younger

[4] Nevertheless, in the Northern Basque Country the number and percentage of bilingual youth has also grown thanks to the teaching of and in Basque.

age group compared to the higher age group. But the idea does not make much sense since pupils from both age groups have been surveyed during the same time period, specifically between 7 and 25 May 2011 (Section 1.4). Therefore the comparison is done in synchronicity.

What is clear is that although the extracurricular and family circumstances of pupils' condition language use, the first determinant is school.

4.1. FACTORS WHICH INFLUENCE SCHOOL USE OF BASQUE: PRIMARY 4 VERSUS SECONDARY 2

We must find the reasons for the differences confirmed between Primary 4 and Secondary 2 pupils in the factors which influence the use of Basque. According to Iñaki Martinez de Luna these factors can be split into three groups: individual characteristics *(relative competence and motivation of use),* relationship networks *(networks of relationships between Basque speakers and favourable demolinguistic conditions)* and the social structure *(environments and institutions, explicit recognition of the use of Basque and recognition and social attractiveness of the language)* (Martinez de Luna diagram, 2004: p. 13)[5].

The social structure is the same for the two groups of pupils; both pertain to the Basque Autonomous Community. On the other hand, its sensitivity can be very different. Secondary 2 pupils, because of their age, can be more sensible to those factors. Nevertheless, let us suppose that the reasons for the differences are based on the characteristics of the pupils and their relationship networks. The school environment will condition the network of relationships: the language model, the position of Basque among school members (pupils, teachers, non-teachers, etc).

Let's remember some of the characteristics of Primary 4 and Secondary 2 pupils mentioned in sections 3.1 and 3.2.

Relative competence
More Secondary 2 pupils have Basque as a primary language compared to Primary 4, although the difference is minimal: 0.6%. On the other hand, there are a greater number of Primary 4 pupils with great relative ease to speak Basque: 2.6%. Therefore, the fact will contribute more to school use of Basque for Primary 4 pupils.

Motivation
As in the case of relative competence, the number of pupils who like Basque is greater in Primary 4 than in Secondary 2.

In my opinion, although Martinez de Luna does not include them among the factors of the diagram, representations have an indirect influence on the use of a language. For example, the difficulty of the language can be a factor of influence. To this respect, more Secondary 2 pupils think that Basque is 'Difficult' or 'very difficult' than those in Primary 4. Therefore, those in Primary 4 can use Basque with greater pleasure compared to those of Secondary 2.

The relative competence and greater motivation, more favourable representations of Basque and individual factors influence more on use among Primary 4 pupils than in Secondary 2. Statistically, the Primary 4 speaker is more of a Basque-speaker than a Secondary 2, more skilled, motivated and supportive.

Relationship networks between basque-speakers
We are analysing the school social network and, in this environment, language relationships develop in the classroom, the dining hall and the playground.

What does the survey tell us? There are more Primary 4 pupils educated in models D and B compared to Secondary 2.

There are also more Primary 4 pupils who always speak Basque with classmates compared to those in Secondary 2, 36% in Primary 4 and 14% in Secondary 2. The percentages corresponding to model D are greater than those of the other two models, and among Primary 4 pupils it is even higher, 51% of Primary 4 and 23% of Secondary 2 (Section 3.3.3)

On the other hand, in use with teachers, the proportion increases in both age groups. Obtaining these percentages which encompass the three models: 71% in Primary 4 and 56% in Secondary 2. The influence of the teacher is clear; valuing the use of Basque, if not it is imposed. The percentages are greater in model D and above all in Primary 4: 71% of Primary 4 and 56% of Secondary 2 (Section 3.3.3). For the Primary 4 pupil the professor is an important reference, to a greater degree than the Secondary 2 pupil. In Primary 4 they have fewer teachers and they spend a lot of time with one of them. That spokesperson plays a very important role.

[5] It would be convenient to make a comment on the Martinez de Luna proposal, but this is not the correct place. In general his diagram is useful for the work I intend to do here. On my part, basing myself on the Martinez de Luna diagram, I proposed a different one in the article "Euskararen egoeraz Iparraldean ohar batzuk sarrera gisa" (Bat, 2006, 59: p. 37). In my diagram I highlighted the importance at an individual level of the characteristics of the spokesperson to provoke the act of speaking.

In section 3.2. we confirmed that on the playground the selection of language is freer. That freedom plays against the use of Basque. Nevertheless, also in this case the use of Basque is greater among pupils of Primary 4 than Secondary 2. Considering these three models at once, 17% in Primary 4 and 11% in Secondary 2. In model D the percentage is greater: 24% in Primary 4 and 18% in Secondary 2. But if we compare use with the classroom, the loss is very great.

Also, use on the playground with teachers is less, by 3%, although the percentage is great: In model D, 68% in Primary 4 and 53% in Secondary 2 (Section 3.3.3). The influence of the teacher does not disappear completely among Secondary 2 youth but is greater among children in Primary 4, as occurs in the classroom.

Favourable demolinguistic conditions
I am unaware of what the demolinguistic conditions in the school may be, if they are not the different figures which correspond to the pupils which appear above.

As is evident, the general proportion of Basque-speakers of the municipality where the school is located is practically the same for Primary 4 and Secondary 2, which is why we cannot differentiate the two age groups based on that criteria. In general, if the proportion of Basque-speakers in the municipality where the school is located is the same, the municipalities have been classified in three groups[6]. In all of them the use of Basque is greater in Primary 4 than in Secondary 2 in all cases.

4.2. THE AGENTS RECIPROCALLY FUEL AND INCREASE THE DIFFERENCE

In the end, all data points in the same direction, except the proportion of those who have Basque as a primary language, and the agents reciprocally get fuelled, increasing the difference between Primary 4 and Secondary 2 pupils.

> "It is said that among Primary 4 pupils, school as an atmosphere, provides certain autonomy with respect to society. On the other hand, in Secondary 2 the links with the exterior reality are much stronger and, as a consequence, the use of Basque among pupils is less at that level than in Primary 4".

In general, I agree with the comments above. But we must be clear that the Arrue project primarily investigates the use of language in school and not outside of it. There are a greater number of Primary 4 pupils in models D and B which will 'naturally' use more Basque at school with their classmates and teachers. They have greater motivation, less believe that Basque is 'difficult' or 'very difficult', they have a greater competence level, are more sensible to the influence of a teacher, etc.

In conclusion, it can be confirmed that effectively the extracurricular environment, the social context and the close environment influence use, above all in Secondary 2 youth. But that influence is not greater than school. I would even say that the extracurricular environment is secondary. School is an environment which is pretty closed. The characteristics of schools themselves influence to a great measure the use of languages at the centre, and among those characteristics, we must mention the language models, of which model D is the most effective. The evaluation itself of Basque both in and out of the classroom influences in a direct manner... But in this sense, they are the individual characteristics of the teachers and pupils which are decisive in the use of Basque in school.

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[6] "Exact proportions: ">60%": proportion of Basque-speakers in the municipality greater than 60.57%. "30% < > 60%": proportion of Basque-speakers between 31.46% and 60.56%. "<30%": proportion of Basque-speakers less than 31.46%" (p. 35.).

ON THE GLASS CEILING OF THE ARRUE PROJECT DATA: COMMENTS, QUESTIONS AND LINES OF RESEARCH

NEKANE GOIKOETXEA

University of Mondragon. Sorguneak Research Centre

In this paper, we cover the Sorguneak Research Centre's reading of the data resulting from the Arrue project, discussed during the 6th Basque Sociolinguistics Symposium. It is the written version of the round table held during that symposium, hence it was written after the event. We feel it is relevant to clarify that those of us who took part in that round table were not asked to analyse the data, but rather to read beyond the spheres in which we worked. Before the debate commenced, we had 10 minutes in which to make our contribution. This is precisely what we have covered in this document.

Firstly, I would like to state that all the results obtained in the Arrue study, such as the difference in language use inside and outside the classroom, coincide with the trend we have observed and measured in recent years at the HUHEZI faculty. We have always considered our faculty as a hegemonic space for the Basque language, something that was quite unusual in the Basque university system. The sociolinguistic aspect has been one of our basic education projects: 80 % of the multilingual degree programme curriculum is in Basque; the working language of all workers and bodies is Basque; the original teaching school itself was created with the purpose of responding to the needs of the Basque education system.

The students' use of Basque has been systematically measured, and the results have always been high, both in collaboration with the teaching staff and between the students, inside and outside the lecture room. However, in recent years the trend has changed. Using the street measurement methodology, we have found a difference of 32 points from 2006 to 2012[1]. Consequently, also in a university space such as the HUHEZI, we have noticed the jump that Arrue has made by measuring between compulsory Primary and Secondary Education. We should use the same methodology as Arrue so that we can make more accurate statements, but bearing in mind the data we already have, we can be sure that they coincide with our experience in our faculty. Something is changing, at least in our faculty. The comparison we have just made may be debatable, but our intuition tells us that both the Secondary Education results and the falling trend at HUHEZI are related to the social climate and "controlled atmospheres"[2]. In the absence of further data (we would need longitudinal research), we will share the Sorguneak Research Centre's reflections with the reader.

THE SORGUNEAK RESEARCH CENTRE'S POINT OF VIEW

Throughout the symposium, we have offered different points of view regarding the Arrue project data. On this occasion, we are going to approach them from another angle. For example, the reflections on the link between the Basque language and the idea of "going urban" that were presented at last year's Sociolinguistics Symposium (Apodaka, 2012) are particularly interesting to us. Apodaka upholds that the city, as well as being a place, is also an ideology; that we could see the city as a concentration of power; that "going urban" is a structure to disseminate what has come to be called modernity; a place where the paces of life are synchronised, and that the language for that synchrony is Spanish. Furthermore, we could understand the current time as the post-urbanisation era in which the characteristics of modernity have accelerated at a considerable rate. In the words of Apodaka, "At the start of the 21st century, the Age of Desynchronisation has arrived. In actual fact, another type of synchrony has unfolded around the world, which has come to be known as globalisation. In all national cities, in all those places that follow the national pace of life, a *network of uniformed cities* is being organised, or in other words, a certain global synchronisation is forming. The global city is both nowhere and everywhere. It is hyper-modern, because it has

[1] In 2006, Basque use was found to be 82% in the staff meetings, in the cafeteria and in the library (group work); in 2009 the figure was 62%; and in 2012 it was 50%.

[2] Eduardo Apodaka used the term "atmosphere" when he gave his opinion on the Arrue study. In the same context, Josu Amezaga spoke of controlled/difficult to control socialisation spheres. We have used both terms to create this metaphor.

advanced at an alarming rate in all the trends of the Modern Age: mass and anonymous demonstrations, colonisation of every inch of our environment, individualisation of ways of life, privatisation and commodification of all relationships, telematisation of bonds and contacts, and many other reasons (…) So the city has not been a comfortable space in which to live in Basque, it wasn't when modern national cities began to expand, and it isn't now that the global city is gaining ground. The city is a poor ecosystem for the Basque language but, nevertheless, it is the only one it is going to get, so Basque speakers must learn to live and breathe together in the same space, in the same environment".[3]

The Sorguneak Research Centre arose out of the post-graduate programme: Transmission of Basque Culture (hereinafter TBC). TBC is not just an education programme; it aims to be a space where the discourse of thinkers in the area of Basque culture can be collected and analysed. The Sorguneak Research Centre takes nourishment from the critical analysis of the theses and the knowledge of those voices (see Arexolaleiba, 2012). In the light of this corpus of work, we conclude that voices such as that of Apodaka can make interesting contributions to contextualise the language use of today's youth. Furthermore, those voices inspire us to go deeper into the reasons for that use.

We place these voices in the field of cultural studies. Cultural thinking and that of cultural agents have a long tradition among us. From a diachronic point of view, it may be said that, from the 19th century up to the present day, the strength that has made it possible to uphold the condition of being Basque, from an ideological and practical perspective, has been cultural rather than political. For those of us who make up Sorguneak, we are interested in encouraging that perspective.

At least two trends have been differentiated in cultural studies: the English-speaking and the Latin American (see Mato, 2002). Although the dichotomous point of view may be restrictive, we would like to state that the work our research centre has carried out —contributions in the field of cultural policies, participatory research on the subject of social movements, creative work (anthropological theatre), participatory education projects, collaboration with the Garabide association and the Sociolinguistics Cluster projects, among others— come under the second trend. The first trend, for example, would carry out critical analyses of the works of writers in the Basque language from a University office. The second, in contrast, would give priority to reviving original cultures that undergo decolonisation processes. According to Mato (Mato, 2002,13): this field does not only cover the practices that are developed in universities and the production of "studies" that take on the form of academic publications, but also other types of practices that also have a reflective and interpretative/analytical nature that unfold, for example, within the framework of different social movements (e.g.: feminist, indigenous, Afro/Latin American, human rights, etc.), the arts, and even in the area of some government organisations (of different levels: municipal, provincial, regional, national), unions, people's organisations and a wide variety of organisations and initiatives from all sectors of the population. These "other practices" in some cases mean the production of "studies", while in others they are expressed in different ways, with thoughtful components or knowledge production. Some represent work with different population groups in self-knowledge, strengthening and organisation experiences, others involve popular education, still others are related to creative work in arts of all kinds. So the spectrum of practices is very broad, and it is not possible to name each and every one, apart from their concepts, and that is why I am resorting to the generic name of intellectual practices in the spheres of culture and power. Consequently, the topic of research is the link between culture and power.

Bourdieu (1980) talked to us about power, among other aspects. He placed language in the analysis of the symbolic world. He speaks of the language market and, of course, he refers to the social dimension of language. Every language has a value in that market and, if it wants, it can also have a share of power. Children assimilate the market norms while learning the language. As they gradually internalise that sociolinguistic value, they choose the language. We know very little about children's sociolinguistic assimilation. We have described that assimilation in linguistic and discursive terms, and compared with other populations of speakers, but we still know very little about its social aspect.

THE ARRUE DATA AND THE GLASS CEILING

In the post-urbanisation process, social changes reduce the symbolic capital of Basque. This is a fact that is clearly visible in the language use of today's youth. As regards the use of Basque, these are the macro-structures that put the glass ceiling over our heads. That is what we believe. So, how can we have an effect on this glass ceiling?

In our opinion, one of the key factors is to influence the symbolic-pragmatic capital of Basque in society. To do so, it is essential to take the cultural dimension into account. Not just from the consumer's point of view, but also from

[3] The social history of Basque has left us memorable testimony of this process. To this effect, the book titled Bertan Bilbo (2008) by the Zuberogoitia brothers is highly recommended.

the perspective of its symbolic-pragmatic value for the structuration of the linguistic community. We believe that cultural production deserves greater attention. We will quote three papers for our structure:

— The sociologist Ane Larrinaga (2007) analysed the work of 20th century cultural agents. She holds that the speaker does not relate naturally with the language, and that this relationship is conditioned by cultural agents, by thinkers. She defends that, when it comes to analysing the linguistic community's linguistic practices, it would be necessary to consider the representations that cultural agents create around the language, i.e. the intermediation entailed in that intellectual work. Therefore, if we want to feel like members of a linguistic community, we need culture. It is another matter whether the work of cultural agents has enough presence in society. The work that we have carried out on the subject of cultural production in Basque (see Sorguneak 2010 a & b) shows significantly mixed results. However, we should carry out further studies to achieve a more precise illustration of the strengths and weaknesses. It would also be interesting, from this sociological perspective, to carry out specific readings of the consumption data compiled by the Basque Government.

— Another viewpoint is offered by Josu Amezaga (1994), who analyses the importance of music in Basque on the construction of a symbolic power in Basque society. This paper is essential for anyone who works in the field of language policy. As he claims in the video for the symposium, the extra-familial and outside-of-school spheres are the hardest to control. The power relationships of this space that grows in importance as the student gets older, this globalised linguistic market, may explain the difference between Primary and Secondary Education pupils. Although the cultural consumption data are very peripheral in the Arrue project, they are still highly significant. Cultural consumption in Primary and Secondary education is predominantly Spanish. It would be important to analyse this subject specifically, with a longitudinal, comparative study. Which variables influence young people's cultural consumption? Here's another framework.

— Thirdly, we would like to mention the work of our colleague at the table, Jone Miren Hernández (2007). She carries out research into how some speakers construct their "Basqueness" from the perspective of competence and identity in a town such as Lasarte-Oria, which has heavily experienced the main characteristics of modernity from the speaker's angle. In this paper, on one hand she highlights the complexity of the process; and on the other, she evidences the importance of the efforts being carried out in the town by the Basque-speaking community to increase the symbolic capital of a minoritised Basque language. We would not be able to analyse these transition processes otherwise, because they would not arise. Today, a lot of conscientious work is being carried out on the cultural dimension in Lasarte-Oria, and we feel that this aspect deserves a specific study; this town is a hothouse for Basque culture. In this respect, we would like to add that, according to this ongoing analysis of ours, it seems to us that, sooner rather than later, it would be more strategic to analyse the praxis that have endeavoured to face up to the urbanisation process than to focus our attention only on the living spaces that will follow the same process. We should analyse both aspects.

PROBLEMATISING THE CULTURAL DIMENSION

In our opinion, neither language nor cultural policies have had sufficient influence on the sociolinguistic aspect of culture (see Goikoetxea, 2011). We have observed a kind of intellectual cap among the delegates in the fields of power. On one hand, we are not used to integrating mainstreaming in our sights; we have a strict experience of the subjects that must be handled, whether they be the Basque language, culture, etc. On the other hand, we think that the function of culture in the compaction of the linguistic community has not been sufficiently gauged. This proves to be particularly problematic in the post-modern age: as the authors who described social changes warned us, individualisation is on the rise. Individuals —in our case, the speakers— live in a linguistic market, which is not exactly inclined towards the Basque language. Socialisation is not neutral, it naturalises the minority. Nevertheless, young Basque thinkers (see Sarasola 2012) question the perspective that we have had up until now about the linguistic community. Their voice should also be analysed.

With regard to education, in the absence of an in-depth analysis, we would say that, in this sphere, Basque culture has been dealt with better than in other sectors of society, at least as far as Primary Education is concerned (despite the distribution of books in Basque). In Secondary Education, the specialisation of subjects is intensified, as is the perception of the teacher's role. Many language normalisation professionals are concerned, for example, about the way in which a maths teacher could be influenced to also act as a Basque language teacher. If we have not gained any ground in language terms, what can we say about the cultural dimension? Consequently, we also have an epistemological cap: What is language? What type of relationship does it have with the other subjects? Is it just another subject? This is another area that it would be interesting to explore.

We cannot undermine the political cap either. Language is always going to be a source of conflict because it has a

relationship with power. Consequently, it is not fair to place the responsibility on the speaker (whether father, mother or teacher…) saying that it must be made attractive, as well as a post-modern trend. In any case, the speaker can do a lot, even by using persuasion. As can be seen in the Arrue project data, the influence of the teacher is fundamental in the use of Basque, as the level of use in the classroom is also kept up in the playground when the teacher is there. The teacher's language leadership, therefore, appears to be an important topic. This topic is another sphere that it would be interesting to analyse from a research-action methodology (see Goikoetxea, 2010, on the actions in the working world by the Sociolinguistics Cluster). Likewise, we find the channels suggested by Iñaki Artola interesting. Furthermore, we find the following questions to be fundamental: What is the school's function as regards language? What is considered public and what is private within the school? What level of institutionalisation do these staff criteria have? These matters are the source of great debate, even conflict, in our faculty.

