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UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

Department of Modern Languages

**'Basque for all?'**

**Ideology and Identity in Migrants' Perceptions of Basque**

by

**Anna Augustyniak**

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

September 2016



## UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

This PhD thesis explores language attitudes and ideologies among migrant students of Basque in the Basque Autonomous Community of Spain. I aim to explore the contexts of language attitude formation in interaction, and how these attitudes in turn, reflect the underlying ideological indexicalities that contribute to the creation of social categories. The processes of attitude construction and ideologies that guide them are then influential and consequential for group identity formation, for instance, when migrant learners position themselves on the scale of belonging to 'Basqueness' understood as a group identity.

In this project I analyse three areas in which this influence of ideologies on attitudes and identity construction was found particularly significant and consequential for migrant learners of Basque: the construction of space in which Basque group identity is embedded and based on Basque resources subjected to processes of scalar evaluation; the construction of authenticity in relation to speakers, language and spaces; as well as in the construction of Basque language as resources convertible into economic capital. All these three areas show that essentialist and constructionist discourses on minoritised languages and group identity intertwine in the representations of social categories, such as migrants, language, language speaker. This has consequences on the extent to which migrant learners position and identify themselves as belonging to 'Basqueness'.

This project is ethnographically oriented and the data comes from observations and participation in Basque classes for adult migrants, interviews with class participants and interviews with other Basque learners at various language centres throughout the Basque Autonomous Community, as well as from Basque public institutions' publications with language course descriptions and campaigns directed at migrant Basque learners.

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Anna Monika Augustyniak



## Table of Contents

<b>List of Tables</b> .....	ix
<b>List of Figures</b> .....	xi
<b>DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP</b> .....	xiii
<b>Acknowledgements</b> .....	xv
<b>Definitions and Abbreviations</b> .....	xvii
<b>Chapter 1: Introduction</b> .....	19
1.1 Introduction.....	19
1.2 Aim and Scope of the Project .....	21
1.3 Origins of the Project .....	23
1.4 Research Questions.....	25
<b>Chapter 2: Theoretical Perspectives</b> .....	29
2.1 Constructing an Analytical Framework .....	29
2.2 Language Ideologies.....	31
2.2.1 Characteristics of Language Ideologies.....	31
2.2.2 Ideological Sites .....	32
2.2.3 Neutral or politicised? .....	33
2.2.4 Processes Related to the Creation and Endurance of Ideologies .....	34
2.2.5 Iconization.....	36
2.3 Essentializing and Non-essentializing Conceptualization of Language .....	37
2.3.1 Essentialism vs. Constructionism .....	37
2.3.2 Essentialising and Constructionist Discourses in Basque Teaching to Migrants .....	40
2.4 Discursive Tools for Ideology Construction and Identification.....	41
2.4.1 Language Attitudes .....	41
2.4.2 Stancetaking.....	47
2.4.3 Positioning as Discursive Realisation of Identity .....	51
2.5 Identity as Co-constructed in Interaction.....	52
2.5.1 Hybridity and Multiplicity of Identities .....	53
2.5.2 Negotiation of Identities.....	54

2.5.3	The Hierarchy of Identities .....	54
2.5.4	Post-structuralist Approaches to Identity .....	55
2.6	Ideologies in Thematic Representations of ‘Basqueness’ .....	56
2.6.1	Space .....	57
2.6.2	Authenticity.....	58
2.6.3	Instrumentality of Basque Resources .....	61
2.7	Conclusion .....	65
<b>Chapter 3:</b>	<b>Methodological Considerations .....</b>	<b>67</b>
3.1.	Collection, Categorisation and Nature of Data .....	67
3.1.1	Participant Choice .....	67
3.1.2	Categorization in Ethnography.....	68
3.1.3	The Nature of the Data .....	70
3.1.4	Participants .....	72
3.1.5	Participant Interviews.....	74
3.1.6	Data Analysis Method.....	75
3.2	Ethnographic Perspective in Data Collection and Analysis.....	81
3.3	Conclusion .....	83
<b>Chapter 4:</b>	<b>The Basque Language: a Socio-Historical Context .....</b>	<b>85</b>
4.1	The Basque Country and the Basque Language.....	86
4.2	Basque Language Revival after the 1978 Constitution .....	87
4.3	The Basque Statue of Autonomy and the Language Question.....	88
4.4	Contemporary Language Policies .....	90
4.4.1	Basque in Administration .....	90
4.4.2	Basque in Education.....	92
4.4.3	Basque in Private Employment Sector .....	94
4.4.4	The Basque Language Today – Language Knowledge and Use.....	95
4.5	Migration and Citizenship Regulations in Spain and the BAC.....	98
4.6	Basque Language Policies and Migration .....	105
4.7	Conclusion .....	108

<b>Chapter 5:</b>	<b>Space of “Basqueness”</b>	<b>111</b>
5.1	‘Basqueness’ and Space in AISA Course Descriptions	112
5.1.1	Space and Language in the HABE AISA Course Description	112
5.1.2	Basque Teaching Promotion: Getxo Leaflet	117
5.1.3	AISA in ‘Informative Dossier’ of Vitoria-Gasteiz: Genre, Space and Positioning of Migrants	126
5.2	Language, Space and Positioning in Other Promotional Materials	132
5.2.1	Ownership of Basque	134
5.3	‘Basque space’ as ‘state’ or ‘country’ space	136
5.3.1	Nation-state Space Labels	136
5.3.2	Essentialist Space Evaluations	139
5.3.3	State-like Space and the Regulation of Belonging	143
5.4	Contexts of Migrants’ Self Identification with the Basque Space	150
5.4.1	Self-identification with Administrative and Metaphorical Space: Partial Resources	151
5.4.2	Self-identification with Administrative and Metaphorical Space: Advanced Resources	155
5.5	Conclusion	158
<b>Chapter 6:</b>	<b>Authenticity in the Representations of ‘Basqueness’</b>	<b>161</b>
6.1	Authenticity of Spaces	161
6.1.1	Presence of Authentic Actors and Authentic Resources	161
6.1.2	Urban vs. Rural Space	166
6.1.3	Authentic Metaphorical Space and State-like Space	169
6.2	Authenticity of Speakers	175
6.2.1	Positioning as Authentic and Non-Authentic Speakers	178
6.3	Authenticity of Language	181
6.3.1	Evaluations of Batua	181
6.4	Conclusion	189

<b>Chapter 7:</b>	<b>Instrumentality in ‘Basqueness’: Language as Economic and Social Capital .....</b>	<b>191</b>
7.1	Basque as an ‘Added-Value’ .....	192
7.1.1	Basque as Added-Value: ‘Elebiduna Naiz - Aberatsa Naiz’ campaign... ..	194
7.1.2	Basque Resources as Product or Service Added-Value .....	206
7.1.3	Basque Resources as Space Added-Value .....	210
7.1.4	Basque Resources as Person Added-Value .....	218
7.2	Instrumental Value of Basque in Public Education .....	226
7.3	Conclusion .....	230
<b>Chapter 8:</b>	<b>Conclusion.....</b>	<b>233</b>
8.1	Migration, Language and the Regulation of ‘Belonging’ .....	233
8.2	Ideological Influence on the Construction of Relevant Categories and the Role of Ethnography in its Discovery .....	235
8.3	Essentializing and Non-essentializing Influences over the Representations of ‘Basqueness’ .....	237
8.4	Tensions in Basque Promotion as Provision of Social Capital (Integration).....	240
8.5	Tensions in Basque Promotion as Provision of Economic Capital .....	241
8.6	Other-reception of Migrant Positioning and its Role in Integration .....	242
8.7	Positioning of Migrants in Language Acquisition Policies.....	246
8.8	Post-structuralist approach to Attitudes and Positioning .....	247
<b>Appendix A</b>	<b>Transcription Key.....</b>	<b>251</b>
<b>Appendix B</b>	<b>Interviewed Participants.....</b>	<b>252</b>
<b>Appendix C</b>	<b>Interview topics.....</b>	<b>254</b>
<b>Appendix D</b>	<b>Historical Context of the Decline and Revival of Basque and its Role in Group Identity Building .....</b>	<b>255</b>
D.1.	The Socio-Economic Conditions behind the Decline of Basque .....	255
D.2.	Language Loss in France.....	256
D.3.	Castilian – Basque Dichotomy.....	257
D.4.	Claims to Nationhood.....	257
D.5.	<i>Fueros</i> as Special Privileges.....	258
D.6.	Industrialization and Basque Renaissance .....	259

D.7. Loss of Domains of Use .....	260
D.8. Basque Cultural Movement .....	261
D.9. The Birth of Basque Nationalism .....	262
D.10. The Beginnings of Language Reform .....	264
D.11. Basque Language in the Franco Regime.....	265
D.12. Cultural Repression .....	266
D.13. Language as Resistance.....	267
D.14. ETA and the Language Question.....	267
D.15. Beginnings of ETA.....	268
D.16. Language in ETA's Ideological Thought .....	269
D.17. Demographic Changes of the 1960s.....	270
D.18. A Socialist turn in ETA .....	271
D.19. Culturalists' Response .....	272
<b>Appendix E</b> <b>Original Versions of Interviews and Texts.....</b>	<b>274</b>
<b>References</b> .....	<b>299</b>



## List of Tables

<b>Table 3.1</b>	AISA Participants .....	73
<b>Table 4.1</b>	Linguistic Profiles .....	90
<b>Table 4.2</b>	Immigrant Population of the BAC (2013) .....	105
<b>Table 7.1</b>	Elebiduna Naiz - Aberatsa Naiz Participants.....	197



## List of Figures

<b>Figure 5.1</b> HABE AISA Course Description .....	113
<b>Figure 5.2</b> Getxo Leaflet .....	118
<b>Figure 5.3</b> Getxo Leaflet: AISA Course .....	122
<b>Figure 5.4</b> Dossier Informativo Vitoria-Gasteiz .....	126
<b>Figure 5.5</b> Basque Dictionary: Introduction .....	132
<b>Figure 7.1</b> Video 1 Carol Elsdén .....	199
<b>Figure 7.2</b> Video 2 Alba Ramirez .....	200
<b>Figure 7.3</b> Video 3 Yolanda Torres .....	201
<b>Figure 7.4</b> Video 4 Zine Laabidine .....	202
<b>Figure 7.5</b> Elebiduna Naiz Aberatsa Naiz Poster .....	204
<b>Figure 8.1</b> The Country of the Basque Language (Badu Bada, no date).....	258



# DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I, Anna Monika Augustyniak,

declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

“Basque for all? Ideology and Identity in Migrants’ Perceptions of Basque”

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
7. Parts of this work have been published as:

Augustyniak, A. (2014) Assimilation Through Language Learning?: Minoritised Language Perception and Integration Policies. *Emergence*, Volume 6, 32- 40.

Signed:

Date: 22.09.2016



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I have written parts of this thesis in various places. Being a PhD student who explored social issues in another country very much required a life on the move. However, it is the people that I met on my way in all these places that made this project possible. My special thanks go to all those who agreed to take part in my study and made my stay in the Basque Country memorable. I am hugely indebted to all of you.

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## Definitions and Abbreviations

BAC	Basque Autonomous Community
BC	Basque Country
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
DA	Discourse Analysis
ESEP	Plan de Acción para la Promoción de Euskera Plan of Action for the Promotion of Basque
INE	Instituto Nacional de Estadística National Institute of Statistics
LE	Linguistic Ethnography
PECI	Plan Estratégico de Ciudadanía e Integración Strategic Plan of Citizenship and Integration
PNUEDS	Plan Nacional de Uso de Euskera en el Departamento de Salud National Plan for the Use of Basque in Health Services
PVICCI	Plan Vasco de Inmigración, Ciudadanía y Convivencia Intercultural Basque Plan for Integration, Citizenship and Intercultural Cohabitation
VES	Quinta Encuesta Sociolingüística – 5 <sup>th</sup> Sociolinguistic Survey
V-G	Vitoria-Gasteiz



# Chapter 1: Introduction

## 1.1 Introduction

In this PhD project I create an account of personal experiences, perceptions of social categories and identification of migrant learners of Basque in the Basque Autonomous Community of Spain (BAC) from an ethnographic perspective. It is oriented at portraying migrants' experiences related to the linguistic and language ideological domain, in a socio-political space where two sets of resources, Basque and Castilian, are in struggle for dominance over social actors, their attitudes, institutions and various domains of language use. These experiences are voiced from the perspective of actors understood as novices<sup>1</sup> who enter this space with a baggage of their own language related experiences and ideological traces, and who need to form their own positions and perceptions in that struggle.

One of the sites in which this interplay between Castilian and Basque is especially prominent and especially relevant for migrants, are Basque language classes directed at foreign residents of the BAC. I see them as a site where dominant discourses related to both sets of language resources – Basque and Castilian, in addition to discourses on migration and integration coincide, creating tensions and resulting in a reproduction or a rejection of dominant ideologies related to language and 'belonging'. Accessing and participating in one of such sites made it possible for me to create this account: an account of voices of others through my own voice, an ethnographic account guided by self-experience and self-reflection related to being present on site as an investigator, an account of a lived experience of tensions on a linguistic and a social ground and their relevance in the construction of social categories in interaction. As Heller points out,

---

<sup>1</sup> Novices in the sense of language speakers, but also as actors who are considered to be 'culturally inexperienced'.

(Ethnographies) allow us to tell a story — not someone else’s story, but our own story of some slice of experience, a story which illuminates social processes and generates explanations for why people do and think the things they do. (2008, 250)

In this thesis, I intend to illuminate such a “slice of linguistic experience” of its participants, providing analytical explanations of linguistic and discursive processes ‘on the ground’. I am hugely indebted to them for allowing me to be part of their experience.

This account will be organised as follows: chapter one introduces this research project and illuminates the stages that allowed for arriving at the main goals and scope of this study, as well as presents the research questions upon which this account is constructed. In chapter 2, I discuss the theoretical framework used in the analysis, which includes the consideration of ontological debates around three concepts: attitudes, ideologies and identity. The third chapter is dedicated to the methodological aspects: the process of data collection, the types of data collected, participant selection, the design of the interviews, the way that the data was analysed, and finally, a discussion of the ethnographic perspective to data collection taken in this project. Chapter 4 is aimed at describing the contextual implications of the project: an overview of the linguistic situation in the socio-political space of the Basque Country and its historical development, of the dynamics of the process of migration into and out of Spain and the BAC, and of the current legislative situation of Basque in certain social and administrative institutions of the BAC. In this chapter I also discuss official policy documents released by the local and national governments – related to migration, integration and language teaching, which are relevant for the later discussion of various data entextualisations (in chapter 5).

What follows are three chapters of data analysis, each concentrated on a separate theme: chapter 5 on the creation and representations of Basque group identity based on space, constructing this space in varying ways which shows consequences for ‘stance of belonging’ ascribed to or assumed by migrants; chapter 6 on the creation and representations of authenticity of ‘Basqueness’, in which I analyse how authentic space and its authentic inhabitants, authentic language and authentic speakers are constructed; and chapter 7 in which I concentrate on the representations of ‘Basqueness’ based on the instrumentality of the Basque language and the idea of promoting Basque as a commodity which can

undergo capital conversion (Bourdieu, 1986). I also discuss questions of identity as represented through migrant self- and other-positioning, as an evidence of the tensions in identity construction on various levels – whether related to the newly entered space, newly acquired resources and their authenticity or to the categories of ‘nationality’ or ‘migrants.’

In the last chapter, I summarise the discussion on discourses related to migration and its impact on language revival and language learning policy, as well as recapitulate the outcome of the analysis of the three thematically organised representations of ‘Basqueness’ in relation to ethnography’s role in discovery of relevant social categories. I provide a discussion of the outcomes of the impact that the two ideological sets – essentialism and constructionism, have on attitude construction and other language related categories discovered in the thematic analysis of data, as well as show how they, in turn, influence migrant self-positioning and its subsequent uptake. I discuss the consequences of treatment of Basque as social or economic capital for migrants and the tensions which such treatment implies. I also discuss how policies position migrants in terms of belonging to the host space and how this positioning is a result of longer ideological influences which, I believe, can only be discovered by incorporating a post-structuralist approach to identity. In all of these parts of my conclusion I provide a discussion of implications and recommendations for amendments of language learning policy in the BAC, which I find could be beneficial for migrants’ learning, integration and identity building experience, illuminating the complexity of ideological influences in the contexts of language learning and the construction of relevant social categories.

## **1.2 Aim and Scope of the Project**

This PhD project encompasses theoretical and methodological issues from three broad areas of study within Modern Languages and Linguistics: Minority Language Studies<sup>2</sup>, Migration Studies<sup>3</sup> and Discourse Analysis<sup>4</sup>. It does so by addressing questions of language

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<sup>2</sup> Area of study concerning languages dominated by a surrounding majority language(s) (Cormack 2007,1).

<sup>3</sup> Interdisciplinary investigation of determinant, processes and outcomes of human migration [migration.oxfordjournals.org]; accessed: 29.10.2015].

attitude construction, language ideologies' reproduction and contestation, and discursive construction of various ideologically informed categories such as 'space', 'state', 'nationality', 'minoritised language' and its 'speakers', within the setting of Basque language teaching to migrants. Minority Language Studies area is addressed by the chosen context and, more importantly, through discovering the underlying ideological premises influencing attitudinal perceptions and the understanding of speaker identities, which have a direct link to the effects of minority language revitalisation (Grenoble 2013, 795; Sallabank 2013, 67). Migration Studies is taken up through the choice of participants and through the revealing of how acquired or rejected local ideological premises influence migrants' identity construction. Finally, Discourse Analysis is the tool used in this study for addressing the ways in which ideologies of space, language, identity and belonging are constructed discursively.

Despite being situated in the context of institutionalised language classes, it does not concern itself with the study of teaching practices per se, nor with the structural or functional aspects of second language learning. Rather, it aims at identifying those practices which project the ways in which the participants, as migrants, make sense of their belonging to or separation from the newly entered socio-political space. It also looks at the role that language resources (as well as other factors), characteristic of that host space or of the participants in question, play in their representations of the group identity connected to that space. These representations are ideologically mediated and created in the discursive practices that migrants enter together with a variety of experiences of participation in ideological practices within other socio-political spaces to which they were previously socialised (Shi 2007, 230).

When this project refers to second language learning, it does so by treating language as a medium that carries with itself ideological components of social and communicative practices and, in this sense, language learning implies that these components are also acquired to some extent, and represented in the language teaching practices (Fogle 2012,

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<sup>4</sup> Studies involving: "the analysis of language as it is used to enact activities, perspectives and identities" (Gee, 1999, 4); "investigation of language beyond the boundaries of the syntactic or semantic form of the utterance" (Barker and Galasinski 2001, 63).

14), as well as in the uptake of these practices and linguistic forms by other speakers (Riley 2011, 493).

### 1.3 Origins of the Project

Reaching this aim and scope, however, was a long and complicated process at the first stage of my PhD tenure. The idea for this PhD project stemmed from my initial interest in minority language issues in the Spanish state context. As a master's degree student, I wrote a thesis which analysed the link between language and nationalism in the Basque Country, focussing mainly on the historical account of the changing role of language in national identity formation. My personal situation as a migrant to the UK, as well as a previous resident of other EU states, made me inquisitive about the broad topic of language learning by migrants and the role of language knowledge in the expression of belonging. I was interested in the complexity of identity construction by multilinguals, as they become affected by transnationalism and globalization processes, as they face adaptation, rejection of or attribution of various forms of identity categories connected to moving from one geographical area to another, from one socio-political regime to another.

De Fina points out that “members of transnational communities are often maintaining different worlds, which becomes a process fraught with ambiguities and contradictions” (2015, 48). She then continues to assert that,

while languages and identities are traditionally defined in mainstream discourses in either/or terms, the experience of transnational people is always one of in-betweenness. (ibid.).

This maintenance of “different worlds” is often projected through the navigation between “various identity categories and conflicting language ideologies” (ibid.). It was precisely the idea of having to embrace the initially unknown communicative and discursive realities guided by varying language ideologies, new forms of meaning attached to identity categories and the need to accept or reject them, as well as the self or other representations of contradictory identity positions by migrants and to migrants as newcomers into spaces which are additionally characterised by conflictive language

ideologies with regards to sub-state language bilingualism, multilingualism or the minoritised language itself, that formed the underpinnings of this PhD project.

In thinking about drawing the scope and aim of this doctoral research project I realized that often when others enquired about it, I emphasized the context of the project, in attempting to explain the idea behind it. This would always put the focus on the implications of political, linguistic and pedagogical nature that stem from this context, such as the conflict between the Spanish state and local political separatists, or a perhaps less frequent enquiry about the structure, origin and similarities between Basque and other 'languages'. After all, the popular associations with regards to the BAC and the teaching of Basque involve these areas and, as I will show, they are also reflected in the data I collected. Both members of the academia and non-academics interested in finding out more about my project would often ask me about my knowledge of Basque and its use, political views, and the roles Basque fulfils in the main areas of state activity, such as education, work practices etc. This made me reflect on the way that presupposed, essentialist categories still influence our thinking, even within the area of study of multilingualism, for why is it often assumed that a researcher willing to study the context where Basque resources are present cannot gain access to institutions or actors in a similar position (i.e. migrant newcomers willing to engage in the practice of Basque language learning) without these resources at their disposal? While I know that certain paths were inaccessible for me as non-proficient Basque speaker or that certain contexts could have been accessed more easily or analysed from a different perspective with my possession of Basque resources, I think I was fully able to participate and experience what being a sub-state language learner implied. Similarly, I took a lot of effort in preparing myself for each class, both as a participant and as an observer, to be able to fully relate to what the learning of Basque involved, even though acquisition of Basque resources was not my ultimate goal.

What I find important to stress is the fact that this project is aimed at contributing to our understanding of identity and the role of language in its construction in minoritised language contexts, as well as a better understanding of the processes of reproduction or resistance to hegemonic ideologies related to language resources that are bound to a given socio-political time-space (Collins and Slembrouck, 2011; 2005). This project is

embedded in the context of ‘Basqueness’<sup>5</sup> — as it is explored and referred to in the analysis, but apart from that, I aim to address the micro and macro issues incorporated in the research questions that could be also compared with other (minoritised) language contexts. While I sympathise with Basque actions taken in favour of the revival of Basque and teaching initiatives, thanks to which this project was possible in the first place, I do not wish to position myself as taking any kind of particular political stance.

## 1.4 Research Questions

The theoretical framework drawn upon in this study evolves around three separate but related concepts, which I believe helped me to address the idea of migrants’ having to face “conflictive worlds” (De Fina, 2015) and constructing multi-layered identities, in an ample, yet apposite way. These concepts were: ‘language attitudes’, ‘language ideologies’ and ‘positioning’ or ‘stance’. I saw them as tools that allowed me to explore the ways in which ‘newcomers’ represented their identities in discourse. They did this by positioning themselves in relation to or contested the identities ascribed to them in the newly entered ‘world’ (such as those of ‘insiders’ or ‘outsiders’); or by accepting or rejecting the linguistic value hierarchies of the time-space scales within the newly entered ‘world’ in which language ideologies are embedded (VanDijk 1998, 74) through, for instance, attitude construction.

I see all these processes as represented in these concepts and interconnected: constructed attitudes become so constructed because of the underlying ideologies operating within the spatio-temporal scale of the context of their construction; positioning is then revealed as a way of adherence or rejection of hegemonic ideologies and may be represented in the linguistic forms of attitude expression. I will explore these theoretical notions and the idea behind their interconnectedness further in the literature review (chapter 3). For now, I would like to discuss how I used them to formulate the research questions addressed in this project, and how they are going to be used in the data analysis.

The research questions were organised based on the three concepts introduced as follows:

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<sup>5</sup> By which I mean Basque group identity.

## Attitudes

What are migrants' attitudes towards Basque and 'Basqueness'? How are they constructed in discourse? In what context? Do they have instrumental or integrative values? For whom?

## Ideologies

What ideologies (and in what way) shape the expression of migrants' attitudes and the construction of certain social categories (such as 'migrants', 'space', 'language' and 'speakers')? What are the consequences of reproduction or rejection of such ideologies? For whom?

How do migrants perceive 'Basqueness' in the light of these ideologies? What role does language play in their perception of 'Basqueness' under these ideological influences?

## Stance

How do migrants position themselves in discourse or are positioned in the context of constructed attitudes and ideologies? In what contexts do they identify themselves as belonging (or not) to 'Basqueness'?

The first question is intended at investigating the contexts in which attitudes are created, by whom and what kind of representations of Basque and 'Basqueness' they provide. It also looks at what reasons behind the studying of Basque tend to accompany positive integrative attitudes or instrumental attitudes. The second and third questions are inquiries about the nature of ideologies that apply in the context of the constructed attitudes and the role that language plays in the representations of Basque group identity, as through these representations migrants reproduce or reject value systems that these ideologies are embedded in. This reproduction, or rejection, directly concerns the perception of the 'new world' and the role of language resources that the participants are acquiring in this 'new world'. The last question relates to the ways in which identity is constructed in light of the same contextual implications of attitude expression and ideological embeddedness of migrants' perceptions of 'Basqueness'.

These questions are then applied in the thematic areas which emerged from a content analysis of the data, i.e. the construction and understanding of space and belonging, the

construction of authenticity of language and speakers and the construction of instrumental values attached to Basque (and in some cases to Castilian as the two sets become contrasted; or to other linguistic resources that become relevant). These three thematic areas are then each discussed in three analysis chapters: chapter 5, 6 and 7.

However, before I continue to the analysis, in the next two chapters, I will first discuss the theoretical and methodological issues addressed in this project.



## Chapter 2: Theoretical Perspectives

Having introduced the research questions and the aim of this project, in this chapter I will discuss the theoretical premises on which it is based. I concentrated them around the three concepts mentioned before, and their embeddedness in two ideological sets: essentialism and constructionism.

### 2.1 Constructing an Analytical Framework

As I have already indicated, this project is of an ethnographic nature. Copland and Creese suggest that any analytical framework within ethnography is informed by many theoretical paradigms or specific empirical studies (2015, 45). In the case of this project, I used theoretical frameworks which were identified as characteristic of ethnography as a paradigm, or characteristic of constructionist and post-structuralist paradigms in sociolinguistics, based on the assertion that language constructs social reality. Thus, the three conceptual 'tools' become constructed in interaction under "wider social constraints, structures and ideologies", and that language as a 'social sign' lends itself to 'situated interpretation' (Gumperz 1999, 461; Copland and Creese 2015, 19).

The most influential empirical study for my data analysis approach was Alexandra Jaffe's ethnographic account of Corsican sub-state language context, analysed in two book chapters entitled '*Discourses of Endangerment: Contexts and Consequences of Essentializing Discourses*' (2007) and '*State Language Ideology and the Shifting Nature of Minority Language Planning on Corsica*' (2001). In these chapters, Jaffe suggests that discourses related to minority language revitalisation reproduced and circulated by language activists have changed in form and relation to the hegemonic nation-state and to hegemonic discourses on nationalism in their treatment of language and identity: from essentializing to non-essentializing (including constructionist and post-structuralist discourses). In the first article, she suggests that non-essentializing discourses are gaining prominence in the Corsican context. As an example of this, she provides the promotion of a concept of polynomy which makes linguistic identity include variation and variability in the practices of identification within sub-state language discourses (Jaffe 2007a, 57). Similarly, in the latter article, Jaffe explored the way in which hegemonic French state

policies and ethnic nationalist Corsican discourses used to shape language revitalisation policies on Corsica, to later give way to 'plural and heterogeneous' forms of language and identity, which partly stemmed from recreations of new 'imagined communities' and 'cultural and economic networks' between them within Europe (Jaffe 2001, 41).

Both articles suggest then that essentialist discourses, even though still present and prominent in certain institutions (such as schools), are opening up to non-essentialist, inclusive, constructionist in nature definitions of 'belonging', identity and language in the sub-state language context of Corsica. Indeed, as Heller et al. (2014) pointed out,

the old ideologies, connected to the role of language in building community solidarity, or as a cultural asset representing the worldview of that community and consistent with the boundaries of the nation-state institution [do not get erased]. (2014, 563)

Rather, they become extended to include other forms of identity, capital, language, speakers and similar categories.

However, before I continue to discuss what I understand by the essentializing and non-essentializing (Jaffe, 2007a) sets of ideologies, as well as the aforementioned concepts as 'tools' for analysis of this discursive shift in sub-state language discourses in the context of the BAC, I will first of all explore the general nature of language ideologies and the process of indexicality which accompanies their construction and endurance. Subsequently, I will examine the two ideological sets, concentrating on the role of language and identity within them, as well as show how a shift in paradigms in social sciences has taken place in order to favour constructionism over essentialism. Finally, I will discuss other ideological premises present in the contexts of representations of 'Basqueness' that I identified in the data collected, related to space, authenticity and instrumentality of Basque resources.

## 2.2 Language Ideologies

The paradigms of essentialism and constructionism provide contrasting conceptualizations of language and identity. These conceptualizations stem from the ideologies that are contained in these two paradigms of thought. The ideologies related to linguistic practice are what social sciences and linguistics label language ideologies.

### 2.2.1 Characteristics of Language Ideologies

Language ideologies form a “mediating link between social structure and forms of talk”, i.e. a mediating link between communicative signs and social meanings attached to them (Woolard and Schieffelin 1994, 55). It is through the study of that link that the significance of communicative practices can be discovered. They link language to notions and categories such as identity, socialization, gender relations and social institutions, such as nation-state and schools (Woolard, 1998, 3). This link is revealed through discursive practices in interaction. As Mertz pointed out, people draw ideologies about language as they interact through language and through the use of linguistic items as signifiers (Woolard 1998, 6; Mertz 1998, 151).

Language ideologies can be described as ‘multiple, context-bound and necessarily constructed from the sociocultural experience of the speaker’ (Kroskrity 2010, 192). They are context-bound because they can only be observed and discovered in language use (*ibid.*). Some scholars, such as Irvine, argue that ideologies are implicit in both patterns of use and language structure (Irvine in Woolard 1998, 9). Others go further to say that ideologies are not only embedded in, but also reproduced through consistent cultural practices (Godley et al. 2007; Razfar and Rumenapp 2012). I believe that it is through ethnographic observation of language practices that ideological patterns, comprised of multiple instances of certain language use and their reproduction, can be revealed and explained. In the case of my project, I could only access the perceptions of such patterns of use as reported by migrants, but they indeed revealed how categories of authenticity or instrumentality were constructed by and for migrants (chapters 6 and 7).

Another characteristic of ideologies is their multiplicity, as they represent social divisions and the plurality of social categories (gender, class) whose members can have different

perspectives on language use, as well as share distinct social experiences (Kroskrity 2010, 197). The multiplicity of ideologies also means that they can be in various relations to each other: they can be contested by other ideologies or clash with them, which in turn may lead to a variety of outcomes (Kroskrity 2010, 198). I see this characteristic as crucial to the shaping of linguistic experience of migrants in spaces such as the Basque Country, as with the existence of varying discourses related to linguistic resources that are in tension, there exist also multiple and contrasting ideologies which guide migrants' perceptions of language resources and language use, as well as their identification with categories indexed by those resources. The context of teaching of Basque to migrants also provides a vast ground for contestation, shaping and clashing of ideologies, as migrants shape and reshape their identities and positioning vis-à-vis these categories.

### **2.2.2 Ideological Sites**

There are only certain occasions and sites in which ideological awareness can be demarcated (*ibid.*). Ideological sites are institutions of social practice which contribute to the creation of ideologies, as “both object and modality of ideological expression” (for instance religious ceremonies, but also secular institutionalised ceremonies etc.) (*ibid.*). For Silverstein these sites are particularly useful for discovering language ideologies as they are privileged, value-setting and productive places of enactment (1992, 320). I see educational institutions as one of such sites, where ideologies are created not only through language use, but also through language policy related to the execution of the curriculum and the regulation of acceptable resources and categories of speakers. Looking at the educational sites that provide classes for migrant learners of Basque and institutions that regulate the provision of such services to migrants helped me to establish the ways in which ideologies at these sites are created and implemented, and how they penetrate the students' language perceptions and use. I could also see to what extent the students were aware of the existing language ideologies and how these shaped their attitudes to the learning of Basque and to the language itself. For instance, during my classroom participation sessions, questions related to standard and dialect varieties were raised, showing students' awareness and concern about the communicative value and validity of the variety (standard known as *Batua*) taught in class (see section 6.3).

However, what is also important to note is that ideology cannot be located in one particular site or attributed to one particular actor, since it penetrates the whole structure of communities as normalised patterns of thought and behaviour (Blommaert 2005, 159). That is why I find it also important to look beyond institutional settings in the BAC, which was facilitated by observations and interviews that took place outside the observed classroom setting, as well as by recruiting participants from several sites within the BAC area (see section 3.1.1).

### **2.2.3 Neutral or politicised?**

Apart from identifying the above described characteristics, the scholars of language ideologies have raised a debate with regards to the neutrality of this concept. For many, ideologies are connected to the asymmetrical distribution of power (Irvine, 1989; Kroskrity 2010; Woolard and Schieffelin 1994; Woolard 1998; Fairclough 2003) and understood as far from neutral. They are not void of the “loading of moral and political interests’ of certain social groups” (Irvine 1989, 255), and thus not at all meaningless with regards to the structure of the community (Kroskrity 2010, 195). Ideologies become constructed “in the interest of a specific social and cultural group”, even though often presented as neutral (ibid.). In this sense, they are not only constructive of social relations, but also get constructed by them (Woolard 1998, 10). The ways they are constructed in are “historically deep-rooted and thoroughly naturalised” (ibid.). That is why they resist analysis and argument, and their historicity is crucial for understanding how they actually work (ibid.).

Additionally, the multiplicity of ideologies implies that they are differently distributed socially, which can be seen as a factor that denies their neutrality (Dyers and Abongdia 2010, 122). They are equally unevenly distributed among formal and informal social groups, as Woolard is of the view that “authority and hegemony cannot be mechanically read out from institutional dominance”, as “competing community pressures to use a certain variety exist in informal group settings” as well (Woolard 1985, 744). Thus, the neutrality of ideologies is questionable also in sites outside of the power of the formal institutions. Moreover, according to Woolard, the truly neutral stance is better encoded by terms such as culture, worldview or belief (1998, 8).

On the other hand, it is important to stress that “social science should not concern itself with the truth value of ideologies, but rather with the way they mediate meanings for social purposes” (Geertz 1964 in Woolard 1998, 8). Researchers and their statements are not themselves devoid of some form of ideological bias. Nevertheless, they should always intend to arrive at the identification and explanation of underlying ideological relationships as they are collectively shared in the communities they study, by aiming at a multi-representative dimension of analysis.

For the purpose of my project, I also consider ideology as a concept that mediates relations of power, as not only the project is situated in an institution (language teaching provided by a local government body), but also concerns the relations between various groups situated in the area of the BAC. Moreover, the socio-cultural and historical conditions related to bilingualism and multilingualism that have been manifested in discourses related to bilingualism in this area place my analysis in a community where language contact and language conflict has had a significant impact on people’s language use and language policy (see chapter 3 and appendix D). These factors are what makes me believe that language ideologies should be regarded as far from neutral.

#### **2.2.4 Processes Related to the Creation and Endurance of Ideologies**

Having illuminated some of the characteristics of language ideologies, I find it important to discuss the processes through which ideologies get constructed and revealed, as well as gain endurance. For Silverstein (1992) ideology reveals itself through the process of ‘indexicality’. Indexical meaning is the pragmatic aspect of language that uses the meaningful signs connected to the continuing usage of language (1992, 315). He emphasizes that ideology can only be defined within a discourse of interpretation of indexical processes since it is what gives social actors (through mediation of metapragmatic meaning) the appropriate contextualisation for indexicals, according to their shared perspectives, such as group membership and common interests (Silverstein 1992, 314-315).

He divides indexicality into various levels. In a basic occurrence: it is of first-order and second-order<sup>6</sup>, defined as pre-ideological and post-ideological respectively (ibid). First-order indexicality refers to the association of a linguistic form with a social category (ethnicity, class, kinship, age etc.), while second-order indexicality is a metapragmatic concept, “describing the noticing, discussion and rationalisation of the first-order indexicality” (Milroy 2004, 167). Those metapragmatic signals are grouped into schemata of interpretation, that form relatively enduring rationalising, systematising and naturalising codes (Silverstein 1992, 316). In other words, first-order indexical items are associable with certain groups of people and then typified as particular ways of speaking, linked only with these groups and enriched by certain characteristics that these particular groups are meant to possess (Woolard 1998, 18). In this sense, ideologies are never just about language, but also point to other social meanings, such as gender, communicative acts, ethnicity etc. (Don Kulick in Silverstein 1992, 317). Thus, ideologies engage in mediating the social meanings of linguistic forms through metapragmatic signs.

To sum up, identifying indexical facts of social practices that occur systematically, the ways in which they are systematic as well as to whose values they correspond is the crucial part of discovering ideologies in language use (Silverstein 1992, 322). In my analysis I aim to discover the ways linguistic repertoires are used by migrants and whether for them these repertoires have certain attached indexicalities. Looking at language learning in interaction, through ethnographic observation, as well as at reported practice in ethnographic interviews, helped me see what kind of second-order indexicality is attached to the resources in question, and thus find out in what way language ideologies shape linguistic attitudes. It also showed how ideologies influence the way that migrants position themselves and others, which can be reflected in their use of Basque resources (or reported perceived use), as well as certain linguistic items that index their identity and the understanding of their belonging to specific social categories. For instance, my observations and ethnographic notes show that the use of Basque was somewhat restricted to the classroom and the attempts by the participants to communicate in

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<sup>6</sup> There can be more than two orders of indexicality, as they are constituted through dialectic processes, thus this should be generalized to ‘n<sup>th</sup> and n+1<sup>st</sup>’ (Silverstein 1992, 315). It is important to note, that even though he uses such labels, there is no possibly absolutely pre-ideological indexicality, since “every system of social signs is infused with indexicality”, later “caught up in a dialectic processes mediated by ideological formations” (ibid.).

Basque with each other outside of the class hours were scarce. I aim to discover therefore, how such a pattern of use is related to the demonstrated attitudes and underlying ideologies, concerned with the perception of belonging to the Basque space (chapter 5) or to being perceived as authentic speakers of Basque (chapter 6).

### 2.2.5 Iconization

Ideologies with regards to a certain language variety may vary from one macro context to another. For instance, ideologies regarding 'standard' varieties may be different depending on the nation-state they concern (standard English is evaluated and ideologised using different criteria and social categories in England (class) and the USA ('mainstream' speech, ethnicity) (Milroy 2000). These distinctions can also be attributed to processes that make ideologies enduring, such as iconization (Kroskrity 2010).

Iconization is a process in which the 'sign relationship between linguistic features or varieties and the social images with which they are linked' is transformed (Irvine and Gal 2000, 37). It leads to the transformation of the linguistic features that index social groups or activities into apparent iconic representations of them, "as if a linguistic feature somehow depicted or displayed a social group's inherent essence" (ibid.). Kroskrity treats it as a 'pictorial guide to the nature of groups' through the representation of languages (2010, 200). It is therefore a result of a representation of enduring indexicalities that persist in a given area or ideological site over time.

I see this as crucial to the experience of migrants in communities such as the Basque Country, as with the existence of varying ideologies and language related discourses, there exist also multiple and contrasting ideologies which guide migrants' perceptions and language use and which might cause certain linguistic forms and social categories relevant to migrants to become 'iconic' (to varying extents). For instance, the fact that the use of certain Basque resources could be seen as having negative political connotations was alluded to by some of the participants, eg. in field note 5.4, shows their awareness of the iconic qualities that these Basque resources display.

## 2.3 Essentializing and Non-essentializing Conceptualization of Language and Identity

Ideologies, embedded in larger social structure, also influence a person's experience on the level of individual or group identification. Having explained the nature of ideologies, in the remainder of this chapter, I will analyse how identification is revealed through a dynamic process of positioning or stance, and how this process is in turn related to attitudes and ideologies. However, to begin with, I will demonstrate how identity and language are conceptualized in essentialist and in non-essentialist ideologies, in order to be able to point out how these influence the different theories of identity construction.

### 2.3.1 Essentialism vs. Constructionism

Bucholtz defines essentialism as a "position that the attributes and behaviour of socially defined groups can be determined and explained by reference to cultural and/or biological characteristics believed to be inherent to the group" (2003, 400). In other words, "essentialism is the idea that items have an underlying reality that explains their manifest appearance and determines their identity" (Gelman 2012; 2003). Essential ideologies are based on the premises of clear delimitation between groups based on the perceived likeness of all members of identified groups (Bucholtz 2003, 400). When applied to linguistic and language anthropological research, the essentialist conceptualization of language and identity sees them as iconically bound together and the relationship between them as "fixed and unproblematic" (Jaffe 2007, 58).

Essentialism is also one of the basis for nationalist ideological representation of belonging and group identity, as it draws on the concept of nation as a bounded and homogenous entity (ibid.). This boundedness is in turn projected on language (ibid.). Nationalist and essentialist representations of identity are thus often drawing on one-nation-one-language ideology, seeing the boundaries of a nation-state as containers for language, understood as a full and prescribed code with clear grammatical boundaries (Bauman and Briggs 2003, 302).

The advocates of minority language movements used to base their conceptions of language and identity on the same premises that governed the hegemonic linguistic policies of the states they were situated in, in this way trying to legitimise their own

presence and language practices, and then to create their own nation-state space (Jaffe 2007, 58). However, there has been an observable shift in the ideological content of minority language revival discourses in order to move away from these essentialist premises and the nation-state ideological imposition of linguistic boundaries (Heller 2007; Muehlmann 2007, 24). Similarly, discourses which previously tied minoritised languages to some form of community tend to include their role in other global and economic processes, such as commodification (Budach et al. 2003) and cultural capital conversion (Sandel 2003), or simply prefer a more inclusive definition of 'belonging'. This shift, therefore, started to include broader conceptualizations of identity and language, based on the premises of social constructionism (Irwin 2011, 100-113). While scholars such as Jaffe (2007) and Adrey (2009) argue that such a constructionist take on policy that they identified on Corsica is quite unique within minoritised language areas, I would like to argue that there are elements of such a design of policy with regards to teaching of Basque to migrants in the BAC as well, which I will discuss in the data analysis chapters that follow.

Social constructionism proposes that knowledge, and within it social categories (such as identity, belonging, language) is constructed in interaction through language (Burr 2003, 5). For constructionists, the use of language is a form of 'social action' through which "the world gets constructed" (ibid., 11). In linguistics, critiques of 'essentialism' have led to new conceptualizations of language and group identity, by disregarding the concepts of 'speech community' or language as a bounded, named and structured system (Blommaert and Rampton 2011, 3-4). Instead, focus is given to constructed social activities and group identities, language as repertoires which often take truncated forms, use of genres, entextualisations and similar kinds of language forms that allow for embracing new social circumstances of globalisation, migration, historicity, politically and culturally imposed indexicalities, ideological plurality and multilingualism (Blommaert and Rampton 2011, 4-5). Constructionism allows for this kind of focus because

(for researchers) the challenge is to understand how (...) group identities get constructed in culture, discourse and ideology, and how humans come to inhabit these social categories in ways that are both similar and different. (Rampton et al. 2014, 5)

Thus, while essentialist ideas about placing people and categories in certain bounded locations led to the erasure of multilingualism and multiplicity of identities, constructionism allows for reducing the notion of indexicality or iconicity between group identities, places and language (Irwin 2011, 109), making these categories include diverse characteristics and constructed identities based on linguistic practices and a variable use of linguistic resources.

This shift in the theoretical paradigm, from essentialism to post-structuralism and constructionism, is manifest in the theoretical perspectives that I am going to use as framework for analysis – in the conceptualizations of space, authenticity and instrumental value of language resources. However, essentialism is still very often present, especially in interactions ‘on the ground’, when the participants that we study draw on essential categories that are firmly ingrained in their own perceptions of identity (Bucholtz and Hall 2004). In fact, Joseph proposes that constructionism and essentialism are not mutually exclusive, but rather “what is being constructed (...) is the essentializing myth” (2004, 90). This myth is never fully separated from identity and what we need to distinguish is between “essentialism as a theoretical position” and essentialism as an “ethnographic fact” through which participants use forms of ingrained bounded categorisation (Bucholtz and Hall 2004, 375). As such, I argue that the representations of ‘Basqueness’ drawn upon by migrants or represented to them by other actors are never devoid of essentialism as ‘ethnographic facts’. Rather, these ‘facts’ intertwine with a constructionist understanding of both identity and language, proving that essentialism is still a valid ideological premise used as a resource for participants in interaction.

In this project, I aim to explore the contexts in which these two theoretical paradigms are drawn upon in the ideologically informed representations of language and belonging, including categories of identity, such as ‘Basqueness’, ‘migrants’ or ‘speakers’. This will allow me to show that identities are fluctuant and constructed, but at the same time they are based on “ethnographic facts” which are drawn upon essentialist categories previously established in the discursive history of interactions and entextualisations.

While the tendency of theoretical accounts is to favour constructionism over essentialism, it is difficult to eliminate essentially informed categories, such as nationality, from methodological proceedings. Notions such as strategic essentialism, which proposes that essentialist labels can be deployed in order to offer a preliminary description of a given

group (Bucholtz, 2003), are found to be helpful in addressing the gap between labels and constructionist understanding of categories. On the other hand, Blommaert and Rampton (2011) argue that categories such as ‘mother tongue’, ‘native speaker’ and ‘ethnolinguistic group’, while having a strong ideological impact, should only be studied for precisely their ideological implications, and their use in the methodological toolkit of sociolinguistics should be abandoned (2011, 5). In this project I aim to do just that: show how essentialist categories drawn upon by migrants get constructed in the context of Basque language teaching to migrants, avoiding their use in the analytical framework when possible.

### **2.3.2 Essentialising and Constructionist Discourses in Basque Teaching to Migrants**

Ethnographies conducted by Jaffe (and other minoritised language context ethnographers, such as Monica Heller or Jacqueline Urla, upon which I draw in this study) are focused on the relationships between the sub-state language and language activists as the main political actors in language revitalisation and sub-state language teaching processes. These processes in these ethnographies concern mainly what can be understood as the ‘autochthonous population’ in essentialist terms – the citizens of the hegemonic states which encompass the sub-state minoritised language areas who are understood as lacking sub-state language resources. In the new global economy, however, these areas (including the Basque Country) have been subjected to global population flows and increased settlement of migrants from outside of their containing state (Carrera 2009, 234). Sub-state language activists and other actors placed in the revitalization process could not, therefore, remain indifferent towards these potential learners of sub-state languages. Areas such as the BAC in Spain, where the population of migrants increased dramatically but remained relatively low as compared to other sub-state areas (such as Catalonia), thus, addressed the ‘newcomers’ specifically in their language policy and planning (even if perhaps only driven by other sub-state language movements’ responses to demographic changes).

In this project I want to explore the changes in the discourses addressed to migrants with regards to sub-state language learning and teaching in the BAC. I would like to argue that my data shows visible traces of both sets of ideological influences: essentializing and non-essentializing ones (Jaffe, 2007a) in various thematic areas related to the representations

of 'Basqueness'. The interconnectedness of both ideological sets, similarly to other economic and global processes such as commodification, have an impact on the

meaning making processes and social relations, thus influencing directly (other) ideologies that circulate in the production and re-production of social life." (Heller 2010, 102)

The two ideological sets contain not only ideologies directly related to identity and language, but also other category meanings, related to the three thematic areas: space, authenticity and instrumental evaluation of Basque resources, whose representations I am going to analyse in chapters 5, 6 and 7 respectively.

## **2.4 Discursive Tools for Ideology Construction and Identification**

The three thematic areas of representation of 'Basqueness' that I am going to discuss are revealed through text production and interaction practices, evolving around concepts such as language attitudes and language ideologies, which in turn influence the process of identification of speakers in relation to belonging to 'Basqueness' or other social categories. I will now explore two concepts: stance and language attitudes and the relation between them to clarify how I used them as tools for data analysis.

### **2.4.1 Language Attitudes**

Language attitudes are often said to be 'mental dispositions' towards a language, its speakers, sounds, use in certain situations, institutions etc. (Baker 1992, 11; Garrett 2010, 1). These dispositions are also often understood as placed on a dual scale of positive vs. negative (Fishbein and Ajzen, 1975). However, Garret et al. affirm that it is "generally difficult to distinguish attitudes to language varieties from attitudes to the groups and community-members who use them," because beliefs that are created about a speaker are associated with that speaker's group membership (through indexicality and iconisation) "can lead to assumptions about attributes of those members" (2003, 12).

As a term, attitudes originated in social psychology, which claimed that they were stored in the brain and affected the behaviour of their possessors towards a language variety (Cohen 1964, 138; Schwarz and Bohner 2008, 436; Edwards 2011, 38). Such a perspective on attitudes is referred to as the 'mentalist' perspective (O'Rourke 2011) and is based on the essentialist theoretical paradigm. The constructionist approach to attitudes, on the other hand, argues that attitudes cannot be simply regarded as mentally fixed entities, but rather, they are created and negotiated in interaction in their most contextualized form (Liebscher and Dailey O'Cain 2009; Giles and Coupland 1991; Winter 1992; Hyrkstedt and Kalaja 1998; Soukup, 2007). Individuals are said to construct language attitudes differently depending on the situational context (Liebscher and Dailey O'Cain 2009, 217; Soukup 2007, 26). They do so under specific circumstances and with specific intentions (Liebscher and Dailey O'Cain 2009, 217).

On the other hand, scholars who treat attitude as an enduring mental disposition, underscore that

attitude is 'learned' through a socialization process which begins in early childhood and (...) is organized through experience within the social world. (O'Rourke 2011, 7)

or is "a factor of group membership, as part of the process of enculturation in a particular speech community (...)" (Saville-Troike 2003, 183). Learning of attitudes, for the 'mentalist' scholars, takes place in a variety of ways, including means such as personal communication, mass media, exposure or contact with the attitude objects and observational learning (Erwin 2001, 21). Language attitudes are also generally seen by them as an important feature in shaping second language acquisition, and with it in the perception of a given language in the socio-political sphere (Masgoret and Gardner 2003, 132).

#### **2.4.1.1 Instrumental vs. Integrative Attitudes**

Another dualism in language attitudes concerned with language acquisition and learning is to do with the type of motivation behind these processes. According to Gardner and Lambert (1972) there exist two types of orientation towards the learning process:

*instrumental*, “if the purposes of study reflect the more utilitarian value of linguistic achievement” (occupational purposes, personal status enhancement etc.); and *integrative*

if the purpose of study is a general interest in the practices of a community, to a point of eventually being accepted as a member of the target language group (Gardner and Lambert 1972, 3).

The instrumental motivation “reflects pragmatic, utilitarian moves”, while the integrative one is “mostly social and interpersonal in orientation” (Baker 1992, 32). The mentalist perspective sees learning of a foreign language with the integrative motivation as a form of advancing towards biculturality, when the learner is on the way to become “an acculturated member of a new linguistic and cultural community” (Gardner and Lambert 1972, 2). Integrative attitudes towards the members of the target group and the ethnocentric tendencies of the learner tend to be of primary importance in SL acquisition (ibid., 3) and language learning.

#### **2.4.1.2 Creation, Strength and Endurance of Attitudes**

From the constructionist perspective, the creation of attitudes results from the prevailing ideologies that exist in a given context of socialization and in the context of their expression (Liebscher and O’Cain 2009, 217). While participation in many processes of attitudinal formation, such as the above mentioned observational learning, are indeed important factors in attitude formation, for constructionists, they are only a type of macro context, as attitudes are shaped primarily by the context they evolve in (Soukup 2007, 26).

Moreover, according to the mentalist perspective, attitudes are considered to be learned, rather than inherent (Perloff 2008, 43). This would suggest that they have a certain degree of changeability. Indeed, Garrett explains that attitudes not only vary in their degree of endurance, but may also vary across social situations and be fairly unstable (2010, 30). He goes on to say that even though variation is present, it does not mean that there cannot be any “stable subjective trends at higher levels”(ibid.). In this way he assumes a mid-way position towards attitudes, in-between mentalist and constructionist ones.

The constructionist approach to attitudes does not scale them in terms of strength or endurance, but rather as reflecting the underlying ideologies and contextual features. Attitudes are viewed more as evaluative practices rather than evaluative states, and that is

why their endurance cannot be assumed (Hyrkstedt and Kalaja 1997, 347). Because of this, their variability depends solely on their discursive ‘constructedness’, rather than intrinsic features such as the strength of held feelings towards an object (ibid.). In light of this, it is often the case that dissonant attitudes may be expressed by the same speaker in the same conversation (ibid.; Liebscher and O’Cain 2007, 205).

When it comes to the binary divisions of attitudes (positive vs. negative; instrumental vs. integrative), the constructionist view tends to look at how each type of attitude is negotiated in discourse, rather than at the ‘truth’ value of it or its implications, for instance, for determining learning behaviour. As Hyrkstedt and Kalaja point out, constructionist approaches:

concentrate on analysing how the attitudes or views are constructed by interlocutors in their talk or writing in the argumentative context of occasion A, as compared with that of occasion B, and what function(s) these may serve in each case (1998, 348).

Indeed, the above mentioned reasons for the expression of integrative attitude, such as the perceived need to become part of the ‘receiving community’, are what constitutes the underlying ideological features of the context of such attitude expression (Liebscher and O’Cain 2009, 217). That is why attitudes need to be studied in relation to the functions they serve for the interlocutors in a given moment (Winter 1992, 11). In fact, Winter emphasizes the need for the analysis of the “source or experience of the attitude” as it occurs in interaction (ibid.), and Liebscher and Dailey O’Cain point out that attitudes need to be explained in line with how they emerge and how they are ideologically driven (2009, 218).

#### **2.4.1.3 Attitudes and Social Categorisation**

Attitudes from the mentalist perspective are also said to serve a very important function in the social realm – that of helping us organize the complexities of social world which we are part of. Mentalists believe that thanks to attitudes stored in the mind this world becomes more orderly, and thus, more controllable and predictable (Garett et al. 2003, 3). In other words, attitudes, whether favourable or prejudiced, are there to allow us categorize

people, places and events in order to make sense of what is happening (Perloff 2008, 45). This “social explanatory function” serves to upkeep the creation of group ideologies that explain and defend relations between groups and the treatment of members of outgroups (Garrett et al. 2003, 3).

The constructionist perspective also sees attitudes as related to the organisation of social categorizations. Since attitudes represent stances or evaluative practices (Hyrkstedt and Kalaja 1997, 347), or even “complex clusters of opinions” (Van Dijk 1998, 15), they can be taken for “instantiations of ideologies” (ibid., 40). However, it is not the instantiations per se that guide social categorization, but rather it is the ideologies that organize them (ibid., 7). Speakers then assert or reject ideologies through attitude expression (Liebscher and Dailey O’Cain 2009, 218). However, the relationship between attitude and ideology is not always straightforward. In fact, some scholars, for instance Billig (1996), emphasize that ideologies should not only be thought of as guiding attitudes, but also as contributing to the social creation of “facts” i.e. epistemological categories available for discovery through ethnographic methods (in Schäfner 1996, 3). In the following section I will explore the relationship and differences and similarities between attitudes and ideologies in more detail.

#### **2.4.1.4 Attitudes vs. Ideologies**

First of all, ideologies are connected to macro phenomena, which exemplified through the actions of social actors link language to notions such as identity, socialization, gender relations and social institutions, such as nation-state and schools (Woolard 1998, 3). Attitudes, on the other hand, are micro-level phenomena, and even though constructed in interaction, they are mainly concerned with individual behaviour and come into being following an individual’s affective dimension (McKenzie 2010, 24-25).

I find that the most fundamental difference between the two phenomena is concerned with power relations and social interest: ideologies are rooted in the socio-economic interests of the dominant groups (Kroskirty 2004, 502-503). Dyers and Abongdia argue that language ideologies precede language attitudes (2010, 119). Individuals’ language attitudes are shaped by ideologies which are pervading among the community group or social groups to which individuals belong (ibid.). For them,

behind every set of language attitudes there is a fairly coherent language ideology that has its roots in socio-political and historical environment of particular communities (ibid. 132).

Attitudes are thus a result of either acceptance or rejection of dominant ideologies. Conscious individuals may express more forceful statements about the value of certain languages, thus, ideologies may also be contested by them through the development of attitudes that do not agree with the dominant ideologies (Kroskrity 2010, 121). Additionally, Woolard and Schieffelin point out that “intrapersonal attitudes can be recast as socially derived intellectualized or behavioural ideology” (1994, 62). Thus, what is seemingly a matter of personal response (attitude) can stem from naturalised, power driven conceptions of dominant groups (ideology).

Since ideologies are shaped by socio-historical events, rather than just individual empirical experience, they also become long-term, deeply rooted and resistant to change representations of community beliefs, while attitudes can be both short-term and more-enduring, but are definitely more mutable than ideologies (Dyers and Abongdia 2010, 132). I want to argue for an even more radical perspective, as I see attitudes as entities dependable on context in which they occur, and thus flexible and immediate in their nature (Liebscher and Dailey O’Cain, 2007). That is why I support the statement that language attitudes are best analysed through discourse analysis, rather than indirect methods (questionnaires, matched-guise techniques etc.).

There are, therefore, significant differences between language attitudes and language ideologies and the ways in which they relate to each other in discourse can be quite complex. However, both attitudes and ideologies are also indicative of the construction of identity, as they are involved in the discursive projection of stances or self- and other-positioning by interlocutors. As Liebscher and Dailey O’Cain point out, “expressing attitudes within an interaction is necessary a means of positioning oneself” (2009, 218). In the next section I will then explore what is meant by stance and how interlocutors construct positioning through attitudes and ideologies.

## 2.4.2 Stancetaking

Jaffe defines stance as “taking up a position with respect to the form or content of one’s utterance” (2009, 3). Such a position is a reflection of the active action of positionality, i.e. the process by which

speakers and writers are necessarily engaged in positioning themselves vis-à-vis their words and texts (...), their interlocutors and audiences (...), and with respect to a context that they simultaneously respond to and construct linguistically. (Jaffe 2009, 4).

Van Langenhove and Harré see this positioning as a “dynamic alternative to the more static concept of role<sup>7</sup>” (1999, 14). Stancetaking comprises the “moment-by-moment choices speakers make that index their relationship to what they say”, such as whether they project themselves as sad or happy (affect), sure or unsure (epistemology), in agreement with each other (intersubjective alignment) (Johnstone 2007, 51)<sup>8</sup>. Du Bois sees stance as

a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means (language, gesture, and other symbolic forms), through which social actors simultaneously evaluate objects, position subjects (themselves and others), and align with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimension of the sociocultural field.’ (2007, 161)

All these definitions emphasize the discursive embeddedness and ‘constructedness’ of stance.

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<sup>7</sup> “Role: in sociology, the behaviour expected of an individual who occupies a given social position or status. A role is a comprehensive pattern of behaviour that is socially recognized, providing a means of identifying and placing an individual in a society.” (Britannica 2016)

<sup>8</sup> Alignment should not be understood as synonymous with agreement, nor with the preferred next action in conversation as it would be appropriate in CA (Haddington 2007, 285). Rather, ‘it is a range of possible types of convergent and divergent positions that interactants can take with respect to their interlocutors’ stance(s) (DuBois 2007, 162).

#### 2.4.2.1 Epistemic vs. Affective Stance

Generally, stance has been categorised twofold – with ‘affective stance’ being the representation of an emotional state of the speaker, and ‘epistemic stance’ conveying the degree of the speaker’s certainty about their propositions, i.e. their degree of knowledge (Jaffe 2009, 7; Johnstone 2007, 51). Affective stance involves the self-presentation of an individual through which they “lay claims to particular identities and statuses” and evaluate the statuses and claims of others through an expression of affect (ibid.). Epistemic stance, on the other hand, reflects the “regimes of knowledge and authority” and

serves to establish the relative authority of interactants, and to situate the sources of that authority in a wider sociocultural field (ibid.).

Epistemic stance may be used in an attempt to gain recognition as having authentic or authority knowledge, valued as a social capital, either at a personal or societal level (ibid.). Both types of stances, through their functions, have serious social implications embedded in ideological norms involved in the processes of creation of social boundaries and identification (Jaffe 2009, 7).

#### 2.4.2.2 Other Characteristics of Stance

Stance, as created in interaction, is both public and interpretable i.e. it has a recipient, while at the same time it is not transparent, i.e. it needs to be “inferred (and interpreted) from the empirical study of interactions in social and historical context” (Jaffe 2009, 4; Du Bois 2007, 165; Jaworski and Thurlow 2009, 8). This shows that interlocutors draw interpretations and ascribe each other categories of identification through stance (Jaffe 2009, 8). Since acts of stance are interactive, some of them can be read as self-positioning thus being individual, while other acts may ascribe stance to others (Jaffe 2009, 7-8). Personal stance is, in this way, achieved through comparison and contrast with other stances that become relevant in interaction, as well as with relevant persons or categories, showing that stance is relational (ibid., 9; Bucholtz and Hall 2005, 598). In some cases the contrasting, ‘other ascribed’ stance is accepted and taken on, in others “initial positionings can be challenged and the speakers sometimes thereby repositioned” (Van Langenhove and Harré 1999, 18).

This (re)positioning may also occur across turns within interaction, due to it being dialogic and co-constructed (Jaffe 2009, 9). In other words, “it is not always complete within one intonation unit, clause, sentence or even turn” (DuBois 2007, 157). When it is spread over turns, an interlocutor’s words engage with and derive from the words of those who have spoken before (or texts), not necessarily immediately, but within the track of discourse related to the stance being taken (ibid., 140). Through these interactional moves between interlocutors, different kinds of positions typically occur simultaneously within a single interaction (Bucholtz and Hall 2005, 593). These features of stance show how it fits the post-modern view of social reality, also through the possible multiplicity of stances taken by one person.

#### **2.4.2.3 Indexicalization of Stance**

Positioning or stance also involves the processes of indexicalization, by providing a link between individual performance and social meaning (Jaffe 2009, 4). In this sense, stancetaking is inevitably linked not only to ideology (Jaworski and Thurlow 2009; Jaffe 2009), but also to identity: as through the indexical link between resources and ideology it also evokes larger social roles which form part of identification (Johnstone, 2007; Jaffe, 2009; Coupland and Coupland 2009).

Indexicalization through stance happens through the association between stances and “particular subject positions (social roles and identities; notions of personhood),” as these subject positions and relationships are stereotypically mapped onto particular linguistic systems (accent, language, mixed codes) or discourse categories (genres, registers, discourse) (Jaffe 2009, 14). That is how indexicalisation creates links between linguistic forms and social meanings (Bucholtz and Hall 2005, 594; Ochs, 1992): i.e. certain features of language ‘automatically’ invoke (index) ideologically guided associations as to the nature of their speakers, and vice versa. To take a particular stance means to employ the particular features of language, linguistic resources or genres associated with a given positioning. Such a mapping process is then embedded in political, cultural and ideological contexts, as it is through ideologies that the shaping of these associations takes place (Jaffe 2009, 14). Certain stances may be more ideologically loaded than others and certain discourses appear to be more ‘stance-saturated’ than others, implying that they might be overtly recognized as sites of deliberate positioning (ibid., 22).

However, stance indexes a particular ideological position which is not equivalent to ideology (Jaworski and Thurlow 2009, 22). It becomes accepted as part of the collective ideology when the indexical associations between linguistic forms and social meanings become sufficiently conventionalised and accumulate ideological associations (Jaworski and Thurlow 2009, 23; Bucholtz and Hall 2005, 590). Stancetaking is thus just an instantiation or an act of ideology due to its 'embeddedness' in context (ibid.; Du Bois 2007, 146).

#### **2.4.2.4 Stance and Power Relations**

It is discourse, as the site of reproduction of ideologies, that makes positions for subjects available (Van Langenhove and Harré 1999, 16). These positions are not void of constraints and power relations, as dominant discourses and institutions may limit the stances available to interlocutors (and so, also regulate the types of indexicalities involved), determine power hierarchies and distribute legitimacy and authority between social actors (Jaffe 2009, 20). A historical analysis of particular topic discourse may show

how social, institutional and political formations structure people's access to particular linguistic stances (especially valued ones such as authority, legitimacy etc.), how they shape the stances that are attributed to them (Jaffe 2009, 20).

as well as whether these stances are accepted or contested. The fact that people will always differ in their capacity and willingness to perform stances, and their intentions to position themselves and others, but also, more importantly, they will differ significantly in the power to achieve positioning, is derived from specific locations in social orders and networks that the interlocutors belong to (ibid., 30).

Apart from being determined from past acts of positioning, stances can also be based on larger sets of resources, such as previously circulating texts and discourses (Jaffe 2009, 20). Practices of intertextuality and interdiscursivity involve positioning of the subject in relation to these texts, in this way committing to or rejecting dominant discourses (ibid.). Thus, through reference to publicly circulating discourses and texts, stancetaking may be naturalizing the social and linguistic ideologies and structures, due to its indirect activation

of such ideologies (presupposed ideologies are not open to contestation); or it may put them into question by highlighting the processes of indexicalization involved and reveal that the connections between certain linguistic forms of expression and social forms of categorisation are in fact situated and socially created (ibid, 22). Reproduction or misalignment with dominant discourses or with other power laden and authoritative discourses, as well as with those recognised as providing economic or social gain, is then consequential for the stance taker and attributer, both in the immediate context of the conversation or text, and in the larger, social context determined by power relations.

### **2.4.3 Positioning as Discursive Realisation of Identity**

Having explained the ideological, indexical and power related implications of stance, I will now turn to explore how positioning relates to identity. Stance, through its indexical relation to social meanings and roles, reflects forms of identity projected by the speakers. Some scholars, such as Jaffe (2009) claim that forms of identity can be seen as an accumulation of stances and are realised through positioning (Jaffe 2009, 129). In some way then, stance can be regarded as a more enduring projection of a discursive act of positioning (ibid.). Indeed, Bucholtz and Hall also emphasize that stances can build up into larger identity categories (2005, 595).

Du Bois, in his definition of stance, includes positioning as one of stance's components (2007, 165). He emphasizes that the three sub-acts included in his definition of stance simultaneously form its consequences, since they constitute the visible processes by which stance can be recognised in interaction (2007, 163). These consequences can be characterised as objective (evaluation of an object), inter-subjective (alignment between subjects) and subjective (positioning of subjects) (ibid., 170). Positioning – as subjective, is, regardless of its 'embeddedness' in or equivalence with stance, most closely linked to both individual identity, as well as the other-ascribed, subjective identity. In addition, Bucholtz and Hall emphasize that, at a basic level, identity emerges in discourse through the temporary roles and orientations assumed by participants – so through positioning (2005, 590). These temporary roles contribute to the formation of subjectivity and intersubjectivity in discourse (ibid.). I see positioning, in accordance with Jaffe (2009), as most aptly reflecting the dynamic aspects of the act of stance, as well as highlighting the 'constructedness' of the processes of identification.

## 2.5 Identity as Co-constructed in Interaction

Having established the relationship between stance, positioning and identity, I will now discuss how identity is constructed through positioning in interaction, bearing in mind the differences in the conceptualization of identity in the two ideological sets: essentialism and constructionism.

Stance indexes a particular role that speakers orient to at a given time – showing that identities are fluctuating and interactionally constructed. Omoniyi proposes that all social actions consist of separate moments in which there are competing and complementary multiple identities or “identity repertoires” (2006, 12; also Blommaert, 2005). In fact, these repertoires encompass three levels: macro-level demographic categories (the essentialized type of universal structure alluded to in interaction); local, ethnographically specific cultural positions; and interactionally specific stances and participant roles (personal positioning) (Bucholtz and Hall 2005, 592). Apart from restricted contexts, the moment-by-moment decisions taken during an interaction reflect the context driven suitability of a given identity available to the speaker (Omoniyi 2006, 13). In this sense, it is more appropriate to speak of a process of identification that leads to an end-product category of identity, such as a given social role (a teacher, a mother etc.) (ibid., 11; Bucholtz and Hall 2005, 588).

Such an understanding of identity rejects the essentialist ideological conceptualization of it, understood as “labelling any number of normative characteristics or practices as constituting the core of an individual or a group” (Omoniyi 2006, 16). And while in some cases, such as the fixed understanding of a given role (for instance, the role of a migrant is associated with a change in physical location or travelling, usually in order to gain better economic conditions of living), the essentialist view of identity may be helpful in establishing the categories oriented to in interaction, it is not to be assumed that identity can be reduced to some identifiable and shared traits only. As Du Bois and Baumgarten (2013) point out, it is true that certain identities or sub-identities are pre-given on the basis of membership categories, physical or biological traits or epistemic identity (self-)claims, but identity is also what allows a person to “alter their social personae” (Gumpertz 1982, 27) in a communicative interaction (2013, 8). In other words, the roles and categories can be stereotypically essentialised, while identities as process outcomes cannot, because they

consist of situated and partial claims of knowledge in a given context (ibid.). Identity is then something that emerges in interaction and not at a single analytic level, operating at multiple layers simultaneously, and resources used to create it may only draw on the fixed social structure (which itself emerges in social action) (Bucholtz and Hall 2005, 588).

### **2.5.1 Hybridity and Multiplicity of Identities**

Essentialist treatment of identity does not allow for the explanation and assignment of an ever bigger number of hybrid, multiple and multi-layered identities, the range of which is increasingly becoming available to individuals in a globalising world (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004, 2). The contexts of migration bring in and promote multiple identities related to non-mainstream linguistic practices as well as to geographical mobility, which lends itself to an appropriation of various linguistic means in identity projection (Du Bois and Baumgarten 2012, 9). People possess multiple identities on the basis of the multiple roles that they fulfil, as well as the socio-cultural relationships they form (Omoniyi 2006, 12). While certain kinds of roles may be stereotypically or ideologically assigned as fitting larger identity categories, others cannot (similarly to personal stances) (Bucholtz and Hall 2005, 595). So, while, for instance, essentialist views of national identity often equate language with nationality and territory (such as Polish spoken in Poland by a Pole), they do not permit for an easy account of identity of bilingual speakers in a given country or non-native language speakers of the national language in a given territory (ibid., 17).

Additionally, as Bucholtz noted, “essentialism, for group members, promotes a shared identity, often in opposition to other, equally essentialized social groups” (Spanish or French vs. Basque) and in the case of nation-state political organisation it often essentializes its group members to monolingual, national language speakers, rejecting other variety speakers (Basque speakers in the French or Spanish states) (2003, 401). Such identity is often other ascribed, usually through the spreading of dominant discourses (Omoniyi 2006, 17). This is visible in territories with sub-state languages, where there exists a conflict between nationalist, politically and other ideologically informed discourses related to both dominant, state- and dominated sub-state languages, such as the Basque Country in Spain or France.

### 2.5.2 Negotiation of Identities

According to Pavlenko and Blackledge identities are not only constructed in interaction, but also negotiated (2004). Such negotiation is especially visible in multilingual settings in which the construction of identities is constrained by the context in which it is performed, i.e. the different ideologies of language restrict what varieties should be spoken by what kinds of people and in what context (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004, 1). While the construction of identities using multilingual resources is ongoing in interaction, at times, the available forms of identity might be challenged or contested, and this is when the negotiation of identities takes place (*ibid.*, 3).

However, Pavlenko and Blackledge do not limit this negotiation to traditionally researched means, such as language choice, code-switching or code-mixing, but point out that negotiation can be done in other, diverse ways, such as “invention and use of new linguistic varieties” or forms of talk, “second language learning, literacy learning, appropriation of new rhetorical strategies and creation of new identity narratives” (2004, 23). Second language learning is especially important for the context of this study, as I believe there are instances of investment in a new ‘social identity’ or rejection of such an identity created through the use and learning of Basque resources among the migrant participants that I interviewed.

In migration contexts the negotiation of identity can also be reflected in the negotiation of stance at a micro-level, especially since, as Jaffe points out, multilingual speakers ‘have an added stance resource: language choice’ (2009, 119). Similarly, Bucholtz and Hall state that entire linguistic systems (languages or dialects) may also be indexically tied to identity categories (2005, 597). What I explore in this study are also the ideological underpinnings of such negotiation related to ‘authenticity’, i.e. who, how and in what circumstances can use given resources to negotiate identity of Basque speakers or as belonging to ‘Basqueness’ (see chapter 5).

### 2.5.3 The Hierarchy of Identities

Some scholars, such as Omoniyi (2006), do not agree with the conceptualization of identity as stemming from negotiation. He argues that the process of negotiation leaves out the other possible roles activated in interaction and is concerned with a fixed outcome product

of identity (2006, 19). In his view, while negotiation of identity still subscribes to the idea that identities are constructed in discourse, and are a consequence of both production and reception of utterances in interaction, it pushes to the background the fact that “within a single social activity, it is possible to articulate more than one identity” (ibid., 21). He proposes a framework which he calls the ‘hierarchy of identities’. In this framework, he claims that at any given point in interaction, it is only the most salient identity that is activated, while other identity options are still co-present (ibid., 19). This allows to account for a cluster of identities to be invoked in multiple positioning acts, encompassing the hybridity and multiplicity of one person’s identity, since different kinds of positions typically occur simultaneously in a single interaction (ibid., 20; Bucholtz and Hall 2005, 593). He also emphasizes that within one interactional turn, there might be more than one identity evocation (ibid., 21). That is why, within the ‘hierarchy of identities’, it is better to speak of, what he labels, ‘moments of identification’, as a unit of measurement in which the salience of identity occurs (ibid.).

#### **2.5.4 Post-structuralist Approaches to Identity**

I believe that the ‘hierarchy of identities’ is indeed advantageous for accounting for the multiplicity of social personas and the hybridity of identities, especially in multilingual settings. While it is not clear to me as to how exactly identities contained within the moments of identification are determinable structurally and functionally (as Omoniyi talks only of units of time rather than grammatical-functional units), I trust that this can be done through stance. Both ‘hierarchy of identities’ and ‘negotiation’ approach look at identity from a constructionist perspective, in the sense of its “embeddedness” in “the specific time and place” and it being determined by that time and place (Omoniyi 2006, 20). However, Pavlenko and Blackledge, following Bourdieu who writes that

the interactionist perspective, which treats interaction as a closed world, (forgets) that what happens between two persons (...) derives its particular form from the objective relation between the corresponding languages or usages, that is, between the groups who speak those languages (1991, 481);

extend their discussion of identity to post-structuralist approaches which involve the incorporation of power relations in the process of identification (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004, 13). For Pavlenko and Blackledge the negotiation of identity reflects these power relations and the ways symbolic resources are distributed, as well as ways in which their stratification is resisted through the transformation of linguistic forms and the shaping of self- and challenging of other- ascribed identities available to participants at hand (2004, 10). It is then vital to look at how “languages are appropriated to legitimize, challenge and negotiate particular identities and to open new identity options” for individuals in society (ibid., 13). Such an approach to identity allows to show the real-world consequences of practices of norm negotiation and appropriation (ibid., 12).

Incorporating this facet of identification into my own analysis helped me to make the ethnographically informed link between interaction ‘on the ground’ and the macro ideological and structural issues related to identity creation and ascription in the context of Basque language teaching to migrants. Similarly, I see it as connected to the previously discussed indexical and consequential properties of stance, since stance directly indexes the power structures constructed through ideologies and the way how, why and in what form stance is deployed forms a consequence of these power relations.

## **2.6 Ideologies in Thematic Representations of ‘Basqueness’**

What I discussed in the previous sections so far were two concepts: attitudes and stance and their relation to language ideologies and identity, realised through such processes as indexicality and iconicity. I also showed two models of identity: the hierarchy of identities and the negotiation of identities, which both adhere to the premises that identity constructed in interaction can be multiple and related to larger structures and power relations which influence the creation of social categories, both locally and on a macro scale. Attitudes and stance are the means for linguistic realization and negotiation of identity under the ideological circumstances of the context in which this negotiation is taking place. Ideologies also influence the momentary choices made in accordance with the locally constructed hierarchy of identities. However, I find that in my data these choices and negotiations are more salient in relation to certain contexts, such as in the representations of ‘Basqueness’ related to space, authenticity and instrumentality of Basque resources. I will now turn to explore some of the underlying concepts and

ideological premises behind these three themes of representations of Basque group identity.

### 2.6.1 Space

Language as resources is often represented as connected to a space, understood here as “a construct rather than an empirical given” (Collins and Slembrouck 2009, 23). As such, the space of ‘Basqueness’ is represented in different ways in my data (see chapter 5), but none of such representations is free of language ideological associations related to the language resources present in it. Any form of constructed space as well as the resources that pertain to that space “should be seen in connection to scaling processes” (Blommaert et al. 2005, 200). Scales, as “effects of differences between the range and scope of meaning,” are the results of spatialization – an indexical process by which individuals, groups and institutions “invest material space coordinates with social meanings” (De Fina 2009, 111). These social meanings contribute to the creation of linguistic hierarchies within particular spaces, and these hierarchies in turn, are realised in terms of scales as “both individuals and groups use scales in aligning or challenging” them (Collins and Slembrouck 2009, 23). Thus, each space is invested with special 'regimes' of language use managed by certain social actors or centring institutions<sup>9</sup>, but these regimes belong to various centres and orders of indexicality, being thus polycentric<sup>10</sup> (Blommaert 2005; Blommaert et al. 2005, 197; Pujolar 2009, 85; Collins et al. 2009, 4).

Social practices are not only created by, but also create particular spaces (Vigouroux 2009, 62), and language often becomes one of the tools for such creation, especially in contexts of national territories, where it is used to assert the validity of legitimate linguistic practices and ideologies in given contexts (Pujolar 2009, 84). Spaces are invested in by many actors, and through these investments they speak both in and from a space (Dong and Blommaert 2009, 44). Speaking from a space involves a projection of positioning that reflects particular values, social order, authority, and affective attributes (ibid.). In this way space is constitutive of individual identities which emerge through systematic ascription to patterns of speech, styles, and positioning (ibid.).

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<sup>9</sup> Actors to which systemically reproduced indexicalities are tied and who “impose the ‘doxa’ in a particular group” (Blommaert 2005, 75; Silverstein 1998, 404).

<sup>10</sup> “A system is polycentric when it contains multiple ‘centres’ to which people operating within that system can/must orient” (Blommaert 2005, 254).

In the context of migration, as Pujolar rightly points out, migrants step onto constituted spaces (be it a national territory, workplace, school, language class), “and those who have an investment in those spaces (...) often feel the need to reassert their validity” (2009, 84). But migrants also need to project their investment in the space they enter, and learn to recognize the existing hierarchies, and either oppose or accept them. Moreover, their own resources and identities need to be 'placed' in that given space, and local language practices and ideologies in various forms (language teaching, language testing) are a way of negotiating their role and the significance of such placement (Pujolar 2009, 86) (for instance, the fact that Basque resources are represented as a 'tool' for integration places migrants as 'outsiders' who should feel the need to be subjected to certain linguistic regimes in order to be positioned as 'within' the space of 'Basqueness'; see chapter 5). These practices are also a way of “recognition of the national territory as a source of authority and legitimacy” (ibid., 101). Thus, the recognition and representation of 'Basqueness' as based in a 'metaphorical' space is of importance to the centring institutions involved in language teaching to migrants, but also plays an identificational role for migrants as they invest it with meanings connected to 'Basqueness', as I show in chapter 5.

## 2.6.2 Authenticity

Since time-scales operate in various spaces constructed according to varying hierarchical relationships between resources present in a given space, they also affect the way in which these resources are evaluated as 'authentic', i.e. in which situations and places, as well as by whom, these resources can be used in order to be evaluated as such.

Authenticity is a quality of 'legitimacy', 'truth' or 'reality' of speakers, resources, spaces, ethnicity and other socially constructed categories (Gill 2007, 42). Essentialism and constructionism see this category in opposed ways. Essentialist authenticity is based on internal qualities and concerned with “asserting a singular essence” as “singular criteria of the real” (Gill 2007, 41). This means delineating certain characteristics a priori, as the only real features of categories considered authentic. For instance, the early Basque nationalist discourses regarded belonging to the category of 'Basqueness' as based on birth within the 'Basque state'. These characteristics later changed to include the speaking of Basque as a 'pure' full-code. 'Pure' Basque language was yet another essentially characterised,

contained category, as a code characterised by 'non-Spanishness' ascribed to it by the advocates of the Basque nationalist thought (see Appendix D). In the constructionist paradigm, on the other hand, authenticity is understood as a discursive process, rather than "an experienced quality of language or culture" (Coupland 2010, 6). Both Bucholtz (2003) and Coupland (2010) use the term 'authentication' to signal a process, rather than authenticity as a quality. Since authenticity is also dependant on spatio-temporal scales,

rather than asking what authenticity is, it should be asked what it means to be authentic in a particular setting. (Gill 2011, 41)

Due to the fact that scales constrain what can be constructed as authentic in a given context, it is fruitless to talk about features of authenticity as set and unchangeable. In light of this, Bucholtz proposes that authenticity should be looking at how certain groups (or practices) come to be viewed as authentic and by whom (2003, 408). Construction of authenticity in interaction can also be seen as set of

intersubjective tactics through which people make claims about their own and others' statuses as authentic or inauthentic members of social groups. (Coupland 2010, 6)

There exist competing criteria for authenticity according to which these statuses are constructed, and that is why it is difficult to speak of an 'essence for authenticity' (Coupland 2003, 429). In a given context, "not just anything can be authentic" and labelling of authenticity becomes based on the exclusion of what is or appears to be inauthentic, in this way delegitimising the other (Gill 2011, 41). For instance, certain accents or dialects can be delegitimised by some centring institutions (e.g. education institutions) within nation-states which tend to favour standard varieties of their national language.

Authenticity is also a category that stems from ideological relations of power. It can be understood as a modality that assumes "moral or artistic authority" rather than "truth or reality"; i.e. this authority allows for granting authenticity, according to constructed criteria

that depend on it, rather than on claims to some reality or truth based criteria (Van Leeuwen 2001, 393). This authority places authenticity as final, with no need for further justification (Rorty 1989, 78) and as something to be achieved or restored (Coupland 2003; Gill 2007, 41).

Another way in which authenticity is ideological is through the fact that it is value laden – it ascribes itself in a value hierarchy regulated by space-scales through the use of such authority (Gill 2007, 41-42). This ideological hierarchy of values serves to draw a boundary between authentic and inauthentic. It may serve the interests of monolingual nation-states by drawing on the ‘original essence’ ideology (understood as criteria for authenticity) through creating discourses which assert and promote a group identity based on criteria related to that essence (ibid.), as it was done in the discourses on the early Basque nationalism (see Appendix D). However, this ‘essence’ is again constructed differently depending on the socio-political context, so that nowadays, for instance, it allows for an inclusion of partial language resources in certain discourses of belonging (see section 5.4.1).

The value hierarchy that affects the construction of authenticity is also able to anchor personal, social and cultural identities (Coupland 2010, 6). Such anchoring is done through various intersubjective processes through which people make claims to statuses as authentic or inauthentic members of social groups (Bucholtz 2003, 410). For instance, taking up of stances in interaction allows for contestation or adherence to the ideological norms which constitute this ‘nationalist essence’. This can happen when migrants position themselves as part of the authenticated Basque space based on their use of Basque resources (see section 5.4), or outside of such space, when they do not position themselves as authentic speakers due to lack of knowledge of Basque understood as full-code (see section 5.4).

Authenticity is then a quality understood according to different criteria in the two ideological sets, either as pre-defined characteristics or as a process of construction of these characteristics in discourse. It is also inevitably linked to ideological relations and power distribution through time-space scales which determine this quality in a given context, as well as regulate possible forms of identification – speakers as possessors of authentic qualities or having authority to construct authentic categories.

### **2.6.3 Instrumentality of Basque Resources**

Finally, the last theme in the representations of 'Basqueness' that I identified in the data collected: the instrumental value of Basque resources, is connected to the previously discussed notion of attitudes and space-scale hierarchies. The binary division of attitudes into integrative and instrumental ones has its flaws when looked at from the perspective of linguistic ethnography as a paradigm of thought, as well as when attitudes are considered as constructed in interaction. Because of the fact that attitudes vary from context to context, it is better to consider them as on a spectrum which allows for varying degrees of 'instrumentality' or 'integration' depending on the context of their construction.

When it comes to the instrumentality value of this spectrum, in the mentalist approach it is understood as "a desire to gain social recognition or economic advantages through the knowledge of a foreign language" (Gardner and Lambert 1972, 14). Language competence is constructed differently depending on the context of interaction and ideological underpinnings which regulate what it means to know a language or be recognised as a speaker of a language in a given social reality, for instance, as according to the criteria of authenticity discussed in the previous section. The second component of instrumentality understood in this way, social recognition, is broadly understood in social sciences as "the appreciation that people give to each other", which includes social status understood as "the recognition a society attributes to groups of people" (Rottiers 2010, 3). Social recognition is what links instrumental attitudes to identity, as "the process of self-identification is driven by the recognition people receive from others" (ibid.). For instance, a person with an excellent command of Basque resources can be regarded as 'famous' thus being given a positive social recognition, or as possibly setting up an example, which is further used in an attempt at creating "language policy on the ground" (Ramanathan, 2005). Such an attempt influences the way this person is positioned and possibly chooses to position themselves vis a vis such recognition.

#### **2.6.3.1 Language Resources as Capital**

Social recognition can also be seen as recognition of a certain form of cultural and social capital, as "the attainment of a combination of capital that is both durable and legitimate" (Bourdieu 1986, 45). The capital necessary for this kind of social recognition involved in instrumental language attitudes would be a form of cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986, 47)

that constitutes the knowledge or use of a legitimate variety of language resources. Bourdieu (1986) distinguishes between types of capital, categorising it as: economic, social and cultural (in different forms). He classifies education as a form of cultural capital in its embodied state (1986, 47). The embodiment of cultural capital means that external wealth (such as knowledge) is converted into an integral part of a person who invested personally in this capital (ibid., 48). Cultural capital combines “the prestige of an innate property with the merits of its acquisition” and is “predisposed to function as symbolic capital: it becomes unrecognised as capital but recognised as legitimate competence” (ibid., 49). The cultural capital understood in this way “yields profits of distinction for its owner” (ibid.). Considering these properties of cultural capital, it can be concluded that social recognition is the high value attached to a person for certain capital that they own, in this case certain linguistic repertoires and the ability to use resources within those repertoires accordingly.

Bourdieu also recognizes that any form of capital can be converted into another one, but not without certain differences in costs and profits (Bourdieu 1986, 54). “There are some goods and services to which economic capital gives immediate access, without secondary costs; others can be obtained only by virtue of a social capital of relationships (or social obligations) which cannot act instantaneously (...)” (Bourdieu 1986, 54). Based on the consideration of capital conversion, I believe that instrumentality of attitudes can be defined as dispositions reflecting the idea of willing to be able to obtain cultural capital, in the form of language skills, in order to convert it into economic capital.

### **2.6.3.2 Language as Commodified Resources**

However, there are certain processes connected to globalisation and the ‘new economy’ (Heller 2010) that begin to render linguistic repertoires not so much as cultural capital connected to social recognition, but rather as commodities available for purchase. In this way, converting embodied cultural capital into a form of economic capital, immediately and directly convertible into profit (Bourdieu 1986, 47).

Heller emphasizes that rather than treating the concepts of language and identity as natural and bounded phenomena, it is more fruitful to see them as social constructs which reflect some elements of the ways in which we organize ourselves in society (2007, 13). Concepts such as ‘nation’ or ‘community’, by which the traditional economy and social life was organised, have been increasingly becoming more complex, especially in the context

of global migration, but also in the context of transnational, new economy of tertiary sector and its globalized nature, where the linguistic resources that people possess are constantly (re)evaluated to adjust to the symbolic economy of a given time and space (ibid.). That is why language should be thought of more as a set of socially distributed resources with uneven values attached to them and with uneven distribution (ibid., 14). What value is attached to particular resources and who has access to these resources is socially determined and it is the post-structuralist approach that is oriented at finding out how these processes take place, why they take place and for whom they are consequential.

Heller et al. (2014), Heller and Duchêne (2012), Heller (2010), Blommaert (2005), Blommaert et al. (2005) all emphasize that in ‘the new economy’<sup>11</sup> language has gained and keeps gaining “an increasingly central economic role” (in Heller 2010, 104). This role is prominent both in that language forms the means through which work is accomplished (for instance, by providing touristic guide services to clients in a given language variety), as well as by language being the product of this work (for instance, certain language varieties on goods sold to tourists as souvenirs which authenticate these goods as coming from a place where this language is spoken) (ibid.). This central role often means that language is not only understood as resources, but also it becomes commodified as a skill and as a marker of authenticity, i.e. becomes the object of a practice by which “a specific object or process is rendered available for conventional exchange in the market” (Heller et al. 2014, 545).

Commodification processes regulate the meaning making processes and social relations, influencing directly the ideologies that circulate in the production and re-production of social life (Heller 2010, 102). These ideologies include ones that influence the understanding of social recognition mentioned before, the evaluation of linguistic resources and their conversion to other forms of capital, as well as the ones that influence possible ways of identification with space through linguistic resources present in that space. In the new, globalised economy, language resources of a person are also indexical of communicative skills of that person and are treated as marketable goods (Heller 2010, 103). So are identities and individual performances of those resources – the embodied cultural capital (ibid.).

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<sup>11</sup> “The transition from a manufacturing to a service economy”(Carnevale and Rose 2015, 14).

Commodification and new market exchange mean that essentialist ideologies, characteristic of old type discourses on language and belonging, become extended, so that now they are represented through 'products' sellable on the market to consumers that might not have been anticipated, such as tourists or language learners (Heller 2010, 102; Heller et al. 2014, 551). What was once understood as a peripheral economy

brings the products of modern nationalism developed in earlier capitalism (symbols of authentic identity, whether linguistic, literary or other) onto a new globalized and tertiarized market, which treats them as commodities (...) (Heller et al. 2014, 551).

For instance, in the case of Basque language teaching to migrants, migrants could be regarded as such unexpected clients. My analysis will show that Basque language resources are sold to them as a form of cultural capital convertible to social one – in the form of integration. However, there are also indications that migrants see this capital as instrumental – convertible into economic capital.

### **2.6.3.3 Tensions in the Reorganization of Meaning of Language Resources**

Treatment of linguistic resources as commodities creates tensions related to the evaluation of these products: tensions on an economic level – with regards to the marketable value and capacity of these products; as well as on a political level – with regards to their symbolic values related to nationalist ideologies and claims to group identity (ibid., 552). This tension is visible in many aspects of multilingual 'sites' that are characteristic of the new economy, such as niche markets for localised products, tertiary sector industries, language teaching industries, tourism etc., but also in those sites related to migration (Heller 2007, 547). Indeed in migratory situations speakers need to gain access to particular resources and be at the same time recognised as legitimate speakers of the varieties based on those resources, simultaneously confronting the dominant nation-state ideologies which understand language as belonging to concrete systems and sets of speakers (ibid.). Identification of such tensions goes in line with the earlier proposed argument that essentialist and constructionist discourses are intertwining of in the context of minority language teaching to migrants. This is happening not only in the

construction of space and authenticity, but also in the 'new economic' instrumentality of Basque resources.

These discursive tensions also confirm that in sub-state language sites, there has been a shift in the perception of bilingualism in the sub-state languages which started to be perceived as 'added value' rather than as a deficit, as they used to be portrayed by dominant nation-state discourses (Jaffe 2007, 55). I propose (in chapter 7) that the changing economic conditions within Spain related to the economic crisis of 2008<sup>12</sup> (among others), might have led to an intensified re-description of dominant discourses on multilingualism or bilingualism, also in the kind of multilingual 'site' studied in this project: from those of "pride" into "added value" – so from essentializing to the non-essentializing ones (Jaffe 2007, 55).

## 2.7 Conclusion

In this chapter I explored the theoretical framework that formed the basis for the analysis of the data collected for this project. I showed how I combined distinct theoretical approaches that I applied in my data analysis through an ethnographic angle. I explained how I handle three distinct concepts: attitudes, ideologies and stance as interrelated and how, by being (co)constructed in interaction, they link to larger social structures and the construction of belonging. I also compared these concepts in the light of the two different ideological sets: essentialism and constructionism.

Ideologies were explored in terms of their characteristics as multiple and variable, politicised and enduring through the process of indexicality and iconicity. I also showed how they are more likely to be reproduced in certain ideological sites. I then continued to show how constructionism and essentialism relate to the categories used to explore my research questions in different manners: either as pre-given and fixed or as

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<sup>12</sup> "A financial crisis developed with remarkable speed starting in the late summer of 2008, as mortgage-related securities that had spread through the U.S. and global financial system suddenly collapsed in value. This crisis has undermined many of the largest financial institutions in the United States and elsewhere, as well as severely damaging a large part of the world's financial system. Recently the financial crisis has been joined by a gathering recession in the non-financial sector in the U.S. and global economies." (Kotz 2009, 1-2).

(co)constructed in interaction and influenced by ideologies that exist in the macro context of interactions.

Further, I explored how I see attitudes and stance as tools for the discovery of ideologies related to the role of language in 'belonging'. Attitudes were characterised in terms of binary divisions and I emphasized the ways in which they differ from ideologies. Stance, on the other hand, was discussed in terms of its two possible dimensions: affective and epistemic and how indexicality is ingrained in both dimensions of stance. I also indicated that I see stance as contributing to the distribution of and being dependant on power relations.

I then linked all three concepts to identity, exploring their role in its construction and projection. I discussed the multiplicity of identity from a constructionist perspective and compared three identity frameworks: negotiation, the hierarchy of identity and post-structuralist approaches to identity, showing how language and social structures interrelate to allow for multiple identities to be visible depending on contexts in which they become constructed.

Finally, I explored other ideological influences and implications in the three thematic contexts of the representations of 'Basqueness' as a group identity: spatio-temporal scales, authority in the construction of authenticity, as well as commodification and capital conversion as processes within the instrumental dimension of language resources. Having discussed the theoretical dimension of this project, I will now proceed to analyse the methodological aspects which were applied in data collection and analysis.

## Chapter 3: Methodological Considerations

In this chapter I discuss the methodological procedures undertaken in this project. This discussion will involve the data collection process, participant choice, the choice of significant episodes, types of data and the data analysis method that I applied in the analysis chapters in the next section of this thesis. In the final part, I will explain how an ethnographic perspective was adopted in the data collection process and how it differs from a full ethnographic approach.

### 3.1. Collection, Categorisation and Nature of Data

#### 3.1.1 Participant Choice

Initially, I wanted to concentrate data collection on a group of migrants of just one ethnicity – Poles, as I reckoned, by being Polish myself, and potentially being familiar with the cultural and ideological assumptions that such ethnic identity could involve, I could easily become accepted as a member of some kind of ‘Polish community’. However, even though immigration to Spain increased dramatically in the period of 1998 – 2007,<sup>13</sup> the world financial crisis of 2007-2008 reversed this trend, and in 2013, when I began this study, the migration rate in the Spanish state was already negative<sup>14</sup>. Given that the BAC had been the region of Spain with the lowest immigrant numbers, the numbers of Poles residing there were rather scarce, even though Polish citizens represented the 10<sup>th</sup> most populous group of migrants from Europe (679 in 2013; 733 in 2010; 173 in 2000; ikuspegi.org)<sup>15</sup>. Moreover, according to the data received by HABE<sup>16</sup>, on the courses of Basque for migrants, and the AISA Basque course in particular, the numbers of Basque language learners were relatively low, and Polish nationals were hardly ever participants in such courses (this study included six participants from Poland, but none of them had learned or was learning Basque on the AISA course). Bearing these factors in mind, I

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<sup>13</sup> Spain received 5 million new foreign residents in less than 10 years (PECI 2011 – 14, 31).

<sup>14</sup> In 2013 it was -210 624 people, in 2014 it was – 64 802. This data compares only migrations, not the whole of the state’s population. (Notas de Prensa; IEN 2015)

<sup>15</sup> They could also not form a very diverse group, as according to, for instance, the statute of a Polish migrant organisation in Bilbao, called Arrano Zuria (literally: White Eagle, which refers to the national symbol of Poland), the majority of the Polish immigrants arrived to the BAC in the 80s and the organisation seemed to ascribe a rather elitist stance to its members, according to the president of this organisation: ‘Kraj Basków przyciąga ludzi wykształconych (...) - To emigracyjna elita’ [The Basque Country attracts educated people (...) – It’s the elite of emigration’. (poloniaeuskadi.org; wiadomości.wp.pl, 2010)

<sup>16</sup> Helduen Alfabetatze eta Berreuskalduntzerako Erakundea (Institution for Adults Alphabetization and ‘Revasconization’)

decided not to restrict the selection of my participants to just one nationality, or in fact to any other category, such as time of arrival to Spain or the BAC, age, gender, ethnicity or any other pre-given category (other than ‘migrants’), mainly because, due to time restrictions of my residence in the BAC and the data collection period, and given the conditions behind the organisation of AISA Basque language courses for migrants, it could have been virtually impossible to find a number of participants that would constitute a satisfactory data sample. Instead, I decided to recruit participants according to only one criterion: current or previous participation in some form of publically organised Basque language teaching. This allowed for a wide and diverse range of participants, and perhaps less of a reliance on pre-given essentialist categories<sup>17</sup>, which I found as one of the aims of an ethnographic method of study (see section 2.3.1.).

### 3.1.2 Categorization in Ethnography

Some critics of LE, such as Sealey, criticize LE reliance of a priori categories in referring to the identification of participants (2007, 647). While I describe my participants in these categories, I intend to use this information only in situations which from my analytical perspective influence the context of the meaning making, i.e. when what is being said can be interpreted differently when taking into account certain categories such as age, gender or mother-tongue – since these categories may show some kind of ideological influences as evidenced in the data analysed. I could also argue that this kind of reliance is somewhat reversed in this project, through the fact that ‘Basqueness’ and its space, as well as other categories related to ‘Basqueness’ are addressed more prominently than the individual characteristics of the participants (see section 2.3.1).

A critique of such an a priori categorisation comes also from Wimmer and Glick Schiller (2002). They argue that “nation-state has (...) influenced past and current thinking in the social sciences, including (...) transnational migration” (2002, 301). Following Billig (1995), these two authors recognise that

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<sup>17</sup> Even though I found such a reliance inevitable, especially when referring to ‘Basque language’ or ‘Basqueness’, or the participants’ native language resources.

the accounts of divisions of the world societies along the borders of nation-states became routinely assumed (...) and made them vanish from consciousness altogether. (ibid., 304)

For instance, “anthropologists often assumed that the cultures to be studied were unitary and (...) fixed within territories” (ibid., 305). Similarly, ethnic groups within modernising (...) nation-states “were described as culturally different from the majority population” (ibid.). This framework of prioritizing of the nation-state also shaped the way that we looked at migration. “In the container model of society, immigrants must appear as antinomies to an orderly working of state and society (...)” (ibid., 309). They are seen to be foreign to the “shared loyalty towards the state and shared rights guaranteed by the state” (ibid.). Wimmer and Glick Schiller conclude that in order to account for the heterogeneity of transnational communities, the internal divisions of class and gender, region and politics within these communities, as well as for the ethnic heterogeneity within the territorially bound states, there is a need to “develop (...) analytical tools and concepts not coloured by the self-evidence of a world ordered into nation-states” (ibid.). I believe that using linguistic ethnography as a methodology helps to reduce the impact of pre-categorisation as the categories being studied are analysed from an emic perspective. In this way, even if a researcher begins working with certain pre-given categories, they become (re)contextualized or contextualized within the ethnographic context of her or his account.

Such a (re)contextualization and emic treatment of categories generated through the analysis of interactions with or between the participants under study is not without certain controversies, since ethnographic work in practice often involves deploying concepts other than those used by participants themselves or “refraining from questioning whether the participants’ interpretation of events was correct” (Norton 2000, 58). A sole reliance on emic categories may be misleading as “members of a community themselves may well not have an adequate model of it” (Hymes 1996, 9; Sealey 2007, 646).

The categories that I rely on most significantly in the data analysis are: ethnicity – in the descriptions of the representations of ‘Basqueness’; migrants – in the analysis of identity and positioning of the social actors involved in this study; and language – in the analysis of authenticity and other quality values attached to particular resources. Bearing in mind the

uncertainty behind some forms of emic categorisation, I will base my definition of ethnicity on Rampton et al. (2006), who point out that LE takes “a practice view of ethnicity”, whereby it tries to discover how ethnicities get configured in social activities (2006, 7). Similarly, Blommaert says that language or what he labels “linguistic means and communicative skills” are usually identified as resources (2005, 58). This is also how I will refer to language in the analysis, unless its emic construction in the contextual data proves to be otherwise. ‘Migrants’ will also be understood as a constructed, emic category. However, for the purpose of the ‘methodological toolkit’ of this project, I will refer to migrants as persons from outside of the Spanish state, or as ‘external migrants’.

### 3.1.3 The Nature of the Data

Having established the criteria and categorisation of participants, I will now move to discuss the nature of the data included in this project. This data comes from several sources, since data triangulation<sup>18</sup> was aimed at, in accordance with the methodological guidelines for validity in any qualitative approach to data collection (LeCompte and Schensul 1999, 66, 102). These sources included: observation notes, observations and participation in Basque language classes for migrants, official documents which referred to the teaching or learning of minority languages within the Spanish state in general, and in the BAC in particular, such as ‘*Plan de Acción para la Promoción de Euskera (ESEP)*’, ‘*I y III Plan Vasco de Inmigración, Ciudadanía y Convivencia Intercultural 2011-213*’, ‘*Plan Estratégico de Ciudadanía e Integración 2007*’, ‘*Plan Estratégico de Ciudadanía e Integración 2011 – 14*’, information leaflets and websites containing texts about the AISA course within various municipalities and zones of the BAC (Getxo, Vitoria-Gasteiz); occasional participation and observation in some Basque teaching activities of non-governmental organisations: Topagunea and Banaiz Bagara; AISA teaching material and other material prepared by the IKA<sup>19</sup> euskaltegis used during the observed course; as well as observations and audio recordings of some outside classroom activities (but ones encompassed by the curriculum or proposed by the teachers, such as a visit to an exhibition about the Basque language entitled “Badu Bada”<sup>20</sup>).

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<sup>18</sup> ‘Data triangulation involves using different sources of information (...)’ (Guion, Diehl and McDonald, 2013).

<sup>19</sup> Basque language schools for adults in Vitoria-Gasteiz.

<sup>20</sup> Literally meaning: “if it has, it is” - referring to language having speakers. The exhibition is also on the web and can be accessed at: [www.badubada.com](http://www.badubada.com).

The main source of data, the classroom observations at the main site in Vitoria-Gasteiz, took place between September and December 2013 (for one teaching semester) in two of Vitoria-Gasteiz's AISA groups. Each group had classes three times a week for two clock hours, one in the morning and the other one in the evening. The morning class had 16 students, while the evening class had 15 at the beginning, but only around 10 students were attending regularly, and among these 10 only a few attended most classes during the week. The numbers of students who actually participated in the class from its beginning in September until it finished in December varied, especially significantly in the evening group. This might have been caused by the late teaching hours of the class, between 8 pm and 10 pm. Another reason for such absences was the fact that most students were active job seekers and they often dropped out of language classes when a job opportunity arose.

The classroom activities were audio recorded. However, I was only able to make such recordings when I received permission from all the members of each group due to ethical reasons, and in fact at the beginning I was discouraged from introducing my study to the students, as both the teachers and a local representative of the city council's department of Euskera warned me that it would take a few weeks before the numbers of participants would be established.

I experienced several difficulties when it came to audio recording. While both teachers were very supportive of my project, some students were rather wary of giving permission to be recorded. I could only begin recording the classes of the morning group at the end of week 3, and of the evening group in week 5, when the only person who was initially unwilling to participate changed their mind. This gave around 20 hours of recording time in the evening group<sup>21</sup> and 32 hours in the morning group.

I have not transcribed all this material for the purpose of the analysis, as a great majority of it concentrated on the classroom teaching techniques, students' repetitions, drills, memorisations and similar classroom activity, which I did not find as relevant for my purpose. As Rock pointed out – "transcription of the whole data set is not always justified" (2015, 127). What I was interested to find in the material were the episodes in which interaction was taking place, between the teacher and the students or between the

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<sup>21</sup> I was not able to attend every class in the evening as at times I had other commitments such as a meeting or an interview at another location than Vitoria-Gasteiz.

students themselves, on topics related to the structure and representations of 'Basqueness' and the Basque language, in order to identify attitude constructive episodes or instances of self- and other-positioning relevant to the research questions proposed. This is what I transcribed, guided by relevant field notes that helped me to identify such episodes.

### 3.1.4 Participants

The second main source of data were interviews with 63 participants in the three different provinces of the BAC. 29 participants were interviewed in Vitoria-Gasteiz, which was also the site for my class participation and observations. 22 participants were my co-students on the AISA course, while the rest were recruited through other Basque teachers in other provinces, through e-mail correspondence with euskaltegis, NGOs and some academic professionals at the University of Mondragón or through their acquaintance with the other participants (snowball effect).

I chose the capital of the BAC as the main site of my ethnographic data collection for two reasons. Firstly, it was one of the few places where AISA courses had been running continuously for a few years (in the case of V-G for 10 years, starting from 2004/2005<sup>22</sup>) and, indeed, in September 2013 – the year when I wanted to start my data collection – it was one of the few places which engaged in recruitment of students for this course (at least through the internet or responded positively to my e-mail questions). Secondly, I was already acquainted with some Basque teachers from V-G which facilitated further recruitment of participants. Since V-G and the province of Alava are characterised by relatively low percentage of Basque speakers, I intended to recruit participants from other Basque provinces as well, because I see the varying, quantitatively measured linguistic situation in each province as significantly changing the communicative realities that migrants enter. While it was physically impossible for me to participate in the AISA course in a few localities at the same time, nor did the time period that I spent collecting data allow me for a longer stay in the BAC, I contacted several other Basque teaching sites in the other two provinces (Vizcaya and Gipuzkoa) which eventually resulted in my interviewing 28 participants from Gipuzkoa and 10 from Vizcaya. The participants from the

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<sup>22</sup> According to the data that I received from HABE through e-mail correspondence.

two remaining provinces were not always students on the AISA course, but they all participated in some form of Basque language learning activity either at the time of my data collection or some time before<sup>23</sup>.

**Table 3.1 AISA Participants**

**AISA PARTICIPANTS (HABE, 2015)**

Year	Number of AISA Participants in the BAC	Year	Number of AISA Participants in V-G
2004/2005	129	2004/2005	7
2005/2006	508	2005/2006	No data
2006/2007	390	2006/2007	73
2007/2008	483	2007/2008	31
2008/2009	830	2008/2009	124
2009/2010	598	2009/2010	110
2010/2011	569	2010/2011	57
2011/2012	688	2011/2012	38
2012/2013	556	2012/2013	37
2013/2014	659	2013/2014	86
2014/2015	685	2014/2015	56
Total	6095		

All participants were of various nationalities, both native and non-native Castilian speakers, from Europe (Germany, France, Poland), Asia (China, Pakistan), Latin America (el Salvador, Honduras, Uruguay, Colombia) and Africa (mainly North African countries; for more details on participants see appendix 1). Not all of the participants agreed to disclose their age, which was not a factor that impeded the analysis. However, to create a better portrayal of the participants and the data that I analysed, I grouped the participants into three age categories<sup>24</sup>: young, middle-aged and older participants. There were 51, 11, and 1 in each

<sup>23</sup> I recruited migrants who were intending to or who had spent a longer period of time in the BAC, i.e. I excluded foreign exchange students, Erasmus students, tourists or short time visitors. Such a 'longer period of time' is difficult to define in the age of temporary economic migration. However, what I want to emphasize is that the participants were not just visitors to the area, or at least not intended to be short term visitors.

<sup>24</sup> Sometimes only based on their physical appearance or estimated age that they provided.

group respectively. The lengths of stay in the BAC of the participants varied significantly, from newly arrived to people who have lived in the region for a few decades.