The political-epistemological cap may also have another meaning. Bourdieu (mentioned above) explains the influence that has been achieved by the fact that Saussure, widely considered the father of modern linguistics, established a dichotomy between internal and external linguistics, and chose the former. Less attention has been given to research into the social dimension of language and so we have commodified language and taken it out of context.

We believe that the political cap has had significant influence on this commodification. The 20th century has been very tough for us in many ways, and to that effect, it is surprising to see the path that we have travelled in the revitalisation of the Basque language. Education is undoubtedly king. The preceding generation's commitment was to construct co-existence through school. That commitment has proved to be a success, as the school is an area that has exceeded the culture/counterculture paradigm. School has its actors: the many teachers who have done such a wonderful job. The results of the Arrue project are good. Could they have been any better in our circumstances? Do we integrate the glass ceiling in our analyses?

At schools we have found a large number of obstacles in the way of working on the social dimension, as a result of the aforementioned commodification:

— We are in agreement with regard to individual multilingualism, but not in the case of social multilingualism. We do not have clear formulations for the latter in schools' education programmes, neither in the curriculum nor the praxis.

— The social dimension of Basque has been relegated to the background in teachers' training. Priority has been given to the corpus.

— The teacher's intervention criteria are a source of debate in the education community. Must we allow students to correct us in Spanish? Must we make sociolinguistic recommendations to parents? Or would that mean entering into the private sphere? Must we influence the behaviour of our work colleagues?

— Contents to work specifically on Basque identity have systematically been omitted from school curricula. The discourse about the plurality of identities may run the risk of naturalising the minoritised Basque identity. The same treatment cannot be given to something that is not in the same situation. We should read further into multiculturality. Likewise, the curricular framework of national states is becoming more and more restrictive. How do the different networks act?

— Language normalisation projects and professionals are often situated on the outskirts of the organisation. What are the caps in each case?

— The CLIL methodology is not very widespread. Most students receive content and language at the same time. Are the strategies we use in the classroom suitable? Do we use the same strategies with children from families who opt for the "yes to Basque" or for the "living in Basque"? What sociolinguistic effects does the homogenisation of students have?

THE CULTURAL DIMENSION AND TABOOS

In recent years, the way of working in policies promoting biodiversity has changed considerably. Previously, policies were aimed at maintaining species at risk of extinction: the objective was not to interrupt the chain of transmission, for example, in the case of bears, birds and fish. After a series of in-depth evaluations, the biologists revised those policies. Now it is ecosystems that are protected; the purpose of policies is not a specific species but rather their habitat. Maybe it would be wise to revise the treatment of Basque and promote ecosystems. The cultural dimension will be very useful to us.

However, in order to open the doors to experimentation, we must overcome certain taboos. In the Arrue project data, there is data from schools, from different regions, from networks, etc. missing. It would be important to know the details about who has achieved the best data and why; how the cultural dimension is treated in the curricular aspect; what the social multilingualism's level of institutionalisation

is; and, in general, what work the teachers are carrying out in the classroom.

To research all these aspects, it is fundamental to lower the focus and also overcome many taboos. From the "machine room" it will be possible to better gauge what needs to be done at any given time, and which caps can be beaten. Could we start with the teachers' reflective practices? They are the ones who have made this picture of the Arrue project results possible. Their motivation/lack of motivation is a key issue. You cannot make a film without actors or a director. If only we could find a way to make this idea visible.

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BREATHING SPACE AND TIME. THE TIME HAS COME FOR YOUNG PEOPLE AND THE BASQUE LANGUAGE

JONE M. HERNÁNDEZ
UPV/EHU - University of the Basque Country

This text looks at the results obtained by the Arrue project in 2013. It does not analyse this data. The results presented here provide the pretext to compile and summarise ideas that have appeared over the last few years concerning young people and their relationship with the Basque language. As I will explain later on, I believe that we are nearing the end of a cycle, and this is a good time to review the situation. In addition, I would like to put a new proposal on the table. Although reference is frequently made to breathing space these days, I preferred to use "breathing time and space" as the title to this text because I believe that in addition to taking space into consideration, we should also pay particular attention to time. Time is needed to compile, analyse and assess what has been achieved (major, high quality achievements) and what has not been achieved over these last three decades. I am convinced that we have amassed the necessary experience and knowledge to tackle the current situation and make way for the future. But this takes time. Among other things, time to think.

THE TIME HAS COME TO FOCUS ON YOUNG PEOPLE AGAIN

In 1983 the decree was established that would regulate the educational models (A, B and D) in the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC) (decree 138/1983, dated 11th July). Children who were just starting school at that time (normally aged 3 years old back then) are now about to turn 30. Although our societies have made an issue out of when youth begins and ends, on the whole we might assume that most of those children will have become adults.

It could be said that they are about to finish a cycle, as they are the first young people who, thanks to society's influence and initiative —and protected by the public system— have been able to become Basque speakers with full communication capacities. They have seen the Basque language become democratic —although rather to a certain extent— and they have directly experienced the advantages and disadvantages of this process.

However, whilst one generation of young people are moving on, we can already start to talk about new generations. From the early 90s, young people played a leading role in Basque sociolinguistics' variety of plans and research. However, the 'former' young people are moving on and the 'new' youth are arriving on the scene although the questions and concerns have barely changed. I have the feeling that nowadays we talk much less about knowledge of the Basque language. The reason for this might be that we are certain that this area is being developed, through families or schools. Or it could be that this subject has become taboo because, to a certain extent, we can perceive the danger of risking the education system and the work of the professionals within it.

Whatever the reason might be, the belief that children would learn the Basque language at school was widespread until lately. Furthermore, I would say that this concept continues to be valid in some contexts. In principle, this discourse does not have to be negative, as putting our faith in schools can strengthen the system. The negative aspect revolves around negligence that can cause this belief: school will take care of it, school with manage it, school will make them Basque speakers. I think that we have already begun to accept the school system's limitations: by itself, it cannot make all children Basque speakers.

In any case, it is clear that over the last few years, we have assumed that knowledge has been consolidated and that debates and plans have revolved around usage. In this respect, there is a recurring question on the table: why don't our young people, our young Basque speakers use the Basque language? At least, why don't they use it as much as expected?

Taking into account that the Basque language is in a critical situation, this question seems appropriate although another types of question are not asked as often such as: how much, with whom, where, when and for what do these young people use the Basque language? I am reminded of the change in viewpoint that Xabier Erize (1997) suggested in his thesis *(Nafarroako euskararen historia soziolinguistikoa*

(1863-1936): Soziolinguistika historikoa eta hizkuntza gutxituen bizitza —Sociolinguistic History of Navarra, 1863-1936: Historical sociolinguistics and the life of minoritised languages). As the Navarrese sociolinguist and historian upheld, until then the majority of research reflected a concern for variables or factors providing set-backs for the Basque language. But Erize put another question on the table: and what are (in this case in Navarre) the driving elements that have guaranteed the survival of the Basque language? It would be interesting to analyse Erize's in-depth and extensive work to also be aware of the importance of the type of questions that we ask.

If we look at BAT sociolinguistic magazine issues published to date, we can see that a couple of decades back, we began thinking about young Basque speakers[1]. Their level of knowledge, their level of use and their motivation became a regular talking point among our concerns. And all types of attempts have been made to tackle these problems. Occasionally, young people have been surveyed directly; other times, we have set up a debate for them, with the idea of extracting some conclusions. And in the end, the materials, results, percentages and conclusions obtained have represented the central topic of numerous conferences, meetings or sessions... However, along this path, most of the effort, if not all of it, has been made from the adult viewpoint, from adult needs and from adult diagnosis. It was adults that prepared and focussed the forms. It was adults that compiled and analysed the data. It was adults that extracted their conclusions and it was adults that designed proposals and plans for the future.

In this process, young people have played a fairly passive role. At the very most, it can be said that over time they have learnt the answers that they have to give and the slogans they have to repeat both for and against the Basque language. For researchers, young people can be an easy, tempting research subject: easy to access and, in general, willing to participate. Joan Pujolar came up with the same line of thought a few years ago. This Catalan researcher organised a special issue of the magazine NOVES S.L. in 2008 focussing on young people, languages and identities (Pujolar, 2008). Pujolar looked at curiosity (and occasionally concern) that young people caused from the point of view of linguistic planning in the introductory chapter ("Els joves, les llengües i les identitats") to the aforementioned journal. In the author's opinion, there are two fundamental reasons behind the phenomenon (Pujolar, 2008:1). On the one hand, young people, or in other words the new generation of speakers, are usually considered to be the seed for the future and their participation is essential in minoritised language recovery processes. On the other hand, according to Pujolar, young people are more accessible that other population groups for researchers. They are normally happy to fill in a form or be interviewed. From this point of view, Pujolar considers that we have to be careful as this can inflate research on young people whilst the behaviour of other population groups goes unanalysed.

I would like to add another point to what I have presented so far: I believe that we are not aware of the great potential of youth, and, in fact, there is no point in researching young people if not to see our society reflected on their faces. This statement has two sides according to the author. On the one hand, it should be taken into account that young people are, to a large extent, a category we (society) have created. On the other and linked to the above, we should highlight that young people reflect the image (the sketch) of our society, although this image might not please adults. This is what philosopher José Luis Aranguren had to say about it (Aranguren in Feixa, 2006:27): *Young people portray the global society in bold strokes although it does not necessary appreciate being portrayed in this way*. In other words, we cannot research young people outside society as if they were isolated.

Below, I will briefly expand on the first idea (young people as a social category or construction); the second will be looked at later on, as a way of finishing off this text.

The Catalan anthropologist Carles Feixa often began his texts by defining young people. In this way, and in keeping with anthropological tradition, he clarified that young people and certain concepts linked to them ("adolescence" among others) are an "invention", social constructions that emerged in a specific social and historical context. In this respect, the author states that youth, and adolescence in particular, is a concept that emerged at the dawn of industrialisation in the mid 18th century (Feixa, 2006) although it did not begin to spread until approximately 1900. It was then that a new generation became aware that it made up its own culture, different from adult culture. In this respect, the democratisation (spread) of youth began alongside changes in the main social institutions.

> "(...) different educational reforms, the job market, family, military service, youth associations and the

[1] The journal's website provides the list of all the issues published since issue 7-8. Looking more closely at issue 7-8 (published in September 1992), we find an article entitled "Gazteak euskalduntzeko egitasmoa". Its authors expressed this concern: *According to the sociolinguistic studies, it is young people in general that demonstrate the greatest offset between the level of knowledge of the Basque language and its use, in addition to expressing the greatest motivation regarding the Basque language. In short: the rate of linguistic loyalty does not match the level of awareness expressed*. The article can be accessed through this website: http://www.soziolinguistika.org/node/597. A year later (1993), young people were the focus of the research entitled *Past and present of the Basque language*. This extensive and in-depth research boosted by the Basque Government conjures up a complete portrait of youth.

leisure world allow a new generation to emerge aware of creating their own, distinctive culture, different from adult culture".

Therefore, first and foremost, it is advisable to highlight that the concept of youth is a social category we have created. We tend to forget it but many of us frequently heard stories from our parents or grandparents emphasising how short their youth felt (and often their childhood as well). They went straight from school to work (many of them without even finishing their schooling) and in just a few years they had to assume family responsibilities. They did it all prematurely (as they were too young) and immediately, and they were only aware of some fragments of youth, if any at all. However, as the 20th century went on, things changed in Western societies as the economic, political and cultural context was transformed. So, the generations of young people over the last few decades are the result of all this. However, we cannot forget that in other societies, things have happened (and continue to happen) differently. These differences have been highlighted on many occasions by anthropologists.

These ideas seem simple and obvious but I get the impression that we often do not take them into consideration and occasionally we tend to understand youth as a timeless, universal category.

If we accept that each generation of young people is the fruit of its time, we should wonder what type of youth we have helped to create in the last few decades, even more so in the case of the Basque Country. Have we helped to create a generation of young people that will use the Basque language?

THE ETERNAL CONCERN ABOUT (NON) USE

We often hear that we need a young Basque language, a Basque that adapts to young people. However, we can also see that Basque has been used by young people throughout all periods (if we gloss over the prohibitions) so that it seems that at some point Basque had to stop being young. Or at some point, young people moved away from Basque.

Maybe on this point it would be opportune to draw a parallel with Basque speaking women as in the early 20th century above all many critical voices were raised against the starring role that women were acquiring in revitalising the Basque language and Basque culture. The emergence of Emakume Abertzale Batza (EAB) —Nationalist Women's Association— in 1922 could be a clear example of women's social participation.

However, to calibrate the importance and influence of this participation we should look closely at two opposing elements: external influences or in other words, the new (and transgressive) ideology around women from Europe; and the internal discourse that attempted to limit their role. The latter highlighted the role of women as transmitting mothers. Many women in the Basque Country had to live in the midst of this tension.

Despite everything, thanks to the new political structure, some women could find their voice (and make good use of it). The figure of the female orator is a good example. They were creating a new model. Their work focussed on at least two fields: some participated in rallies whilst others spoke at conferences, both before a large and diverse audience and they managed to take a starring role. They were specially prepared for their task.

Nevertheless, it was soon clear that their work caused contradictions. At the time, it was considered necessary for women to use their discourse to effectively explain, diffuse and claim the notion of homeland, appealing to emotions, feelings, talking from the heart. The woman's task was the result of her love for her homeland consequently making politics invisible in her actions. Along with this work, these female orators had to intervene in the feminism crisis that began to emerge: fashions from the outside world were criticised as absurd (style of dressing, clothes, way of moving and dancing). From the point of view of nationalism, they were dangerous. And the actual women were the most appropriate people to tackle these new trends. In addition, some intellectuals of the time also denounced these new fashions. Lourdes Otaegi (2000) provides a masterly explanation on the starring role that Xabier Lizardi managed to take in bringing this discourse to light. According to Otaegi, Lizardi stated that two elements were behind the critical situation of the Basque language: religion and women. Most schools were in the hands of the church and teaching was in Spanish. What about the women? Why were they guilty? Because they were dedicated followers of fashion (they were 'abducted'). Women were increasingly adopting customs and attitudes that were not tied to nationalism. In the words of Lourdes Otaegi (Otaegi, 2000: 293):

[2] Egile ezberdinak (gutxi batzuk baina garrantzitsuak denak) osatu dute profil hau. José María Sánchez Carrión, (euskal soziolinguistikaren bultzatzaile nagusienetariko bat —bereziki 1980/1990 hamarkadetan—) berak hitz egiten du emakume traidoreari buruz bere testu batean: "La Navarra Cantábrica" (1981), baina Xabier Lizardik ere deskribatu zuen askotan euskal emakume hauen profila. Lourdes Otaegik (2000) primeran jasotzen du Lizardik horren gainean esandakoa.

> "Lizardi quotes as unthinkable that most women are interested in anything more than following fashion in terms of makeup, clothing, hair and dancing, whilst he makes other suggestions along the lines of it being useless to try and reason with women."

At the time the model or the image of some women were severely criticised. And the figure of the woman as a traitor began to emerge[2]: the woman who moved away from the role that, due to her condition as a women, was imposed on her by society (and specifically models of femininity); the woman who left her usual environment (the homestead) looking for a better life; or the woman who decides to open up to the influences of the world.

In the press at the time, *(Argia, El Día, Euzkadi)* curious news stories were published on women: claims in other countries (Greece, France, Italy) for the right to vote, the situation of women in other countries, new working women figures (policewomen, priestesses, female orators, writers, soldiers), new fashions emerging in the outside world (changes in clothing) and their influence on Basque women. In parallel to news stories from the outside, concern for the country's situation was revealed. On more than one occasion, the Basque press from 1920-1930 reveals questions of this type: *"Where are women heading?"* as palpable proof of their lack of direction. Women's happiness became a subject for debate and this opened the door to other more specific topics including language. In magazines like "Euskal Esnalea" we can find articles on more than one occasion such as *"Emakumiak eta Euskera" (Women and the Basque language)*.

It has been commonplace to relate women to the idea of mother tongue. However, when establishing this link, we should take into account that we are facing a more complex situation that might have been believed as we are referring to social organisation. We keep coming back to the same complexity when we analyse women's linguistic behaviour from the stance of prestige. According to prestige theories, women are much more sensitive to changes in a language and would always be aware of new forms of prestige. This type of explanation implicitly or explicitly states that men prefer to cling on to their own way over assimilating new forms of prestige as, at the end of the day, having already conquered areas of power in society they would not be as conditioned by forms of prestige.

These theories are very well known in our environment and it has often been shown that women are conditioned by prestige in this field. I think that in this matter we are once again sticking to superficial explanations. In fact, I am of the opinion that this type of theory only brings out a characteristic of how the gender system works. For this reason, I think that to tackle the matter in depth, we should investigate the different paths and opportunities that women and men can follow to access status. And I am convinced that to do this, it can be particularly useful to enter the world of young people. In this way, we can take into account just how different the tools and resources are that boys and girls use to build their identity.

According to the hypothesis drawn up by Daniel Maltz and Ruth Broker, in the USA, men and women grow up and are educated in different sociolinguistic subgroups and, consequently, they develop different models of linguistic use. These differences between girls and boys emerge during youth as at this age the gender variable has a decisive influence. Therefore, at this stage, the different linguistic models developed by boys and girls are accentuated and both girls and boys develop their own tools to achieve a status and express themselves. In this process, girls and boys look for reference points in groups of their own gender. Therefore, they set the models of each gender strictly, expressing their ties to each specific world. It seems that language meets a different function in each of these worlds. As Penelope Eckert explained in an analysis carried out in US schools, boys base competition between each other on objective differences (using strength or skill); on the other hand, girls rely on symbolic meanings to set limits between them. In this case, their physical appearance, clothing or linguistic use become important identity signs for girls. Using this analysis, we should focus on the theory of the lack of power that we alluded to earlier.

For the reasons we have discussed, boys demonstrate what they are capable of *doing*. On the other hand, girls aim to express *what they are like,* and language takes on decisive importance for this purpose, as it is an element closely linked to how a person presents themselves. Consequently, changes of any type occurring in language are stronger in the case of women as they have paid closer attention to language and communication.

Finally, measurements taken in the street have faithfully reflected this change in linguistic behaviour that occurs in boys and girl during adolescence. For example, in the measurement taken in 2001, the most significant difference between women and men occurred in the 14-25 group (Hernández, 2002).