### **3.1.5 Participant Interviews**

The interviews conducted with the participants were open-ended. The topics raised included the reasons for studying Basque, the reasons for migrating to the BAC, perceptions of 'typical' Basques and 'typical Basqueness', perceptions of Basque language use and speakers of Basque within the area of residence, perceptions of Basque spaces and Basque language speaking spaces, as well as questions regarding ideas about integration, other perceptions of migrants and their own identity as Basque speakers (see Appendix C). The interviews were conducted in either: Castilian, English or Polish, as these were the languages I spoke. The language of the interview was always chosen according to the preference of the participant(s).

Some interviews were conducted individually (26), others in small groups of participants (9), again in accordance with their preference. Group interviews varied between 2- 10 participants. The largest group interview was conducted with AISA participants in Portugalete, where I was given a class hour by the AISA teacher, and where all participants agreed to participate as a form of class activity.

While some see interviews as the core source of data in the realisation of their research projects, often calling them ethnographic in nature just for being of that genre, in ethnography they are viewed as just one more source of data, equal to other ethnographic data types (Blommaert and Jie 2010, 42). I have collected various types of ethnographic data, however, my second largest source were indeed interviews. This was because my intention was to recruit participants from all provinces of the BAC, and I could only depend on this method of data collection when outside of the usual observation site in V-G. This also means that I could not rely as much on the observations of context as I would have liked in further analysis of the interviews from outside of my usual observation site. Nevertheless, I obtained as much contextual information as possible when it comes to the interview sites located outside of V-G through the institutions in which these participants were attending Basque classes, their web pages, information leaflets, teachers and the participants themselves in off-record conversations.

The common understanding of an interview is that it is a genre or a “mechanism by which one party (i.e. the interviewer) extracts vital information from another (i.e. the interviewee)” (Edley and Lisotelliti 2010, 157) – information that cannot be accessed by direct observation. Ethnography treats interviews from a constructionist perspective, as a form of social interaction in and of themselves, and therefore, constitutive of the world it takes place in (ibid., 160). Such a view of interviews validates their importance as a methodological tool which is not only informed by the context it takes place in, but also contributes to that context. Indeed, Blommaert and Jie see interviews as “a socio-culturally loaded communicative activity in its own right” (2010, 43). That is why, I believe that despite my inability to observe the classes or other contexts to which participants from outside of V-G were contributing, the interviews conducted with them were a sufficient means for further exploration of the research questions proposed in this project.

### **3.1.6 Data Analysis Method**

#### **3.1.6.1 DA and Interactional Sociolinguistics**

Creese points out that ethnography “combines a number of research literatures”, from micro perspectives, such as CA, to macro ones, such as the post-structuralist approaches to identity (2008, 235). Apart from this combination, it uses “discourse analytic tools in creative ways to extend our understanding of the role language plays in social life” (ibid.). Rampton proposes that the main goal of ethnography, i.e. “revealing how production, circulation and appropriation of social categories and identities” comes about, calls for linguistic and discourse analysis (2013, 2). That is why, bearing in mind the ethnographic approach to data collection, the analysis was done as a form of discourse analysis, in which I show how attitudes and representations of ‘Basqueness’ situated in context contribute to the understanding, reproduction or contestation of language ideologies. The post-structuralist view of discourse shared by ethnography acknowledges that language cannot be studied as a formal structure, devoid of the context in which it occurs (Chouliaraki 2008, 674). In this light, I see DA as a way of analysing language use in a situational context (Baxter 2010, 120).

Barker and Galasiński (2001) see discourse as a system of options, meaning that the construction or representation of ‘reality in discourse’ is necessarily selective, i.e. texts seem to impose a ‘preferred reading’ that reflects the “producer’s value systems or

ideological inclinations". However, a reading depends not only on the producer, but also on the uptake of the receiver (Talbot 2013, 51). This is where considerations of interactional sociolinguistics (on which I based the idea of attitude construction in discourse (Liebscher and Dailey O'Cain, 2009) which see this construction of 'reality' as based on the assumptions of both speakers with regards to context, come into play. Apart from DA, interactional sociolinguistics is what allows for seeing how attitudes and perceptions get co-constructed dynamically in interaction.

### 3.1.6.2 CDA and Mental Models

While I address ideologies directly through the research questions, I refrain from a type of analysis typical of Critical Discourse Analysis, which often deals with problems related to ideology and hegemonic distribution of power, i.e. the identification of a macro-context type problem in order to unravel or deconstruct the binary power relations on which discourse production is based (Baxter 2009, 128). Rather, I intend to produce an inductive and interpretative account, which would illuminate the ideological issues present in the data, without necessarily deconstructing them in some kind of an "emancipatory agenda" (ibid.).

This is not to say that I don't share certain views on ideology and social structure advocated by CDA practitioners. CDA proposes that discourse is a means through which ideologies are being reproduced (Blommaert and Bulcaen 2000, 450). Indeed, Fairclough and Wodak, the proponents of CDA, indicate that "discourse does ideological work" (1997, 271-80). I share this view of ideology as embedded and reproduced in discourse. However, CDA also proposes that ideologies

indirectly influence the personal cognition of group members in their act of comprehension of discourse among other actions and interactions (Van Dijk, 1995, 19).

This is done through what Van Dijk (1995) calls 'models': mental representations of personal experience (ibid.). CDA scholars advocate that mental models mediate between society and discourse in that systems of shared models form social cognition (ibid.). These

shared social representations formed in mental models govern the collective actions of a group (ibid., 18). Individuals may then be subjected to what Van Dijk calls 'mind control' in that

recipients of discourse tend to accept beliefs, knowledge and opinions through discourse from what they see as authoritative (...) and credible sources (Nesler et al. 1993, 1407).

CDA then focusses on how discourse structures influence mental representations (Van Dijk 2001, 358).

While I share the view on the role of ideology in influencing both personal and social cognition, as Copland and Creese point out: "interactional data in ethnographic research is situated in social knowledge and mediated by cultural ideologies" (2015, 1), or as Rampton et al. emphasize: "linguistic ethnography generally holds that to a considerable degree, language and social world are mutually shaping" (2004, 2), I do not see mental models as representative of personal experience when it comes to, for instance, attitudes towards linguistic resources or towards the use of such resources, nor when it comes to demonstrating positioning as a kind of representation of a mental model of identity. Firstly because such models are unlikely to exist without manifesting themselves outside of any co-created context, as the consideration of attitude construction or the nature of interviews would suggest. Secondly, one of the most influential scholars within what constituted the framework for linguistic ethnography, Frederick Erickson, used the term 'wobble room' to describe people

finding just a little bit of space for innovation within what's otherwise often experienced as the crushing weight of social expectation/social structure (in Copland and Creese 2015, 21-22; Erickson 2001).

Such tensions between social structure and speaker agency are visible in this particular 'room' for innovation. In my view, it can be seen as the space of resistance to the permeation of social structure which can manifest itself in various ways, for instance when migrants position themselves in opposition to certain categories and descriptions of

identity proposed in language policy documents. It also suggests that a permeation of any kind of discourse structure into the mental models of representations cannot be done independently of individual action. How much agency, to whom and under what circumstances allows for such 'wobble room' is best addressed through ethnographic methods, which do not assume that a particular form of social structure is pre-defined, but rather aims to discover how elements of social structure become constructed within certain contexts.

The fact that behaviour and opinion included as components of attitudes do not always go hand in hand (Baker 1992, 15-16) would indeed suggest that a lot in communication is dependent on the contextual circumstances of the interaction and how much individual agency can come across in influencing the interpretation of not only the propositional content, but also "the expression of ideas, biography, identifications, stance and nuance, which are extensively signalled in the linguistic and textual fine grain" (Rampton 2007, 585). Attitudes and identity should not therefore be seen as stable properties included in 'mental models', independent of the context of interaction (section 2.4.1).

### **3.1.6.3 Context in CDA**

In some way CDA does see language use and context as separate entities in that social cognition and discourse structures form contexts in which speech events are embedded. While Van Dijk states that situations of discursive interaction are similarly part of and constitutive of social structure (2001, 354), which means that texts and contexts and texts and social structure mutually influence each other, one problem with the conceptualization of context within CDA is that context is not in fact "made part of the object of investigation" (Blommaert 2001, 15). In linguistic ethnography and anthropology "context is (...) analysed as an interactively constituted mode of praxis" (Duranti and Goodwin 1992, 9). The 'ontological architecture' of linguistic ethnography does not recognise any dichotomy between language and culture, text and context (Lillis 2008, 374). In this way context is not defined as "what is needed to interpret a particular set of linguistic phenomena" (Duranti and Goodwin 1992, 23), but rather an attempt as a description is made about what seem to be the most important aspects of context as linguistic interpretation is taking place.

This contrasts with the methodological assumptions of CDA in which discourse is framed in particular selections of context (Blommaert 2001, 15). Blommaert argues that in CDA,

a priori statements on power relations are used as perspectives on discourse (and certain) socio-theoretical concepts and categories are being used (...) in seemingly self-evident ways (ibid.).

In LE, on the other hand, the analysis needs to include elements of context, for instance, the spatial and the temporal dimensions of the event (Duranti and Goodwin 1992, 25). Blommaert advocates for the inclusion of other contextual dimensions, such as: linguistic resource deployment, i.e. the resources people have for interacting and when and how they can be deployed; text trajectories, i.e. the varying entextualisations of discourse and how they produce shifts in context; and data histories as an important element in their interpretation (2001, 21-28). According to Heller,

the challenge is to capture the ways in which things unfold in real time, and the ways in which they sediment into constraints that go far beyond the time and place of specific interactions (Heller, 2011, 400).

In other words, to capture the elements that lead to the embeddedness of the analysed interaction in the specific time and place – its specific context. Such an understanding of context contributes to the investigation of the construction of social categories and their situated meaning, representing also the perspective of social actors, rather than only externally imposed features (Copland and Creese 2015, 13).

#### **3.1.6.4 Identification and Analysis of Significant Episodes**

Moving on from the application of various methods of text analysis in LE, I will concentrate on how the episodes for analysis were identified and how they were subsequently analysed. Their identification was based on several linguistic and discursive factors: lexical choices and labels used to refer to 'Basqueness' and Basque language; Basque 'space', 'state' or 'nationality'; stance markers, such as adverbs, superlatives, prosodic features and

other markers of affect or certainty<sup>25</sup>, which related the speakers' positioning towards 'Basqueness' and revealed identity construction and attribution in context; and explicit and implicit references to language ideology and attitude construction with regards to the role of language in Basque space representation, belonging to that space, 'Basqueness', the definitions of a Basque speaker, language, 'native speakerism', integration, migration and similar identity and space related categories<sup>26</sup>.

Another analytical angle was based on Fairclough's (2003) notions of assumptions and implicit meaning, which constitute "an important issue with regards to ideology" (Fairclough 2003, 55). Fairclough distinguishes between three different types of assumptions: existential, propositional and value, the latter ones depending on the recognition of contextual value systems (2003, 57). Each value system can be said to belong to certain discourses, and these in turn may be ideological (2003, 58). Such ideological dimension of discourses is unavoidably related to struggles of power and hegemonic tensions, which make ideological assumptions and implications look as issues taken for granted as part of "unquestionable and unavoidable reality" (ibid.). In my analysis I will explore the relationship between assumptions and their possible ideological content related to the abovementioned issues, which were also addressed in the research questions. I also see assumptions as expressions of evaluations through which stance can be identified, and as useful in discovering the ideological embeddedness of stance. I will also use this approach in order to show the interconnectedness between two main ideological sets: essentialist and constructionist ones, with regards to the role of language in the group identity construction and other relevant categories.

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<sup>25</sup> As identified by Strauss and Feiz (2013, 420- 422), but this list is by no means exhaustive.

<sup>26</sup> Here I would like to state that it is quite a futile task to try and enlist all possible grammatical and prosodic features that may be used in interaction in order to convey a possible attitude and stance; and this list is only a guideline that stemmed from initial content analysis of the data, i.e. the identification of thematic areas in which attitudes and ideologies seemed to play a decisive role; as well as from the review of literature that concentrates on the pragmatic and structural dimensions of stance. Moreover, the construction of both attitude and stance (as well as other pragmatic meaning and communicative intentions) depends on the uptake of other conversation participants or text receivers (Blommaert 2008, 24; Blommaert and Rampton 2011, 6). Therefore, a list of such linguistic features can never be exhaustive or applicable in every context. Nevertheless, I believe that the abovementioned grammatical features and thematic categories allow for a justification of episode selection, as I show in the analysis part of this thesis.

### 3.2 Ethnographic Perspective in Data Collection and Analysis

Having explained the methodological approach, before I continue to data analysis, I would like to provide a justification of the methodological orientation taken in this research project: linguistic ethnography. According to Green and Bloome (1997) doing ethnography involves “the broad, in-depth and long-term study of a social or cultural group.” The premise behind my data collection process was for it to be a form of ethnographic method. However, the relatively short period of observation of participants in this study could be criticised for not fully documenting the subject of an ethnography (Adler and Adler 1995, 20). Thus, taking into account Green and Bloome’s typology (1997), this project could be characterised as one “adopting an ethnographic perspective” and “ethnographic tools”, i.e. “presenting a more focused approach (...) to study particular aspects of everyday life and cultural practices (...)” and applying ethnographic fieldwork methods in its study (1997, 183). I chose to proceed with an ethnographic method partly because of the very diverse characteristics of my informants, which could not perhaps lend themselves so well to a systematic quantitative categorisation and analysis, but mainly because I believed that as a qualitative method, and an empirically oriented paradigm, it would allow for a better and more detailed description and accurate identification of issues addressed in the research questions, such as the uptake, distribution and reproduction of language ideologies, the construction of attitudes and attending to identity projections in interaction. In fact, for some, such as Rampton (2004), linguistic ethnography in general presents a form of rejection of the idea of “comprehensive ethnography” in favour of a “topic-oriented” investigation. This particularity and topic-orientation are concentrated on the study of locally produced meaning constructed around a given category or aspect of social practice (2004, 6). The ‘broad topic’ addressed in this project was thus migrant sub-state language learning and the role of the sub-state language in identity construction.

Another reason for adopting an ethnographic perspective was the site of this project. Creese points out that linguistic ethnography has been influenced by research on identity and ideology among others, especially in the contexts of sites (such as education, but not only) which are heavily invested in creation and implementation of language ideologies (2008, 235). It is then through ethnography that the meaning ascribed to identity categories and to language practices within ideological systems that produce these identities are best studied (ibid.). The site of my project then, being a government

organised minoritized language classroom, rendered itself to adopt an ethnographic perspective.

Similarly, the research questions were designed to discover the meaning of identity categories inhabited by or ascribed to migrants. In fact, it happens that often “the deepest meanings and patterns (of social categories) may not be talked about at all, because they are so fully taken for granted” (Hymes, 1996, 9), that is why ethnography aims at revealing “how they become constructed and articulated”, and how “humans come to inhabit these social categories” (Rampton et al. 2014, 5). Indeed, ethnography as a paradigm forms an invaluable resource for discovering how previously treated as pre-established and realist categories, relevant also to my research questions, such as ‘identity’, ‘society’, ‘nation’, ‘ethnicity’, become (re)produced in discourse (Rampton et al. 2004, 4; Blommaert and Jie 2010, 5). The validity of any form of ethnographic enquiry “is commonly dependent upon accurate knowledge of the meanings of behaviours and institutions to those who participate in them” (Hymes 1996, 9). In the case of this project, I concentrated mainly on the constructed meaning of ‘Basque language’ and ‘Basqueness’ as group identity which I see as becoming revealed through their discursively constructed representations. This is not to say, however, that ethnography, or in this case my PhD project, is reduced to this search for meaning or an understanding of some kind of “native views of meaning” (ibid.). What it means, though, is that the kind of enquiries made through ethnography rely on the understanding of local meaning as an essential ingredient (ibid.).

Apart from discovering the meaning of social categories, Leeds-Hurwitz emphasizes the importance of the analysis of context within ethnographic research (2004, 336). She proposes that its consideration is indispensable to the discovery of situated meaning in ethnographic documentation (ibid.). Despite possible criticisms with regards to my data collection period or adopting of ethnographic methods rather than a ‘full ethnography’, I believe that I was able to collect sufficient data evidence and documentation, and become truly familiar with the subjects and the context of my study to allow me “to learn everything that the group members must know to interpret the behaviour appropriately” (ibid.). Apart from learning as much as possible about the linguistic behaviour of the participants within the institutional context, I was also able to become familiar with some non-institutional contexts in which practices of minority language learning and performing

of identity took place (such as cafés, bars, street performances, concerts, NGO spaces, museums, city council buildings, playgrounds etc.).

Another criticism that may arise with regards to validity of this project is what Titscher et al. (2000) call 'respondent validation', i.e. the confrontation of 'the members' of the investigation with the results (2000, 97). The impossibility of my going back to the data collection site or even impossibility to get in contact with some of the participants again, made this task unachievable. However, Titscher et al. (2000) also criticize this criterion, suggesting that such validity may only be confirmed if the results are "compatible with the self-image of the persons investigated" (ibid.). Therefore, they propose that the main emphasis for the validity of an ethnographic approach should be judged on the basis of empirical evidence (ibid.). Indeed, in a workshop on linguistic ethnography for PhD students, Jan Blommaert emphasized that the epistemic target of ethnographic research is one that incorporates questions about correspondence of analytical features to the lived experience of the respondents (lecture notes, 04/07/2014). Empirical evidence is then what grounds the study of meaning in the lived experience of the informants, and it is the triangulation of data, which allows for empirical evidence to be supplied in varying forms and texts, from various sources. Some scholars, such as Silverman (1993, 158), argue that triangulation does not sufficiently take into account "the context-bound nature of social interaction", as each data type indeed becomes produced in a different context. Bearing this in mind I tried to accommodate a wide variety of data, pointing out the possible implications that the context of their production might have to their reading and uptake. Following Titscher et al., I understood the analysis of context (behind the production of each piece of data) "as an integral component of (text) analysis," especially important within ethnography (2000, 98; see also section 3.1.4.2).

### **3.3 Conclusion**

In this chapter I provided an exploration of the methodological underpinnings of this research project, concentrating firstly on how the collection of data was undertaken and conducted, as well as which types of data were collected and how they were subsequently categorised. I also explained the way in which participants were categorised, recruited and interviewed. I provided an overview of the interview data and reflected on the situatedness and conceptualization of such data within the ethnographic enquiry. I

described the complexity of the data analysis methods that were applied, from the perspectives of DA and interactional sociolinguistics that allowed for the exploration of the co-construction of attitudes and stance, to the CDA's exploration of discursive ideological practices and speakers' cognitive agency when it comes to the internalisation of ideologies, as well as its placement of context within text analysis. I then explained how, in view of these methodological perspectives, significant episodes were identified based on the linguistic realization of the main concepts explored in the research questions. Finally, I justified the choice of an 'ethnographic perspective', showing how this methodological practice was adopted in this research project. Before continuing to discuss my data, I will provide an account of the context related to the official and dominant discourses on language and belonging related to the two language resource sets: Basque and Castilian, present in the area of the BAC.

## Chapter 4: The Basque Language: a Socio-Historical Context

In this chapter I will describe some aspects of the socio-historical dimension of discourses related to language activism and the role of Basque in group identity construction. This role also needs to be highlighted in relation to migration and the processes related to it: socialisation, citizenship acquisition or integration, as they have been affecting language ideologies and group identity formation (among other aspects).

I will begin by explaining what the Basque Country is in geographical and administrative terms, commenting on the areas where Basque is spoken and on the characteristics of Basque, as this will help me to place Basque language resources in their 'socio-cultural' space, as well as to show the linguistic premises behind the perceived difficulty and distinctiveness of Basque as a resource. Further, I will briefly examine the conditions behind the decline and revival of Basque (for a more comprehensive account of these processes see appendix D). I will then move on to analyse the policies towards state and sub-state languages introduced with the 1978 Constitution of the democratic state of Spain, which accelerated Basque language planning and management actions. These actions triggered considerable changes in the process of revitalisation of Basque and resulted in the legal and administrative situation of Basque language today, which I will discuss based on the statistical data compiled by the Department of Language Policy of the Basque Government. This account will help to illustrate the current status of Basque and the changing linguistic situation in the BAC, as well as the relationship between the two official languages of the area, in quantitative terms.

Finally, I will dedicate the last part of this chapter to describing the current migration trends in Spain and the BAC. I will analyse the ways that current laws and policies regarding citizenship acquisition in Spain use language in their control of and understanding of citizenship and integration, as these are also the regulations that apply in the BAC. I will also provide an account of the initiatives regarding the integration of migrants in the BAC, as well as the role ascribed to the minority language in this process, as stated in five policy documents that connect language issues with migration, i.e. *Plan de acción para la promoción del euskera* [Plan of Action for the Promotion of Basque 2012] and *Plan Estratégico de Ciudadanía e Integración* [Strategic Plan on Integration and Citizenship] 2007 and 2011-2014; *I and III Plan Vasco de Inmigración, Ciudadanía y*

*Convivencia Intercultural 2003-2005 and 2011-2013* [1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Basque Plan of Immigration, Citizenship and Intercultural Cohabitation].

#### 4.1 The Basque Country and the Basque Language

The Basque Country<sup>27</sup> is a territory that lies along the Bay of Biscay and the northern Pyrenees, between the borders of France and Spain (Lasagabaster 2001, 401). It is not a recognised nation-state, but rather a construct of a nation-state like territory, referred to in both hegemonic, official, institutional discourses and peripheral, non-official, non-institutional ones<sup>28</sup>. It is divided administratively between the territories of France and Spain and consists of seven provinces: four on the Spanish side of the border, i.e. Álava (Alava, Araba<sup>29</sup>), Vizcaya (Biscay, Biscaye, Bizkaia), Guipúzcoa (Guipuscoa, Gipuzkoa), Navarra (Navarre; Naffaroa); and three on the French side: Labort (Labourd, Lapurdi), Baja Navarra (Lower Navarre, *Basse-Navarre*, *Nafarroa Beherea*) and Sola (Soule, Zuberoa) (ibid.). The Basque Autonomous Community (BAC) is the territory of the Basque Country that belongs to the Spanish state and consists of Álava, Vizcaya and *Guipúzcoa*, and is also often referred to as Euskadi (euskadi.net, 2014), while the French Basque territory is referred to as Iparralde<sup>30</sup> (Harquindéguy and Itçaina 2011, 3).

Basque is a language isolate<sup>31</sup> and the only non-Indo-European language surviving in Europe (Trask 1995, 65). Compared with the languages spoken on the surrounding territories (Romance varieties), Basque has distinctive grammar features<sup>32</sup> which has led scholars to create various hypotheses as to its origins<sup>33</sup> (Cenoz and Perales 2001, 91; Trask

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<sup>27</sup> Castilian: *País Vasco*, French: *Pays Basque*; also referred to as *Euskal Herria*: from Basque, meaning “the land of the Basques” (Woodworth 2007, xix).

<sup>28</sup> For instance, as I stated in one of my field notes from a trip to interview participants in San Sebastian there exist maps of the territory of the Basque Country represented as a nation-state in public spaces: ‘I was surprised to see a map of the Basque Country at the bus station. It showed both France and Spain.’ (Date: 21/11/2013).

<sup>29</sup> English, French and Basque names in brackets.

<sup>30</sup> I will use the English term *Basque Country* to refer to the territory of the seven provinces mentioned above, and *Basque Autonomous Community* or *BAC* to refer to the three Spanish state provinces.

<sup>31</sup> I.e. a language with no apparent genealogical relationship to any other language.

<sup>32</sup> Such as high inflection (in linguistics, the change in the form of a word (in English, usually the addition of endings) to mark such distinctions as tense, person, number, gender, mood, voice, and case.’ (Britannica, 2014), agglutination (A grammatical process in which words are composed of a sequence of morphemes (meaningful word elements), each of which represents not more than a single grammatical category.’ (Britannica, 2014), and ergativity (Tendency of a language to pair the subject, or agent, of an intransitive verb with the object, or patient, of a transitive verb) (Britannica, 2014).

<sup>33</sup> Its relation to Caucasian languages or its descendance from ancient Aquitanian have been widely debated.

1997, 411). None of them, however, have been supported by fully conclusive evidence (Hualde et. al. 1995, 2). Additionally, these characteristics make Basque rather inaccessible to Romance speakers, unlike other minority varieties spoken in the Spanish state (Mar-Molinero 2000, 48).

These characteristics, among many other social, economic and political factors, have led to the decline in the use and knowledge of Basque in the above described territory for a few centuries. The literature that documents that period and the subsequent processes related to Basque revitalization is vast and encompassing many areas of study (international relations and political history – Conversi (2000), anthropology – Douglass (1989), Beck (2005), history – Watson (2007), sociology – Tejerina Montaña (1992), education – Cenoz (2008), linguistics – Amorrortu Gomez (2003) and linguistic anthropology Urla (2012) among others). I include a short description of these processes embedded in a historical account in Appendix D, but for the purpose of this project, I will begin my context analysis from the introduction of the Spanish Constitution in 1978 which is considered as a turning point in the revitalisation of Basque.

## **4.2 Basque Language Revival after the 1978 Constitution**

The 1978 Constitution encompassed a new vision of Spain as a state of autonomous communities and implemented a real change from an autocratic government to a western style democracy (Mar-Molinero 2000a, 87). It introduced a thorough decentralisation of the state, and allowed for subsequent recognition of autonomy by individual communities (Shabad and Gunther 1982, 443). It moved away from the dictatorship's ideology of Castilianisation of the state in order to represent a modern vision of one single state that included diverse cultures (Mar-Molinero 2000a, 87).

The Constitution included an overt linguistic policy and a new democratic interpretation of linguistic rights (ibid.). It stated that Castilian was to be the official language of the Spanish state; and the other 'Spanish languages' were to be co-official in their respective Autonomous Communities (Mar-Molinero 2000b, 99). Shabad and Gunther emphasize the distinctiveness of this policy compared with other European democracies, since it allowed for the existence of two official languages in the autonomous regions (1982, 444).

However, Article 3 of the Constitution is somewhat ambiguous when it comes to the role of the language in the newly constituted 'nation' (Mar-Molinero 2000a, 88). The first clause of Article 3 states that all Spaniards have a duty to know Castilian and the right to use it (ibid.). The choice of the word 'Castilian' rather than 'Spanish' was significant, for the Article later recognises the existence of other 'Spanish languages', breaking with the Francoist universality of the one Christian and Castilian Spain (ibid.). Secondly, even though the other languages of the state receive recognition, their official status is only confirmed in the territory where they are spoken, and thus depends not so much on the central state legislation, but rather "on the individual community's desire to identify and endorse their own language", especially since Article 3 does not name the supposed 'other languages' of Spain (Mar-Molinero 2000a, 89).

Moreover, the supposed officiality of the 'Spanish languages' is not only dependent geographically, but also ill-defined, because of the use of an abstruse statement about the supposed 'duty' to know Castilian, which does not apply to the other languages of the state. Not only is the word 'duty' referring to linguistic rights used in a somewhat uncertain and exclusive manner, but it also does not clarify what is meant by knowing Castilian (Mar-Molinero 2000a, 88). The knowledge of other languages of Spain are neither a duty, nor a guaranteed right of the citizens from the perspective of the state.

### **4.3 The Basque Statue of Autonomy and the Language Question**

Despite these ambiguities, the Constitution indeed marked the beginning of the Basque language planning in the BAC, as it was moved to the hands of Basque institutions, i.e. the BAC government and local and municipal councils (Amorrortu 2003, 41). The Basque Government did not wait long to exercise its new competences and declared Basque official in the Basque Statue of Autonomy<sup>34</sup> in 1979 (ibid.). The Statue states that

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<sup>34</sup> El Estatuto de Autonomía de País Vasco

the Basque language, the language of the Basque people, shall, together with Spanish, be recognised as an official language in the Basque Country, and all inhabitants of the Basque Country will have the right to know and use both languages (Art. 6. Basque Statute of Autonomy 1979; [www.euskara.euskadi.net](http://www.euskara.euskadi.net))<sup>35</sup>.

It also establishes the role of public institutions in the support of language 'normalisation', stating that all of these must guarantee and provide the necessary means for the use of the two official languages (Goenaga 2004, 122). Finally, it guarantees that no one can be discriminated against on the basis of their language (ibid.). It thus provided basic linguistic rights to Basque speakers.

The official status of Basque was later reaffirmed in the 1982 Basic Law of Normalization and the Use of Basque<sup>36</sup> (Goenaga 2004, 122). However, Goenaga (2004) and Amorrortu-Gómez (2003) point out that neither of these regulations establishes a similar 'duty' to know Basque to the one found in the Spanish Constitution with respect to Castilian, which to them means that Castilian was still treated as superior on the legal level.

The 1982 law outlined the planning guidelines that public institutions were to follow in order to guarantee the official status of the two languages (Amorrortu 2003, 43). This law did not only provide the basis for status planning of Basque, but also for its promotion and expansion into new domains (Goenaga 2004, 122), as it regulated the use of Basque in public administration, education, the media and other institutional aspects ([euskara.euskadi.net](http://euskara.euskadi.net), 2014). It, therefore, established fundamental linguistic rights regarding some basic spheres of social life, such as: the right to use either Basque or Castilian in public administration or any other public organisation; the right to receive education in both languages, to receive publications, television programmes and other type of media in Basque; the right to undertake professional, political and workers union activities in Basque; as well as the right to use Basque during public assemblies and gatherings (ibid.).

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<sup>35</sup> Translation after Amorrortu-Gómez (2003): "El Euskera, lengua propia del Pueblo Vasco, tendrá, como el castellano, carácter de lengua oficial en Euskadi, y todos sus habitantes tienen el derecho a conocer y usar ambas lenguas."

<sup>36</sup> Ley 10/1982, de 24 de noviembre, Básica de Normalización del Uso del Euskera.

## 4.4 Contemporary Language Policies

Having discussed the legal status of Basque, in the following section, I will outline the regulations with regards to the use of Basque in the domains relevant to this project – i.e. those which were referred to by participants in the interactional data, as well as those domains alluded to by the institutional texts produced by actors responsible for the promotion and teaching of Basque to migrants.

### 4.4.1 Basque in Administration

The 1982 Law guaranteed the use of both Basque and Castilian in public administration, and stated that this right should be exercised progressively (Urrutia and Irujo 2008, 169). This in practice meant the requirement for some public institutions' employees to have the knowledge of Basque, which was systematised into 'linguistic profiling' (Erkoreka 1998, 427). The insertion and exercise of the 'linguistic profiles' was approved by the Law of the

Table 4.1 Linguistic Profiles

		<b>Decreto 297/2010</b> BOPV N° 219 - 15 de noviembre de 2010				
		<b>B 1</b>	<b>B 2</b>	<b>C 1</b>	<b>C 2</b>	
<b>CONVALIDACIONES ENTRE TITULOS Y CERTIFICADOS DE EUSKARA CONFORME AL MARCO COMUN EUROPEO</b>		<b>MARCO COMUN EUROPEO DE REFERENCIA PARA LAS LENGUAS</b>				
		<b>Departamento de Cultura HABE</b>	<b>Nivel 1</b>	<b>Nivel 2</b>	<b>Nivel 3</b>	<b>Nivel 4</b>
	<b>HAEI - IVAP</b>	<b>Perfil lingüístico 1</b>	<b>Perfil lingüístico 2</b>	<b>Perfil lingüístico 3</b>	<b>Perfil lingüístico 4</b>	
	<b>Osakidetza</b> Servicio vasco de salud	<b>Perfil lingüístico 1</b>	<b>Perfil lingüístico 2</b>	<b>Perfil lingüístico 3</b>	<b>Perfil lingüístico 4</b>	
	<b>Ertzaintza</b>		<b>PL1 Ertzaintza</b>	<b>PL2 Ertzaintza</b>		
	<b>Departamento de Educación, Universidades e Investigación</b>		<b>PL1 Docentes HLEA</b> (Hezkuntzako Langileen Euskara Agiria)	<b>Euskararen Gaitasun Agiria (EGA) PL2 Docentes</b>		
	<b>Escuelas Oficiales de Idiomas</b>	<b>Tercer curso de euskera</b> (Plan de Estudios Antiguo) <b>Nivel Intermedio</b>	<b>Cuarto curso de euskera</b> (Plan de Estudios Antiguo) <b>Nivel Avanzado</b>	<b>Certificado de aptitud o 5º curso</b> (Plan de Estudios Antiguo) <b>Nivel de Aptitud (C1)</b>		
	<b>Escuelas Oficiales de Idiomas</b>			<b>Euskararen Gaitasun Agiria (EGA)</b>		
	<b>Departamento de Educación del Gobierno de Navarra</b>			<b>Certificado "D"</b>		
	<b>Euskaltzaindia</b>			<b>Euskararen Gaitasun Agiria (EGA)</b>		
<b>Office Public de la Langue Basque</b>			<b>Euskararen Gaitasun Agiria (EGA)</b>			

(HABE, 2015)

Public Service in 1989, which guaranteed the proportionality of Basque speakers in particular public institutions (Erkoreka 1998, 436). The linguistic profile indicates “the sum of the linguistic levels of Basque necessary for the provision and performance of a job.”<sup>37</sup>(ibid.)

All public posts in the BAC have an assigned profile which describes the level of Basque necessary for a given candidate to be able to perform the tasks of the post in Basque (ibid.). There are four different linguistic profiles, from PL1 to PL4 – profile four requiring a full competence<sup>38</sup> in reading, writing, speaking and listening, while profile one requires only the comprehension of basic texts and a limited oral competence (ibid.). The Law of Normalization also states that the “public powers will determine deadlines by which it is mandatory to know both languages” (Uruttia and Irujo 2008, 180). The linguistic profiles also have two distinct types: a mandatory LP (in which the candidates have to accredit their corresponding profile, i.e. pass an exam which corresponds to the required level of Basque) and a non-mandatory LP (which does not require profile accreditation) (ibid.). The number of mandatory and non-mandatory LPs is determined by the proportion of Basque speakers in a given administrative territory and the accreditation of LPs is done by IVAP – The Basque Institute of Public Administration<sup>39</sup> (ibid.; euskadi.net, 2014).

For the period 1990-95, 8 915 civil servants (or 34%) had an obligatory language "profile" attached to their posts (euskadi.net, 2014). The linguistic profile system was not applied initially in healthcare and the police force (ibid.). However, this changed as of 2003, with the introduction of the Law of Basque in the Basque Health Service<sup>40</sup> and in 2005 the first Plan of Normalization of the Use of Basque was introduced (PNUEO 2014, 9). The Basque Public Health System – Osakidetza, is now implementing the 2<sup>nd</sup> Cycle Plan of Normalization of the Use of Basque (2013-2019) (PNUEO)<sup>41</sup>. Similarly, in 2014 the Basque Government’s Department of Security introduced a Plan of Normalization of the Use of Basque in Security Services (PNUEDS) which included the use of Basque in the police force

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<sup>37</sup> “(...) el conjunto de los niveles de competencia lingüística en euskera necesarios para la provisión y desempeño del puesto de trabajo”.

<sup>38</sup> (as defined by the profile criteria established by the Decree 297/2010 they correspond to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages in the following way: PL 1 = B1; PL 2 = B2; PL 3 = C1; PL 4 = C2 (IVAP, 2009).

<sup>39</sup> Instituto Vasco de Administración Pública

<sup>40</sup> Decree 67/2003; Ley del Euskera en el Servicio Vasco de Salud.

<sup>41</sup> Plan de Normalización del Uso de Euskera en Osakidetza; This was referred to by some of the participants who worked in the public health services, such as in episode 7.9.

– Ertzaintza<sup>42</sup>. The minimal requirements for the acquisition of Basque were established as of Decree 30/1998, but the full establishment of the two linguistic profiles of the police has only been put into planning efforts as of 2012 and was then included in the recent Plan (PNUEDS 2014, 7). 38% of the police force have accredited either of the linguistic profiles so far (PNUEDS 2014, 8).

The education system uses only two types of profiling: posts which require the use of Basque and those which do not, and the number of such posts is determined by the linguistic models adopted by the schools (ibid.). A system of day release and temporary time off is available for public workers to take up Basque learning activities (ibid.). In addition, all official documents published by the public administration must be translated into Basque and published in a bilingual form (Amorrortu 2003, 45).

In 2010 almost 39% of public servants with an LP requirement accredited their Basque language knowledge to the level of LP1, equivalent to the European mark of B1, while the highest language profile LP4 (C2) was accredited by 35% (EUSTAT, 2014). However, the number of jobs with LP4 was much lower than those with LP1 (2.071 jobs LP4 and 5.952 with LP1) (EUSTAT, 2014).

#### 4.4.2 Basque in Education

Another important aspect of Basque language planning was in the area of public education, i.e. acquisition planning. The first attempts to introduce Basque in schools were made during the Franco regime through the creation of *gaueskolas* and *ikastolas* in the decade of the 60s (Amorrortu 2003, 24, 49). *Gaueskolas* were evening instruction schools, teaching both literacy and Basque as L2 to adults, while *ikastolas* were Basque medium schools for children (ibid.).

*Gaueskolas* were created under the patronage of the Royal Academy of the Basque Language (euskadi.net, 2014). After the creation of the *Institution for Adults Alphabetization and Revasconization* (HABE) in 1983, they were transformed into what is now known as *euskaltegis*,<sup>43</sup> and since then this type of teaching has been regulated and

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<sup>42</sup> ‘Plan de Normalización del Uso de Euskera en el Departamento de Seguridad’; Ertzaintza: Basque Police Force established in 1980. Its origins date back to the old municipal militias of XIX century (www.ertzaintza.net, no date).

<sup>43</sup> Basque language schools for adults.

subsidised with public money (ibid.). There exist two types of euskaltegis: public (udal euskaltegiak - in 44 locations across the BAC) and private ones – among which 103 are registered schools included in the Registry of Euskaltegis and Centres of Basque Self-learning<sup>44</sup> of the Basque Ministry of Culture (ibid.)<sup>45</sup>.

*Ikastolas* were initially created as a private initiative by parents and provided the first point of contact with reading and writing in Basque (Montrul 2013, 112). They emerged to maintain and revitalize Basque, and became powerful symbols of resistance against the prohibition of Basque (ibid.). In the years closer to the end of the dictatorship, they became legal private schools within the state, and with the new Basque Government legislation they also became public in the BAC and Navarre (Amorrortu 2003, 41).

The Law of Normalisation introduced four different models of teaching in the schools in the BAC and applied freedom of choice of the teaching language, unlike in the Catalan or Galician education systems (Uruttia and Irujo 2008, 182 - 183). In practice, however, the number of schools of each model is dictated by local economic resources, the availability of qualified staff and the proportion of Basque speakers in a given region, hence “the right of choice must be exercised within the framework of public powers” (ibid.)<sup>46</sup>.

The models are based on the intensity of hours of Basque and Castilian as a medium of instruction, with Model X being the one with Spanish instruction only; Model A, with the majority of instruction in Spanish, except for Basque as L2 and Basque literature classes; Model B, with 50% Spanish – 50% Basque instruction; Model D, with the majority of instruction in Basque, except for Spanish literature and language (ibid.)<sup>47</sup>. Model X, originally put into practice by the Normalisation Law, is now almost absent from schools in the BAC, and is only applied in special circumstances for temporary residents with no previous knowledge of Basque (ibid.). Moreover, instruction in secondary schools is only available in Model A or D (Montrul 2013, 11.2).

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<sup>44</sup> Registro de euskaltegis y centros de autoaprendizaje del euskera.

<sup>45</sup> Consejera de Cultura; To illustrate this quantitatively: during the academic year 2013 - 2014 the euskaltegis had 32.244 students enrolled (HABE, Euskadi.net, 2016).

<sup>46</sup> This was referred to by migrant participants, for instance, in the context of instrumental value of Basque in public education in episode 7.15.

<sup>47</sup> What is interesting is the fact that English is also taught in all four models, and the language of instruction for teaching English is Castilian (Montrul 2013).

The freedom to choose from linguistic models reinforces some models and weakens others. The demand for the models with the greatest presence of Basque has been constantly increasing (euskadi.net, 2014). Recent statistics also indicate that Model D has become the most popular and has the biggest proportion of students (Montrul 2013, 11.2). To illustrate this, the statistical data demonstrated by Amorrortu show that in 1998-1999 school year 44% of children were enrolled in model D in primary education (and 57% in infant education), while the Spanish dominant model A attracted 27% (and 14 % respectively) (2003, 51). The most recent data shows that in 2010/11, 17% of students chose model A, 22% model B, while 60% were enrolled in model D education (EUSTAT, 2014).

According to Montrul, there is a direct relation between the number of hours of Basque instruction and its level of acquisition (2013, 11.2). Thus, the increase in the number of students in Model D leads her to assume that the level of knowledge of Basque among young people is also much higher, which may have subsequently resulted in greater frequency of its use (ibid.). However, Montrul also emphasizes that immigrants from both Spanish speaking countries and immigrants whose first language is not a variety of Castilian tend to be allocated to Model A schools which means, that their level of Basque is much lower (2013, 11.2)<sup>48</sup>. However this situation is undergoing some significant changes, as out of migrant school age population in year 2008/9, 39% of students were enrolled in Model A, 30% in Model B and 31% in Model D (Etxague et al. 2010, 7). In 2015-2016 in the compulsory stage of public education out of all foreign students (2681) in the BAC, 43% chose Model D, 28% Model B and 29% Model A (diariovasco.com, 2015). This shows that instruction in Basque in public education is starting to receive more migrant students, either because of their making such choice or because public education centres are in fact beginning to use Model D education more frequently (see episode 7.15).

#### **4.4.3 Basque in Private Employment Sector**

The Law of Normalization makes scarce reference to the non-public sectors of employment (Urrutia and Irujo 2008, 190). There are no references to any kind of duty regarding the knowledge of Basque or any legal limitations as to the use of Basque or

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<sup>48</sup> In fact, one of the students in the evening AISA group in V-G was a secondary school student from Ecuador who found the course as helpful to revise for her school exams in Basque. Such profile students were, however, not addressed as the target course alumni (see section 5.1.1).

Castilian in activities such as customer relations, customer service or written use in documentation or invoicing in relation to private enterprises (ibid.). In the private arena the capacity of legal intervention in matters concerning language is much more limited, as it touches on the basic rights of individuals, such as the freedom of expression, freedom of enterprise, the freedom of establishment etc. (Urrutia 2009, 400). Therefore, public powers can intervene only in those cases which involve the use of a language as part of a consumer's rights (Urrutia and Irujo 2008, 191).

The Basque Consumers and Users Statute<sup>49</sup> guarantees the linguistic rights of consumers in accordance with the rule of progression and the Normalization Law. However, it differentiates between the public and the private sector, subsidised establishments and those open to the public, as well as takes into account the size of the business establishment in the exercise of the basic linguistic freedoms of the customers (ibid.). Depending on the size of the entity, different levels of linguistic requirements must be guaranteed, with a minimum level of written information in Basque in all cases, such as signs, warnings, invoices (ibid.). It limits the oral use of Basque to those establishments which are "in position to attend" consumers in Basque (ibid., 190). Additionally, the labelling of products must be carried out uniformly in both official languages for health and safety reasons (ibid.)<sup>50</sup>.

Thus, the Law of Normalization refers only to those activities intended to promote Basque in private sector businesses. There exist a number of initiatives that conduct such promotional actions and programmes that help the employers to strengthen the use of Basque. For instance, from 2000 the Basque Government is distributing subventions through a programme entitled LanHitz for private sector businesses who want to develop a Plan for Basque Use in their own institution (euskadi.net, 2015).

#### **4.4.4 The Basque Language Today – Language Knowledge and Use**

I will now move on to discuss how the above laws and promotional actions are reflected in the use of Basque. Statistically, the numbers of Basque bilingual speakers are not evenly spread throughout the BAC, nor is the level of knowledge of Basque uniform. Many BAC

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<sup>49</sup> Law 6/2003.

<sup>50</sup> One of the participants referred to this particular requirement in episode 7.9.

inhabitants declare themselves to be passive bilinguals and there exist differences in the knowledge and the use of Basque between different age groups. Similarly, the use of Basque is mainly affected by the type of social networks that bilinguals make.

Ever since reversing language shift was made a public goal, the process of monitoring and managing the Basque language began (Urla 2012). The Basque administrative bodies responsible for this task, such as the Secretary General for Language Policy and the Vice-Ministry for Language Policy led by the Basque Ministry of Culture, regularly collected data about the changes in the development of Basque (Azkarate 2012, 117). It has been done every five years, through the cross-referencing of information from two sources: the national census and the registry (ibid.). This data concerns the citizen's language knowledge (collected since 1981), their first language (since 1986) and use of language in the family environment (since 1991) and encompasses the whole population above the age of five (ibid.). This data is subsequently used to create sociolinguistic maps designed to give a better picture of the progression of the language reforms undertaken (ibid.).

Since 1991, the data collected in the sociolinguistic surveys is standardised and includes inhabitants of over 16 years of age in all the Basque speaking territories (including Iparralde)(ibid., 118). The most recent one of such surveys was conducted in 2011 and I will base my illustration of the situation of Basque speakers and language use in the BAC on this document, entitled *V Encuesta Sociolingüística*<sup>51</sup>.

First of all, it is important to point out that among all people aged 16 and above residing in the Basque Country, 27% consider themselves to be bilinguals in Basque and Castilian or French, 14,7% are passive bilinguals, while 58.3% are monolingual (V ES 2011, 15). This makes up for 714.000 people who are bilingual and showed an increase of 185.000 in comparison with the 1991 data when the first survey was conducted (ibid., 58). The BAC has the highest number of bilinguals, which is 32 % (600.000 people), while Navarre has 11.7 % (63.000 people) and the Northern Basque Country has 21.4 % (51.000 people) of bilinguals. Inside the BAC, the province with the majority of Basque speakers is Guipúzcoa, with almost 50% bilinguals (ibid., 16). Vizcaya and Álava have 25% and 17% bilinguals respectively (ibid., 17).

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<sup>51</sup> 5th Sociolinguistic Survey

The number of bilinguals has been steadily increasing. In 1991, when the first Sociolinguistic Survey was conducted, the percentage of bilinguals in the Basque Country overall was 22.3% (V ES 2011, 20). In 2011 this percentage increased to 27% (among people above 16) (V ES 2011, 20). However, this increase is attributed mainly to the actions and policies undertaken in the BAC. The increase in the number of bilinguals in its territory has been from 24.1% in 1991 to 32% in 2011 (V ES 2011, 21).

Among all the bilinguals in the BAC, 51.2% are mother tongue Basque speakers, 12.2% are brought up bilingually, while 36.6% are the so called 'new' Basque speakers ('Euskaldun berri'), i.e. L2 Basque speakers (V ES 2011, 91). While in 1991 the vast majority of Basque speakers were mother tongue speakers (the so called 'Euskaldun zaharra'), in 2011 this number has dropped by 21%, meaning that the 'new' Basque speakers are increasing in numbers, especially among the speakers between 16 and 35 years of age, as a result of the successful introduction of Basque medium instruction in education (ibid.).

Among the provinces, Guipúzcoa has the biggest number of Basque speakers (49.9%, which makes up for 300 000 people) (V ES 2011, 68). Vizcaya has the second largest number of bilinguals with 25.4%, while Álava – 16.8% (254 000 and 46 000 people correspondingly)(ibid.). The percentage of bilinguals has increased the most in Álava, by almost 10% since 1991 (ibid.). Álava is also the province with most 'new' bilinguals and with the majority of bilinguals having a greater ability in Castilian than in Basque (71.4%) (ibid., 79). In fact, Guipúzcoa is the only province in which bilinguals report a command of Basque that is equal to or better than Castilian (69.5%) (ibid.).

The previously emphasized linguistic division between the rural and urban areas is still significant, as there are considerably fewer bilinguals in the major cities. The capitals of the three provinces within the BAC all have a lower percentage of bilinguals than their respective provinces (V ES 2011, 69). For instance, Bilbao, the biggest city in the Basque Country, had 16.3 % bilinguals in 2011, while V-G had 15.5% (V ES 2011, 19). The highest number of bilinguals in the city live in San Sebastián and in 2011 it reached 33.5% (ibid.).

The increase in the number of bilinguals, however, does not go hand in hand with the reported use of Basque in many areas of social life. The vast majority of bilinguals (70.8%) always use Castilian or French in their home, friendship circles and the local environment (IV ES 2011, 40). The BAC is again the territory with the most frequent use of Basque in

those spheres (20% of bilinguals declare using Basque just as much or more than Castilian or French; this figure has risen by 4.5% since 1991) (ibid., 41). Moreover, the use of Basque is clearly dependant on age, which is also reflected by the data on the knowledge of Basque. Bilinguals aged between 16 and 24 living in the BAC use Basque the most and their use is rated at 26.8%, while the use of Basque among those aged between 50 and 64 is rated at 16.7%, which reflects the historical conditions and prohibition of the use of Basque at the time of Franco's regime (Appendix D) (ibid., 44).

Additionally, Guipúzcoa has the highest rate of use of Basque among bilinguals (39%), while this rate in Vizcaya is 12.8% and in Álava 4.3% (ibid., 100). What is important to note is the fact that in 1991 the reported use of Basque in Álava was scarce (0.5%) (ibid.). This situation has increased by 4 % in the last 20 years. However, it still remains very low compared to other provinces and can be attributed mainly to the area of administration and social services, since the capital of Álava is the administrative capital of the BAC (ibid.).

When we look at the use of Basque according to the environment of use, Basque in the BAC is used mainly at municipal institutions, at work or with one's children, the rate of which being between 24.8 – 22.8 % (ibid., 47). Other intimate spheres, such as among friends or at home rate at 21.3 % and 17.1% respectively (ibid.). There has been a clear increase in the use of Basque at work or in institutional contexts, as well as in more intimate relations among friends and with children (ibid.). However, surprisingly, the use of Basque at home has remained virtually constant (at around 17%) since 1991 (ibid.).

The factors that influence the use of Basque the most are: the density of Basque bilinguals present in a given individual's social network, as well as the actual competence in the language (V ES 2011, 116). In the BAC an important factor is also the sociolinguistic zone, i.e. Basque or non-Basque speaking, which has the greatest influence over the use of Basque among friends (ibid.,52). This means that the questions of prestige are not as influencing as they used to be in the Franco era, and the actual challenge nowadays is the linguistic competence of Basque speakers.

#### **4.5 Migration and Citizenship Regulations in Spain and the BAC**

I will now analyse the regulations regarding migration and citizenship and the role of the two official languages of the BAC in these regulations. Ever since Spain became an

'immigration country', in the 1990s, the status of immigrants, the regulation of immigration and the promotion of integration has been debated publically, and indeed not without controversies (Carrera 2009). Because of the previous status of Spain as an emigration and internal migration country<sup>52</sup>, it was unprepared for the demographic changes that it had to face around the new millennium as a border control country of the EU (Czaika and de Hass 2013, 10). When initial immigration regulations were adopted in 1985<sup>53</sup> they did not see any improvement in the legal status of immigrants, nor did they presuppose any sort of temporary residence, being drafted mainly as a prerequisite before Spain's entering the EU (Carrera 2009, 241). They did not foresee many legal channels of entry into the state, which created a paradoxical situation in which illegal residence was prominent, while the restrictive set of sanctions did not match the social reality (ibid.).

Another reason for this initial lack of compatibility can be attributed to the varying concepts of Spanish identity that existed within the state as one socio-political space (Inman Fox 1999, 21; Carrera 2009, 234). Each of these 'identities' have sought "local power and cultural parity", some of which went so far as to make claims for political independence through the use of both political strategies as well as forms of violence, as was the case in the Basque Country (ibid.). Such local dimension of power as well as the national diversity of Spain "as regards communities, identities and feelings of belonging" were recognised for the first time in the 1978 Constitution (ibid.). This double authority: state vs. autonomous government, has been applicable to certain social issues, such as the regulations of migration, as migration remains the responsibility of both authorities, with the state regulating access to citizenship and the autonomous communities responsible for the integration process (Carrera 2009, 278).

The first nationwide policy framework for immigration was only reached in 2007 in the form of the Strategic Plan of Integration and Citizenship<sup>54</sup> (ibid.). It was based on the EU's

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<sup>52</sup> Internal migration was particularly intense from the 1960s until the middle of the 1970s, as the Spanish state was experiencing a period of economic growth, whose consequences for the BAC that I outlined in Appendix D. It was particularly intensive in certain regions, such as Catalonia or the Basque Country – the most industrial territories of Spain. At the same time emigration from Spain was on the increase due to the economic gap between Spain and the receiving European countries, such as Germany, Switzerland or France, as well as the need for workers in the manufacturing sectors in those countries.

<sup>53</sup> Seven years after the passing of the Spanish Constitution after the democratic transition, which in itself contained reference to the status of immigrants, allowing them to benefit from the public liberties and allowing them to vote in the municipal elections.

<sup>54</sup> Plan Estratégico de Ciudadanía e Integración.

values and included ideas of 'Europeanism' and cultural plurality within the state (Carrera 2009, 239). However, Spain's regulations with regards to citizenship acquisition are not so inclined. This is visible in the fact that apart from the rule of citizenship acquisition by descent and its variations, there exists the possibility of obtaining citizenship by residence (Código Civil, Artículo 22, Ley 36/2002) which requires the applicant to prove 10 years of legal and continuous residence immediately prior to the submission of the application (Moreno Marquez et al., 2014, Código Civil, Artículo 22, Ley 36/2002; Vigers and Mar-Molinero 2009, 174).

On top of this, even though there is no formal test or formulaic assessment of the applicant's language knowledge, they are required to attend an interview with a judge at which their "good civic conduct" and level of "adaptation to the Spanish culture and lifestyles" is assessed<sup>55</sup> (Ministerio de Justicia website; Código Civil Artículo 22 Ley 36/2002). Judging from the fact that the reason for a rejection of the majority of applications for citizenship was stated as insufficient knowledge of the language, which is assumed to be Castilian, rather than any other one of the Spanish languages (Vigers and Mar-Molinero 2009, 179), language knowledge is seen as one of the essential components of such adaptation. Moreover, even though trying to provide a fixed definition of Spanish nationhood or Spanish identity may turn out to be both controversial and unattainable, such regulations do presume that such universal 'Spanishness', or a set of universal Spanish values exists (Carrera 2009, 262). However, the judgement of this "degree of adaptation" is left entirely to the hands of the particular registrar at the time of the interview as a person responsible for delivering a resolution of the interview to the Ministry of Justice (Carrera 2009, 263). According to the Ministry of Justice's Instruction published on 26<sup>th</sup> of July 2007, such interview is an "indispensable and almost unique means to confirm the completion of the requisite of integration"<sup>56</sup> (BOE, no date).

Since there are no official guidelines as to the requirements that need to be met apart from the sufficient knowledge of Castilian, the judgement of integration is subjected not only to the blurry concepts of nationhood, but also to a judge's personal interpretation of integration or assimilation. This interpretation has not been without its controversies, as

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<sup>55</sup> "Buena conducta cívica y suficiente grado de integración en la sociedad española."

<sup>56</sup> "La audiencia personal al peticionario se configura como medio imprescindible y, prácticamente exclusivo para comprobar la concurrencia del requisito de integración."

for instance, some news reported that a Madrid community Civil Registry's judge designed his own set of questions on topics that included history, literature and art, as well as the administrative system and the Spanish royal family, or that such questionnaires have become common practice in Barcelona, Catalonia<sup>57</sup>. In fact, such standardised questions have also been a postulate in the conservative party's (PP) electoral programme of 2011<sup>58</sup>. This shows that apart from visible support for regionalist identities, there are supporters of a national vision of identity promoting unified 'Spanishness'. This 'Spanishness' is represented through the proposed test questions, as for example, they represent the achievements and characteristics of distinguished Spanish figures, who are seen as state nationals and their achievements as elements of Spanish heritage, and the answers to which are considered as part of a citizen's essential knowledge, on top of the knowledge of Castilian.

However, since each autonomous community is still responsible for the creation of local plans for integration<sup>59</sup> (Vigers and Mar-Molinero 2009, 182) they often see integration into their own communities as something different than the integration into the Spanish nation. These particular Plans stress the need of perceiving their own culture as another set of values to which a migrant needs to integrate to or assimilate, perhaps not always fully compatible with the one of the state. According to Carrera, they "strengthen the perception of their own imagined 'communities', 'societies', 'language' and 'identity'" (2009, 283).

Additionally, autonomous communities have devised, a mode of civic citizenship, which is analogous to Spanish citizenship, and which grants the citizens of autonomous communities the associated political rights acquired through the inscription on the municipal register (Vigers and Mar-Molinero 2009, 178). This could be seen as an attempt at creating a sort of formal status of belonging that would symbolically challenge the power of the state in granting citizenship.

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<sup>57</sup> [<http://www.zoomnews.es/37775/actualidad/sociedad/extranjeros-que-soliciten-nacionalidad-espanola-tendran-que-superar-test-i>;  
[http://www.heraldo.es/noticias/aragon/zaragoza\\_provincia/zaragoza/2013/07/22/examen\\_para\\_ser\\_espanol\\_como\\_llama\\_presidente\\_que\\_son\\_las\\_frutas\\_aragon\\_242604\\_301.html](http://www.heraldo.es/noticias/aragon/zaragoza_provincia/zaragoza/2013/07/22/examen_para_ser_espanol_como_llama_presidente_que_son_las_frutas_aragon_242604_301.html);  
<http://www.20minutos.es/noticia/750259/0/getafe/juez/inmigrantes/>; accessed 01.02.2016].

<sup>58</sup> [[http://politica.elpais.com/politica/2011/11/01/actualidad/1320154549\\_503608.html](http://politica.elpais.com/politica/2011/11/01/actualidad/1320154549_503608.html); accessed: 22.04.2016].

<sup>59</sup> This process cascades down to the level of local municipalities.

When it comes to the role of language in integration, the linguistic difference in the communities with their own co-official languages is prominent, as their policies stress the need of immigrants to be able to access that particular culture through the local language (ibid). For instance the first Basque Plan for Immigration 2003-2005<sup>60</sup> states the following:

[The area of interculturality encompasses a two-dimensional context. On the one hand, it is about ensuring and facilitating the full access by immigrants to the Basque culture, and particularly the learning of the two official languages as part of the integration process. On the other hand, public intervention in this matter pursues the maintenance and development of the immigrants' own cultures within the Basque society and their active participation in the social life.]<sup>61</sup>

Integration here is seen as a bidirectional process, a mutual interaction between both the Basque community and immigrants. However, it does stress the need to see this process in terms of learning both languages by migrants. It also refers to 'Basque' rather than 'Spanish' society, contributing to a non-state model and conceptualization of integration and providing an insight into the complexities that exist within the Spanish state as to the understanding of national identity, even without the impact of immigration (Carrera 2009, 285).

The latest migration policy document, III Basque Plan for Immigration, Citizenship and Intercultural Cohabitation 2011- 2013<sup>62</sup> stresses the necessity of incorporating all residents of the BAC into the status of citizens and proposes that the immigration into their community is of a permanent, rather than temporary type:

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<sup>60</sup> Plan Vasco de Inmigración

<sup>61</sup> "En el marco de los derechos culturales, el área de Interculturalidad comprende una doble dimensión. Se trata de asegurar y facilitar el pleno acceso de extranjeros y extranjeras a la cultura vasca, particularmente al aprendizaje de los dos idiomas oficiales de la CAE, como parte del proceso de integración. En la misma medida, la intervención pública en este campo persigue el mantenimiento y desarrollo de las culturas propias de las personas extranjeras dentro de la sociedad vasca y la participación activa de las mismas en la vida social."

<sup>62</sup> Plan Vasco de Inmigración, Ciudadanía y Convivencia Intercultural

[‘We understand that an effective integration is not possible without recognizing that all residents are under the condition of being citizens (...)](IIIPVICCI, 2011, 10).<sup>63</sup>

[‘The previous idea is linked to the fact that immigrants are permanent residents and not temporary workers.’] (IIIPVICCI 2011, 10).<sup>64</sup>

Similar notions with regards to separate identity and its understanding through sub-state language acquisition are introduced in the Basque language teaching promotional material directed at migrants, which I will analyse in chapters 4, 5 and 6. However, their conceptualizations of the categories of ‘migrant’ or the process of integration vary from the ones represented in the documents just discussed.

What this excerpt also suggests is that integration is aimed at permanent residents, rather than temporary workers, and only those wishing to remain in the BAC are taken into account when integration actions are considered. What should incorporate the temporary workers and what rights they should have remains somewhat unclear, as surely it cannot be assumed that all migrants in the BAC are long-lasting settlers. However, it still treats integration as a two-way process and is aimed at “guaranteeing social cohesion through the management of multiculturalism” (IIIPVICCI 2011, 11).

When we look at the language learning related actions presented in the III Plan for Integration that concern migrants, they can be divided into two categories: a professional and an integrative one. In the first category Basque is promoted along with Castilian, for instance when it emphasizes the strengthening of the need for equal access to employment. It assumes that such equality can be achieved, among other means, through the overcoming of linguistic barriers and by stressing the need to learn the official languages:

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<sup>63</sup> “Entendemos que no es posible la integración efectiva sin reconocer a todas las personas residentes la condición de ciudadanos y ciudadanas (...).”

<sup>64</sup> “La idea interior se vincula al hecho de que las personas inmigrantes son habitantes permanentes y no trabajadores temporales.”

[“it is necessary to work in a special way on the systems of language learning (...) allowing in this way to overcome language barriers”]<sup>65</sup> (IIIPDICCI 2011, 59).

When it comes to the integrative dimension, Basque is promoted alone, as a language that can be the vehicle for the mutual integration process between the Basque population and the foreign residents (thus assuming an essentialist link between being Basque and speaking Basque). The Plan stresses the need for creation of public spaces of ‘cohabitation’ and ‘meeting points’, which would promote the ‘sense of belonging’, among which the spaces that use Basque are greatly encouraged: “To give an impulse for spaces of shared participation which incorporate Basque as an element of integration.”<sup>66</sup> (ibid., 104). Apart from supporting the existing groups and centres that promote and teach Basque to adults for both integrative and professional ends, one more objective mentioned in the III Plan of Integration is the promotion of the AISA course (‘Fomento del curso AISA’).

All these policies developed in the BAC were created in view of the increasing numbers of migrants and the changes this brought for this sub-state area in terms of administrative and economic matters, as well as cultural and social ones. While migration has been of great numbers in the whole of the state, the BAC has been one of the areas of Spain which received the least numbers of migrants. In the latest *Panoramica de la inmigración* bulletin (August 2014) and released by Ikuspegi<sup>67</sup>, the BAC’s migrant population comprises 6.4% (140 917 people). This number in 2001 was 27 438, which equalled 1.3 % of the population. While other autonomous communities received much larger proportions of immigrants (for example, 18.3% in the Balearic Islands or around 14% in each Catalonia, Valencia and Murcia), the BAC ‘s number of immigrants still increased by almost 5 times. This increase in the migrant population was then significant enough to start considering immigrants as an important group in the revitalisation process of Basque.

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<sup>65</sup> “(...) es necesario trabajar de forma especial en los sistemas de aprendizaje de las lenguas (...) permitiendo en esta forma superar los obstáculos idiomáticos (...)”

<sup>66</sup> “Impulso de espacios de participación compartida que incorporen el euskera como elemento de integración.”

<sup>67</sup> Basque Immigration Observatory.

Table 4.2 Immigrant Population of the BAC (2013) (Ikuspegi, 2014)

2013	
Total	148 165
Morocco	18 120
Romania	17 350
Bolivia	11 226
Colombia	9 701
Portugal	8 011
Algeria	5 784
Paraguay	5 406
China	5 252
Brazil	5 041
Ecuador	4 702
Total	90 593

#### 4.6 Basque Language Policies and Migration

The results collected in the V Sociolinguistic Survey and illustrated before show that the BAC is in fact the area of the Basque Country with most positive results when it comes to the preservation and promotion of Basque. Such attitudes are the result of the various historical conditions (Appendix D) and the existence of popular support in the form of Basque language revival movement (Urla, 2013), but most importantly, the Basque Government's intervention through the creation of pro-sub-state language policies and language planning activities. The criteria for such policies have been included in several documents, including *Basic Criteria for the Basque Language Policy* (Gobierno Vasco

1993)<sup>68</sup>, *The Future of the Language Policy* (Gobierno Vasco 2005)<sup>69</sup> and *Basis for a Language Policy for the Early 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Towards a Renewed Agreement* (Gobierno Vasco 2009)<sup>70</sup> (Azkarate Villar 2012, 126). As stated in these texts, all of these documents included objectives for the future, based on the principles of progressiveness and flexibility (ibid.).

A language policy based on these criteria was also detailed in the document entitled *General Plan for the Promotion of the Use of Basque* (Gobierno Vasco 1999)<sup>71</sup>. It included proposals for actions in three fields: language transmission, the everyday use of Basque and the quality of language, which were to be implemented within the next 13 years (ibid., 127). In 2012 a new plan, entitled *Plan of Action for the Promotion of Basque (Plan de acción para la promoción del euskera)* was introduced as part of an initiative of the Basque Advisory Board<sup>72</sup> whose aim was to revise the previous document (Euskara 21, 2008). This plan was created through an initiative called *Euskara 21* based on the idea of ‘bringing the policy up to date with linguistic, economic and social challenges posed at the beginning of the XXI century’ (ESEP 2011, 8). The process of devising such a plan was open to public suggestions and contributions through the creation of an open blog (Euskara 21, 2008).

The introduction to the Plan states that it was created as a result of a profound process of social participation and it stresses the decisiveness of the Basque society’s will and the planners respect of that will: [‘the will of Basque citizens and the respect of that will were the determining factors’ (in designing this policy)]<sup>73</sup> (ESEP, 2012). This was compatible with the Governmental linguistic policies, but perhaps ignoring the discourses and actors who do not support these policies. In fact, the blog contains a variety of opinions as to the motives of the new policy implementation, some of which stress the negative sides of language revival, such as the costly and time consuming process which Basque language learning for adults might be, and some indeed compare the actions of the government to ‘linguistic imposition’ (Euskara 21 Blog, 2014)<sup>74</sup>. This reflects the multiplicity of attitudes

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<sup>68</sup> *Criterios básicos para la política del euskera.*

<sup>69</sup> *Futuro de la política lingüística.*

<sup>70</sup> *Bases para la política lingüística de principios del siglo XXI: Hacia un pacto renovado.*

<sup>71</sup> *Plan General de Promoción del Uso del Euskera.*

<sup>72</sup> Consejo Asesor del Euskera

<sup>73</sup> “(...) Han sido determinantes la voluntad de la ciudadanía vasca y el respeto a dicha voluntad.”

<sup>74</sup> Such discourses reflecting what I label ‘ideology of imposition’ were often constructed by migrant participants, for example in episodes 7.2 or 7.9.

and discourses that exist within the Basque Country's linguistic and social space. This policy document might not reflect all of these positions regarding Basque acquisition, and I see its fundamental principles and assumptions as placed within the official politics of the BAC with regards to the linguistic revival and promotion. However, it is one of the first documents that pay attention to the promotion of Basque with regards to immigration and the integration of immigrants through language.

The Plan is divided into three main areas in which the implementation of linguistic policy needs improvement or, in accordance with the principle of progressiveness, new types of actions. These are: language acquisition, language use and language quality. The actions regarding acquisition focus on, among many others, the 'creation of Basque speakers' ('producir vascohablantes'). This includes the creation of Basque speakers among migrants, as stated in point 8 of the results of the debate conducted by Euskara 21 initiative:

[“To bring Basque and its contexts closer to immigrants, in order to ease their broad and rewarding integration, as well as to bring Basque closer to the environments of use that are demographically dynamic.”]<sup>75</sup>

This suggests a two-way process in which both immigrants and the promoters of Basque can obtain mutual benefits from the learning of Basque, i.e. successful integration as well as a new profile of speakers (O'Rourke et al. 2015) of Basque. This is in line with the understanding of integration as bidirectional, presented on the state level in the Strategic Plan on Integration and Citizenship<sup>76</sup> of 2007. Moreover, it confirms Carrera's (2009) and Vigers and Mar-Molinero's (2009) assertion that the individual autonomous communities' actions towards integration propose their own culture or cultural elements (in this case the Basque language) as the cultural system to integrate with, on top of the national, Spanish one.

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<sup>75</sup> “Aproximar el euskera y sus universos a los inmigrantes, a fin de facilitar su amplia y enriquecedora integración, sí como de acercar el euskera a ámbitos de uso demográficamente dinámicos.”

<sup>76</sup> Plan Estratégico de Ciudadanía e Integración

The Plan emphasizes that if the current situation continues, migrants' competence in Basque will be of decisive importance in the ongoing process of language revitalization (ESEP 2012, 13). Therefore, it proposes a set of actions, which in terms of immigration relate mainly to the acquisition area, to promote the learning of Basque among new settlers in the BAC. One such action is the design and development of programmes that would bring Basque closer to 'immigrants'<sup>77</sup> (ESEP 2012, 44). Within the scope of this action the plan mentions the AISA programme and an organisation which creates language related programmes for integration, called Topagunea (which I also visited in Bergara – a small town in Gipuzkoa).

Another one of the actions included is the making of Basque a more functional language, trying to get rid of the situation where the knowledge of Basque is 'passive' and does not find its mirror in the actual communicative situations. In terms of migration, the Plan states the need to make Basque functional for migrants not only in the area of education, but also in professional activities, which involve the creation of programmes for professional activity in Basque in order to promote 'broad integration', as well as the creation of 'meeting spaces' for the native population and the recently arrived migrants (ESEP 2012, 61). Additionally, it emphasizes the importance of this action in the context of what in Castilian is denominated as 'euskaldunización', i.e. the becoming of a Basque speaker and a member of the 'Basque community' (ibid.).

## 4.7 Conclusion

As I have discussed, the unknown origins and specific linguistic features of Basque make it unique in the European continent and have caused it to be, among many other factors, a powerful symbol of the collective identity of the Basque Country. After the turning of Spain into a modern democratic state the process of language revival flourished, as Basque could officially enjoy an equal status with Castilian. The Spanish Constitution and subsequent proclamation of the Basque Autonomy allowed for intense measures and planning in favour of Basque revitalisation. Thanks to all these policy actions and their implementation the number of Basque language speakers is growing and Basque becomes more valuable in the hierarchies of linguistic space of the BAC area in various domains.

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<sup>77</sup> "Diseñar y desarrollar programas para acercar el euskera a las personas inmigrantes."

Recently, such extension in the policy of Basque acquisition took place with regards to migrants, due to their increasing numbers and lasting presence in the area. However, the regulation of citizenship, integration and the role of language in these processes is not without its controversies. Nevertheless, the policies designed and actions proposed, independent of the way they represent integration and migration management, include actions connected to language revival among BAC's migrant population. One of such policy actions is the development and promotion of Basque language classes among migrants, including the promotion of the AISA course, the data from which forms the basis of this project. In the following sections then I will analyse the data collected for this project, looking at the ways that migrants react to these policies, how they form their attitudes to Basque and explore the ways in which these are guided by the prevailing language ideologies.



## Chapter 5: Space of “Basqueness”

In this first analysis chapter I will concentrate on the representations of space, ideologically and symbolically linked with “Basqueness”. It is worth noting that the previously established concepts encompassing forms of group identity often connected to a space, such as ‘nation’, ‘nationality’, ‘society’, ‘ethnicity’, understood as bounded units, and the unifying and essentialist role of language within them, are proving to be problematic in the era of globalisation and transnational flows (Rampton, 2006; Collins et al. 2009, 1), as the critical characteristics on which they were based become breached and reconfigured. This reconfiguration happens especially in contexts of transnationalism<sup>78</sup> where people’s identities blend and become more complex and difficult to pinpoint to only one category. Nevertheless, such categories are still present in the representations of ‘Basqueness’ that I identified.

However, ideologies that used to influence the construction of these categories (e.g. essentialism) become extended (Heller et al. 2014, 546) also to accommodate to new globalisation processes. These processes in turn bring with them an emphasis on constructionist ideologies when it comes to the perception and representation of group identity and the role of language in it. The two sets of discourses: the essentialist and the constructionist ones, thus, intertwine in the ‘new’ discourses related to the constructions of the space of ‘Basqueness’ (as well as the remaining two themes: the authenticity and instrumentality of Basque and ‘Basqueness’, which I will analyse in the following two chapters (chapter 5 and 6).

The representations of the space of ‘Basqueness’ that I identified are mainly concentrated on three different conceptualizations of this space, as an administrative or geographically defined unit without political connotations, as a ‘state-like’ space with such connotations; and what I labelled a ‘metaphorical’ space – a space symbolic of group identity which relates to the idea of an existence of a separate, sub-state identity constructed as

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<sup>78</sup> “Immigrants are understood to be transmigrants when they develop and maintain multiple relations- familial, economic, social, organizational, religious, and political- that span borders. We (...) understand that the multiplicity of migrants’ involvements in both the home and host societies is a central element of transnationalism.” (Glick Schiller et al 2006, ix)

containing special cultural traits, and which emphasizes the idea of 'belonging' to 'Basqueness' based on positioning and identificational basis, rather than the formal acquisition of citizenship; inclusivity rather than exclusiveness. As I will show, this 'metaphorical space' is not only managed by hegemonic centring institutions (Blommaert, 2005), but is also ideologically represented and contested 'on the ground' (Collins and Slembrouck 2009, 23).

To illustrate the way in which constructionist and essentialist ideologies are in tension in the discourses related to the representation of Basque space, I will look at four types of data: the leaflets which provide information about Basque courses to migrants, interactive data from classroom observations, field notes made during classroom observations and interactive data from participant interviews. This range of data will allow me to compare the representations of space directed at and constructed by migrants and how these influence migrants' attitudes towards 'Basqueness', as well as 'stances of belonging' assumed by or ascribed to migrants, which demonstrate the changes and complexities in the process of identity construction.

## **5.1 'Basqueness' and Space in AISA Course Descriptions**

The space of 'Basqueness' was constructed differently in the AISA related texts depending on the genre<sup>79</sup> used, and on how migrants were positioned: either as within or outside of the space of 'Basqueness' (making it thus either exclusive or inclusive), and on the meaning given to language in representations of space: i.e. the capital value ascribed to Basque within the space-scale evoked (Collins et al. 2009), or the ideologies related to the administrative status of language or the difficulty of language acquisition.

### **5.1.1 Space and Language in the HABE AISA Course Description**

The first piece of data that I will look at is the AISA course description provided by HABE:

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<sup>79</sup> "Genres are types of spoken and written discourse recognized by a discourse community. Examples are lectures, conversations, speeches, notices, advertisements, novels, diaries, shopping lists. Each genre has typical features. Some may be linguistic (particular grammatical or lexical choices), some paralinguistic (e.g. print size, gesture) and some contextual and pragmatic (e.g. setting, purpose). Some genres overlap (a joke may also be a story) and one can contain another (a joke can be a part of a story)." (Johnson and Johnson 1999 [online])

Figure 5.1 HABE AISA Course Description

1    [**“AISA Harrera-Ikastaroak” (AISA Cursos de recepción lingüística para inmigrantes)**

2    **(AISA Welcome Courses for Immigrants)**

3    **What are AISA courses?**

4    They are linguistic welcome courses for immigrants who want to start learning Basque.

5    **Who are they directed at?**

6    At immigrants older than 16 years of age, who are residents in the Basque Autonomous

7    Community and who have not had contact with the Basque language.

8    **What is the aim of the course?**

9    For immigrants to get to know Basque society and to take first steps in the learning of

10    Basque.

11    **What is the duration of the course?**

12    60 hours in total: 6 hours per week, 3 days a week

13    **What will you learn?**

14    Topics which allow to learn about society are worked through on the course, such as

15    greetings, numbers, family, school, transport, health, sports, shopping... The exercises

16    will be concentrated mainly on the vocabulary related to these topics as well as on basic

17    comprehension of the language (street signs, posters...)]

(HABE, 2015)  
(text in bold as appears in the original source)

This official description shows traces of both sets of ideologies: an essentialist and a constructionist one, based on ideological assumptions (Fairclough, 2003) that concern the representation of the space of ‘Basqueness’, at the same time positioning the text addressees- migrants, in relation to that space. The first indication of ideological influences

is manifest in the course title, as it positions its addressees in the category of immigrants ('course for immigrants').

The positioning of migrants depends, however, on the perception of the space of 'Basqueness'. One representation of this space that is made (in line 6-7) – as a strictly administrative one, i.e. Comunidad Autonoma Vasca, indicating a formal, bureaucratic-like construction of it and of the category of 'immigrants' as formal insiders, since they are addressed as residents of that formal space (line 6).

#### 5.1.1.1 Metaphorical Space of 'Basqueness'

However, they appear to be 'outsiders' to a different kind of space – a 'metaphorical' one, understood as a non-material space, separate from the administrative space – constructed instead through the Basque language. A construction of such space indicates a realization of Carrera's (2009) assertion that Autonomous Communities represent their own culture and language as different from those of the state. The title of the course suggests that 'a welcome' to that space can only be performed through Basque. Language is thus essentially, indexically linked to the space to which this welcome is made, and migrants are positioned as 'outsiders' because of their lack of Basque resources. These 'outsiders' are addressed separately by the course designers, as the course is directed solely at migrants in order to inform them of the existence of such a separate space. Migrants are also positioned as those willing to access that space by willing to gain Basque resources.

An essentialist link is made not just between the Basque language and a constructed space, but also between space and a group identity labelled here: 'Basque society'. It can be understood as a form of an imagined community<sup>80</sup>(Anderson, 1991). This 'society', just like the metaphorical space, is represented here as an identity constructed on the basis of access through Basque. As the course description states (lines 9 and 14) migrants as course participants are seen as in need of getting to know 'Basque society', so in need of getting to know about the existence and traits of this separate group identity. Migrants are also positioned as those seeking to find out about this 'group identity' as course participants.

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<sup>80</sup> Anderson proposes that a nation is a socially constructed community, constructed as "inherently limited and sovereign"(2006, 6). It is imagined "because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, or even hear of them, yet in the mind of each lives the image of their communion." (ibid.) Here the label 'Basque society' (rather than Spanish or French, or simply 'society') suggests an existence of such an imagined group identity.

This essentialist link also suggests that, since Basque language was linked with the administrative space, 'Basque society' as a group identity is placed within this space. Yet, this group identity is also situated in the 'metaphorical space', as represented from an emic perspective of language revival advocating institutions (e.g. HABE) who are the authors of this, and the following three publications that I am going to analyse.

The 'metaphorical' space is constructed here as accessible on a different level, and separate from 'Spanishness' (or 'Frenchness'), since the course description does not even mention the fact that the administrative space of the BAC is in fact officially bilingual. In a space of 'Basqueness' understood only in administrative terms such introduction should be possible in Castilian as well (as these are the two official sets of resources). This covering of any form of bilingualism and the factual assumption that the course is designed for migrants who have had no contact with Basque (line 7) reinforces the idea that 'Basque society,' and thus also the Basque space, are separate from Spanish (or French) ones. This idea also portrays Basque resources as something remarkable and not easy to get acquainted with, perhaps contrasting it with the supposed ordinariness of Castilian. Similarly, it creates an assumption of value where the time-space scale present in the metaphorical space ascribes a high position to Basque resources, since the text suggests that 'Basque society' can only be understood and accessed through Basque (lines 9 and 14). Basque language here is a resource that allows for access to the metaphorical space, even if the geographical or administrative spaces are dominated by Castilian resources.

Basque is also represented as a set of resources rather than a full-code, because basic knowledge of Basque is understood to be sufficient to access this 'metaphorical' space. This partial possession of resources is indicated by the fact that the topics included in the curriculum are described as basic in the final part of the text (lines 15-17) and these are also topics included in the basic level European Framework of reference<sup>81</sup>. This suggests

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<sup>81</sup> According to the Common European Framework a learner at A1 and A2 levels (which AISA encompasses) should learn the following:

that the course participants are not expected to master Basque as a 'full code' or will not be exposed to or taught such resources. The metaphorical space does not put explicit emphasis on ethnic or national values in guiding access to it, nor does it mention any kind of high standard linguistic requirements, or formal residential ones. Instead it treats Basque as resources of truncated repertoires, redefining the earlier established essentialist categories and nationalist claims to exclusiveness of 'full-code' language in group identity formation. Such a conceptualization of language allows migrants to be positioned and to position themselves as part of the 'metaphorical space'.

To sum up, the official course description creates a representation of the space of 'Basqueness' constructed on both metaphorical and administrative levels. The metaphorical space is related to group identity and can be symbolically accessed through the use of partial Basque resources, while the administrative one is related to legal criteria. According to these criteria migrants are insiders, but are also invited to get to know the metaphorical space, to which they do not yet belong. This is a way to bring migrants closer to the understanding of 'Basqueness' (as an identity), but perhaps also to identification with 'Basqueness.'

In this way the idea of integration is represented by the emphasis on migrants' gaining competences in the sub-state language. This kind of understanding of integration shows clear traces of its association with language activism, as it suggests that even though course participants might have spent a long time in the area of the BAC as residents and could have 'got to know Basque society' through any other activities, access to the 'Basque space' is only granted by their learning of Basque. The idea of speaking the language of the metaphorical space is then deeply ingrained in the idea of integration and the text proposes that integration is more of a unidirectional process which needs to be acknowledged and performed by migrants.



Can understand and use familiar everyday expressions and very basic phrases aimed at the satisfaction of needs of a concrete type. Can introduce him/herself and others and can ask and answer questions about personal details such as where he/she lives, people he/she knows and things he/she has. Can interact in a simple way provided the other person talks slowly and clearly and is prepared to help.



Can understand sentences and frequently used expressions related to areas of most immediate relevance (e.g. very basic personal and family information, shopping, local geography, employment). Can communicate in simple and routine tasks requiring a simple and direct exchange of information on familiar and routine matters. Can describe in simple terms aspects of his/her background, immediate environment and matters in areas of immediate need.

(Deutsch Als Fremdsprache, 2016)

In this way it also becomes visible that essentialist discourses – linking language, the imaginary space and an imagined group identity; and constructionist discourses – providing a representation of Basque space as an inclusive construct - rather than an administrative or a national unit, and which treat language as resources for access, intertwine to position migrants as insiders or possible insiders - those willing to be positioned as belonging through their use of language. However, both spaces show traces of an essentially informed iconic link between Basque space and Basque language and in this sense, the constructed inclusivity of the space may be seen as linguistically biased.

### 5.1.2 Basque Teaching Promotion: Getxo Leaflet

So far I have looked at the original text-description of the AISA courses provided by HABE. In the following sections I will analyse two entextualisations of this description, paying attention to how stance and ideologies regarding space and linguistic time-scales are realised in discourse, and how these in turn may influence the reception of these texts.

One of these entextualisations comes from the promotional material of the municipality of Getxo<sup>82</sup>. Getxo had been one of the most successful areas in running the AISA course. However, in 2013, to the surprise of the employees of the municipal Department of Euskera, the course was suspended due to the lack of a sufficient number of participants<sup>83</sup>.

The promotional material distributed in the whole of the BAC is written in both Castilian and Basque, in accordance with the Basque Statute of Autonomy (section 4.3). This material is also usually available online<sup>84</sup> and in print. The Getxo text is bilingual and displays various semiotic modes: the combination of visual images and text of various fonts and sizes (included in what Cook (2001, 4) enlists as components of adverts). This multimodality, among other linguistic features (such as slogans/mottos, descriptions of courses as products, the city council as producer, euskaltegis as providers (Cook's participants) and the information about where to find the product etc.), makes this text

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<sup>82</sup> A town, suburb of Bilbao, located by the coast of the Bay of Biscay, of a population of about 81,746, of which 5.6% are foreigners from outside of the EU, and 1.6% of foreigners from the EU (Eustat, 2014).

<sup>83</sup> Caused also by the lack of sufficient funds for promotion in that particular year; personal communication, Departamento de Euskera de Getxo, 2013). The personnel of the Department of Euskera was very helpful in providing me with textual material about the course, and other local programmes dealing with integration or migration (not necessarily with a linguistic emphasis), such as the programme 'Al loro con los rumores': [[http://www.antirumores.com/getxo\\_al\\_loro\\_con\\_los\\_rumores.html](http://www.antirumores.com/getxo_al_loro_con_los_rumores.html); accessed 05.05.2016]

<sup>84</sup> [URL: <http://www.getxo.eus/es/euskara/subvenciones-ayudas/subvenciones-euskera-inmigrantes>; accessed. 06.05.2016.]

recognisable as a text that belongs to the advertising genre (ibid.)<sup>85</sup>. However, one of the most prominent characteristics that allows for it to be classified as advertising is its function of persuading. While Cook (2001) states that functions of advertising can be multiple, he lists “persuading to buy a product” as the primary one. The product in this case is the Basque language.

### 5.1.2.1 Basque Resources as a Product

But how exactly does Basque come to be represented as a product? First of all, it is noteworthy that the AISA promotional text is situated within a leaflet containing a set of course descriptions. A leaflet is a form that belongs to the advertising genre, which already points out to a promotion of a product (Papen 2006, 118).

Figure 5.2 Getxo Leaflet



<sup>85</sup> Cook points out that enlisting features of modern advertising as a genre are hard to pin down. Nevertheless, he sees advertising as a form of discourse which is based, apart from linguistic features, also on contextual features in which he includes image and music. Similarly, he proposes that a definition of advertising as a genre whose function ‘is to persuade people to buy a product’ should be expanded to include functions such as warning or advice (2001, 10).



(Ayuntamiento de Getxo, no date)

The first page of this leaflet portrays four people: two Caucasian, white-skinned women (foreground) and two men of different ages (background). Its background is blurred, but the two men remain visible. One of the men is black skinned and placed on the left side, while the other man, who is white skinned and appears slightly older than the other persons, on the right. All the people portrayed project a positive attitude through their smiling facial expressions. However, they are placed in the picture one in front of another, somewhat suggesting that the image was composed from various other images, looking as if these people have never actually met to have the picture taken, which may leave a somewhat ambiguous impression if the image was meant to represent integration.

At the top of the picture we can see a question in Basque: 'Euskara estiloa?' ['Basque style?']. It is given a star shaped background. Its lack of translation may suggest that 'Basque style' is indexical of Basque identity, and could only be acquired through Basque language. Below, at the very bottom of the picture there is an exclamative imperative sentence in both Basque and Castilian: ['Enrol in the euskaltegis of Getxo!']<sup>86</sup>. In terms of

<sup>86</sup> 'EMAN IZENA GETXOKO EUSKALTEGIETAN!'; 'Matricúlate en los euskaltegis de Getxo!'

paralanguage, it is also interesting to note that Basque and Castilian are always given separate colours.

All these elements (leaflet form, multimodal messages – combining images and writing, slogans) point to the genre of advertising and through the retextualisation of the course descriptions in this type of genre Basque becomes treated as a product. This product is addressed to anyone as the picture suggests (to people of any age or gender, as well as those who do not match the stereotypical ethnic descriptions of Basques, as the presence of a black skinned man would suggest). The two slogans that accompany the picture are designed to persuade the client-addressees to ‘buy’ the product. ‘Euskara estiloa?’ suggests that those who attend the courses gain a ‘Basque style’. They might then be able to add it on to their projection of the self as ‘Basque owners’ or Basque speakers. ‘Basque style’ may be understood as a projection of identity that is available to anyone through language as a product. Additionally, the inclusion of the word ‘style’ indicates advertising discourse – it evokes the world of fashion – and such a comparison clearly indicates language as a product – something that can be either put on or disregarded when necessary.

Another possible reading of this image might be its appealing to the idea of integration based on language, which is explicitly stated in the course descriptions included in the following pages. The image is meant to represent the bidirectionality of integration, as it represents both those stereotypically profiled as immigrants and those associated with the Basque space. This integration is achieved by both selling the product and by purchasing the product (those who ‘sell’ ‘Basque style’ gain new speakers and the vitality of language; those who purchase it, gain a new resource and a way of positioning that influences their identity).

Further, the leaflet lists all the available courses of Basque including those for specific audiences, such as parents, immigrants, customer assistants, children and young people, as well as workshops on Basque and language tandem possibilities<sup>87</sup>. Each page of the leaflet (10 in total) is designed in a similar style: turquoise background with photos of people corresponding to the type of the course advertised on a given page. All the photos project a positive image: people with smiling facial expressions, friendly hugs, open body

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<sup>87</sup> “An open method of learning languages where two persons from different cultures and mother tongues can meet and work together on a regular basis.” (www.univ-reims.eu, 2016).

postures. The title of each course, as well as a short summary of who the course is aimed at is situated at the top of each page. Indications for further information about the courses are put in separate boxes.

A further description in two languages and a statement about Basque, which has a character of a motto or presents a kind of characteristic of the Basque language, is included on each page:

1. '¡Si quieres, puedes!' ['If you want, you can!']
2. 'Empieza poco a poco y aprenderás euskera.' ['Start little by little and you will learn Basque.']
3. '¡En tiempos de crisis... invierte en euskara!' ['In times of crisis... invest in Basque!']
4. 'Donde hay Euskera, hay alegría.' [Where there is Basque, there is happiness.']

They refer to various ideological assumptions which I also found in references to Basque in the interactional data. The first two show the ideology of Basque as a 'tongue difficult to master', due to the lack of mutual intelligibility with Castilian or other co-official languages of the Spanish state. They are intended to do away with such ideological assumptions, showing that the Basque learning and its 'purchase' as a product is an easy process. The third one advertises Basque as having high economic value and as something worth investing in (the juxtaposition of the word 'crisis'<sup>88</sup> and 'invest' here adds emphasis to the language as something valuable), while the last one matches the images included in the leaflet. By referring to the protagonists' positive attitude projection and by its positioning of Basque speakers as assuming a positive affective stance ('hay alegría') – something that is a socially desirable trait, achieved through Basque in the Basque space, as the indexical adverb 'donde' suggests. In fact, this is the only slogan in the leaflet that I take as directly alluding to space. All of them, however, construct Basque as a product which brings with it valuable capital (see also chapter 7).

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<sup>88</sup> It refers to the world economic crisis of 2008. See footnote no. 12.

### 5.1.2.2 AISA in Getxo Leaflet: Genre, Space and Positioning of Migrants

Figure 5.3 Getxo Leaflet: AISA Course



The page about the AISA course itself is trilingual, including translations of Basque and Castilian texts into English, to address non-official state language speakers. Apart from that, it might aim to project Basque as equal in the hierarchy with Castilian, as the dominant language of the administrative space, as well as with English, as a global one. It also alludes to the willingness to promote multilingualism and multiethnicity of the Basque space. However, the most likely aim of translations in English is to attract more potential participants or purchasers of the product, in this way directly pointing them towards the metaphorical space constructed through Basque.

The image on the page that includes AISA portrays three people: a standing, white-skinned couple and a squatting, black-skinned man. All of them are smiling and touching each other on the shoulders, suggesting a close relationship between them. Similarly to the image on the first page, this one also indicates the idea of integration because of the projected contrasts between stereotypical images of the residents of the Basque space and the 'outsiders'.

The AISA course on this page is summarised in English as the ‘linguistic welcome course for immigrants.’ The Basque and Castilian versions are somewhat longer and state:

‘Euskarari eta euskal kulturari buruzko oinarritzko ikastaroa etorkinentzat’

[Lit: ‘Basic course of the Basque language and culture for immigrants’]

‘Curso básico de euskera y cultura básica para nuevos y nuevas Getxotarras’

[‘A basic course of Basque and Basque culture for new residents of Getxo’]

The different translations of this short summary provide slightly distinct information and position the course participants in different ways. First of all, the Basque and the English versions explicitly treat prospective course participants as immigrants. This implies positioning them as ‘others’ i.e. those who are not Basque speakers, but also those who are not included in any Basque space. In contrast, the Castilian version calls prospective participants ‘nuevos y nuevas Getxotarras’. This is a more inclusive stance projection, where prospective participants are treated as people who can identify themselves with Getxo (as a local, administrative or as a metaphorical space), even if the adjective ‘new’ is indicating their recent residency.

The use of ‘Getxotarra’, where ‘-tarra’ is a suffix with the meaning ‘coming from’ (Laka 1996, 26) suggests that prospective students could already be described as residents of Getxo and express their identity in terms of the new place they live in, or rather that such identity is bestowed upon them. Moreover, the use of the Basque term is also significant in its suggesting an attribution of some form of ‘Basque’ identity indexed by a Basque, rather than a Castilian term. At the same time the stance ascribed to them by the English and Basque versions de-familiarizes the locality and invokes a sense of foreignness towards the place where these courses are offered and where Basque is spoken.

The residents of Getxo addressed in the Castilian version are also described as ‘new’, which positions them partly as ‘migrants’ or as outsiders because of their recent arrival to the city space. The use of ‘new’ parallels the idea of ‘new’ speakers, which I will discuss in the next chapter in relation to the notion of ‘authenticity’ (section 6.2). ‘Getxotarra’ might also be a label and a Basque resource that that the ‘newcomers’ might have come across before and

internalized. Such varying attribution of labels shows that the authors of the leaflet were indeed trying to do away with essentialist indexical links and to construct a more inclusive space of the city through re-establishing the indexicality behind 'Getxotarra' as inclusive of partial resources and 'migrants', as well as to construct a positive attitude towards both Basque and bilingualism – hence the mixed use of Basque and Castilian.

Another possible interpretation is that migrants to the BAC are more likely Castilian, rather than Basque or English speakers (see chapter 4; also all of the participants in this study had some resources in Castilian) and thus the Basque version would serve to inform Basque speakers that Basque is taught to migrants and point out that language revival actions include the 'newcomers' in their agenda. The Castilian version also addresses the fact that the courses have an integrative purpose, ascribing an inclusive representation to the space of 'Basqueness' through the use of the Basque term 'Getxotarras'.

A further description of the course reads:

[A basic course whose objective is that the immigrants get to know Basque society and make first steps in the learning of Basque.]<sup>89</sup>

Here the Castilian version is also longer and more formal than the other two, explicitly stating the objectives of the course: getting to know 'Basque society' and taking first steps towards the learning of Basque. While this description reveals the purpose of the course and allows students to assess whether they meet the selection criteria to be accepted, read together with the other semiotic messages included on the AISA promotional page, it also has certain ideological implications regarding the construction of space and the boundaries of belonging to that space. Just as the official description of the course, this entextualisation creates a sense of a separate space of 'Basqueness' emphasized through constructing language as a product, as the genre and other textual features suggested. Here, this space, however, is mainly metaphorical, as the only reference to an administrative space is made through the use of the term 'Getxotarra'. Similarly, there is

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<sup>89</sup> "Curso básico que tiene como objetivo que las personas inmigrantes conozcan la sociedad vasca y den los primeros pasos en el aprendizaje del euskera."

no mention of the official status of Basque as an administrative language. Instead, the space is marked out by language in an iconic way (Irvine and Gal, 2000). The role of Basque as a resource indispensable for the inclusion into the time-scale space of 'Basqueness', and into Basque group identity, is emphasized by the use of advert-like style and slogans ('Basque style', 'open up a new world'), by the images that accompany the description, as well as by inclusion of Basque words into Castilian translations. The course description situated within the genre of an advert, by treating Basque language and Basque courses as products, also adds to the imagery of language based, easy access to that metaphorical space.

However, this text is also characterised by visible changes in the positioning of the text receivers on the insider-outsider scale related to the choice of genre and multi-semiotic representations of the space. There are instances where the text positions potential course participants either as immigrants and outsiders, or as insiders or possible insiders ('Getxotarras', images included, and 'open up a new world', 'hay alegría'). Similarly, it represents integration as either a one-way process stemming from the migrants' will to acquire Basque resources or as a reciprocal process (suggested by the images) – but always dependant on Basque language resources.

This is also illustrated by the way the leaflet finishes, with the following motto:

<p>'EUSKARAK MUNDU BERRI BAT ZABALDUKO DIZU'</p> <p>'El euskera te abrirá un mundo nuevo!'</p> <p>['The Basque language will open a new world for you!']</p>
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This motto adds emphasis to the previously expressed ideas of exclusion from the Basque metaphorical space. Read together with the previous description and the images included on the page, it implies that the new world is the metaphor of the imagined 'Basque society', something that needs exploration (like the world) through studying about it, but also something that will provide you with an extra 'added value,' represented here as 'el mundo nuevo' – new horizon, new vision, a new way of thinking and perhaps also new

ways of positioning and identification that come with it. The positioning as part of this 'new world' is again achieved through Basque.

On the other hand, the motto also creates the idea that Basque society and culture are massive, 'world-sized', which inscribes into the imagery of globalization and multiculturalism. The image on the page, unlike the written slogans, implies that the new world of the Basque society is equally receptive (as advertised, it is meant to ease integration, i.e. the knowledge of Basque society should allow not just for its understanding but also for inclusion in it and for being understood). Therefore, even if integration is portrayed as based on reciprocity, it is done solely by placing emphasis on Basque language resources.

### 5.1.3 AISA in 'Informative Dossier' of Vitoria-Gasteiz: Genre, Space and Positioning of Migrants

Another entextualisation of the AISA course description was the information pack<sup>90</sup> prepared by the Basque department of Vitoria-Gasteiz City Council. It is a text of an informative genre, structured similarly to the HABE text (question-answer). It supplies more information about the course in the local environment of Vitoria-Gasteiz<sup>91</sup>:

#### Figure 5.4 Dossier Informativo Vitoria-Gasteiz

[It is about language welcome courses for immigrants who wish to take first steps in the learning of Basque. Topics which allow for a better understanding of society are worked on: greetings numbers, the family, school, transport, health, sports, the market...

The exercises are concentrated around the vocabulary which corresponds to these topics, as well as on basic comprehension of the language (labels, posters...)

Remember! These are initiation courses for people who know none or almost no Basque.

If the person interested is very young and has had contact with the education system, it is very

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<sup>90</sup> 'dossier informativo'

<sup>91</sup> Full text included in the Accompanying Materials.

likely that they already have some minimal knowledge (of Basque): this course is not for such people.

It is directed at people older than 16. The design and financing of the courses corresponds to HABE (Basque Government) and this entity only has competencies for the teaching of Basque to adults.]

There are certain assumptions about the course included also in this text that are identical to the ones of the Gexto leaflet, for instance, the existence of a ‘Basque society’ as a group identity; a better knowledge of this identity is to be gained through the knowledge of the basic themes of vocabulary in Basque; inclusion in ‘Basqueness’ through partial competence in Basque; or the existence of a ‘metaphorical’ space to which ‘Basqueness’ is linked. However, the use of an informative genre as well as the information provided positions migrants and constructs the administrative space and the metaphorical space slightly differently from how it was done in the previously analysed text.

#### **5.1.3.1 Metaphorical Space and Integration**

The first question in the text, which follows a short course description, is an explanation of the origin of the text and reemphasizes the age and residency restrictions. Addressees are clearly migrants – positioned as outsiders to the metaphorical space, but this time they are explicitly described and positioned as those “who wish to take first steps in the learning of Basque” as they recognize the importance of the sub-state language and thus are willing to be included in its ‘language cause’. They are also restricted to those who have no resources in Basque whatsoever.

The text states that there is a certain misunderstanding about Basque courses for immigrants (without specifying what this misunderstanding is) and therefore the issuing institution (the Department of Basque of Vitoria-Gasteiz) provides a clarification. The misunderstanding might be based on misconceptions of who the course is directed at, as it is one of the most emphasized themes in the text. This presupposes that the reader already has a certain interest in undertaking the course (hence perhaps no need for the use of an advertising genre). However, the institution sees its role as clearly setting the rules for participation, such as the fact that it is only directed at adult migrants. In practice, however, it happened that students above 16 years old who were still inscribed in the

education system that provides teaching of Basque as L2 found participation in the AISA course as helpful for catching up with school exams and classes<sup>92</sup>. Such a restriction suggests that the courses are designed to fill in a gap that the language activists see in relation to the incoming migrants and their supposed lack of possibilities to gain Basque resources. It points to the fact that an ‘extra’ metaphorical space needs to be introduced to migrants who somewhat fall out of the scope of other institutions which could inform them of such space and the role of Basque in it.

The second question in the text reads: [‘What do people of foreign origin know about Basque?']<sup>93</sup>. This suggests that there is a need for the explanation of how much migrants know about Basque and its presence in the area or in other words how much awareness of the ‘metaphorical space’ is shown by migrants. Asking this question, however, positions migrants as people from outside the ‘knowledge circle’ or what is in the text labelled as ‘Basque society’ and whose knowledge about it is incomplete. The answer provided states:

[As far as we could see, people who are interested in the AISA courses have **a pretty good idea of what Basque is** and of its **social presence**. People who have lived some years in the city are the ones who are interested in the AISA courses.]<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> For instance, one of the AISA participants from Colombia in the evening class explicitly replied to the teacher’s question about the students’ motivation for learning that she enrolled in the course because she needed help in passing her school exams. She also had some knowledge of Basque and it was demonstrated on several occasions. This is interesting in that, even though AISA courses are meant to be the first point of contact of adult speakers of other languages with Basque, it shows that it is not always the case. In the case of this particular student they were clearly used as an aid for passing school exams – the school clearly being an earlier point of contact with Basque. There are thus cases when Basque is not seen so much as important for integration on the level of social capital (Bourdieu, 1986), but rather as just a requirement for fulfilment of institutional requirements of the education path (ibid.; see chapter 7). While Basque fulfils several roles within the education system as well (such as the making of citizens or group identity on the basis of language revival), in the case of this student it seemed that the integrative role given to Basque by the policy makers was ignored, as she did not construct an integrative attitude.

<sup>93</sup> “¿Qué saben las personas de origen extranjero sobre el euskera?”

<sup>94</sup> “Hasta lo que hemos podido ver la gente que se acerca a los cursos AISA **tiene una imagen bastante clara** de lo que es el euskera y de su **presencia social**. A los cursos AISA se suelen acercar personas que ya llevan unos años viviendo en la ciudad.” (my emphasis)

This answer contradicts the previously stated aims, in the sense that it presupposes that those who sign up for the course already know about the importance of Basque and show enough knowledge about Basque to see it as significant. However, the answer does not specify what is meant by 'its role', nor by 'social presence.' I see their meaning as the understanding of Basque as significant in the administrative space, but not necessarily a recognition of a metaphorical space by migrants. It is then only through Basque courses that the participants may gain knowledge of and belonging to this kind of space.

It is yet another factual and value assumption (Fairclough, 2003) in which knowledge of language is understood as a willingness to position oneself or to be included in the 'Basque space,' as well as a recognition of the high value given to Basque in the hierarchy of that space. But gaining such an 'idea bastante clara' requires time and living in the presence of Basque ('llevan unos años en la ciudad'). This appears contradictory to the objectives of the course stated earlier, as it was the course that was meant to immerse students in this knowledge. Here then, migrants are positioned as aware of the existence of such a metaphorical space and the language hierarchy of the scale that operates in it, but also as actors who lack resources to access that space. However, this text overlooks that fact that migrants living in the administrative space could have had other means than Basque resources to find out about 'Basqueness' as a group identity or about Basque metaphorical space, for instance through Castilian.

The answer to the third question indicates that such people who ask about courses of Basque are looking for something more than a simple language course or aim simply for a language knowledge:

[They are curious. They see it as a way of integrating themselves. We think that immigrants often become interested in the AISA courses when they see what role Basque has in the education centres to which their children go.]<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> "Se acercan por curiosidad. Lo ven como una manera de integrarse. Creemos que muchas veces las personas inmigrantes se acercan a los cursos AISA cuando ven el papel que tiene el euskera en los centros educativos a donde acuden sus hijos o hijas."

This shows that migrants are positioned as those who choose to learn Basque. They are doing so because of their curiosity about it as a feature of 'Basque society' and see it as a way of integrating themselves into 'society', understood as a Basque speaking group. The idea behind integrating themselves is ambiguous. The use of the reflexive pronoun in Castilian assumes that migrants as newcomers are expected to 'do the integration' themselves, as a unidirectional action, by gaining the knowledge of 'Basque society'. Unlike in the leaflet, here, this unidirectionality hardly ever intertwines with an understanding of integration as reciprocal.

Further, the text positions migrants as those in need of integration and as those who recognise that it can be achieved through Basque. In this way, Basque does not need to be advertised to them and so they are not positioned as purchasers of a product as in the Getxo leaflet. The reason for this understanding of the role of Basque in the area is indicated as the contact of their children with Basque at educational institutions. In such a case the authors acknowledge that the participants could have had contact with a Basque space through other means, but not necessarily with the 'metaphorical Basque space'. The addressees of the text are assumed to gain their understanding of the role of Basque resources in the 'metaphorical' space to which they themselves have no access through contact with institutions in the administrative space, since the metaphorical one is again constructed as accessible only through the possession of Basque resources.

While the text conditions the positioning of migrants on language, knowledge of Basque is perceived as partial resources and these are in turn viewed as social capital, just as it was done in the previous two texts. Language is still seen as indexing the Basque metaphorical space, but this link is made more visible in the administrative space too. This visibility allows not only for a construction of positive attitudes towards Basque, but also determines the positioning of addresses and the genre chosen. Through such a positioning, Basque resources do not need to be sold since their value is already acknowledged through participation in the administrative space. Again, it becomes clear that the essentialist and constructionist representations of space intertwine in the construction of these two spaces and in the positioning of migrants within them.

So far, I have argued that the discourses related to the teaching of Basque to migrants create a separate, 'metaphorical' space for 'Basqueness', use language as a way of accessing this space and a way of getting to know those who are indexically linked to it,

with a possible gain of social capital leading to 'integration'. 'Basqueness' is then presented to migrants as a separate identity from 'Spanishness' or 'Frenchness' (or in fact any other ethnic identity) and its distinction is largely based on the existence of a separate space, on language as guarding access to this space, and the existence of a 'society' (group identity) which inhabits that space. Such a role attributed to language is of course expected when it comes to institutions whose goal is to promote the sub-state language learning. Nevertheless, the ideology of access is realised differently in texts from different localities, for instance through the use of distinct genres and differences in the positioning of migrants in these texts.

However, what I also intended to point out is that Basque is also portrayed as a resource that offers a possibility of participation in the Basque identity and a resource that adds value to its possessor on an integrative level, even if it is not what in essentialist terms would be considered a full code, mastered with complete communicative competence. Discourses connected to the Basque language teaching to migrants are hybridized. On the one hand Basque is represented as a trait of 'Basque society' (essentialist) and on the other hand the competence in Basque can be also seen as valuable even if it is partial (constructionist). In such a way the scale in which this group identity is embedded re-establishes the hierarchy of inclusion in this identity. In fact, such partial knowledge of Basque was often reported by the participants of this study who have completed the AISA course and decided not to continue with studying Basque, but I will develop this further to this in my discussion of authenticity in the next chapter. Additionally, such a representation of Basque positions migrants in terms of a negative epistemic stance: they do not know 'Basque society', but they are the addressees or recipients of that knowledge, which they can obtain through their own realization of the distinctiveness of 'Basque society' or through becoming consumers of Basque resources. They are generally positioned as those in need of such knowledge in order to gain access to 'Basqueness'.

## 5.2 Language, Space and Positioning in Other Promotional Materials

There are also other promotional materials addressed especially to ‘outsiders’, such as the Pocket Dictionary of Basque<sup>96</sup>. The dictionary contains translations of Basque words in eight different languages, including the two other co-official sub-state languages of Spain: Catalan and Galician. The introductory text provided in the dictionary positions migrants as equally legitimate actors in the Basque space and as those who can directly take part in it (again through Basque):

Figure 5.5 Basque Dictionary: Introduction



[Basque urgently needs speakers

Nobody is foreign to our language. Here we are all immigrants:

Some of us came ten centuries ago

Others have been here only two minutes

A lot of us are still on the way

“You are all welcome!”]

‘El Euskara necesita urgentemente hablantes

Nadie es extraño a nuestra lengua. Aquí todos somos inmigrantes:

Algunos llegamos hace diez siglos

Otros llevamos solamente dos minutos

Muchos aún estamos en camino

¡Sed todos bienvenidos!’