I have referred to women's situation because to a certain extent, I have equated it with the situation of young people. In short, when we refer to them, we cannot forget

[2] This profile was shaped by several authors (not many but they were important). José María Sánchez Carrión himself (one of the main promoters of Basque sociolinguistics, particularly in the 80s and 90s) refers to women as traitors in one of his texts: "La Navarra Cantábrica" (1981). Xabier Lizardi also often described the profile of these Basque women. Lourdes Otaegi (2000) gives a perfect compilation of what Lizardi had to say on the matter.

the role these two collectives play in society. I think that to understand their attitude and behaviour, greater consideration should be given to the consequences of being marginalised, far from centres of power. The challenge involves studying social structure, making the analysis particularly difficult.

Can this general, complex analysis really work on the situation for young people? In this case, what would the weighty elements be in terms of young people's attitude or behaviour towards the Basque language? What role does the Basque language play in the world of adults and the world of young people? Before answering these questions, we should also consider the following: What type of young people are we creating (educated to be individuals and competitive)? What is the language like that we are offering them (minoritised, periphery language)? And what type of society are we presenting (dichotomy, paradoxical)?

WHAT YOUNG PEOPLE TELL US ABOUT OUR SOCIETY

Let's take any school playground at break time. The playground is full of children or teenagers. All the students share the same school, their routines and lifestyles are similar; they have the same rules, the same text books and the same teachers. However, in this space, where they are standing demonstrates separation. In the middle of the playground there is the football pitch, dominated by the ball and we find most of the boys around it. On the edges, forming small groups, we have the girls, sitting down, watching and talking.

This is such a powerful image that young people themselves often use it to describe the differences between boys and girls. They believe that the image clearly expresses their different interests, ways of being and practices. Each forms their world separately (at least in adolescence) and these two worlds rarely coincide. Girls and boys, everyone... we're different. Each person is special, unique. This diversity is valuable. The problem starts when differences lead to inequality. The image we have conjured up in the playground is echoed on television. Women are mainly on gossip shows and men on football programmes. It is clear which of these two worlds conjures up more money and prestige (power).

Therefore, when young people describe their playground, they are telling us about ourselves (society).
Co-ed schooling is not enough to achieve equality; schooling in the Basque language has not been sufficient to be able to live in the Basque language. The classroom throws together children whose first language is Basque with other children for whom it is not. They spend a lot of time together, with the same teacher, performing and learning the same things. They should all attain the same targets, following a similar work dynamic, doing the same homework, meeting the same obligations... However, more than the dynamic inside the classroom, the measure of reality is provided by what we find outside the classroom.

This is what happens with gender and language matters. The playground is similar to any village square. This is where children and teenagers are free, watched over by adults (sometimes teachers, sometimes parents); but they are free to play and talk. This is time where they are free from obligations, in their own space. The classroom is not the same as the playground. They are both school areas but have little else in common. From this point of view, it seems logical that there should be a gap in the use of the Basque language from one context to another. Maybe this gap does not exist for adults? Maybe children and teenagers do not see how their parents talk Basque with their Basque-speaking friends and acquaintances, even in the ikastola playground when they come to pick them up? Maybe children and teenagers don't see their teachers talking Spanish to each other?

The data presented around the Arrue project in January 2013 demonstrates that they do, among other things. In other words, the use of the Basque language at school has many nuances: age, model, first language, sociolinguistic context, gender... All variables have an influence —to one extent or another— in linguistic practices. In the case of young people, many attempts have been made to list factors affecting usage. This is feasible, but it seems much more complicated to predict which direction each variable is going to take[3].

Doubtlessly, schools have done a great job at spreading the Basque language to new generations and, in this aspect, it has taken on a fundamental role in the Basque speaker profile consolidation process for young people. But all this has resulted in other types of consequences. Regardless of the assessment made on the above, we have to accept that schools have increased diversity (of speakers). Although the aim might be otherwise, different characteristics and circumstances linked to the social structure imposed very different starting points and, consequently, speaker profiles have multiplied. The research boosted by the Arrue project does not mention this extreme, but it is reflected in the data collected: although the aim of the school is clear (turn

[3] Regarding this concern, I find it interesting to highlight the work performed jointly by the *Sociolinguístics Cluster*, the *Escuela Urtxintxa* and *Topagunea* (federation of associations in favour of the Basque language) to study the topic of young people's linguistic use. This joint project appeared in a specific piece of research ("Gazteen hizkuntza erabileran eragiten duten faktoreen azterketa"- Analysis of the factors that affect young people's linguistic use), as the result of which the Erabileraren GPSa material emerged (GPS of use).

children and teenagers into Basque-speakers), the real situation helps to bring it about in its own way.

And so it is particularly complicated nowadays to talk about Basque-speaking young people. Adults have lived through different times, maybe harder but definitely clearer. 30 or 40 years ago, when the aforementioned decree came out, there were two main speaker profiles: people who could speak the Basque language and people who could not. Currently, taking into consideration a single school or the entire Basque Country, we can see that diversity has taken over, and language has been no exception. We are facing an extensive continuum which, in my opinion, should be seen as positive. This has been possible thanks to schools (and also thanks to institutions that have taken part in spreading the Basque language). We have a solid Basque-speaking environment, which probably brings about mixture and blending. And maybe this is how it should be, or simply how it is going to be.

I have occasionally resorted to the idea of a continuum. And I would put speakers on this continuum. Consequently, it is increasingly difficult for us to represent the speaker profile. Contrary to what went before, nowadays it is the nuances that count, even when making forecasts.

This is not the time to be debating whether young people should continue to be a cause for concern, although if we analyse the Arrue data, we can clearly see that the students interviewed are still very young (9-10 and 13-14 years old) to have defined their definitive linguistic profile. They still have a long way to go and there is still time for their lives to undergo many changes and phases: What academic path (training) will they take? What type of personal relationships will they have? Where will they work? Currently, taking into account the economic situation, will they even stay in the Basque Country? If we attempt to imagine the future of these young people, we should take mobility into consideration, along with any changes that will take place in their lives and the consequences that these changes will have on their linguistic path.

I think this is a good time to take a look at the "mute" concept *(mudes lingüístiques* to be precise) used by Joan Pujolar. Diversity in our society; mutability in our life. We should understand socialisation as a process that lasts a lifetime. We have reasons for this, now more than ever. But we should not understand the changes negatively: times of change are also opportunities and work carried out around the idea of "mudes", as mentioned by Pujolar, demonstrates this. The leap from high school to university, from university to the workplace, setting up a family... these are all moments of important changes that take place in anyone's life that, thanks to different factors, create opportunities to change trends and behaviour that had been consolidated until then. On many occasions, the Basque language has received backing during these times of change. A new linguistic identity has been added to a new stage.

In addition, and in relation to the above, it is best to highlight that attitudes and demonstrations among young people interviewed in the Arrue project —particularly among the 13-14 age group— are particularly raw. Young people in this age group resort to stereotypes to shape their discourse and their images in an attempt to define and specify their identity. They demonstrate extreme discourse and attitudes regarding social matters and problems. In order to define their identity, they might even give up on or transform behaviour that they displayed until this point. They seek out a place for themselves, separate from adults, although following their example. In this process, they represent a nuance-free society, in black and white. The dichotomies are increasingly clear. For this reason, when they define their context, they introduce us to society like a caricature. However, time will tell and practice will wear down this youthful discourse and in the end, it will be diluted among the attitudes encountered in society in general.

I think that youth-related problems or concerns are symptoms or metaphors for all of society. At least I believe that they should be taken into consideration. To a large extent, their attitudes or behaviour are a reflection of the present, of the hopes and fears present in current society. In addition, by means of transmission, previous generations also pass down unresolved problems to young people and this sediment can be found in their behaviour and attitudes. Therefore, I believe that we should approach the questions raised by youth more generally, as these are questions aimed at society in general.

So then, when we ask why young people do not speak the Basque language, maybe we should be asking ourselves why as well. Probably the interpretation made by Joan Pujolar regarding Catalan will help us to find some answers (Pujolar, 2008:2). According to this author, forecasts around a language would be based on these three premises:

a) Language is the expression of group identity, so when somebody assimilates a language (through the socialisation process), they also take in this identity.

b) Language is an independent concept that can be represented and defined independently from the speaker.

c) Speaking each person's language, their own, would be the natural expression of identity. The fact of using another language or inserting interferences (loans, etc.) in the use of language is considered a sign of abnormality.

In other words, this is the paradigm imposed until now through which we have assessed our linguistic situation. However, in this explanation, what is automatic (acquiring language and the socialisation process), independent (the language) and natural (that each person speaks their language, meaning using the language) does not happen in the real world.

We previously commented that, although there might be exceptions, our young people have seen Basque language become democratic (the right to learn Basque). I think we are still at that point. In my opinion, young people, their families and actual society are still assimilating it. They are processing changes at a collective level and an individual level. The Basque language is impregnating plurality, but I suspect that the traditional paradigms around the language remain in force as if not all the changes might be processed. In exchange, young people are endangering this paradigm and warning us of the need for a deconstruction process: what relationship does this paradigm retain with their everyday existence, their surrounding world? They are aware of reference points in the Basque language linked to Basque culture but how can they include these reference points among those offered by their families (many of them Spanish-speaking)? And what about reference points from youth culture?

I can see the future is full of questions and challenges so to finish off, it will serve up one of each.

A CHALLENGE

We should manage to understand and put across that difference is not the same as inequality. Dolores Juliano (1992) explains it with Meridian clarity when she states that in our society (particularly in Western societies) we can only understand difference as inequality. Something different is always something less. And this leads us to constantly set scales and in many of them, the Basque language loses out.

We should learn to socialise/integrate in society from linguistic diversity. I think we have very few other options. And I believe that is the real challenge. I am not so concerned about transmitting contents but their assimilation and management. We should offer children and young people tools so that they feel comfortable with this diversity and proud of it. We can state that all the young people interviewed in the Arrue project are Basque speakers. Each of them should be able to find their own way of being a Basque speaker. And we should offer them tools so that they can carry out this search in the Basque language.

A QUESTION

In a survey carried out in 1993 among the 13-14 age range, 36% answered that in the classroom they always or more often spoke the Basque language with their classmates. In another survey from 1999, the answer from the same age range was 44%. In 2012, in the analysis carried out within the Arrue project, this same answer was given by 28%. What reasons, or variables, might be behind this drop? How can we divide up the "responsibility" for this drop?

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SOCIOLINGUISTICS CLUSTER (2012), ARRUE PROJECT: DIAGNOSTIC EVALUATION 2011: DATA ON PUPILS' LANGUAGE USE. PEDAGOGICAL-DIDACTIC READING OF THE REPORT[1]

ITZIAR IDIAZABAL

UPV/EHU - University of the Basque Country.
UNESCO Chair on World Language Heritage at the University of the Basque Country

Almost at the same time as bilingual language models were established in schools in the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country, initiatives were started up to evaluate the results of those models. These initiatives go by the name of the EIFE programmes, and the first of them (Gabiña et al.1986) was carried out in the year 1984, two years after the Law for the normalization of the use of Basque was passed (1982). By means of these programmes, the four traditional uses (comprehension and oral production, and comprehension and written production) in both languages have been evaluated. However, as is usually the case in this type of task, what is actually measured is the *competence,* by means of specific tests that are carried out at schools for this purpose, not the USE itself.

The Sociolinguistics Cluster has been measuring direct data on the use of Basque in the street for some years now, and the work of the Arrue project is along the same lines. Nevertheless, in the "Diagnostic evaluation 2011: data on pupils' language use" project (hereinafter, ED11), the use of Basque (and the use of Spanish) is indirectly shown once more, as the research study reflects what the pupils say, not what they actually do. In any case, it is a new contribution and a very interesting initiative.

Pupils in the 9-10 year old and 13-14 year old brackets tell us when, with whom and how much they use the Basque language. They also tell us if they use it with ease or with difficulty, with pleasure or out of obligation, in which situations and for which purpose. In turn, the study provides us with information about the use of Spanish and also other languages that the pupils use, although it mainly focuses on the Basque-Spanish pair of languages. Since the number of foreign students is still quite low (4%), the use of other languages does not hold much weight in schools in the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country faced with the Basque/Spanish language pair.

From the beginning, this project has highlighted, or rather, it has confirmed with figures that, although without knowledge, use is impossible, the former does not automatically lead to the latter. In other words, it is not always true that greater knowledge leads to greater use. Apart from knowledge, there are other very effective variables that influence use. We feel that the purpose of this study is to find those variables.

The study focuses on schools, and its results will not have come as much of a surprise to those who know the field or anyone with a minimum responsibility in the production and dissemination of the Basque language. However, they have been quantified, and that is a very important point to be able to move forward, as, logically, they offer a greater guarantee than mere suspicions and certainties when it comes to taking measures. The influence of school is very effective in the use of Basque, and it is once again clear that it is an essential condition. Furthermore, the project provides some highly significant variables on this subject. For our part, we will focus on the variables regarding the so-called education community (students-teachers-parents) and in particular, we will bear in mind the aspects that have a direct relationship with language didactics.

This report on the use of Basque has its framework in the diagnostic evaluation programmes promoted by the Department of Education (ED11) and is based on a survey managed by the Sociolinguistics Cluster. The ED11 project that we have just mentioned measured 4 competences: competence for language communication in Basque, Spanish and English, and mathematic competence. Furthermore, the diagnostic evaluations from 2009 and 2011 are compared in the report, which is particularly interesting, in general, to observe the evolution of teaching. Likewise, the new model of diagnostic evaluation proposed for the academic year 2012-2013 can be accessed online (http://www.isei-ivei.net/eusk/argital/indexargi.htm), and we have taken it into account in our reflection.

[1] This work has been made possible with the help of the MEC FFI2012-37884-C03-01 project.

We will present what all this material has suggested to use in the pedagogical-didactic sphere by means of questions:

1) To what extent does one learn to use Basque at school?

2) How can competence in the use of Basque be evaluated?

3) To what degree does the school environment make it possible to acquire Basque, and particularly its use? What is effective in schools to increase the use of Basque?

4) What can parents do?

TO WHAT EXTENT DOES ONE LEARN TO USE BASQUE AT SCHOOL?

Learning to speak Basque is essential to be able to use it; i.e. there is no use without knowledge. However, use is necessary to develop knowledge. Although this situation appears to be a vicious circle, the report makes it clear that the starting point is knowledge. More specifically, the reports analysed reflect very significant results as regards knowledge:

— They reveal that, depending on the language model, the differences in knowledge are considerable. The results as regards model A are far from meeting the requisites of basic knowledge. It would be easy to think that the removal of the model would solve the problem. However, the matter is not that simple, and that decision would probably not be that effective. We will go back to the subject of the models later.

— There are also other factors that have a relationship with knowledge of Basque: "competence to speak Basque easily/ease for using Basque" on one hand, and the attitude of seeing "Basque as an easy language" on the other, have been presented in the reports as factors that drive the use of Basque.

— Nevertheless, the report does not provide data that would enable us to find out the level of ease that the pupils acquire to speak Basque, as in the "competences of language communication in Basque" measurement, oral use is not included, i.e. oral expression has not been taken into account. And using a language with ease means, above all, its oral, or spoken use.

— The vision of Basque as a normal or easy language does not automatically entail its knowledge and use, but the report highlights that the pupils have overcome the widespread negative attitude in society as a whole, and among the non-Basque-speaking population in particular, that "Basque is a difficult language" (Amorrortu et al., 2008), which is probably due to the influence of schools.

— From what we can gather from the comparison between the 2009 and 2011 reports, competence in Basque has increased (mean score in both levels: 250 – 256), but this growth is only significant in model D. Besides, the improvement only occurs in the most advanced level of the three that have been used for the evaluation (beginners, intermediate and advanced). Furthermore, the number of pupils who do not have Basque as a language in their home has fallen slightly.

— In any case, it is worth bearing in mind that, in 2011, 24.7% of pupils were in the beginners' level, i.e. the lowest level, in model D. In other words, a quarter of the school pupils in model D do not find it easy to communicate, that is, to speak. This verification leads us to believe that this "beginners" level represents a difficulty for the easy or fluent use of Basque.

HOW CAN COMPETENCE IN THE USE OF BASQUE BE EVALUATED?

Over the last 30 years, there has been spectacular progress in the teaching of Basque. Although we do not have similar comparative data to that of the ED2011 report, as regards the last three years, we may think that Basque is being learned better and better in our schools. However, this is not enough. As we have already mentioned, in model D, which reflects the best conditions and highest level of requirements, 25% of the pupils have insufficient competence to speak Basque easily. Therefore, there is still a lot to do, in model D too, and this is normal in the teaching of any language, even more so in the situation in which our language finds itself. It is interesting to have accurate data, as otherwise it is impossible to implement effective initiatives.

We could declare that Basque is a second language for most pupils, as it is also not the main language for many who acquire it at home. Consequently, the school has a difficult job on its hands to develop competence in all its pupils to master the Basque language. We believe that there has been more progress in comprehension than in production, if not, our pupils would not achieve such good results in certain exams and evaluation tests (e.g. PISA). The same happens in other situations that are similar to ours, for example in Canada (Swain, 1995), but this is little consolation.

Apart from revealing specific results, the evaluations must make it possible to regulate the system. In education, as in other areas, what cannot be evaluated is not taken into account. So, bearing in mind the regulatory value of evaluation, we think that a special effort should be made in the evaluation of the production, particularly as regards oral, or spoken, production, albeit a difficult task.

Among the changes included in the new diagnostic evaluation for the academic year 2012-2013, it is said that the responsibility for evaluating spoken and written production will be left up to each centre or school. In language teaching, and for language use, the most significative competence is production and, to that effect, it is necessary to ensure written, and particularly spoken, production. We already know that it is difficult to measure the competence of production. The criteria proposed in the ED2011 report to evaluate written production are more precise if we compare them, for example, with those used in the EIFE programmes or those used in other habitual tests. Efforts are made to go beyond sentence grammar, taking into account textual genre. However, far too frequently we come across questions in which there is no clear consensus.

So, the new proposal for the academic year 2012-2013, the intention to also evaluate oral or spoken expression, must be seen as progress but, by leaving it down to the responsibility of each school, we feel that it feeds the ambiguity of the evaluation criteria. We believe that it is better to demarcate them more clearly and specifically, and taking all the different nuances into account; above all, we feel it is essential to use unified criteria because, as we have already mentioned, in order for the evaluation to be effective, the purposes and criteria that are going to be used in the measurements must be specified. Bearing in mind that the custom and knowledge to evaluate production under these premises is limited, leaving it in the hands of each school seems to us to be an easy way out with no guarantees.

If we see that it is impossible for us to evaluate oral expression, that is, if we do not have reference models for that purpose, we should say so and embark on the relevant research. In language teaching, and also in its evaluation, of course, the need to strengthen specialised studies must be made clear, and the necessary resources need to be allocated accordingly. If those topics of research were given the appropriate priority in our university, maybe we would find fewer obstacles.

In a situation such as ours, there is a notorious lack of basic research to successfully develop a teaching system that is to be constructed within a framework of multilingualism, and we do not believe there are many areas of research that are more socially justified than this. We are also convinced that we can make an important contribution to the world of teaching minoritised languages, and that our efforts will be worth it.