<sup>96</sup> This particular dictionary was published with an emblem of the city council of Getxo as the official institutional patron, but similar versions were available in other municipalities.

In this text there are no explicit references to space as it does not include any labels for it. However, line 5 of the text: “many of us are still on our way” read in combination with “here we are all immigrants” leads me to suggest that what is referred to as the destination of this ‘way’ and indexed by the pronoun ‘here’ refers to space understood as a metaphorical space for ‘Basqueness’. It is because the very beginning of this address to migrants is referring to language (Basque) rather than an administrative space (BAC or the Basque Country). It may also suggest that migrants are welcome to join a project: Basque language revival, which will allow them to find a place in the space constructed in such a way. It is then an invitation to be included in such space, showing that language revival actors see migrants as another kind of ‘new speakers’ (O’Rourke et al. 2015).

The very first utterance in line 1 is also a reference to the role of language in such space. ‘Basque’, by being animated in this way as the subject of the sentence, becomes a unifying factor: “nobody is foreign to Basque”. The juxtaposition of this utterance with the sentence “here we are all immigrants” suggests that language and space are connected and that Basque language is in fact indexing a metaphorical space, in a scale in which Basque becomes hierarchically more valuable on an integrative level. By saying ‘here we are all immigrants’ the authors attempt to do away with administrative and essential categories of citizenship or nationality. It is an attempt at re-evaluating the identity of belonging to the space that they are constructing.

In this text, the addressees are again positioned as immigrants, but they are being fully included into the ‘imagined community’ through their comparison to those who live in the area now and who position themselves as migrants to the area from a long time before (“todos somos inmigrantes”). The metaphorical space is constructed as uniting both groups and positioning both groups in the same space. As in the leaflet of Getxo, Basque is something that anyone can acquire or speak (“our language doesn’t know of foreigners”), but not necessarily purchase as a product. Rather it can be found and assimilated into the constructed space. Through the active use of Basque immigrants are welcome to become speakers (“el euskera necesita urgentemente hablantes”). The space is constructed as inclusive, and its inhabitants as welcoming, as in line 6 a welcome to those positioned as immigrants is extended.

### 5.2.1 Ownership of Basque

There is, however, a certain ambiguity as to the ownership of 'Basque' in this text. While the authors of this introduction position immigrants as equally belonging to the community through Basque resources, the ownership of Basque could be still claimed by the 'original' Basque speakers - by calling it 'our'. Yet, I see two possible readings of this phrase. While the introduction suggests that active use of Basque is needed for its survival and anyone, regardless of their identity, can be a Basque speaker, the Basque language is still a resource that particularly indexes Basque identity, as something owned by the Basques as an 'imagined community'. This links with the ideology of one language as an essential characteristic of the imagined space, but allows for 'Basqueness' to be open towards non-ethnic Basques. The other reading of the phrase "our language" may suggest that migrants are included in this ownership, since "our language knows of no foreigners." However, since the addressees of the whole publication are migrants (as suggested by the phrase "you are all welcome!" – second person plural pronoun, or the various languages included in the dictionary), I incline towards the first reading, which attributes the ownership of language to the 'original' Basques – probably as the authors of this publication and perhaps also those in public authority. This shows that while 'Basqueness' is often based on language understood as resources, so in constructionist terms, such a representation does not always position the particular receivers of Basque tuition – immigrants – in the same way, nor does it construct the space of 'Basqueness' in the same way – often showing traces of remaining or re-established essentialist ideologies.

Despite these ambiguities with regards to the role of Basque in this particular representation of space, the comparison between the natives as immigrants and recent immigrants is meant to promote a positive attitude towards Basque use ('urgent need for speakers'), Basque learning ('you are welcome'), and Basque itself (as a language that 'knows no foreigners'). It reduces the positioning of exclusion from the Basque group identity, in the sense that it is actually the speaking of Basque, even in with a limited repertoire (probably restricted to the vocabulary included in the pocket dictionary), that makes this inclusion possible, without positioning migrants as those in need of learning about 'Basque society' – as the inexperienced others.

The assumption here is also that it is only basic expressions that the new residents of the area are likely to encounter in their daily life, so even though they are welcome to use

Basque, it is unlikely they will master the language to an extent which will allow them to use Basque beyond this level. This is in line with the previous three texts which described the AISA curriculum as basic. It might also be a result of other language ideological implications, namely the fact that Basque is considered a language difficult to master due to its unique grammar and differences with Castilian. The presentation of just basic expressions is in a way directed at raising interest in the language revival – so joining the revival project, as suggested in line 1. Similarly, advertising the course as one that provides a basic knowledge of Basque may be used as a way to encourage participation and then further participation in courses in euskaltegis. Indeed, this fact is indicated in the Vitoria-Gasteiz informational leaflet, initially calling it a welcome course, it further states that “those who wish to continue learning should direct themselves to euskaltegis.”

All four texts then show traces of both discursive sets: essentialist and constructionist ones. The essentialist representation of ‘Basqueness’ is constructed around iconization<sup>97</sup> (Irvine and Gal 2000): there is a fixed indexical link between space, its language and its inhabitants or those who identify themselves with it, present in both types of space. All texts construct space as indexical of ‘Basqueness’, rather than connected to a group identity of ‘Spanishness’ or ‘Frenchness’. This indexicality between space and identity makes Basque be represented as a resource necessary for access to this space. There are also other references to an essentialist understanding of space, especially visible in the labels given to Basque identity as ‘Basque society’ or in the representation of the space of ‘Basqueness’ as an administrative one, in the sense that the formality and institutional back-up given to language revival from the local government makes this indexical essentialist link between language and society more prominent and informed by hegemonic, political and institutional ideologies. In addition, it provides restrictions as to the potential participants in the AISA courses, in some way regulating, not only administrative and formal requirements, but also ‘belonging’ and who can share in the constructed metaphorical space.

On the other hand, the fact that Basque is represented as a resource in all the texts, shows a turn towards constructionist representation of language and space. Language is

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<sup>97</sup> Iconization involves a transformation of the sign relationship between linguistic features (or varieties) and the social images with which they are linked (..) as if a linguistic feature somehow depicted or displayed a social group’s inherent nature or essence.” (Irvine and Gal 2000, 37).

represented as a partial resource, rather than a full-code knowledge requirement, by describing the course as basic and producing basic vocabulary dictionary publications, but also by the use of some inclusiveness oriented labels of belonging such as 'Getxotarras'. This resource is then given a high evaluation on an integrative level (as a form of social capital) (Bourdieu 1986) and becomes advantageous when it comes to belonging to the metaphorical space of 'Basqueness'.

### **5.3 'Basque space' as 'state' or 'country' space**

Apart from representations of 'Basqueness' as based in an administrative and metaphorical space, there were also noticeable instances of representations of such space as politically invested, in a form of a 'nation-state' like imagery. While the promotional material does not explicitly call the Basque space a state or 'Basque society' a nation, there are certain indications in the data where either the teachers or the teaching materials allude to the representation of the Basque space as a 'nation-state,' evoking highly essentialist, rather non-inclusive implications about space. These representations are again based on language as a resource that creates boundaries and controls access to the Basque space. I see them as different from the representation of 'Basqueness' as an administrative space, because of the prominence of essentialist and nationalist ideological tendencies that these representations contain (see appendix D).

#### **5.3.1 Nation-state Space Labels**

Representations of the space of 'Basqueness' as a nation-state like construct were not frequently alluded to in an explicit manner in the classroom data. However, I was able to identify some examples which I found as telling episodes. One of such representations was introduced during the second class in the morning group course in Vitoria-Gasteiz. Unfortunately, I was not able to record the interactions in the classroom at that stage yet. However, my field note from that class reads as follows:

### Field Note 5.1

Around the second hour of class time the teacher, asked by one of the students about Euskadi, decided to explain the difference between Euskal Herria and Euskadi. He explained the notion of Euskal Herria as a separate country consisting of seven provinces within Spain and France. Euskadi is just the Spanish part. He calls these names “*questión identitaria y política*”.

3.10.2013

As this field note indicates, migrant participants themselves found the labelling the space that they entered confusing. The fact that they are familiar with these two labels shows that at the time of the class they had already come across such labels. They were thus aware of the separate group identity based on space, but were not yet aware of how this identity is constructed when these two labels are used.

The teacher, in providing his explanation, does not create a marked evaluation or evoke a clearly negative or positive attitude towards these labels. At a first glance, presenting the idea of a nation-state called *Euskal Herria* as a question of identity and politics is a way of distancing himself from evaluation of each particular label. However, the teacher does evaluate the process of constructing a space using these labels, through the two adjectives pronounced to warn the students that such evaluations can be delicate and that the meaning of these two labels is somewhat controversial.

After this class, I wrote a short comment to this episode:

### Field Note 5.2

This is interesting. I hear Euskadi more often than Euskal Herria. Euskal Herria is on maps, like the one at the bus station. Maybe it is because of the length or difficulty of the longer name? Negative connotations? State regulations?

02.11.2013

Indeed, I found that Euskal Herria as a label for the state-space of a politically non-existent Basque space was used on some forms of official publications and hardly ever used by the students. There were also certain indications of the politicised understanding of this label by the students. For instance, this episode comes from an interaction between the morning group participants and is concentrated around the earlier introduced labels by the teacher:

### Episode 5.1

- 1 Int: what did you think it was like? Because it also has a name like this Basque
- 2 Country(.) doesn't it?
- 3 S1: yes although they say Basque Country in Castilian(.) don't they? Because
- 4 otherwise it's Euskal Herria (laughs) or Euskadi.
- 5 Int: and why do they say-
- 6 S1: no. Euskadi is the place where they speak Basque (.) right?
- 7 S3: no. it's the other way round.
- 8 S1: oh right? sorry (.) it's the other way round.

Here, in line 3, S1 evokes the politically informed differences between Castilian and Basque labels for this imagined state, connected to the role of language in their construction. S1 sees the label 'Basque Country' as a name that can only be expressed in Castilian, and at the same time he evokes other labels for the Basque space, repeating what was explained to us in the classroom, namely that 'Euskal Herria' was a label based on linguistic conditions and the use of Basque, encompassing a territory that is greater than the Basque Country' and which is used to represent an imagined Basque state. For this particular student, whom I often saw as wearing garments reflecting the politicised definitions of Euskal Herria, this linguistically based definition of the Basque space serves here as a way of distancing himself from ideologically evoked connotation that this label provokes. Here S1 also dismissed the Castilian label and evoked the Basque labels, suggesting his possible positioning as an 'insider'. However, the fact that he contrasted these two labels in this

way, alluding to an ideologically informed conflict between Basque and Castilian, shows that on certain occasions the politicised label of Euskal Herria was used to position oneself as included in the Basque space.

### 5.3.2 Essentialist Space Evaluations

There was also a telling episode in the evening group in which similar issues and questions about representations of Basque space as Euskal Herria were raised, this time a bit later into the course, in the sixth class:

#### Field Note 5.3

1 S10 said that she is in favour of the separation (of the Basque Country) and asked  
2 the teacher about her opinion. S10 said she saw Basque flags in the fiestas of ‘San  
3 Fermín’ in Pamplona. She is corrected by D, who says that Euskal Herria are only  
4 seven provinces, but not Navarra. The teacher: “Euskal Herria es donde se habla  
5 euskera. Euskadi es lo que está dentro del estado español. Nafarroa es autónoma.”  
6 There is a debate about uniting all these. After someone else asked about Burgos:  
7 “Burgos es España. No tiene nada que ver con Euskadi (mockingly).” R5 laughs at  
8 this. The teacher explains that Iparralde is inside the French state. But the French  
9 state is very centralist and they don’t want to (unite). She said: “veís que  
10 complicado es ser vasco.” The conversation continues. J says: “I was told that here  
11 they have much more autonomy.”  
12 Teacher: “It is not true. They just fight. According to the law they have the same  
13 competences.” S10 responds: “Yes, it’s a way of thinking”. S10 says that it is like  
14 that everywhere, not just here. She mentions having lived in Murcia. The teacher  
15 responds: “Murcia no tiene la misma tradición de luchar como aquí, la misma  
16 cultura. Allí la gente se siente española. Hay muchísima gente que se siente vasca y  
17 que se siente española. No les dejan sentirse español y este es el problema.” At this  
18 point in the conversation L says that it is possible that Euskal Herria will exist. The  
19 teacher responds: “No creo que mis nietos van a ver a Euskal Herria.”

13.10.2013

As can be seen from this field note, migrant students in the second group also found it important to find out how the space of 'Basqueness' is defined and labelled. Some of them referred to the symbols that were also included in the teaching material, such as the Basque flag, and sought to mark out what kind of territory was represented by these symbols. There was a misunderstanding as to what kind of space it is or how it comes to be constructed. It could be read as a 'national-state' space, because I believe that the question about flags and territorial boundaries is indexical of such a representation of space (Billig 1995, 43). This space appears, similarly to the spaces in previously analysed documents, as constructed through language, as the teacher in line 4 stated that the boundaries of the state space labelled Euskal Herria were indeed linguistic ones and based on the nationalist representations (see appendix D). There was no indication, however, as to who is legitimately included in that space as a speaker, nor about the scale on which the evaluation of Basque resources is done. That is why I see the space as constructed by the teacher and the labels used by her as essentialism informed.

The evening group teacher, however, reflects also on the legal and political status of each territory, just like the morning teacher's evaluative comment indicated. At the same time she mocks some of the places within the administrative territory of Spain, as those which should not be included in the Basque space. In this way she constructs a clear distinction between the Spanish state (and in fact also the French state, by mentioning Iparralde in line 7) and the Basque space.

Her subsequent comment on the complexity of Basque identity, refers back to the divisions of space constructed before. It is an evaluation in which the teacher distances herself from those divisions. Her way of presenting this space in such a manner is also a way of positioning herself in terms of a negative epistemic stance, as the teacher seems reluctant to include her own views, possibly so as not to influence the students. She does not answer G's question which was a direct first-turn sequence question (Psathas 1995, 51). However, her turns, presented as statements of fact (Fairclough 2003, 111), refer to the values or ideological construct of states with politically established boundaries (Billig, 1995), which are also characterised by 'one-language-one-nation' ideology.

Another similarity to the opinion presented by the teacher of the previous group, can be found in the fact that the group identity constructed by her is linked to space. This teacher links these two notions firstly through the abovementioned comment (by defining the

space through language, analogically, she defines those who belong to this space as language speakers), and secondly by providing certain evaluations and characteristics of the Basque group identity, for example: “they just fight”; “Murcia no tiene la misma tradición de luchar que aquí, la misma cultura”; “hay gente que se siente vasca y hay gente que se siente Española”. These utterances provide both factual and evaluative assumptions, even if on the surface, they all appear factual (Fairclough 2003, 193). They appeal to the political value systems of fighting for autonomy. The evaluation here states that fighting gives the impression of more political autonomy and therefore is positive, as opposed to other places, outside of the Basque space, which do not have “the same fighting culture” (line 12). The use of the word culture is also interesting here, as the values of fighting for autonomy become intertwined with some intrinsically essentialist categories and characteristics of a group, such as having a uniform culture with discernible characteristics.

Further on, similarly to the T1, she refers to the duality of the group identity (“se sienten vascos- se sienten españoles”). This evokes a contrast between ‘Basqueness’ and ‘Spanishness’ and marks this space as a space of conflict (“no les dejan- este es el problema”) between two national identities. Her use of a static verb that refers to emotions and national categories: ‘feeling Basque’ or ‘feeling Spanish’ is based on a pre-defined essentialist conceptualization of these categories.

The last comment made by the teacher in this episode is a prediction or an unrealistic statement (Fairclough 2003, 109) in which she undermines the idea of the Basque space as a state. This last utterance also contradicts with the ‘fighting culture’ discussed earlier. Through this utterance she projects an epistemic stance of uncertainty, in this way distancing herself from that state-space. So while she describes the space to students as a state-like space, at the same time she distances herself from such a space. It may suggest to students that Basque resources are still subject to a scale where their political indexicality is visible and undesirable, thus creating negative attitudes.

In fact, such representations of language were also mentioned by the students on the course as well as other migrants speakers of Basque included in this study. For instance, my field note from a meeting with some of the students indicates:

## Field Note 5.4

In the conversation S1 and S16 revealed that there were some Basque words with political connotations. They said you could not say 'gora' or 'askatuta' in a bar like this one, because it would be 'nacionalista'.

9.12.2013

These migrant students are aware of the political indexicality of certain Basque resources. Similarly, others showed their awareness of Basque as a politically indexical repertoire:

## Episode 5.2

- 1 [PM: a lot of things connected to language and culture are very politicised () it
- 2 seems that those who defend Basque need to have some solid political convictions
- 3 (.) and the word euskaldun which means the one who speaks Basque (.) the one
- 4 who has euskera (.) it also means a Basque who does not speak Basque (..) so there
- 5 is a polemic about those people who consider themselves Basque but they don't
- 6 speak (..) they don't want to-

This political indexicality is visible through the fact that in this episode PM admits that to her Basque resources and their use are equivalent to making a political statement. Similarly, she points out the ideological conflict with regards to the role of the use of Basque in group identity construction.

In conclusion, while both teachers did not refrain from constructing the space of 'Basqueness' as a nation-state like space, they seemed to be distancing themselves from further evaluation of such space. Such a construction of space was marked through essentialist and banal nationalist (Billig, 1995) elements (flags, boundaries, language as an essential category, labels for political territories, nationalist identities). It could be read as a trace of the nationalist discourses on language revival that still seem to circulate in discourses that relate to Basque language teaching, as the contrast between space labels would suggest. Migrant participants show a degree of confusion when it comes to these

essentialist state labels and representations, at the same time being aware of their political indexicality, as well as of such possible indexicality of Basque resources connected to the state-like space.

### 5.3.3 State-like Space and the Regulation of Belonging

These two representations of space, by including the space labels among other characteristics, did not contain traces of constructionist discourses about the inclusivity of the state-like space, as it was done in the course promotional material. However there were also instances of state-like representations of space in which these two ideological sets interconnected.

One of the most significant instances of the creation of 'Basqueness' as inclusive, but at the same time representative of a political state idea, took place in the following scene from the 9<sup>th</sup> morning class in Vitoria-Gasteiz which took place on 21<sup>st</sup> October 2013:

#### Episode 5.3

- 1 T: bizarduna?
- 2 T: bizarduna?
- 3 S13: beard
- 4 S2: bearded!
- 5 T: bearded (.) that's it!
- 6 T: bearded (.) eh?
- 7 T: ok. euskal(.)duna. do you see?
- 8 Sts: (collectively) uhm.
- 9 T: 'duna' is 'that has. 'that has'.
- 10 T: bizarduna (.) eta euskalduna. that has Basque. that speaks it.
- 11 S2: ah!
- 12 T: yes?
- 13 S2: ah (..) euskalduna.
- 14 T: if you speak this language (.) you become euskaldunak↑

15 S2: aha yes! (.) great!

16 T: automatically (.) eh?

17 T: it's a different conception of things (.) eh?

18 S2: euskaldunak.

19 T: if you speak English (.) you are not English.

20 S2: no.

21 S13: no.

22 S1: no.

23 T: if you speak (.) I don't know (.) Polish for example (.) you are not Polish. if you speak

24 Basque (..) euskalduna zara.

25 S2: ah-

26 (incomprehensible)

27 T: it was difficult for me (.) eh? in Bilbao I was at a tavern. because that's where you

28 learn Basque (.) eh? quite a lot!

29 Sts: (Laughter)

30 T: I was with my glass and (.) my friends from Bilbao said (.) 'zu euskalduna zara' ↓

31 'eta ni (.) ez ez ni katalan naiz.' ↓

32 Sts: (laughter)

33 T: and you know the topic of- (incomprehensible)

34 T: 'eta Katalan naiz.'

35 T: 'ez. Euskalduna. '

36 T: 'ez. Katalan (.) no?'

37 Sts: (laughter)

38 T: until I learned (.)that well(.) they were adopting me (.) right?

39 Sts: (laughter)

40 S2: and me?

41 T: Bai?

42 S2: I will be euskalduna?

- 43 T: pardon?
- 44 S2: I will be euskalduna?
- 45 T: izan. the verb to be. izango naiz. ni euskalduna izango naiz.
- 46 S2: uhm-
- 47 T: bai? esukaldun berria. gu euskaldun berria gara. New euskaldunes. eta
- 48 euskaldun zaharrak.
- 49 T: euskaldun zaharrak (..) the natives (.) the indigenous (.) eh?
- 50 T: euskaldun zaharra. euskaldun berria. baina euskaldunak. ados?
- 51 S2: uhm. yeah.
- 52 T: and there is a polemic here too (.) eh?
- 53 S2: yes yes.
- 54 T: if you are from here and you don't know Basque (..)ez zara euskalduna.
- 55 S1: ez euskalduna?
- 56 T: if you are from here (.) born in the Basque Country or wherever(.) in Euskal Herria(.)
- 57 eh? and no (.) you are not(.) you don't speak Basque ez zara euskalduna (..) ados?(.)
- 58 T: it is (..) a linguistic emphasis (.)ok? yes? oso ondo.

I find this episode noteworthy for three reasons: first of all, the dialogue between the teacher and one of the students leads to a construction of a positive attitude towards Basque in interaction (Liebscher and O'Cain, 2009); secondly, the ideology that guides the creation of such an attitude is based on an understanding of belonging to this community through the speaking or the knowledge of language, but not necessarily through an ideological premise of full language competence often demanded of migrants in other contexts of the regulation of belonging; and finally because this episode addresses the idea of belonging explicitly, showing the intertwining of essentialist and constructionist ideologically informed premises overtly.

While the role of the teacher in a language teaching classroom would be to project positive attitudes, the way it is done in this episode directly addresses the audience through positioning them as willing to join this imagined community and through drawing on their

characteristics as migrant learners. This is in accordance with the course descriptions analysed before, and put migrants in the position of inexperienced residents in need of integration and learning about 'Basque society'.

The prosodic features of the teacher's utterance as well as the student's uptake create and emphasize this positive attitude and confirm this positioning. Strauss and Feiz in their discussion of discourse analysis and stance point out that stance is often expressed not just through prepositional meaning of certain parts of speech, but also through prosodic features, such as increased volume, frequent exhalation or inhalation, laughter, marked, and rising intonation etc. (2014, 4). Thus, in line 7, by asking a question ('do you see it?') and in turn 12, by repeating 'yes' with a rising intonation the teacher attempts to check the understanding of the newly introduced word 'euskalduna', in this way also initiating a next speaker turn (Strauss and Feiz 2014, 182). This understanding is confirmed by S1 in turn 13, where this female student repeats 'euskalduna' after initial hesitation. Even though there was no confirmation from all of the students, the teacher then takes it as a sign for further explanation. In turn 14, he builds suspense with a pause in between the two parts of a conditional utterance and by rising intonation. This utterance is then met with an exclamative, direct evaluation of this conditional proposition by S1. She confirms it by exclaiming the affirmative sentence word 'sí' in line 15, and then by adding an evaluation through a qualifying adverb and adjective 'qué bien' ['how good']. As Strauss and Feiz point out, adverbs 'are often regarded as stance markers par excellence' (2014, 35). 'Adverbs often mimic attitudes, perceptions, viewpoints and epistemic positions vis a vis persons, ideas, concepts, events, objects and the like (...)' (ibid.). Hence, I see turn 15 as an explicit evaluation, showing a positive attitude and acceptance of the conditional proposition, meaning that this student indeed positions herself as willing to be identified with 'euskalduna' identity.

The teacher then continues to elaborate on his initial explanation. Through the use of the adverb 'automáticamente' and a particle sound 'ej' ['eh'] with rising intonation, he adds qualities to the previous proposition. Here 'automatically' indicates a manner of becoming a part of the metaphorical space. It emphasizes the ease with which this happens, conditioned by the knowledge of Basque. In the next turn (17), the teacher provides an evaluation of his previous proposition by stating that it is a 'different understanding of things'. He makes it stand out as something unique and in need of explanation (just as the

previously stated 'Basque society') as the teacher proposes that the idea behind being an 'euskalduna' is different from other conceptions of 'speakers', 'identity' or 'belonging'.

This belonging is only clarified in the next part of the interaction. In lines 19-26, the word 'euskalduna' gains a different meaning. Amorrortu (2003, 12) points out that 'euskalduna' can be used both to denote a Basque speaker (as its etymology suggests explained here by T1), but also a Basque person (just as PM did in episode 5.2). Here, this second meaning is evoked through comparison between other 'national' or 'ethnic' identities and 'euskaldunak'. It becomes clear that 'euskalduna' is not only a linguistic identity, but it becomes elevated to the same level as other ethno-national identities, ones that are politically established and based in separate spaces of political states. When the teacher states (in turn 19) that "if you speak English, you are not English", this proposition is met with an affirmation from several students (turns 20-22). The teacher emphasizes this idea through the use of Basque at the end of the sentence: 'euskalduna zara' ('you are Basque ('speakers)'). In this way he makes 'euskalduna' indexical of Basque national space.

His choice of resources might have been dictated by the fact that the students should be already familiar with the verb 'izan' ('to be') and then would understand this sentence. Another reason might have been the fact that the teacher made a longer pause just before completing the sentence, in this way building a suspense which further underscores the meaning of 'euskalduna' that the teacher wants to convey, or because the verb to be ('zara') was uttered in Basque just as the word preceding it. Nevertheless, since in the entire episode Basque is only used in this context, it leads me to suggest that it is indeed used here to add emphasis to this newly introduced meaning.

Furthermore, the teacher supports this idea by including a 'narrative-in-interaction' (Galasińska and Kozłowska, 2009), related to his own experience and the proposed meaning of 'euskalduna'. In this way (in the anecdote he interacts with Basque speakers) he gives this idea more authenticity (in the sense of it being an example from a real experience) and allows for the students to relate to it by positioning himself as a non-Basque or a newcomer himself. In turns 26 to 35, he develops a short scene in which a dialogue between him and his Basque friends points to the fact that he was being regarded as 'euskaldun'. In this story 'euskalduna' is contrasted with 'Catalan', as the teacher often

positioned himself as Catalan<sup>98</sup>. This evoked other possible ethnically defined identities within the Spanish state and confirmed that the idea of becoming 'euskaldun' is somewhat 'alive on the ground' and presented an evaluation of 'euskalduna' as a difficult concept: it takes some time to comprehend that this identity can be bestowed upon someone who is a speaker of Basque and who perhaps does not initially self-identify with the metaphorical space. In addition, the informality of the background of the narrative (drinking in a tavern) adds to the impression of an integrative and inclusive attitude (similar to the one evoked by the course descriptions) (Strauss and Feiz 2014, 60). The informal style in which the teacher presents the event provokes laughter from the students, which is a sign of not only taking up of the story as humorous, but also of a positive reception of the idea around which the story evolves, as laughter was included in the prosodic features indicative of an affective stance (Strauss and Feiz 2014, 4).

The concept behind 'euskalduna' as constructed in this interaction is based on language mastery (full competence) as indicated by the etymology of the word 'euskaldun'. Those who have Basque become Basque. This idea goes in line with some essentialist ideas with regards to the role of language in the existence of a group identity. This identity here, however, is other ascribed. In the anecdote the teacher initially refuses his own positioning as 'euskaldun'. Later on though, there is no revealing of the self-positioning of the teacher either. After the overt refusals of taking on an 'euskalduna' identity (turns 28-33), the teacher reveals (turn 35) that he understood that 'they were adopting me'. This involves other-identification, rather than his own positioning and may suggest that the identity of 'euskalduna' is not as much based on the knowledge or speaking of Basque, but also on the recognition of being a Basque speaker. This idea is taken up further by S1 in turns 37-43 where she asks how to say 'I will be euskalduna'. Through her question, the student reveals that she does not feel confident enough as a speaker to position herself as 'euskalduna'. She is asking for a future tense phrase equivalent in Basque, in accordance with the teacher's proposition that she might become a 'euskalduna', if she becomes a Basque speaker. This also shows an awareness of the fact that it is not just self-

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<sup>98</sup> In several classroom activities he presented himself as being from Catalonia and during one particular event when the students were asked to give presentations about their countries of origin, when the teacher gave a presentation about Catalonia himself.

identification, but rather other ascribed stance that indicates belonging to the Basque space.

What we see in this episode then, is that the ideas about the ways of belonging to 'Basqueness' are in many ways connected to the essentialist understanding of ethnicity and language as a common unifying trait. Here the essentialist conceptualisation of Basque ethnicity is visible in relation to the 'other' ethnicities like the Poles or the English in the comparison made by T1. On the other hand, 'Basqueness' is represented as bestowed upon someone through their knowledge of the Basque language. While Basque is still indexical of the Basque group identity, the role of belonging through is explicitly shifted towards belonging through language. This goes in line with the official descriptions of the course, where language was seen as a medium for better understanding of an imagined 'Basque society' and inclusion in it.

This idea of gaining access through language may trigger positive attitudes in this particular thematic context (the teacher shifted themes from talking about descriptions of personal appearance to belonging to 'Basqueness'), but not necessarily identification with the imagined host community or space. The student who picked up on the meaning of 'euskaldun' does not position herself as part of this identity, but at most as an aspiring member of that group. This, taken together with the fact that the teacher did not position himself as 'euskaldun' either, shows the symbolic dimension of this representation. However, the fact that the teacher chose to present this to students at this stage of the learning process (the course is addressed to absolute beginners) may suggest that this ability in Basque may not be necessarily considered as a possession of a 'full code'. Additionally, the teacher explicitly labels the students 'new' Basque speakers, which in some way undermines this idea of sufficiency of the partial code (see section 5.1).

The space of 'Basqueness' thus was represented in the cited episode as a space to which access could be gained by partial resources, but at the same time it showed that the discourses which represent this space as a kind of 'nation-state' in essentialist terms are also prominent. In this way the hybridity between representing language as an essential trait of the Basque group identity and representing it as a resource, in which potential competence may be judged according to scales of value, is visible.

As I have shown, in both sets of data: course descriptions and classroom episodes, essentialist and constructionist discourses intertwined in the representations of space of

'Basqueness'. I identified three kinds of space representations in these data: administrative, metaphorical and nation-state like, all of which showed different degrees of indexical links between space, language and the people positioned as belonging to that space. They also positioned migrants differently on the scale of 'belonging' in relation to the space represented.

Similarly, the three different themes in the representations of space are related to different conceptualizations of language: the essentialist one – as a full code marker of identity; and the constructionist one as a resource subject to scalar evaluation, guiding access to the Basque space. These representations confirm that old essentialist and nationalist discourses are still co-present in the conceptualization of space. However, these representations begin to place more emphasis on the constructionist ideological premises, which in the conditions of new globalized economies, also represent language as a product, resource or investment of capital (see also chapter 7). In the discourses related to the teaching of Basque to migrants, language in its constructionist guise, as a resource, was iconically linked to 'Basqueness' and its space, positioning migrants as those willing to join this space through gaining such capital or purchasing such a product – Basque resources, represented as highly valued by the hegemonic institutions of that space. Joining the space in question was often seen as a unidirectional process of integration through language learning. In this way migrants could construct their identity in yet another form of positioning – as belonging to the Basque space.

The analysed episodes, however, showed mainly examples of other ascribed stances and other accepted identifications with the space. But how do migrants represent their own belonging to the Basque space?

#### **5.4 Contexts of Migrants' Self Identification with the Basque Space**

I find it important now to look at migrants' own representations of their belonging to the 'Basque space' and the way that they negotiate this belonging through stance taking. As Blommaert (2005, 209) and Maryns and Blommaert (2001) point out, identity work, i.e. speakers position, as a shifting perspective adopted by speakers in narratives, is "thematically organised, with shifts in identity complementing thematic shifts". I would like to concentrate on how positioning relates to the theme of 'Basque space' and the role of language competence inscribed in the stances of belonging to this space.

#### 5.4.1 Self-identification with Administrative and Metaphorical Space: Partial Resources

In the previously analysed class episode (5.3), partial resources were not recognised as a way of positioning oneself as part of the Basque space, as S1's turns indicated. However, there were contexts and episodes in which such resources were indeed used to position oneself as an 'insider.'

First of them was a direct response to the morning classroom episode. My field notes from the 11<sup>th</sup> morning class on 28.10.2013 show that one of the male students from Senegal came to the class wearing a *txapela*<sup>99</sup> – a Basque beret:

##### Field Note 5.5

I asked S4 why he was wearing a *txapela*. He replied: "ahora que somos vascos"<sup>100</sup> and smiled.

20.11.2013

One of the possible ways of projecting a stance is through the use of clothing (or other personal items which could index a given identity) (Cook 2008, 46). This is what is demonstrated here by S4 and indicated by his use of the temporal indexical adverb ('now'), which refers to the teacher's earlier statement about the students' inclusion in the 'euskalduna' identity; and through his use of first person plural verb ('we are'). While I have not seen S4 wear a *txapela* or any other clothing symbols of 'Basqueness' outside the classroom space, this kind of response was telling, even if only occasionally displayed. In a subsequent interview, S5 admitted being given the *txapela* by an acquaintance:

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<sup>99</sup> A traditional, typical item of clothing from the Basque region and an important symbol of Basque identity (Macías, 2003).

<sup>100</sup> [Now that we are Basque].

## Episode 5.4

[S4: because before I met my wife (.) there was a guy from the Basque Country (.) that had come to my island and he gave me a txapela (>>>) And he told me that it was from the Basque Country (.) and that they spoke a different language from (.) from]<sup>101</sup>

22.11.2013

This suggests that S4 was aware of the symbolism given to *txapela*. Interestingly, he follows the essentialist definition of the Basque space as based on language. However, the fact that he identified himself with the Basque space in the previous conversation, shows that partial resources, and also other symbolic non-linguistic resources, can be used for such identification, evoking constructionist ideological premises and inclusiveness of the metaphorical Basque space.

Identification through partial resources also marked the evaluative time-space scale of the Basque space differently from the Spanish state space. To illustrate this, I will analyse the following excerpt that comes from a group interview conducted with migrant students on the AISA course in Portugalete (area of Bilbao)<sup>102</sup>.

In this excerpt the students are discussing the differences between the Basque space (labels used here are Euskadi or the Basque Country) and other parts of Spain. Interestingly, bilingualism, the Basque language, or the scale in which these linguistic features are of importance is not always evident or marked as one of the first traits of that space by many participants. Here, however, they prove to be a marker of positioning:

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<sup>101</sup> “S5: porque antes que conocí a mi mujer (.) había uno del País Vasco (.) que ha llegado a mi isla (.) y me ha dado una txapela. (>>>) y me ha dicho que es del País Vasco que hablan una otra idioma diferente (.) de (.) de-“

<sup>102</sup> When I visited the euskaltegi in Portugalete I was permitted to use one hour of the classroom time to conduct this interview. Unfortunately, I could not spend more time at this particular location, because this course started relatively late as compared to other AISA courses (that particular euskaltegi waited for an appropriate number of participants to run the course; Personal communication, 2013). Due to this time restriction I could gain only a limited amount of ethnographically informed data. Nevertheless, this particular group interview was illustrative of the students’ motivation and experience with regards to Basque resources in that particular area.

## Episode 5.5

- 1 Int: do you think that Euskadi really is different from Spain? I don't know if you know  
2 much
- 3 PS1: I think that here it's completely-  
4 Int: but many people here say that-  
5 PS1: different from for example Asturias or Galicia (.) it is different because when you  
6 leave (.)when you leave here (.) for example to go to Asturias or Barcelona (.) or  
7 wherever (.) and the way we say good bye here (..) to which we are used to here is  
8 agur↑.you go there and they look at you as if they were saying (.) well and this one↑  
9 Int: uhm.
- 10 PS2: what they say-  
11 PS4: ciao.  
12 PS2: well adios (.) ciao(.) you don't say (..) well they look at us strangely (.) even  
13 worse (.) people say that if you are from- if you live in the Basque Country they look at  
14 you in a worse way↓  
15 Int: uhm.
- 16 PS3: but if they hear you talk and they know (something) about terrorism (laughter)  
17 (incomprehensible)  
18 PS4: everything in Basque↑  
19 PS3: of course↑  
20 PS2: so even if we are foreigners (..) it has happened to me (.) eh?

Here we can see how in lines 6-9 one of the female participants (P2) is constructing a distinction between the space of the Basque Country and other spaces within Spain. She creates this distinction based on the linguistic resources that she has and that she indexes as belonging to the Basque space. This may suggest that she is referring to the 'metaphorical' representation of space as the resources mentioned by her have a symbolic indexical relationship to it and are constructed as partial.

P2 focuses on the function of the Basque word 'agur' ('bye'). In lines 7 and 8, through the use of the first person singular pronoun, she positions herself as being part of this space — where Basque resources are in customary use. The choice of the verb suggests a somewhat involuntary choice of the deployment of these resources, however. By saying 'used to' she suggests that the choice of the Basque word in such contexts is a spontaneous result of socialisation into the Basque space. She emphasizes the use of 'agur' by putting a stress on this word and by using a rising intonation.

In lines 7 and 8, she reveals that this particular resource in Basque becomes undesirable when it travels outside of the Basque space. This indicates the speaker's awareness of the differences in scales that operate in the spaces that she describes. She further underscores the reactions of others, and her own other ascribed positioning as an outsider, by rising intonation at the end of the sentence and by moving the emphasis of the action onto others (it is 'them'- 'others' that look at her in a strange way). Additionally, in other spaces this resource becomes symbolic of her belonging to the Basque space for others, as this identity is somewhat outside of her choice. In lines 13 and 14, she constructs a stance of belonging to the Basque space. This positioning is, however, taken up as undesirable in the space-time scales of the other regions of the Spanish state.

However, this episode contains further complications as to the positioning represented by speaker self-repairs and hesitations. In lines 12-13, her hesitation shows an ambiguity in her self-positioning. On the one hand, she seems to be identifying with 'Basqueness' as a user of Basque partial resources and by using the verb 'to be'. On the other hand, in line 13, she self-repairs by substituting the verb with 'to live', in this way showing an identification with an administrative space, rather than the metaphorical one. This shows that the speaker is not sure of her own status as a Basque speaker and as an insider, raising questions about what constitutes her legitimacy as a user of Basque resources.

In this excerpt it becomes clear that partial Basque resources can be used to be positioned as belonging to the imagined 'Basque society'. It shows that certain language items that perform everyday social functions (such as greetings) can become symbolic of the Basque identity. This identity in this case, however, is other ascribed and operates in a different space-scale than the scale of the Basque space. The speaker admits to using Basque vocabulary in certain contexts, but does not necessarily see it as her own deliberate choice for positioning.

Through this speaker's ambiguity we can observe here a self-positioning as belonging to the Basque space as an administrative space, rather than the metaphorical one. The speaker also raises a question about the legitimacy of such positioning. One of the reasons for this questioning is the fact that these speakers (S1 and P2) have a limited ability in Basque and may not recognize themselves as legitimate speakers (see section 6.2), or they still see themselves as migrants without fully recognised belonging to a 'state-space' – as in line 20 – which in turn makes it unlikely for them to position themselves as part of the metaphorically constructed Basque space either. In this vein, the idea that partial resources may become a gateway into the 'euskalduna' identity is not always shared by migrants fully, despite such premises behind partial resources proposed in the course descriptions or in the previously discussed classroom episode (see episode 5.3).

#### **5.4.2 Self-identification with Administrative and Metaphorical Space: Advanced Resources**

Another issue to consider is the instances when positioning with regards to belonging to the Basque space is expressed in the light of understanding of language as a 'full code'. Such 'competent' speakers should be more likely to be positioned as insiders to the constructed metaphorical space or to position themselves as such, if the link between space and language is considered. Nevertheless, in such cases self-positioning is not devoid of influences of various ideological premises which show the complexity of identification with relation to the Basque space.

For instance, the following excerpt comes from an interview with a young male Mauritanian participant from Guipuzkoa:

## Episode 5.6

- 1 [LM: if they already know me (.) already know that I speak Basque(.) in the street no
- 2 one speaks Castilian to me(.) everyone speaks Basque with me (>>>) I have never felt
- 3 that they treated me badly because(.) well because they all speak Basque with me
- 4 and (.) I think that this has- they think of you (.) bai. this one is from here. This one is
- 5 already from here.]<sup>103</sup>

In this excerpt, LM shows how speaking Basque has indeed given him a new way of positioning. In lines 3-4 he explicitly states that someone who speaks Basque ('todos hablan conmigo euskera') is considered as belonging to the 'Basque space' ('este es de aquí; ya es de aquí'). He also attributes the lack of discrimination towards him as a foreigner (his identification as a black person) to the fact that he is able to use Basque resources fully.

This extract also shows the intertwining of essentialist and constructionist discourses in the representation of belonging and self-positioning:

## Episode 5.7

- 1 [Int: do you feel like you are from here if they say this to you?
- 2 LM: yes (laughs) I also feel like I am from here. That's the truth. Yes. Yes.]<sup>104</sup>

LM admits that the Basque language for him is indeed a tool for constructing a positive stance of belonging. He self-identified with the space and at the same time identified himself with the category of migrant (by using the label 'un negro' and the indexical adverb 'aquí') or was other identified as such (line 4) in light of his Basque resources possession, without the essentialist premise of belonging to a state-space through citizenship or being born within that space. On the other hand, despite Basque resources used for such a

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<sup>103</sup> M: sí ya me conocen (.) ya saben que hablo euskera (.) en la calle nadie me habla castellano (.) todos hablan conmigo en euskera (>>>) yo nunca he sentido que me han tratado mal porque- ya bueno todos hablan conmigo euskera (.) yo creo que eso también me ha te consideran (.) bai este es de aquí ya este es de aquí.

<sup>104</sup> Int: te sientes de aquí también si te dicen esto?

M: sí (laughs) yo también me siento de aquí. la verdad que sí (.) sí.

positioning, language remains connected to the Basque space as indexical of it, just as it was done in the previously analysed data. Moreover, there is no mention of the Basque space as being bilingual or Castilian speaking. Rather, the essentialist link between Basque speakers, space and language is still replicated.

A similar instance of self-identification with the Basque space involving full-code Basque knowledge comes from an interview with three proficient Basque speakers from Poland:

### Episode 5.8

- 1 PD: you talk with some ordinary simple person (.) who has some kind of a positive
- 2 attitude towards Basque (.) and then it appears that there comes someone from
- 3 Poland (.) from the other end of the world because they don't really know where
- 4 Poland is (.) somewhere near Russia yeah? And they speak Basque (.) and then it
- 5 always happens that they look at you being moved. sometimes when I don't want
- 6 to explain the whole story of my life (.) then I say that I am from Vitoria- but you
- 7 don't look like!
- 8 PN: what a lie!
- 9 PD: I've lived in casco viejo my entire life and what's the problem?
- 10 (LAUGHTER)
- 11 PN: really?
- 12 PD: really↓
- 13 PN: you're wonderful!

Here the use of Basque allows D to identify herself with the metaphorical Basque space, based on her language ability ("from Vitoria"; "my whole life in the Old Town"). This identification is, however, done to disguise any possible positioning as a foreigner (line 5). Here, again, the essentialist link between language and identity, showing that for D her identity as a migrant is significant, is not completely abandoned. At the same time, Basque resources allow her to be recognised and to position herself as belonging to the Basque space. It is not done, though, in order to ease integration, but rather in order to disguise the self-identified otherness as a migrant.

All the above analysed episodes show instances of self-identification in interaction with relation to the Basque space. This identification is done not only through language as the main indexical of the space either understood as partial or full-code resources, but also through other means, such as the use of certain symbols, or other characteristics of the space. The way that space is represented in interaction (whether as metaphorical or not) plays a significant part in stance projection. Certain representations of space do not allow for seeing language as the main identificational factor. Self-identification also depends on other-recognition, which in turn is likely to be dependent on those understood as the insiders to that space.

## 5.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I concentrated my analysis on one of the earlier identified thematic representations of 'Basqueness' as a group identity: the representation of space. As evidenced by my data, space was seen as an important factor in the expression of 'Basqueness' which allowed to situate this group identity and, in turn, position migrants with relation to it. At the same time, the space of 'Basqueness' was constructed differently in the distinct forms of data analysed, but always involving an intertwining of essentialist and constructionist ideologies. I identified space as constructed in my data in three ways: administrative space; state-like space and metaphorical space. It is this last theme that the premises behind the teaching of Basque to migrants mainly refer to in the promotion of Basque as a tool for integration of those perceived as 'others'. It is also through the construction of such space that language activists intend to break with the exclusive and essentialist nature of the receiving space.

However, none of the constructed spaces is completely devoid of the essentialist imagery. Rather, each of these thematic representations of space of 'Basqueness' shows how both essentialist and constructionist discourses interlink. This allows for different forms of identification with the constructed space – depending on its representation and the role of language in such representation. The representation of 'Basqueness' based on the metaphorical space sees language as a resource and language speakers as users of repertoires of resources to various degrees. Such conceptualizations of language and space allow for a revalorization of partial resources according to spatio-temporal scales which in

turn allow for partial resources to be markers of stance that indexes their belonging to 'Basqueness'.

However, this re-evaluation is not entirely taken up by speakers 'on the ground', as essentialist discourses are still relevant for them. This relevance makes self-identification dependant on essentialist characteristics of the space, full-code language knowledge or other pre-defined categories of belonging. When partial resources are used for identification, they still seem to be dependent on administrative or state-like representations of space, rather than on language as an inclusive marker of belonging. Moreover, they are used to self-identify with the space when the interlocutors are also perceived as 'outsiders' to 'Basqueness' or in order to resist a negative valorisation of one's resources.

While the idea of partial resources as giving access to the Basque space through providing migrants with 'knowledge about Basque society' or 'Basqueness' and then an identification possibility, which allows for an easier integration understood as a unidirectional effort taken up by migrants, is intended to break with the essentialist views of identity, language and community, moving towards a more open definition of 'Basqueness' and a change in indexical ties given to Basque resources; it is not always used as such by the participants, and if so, it does not do away with other essential reference categories. It is also dependant on the recognition of one as a speaker (more often based on full-code resources, rather than partial ones) by those understood as belonging to the space of 'Basqueness'.

Further questions remain to be explored, such as: on what basis does this recognition come about? Who is understood as one belonging to the Basque space as a legitimate 'insider'? Also, which of the three representations is the authentic Basque space? All these questions concentrate around the notion of 'authenticity' which I see as another theme in the representations of 'Basqueness' and which I will discuss in the following chapter.



## Chapter 6: Authenticity in the Representations of 'Basqueness'

In the previous chapter I have shown that discourses related to the representations of the space of 'Basqueness' and the role of language in group identity as based within such space are also influencing the individual positioning of migrants. These representations of space drawn by and for migrants are influenced by essentialism and constructionism, which intertwine and show how discourses around the role of language in group identity, revitalization of language and bilingualism or multilingualism in minority language contexts are undergoing a shift towards a greater presence of non-essentializing discourses — which become increasingly relevant in the construction of social categories and identities (Jaffe, 2007a; Heller, 2010).

This hybridity and tensions between the two ideological sets are present not only in discourses containing representations of 'Basqueness' related to space, but also in discourses related to authenticity — a quality whose meaning and theoretical considerations I discussed in section 2.7.2, and which classifies what (such as what language variety or what kind of language competence), who (which social actors and with what qualities) and which spaces (and according to which criteria) become constructed as legitimately belonging to the 'metaphorical' Basque space.

In this chapter I will analyse how the quality of authenticity is constructed by and represented to migrant learners of Basque, with regards to space, language and speakers. I will show contexts in which certain spaces, language varieties and users of Basque resources become constructed as more authentic than others, influencing the positioning of migrants.

### 6.1 Authenticity of Spaces

#### 6.1.1 Presence of Authentic Actors and Authentic Resources

As I have shown in the previous chapter, the representations of 'Basqueness' as situated in a space could be categorised threefold (state-like, administrative and metaphorical). Access to such space was seen as variable upon the way that 'language' was conceived of, among many other conditions. I also identified some representations of the Basque space

which portrayed it as fragmented, in the sense that certain places became more authentic than others, often, but not always through language use criteria. There appeared to be certain nuclei of authenticity based often on the perceived number of speakers or the perceived frequency of Basque language use. These representations also often reflected the statistical data discussed in chapter 4, with regards to the numbers of speakers in particular geographical areas. This shows how spaces for the speaking of Basque are perceived; as well as draws on the presence of scales which evaluate Basque as a valuable resource within these nuclei.

First of all, these nuclei are distributed on a geographical and an administrative level, i.e. within the administrative provinces, or urban and rural areas. For instance, the capital city of V-G, was often represented by the teacher of the evening group as a non-Basque speaking space:

#### **Field Note 6.1**

“At some point T2 said that ‘in Vitoria people will not understand what you say if you speak Basque anyway’. Then she continued to talk about the revival of Basque in Vitoria and the situation of the language in the city.”

9.10.2013

#### **Field Note 6.2**

“T2 said that in Vitoria it is difficult to hear many Basque things.”

21.10.2013

Vitoria was thus represented as a place in which Basque was only gaining value in the spatio-temporal scale due to the efforts of the revival movement. However, these efforts were evaluated as unsuccessful – as evidenced by her second remark. Such a representation is contradictory to the previously discussed aims of the AISA course (which drew the possibility of access to the Basque space through Basque language resources), as it suggests that ‘Basque society’ might not be in fact Basque speaking or that knowledge of Basque is not in any way useful for integration.

Here, the teacher constructs a rather negative attitude towards the use of Basque as supposedly projected by other actors – residents of V-G. This is done through her use of negative sentences and the adverb ‘anyway’ or the quantifier ‘many’. She evaluates Basque resources as ones that do not have much value for migrants, neither for instrumental nor for integrative means, due to their supposedly low value in the city. Her expression: “not many Basque things” may refer to the fact that the Basque resources used in V-G are not sufficient to be regarded as competent or ‘full-code’ language use. Without such use, the space of V-G does not become ‘Basque enough’– in accordance with essentializing indexical link between language, people and space.

Some of the participants in Vitoria would also conclude that they enrolled in the course despite knowing of the apparent low use of Basque in the space of the city:

### Episode 6.1

S3: yes. I knew that in Vitoria it wasn’t the place where people spoke Basque. That it was more of a tradition to speak Castilian. But well- I still wanted to learn.<sup>105</sup>

Here the speaker directly evokes this essentialist link by her use of the word ‘tradición’. However, this link does not impede her constructing a positive attitude towards Basque. Similar strong indexicalities were brought up when referring to the space of V-G as even more fragmented. Let me consider the following episode from the previously cited group interview with participants from Vitoria-Gasteiz (episode 5.1). In this episode the space of V-G becomes constructed as a space of various nuclei of authenticity based on language resources:

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<sup>105</sup> “S5: sí. sabía que en Vitoria- no era el sitio donde se solía hablar euskera. que era más de tradición que hablan castellano. pero bueno. aún me animé a aprender.”

## Episode 6.2

- 1 Int: and here do people speak Basque? can you hear it on the streets (.) or are  
2 there only some places where people speak Basque?  
3 S1: there are places. yes.  
4 Int: yes?  
5 S1: there are bars and there are people that I saw only speak Basque. you know?  
6 S13: and at the university too.  
7 S2: also (.) right?  
8 S13: yes.  
9 S3: yes. young people.  
10 S1: that's it. the very old ones and the younger ones. those in the middle they are  
11 more-they speak Castilian (.) you know? But the younger today-  
12 S3: they study in Basque. that's it.  
13 S2: it is now I think that they study in Basque. because before (.) it wasn't a  
14 language that- that you had to learn (.) right?  
15 S3: yes. It's because they have a system of linguistic models. from A model.  
16 everything in Castilian. and everything Basque (→ continues to explain)  
17 Int: and do you tend to go to these places where they only speak Basque (.) or do  
18 you prefer other ones?  
19 S1: no. but in these sites in the ones I have been to (.) even if they only speak ()  
20 it's not that they only speak Basque. the people there (.) yes. They tend to speak  
21 a lot in Basque. but it is also possible to speak in Castilian (.) you know? if I go  
22 there (.) and they know that I don't speak Basque. they will speak to me in  
23 Castilian. the people that are waiters there. but there are more people who speak  
24 Basque there. as if they were more Basque themselves. more Basques than  
25 Spanish go there. so they say.

In this episode, migrant students from Vitoria have no difficulty in pointing out the sites within the city where according to them Basque is spoken more and evaluated higher in the language hierarchy of the city space – and thus also constructed as more authentic. S2

provides examples of such places and S3 and S1 agree with her statement, providing even more examples of such Basque speaking sites (line 3, 5 and 6), which are both institutional and non-institutional, therefore belonging to different 'centring institutions' (Blommaert, 2005), including both formal (university) and informal (bars) space-scales. In fact, later on in the conversation it is the informal sites that get explored more, thus showing that the participants are also aware of, subjected to and participate in the 'authenticity' construction 'on the ground'.

As the conversation continues, the use of Basque in educational institutions is explained by S5. This is an example of recognition of value hierarchies constructed by official language policy. My question (lines 17-18) about the participation or presence in those spaces identified earlier as authentically Basque, triggered a redefinition of the understanding of language hierarchies in the informal spaces of V-G by S1. S1 shows that there are in fact different scales at play there. He starts with a conditional ('even though they only speak Basque'), which is then cut off by a period of hesitation, after which he provides a repair, contradicting the fact that such spaces are only reserved for Basque resources. He continues to say that Castilian speakers are also welcome and that his Castilian resources would be valid in such spaces. Nevertheless, he still sees such spaces as more likely Basque speaking and as a space where more 'Basques' can be found. 'Basques' are defined here as most of all users of Basque resources. In this way such spaces become re-authenticated through the presence of Basque speakers.

What is interesting about S3's turn is the fact that what at the beginning seemed to be an attempt at classifying certain spaces as authentically Basque through the presence of Basque resources, turned out to be a way of showing that such spaces also validate the presence of other resources. In such way the authentic space of 'Basqueness' is constructed not only through the indexical link between Basque language use and authentic identity – thus understood in essentialist terms, but would also include Castilian resources or bilingualism in the definition of 'Basqueness' or perhaps even partial Basque resources – showing inclusiveness of group identity towards varying linguistic repertoires.

However, S3 also moves from the space to the people who belong to such space. He admits that there are more Basque speakers included in the space described (in line 23). At the same time he suggests that Castilian resources are welcome when one's Basque resources are not sufficient (lines 21-22). Here there is no indication as to whether these

resources need to be understood as a full language competence. However, it comes later when the evaluation of speakers of Basque as ‘Basques’ is understood in essentialist terms in the light of the indexicality that connects group identity and ethnicity with language (“en este sitio van más vascos que españoles”). So, even if there is a move towards the re-authentication of this space as inclusive of multilingual or bilingual resources and a move away from the essentialist conceptualization of space, the presence of Basque resources as a marker of Basque ethnicity is still drawn upon. In this way essentialist indexical links are still present in the discourses on fragmented space to a certain extent.

In this episode then, certain spaces within the urban area of Vitoria became marked out as authentically Basque because of the perceived high level of Basque use or as sites where Basque speakers constructed as authentic actors can be found. This authentication is done, however, through treating Basque as a full code, a possession and an essential quality of these authenticated actors. Therefore, authenticated actors that use authenticated full-code resources make the space be perceived as authentic.

### 6.1.2 Urban vs. Rural Space

A similar treatment of space is also found when it comes to the opposition: urban vs rural. Rural spaces were often represented as more Basque speaking and this criteria marked them out as more authentic<sup>106</sup>. Representations of fragmented urban space or the urban vs. rural dichotomy were constructed not only in Vitoria, but also in other urban areas. For instance, this is an episode from a group interview that I conducted in an AEK euskaltegi<sup>107</sup> in a suburb of San Sebastián, with three participants: a young female participant from Argentina, a young male from Portugal and an elderly female from Ecuador:

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<sup>106</sup> However, there were indication that such a dichotomy is not adequate, as for instance, after one of the evening classes I spoke to the teacher: “The teacher said that it is not applicable anymore that Basque is only spoken in rural areas. She said the cities have enough Basque now. It contradicts what she said about Vitoria?” (21.10.2013).

<sup>107</sup> “AEK (Alfabetatze Euskalduntze Koordinakundea) [is an organism whose objective is the idea of revival of Basque and the ‘revasconization’ of Euskal Herria. It is the most important organization in the area of Basque revival and literacy teaching to adults and the only one that develops its activity in the whole of Euskal Herria, despite the administrative divisions. We have more than 100 centres and evening schools, and around 600 teachers.]” (AEK, no date; my own translation)

### Episode 6.3

- 1 Int: but here in the city (.) are there many people who speak Basque? do you hear a  
2 lot of Basque or not?  
3 K: you hear a lot of Castilian too↓  
4 L: I thought it would be more-  
5 K: me too eh?  
6 L: I told myself (.)uy let's see there will be a lot more people who speak- but no.  
7 K: you thought you were going to hear more people speaking Basque (.) right?  
8 L: yes.  
9 K: me too. me too.  
10 L: yes. and at some point- I mean on the one hand (.) it's easier when you just come  
11 here because I don't know (.) but on the other hand it's like I would like Basque to  
12 be spoken more and (.) I don't know.  
13 K: yes yes yes yes.  
14 L: I feel sorry that people from here don't speak it.  
15 K: yeah but they speak more in the interior.  
16 L: yes.  
17 M: of course.  
18 L: a lot more.  
19 M: when I came to H\* (.) let's see (.) my in-laws and all this. and in H\*everything(.)  
20 everything everything in the village (.) everywhere you could hear it in al- I didn't  
21 understand anything (.) and I said to myself (.) my God! what what am I going to do  
22 here?everyone in Basque- in the (.) we went out to the market in Basque- in H\* (.)  
23 and in the family of my husband(.) everything in Basque↑ I was becoming crazy!  
24 K: yes. sure (laughter)  
25 M: I didn't understand anything.  
26 K: a pattern comes out. it's this one.  
27 M: and little by little (.) I mean (.) I learn with my (.) with the daughters and all. the  
28 small ones. ogia. ogia hartu. emazu. I am learning little by little. things.

All participants agree that there is a dichotomy between rural and urban spaces of the area when it comes to the use of Basque. The young participants, who at the beginning of the interview admitted to having arrived in the BAC a relatively short time before, are expressing surprise at the perceived low level of Basque use in the city of San Sebastián. In line 14, L suggests that she “feels sorry that the people who are from here (the Basque Country) do not speak it.” The deictic ‘here’ in her turn refers to the ‘Basque space’ and the pronoun ‘it’ to Basque as a language characteristic of that space. Such understanding is essentialist in nature, guided by the monolingual state ideology which creates the indexicality between language, people and space (“who are from here”), and the entire exchange in this particular episode is oriented towards such a scale.

K then points to the fact that Basque is spoken more in the interior, by which he refers to the rural areas of the BAC, located more towards the interior of the Peninsula. This is taken up by H who provides a short in-interaction narrative (Galasińska and Kozłowska, 2009) in lines 19 to 23, which refers back to the fact that Basque is seen to be spoken more in rural areas. She talks about her arrival in H\* a small town in Gipuzkoa. This short narrative is very emotional for the speaker as evidenced from the various repetitions, rising intonation and qualifiers. In lines 19-20 she repeats the modifier ‘todo’ and uses it to describe spaces and actors in H\* which she considered as Basque speaking: ‘pueblo’, ‘mercado’, ‘familia’, ‘marido’. In this way she points to a scale in which local spaces characterised by familiarity are invested with Basque. Similarly, these spaces can be considered as nuclei of authenticity based on language use, within this already more Basque speaking rural space.

She also expresses a positioning that situates her outside of the space of this familiarity. In her statement: “I didn’t understand anything and I said to myself: My God! What am I going to do here?” (line 21) the emphasis on the deictic ‘here’, which refers to the space of the town, and her use of the exclamative discourse marker ‘my God!’, both add to the evaluation of the space as unfamiliar, similarly to the interrogative statement posed at the end of her turn.

This short description leaves floor for K to provide an evaluation according to which this is a typical linguistic model of the situation in the area. This statement reveals what she understands the language hierarchies to be like in the scale of the space of the city and its suburbs. In this episode then, it becomes clear that there is an opposition between the scales and values attached to Basque in the urban space and in the rural space. In this way,

Basque speakers are positioned as those belonging to a rural, familiar space on the basis of language competence and language use categories.

K positions herself in this exchange in terms of an epistemic stance as someone knowledgeable when it comes to language use, and as surprised at the lack of use of Basque resources and their low instrumental capacity. This surprise stems from an evaluation of the space as 'ethnically Basque' and therefore as one that needs to be constructed as 'Basque speaking.' Scarce use of Basque resources points to the fact that the city space is constructed as less authentic.

In lines 26-27, the participant from Ecuador continues to provide the rest of her narrative. Interestingly, she does not comment or refer back to any of the previous turns and evaluations provided by K. In her last turns she refers to her learning of Basque with her grandchildren. In these turns she uses some Basque as an example of the kind of resources that she is able to learn. Her last sentence 'I am learning little by little. things.' positions her as included in the familiar space as opposed to lines 23 ('I was becoming crazy') and line 21 ('I didn't understand anything'). In this sense then, partial resources could serve as a way of identification with the authenticated space, as they are represented as sufficient to communicate with authentic actors, e.g. grandchildren.

### **6.1.3 Authentic Metaphorical Space and State-like Space**

Another two episodes that contain the representations of authenticity related to space come from an interview with two participants from Paraguay, who were alumni of the AISA course in Vitoria. They are both female and both had spent seven years residing in the Spanish state. One of them lived in the south of Spain before moving to the BAC. In these episodes authenticity is also constructed as based on language, and the representations of space drawn here are related to the 'metaphorically' constructed spaces of cultural participation or 'state-like' representations.

## Episode 6.4

- 1 H: this thing of Basque (.) when people know you are an immigrant and (.) you  
2 know (.) because there are many people who are from here-  
3 Int: uhm.  
4 H: and that don't speak Basque. and when you begin to respond. speak. reply. they  
5 stay surprised that you would know more than them (.) who are from here with the  
6 little time that one spent here that you understand more than they-  
7 Int: that you make an effort?  
8 H: I mean (.) exactly that you make effort to learn something (..) anything.  
9 Int: uhm.  
10 J: I think that maybe they like it. those who speak Basque (.) they like it because  
11 they think that we adapt more but (..) maybe they are very opinionated and they  
12 don't want to say (..) they don't want to say it.  
13 H: yes yes yes. most (incomprehensible)  
14 J: so they are surprised because they realize that you are here because you want (.)  
15 [because you like their country]

In this episode, H constructs the authenticity of the imaginary space of 'Basqueness' as defined through the knowledge of the language and the presence of authentic actors linked to that space. This construction is influenced by the nationalist, monolingual state-space, since she refers to that space as a country (in line 15), guided by the assumption that people born within a national space are expected to be fluent in the language associated with that space; and by N's evaluation of the 'insiders' as breaching the essentialist link between a monolithic group such as 'Basque society' and language variety – Basque – as characteristic of this 'society'. In this way language here is initially treated more as a quality rather than a resource, and language competence as a possession of a 'full-code' – an essential characteristics, rather than truncated repertoires.

In her two turns, H uses the phrase “people from here” or “they who are from here” to juxtapose what she understands as the Basque group identity with immigrant identity. It is a juxtaposition of those who belong to the Basque space and do not possess Basque resources and those who supposedly are not meant to have the qualities to belong to that space, but who possess these resources: “there are many people who are from here and don’t speak Basque” vs. “little time that one spent here (.) that you understand more than they do.” Her use of second person verb ‘you are’ with ‘immigrant’ positions her as a member of the latter group. Her conditional sentence in line 1 (“when people know”) and the use of the impersonal pronoun ‘one’ is also a way of distancing herself from that group, positioning herself in light of a positive epistemic stance (her tone is assertive and she talks about “one knowing more than others”) and providing a general type evaluation of the process of learning of Basque by migrants as a positive one.

At the same time this process of learning is represented as an acquisition of partial resources (line 8: ‘anything’). Also the last utterances of her turn (lines 4-6) may lead to understand the resources in question as truncated, due to the presence of the comparative ‘more’ which suggest incomplete repertoires on the inside of the ‘Basque group’. This, together with the fact that the knowledge of Basque allows for an ‘outsider’ to be integrated and thus be legitimately included in the constructed space (lines 10-11), suggests a constructionist view of language and its role in the group identity formation. However, in line 11, J points out that the process of integration is in fact unidirectional, and based on the premises that the ‘outsiders’ become involved in the reproduction of a monolithic culture with a uniform language as its characteristics – so in accordance with essentializing ideologies. Nevertheless, such construction of integration allows J to position herself as within that space (lines 14-15).

In this way it can be observed that the understanding of language, language competence and group identity is showing tensions created by the presence of both essentialist and constructionist ideologies, as well as the varying evaluations of Basque resources in the spatio-temporal scales of constructed spaces.

The second episode from the same interview shows a division of the metaphorical space of ‘Basqueness’ in which again certain spaces become more authentic than others, this time in relation to cultural practices. Language is still a marker of authenticity in this representation of space:

## Episode 6.5

- 1 Int: do you go to the fiestas?  
2 H: yes. on the fourth. well (.) fourth? of- or fifth?  
3 J: uh?  
4 H: fourth or fifth?  
5 J: heh?  
6 H: fourth or fifth of August was the 'fiesta de la blanca'?  
7 J: ah! fourth- zeledon. and fifth- la blanca.  
8 H: but now it looks more international because we- more foreigners are there (laugh)  
9 J: (laughs)  
10 Int: yes. well.  
11 J: I don't. I mean. the typical fiestas from here. yes. I tend to go to almost all of them.  
12 However (.) the bad thing is they don't always tell you what they are about. or that  
13 they tend to only speak Basque(.) and of course (.) If you don't speak 100% Basque  
14 you don't understand it.  
15 H: oh ok.  
15 J: so they don't get closer to immigrants either.  
16 Int: and they don't try to explain it in Castilian?  
17 J: people who notice maybe they do-  
18 H: now I hear stories of (.) what was the battle of Vitoria like. things like this. now I  
19 am getting to know more. I don't know. you learn this with the years. not- no-

In this part of the interview I asked the informants about their participation in the local fiestas. Interestingly, they both admitted to participating in them, but there seemed to be a misunderstanding as to the date when these holidays take place. After J's correction about the date of the celebrations, H provides an evaluation of the fiestas which can be conceptualized here as part of the construction of a metaphorical space. Her evaluation is a projection of an epistemic stance through the use of the verb 'seem' which puts her in the position of not having certainty as to the perceived internationalisation of that space.

The use of the adjective ‘international’ delegitimizes the space of the fiestas as authentic, as it creates the idea of availability of that space to ‘others’ i.e. non-Basques.

By using the first person plural verb ‘we are’ she positions herself within the group of those that she labels ‘foreigners’. Her laughter, at the end of her turn, projects her evaluation as a positive attitude towards this space. It is also later shared by J. This suggests a joint construction of an attitude towards the space seen as ‘international’ – and thus not authenticated as exclusively Basque. J’s next turn is somewhat contradictory to the previous propositions. She denies participating in the local events (line 11), but then repairs her initial negative statement by saying that she indeed participates in what she labels as ‘typical fiestas’ (line 11). The adjective ‘typical’ points to a greater authenticity of such fiestas: they are typically found in the metaphorical space and are unique to such space.<sup>108</sup>

The space of the fiestas ‘tipicas’ becomes authenticated as a space of ‘Basqueness’ through the use of Basque. J proposes that the access to that space is in fact dependent on one’s competence in Basque. Such competence is described as a full-code knowledge (‘a hundred percent’) and only as such allows for an ‘authentic’ understanding of, and therefore, also authentic participation in that event-space. This contradicts the propositions and assumptions presented in the aims of the course, discussed in the previous chapter, in which limited knowledge of Basque was meant to provide sufficient means for participation and inclusion in the Basque metaphorical space. Further, J suggests that the perceived unwillingness to speak a different language is a refusal to open up the space to ‘others’ (line 15). She also resists the understanding of integration as a unidirectional process, involving just ‘outsiders’.

In the next turn the action of integration, which was previously described as a responsibility of ‘newcomers’, is moved to ‘the locals’ through the use of the third person plural pronoun as the subject of the utterance. It suggests that the Basque space in question is not opened to ‘others’ as the process of integration is not seen as bidirectional. In this way ‘migrants’ are delegitimised from that space as ‘the locals’, ‘authentic’ ‘Basque society’ do not ‘get closer’ to ‘the others’ (line 15).

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<sup>108</sup> (Typical, in Spanish: *típico*, meaning [peculiar or characteristic of a person, place or a thing etc.] (que es peculiar o característico de una persona, de un lugar o una cosa etc.); Oxford Dictionaries, 2015)

However, the following three turns re-establish the rules of access to that space. J admits that occasionally, the possibility of participation in the events of the authenticated space is opened up, through Castilian resources. However, such resources, in the scale that this imagined space was organised in, were not seen as a gatekeeping code of authenticity, just as Basque resources were. Basque resources are represented as having a higher value, as they allow for a full participation in the activities of that space. Castilian is projected as more of a 'lingua franca' type of resource which is clearly only used with the 'outsiders'.

There were also other observed indications of such a gatekeeping function of Basque language resources to the Basque metaphorical space. During my stay in Vitoria-Gasteiz, together with a few other participants of the morning class AISA course, I was a spectator of the celebrations of Vitoria-Gasteiz Green Capital Award. While this award, according to the European Commission, is granted to "urban spaces whose local authorities work to improve their environment" (Europa.eu, 2015), the celebrations of Vitoria-Gasteiz also included events which had little to do with ecological or environmental issues. One of the events that we witnessed was a concert of a folk music group, which, apart from the presentation of the band's own songs, included commonly known Basque folk songs, which were intended for the audience to sing along with the band. Lyrics to these songs were distributed among the audience. This kind of event matched the representation of such spaces provided by J, as the event was clearly intended for Basque speakers or at least those whose resources allowed them to read the lyrics provided. We later enquired about this event. The morning group teacher explained and translated what he referred to as the "traditional Basque songs that most people know" for us. This example suggests that the aims of language courses such as AISA remains unresolved, because it becomes clear that such limited resources in Basque are more likely not to grant access to authenticated spaces, or such access is possible through Castilian rather than Basque — despite Basque's higher value in the spatio-temporal scales in which these events can be placed.

Basque space was, therefore, often projected as fragmented — showing a higher authenticity of certain places. This authenticity is connected to perceived language use ("that it was more Basque speaking"; "in H\* everything in Basque"), the presence of authenticated actors ("as if they were more Basque themselves"), located within both formal (institutional — "and the university too") and informal (non-institutional — "typical fiestas from here"; "there are bars") spaces within the main cities such as V-G or San

Sebastián; or located within rural rather than urban spaces. It is also based on the essentialist indexical link between Basque language, people and spaces. While some of the representations allow for the presence of ‘outsiders’ and other resources used by them (such as Castilian), the Basque authentic space is still marked by Basque language resources in particular – whether they are partial, bilingual or multilingual. This shows how essentialist and constructionist ideologies intertwine in the representations of constructed authentic spaces.

Similarly, when identification with or participation in the authenticated space, whether metaphorical or ste-like, as a form of belonging was made, it was often performed by using other means than Basque resources, for instance by the use of Castilian as a ‘lingua franca’ or by representing the Basque space as ‘international’, multi- or bilingual. When such an identification is made through partial Basque resources, as in the case of J and H, it is portrayed as recognised by authenticated actors or as a form of a unidirectional effort at integration.

## 6.2 Authenticity of Speakers

Another area in which authenticity issues were raised by migrant informants is the representation of authentic Basque speakers. In this section I would like to concentrate on how authentic Basque speakers are represented by migrants and to migrants, as well as to explore how the quality of authenticity influences the construction of language competence and, in turn, the positioning of migrants with relation to the category of an ‘authentic speaker’.

Firstly, I will get back to the morning group classroom episode (5.3) analysed in the previous chapter. In that episode in lines 42-58, the teacher responded to a question posed by one of the students: how to express in Basque the sentence: ‘I will be euskalduna’. The teacher supplied the answer, but at that point, he also took the opportunity to introduce a new concept to his students. After labelling the students ‘euskaldunes’, and after explaining to them the denotational meaning of this term, the teacher introduced two new concepts: *euskaldun berria*<sup>109</sup> and *euskaldun zaharra*<sup>110</sup>. In line

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<sup>109</sup> Or euskaldunberri: “a term (...) to refer to those who have learned (Basque) language by means other than family transmission.” (Ortega et al 2015,85)

47, he used Basque resources again, to announce to the students that they are in fact what he labels 'new Basque speakers'. Following, in line 48, T1 introduced another concept: old Basque speakers 'euskaldun zaharrak'. In this way he created a division between two types of speakers, which was further emphasized through his repetition in line 47. He explained 'euskaldun zaharrak' by evaluating these speakers as 'indigenous' or 'native'. This created an idea of 'old' speakers as those who belong to the Basque space as more authentic: those who speak Basque as native speakers as well as those born in the Basque space, i.e. native to it. In line 47 then, by calling the students 'euskaldunes nuevos', he suggested that they are different and perhaps less authentic Basque speakers than the native, old speakers. This kind of evaluation contradicted his previous proposition regarding the students' partial resources as sufficient for an authenticated euskalduna identity. However, he repairs this constructed division by providing a contradictory sentence that implies that Basque speakers, whether new or old, are valued as more authentic or desirable in the space-scale of the classroom and the Basque space, than non-Basque speakers. This is indeed confirmed by T1's words, in lines 50-54, in which he provides a conditional statement suggesting that someone born in the BAC, but who does not speak Basque, cannot be labelled 'euskalduna'.

This episode shows that authenticity is a quality that strongly influences the identity of a speaker of Basque and it is indeed often created upon a dichotomy between new and old Basque speakers<sup>111</sup>. Here it was made explicit to the migrant students that they would belong to the first category, or even that they already do so, with their 'limited' resources. This proposition shows two contradicting ideas: one which allows for anyone to belong to the metaphorical, imagined Basque space (in this case, especially migrants, since the students on the AISA course are already willing to use their partial resources in Basque); and the second one which shows that despite this openness of group identity, there exist various levels of belonging to the Basque metaphorical space guided by the ideological construction of authenticity. According to such construction in the spatio-temporal scale in which it operates, more valuable speakers are those understood as native speakers. However, the teacher contradicted this ideological premise in his last utterance, re-establishing the idea of belonging to the Basque space as a way of belonging through any

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<sup>110</sup> "Euskaldun zaharra (from zahar(ra)'old') is usually translated as 'native speaker of Basque.'" (ibid., 94)

<sup>111</sup> (For a more detailed analysis of Basque new speakers see Ortega et al, 2015).

kind of linguistic competence in Basque, not just through 'native-speakerism'. Such a proposition undermined the previously established dichotomous division based on authenticity and the indexicality between 'authentic speaker' and 'native speaker' in the metaphorically understood space.

As with this particular classroom episode, authentic speaker construction based on 'native speakerism' was observed in some of the participant interviews. Going back to episode 6.2, it becomes clear that spaces understood as authentic become quickly associated with the actors that occupy them, showing the existence of an indexical link between space and people. S1's turn in lines 10 and 11 forms an interesting example in which he tries to provide an evaluation for the inhabitants of the Basque space with a qualifying adjective. He does not finish this utterance ("those in the middle are more-"), and he describes them as those who speak Castilian instead. As the conversation continues, after describing the authentic space as a space that allows for Castilian speakers as well, he actually moves his evaluation from space to speakers. He admits that such spaces have more Basque speakers than other spaces, and then provides an evaluation of those speakers: "as if they were more Basque themselves". This evaluation defines and authenticates Basque speakers as more 'Basque' than non-speakers, just as the teacher's proposition in the previous episode did. It is an evaluation in essentialist terms, where language is treated as a quality of a group: the speakers are 'more Basque' because they speak Basque. There is also an opposition between Spanish and Basque identity. The speaker distances himself from that opposition, however; through a negative epistemic stance, in which the action of describing both the space and the speakers is moved from S1 to the people who belong to the general space of the BAC ('as they say it'). It is an evaluation based on the perceived attitudes of other actors.

In this episode, certain spaces within the urban area of Vitoria, because of their previously constructed status as 'authentically Basque' are also represented as sites where authentically Basque actors can be found. This authentication is done, however, through Basque as a full code, an essentialist quality of these authenticated actors. There is no mention of the use of any partial resources by S1. Rather, his partial competence in Basque is perceived by S1 himself as insufficient, despite his participating in the course for quite some time at the time of the interview, and, therefore, the need to use Castilian in such spaces is emphasized. This shows that bilingualism can also be normative of such spaces.

However, the last lines of this episode demonstrate that Basque speakers, whether bilingual or not, are seen as those more authentic in their belonging to the authenticated places.

All these characteristics of speakers and the varying treatment of Basque resources leading to a different understanding of language competence – and language speakers – show the intertwining of essentializing and non-essentializing discourses. They evolve around the fusion between essential characteristics attributed to native speakers and the partial resources of migrant speakers (understood as non-native speakers) and their possible inclusion in the Basque space. Such inclusion is meant to be synonymous with the use of partial resources (constructionist conceptualization of belonging), but does not always lead to either self- or other- identification with the Basque space, precisely because the remaining indexical links between space and native competence gain prominence.

### 6.2.1 Positioning as Authentic and Non-Authentic Speakers

The perception of partial Basque resources as insufficient for authentically Basque spaces was also common among the AISA course participants. They often reported unwillingness or a lack of opportunity to use their resources. For instance, let me consider the following interview with a young German female participant from the morning AISA course in Vitoria-Gasteiz:

#### Episode 6.6

- 1 Int: and you go into these bars and ask in Basque?
- 2 S15: not yet (laughs)
- 3 Int: me neither
- 4 S15: no but (.) for instance this weekend I was with some people (.) they all speak
- 5 Basque and are not(.) not native (.) they speak Basque that we are learning now (.)
- 6 right? but I also know people who speak it as a mother tongue and well(.) nothing
- 7 else(.) to (.) I don't know the relationship is already changing (.) you can notice that a
- 8 lot (.) or I notice it a lot when I start asking things.or when they realize that I am
- 9 studying (.) and it's like a bit more (..) uff (..)so (..) a closer feeling even though we

10 have known each other for a while right? but with Basque well (.) it's a (.) little  
11 private matter let's say. people take it in a very positive way when someone bothers  
12 to study it and they are very motivated to teach you things and respond when you  
13 have any doubt.

In this extract S15 admits that she does try to use Basque, with both people that she considers to be authentic and those less authentic due to the fact that they know a variety of language also taught to migrants (line 5). She does not explicitly state that she considers native Basque speakers as more authentic – given that in line 6, she finished her utterance with ‘sin más’ – which suggests that she did not intend to provide an extra evaluation. Initially her act of admitting of not using Basque in authenticated places can be understood as her awareness of the significance of the differences between these two types of language variety or an evaluation of her partial knowledge of Basque as insufficient resources for use with ‘authentic’ actors.

Her latter turn provides factual assumptions that are in line with the course aims analysed in chapter 5. Here also, partial knowledge of Basque allows for not so much a better knowledge of ‘Basque society’, but for a more private relationship with some social actors, members of the imagined community of speakers. The uptake of her limited resources in Basque is then positive and the question of her own authenticity as a speaker remains unproblematic, just as it happened in the classroom episode when students’ partial resources were sufficient for an euskalduna identity ascription. However, her resources remain classified as different from those of native speakers. Just as in the previous episode, the essentialist conceptualization based on the indexicality between native speakers and authenticity of resources which becomes recursively projected<sup>112</sup> (Irvine and Gal, 2000) onto the authenticity of speakers is strongly influencing the understanding of competence. Such a representation is intertwined with constructionist views on inclusion into the Basque space that reject authentic criteria. In this case, however, the essentialist link does not impede self-positioning as included within a kind of Basque space, despite the

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<sup>112</sup> Fractal recursivity: a process which “involves the projection of an opposition, salient at some level of relationship, onto some other level” (Irvine and Gal 2000, 38).

(perhaps less authentic) admitted lack of use of Basque resources in authenticated places (line 2).

However, there were also reported instances that could suggest that Basque resources used by migrants are seen as inauthentic and therefore they become evaluated as invalidated speakers, as happened at the beginning of the episode 6.4, where the use of Basque resources by migrants was reported as unusual or undesirable (lines 1-2). This instance of reported use of Basque allows itself to be read as something denaturalised (Bucholtz 2003, 408), because it was produced by someone who is not essentially positioned as a member of the Basque space, as the previous considerations of the episode indicated.

This episode was also an example of a representation of a strong essentialist link between native born speakers and 'ethnic Basques'. The identity of a Basque speaking migrant was portrayed as breaching this link and had to be justified, as the authenticity of their belonging was questionable. This justification comes in the last turn, as well as in J's previous turn in lines 14-15, both emphasizing the consciousness of the decision to acquire Basque resources, as well as showing the willingness to be positioned within the Basque space. Moreover, migrants' resources are portrayed by them as more ample than those of 'ethnically' belonging, justifying this positioning and delegitimizing the authentication of the 'natives.' This shows that despite the initial perception of rejection of migrants' use of Basque resources, they become used to legitimise migrant speakers and delegitimise the construction of authenticity as a link between 'ethnicity', space and language competence.

Authentic Basque speakers are thus more likely portrayed as legitimately belonging to the Basque space. This legitimacy was not always based on their ethnicity, but rather on language competence and use of resources understood as native. Migrant resources are not always seen as sufficient enough to project migrant speakers as authentic and thus belonging to the metaphorical Basque space in the interaction and discourses reproduced and created by migrant participants, despite the shift towards the constructionist conceptualization of belonging found in the institutional discourses both in the AISA course descriptions and in the classroom instructions. This shows that essentializing discourses are still given much relevance 'on-the-ground', as they do not get erased (Heller 2010), but become intertwined with the constructionist ones, not only when it comes to the evaluation of migrants as Basque speakers, but also through categories related to 'insiders'

such as 'euskaldun berria' and 'euskaldun zaharra', which also become projected onto migrant speakers of Basque. Language competence is used to construct these categories to a varying degree, depending on the strength of the essentialist links in the perception of speaker identity and the legitimization of migrants as belonging to the metaphorical or state-like Basque space.

### **6.3 Authenticity of Language**

Authenticity not only plays an important role in the representations of Basque as a language authentic to the Basque space, but also when it comes to the varieties of Basque which become evaluated on a scale of authenticity depending on the space-time hierarchies. For instance, the standard dialect, Batua, has often been discussed in the classroom space, as the students were not always aware of what kind of language variety this label implied. There were also indications of the students' preoccupation with the comprehension and comprehensibility of what they understood as 'the variety learnt in the class'. Comprehensibility is what links the representations of authentic 'Basqueness' as an identity and authentic 'Basque language', as different varieties become authenticated in different contexts, i.e. constructed as authentic either by migrants or for migrants, usually through the essentialist links between 'real' speakers and their understanding or speaking of a 'real' variety, just as it was done between authentic spaces and speakers.

#### **6.3.1 Evaluations of Batua**

Two of such discussions around the standard variety (Batua) happened in the evening classes of AISA in Vitoria-Gasteiz. The first time Batua was mentioned by R3, a young male participant from Brazil, who asked the teacher for a definition of Batua:

### Field Note 6.3

T2 explains that in Navarra euskera is also spoken. Then R3 asks what Euskera Batua is. T2: Basque has many dialects: “Batua unites many dialects of Basque. It is no more than 40 years old, but it unites all dialects.” Then she responds to the questions about the use of the dialects by saying: “Cada uno en su zona puede hablar lo que quiere. Es que el euskera también tiene sus giros. Español es igual. Por ejemplo lo del ‘voseo’ que se habla en Argentina<sup>113</sup> (looking at the Argentine student)”.

13.10.2013

The second mention of Batua happened during the 9th class:

### Field Note 6.4

T2 explains that she is an IKA<sup>114</sup> teacher and that the material on the course is prepared by IKA. We were learning the names of the days of the week. T2 said: “en Bizkaia los nombres de los días de la semana son diferentes. Aquí aprendemos Batua.”<sup>115</sup> IKA materials are used to teach euskera Batua. R2 finds this explanation interesting. She asks if what we learn in the class can be used in other places, presumably outside of Vitoria-Gasteiz.

21.10.2013

Both of these extracts show that the students did not always have a clear understanding of what Batua was or what variety of language resources they were acquiring. In the first example, R3’s question was a direct enquiry about Batua, while R2’s question in the second episode stemmed from the teacher’s explanation of the teaching materials, and was a direct allusion to the comprehensibility of the resources studied in the classroom.

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<sup>113</sup> [“Everyone in their area can speak what they want. It’s because Basque also has its twists. Spanish is the same. For example the ‘voseo’ that is spoken in Argentina.”]

<sup>114</sup> Coordinating institution for euskaltegis in Alava and Navarre.  
([<http://www.ikaeuskaltegiak.eus/espanol/quienes-somos/coordinadora>, accessed: 14.05.2016])

<sup>115</sup> [“in Bizkaia the names of the day of the week are different. Here we learn Batua.”]

What is interesting about these two excerpts is the fact that T2 provided an evaluation of Batua in the form of a comparison with Castilian. Such a comparison elevated Basque to the level of Castilian, the more prestigious and global language (through her comment about Argentinian Spanish) resources of which the students used proficiently. This comparison also made the apparent 'odd' features of Basque and the supposed incomprehensibility reduced to usual features of any language, thus also reducing the ideological premises that Basque is either unusual for its dialectal division or a language difficult to learn. This reduction could be seen as an attempt at constructing a positive attitude towards Basque through representing it as a language with features similar to other languages of the space of the BAC.

The teacher evaluated Basque in relation to Castilian, showing that the time-space scale in which these two sets of resources are embedded values any kind of Basque resources. She does not construct Batua or any other Basque variety as more authentic. Instead, she represents the varieties of Basque as equally authentic within the Basque space ("cada uno en su zona puede hablar lo que quiere" or "lo mismo que pasa con Castellano"). She concentrates on authenticating Basque as general resources within the time-scale space of the BAC, rather than on the authentication of any variety of Basque.

Another reference to Batua and possible incomprehensibility was made during the 18<sup>th</sup> morning class in Vitoria-Gasteiz. In this class one of the students was making a presentation about Germany, the country that she came from. These presentations were part of the morning teacher's initiative in order to give the students an opportunity to present their country of origin to each other.

### **Episode 6.7**

- 1 S15: and in (.) let's say in Germany (.) each person speaks their dialect and we don't
- 2 understand each other(.) eh? because the vocabulary is very different. the grammar
- 3 is and so different too(.)well(.)the standard German developed as a lingua franca.
- 4 and what. It's what we teach. and well- it's been more years so it's easier to
- 5 understand each other (.) like in all the areas they understand you when you speak
- 6 German. while with Basque well- I am not sure of it (laughs)
- 7 T1: of what?

8 S15: well that.  
9 T1: with Batua?  
10 S15: because we are learning Batua-  
11 T1: yes.  
12 S15: but I am not very sure if there in the villages they understand us-  
13 T1: aa↑  
14 S15: speaking Batua-  
15 T1: Batua is still very young-  
16 S15: well that's why- that's why I am saying it (.) that the German standard well- it's  
17 been spoken for many years so-  
18 T1: yes.  
19 S15: there is no problem with that (.) but of course later it's that the students of  
20 German understand people. because if they speak their dialect well (.) when they  
21 speak to me it's that (.) the same happens with us the natives(.) eh?  
22 T1: well yes it's (.) what happens with Basque is that Batua is understood (.)eh? some  
23 words or a verb (.) people from Bizkaia especially (.) they have difficulties to  
24 understand but Batua-  
25 S15: it's more that-  
26 T1: it's (.) it is (.) it is based on a dialect from Lapurdi from the north of the French  
27 Basque Country. and it's very similar to the Navarrese. and the dialect from Gipuzkoa  
28 (.) but the dialect from Bizkaia is completely different. in a way that older people  
29 have difficulties. but they understand (.) eh? to understand they understand. but  
30 the other way round no. I mean we could understand people from Navarra. we  
31 could understand people from Gipuzkoa (.) knowing Batua (.) people from Iparralde  
32 quite well. depending on the region.and people from Bizkaia no. nothing.  
33 the language changes completely. ok↑  
34 S7: yes yes.

In this episode, S15 expresses her concern with regards to possible lack of comprehension of Batua resources that she acquires in the AISA class. Such an enquiry, about being able to

understand all varieties of Basque or be understood when speaking Batua, could have also stemmed from the fact that T1 had explained a couple of times before that Basque is a language whose one of the distinctive grammatical features is the existence of various registers marked by the form of the verb. These explanations appeared because both teachers used teaching materials designed by the euskaltegis (which were their main place of work) and which included the informal verb form 'hik'. We usually omitted this form in the class instruction, however, there were instances when the appearance of this form in the conjugation examples created confusion. The register 'hika' was usually evaluated as very informal and a grammatical aspect that we would only learn at an advanced level. In one of the classes (23<sup>rd</sup> class) the teacher described this register as follows:

### Episode 6.8

- 1 S13: but it depends on the receiver?
- 2 T1: yes (..) it depends whom you address-
- 3 and of course in all the material that you have you will see the verbs conjugated in
- 4 this way. the ones you have here (..) so to make things easier I wanted to explain
- 5 what 'hitan' was (..)it existed- or we can say exists (.) because it is very much used
- 6 (.) eh? In Gipuzkoa and Navarra especially in Iparralde even though the language is
- 7 about to disappear (..) well (.) there they are very alive (.) the registers (.) very very
- 8 much alive (.) eh? and well to speak standard Basque there is also a way to speak
- 9 'hitanoa' (.) yes? but we can't get into this-

These two scenes of classroom interaction on the topic of Basque language varieties and registers highlight two issues. First of them is the creation of attitudes towards the standard – Batua, and secondly show that there are time-space scales in which Batua may not work as a resource of the highest value on the authenticity scale. In the first episode, S15 poses a question as to the validity of Batua in certain rural areas (“there in the villages”). Such areas were often seen as spaces of authenticity and therefore S15's question could be interpreted as a way of seeking an evaluation for Batua on the scale of authenticity that is valid in those rural areas. While the teacher does not provide an explicit evaluative statement (in the sense that classifying Batua as new does not necessarily

create a positive or a negative attitude in this context; it is used here to explain the possible incomprehensibility or perhaps lack of knowledge of Batua among the inhabitants of the Basque space) he presents Batua as a 'relatively new' construct. He then continues to assert that Batua resources are understood in most places of the BAC, in this way avoiding the placement of Batua on the scale of authenticity.

However, he also mentions the spaces in which such incomprehensibility is a possible outcome. This shows that there exist certain time-space scales in which Batua does not have the same value as other varieties do, suggesting that comprehensibility is linked with authenticity. It was the rural areas which were meant to be the spaces where Batua was lacking comprehensibility. The placement of Batua on the authenticity scale is then done implicitly, through representations of other varieties of Basque as having more comprehensibility in the areas understood as more authentic, evoking the link between authentic space and language.

In the second episode the focus of attention is not as much on Batua as a variety but rather on the verb registers of Basque. The teacher lists the areas in which these registers exist. Before that, however, he provides an evaluation that suggests that the reason for explaining those verbal forms to students is the fact that 'they are very much alive'. Such an evaluation, together with the list of geographical areas where these registers can be found shows again that in certain spaces 'familiarity' represented through other registers is valued more than what is being learned in the class as Batua forms. 'Familiarity' is also what can be understood as 'real' quality in the resources of a 'native speaker' (Gill 2007, 41) that makes attitudes on an integrative level perceived as stronger. This somewhat contradicts the aims of the course analysed before, which pointed out towards the ease of integration through the knowledge of basics resources in Basque (Batua). It appears that there are certain forms which are valued more in certain spaces to which migrant students are not granted access through the course curriculum. In this case the familiar registers are placed in relation to the space of Vitoria-Gasteiz and the idea of a relatively new standard and incomprehensibility of Batua in those spaces leads to questions that indirectly undermine the authenticity of Batua. There were, however, also instances when the undermining of Batua in interaction was made more explicit and revealed a somewhat more negative attitude towards it. Here is another episode from the group interview conducted in Portugalete (see section 5.5):

## Episode 6.9

- 1 PS2: but for example (.) when you hear when the mothers (.) that have the small
- 2 ones (.) the mothers that speak (.) they want to preserve the language-
- 3 PS1: yes yes the language.
- 4 PS2: yes they speak to them a lot in Basque.
- 5 PS1: to the children.
- 6 PS4: to the youngest ones especially.
- 7 PS1: that's it!
- 8 PS3: because not to the oldest ones already not-
- 9 PS1: because it is because the mothers yes they want to preserve- it's the Basque-
- 10 PS2: very washed.
- 11 PS1: from the ikastola that is it's not Basque-
- 12 PS2: very washed.
- 13 PS1: yes.
- 14 PS3: yes.
- 15 Int: what we are learning right?
- 16 PS2: yes.
- 17 PS1: yes.

In this interaction the participants were answering my initial question about where they thought Basque could be heard or spoken in the area of Bilbao. The example provided by S1 is the space of the surroundings of the ikastola. The agency in her first turn is given to the mothers of the students of the ikastola who are seen as actors who 'want to preserve the language'. The outside space of the ikastola becomes invested with a scale that values euskera, but, interestingly, as a medium of conversation between mothers and children, viewed as a way of following the ideological premises of language preservation.

However, it also evokes the image of familiarity that was represented in the use of registers. Here this familiarity is delegitimized when it comes to the variety used in the space of the ikastola, i.e. euskera Batua. Batua is here evaluated as 'el euskera de ikastola',

'muy lavado' and 'no es el euskera de los adultos'. The first evaluation shows that Basque is considered as a language of institutions which makes it appear as lacking familiarity, of a language that is not used outside of institutional contexts, such as the school. All these qualities are considered as low on the scale of authenticity (Gill 2007, 41).

Secondly, the evaluation in the form of a qualifying adverb 'very' and the adjective 'washed' suggests that Batua is seen as something purified, cleansed of any forms that could be colloquial or 'non-institutional', and left only with its 'corrected' aspects. Finally, calling Batua 'not the language of adults', suggests that it is 'not very mature' or 'serious'. It also refers to the way Batua was presented by the teacher as a new construct. Here this new construct is used to formally teach 'newcomers' and in this way its institutional character is emphasized. This division between the language of children and the language of adults suggests that there are spaces where a different variety is valued more, as a language of the adult native speakers who did not go through the institutional teaching of the 'washed' variety. The last two lines of this interaction show that migrant learners are aware of the fact that they are learning a variety that they consider inauthentic.

A similar evaluation was constructed in another episode from an interview with the young German female participant from Vitoria-Gasteiz, quoted previously (episode 6.6). As I have indicated in the previous section, speaker S15 created a dichotomy between native and non-native speakers of Basque. This dichotomy was based on the link between people and language variety. Batua was evaluated as a non-native variety which would imply a lesser degree of authenticity, since native speakers are generally, ideologically constructed as more authentic (Gill 2007, 41). They were also recognised as such by her. She recognises that Batua – the variety of the non-native speakers - is also the variety taught in the AISA classroom. However, later on in her turn she seems to reduce this contrast and asserts that no matter which variety one learns or intends to speak, it allows for a closer relationship with the speakers of Basque. This is in line with the course aims analysed in chapter 1. Here also, partial knowledge of euskera allows for not so much a better knowledge of Basque society, but for a more private relationship with some social actors, members of that metaphorical space or imagined community of speakers. In this excerpt the distinction between Batua and other varieties is pronounced, but is not necessarily, unlike in the classroom interaction, invested with a negative attitude, as any variety (or even partial

knowledge of any of the varieties) is seen as a means for establishing closer relationships with Basque speakers as members of 'Basque society'.

The representations of certain varieties of Basque as more authentic than others often pointed towards Batua as lacking comprehensibility and thus being less authentic, especially in spaces understood previously as authentic. Similarly, Batua was often portrayed as a formal, institutional variety, which also indicated a lesser degree of authenticity (Gill 2007, 41). Such conceptualizations were more often raised by migrant students themselves than by other actors. In fact, classroom interaction analysis suggested that both teachers intended to do away with this kind of representation of Basque – as fragmented on the basis of authenticity. The creation of an authenticity division between Basque varieties and their relation to native speakerism's authenticity, as well as the issues of comprehensibility related to those varieties, caused migrants to position themselves or be positioned as unable to become authentic speakers due to the fact that they learned the institutionalised – and therefore less authentic – variety of Basque: Batua.

## 6.4 Conclusion

In this chapter I concentrated on the analysis of the representations of 'Basqueness' based around scales of authenticity. I showed this quality as constructed in context, affecting the construction of space, speakers and language. All three categories in my data were often drawn as maintaining traces of essentialist links between them – authenticated spaces were linked to authenticated actors and language resources used within the spaces in question – showing how authenticity put these categories in relation to each other.

At the same time, authenticity was constructed differently depending on the context of construction of these categories, showing that this relational link in fact becomes constructed according to the ideological premises that gain relevance in a given spatio-temporal scale of its construction. The essentialist link also influenced the way in which migrants became identified or identified themselves as belonging to the authenticated space, as being an authenticated speaker or possessing 'accurate' language resources that could guarantee their inclusion or comprehensibility within a given space.

This context dependence showed tensions between institutional discourses of belonging represented in the AISA course aims and the legitimisation of self-positioning; tensions between the evaluations of Basque in the metaphorical space of 'Basqueness' and within

the various nuclei of authenticity; as well as tensions between language competence and identification of ethnic categories of group identity or 'nativeness'. All these tensions and relations between the categories constructed in the representations of authenticity in the context of Basque language teaching to migrants also showed an ideological shift towards constructionism and the intertwining of the essentializing and non-essentializing discourses. This was especially visible in putting Basque on the same level as Castilian or in dismissing the evaluation of Batua as less authentic or as lacking comprehensibility. The intertwining, on the other hand, was manifest through representing spaces as international and authenticated at the same time, representing actors as bilingual but authenticated as ethnic Basques, or through positioning of belonging to the Basque space despite the lack of certain 'authentication' criteria, such as 'full-code' language competence.

## Chapter 7: Instrumentality in ‘Basqueness’: Language as Economic and Social Capital

Yet one more representation of ‘Basqueness’ was related to what I labelled ‘the instrumental value’ of Basque resources. Such representations concentrate mainly on the ‘added-value’ quality attached to Basque in the form of a capital which can undergo changes through the process of conversion (Bourdieu, 1986). The instrumental value of Basque shows that ‘Basqueness’ is not just a static category based in a constructed space, but rather demonstrates that Basque resources and their role in the construction of group identity, related to stance of belonging are subjected to space-scale evaluations on an instrumental level and their value may be changeable according to the context. They are also subjected to processes characteristic of the ‘new economy’, such as commodification (Heller, 2010) which have an effect on migrant sub-state language acquisition as well as identity expression through positioning. Moreover, the instrumentality of Basque resources shows most prominently the shift in language revival discourses towards a constructionist ideological set, putting the essentialising ideological links between speakers, place, language and identity into the background. The ‘instrumentality’ of Basque and the constructionist shift in discourses on the role of language in group identity building influence the representations of ‘Basqueness’, which become more inclusive of partial resources (see chapter 5), but also change the role that language plays in identity building — as it becomes more subjected to these ‘new economy’ processes.

In this chapter I will first concentrate on the representations of instrumentality and ‘added-value’ of Basque as envisaged by the language promotional institutional discourses, both in the AISA course descriptions and in other language promotional material that includes migrants. Following, I will concentrate on the instances in which Basque becomes an authenticated product in the process of commodification, adding value to services, products and people. Finally, I will discuss how Basque resources are positively evaluated on the instrumental plain in certain contexts and how these resources undergo capital conversion, which has consequences for the self- and other- positioning of migrants.

## 7.1 Basque as an 'Added-Value'

Since the emphasis of previously analysed documents was mainly on the integrational role of Basque resources<sup>116</sup>, it is not surprising that similar attitudes prevailed also in the interactional data. Nevertheless, I identified instances of instrumental attitude construction which illuminate the contexts in which the instrumental value of Basque is seen as equally significant for migrants mainly in light of the shift towards a constructionist understanding of language and identity. These instances also illuminate the 'new economy' processes that portray Basque resources as 'added-value' skills, either with relation to a product, person or a place.

As I indicated in the theoretical discussion, linguistic resources increasingly become treated as commodities within the markets of the new economy. This creates tensions related to the evaluation of these products – tensions between the economic value of such products and their indexical value related to nationalist ideologies and essentialist claims to group identity (Heller et al. 2014, 552).

One of the examples of commodification, in this case the promotion of language as a product was identified in the promotional materials of AISA courses from Getxo. I argued that the leaflet genre text created the space of 'Basqueness' as separate from the space of 'Spanishness' on a metaphorical level. Access to that space was represented as available through the possession of language resources in Basque, sometimes understood as partial or 'basic' resources – in line with a constructionist conceptualization of linguistic competence. I also proposed that as a text of an advertising genre, the leaflet was designed to promote Basque as a product, offering various courses as ways of acquisition of that product by different addressees. Heller et al. (2014) propose that the actors in globalized new economy are often faced with the fact that they need to sell the 'authenticated' product to unexpected clients. In some way, given the rapid rise in the numbers of migrants in the Spanish state and the BAC, migrants could be regarded as such a group of unexpected target clients when it comes to the promotion of teaching and use of Basque. The representation of 'Basqueness' as accessible through language as an added-value product is one of such attempts at accommodating language activism discourses to such new 'clients'.

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<sup>116</sup> Resources as giving access to Basque space, 'Basque society'.

The idea of 'selling' Basque skills can be seen as an example of cultural capital being promoted as a commodity, thus a form of economic capital. It could be regarded as a type of commodification where the product on offer presented by the leaflet is language, and this product takes on a form of a language course. The authentic quality of this product is especially linked to 'Basqueness' as it is marketed as allowing for getting to know Basque society (and not Spanish or French). Basque courses as a purchased product, and Basque resources that the courses bring, are exchangeable for what could be classified as social capital (Bourdieu 1986, 51) promoted and provided in the form of 'integration' and access to Basque space. This access is, subsequently, meant to guarantee a provision of economic resources i.e. Basque authenticated products (for example shop goods as in episode 7.2) or jobs which involve the production of these (for instance jobs in the media, service industry etc. as in episode 7.1) and access to other forms of cultural capital in an objectified state (posters, books etc. as, for instance, many participants appreciated the possibility of reading street posters in Basque). The promotional material of Basque courses proposes the commodification of Basque as a skill – a product that can be represented as embodied cultural capital and then converted to other forms of capital. In this way constructionist discourses and processes of commodification connected to language, represented in this promotional material as convertible into social capital, intersect with the essentialist representations which in the leaflet are represented as based on an inseparable relationship between society, language and integration.

In order to make the linguistic product attractive to migrants as potential new clients, its 'sellers' had to offer a kind of added-value targeted especially at this category of clients. This advantage is the fact that the cultural capital obtained forms an exchangeable means for what is represented as a better integration into 'Basque society'. Integration here is understood as a one-way process that lies in the hands of migrants as actors who need to aspire towards being included into the constructed group identity. This idea is then a clear attempt at targeting one of the most intimate and personal issues for those clients, the expression of belonging and the process of identification. The customers of this product are positioned as those ultimately willing to obtain social capital in the form of integration. It suggests that migrants may express a desire to be part of 'the Basque space', as something outside of the 'Spanish space', where the 'real', more authentic integration can be achieved. This integration is the result of purchasing legitimate cultural capital (Basque) that can be converted into social capital, i.e. through the use of Basque (not Castilian) the

'society' can be approached and better understood, as well as social capital – connections, relationships — can be made. In this way the purchasers of this product can also gain another possible way of positioning or construction of identity (as members of the Basque space) and another possible option in the negotiation of identity through the use of Basque resources (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2005). I provided a discussion of authenticity in the context of space in section 6.1, and speakers in section 6.2. In this chapter, I will concentrate on considerations of legitimacy of such positioning in the contexts of instrumental attitude creation.

### **7.1.1 Basque as Added-Value: 'Elebiduna Naiz - Aberatsa Naiz' campaign**

Apart from the leaflets from Getxo, there were also other campaigns which promoted Basque language as added value resources, and which also attempt to move away from the essentialist treatment of language and space. In addition, these added value skills allowed for a conversion of Basque resources into both economic and social capital. One of such campaigns was a campaign entitled: 'Elebiduna naiz, Aberatsa naiz – Soy bilingue, soy rico/a' [I am bilingual, I am rich]. I learned about this campaign on the web, but also happened to interview two people who took part in it as AISA students.

The title of the campaign is already telling, as it evaluates being bilingual as rich, an adjective indicating an abundance of both economic capital and personal skills – embodied capital (Bourdieu 1986). In this case it is bilingualism with Basque as one of the language repertoires that is the source of this 'richness' – being the object invested with such forms of capital. The main aim of the campaign according to the explanation on the Department of Basque of V-G's website is the following:

[‘In our city, Basque has been continually evolving over the years in a positive and increasing way, which should influence our self-perception. We want to make being bilingual prestigious, because, apart from bringing a personal enrichment, it also multiplies social, professional and affective possibilities. From a social point of view, it foments social coexistence, by encouraging linguistic normalization, and foments equality, both subjectively and objectively. From the point of view of the city, we became the Green Capital. The defence of sustainability and protection of diversity should be an aspiration, certainly also with regards to languages.’]<sup>117</sup>

(www.vitoria-gasteiz.org, 2014; my own translation)

Just as in the title, these aims put emphasis on personal enrichment (‘enriquecimiento’) which links to the added-value conceptualization of resources. The added-values are social, professional and affective, which all indicate different forms of capital (Bourdieu 1986). Furthermore, such Basque oriented bilingualism is advertised as promoting ‘equality’, which could be related to the evaluation of language resources as cultural capital. Interestingly, ‘equality’ is only achievable through bilingualism in Basque. Emphasis is given to Basque only, overlooking Castilian or French resources. It also suggests that migrants, just as others, are encouraged to learn Basque in order to achieve this ‘equality’, just as it was done with regards to ‘integration’.

The last sentence of this description provides an indication of placing language in the context of environmental sustainability, by comparing it to the ‘Green Capital’ contest (see section 6.1), which suggests that language needs to be seen as resources that can be manageable in sustainable ways — just as the environment or society. This suggests a constructionist understanding of language as resources, but also a post-structuralist one: as sellable goods subjected to market-like, global management processes.

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<sup>117</sup> “El euskera en nuestra ciudad ha experimentado a través de los años una evolución continua, positiva y ascendente que debería incidir nuestra en nuestra autopercepción. Queremos prestigiar el hecho de ser bilingüe, ya que además de un enriquecimiento personal, las posibilidades sociales, profesionales o afectivas se ven multiplicadas. Desde el punto de vista social, fomenta la convivencia, ya que se favorece la normalización lingüística, y se fomenta la igualdad, tanto subjetiva como objetivamente. Desde el punto de vista de la ciudad, hemos sido Green Capital. La defensa de la sostenibilidad y la protección de la diversidad debe ser una aspiración, sin duda también en lo referente a las lenguas.”

A number of promotional videos and posters were produced for this campaign. They depict citizens of Vitoria who are learning Basque, since the description of this campaign suggests:

"We have had the first hand opportunity to see experiences, difficulties and joys that the study and use of Basque and other languages provides" (ibid.; my own translation).<sup>118</sup>

Importantly, the above sentence included the use of other languages, in this way reinforcing the earlier mentioned diversity, including multilingualism, and moving away from the idea of bilingualism understood as full code knowledge of Castilian and Basque.

The final text included on the website of this campaign states what follows:

["If you are bilingual, you improve your own life and that of others. You can talk to whoever you want about anything at any time in Basque or Castilian. That gives you a lot of freedom, and allows you to take advantage of all the opportunities the day brings. In addition, you help to improve the lives of other citizens of Gasteiz, promoting living together and the daily life of the city. That's why we say that if you are bilingual, you are rich."] <sup>119</sup>

(www.vitoria-gasteiz.org, 2014; my own translation)

It suggests that being bilingual "makes everyone's lives better" because of the ability to talk in either Castilian or Basque in any situation. This ability is meant to allow one to "take advantage of all daily opportunities". Here, it explicitly distinguishes between Castilian and Basque as two separate codes. In fact, no video uses any form of mixed-code resources which are thus not included in the added-value of bilingualism. The presence of many Castilian native-speaker protagonists as language learners, as they are referred to, suggests that it is in fact Basque that provides this added value of bilingualism.