TO WHAT DEGREE DOES THE SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT MAKE IT POSSIBLE TO ACQUIRE BASQUE, AND PARTICULARLY ITS USE? WHAT IS EFFECTIVE IN THAT ENVIRONMENT TO INCREASE THE USE OF BASQUE?

This is a concern that goes way back in the model of bilingual teaching. Furthermore, we feel that the wealth of different programmes that have been developed under the schools' "normalisation plans" is noteworthy (Zalbide, 1998; Cenoz & Zalbide, 2008, Gardner, 2000). In particular, the progress that has been made in the last 30 years in the process of converting teachers to speaking Basque is spectacular. Likewise, we believe that there have also been advances in the requirements as regards Basque imposed on the other workers, above all in public centres or schools. However, the teachers do not always use Basque with each other, and this characteristic has proved to be significant in the study on language use that we are analysing here. Consequently, it is understandable that, if teachers use Spanish with each other for their everyday conversations and relations, then the pupils will do the same.

We feel that it is essential to underline the importance of this variable, if one wants to understand and strengthen schools' influence on the promotion of language use (and development). Contrary to mathematics, for example, language is always a social, and socially conditioned, act. In a minoritised language, even if it is the school's main language (model D), all the language use that takes place in that school is relevant, not only the usage that is worked on and controlled in the study subjects.

WHAT CAN PARENTS DO?

Parents choose their children's language model and make sure they take part in outside-of-school activities that promote the use of Basque. In the research study in question here, extracurricular activities are also shown to have a considerable influence on the use of Basque. Furthermore, the use of the language at home has also been verified to be very significant, particularly among Secondary 2 pupils (page 60).

It is not unusual for the aforementioned variables to be found to be effective. In the history of schooling in Basque, the importance of parents has been more than proven.

New studies have only served to reinforce the importance of their role. See, for example, the study by Martínez & Niemela (2010) based on the results of the EU Programme INCLUDED. To reduce school failure, it is very effective to reinforce the parents' chances to participate in the school's evaluation and programming decisions.

It is advisable to take into account the influence that parents exercise and can exercise on the Basque education system. The most unique feature of our system is that it has language models, and it is based precisely on the parents' choice. Although that feature is one of our system's greatest strengths, I am afraid it is not taken into account as much as it should. Based on the parents' choice, the most bilingual models have developed exceptionally, and the trend seems to continue. In other words, the model D is still the most requested model by parents. The policy makers should be concerned about not losing the strength that the system has gained as a result of the fact that this evolution has come about without having to force the parents into choosing that model.

If the education system impose a trilingual model or a unique model of any kind, it would lose the greater option of the parents' direct participation. Although models A and B have obtained limited results with regard to Basque, there is no doubt that progress has been made, and the system should make an effort to improve even further. But how can we substitute the work as a reference of the model D? We do not believe that a single model, even if it appears to be egalitarian, would achieve better results for Basque or for any of the other education objectives. However, as the circumstances have been gradually improving in schools, particularly as regards Basque, the parents have become more attracted to the models that focus more on Basque. This path will lead us to a system that increases the parents' consensus and collaboration, and we believe that this will be the most suitable way to strengthen competence and motivation in the use of Basque and, in general, to improve the education system as a whole.

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FROM THE DIAGNOSTIC EVALUATION OF THE 2011 ARRUE PROJECT TO INTERVENTION

ASIER IRIZAR AND JOXPI IRASTORTZA
Mondragon University. AHOTIKER Research Group

In this article, we have taken the results obtained in the Arrue project as our starting point, and based on certain data, we propose, taking two experiences as our base, to go beyond what has been done up until now, that is, to move on to the reflection stage, and to have a greater effect on the cognitive aspect of speakers. For this purpose, we feel it is essential that all actors within the education community participate, as education is the basis for everything: education will bring knowledge and reflection; this will lead to motivation; and from here will come an increase in use.

The Arrue study has provided us with almost endless data. There will be those who think it tells us nothing we didn't already know; and there will be those who believe that the data reveal a harsh and difficult reality, more specifically that the level of use reached among pupils is low in general; and lastly, there may even be those who feel that there is still plenty of wood to keep the fire going. We will explore that path, after analysing the results of the Arrue study.

It is clear that, in this part of the country we have a lot of experience in making diagnoses regarding language; in contrast, we fail when it comes to intervention: we know full well what needs changing, what we want to change, but we don't manage to work out the *how* —or rather, we find it impossible—. We have no control over the situation, it is out of our hands, we have no authority, or at least not enough; the objectives we want to achieve seem out of our reach, because we have so little room for manoeuvre. With our small share of power, we have spent years overcoming one shortcoming only for others to appear; we have been papering over the cracks, only to see how new holes appear almost instantly. Can we do any more with the power and authority we have? In our opinion, perhaps we can, but only a little bit, not much more. We can, however, move forward with the little we have.

There are three variables in the Arrue study that we feel should be taken into account:

1. With regard to knowledge, this generation has the highest ever number of educated Basque speakers. This is no trivial matter. In the last twelve years, approximately 90% of pupils in the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country have Basque as their school language, although it is not their first language in all cases. And the relative fluency for speaking Basque is between 35% and 45%, according to the data provided.

2. With regard to attitudes towards Basque, some data are not very significant, as 11.5% of Primary 4 [P4, more or less equivalent to UK Year 5] pupils responded that they have no adherence or very little adherence to this language. Among Secondary 2 [S2, more or less equivalent to UK Year 9] pupils, this percentage rises to 18.7%. Moreover, approximately a quarter of each group of pupils say they have a normal adherence. Furthermore, in Primary 4 pupils, 63.6% noted sufficient or strong adherence, whereas in Secondary 2 pupils, this figure was 54%.

3. There is another variable with diverse results that, in our opinion, has capital importance: *school use, according to the proportion of Basque speakers in the town, the pupils' first language, and the language model*. We do not have the exact data, but we can believe that, in towns with a proportion of Basque speakers over 60%, the pupils will have Basque as their first language and those who go to model D schools will be the ones who use it most, as their environment offers them conditions of linguistic normality. Logically, the opposite will occur in areas with a proportion of Basque speakers below 30%, among pupils whose first language is Spanish and among those who go to model A schools. However, it would be interesting to know what happens in all the combinations of the variables involved, as we could then reach firmer conclusions.

Although most pupils know how to speak Basque, by not using it their competence in this language has diminished, and they get by better in Spanish, so they have ended up opting for the latter language. This is one of the conclusions drawn from the results of the Arrue study. Nevertheless, there is one significant (and worrying) point: attitude. In many places it can condition the intervention, particularly in those areas where the density of Basque speakers is low, as certain external factors are very strong in these areas.

Nevertheless, we see suitable conditions in districts, towns or regions where adherence is low or non-existent. So, how can we change pupils' language habits? How can we make the leap from speaking Spanish to speaking Basque? It is no mean feat, but it is possible to change habits, firstly by having the firm intention and commitment to change, and secondly by motivating behaviour in the desired direction.

In the light of the results of the Arrue study, we have seen that it is essential to influence attitude and behaviour if we want pupils to use the Basque language. It is necessary to motivate behaviour if we want to achieve our objectives. There are at least three ways to motivate behaviour, in our case to motivate —or not motivate— the use of Basque in the field of education. One: to leave it up to each individual whether or not they want to use Basque, to leave it in each pupil's hands to place their stimulus in the expectations and values they assign to their objectives. Logically, if we follow this method it will be difficult to motivate the use of Basque. Two: to provide potential users of Basque with encouragement and pleasant, attractive, fun, colourful, exciting stimuli, always with the objective in mind of increasing the use of Basque. In the Basque Country, we are experts in the preparation and organisation of these types of events. We have spent many years organising pro-Basque awareness-raising campaigns, special Basque language days, posters and notices about Basque, tournaments, festivities such as Kilometroak, Korrika, Ibilaldia... and a wide range of initiatives, always with the same main objective: permanently increasing the use of Basque. These kinds of events are held every year, several times a year, and the results are always the same, at least as far as use is concerned. It is evident that we have not achieved enough to get where we want to go. The third way would be —and in this aspect, the education community could do more— to influence the pupils' and the whole community's cognition or thought, in order to achieve our goals.

Whatever the topic, object or stimulus, the more we know about it, our feelings, opinions, thoughts on that topic will increase, and consequently it will be simpler for us to move towards a behaviour that is more given to that purpose. If we are firmly convinced that driving very fast is dangerous, and it also makes us feel a level of worry, responsibility and obligation, we will endeavour to reduce our speed. If we show a clear intention to carry out certain actions aimed at increasing the use of Basque, if we endeavour to control the internal and external factors that make it possible for that intention to become actual behaviour, and above all, if we analyse the reasons for our objectives being achieved or not, if we reflect on that, we will, bit by bit, fill the space with use of Basque.

Although appealing external stimuli are needed, it is better to gain control of our acts or achieve self-control or self-regulation. When someone is capable of controlling their acts, their situation can be made to continue. In contrast, although the dramatic messages conveyed by the Ministry of Home Affairs on television take effect at this time, they will not be enough to change our behaviour. It seems that, in just a few years, 90% of the 6,000 languages in the world will disappear: How many Basque speakers have been moved by this message? How many Basque speakers have been moved by the results of the Arrue study? Do the campaigns, initiatives and festivities that we hold with the very best intentions have any influence on the direction in which we want to head? How long did the dream last? How great must the fright be for people to take Basque seriously once and for all? Not many years ago, people gathered in the village square as soon as they heard the fire bells sound. The ikastolas, or Basque-medium schools, were reborn out of the flames, with not much to show on the outside, but with intense work going on in the background. Today, if the death bell tolls for the Basque language, how many of us will gather in the square? There will just be a couple of sad cases and the odd absent-minded character who just wanders in to see what all the fuss is about.

The intention to reach our goals along the way is something, but it is not enough. External stimuli also influence the responses, but they are also not enough. We should control our attitudes to achieve our objectives through self-control and self-regulation. To do so, we must protect ourselves, and not just with clothing: we must be aware of how arduous the task of recovering Basque is; we must see how Basque can enrich us; imagine what the Basque Country would be like without the Basque language; realise how happy we can live in Basque; think what we can do to use Basque more, etc. But how can we do all that? Through education: knowing more about the subject, sharing diagnoses, exchanging opinions, reflecting on the circumstances. If we attempt to know more about Basque, if we reflect on the Basque language, if we search for reasons to use it more and if we accumulate experiences; in short, if we develop our thoughts, our cognition, we will go from talk to action, we will achieve our objectives or, even though we do not always achieve them, we will try to find the reasons for not reaching our goals, and we will propose corrective actions, we will take steps to speak in Basque in schools and, little by little, we will increase the use of Basque.

For this reason, it is essential to count on the participation of the education community if we want the use of Basque to really be strengthened in that community: there is nothing like the drive of a community to motivate behaviours in favour of the use of Basque. It is fine to hold festivities and other events, but we must also reach out to the school communities with spaces for reflection and debate.

At HUHEZI, most of the students who study teaching degrees come from the education system in Basque. The students must know Basque to be able to study at our university, as one of the distinguishing features of

our teaching is its complementary multilingualism, but always with Basque as its main axis. In this aspect, as far as knowledge is concerned, we are "better" than in the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country's education system, as our whole universe speaks in Basque.

Nevertheless, in recent years, changes have come about in our faculty and, although we do not have objective, precise data, we have observed that certain of our student variables have changed. For example, some years ago, most of the students came from the surrounding region. In contrast, today many come from regional capitals (particularly from Vitoria-Gasteiz and from Donostia/San Sebastián) and from other regions. This has brought about certain changes, especially in the area of habits. For example, some years ago it would have been strange to hear students speaking in Spanish with each other, and if this had happened, we would all have turned to look. Today, however, we have verified that the aspects that the conclusions of the Arrue study have highlighted also occur, to a certain degree, in our faculty, as the students that arrive here in September left school back in May.

Furthermore, HUHEZI has a Basque Commission that, among other functions, periodically carries out street measurements of use. Most recently it has carried out two measurements, one in 2009 and another in 2012, from which it has drawn the following conclusions as regards the students:

The use of Basque has fallen from 62% (2009) to 50% (2012). This is a difference of twelve points in three years. Broken down according to area, the evolution has been as follows:

— In the staff room, from 81% (2009) to 49% (2012)
— In the cafeteria, from 65% to 53%
— In the library (group work), from 54% to 47%

A downwards trend can be seen as regards use. This measurement enabled us to verify what we already perceived (and what already concerned us). So, the measurement allowed us to verify what we already knew, or rather what we already had a feeling about. It is precisely that intuition that had led us to intervene. And we did so in the academic year 2011-2012, with the students in the first year of a teaching degree: our intervention focused on students' attitude, intention and use of Basque when they were new arrivals at the university, with the purpose of influencing those variables.

In that intervention[1] we asked them to express their opinion and thoughts on Basque at three different moments: at the start of the year, after the intervention had ended (about two months later) and at the end of the year. Over the first two months, we organised two reflection sessions and, in general, we must state that we obtained interesting and significant results.

In 2012, we carried out a similar intervention in two departments of the Basque Government[2]. The Basque Government commissioned the members of the Ahotiker group at the HUHEZI Department of Normalisation of the Basque language and Culture to motivate their staff to increase their use of Basque. With the purpose of finding a solution to the problem, we made a proposal to the staff at the Basque Government who worked on the promotion of Basque knowledge and use. To increase use, among other measures that have to be taken, it is necessary to reflect on the Basque language. And we affirmed this point after verifying that the hypothesis drawn up by Irastortza (2010)[3] in his study on the world of work had been completely met. So, more than offering training to learn or improve their Basque, our proposal focused on starting up or motivating the attitudes and behaviour of the staff, promoting reflection among them in several sessions for this purpose. So if we want to change attitudes and behaviour as regards Basque with the objective of increasing its use, certain behaviours must be motivated. Likewise, if we aim to achieve a greater use of Basque in the world of education, we must convince the people involved. Attitudes and behaviour will not change if we do not act: it is crucial to have the intention or personal commitment to change, just as motivation and reflection are also crucial to achieve our objective. For this reason, we set up a test in two departments of the Basque Government, based on the conclusions of the thesis presented by Irastortza (2010), and we again obtained interesting and significant results. So, after the intervention, the results regarding attitude, intention to use, and use itself, were better than before we carried out the intervention.

With regard to the first department, after comparing the measured items[4] about attitude, intention to use, and use itself before carrying out the intervention, and the measurement after said intervention, better results were obtained in the three variables —attitude, intention to use and use itself—. That improvement is also significant on a statistical level: with regard to attitude, [t(10)=-0.89; p=0.010; d=-0.78]; in the case of intention, [t(10)=-0.89; p=0.045; d=-0.81]; and regarding use [t(10)=-0.89; p=0.022;

[1] Ahotiker ikertaldea (2012). Unibertsitateko ikasle hasi berriek dakarten euskararekiko jarrera, erabilera intentzioa eta erabilera: eskuhartzearen eragina aldagai horietan. [Inconclusive]. Mondragon Unibertsitatea, Eskoriatza.

[2] Ahotiker ikertaldea (2011). Eusko Jaurlaritzan euskararen erabilera areagotzeko proiektua: Administrazioko langile euskaldunen euskararekiko jarrera, intentzioa eta portaeraren azterketa. [Unpublished]. Mondragon Unibertsitatea, Eskoriatza.

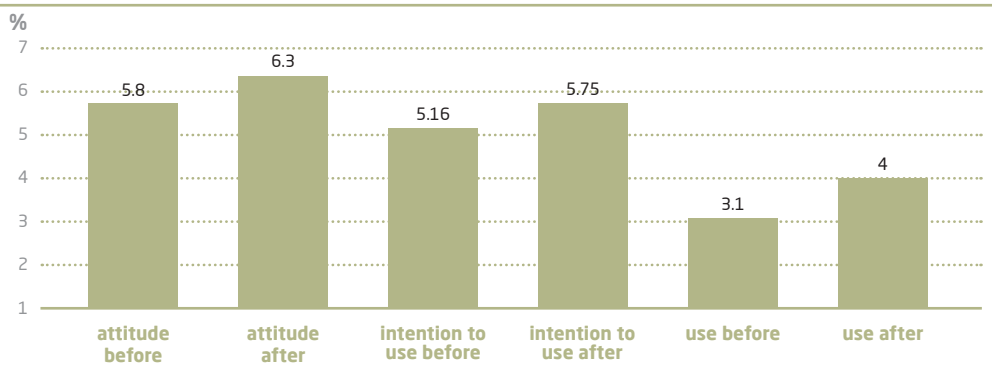
[3] Irastortza, J. (2010). Lan munduko euskara planetako langile euskaldunen jarrera, portaera eta motibazioak: pentsamenduaren garapenetik helburuen lorpenera. Unpublished doctoral thesis. Mondragon Unibertsitatea, Eskoriatza.

d=-0.56]. If we observe the mean values of the scores, we can see that better results are obtained in the three variables: in the case of attitude, the improvement is half a point after intervention (5.86-6.27); in the case of intention, a little more than half a point (5.16-5.73); and in the case of use, it reaches almost one point (3.1-4.02).

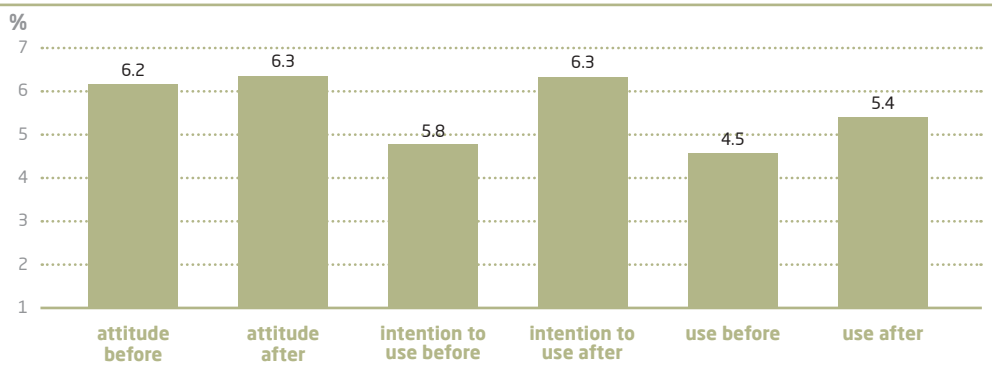
With regard to the second department, after comparing the measured items about attitude, intention to use, and use itself before carrying out the intervention, and the measurement after said intervention, better results were obtained in the three variables —attitude, intention to use and use itself—. This improvement is also significant at a statistical level in the case of intention and use, but this is not the case for attitude: with regard to attitude, [t(10)=-0.89; p=0.394; d=-0.00]; in the case of intention, [t(10)=-0.89; p=0.016; d=-0.96]; and regarding use [t(10)=-0.89; p=0.002; d=-1.13]. If we observe the mean values of the scores, we can see that better results are obtained in the three variables: in the case of attitude, the difference between the scores before and after the intervention is not significant (6.22-6.33); in the case of intention, the difference between both moments is just over half a point (5.78-6.33); and with regards to use, there is almost a one point difference between the moment before and after the intervention (4.52-5.37).