Similarly, it proposes that being bilingual aids the coexistence of all citizens of Vitoria. This again suggests a conversion of cultural capital into social one that includes integration.

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<sup>118</sup> "Hemos tenido la oportunidad de conocer de primera mano las vivencias, experiencias, dificultades o alegrías que proporcionan el estudio y el uso del euskera y de otras lenguas" (ibid.).

<sup>119</sup> "Si eres bilingüe, mejoras tu vida y la de las demás personas. Puedes hablar con quién quieras del tema que sea en cualquier momento, sea la conversación en euskera o en castellano. Eso te da mucha libertad, y te permite aprovechar todas las oportunidades que te brinda tu día a día. Además, ayudas a mejorar la vida de los/as demás Gasteizarras, favoreciendo la convivencia y el día a día de la ciudad. Por eso decimos que si eres bilingüe, eres rico/a."

Here, however, unlike in the leaflet of Getxo, the emphasis is on coexistence – a mutual process, rather than a unidirectional process sought after by migrants as ‘outsiders’.

Additionally, the evaluations included in this text, consistent with the kind of language style that can be encountered in advertising – in terms of propositional content – ‘making life better’ or ‘taking advantage of opportunities’ or a direct second-person informal pronoun ‘tú’ address – point towards treatment of Basque language resources included in bilingualism as a product for sale and of addressees of the text as possible consumers.

As I indicated, participants in this campaign are both ‘Spanish’ citizens and migrants. Such categorisation is not used in the description of the campaign, but is included in the videos and posters. On the website they are depicted as citizens of Vitoria (see the above quote), in this way emphasizing the role of the city space and moving away from ethnic categorizations. I see it as an attempt at reducing the essentialist categories, to emphasize the role of diversity and locality.

The website lists eight protagonists:

**Table 7.1 Elebiduna Naiz - Aberatsa Naiz Protagonists**

NAME	AGE	NAME	AGE
Miren	32	Leire Dominguez	26
Amaia	30	Yolanda Torres	29
Gersam	35	Carol Elsdén	69
Zine Laabidine	27	Alba Ramirez	----

Apart from the videos which portray ‘native’ Basques, who present the knowledge of Basque as being beneficial on a professional level or connected to the opportunities to practice Basque in language programmes supported by the city (such as

Mintzalaguna)<sup>120</sup>there are also four protagonists understood as having a nationality other than Spanish. The viewer finds this information in short presentations at the onset of each video:

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<sup>120</sup> A programme of language exchange directed especially at those with passive knowledge and who have little opportunity to speak Basque [<http://www.gasteizkomintzalaguna.com/p/zer-da-mintzalaguna.html>; accessed 16.05.2016].

**Figure 7.1:** Video 1 Carol Elsden

This video represents the idea of multilingualism in the family, a multilingualism which includes Basque.



Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rxK0387iP8E>

**Figure 7.2:** Video 2 Alba Ramirez

This video represents the desire to speak Basque with friends who are Basque speakers.



Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TH5ykmT3n6I>

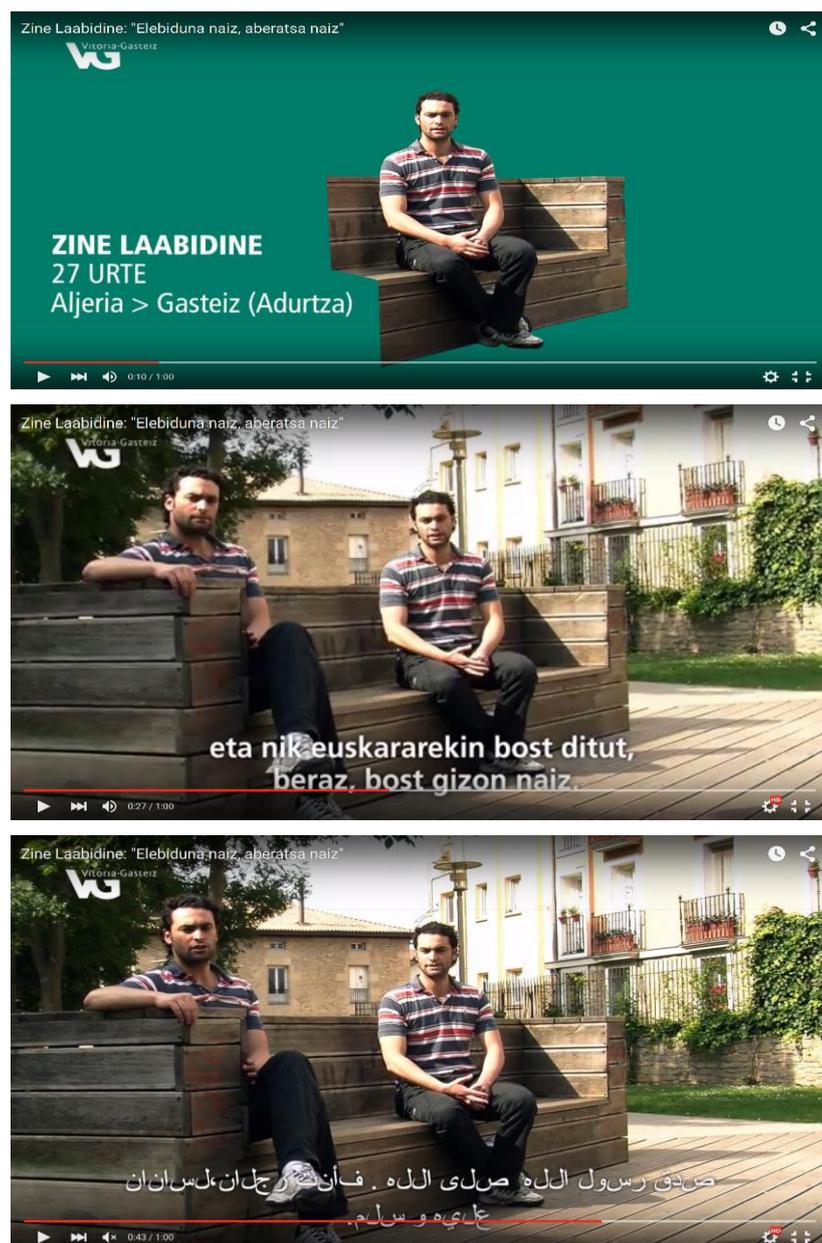
**Figure 7.3:** Video 3 Yolanda Torres

Represents the desire to speak Basque in order to speak with one's children who are also Basque speakers.



Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q4ti7PCahJE>

Figure 7.4: Video 4 Zine Laabidine



Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1yLL3y8qU-U>

This is the only video that has no Castilian translation, but an Arabic one — supposedly the native language of the protagonist showing the importance of other resources in the language hierarchies of the space of the BAC and the video represents an approval of multilingualism with Basque, as the Basque version states:

Eta nik euskararekin bost ditut, beraz, bost gizon naiz.

[You are a man in the language you speak. With Basque I speak five, so I am five men.]

All videos took place in V-G and present two images of each person - one representing the protagonist as speaking Basque; the other – speaking in Castilian, or in Arabic (video 4). This double image of the same person reinforces the proposed meaning of bilingualism or multilingualism with Basque and its promoted richness. Similarly, all four topics represented in the videos can be connected to the ideological representation of Basque as resources with added-value. This added-value is represented as: family multilingualism, integration (speaking with one's children or friends); or personal development, and is linked to different forms of capital.

It could be, therefore, argued that the choice of topics and linking of these topics to forms of capital as an added value constitute a move away from an essentialist understanding of language. Basque is not represented as only available to 'native' Basques, as the actors with Basque resources are represented to be diverse. However, the videos that include migrants are concentrated on just one form of capital: the social one, since none of them evokes an instrumental attitude or use of Basque.

At the same time, there were instances of an essentialist representation of language in part of the campaign. One of such instances was the before mentioned understanding of bilingualism as the knowledge of Basque and Castilian as separate full-codes. Apart from the videos, there was also a set of four posters produced for the campaign – one of them represents a migrant Basque learner from Algeria – in which an instance of essentialist representations of language was constructed.

Figure 7.5: Elebiduna Naiz Aberatsa Naiz Poster<sup>121</sup>



(www.behance.net, no date)

Here the protagonist refers to Basque as a language connected to space understood as a territory ('tierra' can also be synonymous with 'país': country) and he represents the process of learning as showing respect for this territory. This evokes an essentialist indexicality, linking Basque with the space in which it is spoken. This is the only instance when this kind of territorial imagery of language is evoked in this campaign. However, the final part of the protagonist's commentary puts the issue of territory into the background, as he indicates his will to practice what he learns: "to practise what I learn every day." This

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<sup>121</sup> ["I am learning Basque because of respect to this land and I make an effort to put into practice what I learn every day."]

suggests that he is trying to put the resources to use, even if they are not constructed as 'full'- as his use of a progressive form of the verb 'aprender' would indicate.

To sum up, the campaign represents mainly a constructionist conceptualization of language as resources, moving away from its essentialist representations. It shows a discursive shift in the construction of Basque and 'Basqueness', backgrounding the indexical links between people, spaces and language towards the treatment of Basque as added-value resources and a convertible capital (Bourdieu, 1986). They are also represented as products, or forms of investment subjected to the market and 'new economy' processes, such as an evaluation on a scale of instrumentality, marketing and promotion, and similar processes involving the selling of language as a product. The added-value quality that they are represented to bring is often portrayed not just as an embodied form of capital that brings social recognition to the speakers themselves (as possessors of Basque resources), but also as some form of social capital: ability to talk with family and friends, but also 'equality' and 'living together' ('convivencia'). This social capital gain is no longer a one-way process of integration, but rather a mutual process as the propositional content of these chosen nouns would suggest. Nevertheless, such representations are not entirely void of essentialist links or ideological traces, but rather, as I had analysed, they show a combination of both ideological sets. This is visible in the treatment of language as placed within the Basque space or of bilingualism as a knowledge of two separate full-codes.

The topics chosen to include in the videos are representative of many of the reasons for learning Basque stated by participants in this study. Some of these topics are also visible in the interactional data in the context of instrumental attitude creation, which I am going to discuss in the following sections. This interactional data, just as the previously discussed leaflets and campaign videos and posters, show the intertwining of essentialist and poststructuralist discourses on the role of language in the construction of 'Basqueness' related to the instrumentality of language or to language as economic capital.

### 7.1.2 Basque Resources as Product or Service Added-Value

While what I have recorded in my data and encountered during my observation process cannot be qualified as a full commodification process ‘on the ground’ that involves institutional or organised market sale of products, there were instances of reported perceptions of economic added-value of products and services due to their employment of Basque resources by some of the migrant participants in the context of self-employment and private business sector. They reported possible advantages or ‘added-value’ that Basque resources bring, however, not necessarily related to essentialising authentic links between space, people and the product in question.

Let me consider the following two episodes that come from the interviews with AISA course participants from V-G. The first one is with a young male Brazilian from the evening course and the latter one with a middle-aged French participant in the morning group course:

#### Episode 7.1

1 R3: and of course she- and I also being an IT specialist (.) it's not extremely  
2 necessary but yes it is a good impulse (.) at least here (.) I mean on the level of the  
3 Basque Country (.) to say that you have Basque (.) that you know Basque at least a  
4 little (.) you're (.) your level can grow like that professionally (.) right? because it  
5 may seem a silly thing but if you are making a web page (.) right? and if you need at  
6 least one simple phrase right? (>>>) you have to call someone who knows Basque  
7 (.) so it's convenient that- and here all the pages on the internet have to be in  
8 Basque

For this participant Basque is clearly a beneficial resource on a professional level: a resource that adds value to the product that he makes – a web page. In line 1-3, R3 constructs a positive attitude towards Basque resources: “it is a good impulse” “your level can grow like that professionally (.) right?”. He first of all sees Basque as adding value or skills to a person as a professional, but then continues to assert such a value for the product that this Basque resource user creates (lines 5-6). He sees an advantage to the

possession of even basic Basque resources as the phrase: “at least one simple phrase” indicates. This ‘simple phrase’ is also what is sufficient to add value to the product in question. Using Basque resources allows for a better marketing of the product within the time-space scale in which it is valued (“at the level of the Basque Country”<sup>122</sup>), which leads to capital conversion – cultural capital becomes sold as a product or a service, turning into economic capital. This partiality of resources and the possibility of capital conversion that it creates, suggests a constructionist understanding of language. However, at the same time, he also ascribes some kind of territoriality to these resources, as in line 2 or in line 6 when the indexical adverb ‘here’ refers to the validity of the web pages as products within the space mentioned. This indexical link between space and language is also what adds value to the product being sold. J uses the modal verb ‘have to’ in order to state the necessary use of Basque on such authenticated products which could suggest an imposed institutional rule. However, language policy in public institutions (such as city halls<sup>123</sup>) only promotes the use of Basque in private business sector, rather than imposes this use (see section 4.4.3).

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<sup>122</sup> There were also other indications with regards to the spatial boundedness of instrumental value of Basque resources. For instance:

Int: why are you studying Basque?

R2: I am a communicative person (.) I speak various languages (>>>) and also to open up job advantages for me. After all here in the Basque Country every time (..) every time it is better if you have (.) it is like an added value (..) added value to your CV. Yes.

[Int: porque estás aprendiendo euskera?

R2: soy una persona comunicativa (.) hablo varios idiomas (>>>) y también para abrirme ventajas del trabajo. desde luego aquí en el País Vasco cada vez (..) cada vez mejor si tienes (.) es como una valor aña (..) añadida a tu currículum. Sí.]

In this short extract (this time not prompted by my direct questioning about instrumentality) R2 claims that she is learning Basque for personal reasons (as a person who speaks many languages) and then continues to assert explicitly that she sees Basque as an added-value resource. This added-value is related to questions of employment as her use of ‘currículum’ would indicate. This indicates that she sees Basque as a high value resource, but this is bound to spatio-temporal scale of the BAC at the time of the interview: ‘aquí en el País Vasco cada vez (>>>) major.’ In some way this spatio-temporal scale evokes the territoriality (as in the poster of ‘Elebiduna naiz, Aberatsa naiz’ campaign; see above) and locality attached to Basque resources. At the same time, the value of these resources for this speaker in this particular spatio-temporal scale is increasing. J positions herself as someone who hopes to benefit from this increased value.

<sup>123</sup> See for instance: [<http://www.mungia.org/documents/10965/da2b18b2-871a-4357-8be4-5ede72ce61b>].

The added-value is ascribed somewhat differently in the second episode:

## Episode 7.2

- 1 S9: not so much bureaucracy (.) but what has shocked me was the fact that for  
2 product labels (.) or advertising and all that (.) when you begin to sell and start a  
3 shop then (.) when you already start you have to put it all in Basque.  
4 Int: even here in Vitoria you had to put in in Basque?  
5 S9: yes yes yes. in Basque and it's not a regulation that they imposed or that is  
6 obligatory-  
7 Int: but it's good practice?  
8 S9: yes. that's it↑ there are points. we talk about points. and they are really points  
8 (.) at the level of- yet these are points (.) and well more points you have more ()  
9 well you see a newspaper and one side is in Basque (.) and the other in Castilian  
10 almost everything () in all the Eroski<sup>124</sup> everything is in Basque and in Castilian (.) if  
11 you go to Carrefour<sup>125</sup> (.) even though it's French (.) the adverts are in Basque ()  
12 (>>>) and I don't I mean it's not a formality (.) I don't see anything against- it it  
13 should be done like that(incomprehensible) but it's by preference (.) you do it for  
14 the client (.) we need to keep the language alive but people should not be obliged  
15 (.) I don't like this at all (.)this form of-

Here, in contrast to the previous participant, S9 projects a rather negative attitude towards the use of Basque in the context of private business sector. While S9 recognizes that Basque resources are indeed adding value to the products on sale (lines 11 and 12) or the establishments that use these resources on their products, he sees such use as form of imposition (even though not institutionalised – as in lines 13-14). This negative attitude comes from the possible negation of authenticity as having its source in language resources. In the earlier part of the interview he states that he comes from the French part of the Basque Country, but could not speak Basque with the clients. This suggests that

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<sup>124</sup> Basque supermarket chain.

<sup>125</sup> French supermarket chain.

language for him was not the most prominent marker of authenticity, but rather it was his place of origin. He seems to treat language in symbolic and essentialist terms (“we need to keep the language alive” or “it’s a formality”). Despite these essentialising comments on language and the role of language revival, he then postulates a more inclusive or optional use of the Basque language, at the same time not rejecting the possibility of an added-value of transactions in Basque (line 18) – which provide economic capital.

Interestingly, as a French native-speaker, this participant also acquired Castilian at an adult age, but he did not report it as an imposition or a problematic resource, which emphasizes his rather negative attitude towards Basque acquisition, probably caused by the prevailing ideological belief about the difficulty of Basque (in class he admitted that he found the learning process difficult; Field Notes, 27.11.2013).

The last instance of such individual ascription of added-value to Basque resources on products or services in the private job sector was constructed by this middle-aged participant from Uruguay, in an interview conducted in a small town in the vicinity of San Sebastián and a predominantly Basque speaking area:

### Episode 7.3

1 Int: what do you need Basque for?

2 E: I need Basque primarily for work because a lot of my clients are euskaldunes (.)  
3 they all speak Castilian but (.) but a lot of them are euskaldunes and (>>>) and I  
4 think it’s a lack of respect not to know Basque (.) it’s a country that is giving me the  
5 possibility to work (.) it’s giving me a possibility to live (>>>)

6 Int: and you respond to them in Basque?

7 E: yes. yes. there are clients that I only serve 100% in Basque. well they are  
8 euskaldunes (.) of all the euskaldunes clients that I have only one told me that he  
9 understood that I should not be learning Basque. one of them. Because (.) he said  
10 (.) let’s understand it an 85 year old person. a person that was born in a caserío and  
11 lived in a caserío almost his entire life. he left the Caserío to be a soldier. left the  
12 army and went back to the caserío. and lived his entire life in the caserío. so he says  
13 that Basque is for euskaldunes. you are from abroad (.) speak a different language

14 it's a concept that I don't respect (.) because it's his idea. but I understand it. I can  
15 understand it. everyone else- all the clients are loving it that I am learning Basque  
16 (.) they help me (.) for example (.) in Basque (.) they correct me when I make  
17 mistakes.

Here E provides a link between the resources he uses to provide his services (line 7) and the people who legitimately belong to the space where his job is situated – by calling them 'euskaldunes' (line 2). He provides this link most explicitly in lines 7-8, where it seems that for him being 'euskaldun' means receiving the services he provides in Basque. Despite admitting that his clients also use Castilian, he sees using Basque as a form of respect (line 3-4), emphasizing the essentializing link between language and people. He is also adding value to his services by authenticating them. He admits that this authentication is well received and helps him build on his social capital, with his own authenticity having been questioned only on one occasion. This shows that the cultural capital – Basque resources – that he gained is being converted into both economic (receiving remuneration from clients) and social capital (being legitimised).

These episodes show that there are also attitudes and representations constructed by migrant participants that show treatment of Basque resources as adding value to the products or services that they provide. These instances illuminate the fact that despite the possible change in the discourses on language revival that sees minority language as resources that can bring extra value to their users, or in this case, products or services that these users provide, the essentializing discourses and nationalist ideologies are still very much 'on the ground' and in fact play a part in the provision of such added-value. They also influence the way that migrants position themselves in the contexts of instrumental attitude creation, as the perceived instrumentality is inevitably linked to indexical relationships between space, language and identity.

### 7.1.3 Basque Resources as Space Added-Value

Similarly to products or services which were given an added-value or were authenticated through Basque resources which raised their position in the linguistic market hierarchies, there were also instances in which certain spaces gained such qualities with regards to

instrumentality of Basque. These spaces were showing parallels with places in which statistically the use of Basque was higher. They were either geographical areas, institutions or domains of language use. Interestingly, they were constructed as valuing both partial and full language competence – the factor that influenced migrant positioning and the recognition of their ‘stance of belonging’.

### 7.1.3.1 Geographical Spaces

One of the most ambiguously constructed spaces with regards to the instrumentality of Basque was V-G. For instance, in this short extract from an interview with three participants from Poland, one of them proposed the following:

#### Episode 7.4

[PM: the number of people who speak Basque (.) the knowledge of Basque in general here (in VG) has increased a lot compared to other bigger cities because well (.) because of the fact that the whole administration is here (.) and everyone would like to work in the administration (.) so they were sitting and cramming and the passive knowledge of Basque has increased a lot]<sup>126</sup>

Here, PM attributes the increase in the use of Basque resources in V-G to their instrumental value. She links Basque acquisition (‘cramming’) to the will of gaining economic capital through employment in public administration. While there exist institutional and governmental policies which regulate the use of Basque in public administration (see section 4.4.1), she does not mention that such a high value of Basque is possibly a result of language policy measures that encompass this domain of use. Instead, she constructs a positive attitude and perceives the reception of such institutionally organised acquisition of Basque resources in a positive light. She also does not mention an explicit economic capital gain, but her evaluation in line 3 (‘everyone would like to work in administration’) suggests that this is the reason for Basque acquisition and the area of

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<sup>126</sup> "PM: ilość ludzi mówiących po baskijsku znajomość w ogóle języka baskijskiego tutaj zwiększyła się dużo bardziej niż w innych takich dużych miastach bo (.) no przez to tutaj (.) że tu jest takie właśnie administracja cała i wszyscy by chcieli w administracji pracować i siedzieli i kuli no i znajomość bierna języka baskijskiego zwiększyła się bardzo."

added-value ascribed to Basque. She ascribes the possibility to gain economic capital to a place – in this case the place where the administrative job possibilities – and thus employment of Basque resources – to the city of V-G. The city thus becomes constructed as a place with an added-value (the possibility of capital gain and conversion) through the link between Basque resources and economic capital that they might bring in the city.

A similar evaluation of Vitoria was proposed by another participant from Poland in the same interview:

### Episode 7.5

[PP: so for instance people who say that in Vitoria you don't need to speak Basque (.) you just don't have to (.) but when there are great opportunities (.) for instance (.) slipping through (.) a great job for very good money in the area they would like to work in (.) and there is simply no way (.) that they in their 30s they will sit down and learn Basque because they think that English is more important.]<sup>127</sup>

She also links the possibility of economic capital gain to the space of the city V-G. While at a first instance she projects the city as non-Basque speaking (lines 1-2), she admits that there are, nevertheless, economic capital gain possibilities in the city (line 3). Unlike the previous participant, she constructs the perceived public attitudes in a negative light, giving an example of those who do not see the acquisition of Basque resources as an added-value or a capital gain. This parallels the attitude constructed by T2 in Field Note 6.2 in which she did not see V-G as an authenticated space because of low Basque language use in the city.

#### 7.1.3.2 Institutional Spaces and Domains of Use

Another type of spaces in which capital gain is possible through the added-value of Basque resources were institutional. For instance, the school was represented as an educational institution that ascribes added-value skills to Basque speakers employed in it:

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<sup>127</sup> PP: więc no na przykład ludzie, którzy twierdzą, że w Vitorii nie trzeba mówić po baskijski po prostu nie musisz no ale to, że koło nosa przelatują mu świetne na przykład okazje świetna praca za duże pieniądze w tym co chciałby pracować no nie ma nie ma po prostu takiej opcji w wieku lat 30 usiadł i nauczył się baskijskiego on uważa że ważniejszy jest w tym momencie angielski.

### Episode 7.6

- 1 PO: well (.) for my own satisfaction I would learn Italian (.)Portuguese (..) I would
- 2 learn a bigger language. I would only need Basque to get a normal job-
- 3 PN: you know (.) in a school- (to the interviewer)

### Episode 7.7

- 1 PN: and not to mention that knowing Basque helps you in your job search if need
- 2 be (.)because all three of us we have certificates
- 3 Int: so you work in schools?
- 4 PN: yes. appropriate certificates. and all of us have a bit. well (.) you have taught
- 5 Basque the longest (directed at PM) but each of us have had an episode (.) you are
- 6 still teaching (directed at PN)
- 7 PP: yes. I teach two students.

Here, in both episodes, school becomes the space in which Basque resources are valued specifically on an instrumental level. All participants in this case are competent Basque users (as they classified themselves before the interview) and all admit to being employed or having been employed as teachers or as in the case of PO – having the potential of being employed (in line 2 PO uses the evaluative adjective ‘normal’ to describe a job – which she refers to as a public sector job and which is usually well paid – as indicated by PN in both episodes) – thus positioning themselves as benefactors of their Basque resources possession without referring to any essentialist categories. Here language knowledge is understood partly as a full-code knowledge (all participants imply proficiency in language and discern language resources into full category sets – Portuguese, Italian etc.), but also partly in constructionist and post-structuralist terms – as an added value resource. In fact, PO’s mention of ‘Italian’ and ‘Portuguese’ which she refers to as ‘bigger languages’ suggests her understanding of language in terms of hierarchies and placement of language resources in them, rather than essentialist ties to any of these language categories (here she also constructs a rather negative attitude towards Basque when referring to a ‘global’ space-scale).

Moreover, PO, despite her recognizing the value of Basque resources in certain institutional spaces such as schools, also showed that she does not see Basque resources as an identificational tool, even if only on an instrumental level. Rather, she indicated that it was Castilian that provided her with identificational or communicative possibilities (see lines 6-7 below). She also used Castilian as a form of resistance to Basque as social capital, as in line 6 of the following episode:

### Episode 7.8

- 1 PN: (..) and how did you feel when someone was like that with you?
- 2 PO: I get annoyed. I say that the Basques are stupid (.) and that they are racists
- 3 right?
- 4 PN: really?
- 5 PO: well (.) I am sorry but I was learning their language ok (.) yyy I don't demand
- 5 that they speak Polish to me (.) I think that as far as we can communicate (.) and I
- 6 don't force them to speak Spanish (.) so they can tolerate that I prefer to speak
- 7 Spanish because I feel more confident in another language (.) and I think that it's a
- 8 bit unfair to me (.) because why do I have to suffer speaking Basque (.) and not be
- 9 able to convey everything I want to because they don't want to hear Spanish? I
- 10 think it's not that nice-
- 11 Int: uhm.

However, there were also instances when public institutions were not seen in such a positive light when it comes to possible capital conversion. For example, this episode comes from an interview with an evening AISA participant from Colombia:

## Episode 7.9

- 1 Int: do you think that immigrants should learn Basque?
- 2 R4: yes. if they want to stay here. yes. If they want to stay here in Vitoria or in the
- 3 Basque Country they should. even if only the basics (.) in this way they can have
- 4 more options (.) now they give much more importance to it (.) because even in
- 5 work matters (.) yes.maybe it has more way out.(>>>)
- 6 Int: do some people speak Basque to you at work?
- 7 R4: no (.) for now no. but the new law from (a week) ago (.) they are going to
- 8 require people to know Basque. in this way (.) we will substitutes-
- 9 Int: but the people you take care of (..)?
- 10 R4: no. no. nobody. they speak (.) they have these two languages but don't (.) since
- 11 we speak to them in Castilian they reply in Castilian. It depends. they respond you
- 12 the way you speak to them.(>>>)
- 13 Int: so why did you decide to learn Basque?
- 14 R4: it called my attention a lot. and mostly for work (.) because I like it (.) and
- 15 because my partner is euskaldun (.) and I want to share the speaking of Basque
- 16 with him. and most of all for work (.) because now the new law of the government
- 17 (..) it's that the auxiliaries that work for the council or in the municipal residencies
- 18 (.) we need to have knowledge of Basque even if (..) so it was great for me to get
- 19 into the course.(>>>)eee (.) yes. but only in the health service (.) for the people (.)
- 20 this week they introduced this (.) they introduced a new law that the substitute
- 21 people (.) the people who are substitutes that work in the health service (.) as
- 22 auxiliary nurses (.) they have to know (.) they have to have some Basque. (>>>)
- 23 R4: I think it's an obligation. they are imposing something that I think is unjust (.)
- 24 because everone should be free to choose how they want to speak (.) in Castilian or
- 25 in Basque (.) so it seems like something imposed .and it should not be like this.
- 26 because imagine a person (.) or a person that spent (.) or that is of an advanced age
- 27 (.) and in this moment begins to study Basque (.) if it is difficult for us-

At the beginning, R4 shows that, just like the participants in the other episodes, she sees the increasing importance of the instrumentality of Basque resources for professional ends. She also creates a territorial boundary for such a space-scale that places Basque resources high in the linguistic hierarchy on an instrumental level. This space for her is either the city of Vitoria or the BAC.

Further, despite her initial positive evaluation of Basque resources on the instrumental level, she does not construct her own workplace as a place in which such resources have an added-value. Rather, she sees the policy introduced in her workplace as an imposition. She asserts that her workplace is a bilingual space in which both Basque and Castilian have an equal instrumental value. This shows that despite overall positive instrumental attitude construction, certain institutional spaces are not perceived as spaces that recognize the added-value of Basque resources in particular, which comes across especially surprising as such an evaluation contradicts the language policy aims of public institutions in the BAC.

As these two episodes demonstrated, the recognition of the instrumental value of Basque is not always void of essentialist links between language and space. There are also other ideological traces visible in both episodes, such as the difficulty of Basque adult language acquisition or seeing language acquisition policy as an imposition. The self-positioning constructed in the instrumental attitude context is anchored on the idea of inclusiveness of Basque resources, as they bring benefits to their possessors on a professional level, they also allow for a positioning as within the Basque space that values these resources: “in this way we will be auxiliary”, “I would only need Basque to get a normal job”. However, while this positioning as benefactors is seen as a possible stance, both speakers identify with or use Castilian more frequently or more strongly.

These episodes were also embedded in the context of administrative employment (at a public service institution such as school or care home). Since I argued that the possession of Basque resources was used to position oneself as belonging to the space of ‘Basqueness’ through the use of these resources, it is also worth pointing out that there were instances when migrant participants with relatively low ability in Basque were reluctant to position themselves as included in the space of ‘Basqueness’ on the basis of instrumentality. Here is an example of recognition of the instrumentality of Basque on a professional level, but at the same time of non-identification with any space through Basque:

## Episode 7.8

- 1 E1: let's see it depends (.) it depends (.) recently I began working for one. a Spanish.
- 2 he himself doesn't know Basque (.) so asking for Basque in the city council posts (.)
- 3 yes. but let's see (.) if you are looking for work and you find it with one from Spain
- 4 (.) a Spanish (.)and he himself doesn't know Basque (.) how is he going to ask you
- 5 for Basque (.) this no (.) it doesn't make sense.

In this episode, E1 (a middle-aged male from Morocco) constructs an opposition between administrative jobs and other forms of employment. He recognizes the administrative job sector as a context where Basque resources have an added-value or a higher level instrumental value (line 2- “the city council” indexically represents the administrative sector). At the same time, the opposed employment sector is represented using an essentializing ideological premise – as a sector which more likely values Castilian. In lines 3-4, E1 constructs an indexical link between people and language: a Spanish employer is not supposed to require Basque resources, even within the Basque space, as he (she) is understood to be a Castilian speaker. E1 also represents the administrative sector jobs as capital outside of his reach, as he did not state any interest in looking for ‘Basque speaking’ employment possibilities. The opposition between ‘Basqueness’ in administrative sectors and ‘Spanishness’ in other job sectors shows that here, it is the administrative job sector that is more likely placed within the Basque metaphorical space based on belonging. By not relating towards the employment in the administrative sector, E1 does not position himself as within the metaphorical space either.

These episodes have shown that Basque can be recognized as an added-value for spaces in the sense that they become represented as places where Basque use or possession in any form adds value to their users and allows for social recognition or capital gain. These places were represented as either the administrative space of the BAC, cities – such as V-G, or particular, especially administrative, institutional sites within that territory. Proficient Basque users or those already employed within the public sector jobs represented in these episodes saw this added-value as a potential economic capital gain and as a possible stance ‘tool’ – as it allowed for other recognition of their use of Basque resources and

other-positioning as within the Basque space. Language competence was constructed by them as the use of both partial and full-code resources – thus in a constructionist light, and, at times, allowed for an inclusive construction of ‘Basqueness’ related to the instrumentality of Basque language. This shows that there exist certain spaces which allow for the integration of migrants on an instrumental level, and that migrants also recognize the economic capital of Basque also in partial resources.

At the same time, these participants drew upon other ideologically informed discourses on the outcomes of language policy, referred to as an ‘imposition’ of the use of Basque resources in certain institutional spaces, or certain spatio-temporal scale divisions and hierarchies that were constructed in relation to essentialist categories of space.

Thus, representations of spaces as added-value were, however, not void of essentialist ideological traces and references to essentialist links between space, people and language. In cases when essentialism was evoked the instrumental value of Basque resources was, nevertheless, not necessarily diminished. Rather, it allowed for ascription of person-added value qualities or the positioning of oneself as a potential future speaker – so a potential insider in the scale of belonging to the Basque metaphorical space. However, there were also examples of added-value spaces in which migrants did not see themselves as benefiting from capital gain provided by Basque resources or did not use Basque for identification. This indicates that to a certain extent it is still Castilian that remains both more of a means for integration and for capital gain.

#### **7.1.4 Basque Resources as Person Added-Value**

Another context in which Basque resources were seen as an ‘added-value’ quality on an instrumental level was when this quality was used to describe a person who with their command of Basque resources also gained more possibilities for social capital conversion. In this section, I would like to discuss three episodes in which interlocutors provide a representation of such person added-value quality of Basque resources in two thematic areas: ‘economic crisis’ and ‘social recognition’.

##### **7.1.4.1 Economic crisis**

The following episode comes from an interview with six participants in a small town in Gipuzkoa:

## Episode 7.9

1 Int: has the crisis affected you?

2 E1: man! yes.

3 Int: do you notice the crisis? Is there less work? Was it better before? And now?

4 What do you think?

5 E1: well before the crisis came they were not looking at the language (.) they were  
6 not looking neither at Spanish nor at Basque they looked at you as a man (.) if you  
7 were strong to work (laughs) I think (.) well when there when the crisis began well  
8 (.) maybe work(.) there is selection of people first people from here (.) then people  
9 who are maybe knows Basque because they are integrated and something (.) I  
10 don't know. (>>>)

11 Int: do you think it's necessary for the immigrants to learn Basque?

12 E1: necessary necessary no. I don't think it's either necessary necessary (.) because  
13 there are people from here (.) people who were born here (.) and they don't know  
14 Basque and we are happy to learn Basque (.) we are (.) since some of us have been  
15 here for a short time and they are happy to learn Basque (.) it's not a question (.)  
16 it's not obligatory to (.) I think I don't know. to encourage engourage yes. the city  
17 council tells you you have to do this but if you don't want to I don't think it's  
18 obligatory (.) I don't know.

19 E2: obligatory no. But I don't know (.) you know I think (.) that it is necessary  
20 because before when there was work they don't need to ask for Basque(.) because  
21 there are people who were born here and they have a fixed post in factories (.) and  
22 they are still working. (>>>)

23 E2: but now since there is the crisis (.) the majority cannot (.) how do you say it (.)  
24 they found a work post like this without learning Basque (.) or the majority (.) for  
25 example in many communities that I see there are many many services (.) you  
26 cannot (.) there are many services they don't want to take you in without knowing  
27 Basque.

In this episode both E1 and E2 construct Basque resources as having an added-value quality for migrants positioned as outsiders. This quality is ascribed to them in the context of the perceived economic crisis. In lines 5-6, E1 constructs a contrastive temporal evaluation referring back to a space-scale which did not ascribe a high value to Basque resources – that from before the crisis. In line 7, he moves to the context of the economic crisis which in this case represents a different time-space scale – this time one that ascribes a higher instrumental value to Basque resources. Nevertheless, even within this scale, the essentializing links between people and space seem to be more prominent as he reveals (in line 8) that people perceived as ‘insiders’ or ‘authentic’ to the Basque space have a greater possibility for employment. However, Basque resources possessed by outsiders are placed on the next position in the instrumental skills hierarchy for him – in this way adding value to those positioned as ‘outsiders’ or ‘migrants’.

At the same time he evokes the integrative motivations behind the acquisition of Basque by suggesting that the added-value of Basque resources lies in fact in their integrative qualities (line 9). His use of the third person plural verb also suggests the representation of integration as a one-way process that lies in the hands of migrants and is achieved through their acquisition of Basque. At the moment of stating this he projects a rather negative epistemic stance (“I don’t know”), as if he was not certain of either integrative or instrumental added-value to the actors he described. Nevertheless, in lines 13-15, he positions himself as such an added-value language resources possessor. He does that first of all by using a first person plural verb (“we are happy to learn”) which projects his inclusion in the group of migrants or ‘outsiders’ (“some of us have been here a short time”); and by contrasting this group with those perceived as insiders in essentialist terms (“people who were born here”) who reject or do not possess Basque (“and they don’t know Basque”).

There were, however, also instances of a negative evaluation of Basque resources in the context of the financial crisis. For instance, in this episode, B01, a middle-aged, multilingual male from Senegal, indicated:

## Episode 7.10

S6: Basque helped before the crisis (.) now it has not much value with the crisis (.) (>>>) when my contract finished I submitted many CVs to schools (..) they have never given me a chance .<sup>128</sup>

Here, however, he did not provide any mentions of essentialist categories. Rather, from my observations I could conclude that as a professional teacher of Castilian in his country of origin he saw the lack of Basque resources as an imposition to receive employment in the public sector. For him, the context of the crisis means fewer employment possibilities and therefore a lower instrumental value to Basque resources. Therefore, he also did not see the gaining of Basque resources as a possible stance marker in this particular context.

### 7.1.4.2 Social Recognition

Another context in which representations of person added-value quality connected to Basque resources were constructed is one of 'social recognition' represented in the following two examples:

## Episode 7.11

- 1 PD: so there is always a similar story yeah? You say you are from Poland and
- 2 you speak Basque then it is a big deal
- 3 PN: because PD is famous at the university (slight laughter)
- 4 PD: yes well you are also famous (.) they are seldom used to it here (.) maybe
- 5 more (.)people in the street (.) suddenly you talk to some simple person who
- 6 has some positive attitude to Basque (.) and it turns out that (..) there comes
- 7 someone from Poland (..) (from the other end of the world) (.) because they
- 8 don't really know where Poland is (.) somewhere near Russia yeah?(.) and that
- 9 they speak Basque (.) so it always happens that they look at me moved (..) it
- 10 was very (.) I mean (.) but others think you are bored? because I understand

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<sup>128</sup> "B: Euskara ayudaba antes de la crisis (.) ahora no vale con la crisis (.) (>>>) cuando termine mi contrato puse muchos currículos en los centros de enseñanza () nunca me han dado una oportunidad."

- 11 that some people are prejudiced (.) especially in the French part (.) in Iparralde  
12 because there is French (.) Basque is in a somewhat worse situation so(..)

Here PD is talking about how Basque speakers or actors who belong to the Basque space express a surprise with the fact that as a migrant to the Basque space she is able to speak Basque fluently. This is emphasized by the use of the Polish phrase 'wielkie halo' (a big deal) and the emphasis placed on the word 'halo'. PN then, perhaps ironically as her slight laughter would indicate such keying (Goffman 1974, 43), explains that PD is famous at the university, their workplace, supposedly because of speaking Basque. This leads PD to assert that it is surprising for 'local' people with positive attitudes towards Basque to hear foreigners use Basque, especially ones who seem to be from a relatively distant place (lines 8-9). She positions herself as a migrant exactly by saying explicitly that she is from Poland or from 'the other end of the world' (line 7). Her explanation about the 'locals' not knowing the location of Poland also adds emphasis to her identity as a foreigner.

The assumption behind this surprise is the fact that non-native Basques are not expected to speak Basque as it violates the essentialist link between Basque resources and ethnically belonging actors. However, this surprise is not always positive, as in line 9, she proposes that sometimes her resources in Basque are received negatively as a sign of boredom. Actors who are other-positioned as not belonging to the Basque space are assumed not to have the necessity to use Basque, since it is ideologically ascribed to the Basque space. Perhaps that is why PD commented on the reactions of those who see Basque language learning as a sign of boredom.

In PD's turns language is treated as a 'full code' rather than resources and language knowledge is constructed as use of this complete code, as she states 'someone who speaks Basque' or 'you speak Basque', in the sense that this ability is seen as a personal skill and also because she positions herself as a proficient speaker of Basque and is also positioned in this way by PN. It is this 'complete code' that is the source of 'fame; or 'praise' – which I identify as social recognition (Rottiers 2010). This social recognition is directed at her as a speaker of Basque and brought by her Basque language resources use. In this way these resources are constructed as adding value to her as a person, as well as providing a possible capital conversion – that of embodied cultural capital into social capital in the form of social recognition.

Additionally, according to another often expressed ideological premise behind the possible hardships in the acquisition of Basque, the value of such resources becomes even more profound in the eyes of those understood as ethnic Basques and it becomes added to the speaker's identity, since PD is claimed to be 'famous'. While PD tries to downplay this categorisation (line 4), it is confirmed by her talking about emotional reactions (line 9) and surprise. PD positions herself as a receiver of this recognition, even though she initially refutes this by comparing herself to PN in line 4. This shows that perhaps she does want to be marked by her Basque resources, or her identity to be turned into something that stands out. Nevertheless, it appears that her Basque resources are indeed highly valued in her workplace and her identity is marked by them.

However, PD's story is no exception. For instance in my field notes from the visit to a small town near San Sebastián called Legazpi, I wrote the following remark:

#### **Field Note 7.1**

"The school director invited me to her office for a chat after I interviewed the participants from this euskaltegi. She emphasized how, even though they were few, foreigners in her school were valued for their determination to learn Basque. She gave me some materials from the local newspaper about LP (sadly for me in Basque!) and said he was used by the school as an example for the locals, as a person who learned Basque even though he was not from the BAC."

14.11.2013

LP was the first example of a foreign student of Basque who was described to me as a person of great regard because of his having learnt Basque well enough to be able to function in a Basque speaking village. However, I was able to talk to some other students from Legazpi's euskaltegi who were perceived as advanced level Basque speakers. Here is an excerpt from an interview with LM, in which he describes how his Basque resources are received in a similar way:

## Episode 7.12

- 1 Int: do they think it's good you learnt?
- 2 LM: yes. yes. yes. really the truth is (.) people are very pleased (.) and they say shit
- 3 you came only six years ago and you speak perfect Basque (.) so they are very
- 4 pleased yeah ↓ (>>>)
- 5 Int: do you think that people who are esukalduna have more work opportunities?
- 6 LM: yes yes especially if you are a foreigner (.) if they see you like me (.) a black
- 7 person and now in Basque (.) shit! how do you speak like that! and like this they
- 8 help you even more (.) yes. yes. because there are people who have been born
- 9 here (.) and they don't know Basque and so (.) if they see a person from abroad
- 10 who speaks Basque (.) they are also encouraged. shit! look this one has (.) come and
- 11 he has already learnt (.) they will say I am going to euskaltegi too. (>>>)
- 12 Int: you said you get contracted to go to schools to talk to pupils?
- 13 LM: yes man! They called me there (.) there (.) the children were asking me
- 14 questions how did you come (.) where from did you come (.) well in Basque (.) if we
- 15 try to go there to talk just like that with the kids (.) yes.
- 16 Int: and do you like it?
- 17 LM: yes. yes. I don't mind (..) they ask me what languages do you speak (.) and how
- 18 did you learn Basque (.) these things this yes (.) this is because of having learnt
- 19 Basque for integrating also learning Basque makes people know you more (.) and
- 20 that's it. that's it.

Here LM, like PD, talks about a similar kind of praise received for his use of Basque, based on exactly the same breach of ideological essentialist assumptions – those of a link between space and authentic speakers. In lines 9-11, he also reiterates the functions ascribed to migrant speakers of Basque mentioned by the euskaltegi director I spoke to, when she said that foreigners are given the function of role models to promote language learning. LM positions himself in such a role quite willingly, not only because he provides the example of possible followers, but also because of his casual speech style (Richards and Schmidt 2013, 96) expressed in colloquialisms, using direct speech (“look he came”).

Similarly, in the last part of this episode, he explicitly states that he likes being invited to schools, because of the fact that he is recognised by the 'locals' (in line 19). In this way he points to the fact that this linguistic, cultural capital that he obtained is directly convertible to social one. Just like the assumptions in the course promotional leaflets and the previous example (episode 7.13) have shown, the added value of these resources is represented as social recognition and integration.

When I asked him about language related job opportunities he reiterated this ideological point in line 6, when he referred to his skin colour, supposedly not matching the conceptualisation of an ethnic Basque person or native speaker. He also stated that being a foreigner with Basque resources makes others help you more (line 7), which, in context of the question, I take as referring to finding employment. This shows that the social recognition he receives is indeed convertible into economic capital in this case.

In addition to that, I often heard about foreign born residents of small Basque fishing villages who were described as proficient Basque speakers and who did not have any knowledge of Castilian, as rare and admirable. Unfortunately, I was unable to include any of such profile speakers in this study because I did not meet them through any of my contacts. It is possible that such profiles of speakers were created as a 'myth' that conformed with language policy and revitalization discourses, but I am not in position to verify that. Nevertheless, such positioning of foreigners as proficient Basque speakers, and their evaluation as actors with great achievements, contributes to the treatment of Basque as added-value skills and diminishes the importance of language as essentialist characteristics of the Basque ethnic group identity.

These examples represent some new contexts in which Basque resources become treated as a person added-value, both by migrants and other actors represented as 'insiders' to the Basque space, such as the economic crisis or social recognition as role models. They also represent varying degrees of positioning of migrants related to belonging to 'Basqueness' — showing that capital acquisition is in fact evaluated relatively in hierarchies constructed in different time-space scales. The constructionist discourses intertwine with the essentialist links present in those time-space scales, affecting the ways in which migrants position themselves as benefactors of added-value. Nevertheless, constructionist discourses of added-value are more visible and allow for self-inclusion to the Basque space to a greater extent.

## 7.2 Instrumental Value of Basque in Public Education

Another context in the representations of ‘Basqueness’ related to the instrumental value of Basque resources was institutional education in the BAC. One of the most frequent reasons for learning Basque stated by migrant participants in this study was the fact that their children were enrolled in Basque bilingual education institutions – primary, secondary schools and kindergartens. Just like the leaflet from Getxo or the promotional material from V-G stated, some courses were directed at parents whose children were attending school in the BAC. Migrants were sometimes encouraged to attend courses for parents when AISA courses were unavailable in a given place or when they wanted to continue learning beyond the AISA course level (see Accompanying Materials).

Basque resources gained instrumental value in cases when migrants wanted to gain the ability to help their children with homework or to understand the information distributed by schools. These instrumental reasons were often presented through the construction of a positive attitude, when they saw the education of their children in Basque as a positive process. Sometimes this kind of motivation was semi-instrumental — as the participants also acknowledged the ‘multiculturalism’ of their children – in this way suggesting Basque language acquisition as a form of integration – or social capital gained through their children’s positioning as ‘insiders’. Such an understanding of the role of language in identification and stance ascription is essentialist in nature and shows an understanding of integration as unidirectional. This context also shows that essentializing and non-essentializing discourses intertwine and influence the positioning of migrants with regards to the space they entered.

I will now consider two examples from interactional data which illustrate the above. The first one comes from a group interview in a suburb of Bilbao:

### Episode 7.13

- 1 PS4: hi. I am here because I have a child of three (.) and the school he goes to is
- 2 Basque (.) and so I have to learn-
- 3 Int: and this- did you- did you choose it yourself or?
- 4 PS2: no we didn’t choose it it’s because the majority of the centres have model D of

5 Basque-

6 PS4: yes. now already-

7 PS2: it's what is taught. there is no option.

8 PS4: you have no option.

9 (>>>)

10 Int: and what do you think about not having an option?

11 PS2: well (.) let's see. it's like as if we went to other countries that speak another

12 language (.) for example (.) if we had gone to Poland (.) Polish we would have had the

13 obligation to learn your language (.) because we also need to get attached to another

14 language (.) that is there.

15 PS4: sure. sure.

14 PS2: even if we have our own language (.) which is Castilian for most of us (.) we have

15 to learn if we want to defend ourselves (.) to know a bit.

And the second one from an interview with one of the morning group AISA participants from V-G:

#### **Episode 7.14**

1 Int: why Basque?

2 S12: look. my baby it's more because I have him in model B (.) and when they already

3 give him homework and all (.) at school they tend to speak to them in euskera and all

4 (.) so I say (.) well if I am here (.) what else but learn. I don't know. well it opens it

5 opens my mind and all and for him when he has to do homework when or (.) I don't

6 know (.) for all (.) and because everything in the records and all it's in another

7 language (.) and I want to know what it says (.) as it is always bilingual (.) I see here

8 (.)well I don't know recently they speak it more.

All participants reported the need for learning Basque because of the fact that it is obligatory for their children's education. Such need comes from an 'outside' source. It is

indicated by their use of passive constructions, such as “they tend to speak to them”; the use of a third person subject “they speak” or by describing the school as a Basque speaking space rather than the children as Basque speakers: “the school she goes to is Basque”; and perhaps most indicatively, when in lines 4-7 of the first episode, all three female participants explicitly stated that there was no option to choose any other model of language education for their children. This obligation, however, does not appear to be a source of negative attitudes. Rather, it is represented as a sign of ‘integration’ or social capital gain, or a simple acceptance of the state language policy as in episode 7.15 — indicated in line 12: “we need to get attached to another language”; or in episode 7.16 — in lines 2-3: “what else but learn it”. It is also guided by essentialist categorisation and indexical links between space, language and people. While the participants acknowledge the instrumental and added-value of Basque resources in the education context, they also evoke the attachment of these resources to space (line 3, episode 7.16: “since I am here” or line 11 in PS2 hypothetical example in which she ties language (Polish) to national space (Poland); to people (line 11-12 in 7.15 — “your language”); or to the institutional, nation-state like space (line 10, 7.15: “as if we went to other countries”).

The added-value of Basque resources was also represented in this context in another way — ascribing it to children as facilitators of conversation in Basque — at times taking up the role of teachers. This was especially visible in the following episodes:

### Episode 7.15

M: little by little (.) I keep learning with my (.) with the daughters and all (.)the small ones  
ogia. ogia hartu. ogia emaizu. I am learning things little by little. <sup>129</sup>

### Episode 7.16

- 1 Int: have you learnt any Basque before?
- 2 H: I take care of children. And here the children speak Basque and (...) I already
- 3 knew a bit. I was always reading with the girl (.) things like (.) I always did it

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<sup>129</sup> “y poco a poco o sea voy aprendiendo (.)con mis (.)los (.) las hijas y todo pequeñas. ogia. ogia hartu. emaizu. voy aprendiendo poco a poco. cosas.”

4 (>>>)  
5 H: with the kids we spoke it (...) It wasn't embarrassing for me or anything I (.) I  
6 mean I wasn't saying it right and they were correcting me to say it right (.) that yes  
7 but with a normal person (.)an adult (.)I am not saying that no- (incomprehensible)

#### Episode 7.17

1 PS2: I have a (.)my niece is seven and all (.) and she was at a school in the C and  
2 now we changed it to B (.) and I ask her things how it is and she corrects me. for  
3 instance I was saying mesedes (.) please and she said (.) mesedes (.) I was saying (.)  
4 and she said mesedez (.) it's mesedez aunty (.) ah! ok. ok. and with this and (.) this  
5 stays (.)and I tell her things and she corrects me and she is seven but she  
6 understands Basque perfectly.  
7 Int: she teaches you?  
8 PS2: yes. she teaches me yes. yes. yes.

In Episode 7.17, M – the female participant from Ecuador indicates that she only uses Basque resources with her grandchildren. Similarly, in episode 7.18, H indicates that she speaks Basque with the children she takes care of, mainly because she would be intimidated to speak to adults (lines 6-7). In the last episode 7.19., the female speaker from Portugalete also indicates the ease of learning with her seven year old niece. All three episodes give an indication that children are often facilitators of exchanges in Basque, often because of the students' perception of Basque as too difficult for an 'adult-like' conversation for which they might need more resources than the AISA course provides, or because, especially in places with relatively lower numbers of Basque speakers such as V-G, the only regular contact with Basque speakers that migrants have is through children. Speaking to children then, seems much less face threatening (Brown and Levinson 1987, 65-67).

Children were also positioned more as 'insiders' or authentic speakers because of their high level ability to use Basque resources (as in lines 2-3, episode 7.18; or line 1 and 5, episode 7.19 in which children were represented as those who are Basque speakers and

who belong to the Basque metaphorical space). At the same time migrant self-positioning is constructed in a category of 'non-speakers' in comparison to children, as well as belonging to that metaphorical space to a lesser extent – as they do not see themselves as capable of having an 'adult' conversation – projecting a rather negative epistemic stance; or talk about the incompleteness of their resources. Nevertheless, the partial resources that are acquired (as in episode 7.17) have the potential to become indexical of the Basque metaphorical space ('ogia hartu' ; 'ogia emaizu' ; 'mesedez') and thus lead migrants into a higher level positioning of belonging to such space, as for instance, M contrasts her stance of not-belonging to the metaphorical space of 'Basqueness' (as in episode 6.3, with her 'stance of belonging' constructed after she acquired Basque resources (episode 7.17).

### 7.3 Conclusion

Another representation of 'Basqueness' identified in the thematic analysis of the data was based on the instrumental value of Basque. Such value was indicated through the construction of instrumental attitudes towards Basque or towards the process of Basque language learning, as well as through representations of the Basque language as resources of embodied cultural capital available for capital conversion (Bourdieu 1986). These representations of 'Basqueness' also showed most prominently the shift with regards to the role of Basque in group identity building in the revitalization of sub-state language discourses. Such discourses move away from the traditional understanding of the links between language, space and people prominent in the nationalist-essentialist conceptualization of group identity, towards the representations of language as resources subject to time-space scale evaluations (Collins and Slembrouck, 2009) which (re)construct linguistic hierarchies in accordance to their context of use. Similarly, the evaluation of linguistic resources is guided by the 'new economic', global, market-like processes which create tensions between the utility value constructions of language and the old, essentialist roles ascribed to them (Heller et al., 2014). This is also visible in the context of Basque language teaching to migrants, as they become 'new' and 'not-anticipated' clients or purchasers of such resources, and their resources also need to be evaluated and placed within the spatio-temporal hierarchies.