Consequently, another step has been taken, albeit not a very big one, with the intervention carried out with the staff at the Administration and with the students at the University. We have achieved something, at least. It is clear that another type of strategy needs to be used with children and adolescents, as the reflection sessions held with adults will not be appropriate and will need to be modified accordingly. However, it will be necessary to reflect on the Basque language and Basque culture; pupils, teachers, parents and other actors within the education community must have the opportunity to reflect on the Basque language and Basque culture. Although it may seem somewhat paradoxical, it is important to speak freely and have open debate about the Basque language if we want its use to increase; all this, of course, without forgetting that we are also Basque people because we are passionate about food and drink, we like to have fun and we love sport...

1. Graph



2. Graph



[4] A scale of 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree) was used to measure attitude and intention to use. The respondents have had to respond to the proposed items by choosing from the following: 'strongly disagree' (1), 'disagree' (2), 'somewhat disagree' (3), 'neither agree nor disagree' (4), 'somewhat agree' (5), 'agree' (6) and 'strongly agree' (7). Furthermore, to measure use, a scale of 1 (never) to 7 (always) has also been used: [(1) 'never' (0%)], [(2) 'rarely' (<19%)], [(3) 'sometimes' (20%-39%)], [(4) 'quite often' (40%-59%)], [(5) 'often' (60%-79%)], [(6) 'almost always' (80%-99%] and [(7) 'always' (100%].

ON THE ARRUE PROJECT DIAGNOSTIC EVALUATION 2011

PELLO JAUREGI
UPV/EHU - University of Basque Country

WE HAD A FEELING, BUT...

This magnificent study provides data to ratify a number of questions about which we already had a feeling or we had suspected. We say magnificent because extending the study's design to such a huge universe awards the work great credibility. But also because the quality and depth of the study are also evident in the data analysis and interpretation.

It is common knowledge that, in order to build a consensus in social relationships, we often need problem-solving means, as well as logic. I would like to acknowledge that particular merit of this recently-published study. Because the fact that we can sit here and discuss such a complex issue as schools and Basque, in a cool, calm manner and with reliable data in front of us, is no mean feat. So, congratulations!

I would briefly like to underline the following conclusions from among those that we already sensed were coming, and that the study finally ratified:

— The model D system is commonplace these days.

— The education system in the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country has clear shortcomings to train balanced bilinguals, and that, incidentally, is one of the main foundational objectives. 54.8% of Primary 4 [(P4) more or less equivalent to UK Year 5] pupils do not use Basque with as much ease is they do Spanish. And as the pupils get older, the difference gets greater: 64.6% of Secondary 2 [(S2) more or less equivalent to UK Year 9] pupils do not achieve enough fluency during their education process to use Basque as they do to use Spanish.

— Even though they speak in Basque in the classroom, in the free, informal areas of the school, where the students are not subjected to the direct influence of the teacher, the use of Basque falls considerably.

— The proportion of children whose first language is Basque is still very low. So is the proportion of families in which the language spoken at home is Basque.

— Media consumption in Basque is very low.

— The use of Basque in outside-of-school activities is very low.

— As the pupils get older, their use of Basque falls, and it appears that their competence in Basque also falls.

The data are not good, but they may be positive. The data are positive if we compare them with the past, if we consider how serious the historical linguistic situation has been up until now. There is a colossal difference between where we were then and where we are now. In general, conversion to using Basque has not fallen; in fact, it has improved in all the linguistic indicators. In my opinion, we are now in a much better position than before. However, even with that acknowledgement, the data are still not good. We have good reason to be concerned. With language normalisation as our goal, we still have a long way to go, and if we take into account the necessary channels and pace to achieve that goal, we have enough with which to rack our brains. Over the last three decades in Spain, our language policy has mainly focused on teaching. Its positive results and obvious limitations have been highlighted in this study. The time has come to implement another type of language policy, without renouncing the results achieved in the field of education. More specifically, we need a language policy that places the same importance on other areas, such as the family, the media or leisure, as it does on education.

ADULTS, LINGUISTIC SOCIALISING AGENTS AND ROLE MODEL FOR CHILDREN

I would like to start with a general reflection, introducing the linguistic relationship between adults and children.

Just as the multiple regression analysis shows, there are three variables that most accurately display students' general use at school: 1) *use in organised activities outside of school;* 2) *language model;* and 3) *use by teachers with each other.* All these stand out both in the case of Primary 4 and Secondary 2 pupils. We could also add a fourth variable: *the language spoken at home,* but even though it is a clear variable in the case of S2, it is not that clear in the case of P4 pupils.

So, what do these variables essentially measure? If we look at the underlying questions in these variables, I would say that they essentially inform us about adults' linguistic habits. In contrast, however, they do not clearly reflect what the pupils' language behaviour is in their informal relationship networks.

Let's analyse them one by one:

The variable *Use in organised activities outside of school* arose out of the combination of three variables. The question in the first variable *(in which language... in private classes?),* in my opinion, essentially shows us the language used by the teacher, but also the language relationship between pupil and teacher. However, I do not feel it offers any relevant information regarding the language used among the pupils. The question in the second variable *(in which language... in outside-of-school activities?)* and in the third *(In which language... in summer or holiday camps?)* run along the same line; they essentially inform us of the language behaviour of the monitors, trainers or educators, and consequently, we also know which language children and young people use in their relationships with the above, but what is not clear is the language use in the horizontal relationship among children and young people. According to that interpretation, this variable, in my opinion, essentially measures the language relationship between adults and children.

The *language model* variable also essentially informs about the teacher's language behaviour and, therefore, places the pupil in the foreground. To be honest, the *language model* variable is nothing more than a very close variant of the *general use at school* variable, hence, of course, the strong correlation between them. In short, the *language model* variable covers different types of language relationship in schools; it groups together vertical and horizontal relationships, inside and outside of the classroom. One of these relationships is that which exists between the adults, i.e. the teachers. This is a relationship that is expressly evaluated by the *teachers' language use with each other* variable and, is actually highly relevant in the regression analysis regarding the pupils' use at school. As a result, it seems that, just as in any other hierarchical institution, the behaviour of the top levels in that hierarchy are an example and a reference for those who are in the middle or lower levels of authority. As the *language model* is an institution's explicit linguistic norm, it would be normal to think that the language relationships between teachers are regulated by strict criteria. Consequently, it would be logical to suppose that the entire relevance of the *teachers' language use with each other* variable would also be reflected in the *language model* variable. On the other hand, an education model also defines another type of relationship, such as the language relationship that the teachers must establish and maintain with their pupils. This is precisely what defines an education model: the teachers' language behaviour. An education model does not impose explicit language rules with a consensus that the pupil must respect with regard to the teacher, but rather it predicts, aims or hopes that the pupil will assume the teacher's language behaviour per se or by shadowing. In a vertical situation such as this, who can deny that the teacher, not the pupil, is the one who calls the shots when it comes to deciding on language use? Consequently, once again we link the *language model* variable with the teacher's language behaviour. There are other types of relationship, however, that must be taken into account in an education model. We are referring to the horizontal relationships between pupils. To this effect, we must mention that there are two main situations: inside the classroom and all the informal relationships that arise outside of the classroom (for example, in the playground). If we start with the first situation, we can say that the relationship between pupils inside the classroom is not totally "free" in any way, because the teacher is with them and his/her power over them in a formal situation cannot be overlooked (that power is precisely one of the main resources, if not THE main resource in the teacher's hands to carry out their pedagogical activity). Moving on to the second situation: the informal situations that arise outside the classroom, those that occur without any direct influence from the teacher. These situations, and no others, show what the relationships between pupils are like. This is the way it is, as even though there are many language relationships included in the *language model* variable, most of them are a direct result of the teacher's direct influence. That is why we feel that it is not so much the pupils' behaviour that is being reflected through this variable but the adults' language behaviour.

The last variable is the *language spoken at home*. Another compact variable formed by several subordinate indicators. Three of the four indicators included in that variable also reflect the presence of adults: 1) *in which language do you speak to your father?* 2) *in which language do you speak to your mother?* and 3) *in which language do you all speak when all the members of the family are at home (at mealtimes, on television)?* The only different indicator is the fourth, which focuses on the relationship between siblings and, consequently, in principle it reflects no direct influence from adults: 4) *in which language do you speak with your brothers and sisters?* Consequently, behind that compact variable, as with the previous variables, the adults' language behaviour and influence also predominates, in this case,

the parents' behaviour and influence[1]. In our opinion, it is the adult, and not the child, who decides the language to be used in an adult-child relationship.

If the argument we have used about the influence of adults is correct, we could say, on balance, that the factor that best reflects the language use of children and young people at school is the adults' language behaviour, where those adults are teachers, monitors and parents: the magic triangle! Consequently, converting children to become Basque speakers is the responsibility, obligation and task of adults. Adults, with their behaviour, construct language environments or spheres of socialisation, and children and young people absorb those environments. They live and breathe them. They will take the model to follow from those environments.

INFLUENCE OF THE LANGUAGE SPOKEN AT HOME

According to the data available to me[2], young people's language behaviour at home and which they maintain with their Basque-speaking friends, are closely inter-related. Just to give ourselves an idea: around seven out of ten young people who speak Basque at home with their parents (with one or with both) show a tendency or a habit to use Basque with their Basque-speaking friends[3]. In the light of this data, I have reached the conclusion in many forums and articles that the family is what essentially puts down the roots for language use in informal situations. The fact is, the family is children's first social environment, and those children will go on to unconsciously develop the seeds planted by their family in other social environments later on, such as in their circles of friends.

Due to the major importance, in my opinion, of the influence of the language spoken at home and in the family, as soon as I received the Arrue project I was very keen to analyse those data. Would this study ratify my suppositions or my hypotheses regarding the language spoken at home or in the family? That was one of the reasons I was so keen. However, I quickly perceived that it would be no simple task to make an absolute comparison between my data and the results of the Arrue project. They simply did not match up: the study's design, the composition of the universe, and above all, the structure of the variables. For example, the Arrue study has taken *general use at school* as a main indicator of language use and, weighting that indicator, it has joined different types of relationships: the teacher-pupil language relationships and the pupil-pupil relationships, both inside and outside the classroom. In contrast, in the two studies that I carried out, I measured *language use based on the language spoken in the circle of friends with Basque-speaking friends* variable. This measurement only considers the language relationship between young people. The direct influence of adults and formal situations does not have a bearing in this measurement. Despite being aware that both studies could not be properly compared, I was still interested in finding out what the Arrue study had to say on the influence of the language spoken at home on the pupils' language behaviour.

In certan sections, the influence of the language spoken at home on language use at school is clearly visible. For example, this influence is significant in the regression analysis of the S2 pupils. However, I have to admit I was completely taken aback to see that it is not as significant in the regression analysis for the P4 pupils. Allow me to explain the reasons for my astonishment.

1) I believe that the result, as it is, is illogical. At least it does not concur with my logic. One of the study's conclusions is that the language spoken at home has a significant effect on the language use of 13-14 year old teenagers at school, but very little effect in the case of 9-10 year olds. Logic dictates the opposite, at least for me; in other words, the younger the child, the greater the influence of the language spoken at home should be, and not the other way round. In my opinion, 9-10 year old children are more open and more susceptible to taking in what is said and done at home than teenagers. Many psychological studies ratify this idea. Common sense also tells us something similar. One of the most specific characteristics of teenagers is precisely that they start to break away from family bonds to take on their own identity and open up to the world. I believe that this paradoxical result produced by the Arrue study should be explained in greater depth. I, for one, would like them to explain it to me.

2) And this result proves to be even more surprising to me if we look at the correlations analysis, as we can see that there are significant correlations between the *students' general use at school* and the *language spoken at home* variables.

[1] As far as the language spoken at home is concerned, there is another particularly interesting indicator included in the survey: *In which language do your parents speak with each other?* This indicator has not been taken into account to make up the *language used at home* variable. And it is understandable. Nevertheless, it is a shame that the aforementioned indicator was not used in the regression analysis, as was the case of schools with the *teachers' language use with each other* variable.

[2] Pello Jauregi (2003): *Euskara eta gazteak Lasarte-Orian (II),* Lasarte-Oria: Lasarte-Oria Town Council.

[3] Tendency mentioned in the aforementioned book. The data are from ten years ago. However, the same tendency has been detected in another similar study that was carried out in 2012. The results will be published presently.

3) Another reason for my astonishment has been the *first language* variable. In my opinion, that variable is closely linked to natural use at home, because the language that one receives at home is the first language parents use with their child. As reflected in the data, the influence of this variable on pupils' relative language fluency is huge. If we only look at the case of P4 pupils, the data show that 93% of pupils whose first language is currently Basque have no problem whatsoever in using Basque[4]; 67% of pupils with Basque and Spanish as their first languages also have no problem; in the case of pupils whose first language is Spanish, however, only 26% speak Basque without any problem. Consequently, the difference in the influence of this variable is huge. This data item also leads to other significant conclusions. According to the studies that we have carried out in Lasarte-Oria, we know that a slight difference in language competence can have major consequences in the natural language use of those people[5]. In other words: getting by *very well* in Basque and getting by *quite well* is not an inconsiderable difference, as it has exponential consequences on the use of Basque. In this way, those who speak Basque *very well,* the majority at least, tend to speak Basque with their Basque-speaking friends; in contrast, in the same situation, the majority of those who claim to speak Basque *quite well* show a clear tendency to use Spanish. Consequently, bearing in mind the evident influence that the *first language* variable has on the *pupils' relative fluency* variable, in our opinion this should be a sign, albeit indirectly, of the influence that the language spoken at home has on language use at school.

The authors of the report add the following comment after acknowledging that the influence of the *first language* variable on the pupils' relative language fluency shows huge differences: "in any case, it would be a mistake to think that this difference that they acknowledge in the ease with which they speak Basque is only due to the influence of the first language." OK, I agree with that statement. However, if we look behind the first language, what I basically see is a family that uses Basque at home, if not both parents, at least one of them. And that family, almost without exception, opts for the education model D when it comes to their children's schooling. As regards the outside-of-school activities, I see them choosing activities in Basque, at least if they are given the option. As a result, the family is the first and foremost source of that entire positive chain. Can that source be substituted?

Speaking in terms of performance, the family obtains significant results with very little investment. In line with our available data[6], we can say that 76% of young people who have been brought up in Basque-speaking families and who have studied at a model D school habitually speak to their Basque-speaking friends in Basque, and that 97% of them speak very good Basque. School, on the other hand, achieves minimal results with considerable investment. That is: only 20% of young people who study in model D schools but who have been brought up in a Spanish-speaking family use Basque in their informal relationships, and only 30% of them have good, normalised fluency in Basque.

A METHODOLOGICAL OBSERVATION: MEASUREMENT OF USE

What picture would we get if we evaluated the *general language use at school* variable in a different way? 40% of that compact variable corresponds to the informal use between pupils and the remaining 60% are types of use associated with formal situations (either because they take place inside the classroom or because they take place in the teacher's presence). What would happen if, instead of adopting that compact variable, they had considered the free use in the playground as a single measurement of the use of Basque among pupils?

The real result of education is observed in the relationships between pupils, outside of formal situations and without the teacher's direct presence. These free, informal situations are the only times the pupils show what they have assimilated and the extent to which formal situations and the teacher's language and pedagogical attitudes have influenced them.

In a formal situation such as takes place in a classroom (formal, in an environment filled with explicit rules, where the pupil is watched by the teacher), the linguistic norm is an explicit one, and the teacher is the driving force and fundamental guarantor of that norm. Consequently, the persuasive power that a formal environment gives the teacher becomes a pedagogical resource with which to achieve certain results regarding linguistic competence (as well as other pedagogical objectives).

[4] And they have no problems because they speak better Basque than they do Spanish, or because they can use both languages with the same ease.

[5] Op. cit. Page 60.

[6] Op. cit. Page 75.

Both these factors, i.e. the teacher and the classroom, offer us a teaching perspective. The playground, in contrast, offers us a learning perspective, as it reflects the crude reality of what the pupil has assimilated and what he/she has not. These children and young people's habitual social language behaviour is much closer to their behaviour in the playground than to their behaviour in the classroom or in their language relationships with the teacher.

ANOTHER METHODOLOGICAL OBSERVATION: QUINARY AND BINARY SCALES

With our minds always on measuring use, I have realised that numerous variables have been assessed using the quinary scale, while many others have been assessed on the basis of the binary scale.

The quinary scale is gradual and has an intermediate space *(the same in both languages).* When the data are in the middle of that space, we cannot know if that data can be joined to the Basque extreme or the Spanish extreme, as is the case in a binary scale. Sometimes, the item of data situated in that space is of small proportions (5.5%) and other times they are not that small (18.7%) but, in general, they are usually situated half way between both extremes (12-13%).

The binary scale, on the other hand, is dichotomous: *always or nearly always in favour of Basque* on one hand, and *always or nearly always in favour of Spanish* on the other. In variables like this, the intermediate space that exists in the quinary scale is expressly removed. Therefore, if we remove this intermediate space, those who respond to the survey must opt for one extreme or the other, as they cannot choose a non-existent intermediate variant.

From a methodological point of view, I see no reason why one type of scale or another should not be used, because both offer significant information. However, when the data are compared and correlations established, does it make any difference whether some effects have been measured in binary scale and others in quinary scale? I'm not so sure, but I daren't say any more on the subject.

Nevertheless, by way of example, I must recall that, while the *general language use at school* variable has been measured with the quinary scale, the *language spoken at home* variable has been measured with the binary scale.

SOMETHING A BIT ODD: PRIVATE CLASSES

To conclude, I would like to mention something I find a little bit odd.

According to the collected data, 63.5% of the Primary 4 pupils take private classes, and that percentage is even higher for Secondary 2 pupils: 81%.

I am not going to get involved in sociolinguistic interpretations on this item of data. However, as a pedagogue, there is another issue that has really got to me. Isn't the proportion of children and adults who need private classes on top of going to school very high? Personally I find it extraordinarily high.

What lies behind all this? The education system's inability to deal with an increasingly inflated curriculum? Perhaps the parents' excessive ambition to improve their children's academic results? I am not going to make my suspicions public here, because this is not the right forum for that. But the question is still there, gnawing away at me. The answer, another day.

USE AND KNOWLEDGE OF BASQUE IN YOUNG PEOPLE, AND THE INFLUENCE OF SCHOOLS

LIONEL JOLY
Sociolinguist. Euskaltzaindia

INTRODUCTION

In this short article, we will discuss the immense Arrue quantitative study. The Arrue project has come a long way since it started in 2004; numerous studies have been commissioned under the project and in this article, we will endeavour to briefly interpret the survey that was carried out in 2011 with Primary 4 [P4, more or less equivalent to UK Year 5] and Secondary 2 [S2, more or less equivalent to UK Year 9] pupils. We say a brief interpretation because, on one hand, the columnists have asked us to be brief, and on the other hand because, bearing in mind the bibliographical wealth that already exists on this subject, in order to make a critical and exhaustive appraisal of the Arrue project and the 2011 survey, we would need much more time than we have available for this task.

The objective of the survey was to analyse the language use of children and young people at school, and to present the data according to different variables. The survey is genuinely rich, numerous variables have been studied, and particularly variables that are usually valid for sociolinguistics purposes. As far as methodology is concerned, the qualitative study is analysed, and the advantages of this methodology are manifold: a lot of information is collected about a lot of people. The information received is directly useful and it comprehensively focuses on the question in hand. However, that methodology also has its limits: there are difficulties in going deeper into the subtleties; attitudes may have a greater effect than desired on the responses; the paradox of supervision cannot be completely removed, etc. In our case, the survey is huge: the survey was handed out to practically 36,000 people; and it was not just a sample but the entire population as a whole that was under study. The study's target was Primary 4 and Secondary 2 pupils, i.e. the language use of 9-10 and 13-14 year-olds was studied. Consequently, there are only 4 years' difference between one group and the other, but those four years are fundamental in one's personal development. If we compared the language use of people aged sixty and sixty-four, we would probably not detect any major differences between one group and the other; but in the case of young people, those four years are very important. People go through huge cognitive and social/personal changes in those years. While the 9-10 year age group is fundamentally linked to childhood, the 13-14 year age group is situated in full adolescence. Their references change: if parents are the fundamental reference for children, for adolescents their social reference becomes society, their world opens up and that expansion brings with it cognitive and linguistic development. Besides, at the age of 13-14 years, young people also undergo a process of empowerment and, simultaneously, their custom/capacity to question authority increases.

Taking the process of empowerment into account is of utmost importance. To start with, it has an influence on language habits: certain attitudes and prejudices are linked to languages and language use and, consequently, language use itself has its own meaning. For example, if the prejudice is spread among young people that Basque is a language for kids, and that Spanish is a language for adults or something along those lines, young people will show a tendency to use Spanish to challenge adults' authority and to identify themselves with the adult collective; and that is something that does not occur in the case of children. Moreover, apart from having an influence on language habits, the age change can also have a bearing on how they respond to surveys. The direct influence of the supervisor will be a lot greater in the case of younger pupils, and that influence can have a contrary effect on both age groups: given that children are not immersed in that empowerment process, they will not question authority as much and, consequently, authority and rules will hold less weight for them; and, evidently, the supervisor's influence on the collected data will be much greater. In other words, if the child thinks that he/she should speak in Basque in the classroom, he/she will respond in the survey that he/she uses Basque, for fear of going against authority, although in reality this is not the case. In the case of adolescents, this phenomenon is probably less frequent and the reverse phenomenon could even arise. If the young person shares the aforementioned prejudice, he/she could answer that they use Spanish to undermine the authority, although in reality they use Basque more. That does not mean we want

to doubt the survey data, not at all, we simply want to place them in a sociolinguistic context. The second hypothesis mentioned is probably not important, and the first may be the more significant, but the conclusion we must reach is the following: we will see that the results between both age ranges are very different, and this will surely be the case, but as the aforementioned cognitive factors have a major influence on those ages, we could suppose that, although that difference is large, the existing gap as regards language use between both age groups is possibly not actually that big. The only way to verify these hypotheses is by carrying out qualitative surveys; for now they are merely hypotheses.

RESULTS

In this brief article we are not going to comment on all the results of the Arrue study; we will merely mention those that we have found particularly interesting or surprising. Firstly, we would like to mention that, with the exception of a few data, we feel that, in general, the collected data are what we expected. Taking into account the sociolinguistic situation in the Basque Country, in most cases the expected data has been collected. The added value of this study is that, thanks to the Arrue project, we are now one step above opinions, suppositions and beliefs. Yes, we already knew that when they reached a certain age, young people (or at least partially) stopped speaking Basque. Now we have specific, verified data and precise figures on this issue. Furthermore, and thinking positively, the survey also analyses many factors that have an influence on use. In other words, the characteristics of young people who still use Basque have been collected, and the variables that affect the use of Basque have been distinguished. Although there have not been any major surprises in the results in most cases, this survey has enabled us to have quantitative data and specific figures. And in certain cases, there have, indeed been surprises, fundamentally in the classification of factors that have an influence on the use of Basque.

DESCRIPTION OF VARIABLES OF THE STUDIED POPULATION

To properly analyse the data, it is crucial to know the characteristics of the studied population. The analysis of the studied population's sociolinguistic variables helps us to discover the sociolinguistic atmosphere of the young people's living environment. The proportion of Basque speakers in the municipality in which the school is located is fundamental. Thanks to this data point, we will see how many young people live in the essentially Basque-speaking areas and how many live in Spanish-speaking areas[1]. So, knowing the percentage of people's knowledge of the Basque language in municipalities will allow us to have direct information regarding the proportion of Basque language use in the municipality. The use of Basque in the municipality tells us whether or not that municipality could be a living space for the Basque language. In the case of Catalan, the language use must be over 90% for Catalan to be the predominant *lingua franca* in the municipality (Gros i LLados 2009: 107). In our case, 4.1% of Primary 4 pupils and 2.9% of Secondary 2 pupils live in municipalities where over 80% of the population is Basque-speaking. Without being that extremist, the authors of the Arrue study claim that 27% of pupils study in schools located in municipalities where the proportion of Basque speakers is between 60% and 100%. We should acknowledge that although the use of Basque may probably not be predominant in a municipality whose proportion of knowledge is over 60%, in most cases the proportion of use will be significant. It would be interesting to compare this data on the knowledge of Basque with the data collected in street surveys, although street surveys in the Basque Country are not usually reliable on a municipal level.

The Arrue study offers a significant piece of data with regard to the pupils' first language. The proportion of pupils whose first language is Basque, or Basque and Spanish, is higher in S2 than in P4. Although the difference is not great (1.9%), the parents' language transmission appears not to be growing. Moreover, as covered in section 2.1.6, we must bear in mind that the number of parents of S2 pupils who were born outside of the Basque Country is greater than the number of equivalent parents of P4 pupils. That is, even though more parents of P4 pupils are locals, a lower proportion of their children have Basque as their first language. There is no need to be particularly gloomy about these data, the objective of the Arrue project was to study pupils' language use, and not the transmission of Basque. However, it would be interesting to analyse what happens in that transmission in greater detail. There could be more than one reason behind the difference between the two age groups: 1) there has been a stop in transmission; 2) there are fewer Basque speakers among the parents of P4; 3) in that age group, the birth rate was higher in Spanish-speaking areas; and 4) there are differences in the level of schooling[2] before the age of 3, etc.

[1] Also, as covered in the project report, the variables are normally intertwined.

[2] In this way, the "first language" is not the same as the "mother tongue". These days, almost all children go to nursery before they are 3 years old and, consequently, if they enter a Basque-speaking model, they can receive Basque and Spanish before the age of three, without Basque having been their mother tongue or the language spoken at home. However, for the matter in hand, as shown in point 2.1.5, between the two age groups, the proportion of pupils who go to model D schools is greater in P4 than in S2.

We have already mentioned the parents' origins, and the survey includes another interesting piece of data to that respect: in both age groups, 10%-11% of parents were born abroad. If we compare that data with the pupils' first language, we perceive that only 4.5% of pupils have received a language other than Basque or Spanish. We may guess that some of the foreign parents did not transmit their own language to their children[3]. However, we must be careful with this data. Much of the immigration in the Basque Country comes from South and Central America. Consequently, the mother tongue of some of those parents will probably be Spanish. Furthermore, as Calvet mentioned, some young immigrants could claim not to know the foreign language of their parents, even though they do in fact know it, so as to display a greater level of integration (Calvet 1987:104). As the Arrue project refers to language use, it is logical that it offers no further data on the parents' original languages.

The sociolinguistic characteristics that are directly associated with use are those that are presented in the "description of the population variables" section. There is one piece of data that we have found particularly interesting and noteworthy. Section 2.1.4 presents the pupils' first language; section 2.1.7 shows the relative linguistic fluency. In the correlation between both sets of data, a major difference can be observed between the two age groups.

As shown in the table, although in the 9-10 year-old age group, the correlation between the first language and relative competence is in Basque's favour –due to the influence of school and many other social factors-, among the 13-14 year-old pupils, the correlation is in the Spanish language's favour. In the case of P4 pupils, the proportion of pupils that speak better in Basque than in Spanish is 1.3 points higher than the proportion of those who have only received Basque. We may suppose that this figure derives from the proportion of pupils who have learned both languages at the same time[7]. We must, however, verify that even though there is a gain, the gain is minimal, if we take into account that there could have been an imbalance in Basque's favour (or towards Spanish) between those with Basque and Spanish as their first languages. This trend does not appear to have occurred among Primary 4 pupils. In Primary 4, the proportion of pupils who speak equally as good in Basque and Spanish out of all the pupils with both languages as their first language is greater, to be more specific, 10.5 points greater. To conclude with this age group, the proportion of pupils whose first language is Spanish is 7.2 points lower than the proportion of pupils

Table 1. **FIRST LANGUAGE AND RELATIVE FLUENCY (%)**

	P4 First language	PA Relative fluency	Correlation[4]	S2 First language	S2 Relative fluency	Correlation	Difference in the P4 and S2 correlations
Basque[5]/ Better in Basque[6]	19.8	21.1	+1.3	20.4	18.5	-1.9	-3.2
Both Basque and Spanish/ Both the same	13.7	24.2	+10.5	15	16.9	+1.9	-8.6
Spanish/ Better in Spanish	62	54.8	-7.2	60.2	64.6	+4.4	+11.6
Other language	4.5		+1.3	4.4			

[3] By way of an anecdote, we may mention the fact that much of the work carried out by the pioneers of linguistic sociology in the 1960s dealt with the language evolution and transmission of immigrants in the U.S.A.

[4] We consider positive correlation when the relative fluency in a language is greater than the proportion that the language shows as first, and negative when it is the other way around. The positive and negative figures do not tally because in the case of the first language, "other languages" are taken into account, but in the fluency, however, "other languages" are not taken into account.

[5] Information regarding the first language.

[6] Information regarding relative fluency. We have made the same distinction in subsequent tables: Information on the first language / Information on the relative fluency.

[7] They may also be pupils with another preferred language and pupils who study in model D schools.

with better relative fluency in Spanish. Consequently, it seems that in the younger pupils in the study, the influence of school is significant insofar as recognised language fluency is concerned: a large proportion of them that did not learn it (consequently, simplifying greatly[8], those who learned it at school) until the age of three[9] achieve the same level of fluency in Basque as in Spanish.

In the other age group in the study, that is, among those who are four years older[10], the correlations are very different and, with regard to knowledge, the correlation between the first language and knowledge clearly leans towards Spanish. The data are particularly striking if we compare the difference between both correlations: Basque vs. Better in Basque, -3.2 points; Both Basque and Spanish vs. Both the same: -8.6 points and Only Spanish vs. Better in Spanish: + 11.6 points. Insofar as relative fluency is concerned, between both age groups there is a clear qualitative leap in favour of Spanish. It is worth mentioning, however, that the leap is not that big if we only analyse the correlation in Secondary 2 pupils, as "better in Basque" loses 1.9 points against "both the same" (+1.9 points) and "better in Spanish" increases 4.4 points[11]. With the S2 data, the situation appears to be quite stable, but, as we have seen, if we compare both correlations, a clear trajectory is perceived regarding young people's competence, and it is neither linear nor fixed.

We believe that the gap or leap, the existing difference between both age groups, is very significant and important. School is often declared to have no influence on children and young people's language competence, but perhaps this is simplifying too far, as we have seen that there are many ups and down in the two age groups. If in the younger group the influence is in favour of Basque, in the second group that influence is in favour of Spanish. Although the influence of school is assumed, the pupils' lives are not confined to just school; moreover, as covered in several studies, the time pupils spend at school is limited. Although in the past, school had a major influence on the decline of minoritised languages, today, the sociolinguistic characteristics of society have changed a lot. In late 19th century and early 20th century Europe, the main reason for the decline of minoritised languages was a language policy and planning that went against those languages (or rather, the strength of centralist powers), which was based on two or three main actors: the school, attitudes and opinions, and to a certain degree, military service (and the Church, in some cases). At that time, school was one of the main tools to achieve the decline and disappearance of minoritised languages, particularly in areas where the minoritised languages were lord and master. However, these days the situation is very different: the exchange of information is much faster and linguistic references are multiplied. In the past, practically 100% of citizens' language relationships took place in the family, at school, in the neighbourhood, at church and at the town hall. Now, with radio, television, Internet and other such media, things have changed a great deal, and young people's sociolinguistic contexts have also changed immensely. As mentioned on page 25 of the report, the sociolinguistic variables are inter-related: "in the current reality of the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country, many variables are inter-related and pupils are influenced by all those variables at the same time. For example, when choosing pupils in the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country whose language is Basque, apart from choosing those who speak Basque at home, we also chose pupils who live in municipalities where Basque is the predominant language, with a higher proportion of Basque-speaking friends and who have a greater leisure offer in Basque in their municipalities, etc. In contrast, when choosing pupils whose first language is Spanish, we chose a group of pupils with far fewer possibilities to speak fluently in Basque, both at home and in their environment: those who live in Spanish-speaking areas, with few leisure activities in Basque, with fewer friends with a good level of language ability in Basque…". Although the sociolinguistic environment of 19th century pupils was fundamentally in Basque, today, Spanish has gradually taken over in almost all places. Consequently, although schools played an essential role in the decline of minoritised languages, it cannot play the same role now in the regeneration or promotion of those languages, because the social context has changed so much. See, for example, an interesting article by Fishman on this issue, published in the BAT journal (Fishman, 1993).

[8] We say "simplifying greatly" because there may be other parameters of influence: in the pupils' Basque living environments, as well as at school, they may learn Basque on the street, with their friends, particularly those who have not received more than one language.

[9] Although it is significant, it may be more limited than would be expected or wanted, but, in any case, it is undoubtedly a positive improvement.

[10] We bear in mind that the Arrue study was carried out in an "apparent" time, that is, the evolution was studied in a non-existent time, not in real time. Such times exist in diachronic studies: 1) in an "apparent" time study, we compare an evolution by comparing two groups of people at different ages, i.e. two different groups of people are compared. Although the people in each group have similar characteristics, they usually differ in certain subtle nuances (in our case, for example, in the percentages regarding the school model, the data on language transmission that we mentioned earlier, etc.). 2) studies can be carried out in real time: the same group of people is analysed at different moments in their life history. When the P4 pupils reach the S2 stage, they are given the same survey and in this way, their evolution in real time can be analysed. For more on this concept, see Labov (1994). Thanks to a real-time study, we can also define whether a given change is linked to the group or to the generation.

[11] This figure equals the proportion of those whose first language is another or "Other language". If the figures are the same, it would be logical to think that some of those who have had another language have also learned Basque correctly and can speak both languages. This would largely be the case depending on the young people's sociolinguistic context and on their level on the social scale.

With regard to relative fluency and use, given the differences between both groups, it seems that the influence of schools is quite significant among the younger pupils but not so much among the older pupils. The reason is mentioned in the Arrue project: the evolution of social language use in society. As the report mentions, "as the pupils get older (in our case, going from 9-10 to 13-14 years old) the social use of Spanish gains ground in the pupils' everyday lives, to the detriment of Basque. Consequently, although the conditions may be similar at school, the pupils' relative language fluency shows a tendency towards Spanish (in the Basque-Spanish pair)" (2.3).

As we mentioned at the start of this article, we have two inter-related reasons explaining the evolution between both age groups: on one hand, when the pupils go from one age to another, a change comes about in their everyday habits and, on the other hand, the passing from one age to another is accompanied by a psychological evolution[12].

Perhaps we have spent too much time on the subject of competence or fluency, particularly if we consider that the Arrue project deals with language use, but it is a well-known fact that there is a direct relationship between knowledge and use. As mentioned at the start of the report, "to reach a certain level of language fluency, it is essential to use the language in question" (1.2). The data produced by the Arrue project regarding use ratifies the conclusions that we have drawn by analysing competence: there is a major difference in the use of Basque between one group and the other, both outside of school (extra-curricular activities: (2.1.13) and inside the school itself. In the family context (2.1.12), however, the use of Basque seems to be pretty stable.

LANGUAGE USE AT SCHOOL

If we focus specifically on language use at school, we perceive that the difference between one group and the other is significant. On the table below, we have added the figures for the options "Always in Basque", "More in Basque than in Spanish" and "Same in both"[13] and we have compared.

The table shows that the greatest difference arises in the classroom, between pupils. In general, it seems that P4 pupils follow the classroom formality more closely than S2 pupils, but above all when they are speaking with their friends; as regards relationships with the teacher, the differences are not that great[14]. It is interesting to observe that the existing difference in use in the classroom between P4 and S2 pupils is very similar to the difference that arises, in P4, between the use in the classroom and use in the playground, which ratifies this relationship that is established between classroom and formality[15].

It also appears that, in P4, the language relationships vary more depending on the person and the place than in S2. P4 pupils make more linguistic code switches throughout the day. The S2 pupils, however, show greater coherence in their daily use, a coherence that is fundamentally in Spanish.

We have no more space in which to analyse the valid information offered by the Arrue study. Many studies have been carried out in the field of education, but very few are of the size and proportion of the Arrue study. It would be very interesting to compare the results of the Arrue project with other studies, to draw conclusions, and to compare them with the designed theoretical-methodological models.

Table 2.

	P4	S2	Difference between both groups
With peers in the classroom	74	39	-35
With peers in the playground	40	24	-16
Formal/Informal Difference	-34	-15	
With the teacher in the classroom	87	74	-13
With the teacher outside of the classroom	75	63	-12
Formal/Informal Difference	-12	-11	

[12] We have mentioned both reasons at the start of the article, so we will not repeat them here.

[13] We have chosen these three groups for our comparisons because we do not have enough space in this short article to analyse each one separately; besides, these three responses are what, to a certain degree, result in a significant use of the Basque language.

[14] It would be interesting to distinguish whether the language use that takes place in the classroom with their peers is connected with certain activities organised by the teacher or if it responds to an informal interaction between classmates.

[15] We have mentioned both reasons at the start of the article, so we will not repeat them here.

To give an example, it would be very interesting to read this alongside articles from single-topic editions of the BAT journal. For example, number 49 focuses on the world of education and language regeneration (I would particularly underline the articles by Iñaki Artola and Erramun Osa); number 53 deals with the use of Basque; number 63 focuses on the use of Basque outside of school hours; and number 56 focuses on the assimilation of Basque in the school. Number 10 of the BAT journal is also noteworthy. Even though it is the oldest, it is particularly interesting, as it includes the famous article by Fishman. As well as the journal, there are other papers or books on this subject that could offer another perspective on the Arrue study. To mention just a couple, there are the works by Jasone Cenoz or the book Euskararen legeak hogeita bost urte [Twenty-five years of Basque language law] by Mikel Zalbide. As regards competence, we find the work on bilingualism submitted by Isasi and Erriondo in various articles and books to be very interesting. All this without forgetting the international references... It is clear that, in order to properly appraise all the data offered by the Arrue project and to get the most of those data, a comprehensive and in-depth analysis will need to be carried out, one that is deeper and more extensive than that carried out in this article.

CONCLUSIONS

We will briefly offer a few conclusions. With regard to relative fluency, there seems to be a major difference between P4 and S2 pupils[16], a difference that also exists in usage at school. As we have said earlier, use and competence are closely linked: if the pupil does not have a minimum language fluency, he/she will not use the language, and if he/she does not use the language, his/her competence will not improve. This is very important because, as we have already mentioned, between one age group and the other, changes arise in their habits and on a psychosocial level, and those changes are reflected in their language. At a certain age, young people seem to stop using Basque and fail to develop a new repertoire. In other words, at the age of 13-14, a young person is opening up to a new world and, if they switch their linguistic code at that moment, they will be unable to speak about that new world in Basque; they will not have sufficient linguistic repertoire, as speaking about that world in Basque will also not move them emotionally. However, as the Arrue study reflects, the problem also occurs the other way around: if that new world is Spanish-speaking, the young person will find it very difficult to form part of that world in Basque, or to speak about that world in Basque. This data is ratified in the Arrue report: in eminently Basque-speaking environments (where the school is located in a municipality where the proportion of Basque speakers is over 60%) the data on usage are much higher. As a result, the positive influence of school as regards Basque is much greater in Basque-speaking environments. Another data point to keep in mind is that we must nurture Basque living environments and that the role of school, in general and if the context is favourable, is very positive. In the other cases, despite continuing to be positive and important, the influence of school is much more limited and the fact that outside-of-school activities are in Basque acquires greater importance, as covered in the analysis of variables at the end of the report.

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[16] This data coincides with the results obtained by the test on bilingualism carried out by Erriondo and Isasi. See: Erriondo, Isasi & Rodriguez 1993 and Erriondo, Garagorri & Isasi 1998.

AND IF WE ADD THE DIDACTICS OF LANGUAGE LEG TO THE TABLE?

IBON MANTEROLA

UPV/EHU - University of the Basque Country.
Research team Language Acquisition and Use and UNESCO Chair on World Language Heritage

1. STARTING POINT[1]

The Arrue study collects very interesting data with regard to the use of Basque in the school context. Although we know that by now it will have been highlighted on many occasions, we do not want to forget to mention that absolutely all pupils from two different age groups have participated in the study. Conducting a study of this calibre is not within reach to all. Evidently, behind all this is hidden the collaboration of all the institutions, something also worth mentioning.

One of the conclusions derived from the results of the Arrue project, from the perspective of the Basque revitalization process, is that the fact of teaching Basque to new generations, in school, does not lead to, per se, the fact that the pupils will automatically speak Basque. The extracurricular sociolinguistic contexts influence the language use of pupils in addition to cultural practices and consumption (television, music). It seems that "schooling cannot do it itself".

But thanks to the Arrue study we also know that there are differences in function of the age of the pupils and therefore the educational stage. Analyzing different variables has demonstrated that, in general, Primary 4 pupils use Basque more than those in Secondary 2. The conclusion derived is very interesting, which is to say that in certain educational stages school has more of an ability to promote Basque use than in others. Said another way, school can be a type of refuge from extracurricular language practices and agents, but much more for Primary 4 pupils than Secondary 2 pupils.

With those general results in mind, Arrue confirms that detected in other corners of the world: that school is a fundamental environment and agent to regenerate a minority language (Fishman, 1991; Hornberger, 2008; May and Hill, 2008; Martí et al., 2005). Also, the limits of school is also evident, since it cannot carry out the revitalization process all by itself and, as a consequence, it is also necessary for many extracurricular activities to act as language revitalization agents (Fishman, 2002; McCarty, 2008b; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2008).

The Arrue study presents another series of results which we consider worthy of highlighting. It has been shown that model D guarantees much better use of Basque than A and B. But the results have also shown that there are differences in model D. For example, pupils of model D who live in Basque-speaking environments use Basque more than pupils in model D who live in Spanish-speaking environments. That suggests that although the vehicular language in teaching is Basque, that fact does not influence in the same manner on the language practices of all model D pupils. In addition, Basque is not the language spoken at home by many model D pupils. In particular, Basque is the second language for 53% of Primary 4 pupils (Spanish is the first language or L1 of 50% and another language is for 3%); in the case of Secondary 2 pupils, Basque is the L2 for 47% (Spanish is the first language for 45% and another language is for 2%)[2]. This means that for many, the majority of model D pupils, it is an immersion model, not a model of continuity or maintenance (meaning, teaching in the language spoken at home). The image of model D is of plurality and we consider that model D cannot be spoken about as something homogeneous. As a consequence, the better we know what the causing factors of this heterogeneity are and the results achieved in various model D's, more efficient will the resources and educational interventions be.

We have mentioned the didactics and that is precisely where we intend to go in the following pages. We will try to explain that the didactics of languages can have its contribution when understanding the use of Basque in the school context. On this occasion we will mention the methodology used in the Arrue study; on other occasions we will make a more theoretical observation and we will

[1] Work conducted thanks to the following research projects: IT418-10 by the Basque Government and FFI 2009 – 13956 – CO2 – 01 (FILO) by the Spanish Government.

[2] Thanks to Belen Uranga who gave us the opportunity to access different data not included in the report made public.

also attempt to make a research proposal. Nevertheless, before beginning we would like to thank the Sociolinguistic Cluster which has invited us to write this article.

2. CONCEPT OF DIDACTICS OF LANGUAGES

When we make reference to the didactics of languages we do not only refer to the teaching of languages or only the teaching methods, but rather to a more general matter, the environment which analyses and studies the teaching and learning of languages. According to Dolz et al. (2009), the didactics of languages studies the complex relationships between three elements which make up the didactic triangle or system: teacher, pupil and language/languages and its object of principle study is the process of acquisition of language knowledge and practice which occurs in the school context. As a consequence, the references to the didactics of languages in this article must not only be understood as the creation of didactic material and didactic activity of the teacher in the classroom.

The results collected by the Arrue study around language use in school lie in the reflections collected on the following pages. Several general questions come to mind: What influence does language competence and the relative representation or attitude of pupils have when choosing the language they are going to use in the classroom? What can the influence of activities proposed by the teacher be on said choice? Do the didactic objects of the activities carried out in the classroom influence the choice of one language or another? Or is the didactic object pursued in the classroom pertinent, or maybe useful to promote the use of Basque in the classroom between pupils? In no way is our objective not to begin answering said questions- But we will mention numerous ideas, and on occasion proposals, which could serve as a starting point.

3. SURROUNDING THE LINGUISTIC COMPETENCE OF STUDENTS

Just as we mentioned, knowing the language competences acquired by pupils through school activities is a fundamental line of investigation for the didactics of languages. For that reason the contribution of Arrue is great in this field, as mentioned at the beginning. It offers many specific pieces of data and results, both surrounding language competence of pupils and their attitudes and representations relating to languages.

3.1. USE OF LANGUAGES IN THE CLASSROOM, OR USES?

One of the questions in the Arrue survey gave us food for thought: "What language do you use when you speak to your classmates in the classroom?" It seems to us that all language uses between classmates in the classroom are lumped together. Nevertheless, let us make a general distinction: on the one hand, language use to speak about school activities; use between pupils to do pair work or group work as an example. The question by one to another to resolve a doubt, the response by the other, etc. And on the other hand, use to speak about questions not related to activities or exercises. It is a distinction with a very fine line of division since, in each interaction of an intervention between two classmates; each pupil could employ both "uses".

The conclusions reached by Broker and Tedick (2011) with a similar distinction are truly interesting (we mention said investigation in section four). For that reason, in our opinion it is not any question since the fact of making that distinction has its effect from a didactic focus: is it possible, for example, that 23.8% of Primary 4 pupils and 13.7% of Secondary 2 pupils, which answer in the Arrue study that they use "Basque more than Spanish", use Basque specifically to deal with classroom activities and Spanish for the rest? The answer to this question would offer the opportunity to obtain interesting points surrounding the use of languages in the classroom: let us suppose that the fact that the exercises and activities in the classroom are in Basque results in a greater use of Basque among pupils. Even more: certain types of activities and exercises had more influence than others in promoting the use of Basque among pupils. If we could obtain conclusions of this nature we would advance quite a bit in this subject.

3.2. IT IS DIFFICULT TO EVALUATE LANGUAGE COMPETENCE... AND TEACH IT?

The Arrue study has shed light on truly interesting results surrounding the oral competence of pupils both in Basque and Spanish. Concerning the question "In general, in what language do you speak with the most ease?"; 54.8% of the Primary 4 pupils respond Spanish, 21.1% say in Basque and 24.2% "both equally". In the Case of Secondary 2, 64.4% have more ease in Spanish, 18.5% in Basque and 16.9% have the same ease in both. Meaning that the proportion of those who speak Basque with ease or have the same ease in both languages descends among older pupils. All this taking into consideration that in both age groups the proportion of pupils whose first language at home is Basque is similar. It will not be easy to find why there is a difference in function of age. Maybe mention will be made of extracurricular use, because the fracture or lack of

continuity between extracurricular language practices and school practices probably does not help in the development of oral competence. Maybe some look directly at the school, as is frequently done with statements like "the school does not manage to...".

It is precisely in this section where we will mention some of the limitations of the approaches like "the school does not manage to...". The idea we want to fundamentally highlight is that much care must be taken when linking the Arrue results to the school. We do not believe that the question posed in the Arrue study to know the oral language competences of pupils is adequate to evaluate the effectiveness of the activities carried out in schools with the aim of developing the oral language competences of its pupils. We believe that this is due to theoretical reasons and, as a consequence, methodological ones as well.

From a theoretical point of view, both in linguistics (Bronckart, 1996) and in language didactics (Dolz and Schneuwly, 1998), the language competence is linked with the competence to use languages in multiple social interactions. Because the language uses developed by a language community are multiple, it is impossible for a speaker to control all uses- oral and written-. From that perspective, language competence of the speaker is a very dynamic concept which continuously regenerates, adapts and transforms and in which there is no room for uniform concepts of language competence.

The underlying approach in the "linguistic repertoire" concept is also very similar. The concept of repertoire is a concept which is used often when defining bilingual/multilingual language competence: both the oral repertoire of Grosjean (1982) and the communicative repertoire of Dabène (1994) make reference to the uses which the speaker dominates in each of its languages. In a determined communicative situation, a bilingual speaker could have more developed competences in language A than in language B. However, in the case of that same speaker the opposite could possibly happen in a different situation. Lastly, we must remember that that focus does not solely focus on the competences for oral expression but rather also on the oral comprehension competences, as well as written comprehension and expression.

Taking all of this into consideration, we must highlight that at school language is not taught and learned "in general" but rather specific uses of oral and written language relating to both comprehension and expression. There is no doubt that from a pure sociolinguistic perspective, knowing the answer to the question, "In general, in what language do you speak with the most ease?", is very important, we recognised this previously. But looking at the school and knowing the responses to said question can be a very dangerous exercise because the concept of language competence is not the same, surely, for sociolinguistics and didactics of languages.

4. TEACHING AND LEARNING BASQUE THROUGH IMMERSION

The question of immersion is one of the most important research subjects in Basque teaching. According to data from the Arrue study, and as we stated at the beginning, 53% of Primary 4 pupils study in a language which is different from the one spoken at home, meaning immersion. In Secondary 2 the proportion whose second language or L2 is Basque is 47%. We do not know how many of those pupils live in environments which are fundamentally Spanish-speaking but supposing that they are not few we must highlight that many, the majority of pupils study Basque in contexts where the presence of Basque is pretty scarce. We consider that it is very important to analyse the learning process of educated pupils in these conditions in-depth.

To say the truth, outside the Basque Country a lot has been investigated surrounding the characteristics of schooling by means of immersion and the basic characteristics of didactics by means of immersion are well known. To mention a few: that the teacher is bilingual and cultivates respect for the spoken language at the pupils' home, specific characteristics of the educational activity that the teacher carries out with the student as a goal ("caregiver speech"), comprehensible input and negotiation of definition, importance of ritualised activities (above all at the beginning of the immersion) and the teaching of languages based on the communicative perspective (Baker, 2002; Genesee, 2006; Johnson and Swain, 1997; Tardiff; 1991; Verterbacka, 1991). With regard to the competences that the pupil educated by means of immersion acquires in the second language, it is known that they are better than those obtained by pupils who only study said language as a subject (Genesee, 2006). It has been shown that they achieve fewer competences in expression than in comprehension: in grammatical correction, lexical correction and sociolinguistic competence, the immersion pupils do not achieve the same results as L1 pupils (Tedick et al., 2011).

Language use of pupils in didactic interactions in the classroom has also been analysed. For example, in an investigation carried out in the U.S., Broner and Tedick (2011) showed that the nature of the activities and their contents influence when promoting use of the second language in the classroom. Upon analysing the interactions of children whose spoken language at home is English and are educated in Spanish immersion they conduct L2 writing activities and activities in small groups which promote the use of Spanish as L2. According to the authors, having to write in Spanish pushes the pupils to speak in Spanish also. They also use L1, in English, but Spanish dominates. Nevertheless, when the content work in activities is not of a linguistic character the pupils tend to use the L1, English.

Focusing again on Basque immersion, thanks to the historic EIFE studies, the current PISA reports and the study of levels of the European Framework of Reference we know that teaching Basque is successful in general, although limitations and insufficiencies are also perceived.

On the other hand, after analysing stories narrated by 5, 8 and 11 year old pupils, we also know different points surrounding the development of Basque-Spanish bilingualism through immersion (Garcia et al., 2009; Manterola and Almgren; Manterola et al., 2013). Having analysed the autonomy to narrate, organise contents, connector resources, the management of verb tenses and references to protagonists and the production of evaluations and commentaries, it has been detected that the results in Basque immersion pupils and pupils with Basque as L1 are quite similar in general. In the production of grammatical cases and verbal agreement, on the contrary, immersion pupils show certain errors which do not occur among pupils with Basque as L1 (Ezeizabarrena, 2012). Finally, it has been detected that individual differences among members of a same group are also significant.

We also know the didactic interactions in immersion classrooms: Luque (2004) demonstrates that interactions between teacher and pupils are different in function of if Basque is the spoken language in the pupil's home or not. The teacher intervenes more directly in the case of those with Basque as L2, paying close attention to the errors that the pupil makes in Basque. In that sense, it seems that the use of Basque by those with L2 Basque are watched more and controlled. In the case of pupils in which Basque is the language spoken at home, their speech is more spontaneous and the teachers do not control as much.

The study by Sotes and Arnau is also interesting with regard to this question. They analysed the interactions in classrooms with three year old pupils and it suggests that activities carried out in immersion classrooms (whether stories, mathematics or art) influence the educational opportunities made available to pupils.

Thanks to the analysis of the didactic interactions a lot of information is collected about language use in the classroom and we think it is necessary to carry out comparative studies between schools with different sociolinguistic contexts or between different educational stages.

5. IN CONCLUSION

From the perspective of languages didactics, we intended to conduct various reflections along the lines of different results reflected by the Arrue study. The objective was not, in any manner, to present all the areas of investigation of didactics and present them in connection with the question at hand. We have tried to present different fields of investigation where sociolinguistics and didactics of languages could collaborate. We firmly believe that in multilingual contexts like ours it is necessary to exhaustively study the factors which influence the teaching and learning of languages. Another aspect of the relationship between sociolinguistics and didactics of languages is also reflected: it is not possible to explain the revitalization process of minority languages like Basque without an in-depth analysis of the development of bilingualism/multilingualism through school. And the didactics of languages can make its contribution to the respect, with in-depth investigation into what the didactic factors and elements are in the teaching and learning of languages.

A very interesting round table was organised on 31 January within the 6th Conference on Basque Sociolinguistics and we will base ourselves on a comment by Mikel Zalbide to end this article. Making use of his deep and extensive knowledge of Basque teaching, Zalbide made a type of summary of the interventions of Jone Miren Hernandez, Nekane Goikoetxea and Iñaki Martinez de Luna at the round table. Concerning the revitalization process of Basque, he mentioned various pillars: legal, sociolinguistic, psycholinguistic, anthropological-cultural and operational (or human resources and economic resources). It seems that those are the main legs of the table. And if we add the didactics of language leg to the table?

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A LOOK FROM SEVERAL ANGLES OF LANGUAGE USE IN PUPILS: REFLECTIONS AND FORWARD-LOOKING CONSIDERATIONS

MATILDE SAINZ, KARMELE PEREZ AND IDURRE ALONSO

Univertity of Mondragon. MIKER Research Team

1. INTRODUCTION

We would like to start by voicing our satisfaction with the observation that several institutions with responsibility in the field of Basque language have joined forces to cooperate in diagnosing its usage. In fact, over and above the assumptions and impressions previously shared by myriad school teachers, parents and education agents, we now have specific figures on the reality; the study has gathered the answers of all Primary 4 and Secondary 2 pupils at schools in the Basque Autonomous Community to bring us real and wide-ranging data serving to analyse the question.

We believe it is necessary to carry out studies of this kind; studies that analyse the situation of our language (figures on knowledge, usage, etc.), taking account of the fact that it exists in a situation of diglossia. We consider it necessary to constantly care for and nurture languages in a situation like ours; and to be able to guarantee their development and their future, we must know the attitudes and motivations of speakers with respect to those languages.

In the article presented here we look at several aspects; in the first place, we will focus our attention on the information proffered by the study, essentially as regards the language used in the home, on the educational linguistics models, on language use by teachers, and on the linguistic choices made by pupils depending on their age. Secondly, we will analyse the limitations of studies of this kind in obtaining in-depth knowledge of the true situation. Our point is that, added to a diagnosis of the situation, to achieve our purposes we must know the causes of language use. Lastly, we propose several challenges that we believe will be essential for the future.

We may not address all of the relevant factors in these considerations, instead concentrating on specific aspects akin to our characteristics. However, for the same reason, and given our awareness that all sorts of different conclusions will be drawn from the study, we wish to make our point of view very clear.

2. ASPECTS OF THE INFORMATION DESERVING EMPHASIS

Having studied the information presented, in this first consideration we would like to underline several aspects: a) what has happened to Basque usage in the home; b) the situation of the different models; c) how teachers use language; and d) the influence of age.

A) Language spoken in the home

We now have confirmation that the areas where Basque is used as the social language have been reorganised, in other words, the hegemony of social areas for Basque usage has changed. Although family transmission was key for years to the survival of Basque, current figures show that the family has lost its hegemony over Basque usage (40%). If we concentrate on the language spoken in the home, we see that only 14% of the parents of Primary 4 (P4, more or less equivalent to UK Year 5) pupils always or almost always use Basque when speaking to one another; in the case of Compulsory Secondary Education, the figure is 12%. However, 31% of pupils in Primary 4 and 27% of those in Secondary 2 (S2, more or less equivalent to UK Year 9) always or almost always speak to their siblings in Basque. This means that youngsters are more accustomed to speaking in Basque than their parents. However, we believe it is necessary to place strong focus on the language spoken in the home. The following question comes to mind: can Basque progress if family transmission is 14%? The linguistic habits of the parents and their attitudes with respect to language have tremendous influence on their offspring. As affirmed by Lasagabaster (2003), our early behaviours are the result of what we have learned and assimilated from our parents and, to a certain extent, the way we learn these early things, how we receive them from our parents, will be essential and we will firmly maintain them.

The report mentions that, in Primary 4, the number of native pupils is higher than in Secondary 2 yet, despite this, the number of pupils whose spoken language in the home is Basque or both Basque and Spanish is higher in

Compulsory Secondary Education. The report mentions this as a data point that deserves analysis with regard to language transmission. In any event we consider that uniting this information with the reading of the Eustat data may be reassuring; according to Eustat data (2011) for the 2-9 age group, the proportion of children whose spoken language in the home is Basque is higher (16.5%) than in the 10-15 age group (13.10%); and, for those whose spoken languages in the home are Basque and Spanish, the proportion is also higher in the 2-9 age group than in those aged 10-15 (19.95% and 15.12%, respectively). It therefore seems that, the lower the age, the greater the presence of Basque in the family.

On the other hand, we believe that opening new spheres to Basque has been a major achievement of the school, and something which has been obtained thanks to our linguistic models. We would like to make two reflections in this respect.

In the first place, as far as we can tell, this hegemonic shift in Basque usage marks a new and singular situation in the history of minority languages. If we analyse the use of languages in our closest environment (French, English, Spanish, etc.), we will see that the more academic their use or the greater the business or institutional level of that use the more globalised the languages we choose for these activities (currently mainly English); also, that the other languages, although important, assume other social spheres such as, for example, normal school and university use, local shops, the media, etc. Although Basque also clashes with other official languages in these social spheres, we must highlight the fact that the presence of Basque in the said spheres has succeeded in expanding and stabilising our language. The fact that education is taught in Basque has guaranteed the existence of 100% Basque-speakers who are necessary in order for the language to have presence in the said social spheres (Sánchez Carrión, 1991).

But having come this far is no guarantee that Basque will survive, precisely because it has gradually lost the place where its social use was guaranteed in the past: the local community. In other words, drawing on the contributions of Sánchez Carrión (1991) and Fishman (1988), we can come to the conclusion that Basque must recover the family sphere and street usage. We must continue to work with parents, with imagination and without taking our foot off the accelerator; witness to this are, for example, the Oarsoaldea and Buruntzaldea projects.[1]

B) Linguistic models

As we were saying, the contributions made by the school are undeniable. It is largely thanks to school that the general figures on Basque knowledge have improved, and particularly in sociolinguistic areas where the social presence of Basque is scarce. Also, Basque has essentially developed its academic language thanks to the school which is why, for instance, certain countries turn to us as an example (Idiazabal, 2013).

If we concentrate on enrolment figures, from Primary School to Compulsory Secondary Education we can see progression in the decision taken by parents: the tendency to enrol in model D is greater in Primary school, and more so in Basque speaking municipalities. In this respect, and according to Eustat (2012), model D drops as the level of education rises; thus, in the 2010-2011 school year, 72% of Pre-school pupils were enrolled in model D, 65% in Primary Education and 56% in Compulsory Secondary Education. In the Baccalaureate, however, 53% of pupils choose Spanish. In Vocational Training model A predominates, with 74%; only 24% of the students choose model D. It is true that model A is losing pupils and that the number of studies available in Basque is on the rise. In any event, we believe it is necessary to analyse the cause of the drop in enrolments for model D as the educational level rises. We believe that there are three reasons for this. One, model D is gaining strength and, as a result, younger children mainly choose model D. Two: it could be that, as they advance in their education, model D pupils decide to change models. If this is the case, we should analyse their linguistic skills and ask ourselves why they think it will be easier to study in Spanish if, until then, they had only done so in Basque. And, three: that the academic option chosen by the pupil is only available in Spanish.

The figures show very surprising results for model B: we find them very poor. They are disturbing figures in themselves, and even more so if we consider the fact that there are so many pupils enrolled in model B (29% in Primary 4 and 28% in Secondary 2). If we concentrate on the figures, it also seems that most of the pupils studying Compulsory Secondary Education in model B proceed to take their Baccalaureate in model A. It may be interesting to analyse why there are still so many pupils enrolled in model B and in what sociolinguistic zones the model predominates. We would like to know more exactly what happens with model B: are all model B's the same? What

[1] Extensive documentation can be found on these projects at: http://euskara.buruntzaldea.org/euskara/zuretzat-bereziki/gurasoak/sakonean/buruntzaldeko-esperientziak;
http://euskara.buruntzaldea.org/euskara/zuretzat-bereziki/gurasoak/sakonean/ikerketak;
http://euskara.buruntzaldea.org/euskara/zuretzat-bereziki/gurasoak/sakonean/irakasleen-prestakuntza;
http://www.oarsoarrak.net/euskara/xede-taldeak/familia.

results do we achieve in the model? We consider that the education community should, on the one hand, take a closer look at the reality of that model: how do things work at schools that offer both models, B and D? What kind of pupils is sent to model B? Is model B conceived and implemented in the same way no matter what the sociolinguistic context etc.? On the other, we believe that once we have learned the reality, we would have to reflect on the matter and, if the model is to be maintained, to improve it with a view to producing better language results.

Model D has not completely succeeded in making the pupils live in Basque at school. The figures show that many model D pupils always speak Spanish with their peers, whether in the classroom or in the playground (for example, if model D pupils amount to 59% in Compulsory Secondary Education, only 28% always or almost always speak Basque). Continuing with this question, we must mention that in the study carried out, 62% of Primary 4 pupils speak Spanish in the home and 13.7% Basque and Spanish. As a result, we could think that those who always speak Spanish in Primary 4 (37%), or those who speak more Spanish than Basque (22%) are the ones whose spoken language in the home is Spanish. With regard to Compulsory Secondary Education, Spanish is the language spoken in the home for 60.2% of the pupils and Basque and Spanish for 15%. If we take into account that those who always speak in Spanish with their peers amount to 59%, and those who speak more in Spanish than in Basque are 17%, we can also come to the same conclusion in Compulsory Secondary Education. Thus, independently of the education model, it seems as though, if Spanish is the language spoken in the home of the pupil, he or she will use that language with their peers; in any event, we would have to verify that hypothesis, since it could be the case that the odd student whose spoken language in the home is Spanish also speaks Basque, and vice versa. However, the hypothesis formulated supports the figure corresponding to relative declared ability. 74% of the Primary 4 pupils whose spoken language in the home is Spanish find it easier to speak in Spanish; in the case of Secondary 2, the figure is 84%. And we mustn't forget that the social environment also has an enormous influence on language use.

C) Language use by teachers

On studying data, our attention is drawn to the fact that teachers speak Spanish at school. But why does this alternation between languages occur? How should we understand the phenomenon? When, with whom and why do the teachers speak in Spanish? How can we influence the phenomenon? These questions come to mind, but although studies of this kind diagnose reality, they do not explain or provide reasons for it. As a result, they do not provide us with sufficient figures to take action.

In our opinion, we should know the explanations given by these teachers to understand their behaviour and act on them. In any event, and with the purpose of coming to a superficial conclusion, Vila (2013) provided several pieces of interesting information on the alternation of languages at the 6th Basque Sociolinguistics Conference. Among others, he affirmed that Catalan/Spanish alternation is not usually particularly conscious in those whose spoken language in the home is Catalan; however, when the language spoken in the home is not Catalan, the awareness tends to be much more marked. These affirmations are interesting for understanding and interpreting the trends of speakers, given that they provide more information and greater possibilities to take action. The point is that we must understand each phenomenon in order to be able to do something about it.

On the other hand, we believe it is very important to understand the nature of the school and its linguistic project when it comes to analysing the linguistic habits of pupils and teachers. Ruiz de Azua says the following on the question:

> "The school, in itself, by its very nature, can have a great deal of bearing on attitudes towards language, intervening in several ways: by means of the syllabus, organising different actions, encouraging specific behaviours between teachers and other agents at the school (dining room monitors, carers, cleaning staff...). All of this will, in many cases, mean that the pupils assimilate appropriate linguistic attitudes and, in others, that they will succeed in modifying attitudes previously acquired". (Baker, 1992; in Ruiz de Azua, 2013: 25).

Lastly, as regards language use by teachers, the crossover between use and sociolinguistic zones could perhaps offer interesting data; or also the crossover between that use and the language the teacher speaks at home. In any event, crossovers like those mentioned above have been left out of this study, but we believe they are variables that should be taken into consideration in future studies.

D) The influence of age

It is repeated time and again in the data that the tendency to use Spanish is greater in Compulsory Secondary Education. While true, it should also be said that the greatest proportion of model A pupils who participate in the study are also in CSE. Thus, comparisons should also be made taking this data into account. On the other hand, the proportion of teachers who use Basque also drops considerably from Primary 4 to Secondary 2, and this fact will similarly have a bearing on pupils' use of the language.

In any event, it would be highly interesting to analyse the path followed by these children who are presently in Primary Education, to see how many of those who currently

use Basque continue to do so on reaching Compulsory Secondary Education, and to study why they have started speaking in Spanish. In fact, Ruiz de Azua affirms (2012) —mentioning Baker (1992) and Bierbach (1988)— that attitudes take shape at the end of childhood (more or less aged 12), and are subsequently polished during adolescence. In this same respect, he says that age is one of the most powerful social variables, having the ability to influence linguistic attitudes, and that it also has a bearing when it comes to choosing between, fixing and polishing the different linguistic uses of a community. Along the same lines, Baker's work concludes that the attitudes shown by adolescents in favour of a minority language (in his case the Celtic language) fall with their desire to identify with Anglo-Saxon values, and that this is essentially due to the influence of the media. This data is compatible with the responses of our youngsters as regards media consumption, given that it is Primary 4 and Secondary 2 pupils who consume television, Internet, film and radio mainly in Spanish (over 70% in all cases) and music in Spanish and different languages other than Basque (38% in Primary Education and 47% in Compulsory Secondary Education).

3. LIMITATIONS OF THIS KIND OF STUDY AS REGARDS ITS BEARING ON THE REALITY WE WOULD LIKE TO ACHIEVE

Added to the data offered by the study, we also believe it is essential to analyse the study and its questionnaire. We would therefore like to start by mentioning the limitations of having used a quantitative study. We will then go on to make a brief reflection on certain questions used in the questionnaire.

Thus, as we were saying, we should bear in mind that this is a quantitative study and that, as a result, we can use the data to diagnose reality but not to explain the cause of the phenomena reflected. The point is that this kind of studies splits reality into parts, analyses each part individually, and then puts them back together again. How Basque is used depends on several agents —the person and their environment (family, friendships, school) is indivisible— and if we divide that complex reality and analyse each part separately, we will not obtain a full picture of the true situation.

We therefore believe that other studies should be carried out, not so large, but that would offer us more applications, would give us better understanding of the phenomena and would ultimately offer us new ideas for research and continued progress. Is it possible to typify the speakers by combining their knowledge and motivation with the characteristics of the linguistic use of their environments (family, friendships, classroom...) and with their communications objectives (in a formal or informal context, to narrate, debate or explain), for example? The point is that we, the speakers, choose our form of speech according to the communications situation at hand, and not all speakers have the same command of these. Bajtin explains this phenomenon as follows:

> "The speaker's discursive desire takes shape first and foremost in their choice of speech. Their choice is defined by the specificity of a given discursive genre, by considerations of meaning, purpose or subject matter, by the specific situation of the discursive communication, by the participants in the communication, etc. Henceforth, the speaker's discursive intention, with their individuality and subjectivity, is applied and adapted to the chosen genre, formed and developed in a certain generic form. These genres exist, above all, in the multiple spheres of everyday communication, including those most familiar and intimate to us." (Bajtin, 1979/1982: 267)

In accordance with the suggestions of Ruiz de Azua (2012), we believe it is essential that, when going about this kind of studies, instead of analysing linguistic ability, we were to measure the speakers' ability to communicate in the language. In fact, the number of passive bilinguals is often taken as the statistics base, a fact that prevents us from observing how knowledge of Basque is developing.

Generally speaking, it would be good to know why those for whom Basque is a second language reach a good level of Basque and start using it as their regular language (sociolinguistic, psycholinguistic factors, linguistic representations, etc.) Specifically, such a line of research would aim to analyse why people achieve a good level of a language when that language is their L2, and what makes that L2 become their regular language. Even such research were carried out at personal level, it would offer the chance to discover the resources generated and applied by that person, their environment, etc. Psychosocial study can give us a great many clues as to what factors confer high linguistic competence and a positive attitude towards the minority language in people from different sociolinguistic environments.

However, even if we were to carry out this kind of study, we should not only focus on those for whom Basque is L2. We consider it necessary to analyse what type of micro-ecosystems of use exist – collecting information that stretches beyond the sociolinguistic environments. It is also interesting to know how the speakers operate at the heart of these environments, i.e. what factors prompt them to choose the language, with whom and in what social situation; also, the decisions they take, when and why. Taking all of this into consideration, one of the questions

to be analysed in these micro-systems will be what type of interactions occur, both between speakers and between institutions (political institutions, commerce, social life in the municipality, linguistic project of the school, friends at school, extra-curricular activities) and what type of commitments they assume (implicit or explicit).

On the matter of the questions used in the survey, in the first place we would like to underline that the data thrown out by the study is based on declared responses; with all that this implies (i.e. to what extent do these declared responses reflect the actual truth?). Additionally, we must say that the study methodology and type of questions asked may have a bearing on the answers. For instance, sometimes the way a question is asked prompts us to answer in one way or another. We have doubts about some of the questions in the study and would like to make a number of observations on the subject, given that some of them may actually work against the episteme we know and push pupils to make erroneous representations or, perhaps, to maintain erroneous representations they had previously held. Below we give a couple of references to make our argument perfectly clear:

— *What language goes best with the family, with school, with work...?* In this regard, Serra and Vila (2009) affirm that no society is completely bilingual or balanced. As a result, the social role fulfilled by each group conditions the situation. We know that all languages are suitable for all social uses and we therefore imagine that the underlying intention of the question is not to prompt differences and prejudices as regards the languages. However, we believe that when faced with a question such as this, those who do have prejudices will see them strengthened and those who did not have prejudices could be led to think that certain languages are better than others for specific social uses. We wish to underline the indirect effect that the questions in the study could have on pupils' representations, and even more so if we remember that the sample was enormous (18,636 pupils from P4 and 17,184 Compulsory Secondary Education pupils). Also, we mustn't forget that we act according to our representations (Cambra and Palou, 2007). On the other hand, the representations tied to languages are closely related with identity and social identification. In this respect, Ruiz de Azua (2012:32) states the following quoting the work of Lapresta and Huguet (2008): *"often our evaluation of the use of a language or manner of speech can be confused with our feelings for those who use that language or manner of speech".*

— *What language is easiest or most difficult?* We realise that in order to answer whether a language is easy or difficult we must consider numerous factors; for example, finding it easier or more difficult to speak one or another language may depend on our ability in each type of text (Bajtin, 1979/1982). Or, for example, we may get on better or worse using it among friends or to do exercises, activities and tasks at school; the point is that habits and uses influence our ability to use one kind of text or another. These specifications are not made in the study, yet they are very interesting; the results would perhaps be different if we had taken these factors into consideration. These aspects have been in our syllabus for some time; however, in our representations and in the studies carried out, the monolithic conception of language continues to predominate.

We consider that studies of this kind, with their dimensions (35,800 pupils), could also make the most of the opportunity to be instructive. Thus, we can offer formative (or more formative) evaluations offering pupils the opportunity to acquire concepts that are either new or will help to change certain representations.

4. LOOKING AHEAD

As we were saying, we have studied the report from several angles and now present several proposals on the questions it deals with. There are two kinds of proposals. The first corresponds to the intervention and the second, to the nature of the study.

Regarding intervention, if, throughout our history, we have made some kind of progress in learning and using Basque, it has been thanks to numerous initiatives and efforts, nobody doubts that. Thus, we, the speakers of minority languages, know very well that, to influence a language (as regards learning and speaking it), we must take action. At this moment in time, and in view of the data collected, we expect it will essentially be necessary to intervene in three areas: at school, in the family and in the street.

At school, we know that while the model system is kept as it is, and unless corrective measures are taken, the situation and results will remain very similar. The key would lie in these said corrective measures. We daringly propose three main areas: 1) Revision of model B: a) starting from the moment of enrolment; how the enrolment system helps to choose one or another model, the information offered to parents, etc.; b) the intensity of Basque and other languages in model B and c) analysis of the methodology. 2) Regarding plurilingual education, the challenge faced by the school lies in Basque (Elorza and Muñoa, 2012; Sagasta, Perez, Pedrosa and Garro, 2010) and, to meet that challenge, in providing broader training for teachers, thereby lending continuity to and adapting the tremendous work carried out to date by the Administration and the Partaide association in the field of plurilingual education. Lastly, 3) every school must have a unanimous voice as regards the methodology and use of Basque, i.e. they should function from a systemic point of

view and not from that of a certain group being responsible for the question at the school. The systemic perspective requires that all teachers at a school function as a whole, in a coordinated fashion, grouping their energies towards achieving a single target. As a final comment on schools, our impression is that, although we certainly must make demands of the school, that same school also requires help in carrying out its functions. By this we mean that the help given to schools should adjust to the needs of each one. Summing up, the new challenges we imagine will be faced by the school are the following: providing a response to plurilingualism and interculturality, defining the spoken language as a relevant objective in the syllabus, teaching the language in combination with the other subjects in the syllabus, methodological innovation, ensuring that the entire educational community at the school acts in a coordinated fashion, etc.

With respect to the family, we believe that the time has come for it to take action. Steps must be taken by the Administration and by the school in order to ensure that, in the near future, the transmission of Basque will take place, to the greatest possible extent, from the family itself. The questions we ask ourselves are the following: Why, in the case of many speakers for whom Basque is the second language, do they not choose Basque as the language spoken in the home? What can we do to change that situation?

And, lastly, we see the need to influence usage in the street. The figures reflect the enormous importance of extra-curricular activities for Basque usage. We will make no suggestions in this respect because there are other institutions more qualified than our team to do so.

As regards the study, in our country there are a great many studies based on declared responses and that throw out quantitative data. As we have said, these figures offer us an overall image of the present situation. Once we have obtained that image, we consider that we must also carry out other kinds of studies to obtain different information. In other words, to learn in depth, from the inside, the phenomena of Basque usage, from the actual context where these phenomena take place. Thanks to these studies, we could represent certain contexts (micro-systems) potentially effective or prolific as regards Basque usage. We therefore believe that we should carry out another type of studies with a smaller corpus, but which research the cause of the phenomena and offer solutions whenever possible. Our proposal advocates multidisciplinary studies that would analyse Basque usage from different points of view and would focus on very specific environments and contexts.

Finally, we would like to state our opinion that it is essential to analyse the entire linguistic community; in other words, to expand this kind of studies to all of the territories in which Basque is spoken.

Thus we come to the end of our reflection and contributions. We are aware that, from our area of research, we offer a humble response to a very complex question.

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