The data analysed above demonstrate the contexts in which these processes take place in relation to language and identity both ascribed to migrants and by migrants. There are

instances of attitude construction on the instrumental level, which treat Basque as resources which add value to spaces, people and products. These resources are then (potentially) placed in the 'new economic market' or evaluated accordingly in the linguistic hierarchies. Such added-value construction of resources influences the way that migrants position themselves or are positioned with regards to their belonging to the Basque space constructed in the light of the instrumentality of Basque. For instance, while migrants acknowledge the high instrumental value of Basque in the public services and administrative job sectors, they often do not position themselves as possible benefactors of such resource use. On the other hand, they seem to acknowledge the potential of Basque resources when it comes to private sector potential commodification of products or services. However, the way that positioning with regards to belonging to 'Basqueness' is constructed in those cases seems to be mainly influenced by the intertwining of essentialist and non-essentialist discourses, as references to indexical links between places, people and language are still very much present 'on the ground', despite the discursive shift in language learning and revival policies. Such intertwining creates ideological tensions and possible identity conflicts when it comes to self-positioning of migrants with regards to their belonging to 'Basqueness', 'speaker' identity or provision of authentic products or services, as well as when it comes to other-recognition of migrants as 'insiders' and their possible integration connected to language as economic, rather than social capital.

In addition, there appeared to be two contexts in which the added-value quality of Basque resources was evoked and which were not fully addressed by the language policy documents or course promotional material addressed to migrants: the context of the economic crisis and that of public, bilingual education. The context of the economic crisis with regards to its role in language, integration and migration management was usually not evoked in the policy documents (the promotional leaflet from Getxo, for instance, mentioned the economic crisis in one of its slogans: 'en tiempos de crisis, invierte en euskera', but the course advertised by this slogan was not directed at migrants in particular). Neither was it in fact referred to explicitly very often in the interactive data (two times in the interviews in connection with the Basque language), and lead to the construction of both positive and negative instrumental attitudes. However, what I showed is that Basque resources as added-value could be indeed seen as overriding the essentialist

understanding of categories when it comes to the role of language in group identity building.

Similarly, the instrumental role of Basque resources in the public education context was often acknowledged by migrants as part of the regional administrative language policy. For instance, the participants in episode 7.15 referred to not having a choice as to the model of public education of their children, but this lack of choice stemmed not from seeing the policy as restrictive, but rather from the increase in the provision of Basque only or bilingual education. Another implication of the instrumentality of Basque resources in this context was the fact that it allowed for a less face threatening interaction with children who became constructed as authentic speakers. While these points were not addressed in the published policy documents with regards to language and migration, the promotional materials related to language teaching mentioned, for instance, the possibility of enrolment in courses of Basque for parents whose children attend Basque medium schools. In fact, some of the participants (3) in this study were recruited in such courses, in the locations where AISA courses did not have enough students.

The instrumentality of Basque and its recognition in certain contexts was thus also significant for some of the migrant participants, especially those (potentially) involved in 'added-value' commercialisation of products and services, those placed in spaces of 'added-value' of Basque resources, or those whose high competence in Basque resources is constructed as a personal 'added-value'. This construction of 'added-value' as a quality that enhanced the instrumental perception of Basque resources was also contributing to the construction of positioning of migrants on the scale of belonging to the Basque space, in this sense constituting one of the thematic representations of 'Basqueness'.

## Chapter 8: Conclusion

All three thematic contexts: space of 'Basqueness', authenticity of language, speakers and space, as well as the instrumentality of Basque resources, provided important insights into the ways in which ideologies influence the representations of 'Basqueness', as well as individual positioning of migrants. These insights point to consequential processes on certain levels: that of the construction and attribution of categories related to migration and language acquisition, such as 'speakers', 'migrants', 'language competence' and 'integration' (among others) by migrants and to migrants; on the role of language in group identity construction and the role of migrants in it; as well as on the role of sub-state language acquisition policies involving migrants as new actors in the reception of these policies. In this final chapter, I will first reflect upon the process of the construction of the above categories in discourses related to language revival and migration and then review the ideologies involved in the construction of belonging and the way in which they influenced the representations of 'Basqueness' in each identified thematic area. Finally, I will move to discuss the tensions between policy and its 'on the ground' reception, which I find inform certain policy changes that could be implemented in order to provide more economically and socially rewarding regulations for both language revival actors and migrant Basque learners – in this way providing an improved model for sub-state language learning.

### 8.1 Migration, Language and the Regulation of 'Belonging'

Migration is not a new phenomenon, but a process which has existed since the beginning of the human history. It increased significantly with the growth of the world population over the centuries (Winter 2009, 2). With the creation of modern nation states, which allowed for legal regulation of belonging through citizenship and thus the regulation of migration, and with the emphasis on rights and duties that state citizenship brings (connected to the services regulated by the state, such as healthcare, education; and laws of conduct, such as tax and employment law), migration has gained more salience and widespread visibility, especially on a political level (Castles et al. 2005, 1). Similarly, with the changes in global economic markets, the service economy and the unequal distribution of resources, production and employment around the world, as historical-structural theorists argue, it is hard not to be aware of the centrality of the process of migration (ibid.,

32; Ammendola 2006, 537). It affects nation-states especially when the usual trends in the process change rapidly, as it happened in Spain, which turned from an emigration country into an immigration one at the turn of the XXI century (Castles et al. 2005, 114, Carrera 2009). The demographic changes that this brought about affected the whole of the state, creating the need for improvement of the regulation of citizenship in the early 1990s (Rubio Marin et al. 2015, 12-14) and for the consolidation of 'Spanish identity' vis. a vis. other Spanish and Panhispanic identities (Kleiner-Liebau 2009, 79). This was visible in the documents that included discourses on integration of migrants, as well as in the attempts at questioning of applicants for citizenship (section 4.5). One of the tools used often in the exercising of such control over the definition and categorisation of 'belonging' by nation-states is language: both in the form of attempts at standardization to which authenticity becomes attributed – directed at indigenous population, and at migrants –in the form of language learning as a supposed indicator of 'integration'.

The practices of language testing and the emphasis on linguistic integration is not only reserved for state- and global languages, but also finds its way into minoritised language contexts which often apply a model based on hegemonic policies to sub-state language resources management (to varying extents). Just as the minoritised language discourses used to mirror the state discourses in their own attempts at constructing national identity with the rise of nation-state political organization (Jaffe, 2008), they still do so when it comes to the management of migration and belonging to their own group identity that they usually construct as separate from that of the containing state (Carrera, 2009). This comes about often as the result of a conflict on an ideological level – connected to political and economic aspects of language use and distribution – as language resources become placed into constructed hierarchies depending on their distribution within spatio-temporal scales; and of the result of the will of sub-state language activists to reassert the distinctiveness of the group identity built upon sub-state language resources. Similarly, this policy and discourse mirroring can be read as an attempt at placing language resources considered to be sub-state on the same hierarchical level as 'global' or state languages.

As migrants enter new spaces they also undergo a process of language socialisation (Ochs and Schieffelin, 1995; Bayley and Schecter, 2003, 1) in which they do not only have their own resources re-evaluated but also become aware of the hierarchical distribution of existing resources within that space (Pujolar, 2009). Such awareness is related to the

recognition of the results of ideological interference which contributes to the construction of categories such as: language, language competence, space and belonging, and the subsequent compliance with or resistance towards this interference. This allows migrants to gain yet another form of positioning (Jaffe, 2009; Harre and Van Langenhove, 1999) in the negotiation of identity (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004), related to the evaluation of new language resources that they acquire. Migrants constitute 'new clients' (Heller et al., 2014) for sub-state language activists who need to be addressed in the language acquisition and revitalization policies. As new clients, they can be addressed through such policies as possible 'new speakers' (O'Rourke et al., 2015) of the minority language.

## **8.2 Ideological Influence on the Construction of Relevant Categories and the Role of Ethnography in its Discovery**

Just how actors categorised as 'migrants' represent sub-state language resources in language hierarchies, and in turn, how this relates to language policies on migrant language acquisition and 'integration', as well as how migrants resist and comply with varying ideological input related to the role of language in group identity building is visible in the meaning of categories that they themselves construct. The meaning of these categories can be discovered through ethnographic methods, as they allow for the illumination of contextual construction of such categories over time and in distinct spaces. Since ethnography concerns itself with "cultural and social production in everyday activity" including the production of categories, it allows for discovering the meaning of these categories as constructed 'on the ground' and related to the reproduction of larger social structures (Perez- Milans 2015, 2; Rampton et al., 2004).

The categories that I intended to discover and analyse in this study were addressed in the research questions (section 1.4) and further specified through the thematic analysis of the data collected. These categories were related to the construction of identity through positioning of migrants on a scale of belonging to 'Basqueness,' in the contexts of its various thematic representations, which in turn, were connected to the role of language in this group identity construction and included: space, authenticity and instrumentality of language.

'Basqueness' was often placed in a separate space and showed that various labels used to refer to that space were in fact showing different meanings, representing it as either an

administrative, a metaphorical or a state-like space. Authenticity was understood in this project as a quality used (by migrants and to migrants) to assess any other categories and identities as 'real' – and thus belonging to 'authentic Basqueness' and authentic Basque space, evolving around binary scales from 'nativeness' or 'newness' with regards to speakers, rurality vs 'urbanness' or presence or absence of 'real' speakers in geographically delineated spaces. Instrumentality did not always relate to the construction of meaning behind Basque group identity directly, but showed how the process of capital conversion (Bourdieu, 1986) and how the competent use of Basque resources for instrumental ends may lead to social capital gain and social recognition, and thus some form of inclusion or stance of belonging to 'Basqueness'.

One of the aims of this project (research questions 1 and 2) was to discover the ways in which attitudes towards language become constructed and reveal the ideological premises behind their construction. This was seen as influencing the 'stances of belonging' taken up or ascribed to migrants. Apart from identifying ideological themes related directly to language acquisition, the conflictive nature and spatio-temporal hierarchical placement of Basque and Castilian resources, as well as their structural and genealogical distinctiveness (such as what I labelled 'the difficulty of Basque acquisition' which represented Basque resources as being too divergent from Castilian – thus unlikely to be acquired outside of formal education contexts or beyond the basic level of competence; or the ideology of 'imposition' which redefined certain spaces as less authentic due to the language policy of such spaces that favours the use of Basque institutionally in a top-down<sup>130</sup> way), the main ideologies that intertwine and influence the constructed attitudes and stances are contained within the constructionist and the essentialist sets.

These two sets conceptualize the relevant categories and language in contrasting ways (as I have discussed in section 2.3.1): either as a full-code, bounded entity linked to space and people as their essential characteristics or as resources which are used by speakers to varying degrees and whose use depends on various attributes of the micro and macro context of this use. They revealed themselves to different degrees in the three thematic representations, and most often intertwined in policy texts and in the interactional data. Such intertwining can be explained as related to the shift that took place within discourses

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<sup>130</sup> 'Top-down' or 'bottom-up' refer to the direction of the planned change (...) or to the initiators of the change [in language policy] (Nekvapil and Sherman 2015, 1-2).

on minority language revival, which begin to move away from the nationalist essentializing representations of sub-state languages and their role in group identity construction, towards non-essentializing discourses which allow for a more inclusive resource based approach to language, thus ceasing to imitate the nationalist and essentialist policies and allowing for a post-national approach to group identity (Jaffe, 2008).

### **8.3 Essentializing and Non-essentializing Influences over the Representations of 'Basqueness'**

In this project I intended to avoid the use of essentialist categories a priori<sup>131</sup>, but there are certain cases when such references are impossible to avoid, especially when such categories are drawn upon by the participants (such as Basques, 'immigrants', 'native speakers') (Bucholtz and Hall, 2007; Spivak, 1995). One of the ways in which the intertwining of essentializing and non-essentializing discourses was done, was through drawing upon such essentialist categories, while simultaneously representing 'Basqueness' as an inclusive category based on language understood as resources subject to spatio-temporal scales and contextual evaluations. Another way in which this intertwining was revealed was through representing language resources as subjected to new economic processes, such as commodification (Heller, 2010), or to capital conversion (Bourdieu 1986), which both revealed the attribution of an added-value to Basque resources. This, in turn, connected these resources back to essentialist categories through authentication of products or through the authentication of language resources as cultural embodied capital, as authenticity was included in its 'added-value'.

Such discursive presence of both essentializing and non-essentializing ideologies also shows that these representations of categories remain in tension and have varying consequences for those included in them or those who construct them, especially with regards to positioning and identification. This is visible to various degrees in the three thematic areas that I had identified – from the theme of 'space' – as showing most influences of essentialism, through 'authenticity' to 'instrumentality of Basque' resources – as mostly constructionist influenced.

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<sup>131</sup> Guided by the premises behind ethnography as a paradigm of thought (Lillis, 2008).

Within the representations of 'Basqueness' as based on space, I identified three categories in which space was conceived of: an administrative space, a state-like space and a 'metaphorical' space. The essentialist ideological conceptualization of space was seen mainly in the state-like representations which unquestionably linked language as a full-code, people as its unique speakers and space as a state territory that legitimizes the use of this full-code. On the other hand, there were instances when partial resources were portrayed as a sufficient means for inclusion of migrants in the metaphorical space, but the link between Basque resources and people understood as 'ethnic' Basques was still prominent, especially in the construction of the meaning of integration represented as an 'added-value' of such resources. Integration in such cases was mainly understood as a unidirectional process for which migrants were seen as responsible actors through their acquisition of Basque often in the form of partial resources. However, the positioning of belonging based on the use of partial resources was mostly not taken up by migrant participants (with certain exceptions such as in episode 5.5) as they found other premises, usually essentialism guided, behind identity construction related to space as more important.

Similarly, the labels used by migrants in the interview data and some of the labels used for the 'space of Basqueness' in the classroom showed an ambiguity as to how to define this space and how to define those who belong to it. Those who understood these labels in administrative and nation-state like terms, even though being aware of the existence of some kind of metaphorical dimension to the Basque space, represented their own belonging to it in essentialist terms, usually through the lens of what they referred to as 'respect' or 'integration' (as in episode 7.3 or in figure 7.5), considered as processes or dispositions on the part of migrants and which need to be initiated or adhered to by migrants.

The representations of 'Basqueness' as related to the category of authenticity showed that the participants were aware of the different degrees of authenticity attached to spaces, people and language varieties, but were not always able to identify or evaluate these varieties on the scale of authenticity. In the context of this theme in the representations of 'Basqueness', the essentialist and constructionist ideological conceptualizations of language were mostly interconnected, as authenticity was often represented as based on Basque as a full-code, native language and on the presence of native born speakers (but

not necessarily native speakers, i.e. not necessarily having learned the language from their parents as children (as in episode 6.6) in certain spaces, subsequently also authenticated as Basque, but at the same time, different full-codes were also evaluated differently depending on the time-space scale of the context in which it was constructed – as when Batua was represented as authentic to the students in the classroom on the basis of its wide comprehensibility, but not seen as such by these students or when students were included in the category of ‘euskaldunes’ (episode 5.3). Likewise, rural areas, or speakers with varieties considered to be spoken in rural areas, were seen as more authentic than spaces where Batua was spoken, but at the same time as having little value as resources that could be used for conversion into economic capital.

In the representations of this theme, migrant students were also positioned as ‘insiders’ on the basis of their willingness to acquire Basque resources or on the basis of the partial resources they already used, but at the same time their authenticity was questioned as new labels such as ‘euskaldunberri’ (‘new Basque speaker’) were introduced by T1 (episode 5.3.). At the same time migrant participants did not self-position themselves as ‘insiders’ on the basis of their partial language competence or on the basis of the fact that they were learning Batua, but rather evoked essentialist ties to the rural Basque speaking areas or ties to Basque speakers as factors that were more likely to evoke their positioning as ‘insiders’. Additionally, the uptake of such positioning by the authentic actors was seen as an important factor in identification (as in episode 5.5).

Finally, ‘Basqueness’ as reflected through the instrumentality of Basque resources, not surprisingly, showed mainly a constructionist ideological treatment of social categories. This was done because language was most prominently understood in this thematic context as a set of resources which underwent different degrees of evaluation on the level of instrumentality, depending on the spatio-temporal scales in which they were used or reported to be used. Such resources were also often represented as ‘added-value’ qualities attached to either spaces, people, services or products, and then as convertible into other forms of capital – in the form of ‘social recognition’, as well as employment or ‘integration’. The added-value quality was constructed by migrants also in other, perhaps less expected, contexts: the economic crisis and public education. The added-value of Basque language resources was, however, often also understood in terms of its indexical links related to authenticity or to the characteristics of persons or spaces as essentially linked to language.

Nevertheless, in these contexts, the partial use of resources by migrants was more likely to result in self-positioning or being positioned as belonging to the space of 'Basqueness', especially in relation to authenticated actors, such as children, or those who reject or lack any Basque resources despite their indexicality with the Basque space through other categories, such as 'nativeness' as in episodes (6.4) and (7.11).

Language attitudes constructed by migrants varied from context to context and were influenced mainly, but not exclusively, by essentialism and constructionism. This in turn had various consequences for self-and other- positioning of migrants in all three thematic contexts of the representations of 'Basqueness'. As I have shown, references to essentialism, despite the attempted change in the understanding of the role of language in group identity building, were almost inevitable to avoid. While the general policy makers' discourses in relation to migrants, integration and language acquisition were attempted to re-evaluate the relationship between Basque and Castilian, do away with mirroring of discourses on identity characteristic of the containing nation-state and to project the role of language as more inclusive towards migrants, as well as to represent the process of integration as a mutual exchange between the 'insiders' and 'outsiders' who negotiate their own place within 'Basqueness' – so to redefine them in terms of constructionism; these processes were revealed 'on the ground' as still very much drawing on essentialist premises, rather than following these attempts.

#### **8.4 Tensions in Basque Promotion as Provision of Social Capital (Integration)**

This split between policy aims and their reception 'on the ground' has an impact on the construction of group identity – i.e. 'Basqueness' by migrants; but also individual identity construction of migrants as actors with often multiple language repertoires. Doing away with the essentialist characteristics of space, language, speakers and migrants could be seen as the first step at building a more inclusive, multicultural 'Basqueness' aimed at in state and sub-state integration policies. But despite this step, 'Basqueness' still appears to be subjected to essentialist indexical links between language and space, perhaps because its representations 'on the ground' and in some policy texts are still not void of the conflicting relationship between Basque and Castilian and between the role that each of

these resources is meant to play in the construction of group identity, as well as in the economic processes related to the marketization of language resources.

For instance, one of the ways in which this conflict is influencing the positioning of migrants is through the way that the stance of ‘clients’ is ascribed to them in some AISA course descriptions. This stance is realised both on an integrative and instrumental level, and shows yet another attempt at accommodating to new economic and demographic processes that also affect the sub-state language policies. Migrants envisaged as purchasers of language as a product were addressed in a way that provides for their possible language and identity needs, as the language acquisition policies that relate to migrants construct their process of identification with the Basque space in an inclusive way, where partial resources are seen as valid for such identification. However, these partial resources are also inevitably used to demarcate boundaries of a space to which they are indexically linked – a space that is separate from ‘Spanishness’ (or ‘Frenchness’). On top of that, despite directly promoting integration and multiculturalism, the language resources to be acquired by migrants are also represented instrumentally — as a tool for gaining social capital that allows to be ‘integrated’ — in the form of a product that carries with itself these indexical boundaries or the authenticity tied to these boundaries. It is therefore difficult to distinguish between instrumental and integrative representations in this case, as language as a product makes integration be understood instrumentally.

## 8.5 Tensions in Basque Promotion as Provision of Economic Capital

However, when it comes to the representation of the ‘space of Basqueness’ as a space that values the instrumental use of Basque in the language acquisition policies on other plains than integration, such as economic capital gain or economic ‘added-value’, migrants as potential ‘new speakers’ or clients have been given less emphasis. While the policy documents of a top-down nature produced by such institutions as the Vice-Council of Language Policy of the Basque Government<sup>132</sup> or The Department of Employment and Social Services<sup>133</sup> indeed included some type of actions to promote Basque in this field (as discussed in section 4.4), it is not reflected in the promotional material of the actual language acquisition courses such as AISA. Similarly, campaigns such as ‘Bizarduna naiz –

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<sup>132</sup> Viceconsejería Vasca de Política Lingüística

<sup>133</sup> Departamento de Empleo y Asuntos Sociales

elebiduna naiz' (section 7.1.1), which feature migrant learners, portray Basque resources in an instrumental way, but with a possibility for migrants to gain social, rather than economic capital in the form of employment or remuneration. This represents migrants as potential 'new speakers' who are not only disinterested in this kind of value of Basque resources, but also as possibly not envisaged as its possible benefactors.

As I have shown in chapter 6, there are instances when such instrumental value of Basque connected to its conversion into economic capital is not only recognized by migrants (episode 7.1), but also used by migrants for positioning as belonging to the Basque space (episode 7.3 and 7.11). Similarly, those participants who acquired Basque to a high level of competence<sup>134</sup> were also representing themselves as benefactors of this added-value in certain spaces, such as public institutions (episode 7.6), or private sector employment (episode 7.1). However, even within such representations and instances of identification, space, language and 'speakers' are essentially linked to each other or depend on some form of recognition of authenticity. This is what does not make them completely void of essentialist influences included in the earlier nation-state discourses on the role of language in group identity building.

## 8.6 Other-reception of Migrant Positioning and its Role in Integration

Another issue connected to the higher emphasis on the promotion of the 'integrative value' of Basque disguised in a form of instrumentality, rather than the economic value of Basque for migrants, is the fact that the representation of integration in the top-down language policies designed by the Basque Government institutions did not find its reflection 'on the ground' or in other texts addressed to migrants. Integration in other texts was often represented as a unidirectional process in which migrants became the target actors of belonging (but also the responsible actors, since they were positioned as those who needed to undertake actions towards 'integration', i.e. acquire Basque resources in order to be more knowledgeable about the Basque group identity). This was visible, for instance, in episode 7.3, where 'ideology of respect' was prominent, or in the promotional materials of the AISA course from Getxo or V-G (section 5.1). While such a conceptualization of 'integration' was also contested at times (as in episode 6.5 where J talks about 'lack of

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<sup>134</sup> Also before coming to the Basque Country.

integrative will from the 'insiders'), by both migrant participants and certain other institutional actors, such as the programme Auzoko,<sup>135</sup> there seemed to be no real emphasis on the fact that such efforts on the side of migrants are also subject to an uptake from the 'locals', as well as that integration may take on a variety of facets. It does not need to be necessarily perceived as a clear-cut process of acceptance of the indexical link between language, space and identity that needs to be mirrored by the 'newcomers'. Rather, in the post-national period, it shows that many of such indexicalities in fact intertwine as ideologies cause them to overlap, and actors such as migrants in the process of negotiation of their own identity, are learning to navigate in-between spaces, actors and space-time scales (Blommaert, 2016). This has been shown in the context of this project as well, as the stance of belonging was expressed differently depending on its uptake, as well as was not necessarily based on sub-state language full competence, as the understanding of 'integration' in the descriptions and policy documents analysed would suggest.

Another important factor is the object of integration, i.e. the space or group identity into which migrants are seen as integrating. Since I dealt with a 'space' understood in some way as indexically linked with Basque identity, I almost always referred to it as the object of integration. So was this space or group identity represented in the policies analysed. However, in post-structuralist conceptualizations of superdiverse spaces these objects can be varying and multiple, as migrants use new forms of communication in order to stay connected with their space of 'origin', at the same time adjusting their communicative practices to other domains in which they are active (employment, education; Blommaert, 2016). Since these domains overlap – integration may in fact be understood as being able to use communicative resources that are suitable and applicable in each or in overlapping domains (ibid.).

Similarly, despite the turn towards constructionism in the discourses on Basque language and belonging and representing integration as inclusive of partial Basque resources, the uptake of one's Basque resources as partial and suitable for integration, was not so conceptualized in the construction of 'stance of belonging' by migrants in most cases.

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<sup>135</sup> (From which I recruited participants, and which was directed at an interactive exchange between local Basque speakers or Basque learners and migrants who wish to acquire Basque and who at the same time present elements of their own 'cultural identity'.)

More often, other identificational means than language were used to position oneself as belonging to the Basque space, especially among partial resource speakers.

Nevertheless, I also identified certain positive ways of such an identification. This involved the symbolic use of certain partial resources as they became indexical of the metaphorical Basque space – words for greetings and thanking, as well as certain labels for the administratively understood Basque space or Basque people. Such an identification, however, was done mainly outside of the space understood as the space of ‘Basqueness’, showing that such emphasis on partial resources within the Basque space is in fact not sufficient for migrants or those constructed as ‘locals’ to uptake it as a form of stance that indexes belonging.

Similarly, from my own fieldwork experience, we used certain forms of greetings and address with each other very often in the space of the classroom or outside, as well as in virtual spaces – as one of the students set up a course group in a mobile application communicator, but usually lacked the confidence in doing the same when it came to the use of Basque resources outside of our group space. In my view, this lack of confidence stemmed mainly from own assessment of the incompleteness of one’s Basque repertoire, but also, in some cases, the lack of recognition of its authenticity, or from the lack of knowledge about the interlocutors’ repertoires. The emphasis on partiality of resources could become clearer if it included cases of such symbolic use of certain indexical vocabulary in order to facilitate the recognition of the ‘stance of belonging’ of migrant Basque learners. While such symbolic resources were included in some publications (such as the dictionary analysed in section 5.2), they do not necessarily get recognised or taken up by either migrants or ‘insiders’ as symbolic markers of ‘stance of belonging’ inside the Basque space. The emphasis on the uptake of such use of Basque as a possible stance of belonging should perhaps also be addressed more consistently.

Nevertheless, stance of belonging was very often constructed upon other means than language, such as other essential characteristics of the space (usually within the representations of space as a nation-state like one). These included the right to political separation or distinctiveness of character and culture, as well as the ‘authentic’ connection between acquainted persons (children, family members etc.) and the authenticated rural areas. This might also be because, like in the case of the symbolic use of Basque resources, migrant participants were in fact still putting a great emphasis on full-code competence

and did not find recognition for their partial resources (such as PS1 in episode 5.5). Similarly, only those participants who portrayed themselves as competent Basque users received a positive uptake in the form of social recognition (social capital) (episode 7.13) or employment, in spaces where Basque was seen as an added-value (economic capital) (episode 7.6 or 7.3).

At the same time, even in cases when such uptake of resources is positive and new type of discourses of inclusion, language competence and 'speakerism' are introduced, authenticity still plays an important part in the construction of speaker identity and further complicates the construction of 'stance of belonging' by migrants. For instance, new categories can be evoked, such as 'new' or 'old' speakers, which put into question the previously assumed forms of positioning, as well as introduce yet new forms of identification (not free of ideological influences either) that are adhered to or resisted (such as in the classroom explanation behind the category of 'euskaldun' in episode 5.3).

Similarly, only certain contexts allowed for a positive recognition of migrants' Basque resources – such as when these migrant actors were used as role models for those considered as 'insiders' but who were not Basque speakers or when the migrant students introduced themselves as learners of Basque (episode 7.11). The policies of language acquisition should therefore be more focussed on those contexts or areas of recognition which allow also for the positive uptake of partial resources, and which show that the process of integration is not just a unidirectional responsibility of migrants who need to become learners of Basque in order to 'belong'. In practice, this would mean reaching out to the autoctonous population with campaigns that would provide a mutual language exchange (which is already done by some NGOs that I visited, such as Topagunea), as well as flagging of partial competence and creativity in the use of certain linguistic varieties as an acceptable form of 'speakerism', allowing for forms of polycentricity (Jaffe, 2007b) in language use.

Another move away from 'old discourses' on language and identity can be seen in the construction of the metaphorical representation of space. It can be perceived as an attempt at creating a separate group identity and presenting it as such to migrants (Carrera, 2009). While it allows for moving away from the state-like imagery used in the early stages of language revival and the nationalist discourses, such a 'space of Basqueness' is also represented as a space that is not attainable through just Castilian. This is visible in

the fact that, for instance, even the campaigns that base language acquisition and Basque promotion on bilingualism see this bilingualism as a bilingualism in Basque and Castilian as two separate codes, and place the emphasis particularly on Basque acquisition, rather than the use of Castilian or mixed code resources. While there is no political or administrative means to claim authority for a state-like space, the metaphorical space is still used to delineate a separate Basque group identity as a distinct social category, which is less politically saturated, but still not often moves away from essentialism.

## 8.7 Positioning of Migrants in Language Acquisition Policies

As data evidence has shown, when it comes to the change in language teaching and language acquisition policies putting emphasis on partial competence in Basque may be beneficial and have positive implications on identificational level, but at the same time, such emphasis is not sufficient for other-recognition of positive stances of belonging constructed by migrants. Similarly, while initiatives such as the AISA courses are indeed an important step towards Basque language revival and towards addressing migrants' language needs, it often turned out that such teaching on a basic level, as well as a low competence of the use of Basque resources, do not do away with some ideological influences identified in the interactional data, such as the 'difficulty' or 'impossibility of the acquisition of Basque'. By selecting out the courses as especially designed for migrants and by describing them as introductory, in addition to significant subsidies that make such courses cheaper than others<sup>136</sup>, the providers of them, to a certain extent, presuppose that the participants are disinterested in, or incapable of, further learning of Basque. While there were indications of possibilities of further learning (such as on courses for fathers and mothers or euskaltegi courses), migrant participants often reported abandoning of Basque language learning for financial reasons or for reasons of insufficient competence in Basque after completing the AISA course in order to be able to follow a higher level course in other institutions.

The identification of migrants as clients was done in response to their increasing population and as a way of mirroring of other sub-state language policies or state language policies which address language acquisition in terms of the entry, the right to reside, and

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<sup>136</sup> In V-G the price in 2016/2017 was €9 per semester.

the right to obtain citizenship of that state by migrants (van Oers et al., 2010). By emphasizing the integrative premises behind language acquisition, this selection of migrants also proposes that they are actually seen as some kind of 'other' profile of 'new speakers' and are not included in the mainstream language revival agendas addressed to 'new speakers' of the sub-state region who are the citizens of the containing state. The dominance of Castilian, in terms of addressing migration, remains somewhat obvious, not just in the fact that it is actually the citizens of the other Hispanic states of Latin America that constitute the largest groups of migrants to the BAC (and to Spain in general) and thus also migrants from these states are mainly native speakers of Castilian; but also in the fact that most other migrants indeed reported their primary competence in Castilian rather than Basque. Therefore, the initiatives at lifting up the status of Basque in the spatio-temporal hierarchies of certain spaces are understandable. However, such treatment of migrants and their language competence does not envisage them as possible benefactors of, for instance, capital conversion of resources in certain spaces where the instrumental value of Basque is particularly increased, or does not see them as having access to authenticated spaces, unlike perhaps other 'new' or 'old' speakers.

## **8.8 Post-structuralist approach to Attitudes and Positioning**

Finally, the ethnographic orientation to the study of attitudes taken in this project has shown that attitudes and positioning are interconnected and ideologically informed. They influence each other as they become constructed and revealed in interaction or textual forms of discourse. While attitudes in the form of evaluation or stance as positioning, were indeed included in some theories of identification, such as the stance triangle (Du Bois, 2007) or the hierarchy of identities (Omonyi, 2009), the analysis of my data has shown that ideological influences over positioning within evaluations, as well as which kind of stance projection becomes revealed in a given context are indeed possible to pin down linguistically 'on the ground' as well, showing how identification becomes ideologically informed. Therefore, post-structuralist theories of identity that address the study of such influences need to be incorporated into the analysis of identity, especially in contexts of multi- or bilingualism where there exist various centring institutions (Blommaert 2005) and sources of ideological influences over multiple linguistic resources, used subsequently to construct stance. Such an approach allows one to reveal answers to questions such as

who can formulate what kind of attitude and stance in what context, as well as how ideology informs the positioning assumed or ascribed.

Spaces and contexts of sub-state areas such as the BAC are, just like any other spaces of the more and more globalised world, becoming subject to processes that make them be recognised as diverse and multilingual, and redefine the role of language in identity building. With this diversity and multilingualism comes the multiplicity of ideological influences and constructed indexicalities attached to the sub-state language, as well as the re-evaluation of migrants' resources and their placement within the space they enter (Pujolar, 2009). This has been also visible in the 'multicultural' and 'multilingual' characteristics of the participants in this project. This re-evaluation and multiplicity of ideologies is best revealed through linguistic ethnography, which allows for moving away from pre-categorisation of migrants as certain nationals or language speakers. It is in the contexts of experience of the participants that the indexicalities related to their ideas about and representations of 'Basqueness', as well as their own role in this group identity (even though these representations themselves were not void of such essentialist ideological influences) are best analysed and give the best 'micro' picture of higher level social processes.

If the factors that brought about increased migration to Spain continue to be influential, and make the process of migration to the BAC also significant, the top-down policies and the discourses produced by institutional language revival actors might need to be adjusted in order to be more suited for the needs of migrant language learners, as well as to accommodate to those who already reside in the area with varying Basque resources competence. Migrants' representations of 'Basqueness' will continue to be influenced by other multifaceted intertwining ideologies and processes present in super diverse spaces and economies of language as they will need to take into account new forms of identities and 'belonging', as well as new ways and means of language use that break with the essentialist connection between language, identity and nationality, as well as include instrumentally oriented approaches to the learning of Basque. Similarly, the conceptualization of 'integration' will be subject to redefinition, as an often temporary and fragmented process related to multilingual practices subject to scalar evaluation of linguistic resources, in order to match these new types of categories of 'speakers' or

'migrants' and to redefine the role of the sub-state language in the everyday experience of the 'newcomers'.

On a personal note, the experience of being a temporary migrant in the BAC was indeed a very rewarding one. It allowed me to experience language and human diversity in a variety of spaces – from 'authenticated' Basque villages and rural towns to local cafes in the cities of V-G and San Sebastian. It also allowed me to experience (yet again!) how my own language resources became re-evaluated and placed in the new space at times unexpectedly – for instance, when I actually interviewed my fellow mother tongue speakers. Acquiring basic competence in Basque also evoked feelings of ambiguity – as the broadly understood conflict between 'Basqueness' and 'Spanishness' was felt 'on the ground' – as to where, when and with whom these resources could be used. At the same time, I also felt the symbolic value of Basque resources, as they allowed for the formulation of affective 'stance of belonging' to the Basque space, but also with regards to a group identity of fellow migrant learners. I hope that their accounts, included in this ethnography through the lens of my personal experience as part of the 'community' of Basque migrant learners, will serve for a better understanding and improvement of both language acquisition policy and migrant experience of identity building in sub-state language contexts.



## Appendix A                      Transcription Key

(.)	– a short pause
(..)	– a longer pause
{	– beginning of an overlap
}	– end of an overlap
–	– emphasis
()	– incomprehensible talk or uncertain transcription
(( ))	– descriptions and other details
?	– rising or questioning intonation at the end of an utterance
!	– exclamatory utterance
.	– falling intonation at the end of an utterance
↓	– significantly falling intonation
↑	– significantly rising intonation
<i>euskaldun</i>	– code switching in italics
-	– cut off
(xxx)	– unable to transcribe
[]	– translations
(>>>)	– continues

Adapted from Richards (2003)

Interviews took place in the participant's chosen language (Castilian, Polish or English). Therefore, translations into English are provided within the body of the text and original text is included in footnotes throughout the thesis. Whenever communication was expressed in non-standard varieties or 'code-mixing' this was rendered in the translation and transcription.

## Appendix B Interviewed Participants

Code	Country	Age Group	Gender	Province
<b><i>Vitoria-Gasteiz AISA Morning Group</i></b>				
S1	Brazil	1	Male	Alava
S2	Peru	2	Female	
S3	France	1	Female	
S4	Senegal	1	Male	
S5	Morocco	1	Male	
S6	Senegal	2	Male	
S7	Angola	1	Female	
S8	Uruguay	1	Female	
S9	France	2	Male	
S10	Nigeria	1	Female	
S11	El Salvador	1	Female	
S12	Honduras	1	Female	
S13	Germany	1	Female	
S14	Germany	1	Male	
S15	Germany	1	Female	
S16	Mexico	1	Female	
<b><i>Vitoria-Gasteiz AISA Evening Group</i></b>				
R1	Argentina	2	Female	Alava
R2	Morocco	1	Female	
R3	Brazil	1	Male	
R4	Colombia	2	Female	
R5	Peru	1	Female	
R6	Ivory Coast	1	Female	
<b><i>Other Participants: Euskaltegi/Banaiz Bagara/Auzoko</i></b>				
H	Paraguay	1	Female	Alava
J	Paraguay	1	Female	
B	UK	2	Male	
PP	Poland	1	Female	
PM	Poland	1	Female	
PN	Poland	1	Female	
PD	Poland	1	Female	
PO	Poland	1	Female	
R	Poland	1	Male	
T	Ukraine	2	Female	
<b><i>Other Participants: Euskaltegi/Banaiz Bagara/Auzoko</i></b>				
U	Italy	1	Male	Gipuzkoa
S	Japan	1	Male	
L	Portugal	1	Male	
K	Argentina	1	Female	
M	Ecuador	3	Female	
P	Mexico	1	Female	
N	UK	2	Female	
O	Nicaragua	2	Female	
G	Chile	2	Female	
E	Uruguay	2	Male	

W	China	1	Female		
X	Senegal	1	Male		
LE	Ecuador	1	Female		
LM	Mauretania	1	Male		
LP	Pakistan	1	Male		
E1	Morocco	2	Male		
E2	Morocco	2	Male		
E3	Pakistan	1	Male		
E4	Pakistan	1	Male		
E5	Western Sahara	1	Male		
E6	Western Sahara	1	Male		
D	Colombia	2	Female		
PS1	Chile	1	Male		Vizcaya
PS2	Colombia	1	Female		
PS3	Colombia	1	Female		
PS4	Colombia	2	Female		
PS5	Colombia	1	Female		
PS6	Peru	2	Male		
PS7	Peru	2	Female		
PS8	Morocco	1	Female		
PS9	Morocco	1	Male		

T1 – AISA morning group teacher

T2 – AISA evening group teacher

There were certain participants in the evening AISA course who declared willingness for participation in the observations but were not interviewed.

Age groups are classified as follows:

- 1 – young (18 to 40 years of age)
- 2 – middle aged (40 to retirement age)
- 3 – elderly (above retirement age)

## Appendix C Interview topics

1. Personal information
  - age
  - profession
  - length of stay in the BAC
  - languages spoken
  - how much time spent learning Basque/ where/ when
  
2. Perceptions of the BAC
  - Knowledge of the BAC
  - Knowledge about bilingualism in the BAC
  - Reasons for migrating to the BAC
  - Likes, dislikes, surprises about living in the BAC
  - Willingness to stay
  - Opportunities for work
  - Opportunities for socializing/integration
  - Differences between the BAC and other parts of Spain; perceptions of Spain
  - Attitudes towards 'Basqueness'; what is typical of the BAC; impressions about Basques and the BAC
  
3. Motivations behind the studying of Basque
  - People you speak Basque to
  - Places where you hear Basque
  - First impressions of Basque; changes in attitudes towards Basque
  - Advantages and disadvantages behind Basque knowledge
  - The need to learn Basque or Castilian
  - Perceptions of the AISA course and learning of Basque
  - Opportunities to practice what was learned outside of the classroom
  
4. Others' perceptions of migrants/identity of migrant
  - Advantages of knowing your native language
  - Other people's reactions towards you as a migrant
  - People's reactions when speaking Basque
  - People's reactions when speaking native language/ advantages connected to the mother tongue or other languages spoken
  - Finding employment, need of Basque knowledge in finding employment
  - Other instrumental motivations for learning Basque

## Appendix D

# Historical Context of the Decline and Revival of Basque and its Role in Group Identity Building

In this appendix I would like to explain the historical and socio-economic conditions behind the process of Basque language decline and attempts at language revival that have been taking place since the 1980s. In drawing upon the factors behind these processes, I will intend to show certain parallels between them and indications found in my data.

### D.1. The Socio-Economic Conditions behind the Decline of Basque

Being a language isolate, Basque has a long history of contact with other varieties with which it had competed for prestige, utility and economic value in the territory of the Basque Country. This process was at times an uneven struggle and started when Basque experienced a substantial territorial loss when it came in contact with Latin when the Romans dominated the Iberian Peninsula, especially in the south of the Basque speaking territory (i.e. Navarre) (Amorrortu-Gómez 2002, 815). After the fall of the Roman Empire the regression of Basque continued from the borders inwards, to result in a loss in the majority of Álava, the west of Vizcaya, South of Navarra and the area around Bayona (what is now the French territory of the BC) (ibid.).

The major language shift process began around the XVI century (Urla 2012, 2). With the process of nation-building, the perception of different varieties of Latin shifted, from 'vulgar' to 'national' languages (Zuazo 1995, 9). Because of this, Basque ceased to be used as a language of high functions, which became reserved for the varieties of Latin: Spanish in the south and French in the north (ibid.). They dominated the social areas of education, commerce and administration, moving Basque towards the domain of home (Amorrortu-Gómez 2002, 817). With the creation of urban centres linked to ideas of progress and modernity, Basque was declared a language of countryside and tradition, associated mainly with illiterate farmers and fishermen, and its symbolic place – the *baserriak* (Basque farmsteads) (Amorrortu-Gómez 2002, 817; Urla 2012, 3, Shafir 1995, 89).

This countryside-urban centre dichotomy was firmly grounded in the economic differences between modern and traditional regions within the BC, as well as the relationship between the nobility that populated the cities and the Spanish state (Shafir 1995, 88-89). This opposition is, perhaps surprisingly, still reflected in the most recent statistical data on Basque language use published in the *V Encuesta Sociológica 2013* (V Sociolinguistic Survey) which shows that the cities have less Basque speakers than the overall rate for the provinces in which they are situated (e.g. in

Vitoria 15.5% of the population reported themselves to be Basque speakers while the province of Álava has 17%, these rates for Bilbao and San Sebastián are 16.3% -25% and 33.5% -50% (V ES 2013, 17). My ethnographic observations, as well as the data obtained through the interviews, suggest that this dichotomy was also observed among migrant participants of my study. Those who constructed positive attitudes towards Basque learning often did it in the context of a personal connection to the countryside, rather than the need to use Basque in the urban centre they lived in. Similarly, those located in more rural areas usually reported greater exposure to and overall contact with Basque (see section 6.1).

## D.2. Language Loss in France

Later, the events of the XVIII century French Revolution had an enormous impact on Basque in France, which was then becoming 'Europe's first and most influential model of the democratic nation-state.' (Urla 2012, 3). To the ideologues of the Revolution minority languages represented backwardness, fanatical politics and provincialism, and so the subsequent years brought about the establishment of French as the only language of the Republic (ibid.). Even though there were attempts at establishing a codified orthography of Basque, its loss of prestige led to the subsequent loss of the previously established literary standard, and the balance of the struggle for esteem turned to the Southern part of the territory (Zuazo 1995, 13). In fact, until today the French state remains reluctant to recognise its internal linguistic diversity, as Basque has not been recognised as an official language in France (Urla 2012, 3). This is also the reason why Basque has received much more academic (especially with regards to language policies and attitude studies) and political attention on the Spanish side of the border.

In the Southern provinces, it was not until the XVIII century that the question of origins and the actual defence of the Basque language heated up (Urla, 2012). With the attempts of the Spanish Crown to centralize the state, and the introduction of Castilian as the only language of the court after the War of Succession<sup>137</sup>, came a further loss of Basque, especially in the major cities, such as Bilbao and Pamplona (Zuazo 1995, 14). This prompted a significant outburst of writings describing the origins and grammar of Basque<sup>138</sup>, all of which were directed at establishing its status vis-à-vis Castilian (Urla, 2012, 26).

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<sup>137</sup> War of the Spanish Succession (1701–14): "conflict that arose out of the disputed succession to the throne of Spain following the death of the childless Charles II, the last of the Spanish Habsburgs" (Britannica.com, 2016).

<sup>138</sup> From Antonio Tovar's response to the Royal Spanish Language Academy's *Diccionario de Autoridades* (published between 1726-1739), which depicted Castilian as "intrinsically superior to the other languages of the peninsula" to Manuel de Larramendi's *De la Antigüedad y Universalidad del Vasquense en España* (1729),

### D.3. Castilian – Basque Dichotomy

The writings of the period during the centralisation of the Spanish state began a long chain of discourse on the dichotomy between Basque and Castilian, as well as on the Basque claims to nationhood. But, as Urla points out, these early stages in the language loyalist movement conceptualised this relationship in very different ways from those of modern language activists, since for those authors, it was important to show that the Basques were in fact an integral part of the 'Iberian people': the ancestors of those who originally inhabited the peninsula (2012, 27). In fact, Shafir cites a sixteenth century Tract of Zaldibia ('the compiler of Basque customary law') in which it was stated that 'a perfect compatibility existed between being Basque and being Spanish,' and that 'the dedication of Basques to both faith and defence made them the best Spaniards of all' (1995, 89). He also emphasizes that such bonds and sentiments remained strong until the XIX century (ibid.).

The traditionally or stereotypically understood conflict between Basque and Castilian was also sometimes reversed or levelled out in my data, for instance, when migrant learners' constructed the space of 'Basqueness' as a space that values or accepts Castilian (episode 6.2.) or when migrants recognized that 'Basqueness' is not always linked to language knowledge (as in episode 6.4).

### D.4. Claims to Nationhood

Nevertheless, within this discourse of belonging to the Iberian society, the Basques also emphasized their claims to special privileges within the newly created central state (ibid.; Urla, 2012, 27). This is also why the writings on language emphasized the central role of Basque in their distinctiveness as a people, as well as showed its aptness and logic through the description and systematization of its grammar and vocabulary, as the expression of natural group identity, an expression of having the status of a nation – in accordance with the essentialist ideological thought of the time (Urla, 2012; Irvine and Gal, 2000). Such standard language ideology used for political claims is still very much present in the discourses of some language activists. For instance, the data collected during our visit to an exhibition entitled 'Badu Bada' it could be seen that the idea of language as an ingredient of nationhood is still important in language revival. The following image was taken from the exhibition's website:

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in which he argued that Basque was in fact much older than Castilian, reviving the XVI century thesis about the origins of Basque as one of the languages of Babel (Urla 2012, 26).

## Euskalduns have defined themselves through their language, while other human groups have given priority to their origins.

Three Political spheres / Basques / Linguistic community

### Three Political spheres

The country of Euskalduns is divided into three political administrations. Basque language is the official language in the Basque Autonomous Community (Euskadi) together with Castilian language. In the north, in the French state, the Basque language has no legal protection while in the Chartered Community of Navarre it has diverse levels of protection depending on different zones (zonification). There is no unified language policy nowadays.

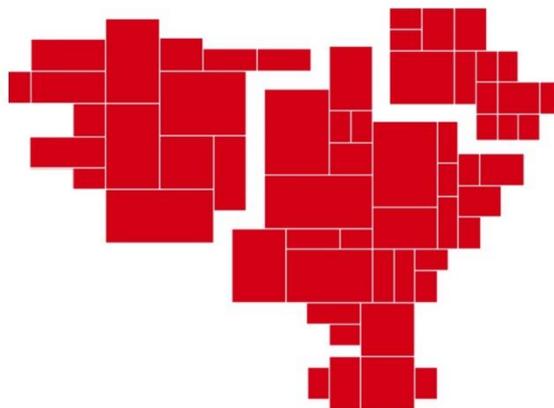


Figure 8.1 The Country of the Basque Language (Badu Bada, no date)

The emphasis here is given to the space dimension of language speaking, understood in ‘nation-state’ terms as the title suggests (‘The Country of the Basque Language’). It evokes the idea of group identity based on language, as indexed by the word ‘euskalduna’. This group identity is then placed within territorial boundaries – as the image suggests. It also alludes to the role of language in state building, underscoring its official status in certain parts of the territory.

Moreover, questions of standard and dialect were raised among the students in the class, both during class hours as well as during private conversations, reflecting the issues behind the construction of authenticity and the communicative validity of the standard (see section 6.3).

### D.5. *Fueros* as Special Privileges

This special status of Basques was confirmed politically, in the act of conceding and a very long maintenance of the *fueros* - old laws and privileges granted to old Spanish provinces by the Crown and according to which those provinces governed themselves (Sabanadze 2010, 120). The Basques attributed a particular symbolic importance to *fueros* since they represented special economic and political immunities, which were granted to them in return for the numerous sacrifices in the battles of the Reconquest<sup>139</sup> and gave the Basques a substantial degree of self-governance (ibid). The *fueros* were complimented by the granting of *hidalguía*, the so-called collective nobility, which

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<sup>139</sup> Reconquista, English Reconquest, in medieval Spain and Portugal, a series of campaigns by Christian states to recapture territory from the Muslims (Moors), who had occupied most of the Iberian Peninsula in the early 8th century (Britannica.com, 2016).

tied Basques to the Spanish administration and the military through the ease of access to public offices within those structures (Shafir 1995, 89). The loss of *fueros*, after the second Carlist War in 1876, marked a new direction in the representation of the relationship between the two groups and can be considered as a turning point in the treatment of Euskera as a link between Basques and Spain or Spanish territory. From then onwards, Euskera set Basques apart as a separate nation, as the lack of special privileges produced resentment towards Spain in the Basque population and language started to be seen as one of the cultural elements on which this separation could have been based (Urla 2012, 28).

## D.6. Industrialization and Basque Renaissance

The Basque provinces were incorporated into the Spanish state. However, Basque liberals, even though initially happy with the new economic arrangements (centralised administration, tariffs shifted to the coast etc.), quickly negotiated what Woodworth describes as “a fresh raft of fiscal privileges” known as *conciertos económicos* (2007, 31). This situation, coupled with foreign capital investment allowed for extensive and rapid economic growth, and the end of the XIX century brought about a boom in Basque industry, especially in the two capitals: Bilbao and Donostia/San Sebastián (Uranga 2003, 22-24). This, along with Spain’s neutrality in the WWI, attracted numerous immigrants from the poorer parts of Spain, especially Andalusia, Extremadura and Galicia (Conversi 1997, 190; Woodworth 2007, 60). The population of Bilbao tripled, making Bizkaia the most heavily populated province in Spain and this biggest Basque city became a kind of melting pot of the time, full of contrasts between the industrial elite and the working proletariat (ibid.).

These characteristics of the biggest cities in all provinces was still visible in the data collected in V-G and San Sebastián. For instance, some of the participants in AEK euskaltegi in Gipuzkoa described San Sebastián as a multicultural city with subsequently led to their assertion that this multiculturalism raises the value and role ascribed to other resources than Basque, including English:

### Episode 8.1

R: San Sebastián is a very touristic city (.) and also there are a lot of people from abroad (.) there are other Spaniards (.) and in the end out of practice and experience (.) if you don’t have the looks of an euskaldun they start speaking to you in Castilian.<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> Donostia es una ciudad muy turística (.) aquí también hay un montón de gente de fuera (.) hay otros españoles (.) y al final por práctica por experiencia (.) si no tienes esta pinta muy euskaldun te empiezan a hablar en castellano.

## Episode 8.2

N: oh yeah! they think it's the best thing ever! I've been an English teacher and it's been like such a sophisticated job(.) I've been like- wow! valued. that's great!

A similar assertion was also made by AISA alumni from V-G:

### Field Note 8.1

After the interview ended we stayed on talking a bit. H said that sometimes she needs to use English with tourists, but it's very difficult for her. Before she did not hear so much English in the city. Both H and J were talking about spatial segregation and the different parts of the city in which different immigrant groups settled.

11.11.2013

## D.7. Loss of Domains of Use

It was then with the process of industrialisation that this state shifted towards the domination of Castilian, not simply because of Castilian speaking immigrants, but also because the Basques who chose to move to the cities, usually abandoned Basque altogether (also in the more traditional domains of use, especially by those who had connections to the central government. In fact, according to Heiberg 'the Basque elite was an integrated part of the Spanish government and establishment', and 'the financial and intellectual segments of the Basque elite spoke Castilian and was Castilianised,' thus suggesting their identification with the central state rather than with 'Basqueness' (1975, 181) causing the intergenerational transmission to stop (Urla 2012, 29; Conversi 1997, 169). This led to an increase in the number of lower- and middle-class urban settlers who considered themselves Basque, but were not Basque speakers (ibid.). All these factors constituted the first signs of the on-going tension within the Basque community regarding the role of the language in the definition of 'Basqueness' (ibid.).

Moreover, Basque was replaced by Castilian in a very important domain: that of public education (Urla 2012, 29). The general population expressed a great interest in schooling and literacy in Spanish, and Basque was not formally taught at schools, decreasing the opportunities for gaining literacy in this language (Lopez García 1985, 71). Moreover in 1857 the new education law, Ley

Moyano, established mandatory primary education, but taught exclusively through the medium of Castilian (Martí Lopez 2005, 156). Other languages of Spain, including Basque, were banished from classrooms, since these repressive measures were growing in force as a result of the early Spanish authorities struggle for political and social unity, when the emerging Spanish state began to see unification as a path towards the creation of a modern nation (ibid., 27). Moreover, Basque was already not widely available and rather difficult to master for the newly arrived in the sense of its dissimilarity with the other Latin derived standards or Castilian dialects (Conversi 1997, 102). This difficulty was also very often reported by the participants of this study (for example, in episode 7.9).

## D.8. Basque Cultural Movement

At the same time, the XVI century with the new medium of print brought about first literary defences and codifications of Basque, such as Bernard Etxepare's *Linguæ Vasconum Primitiæ* ("Beginnings of the Basque Language") published in 1545: the very first book printed in Basque, in which he "encourages his fellow countrymen to help in the task of turning Basque into a language of high culture" (Zuazo 1995, 12)<sup>141</sup>. But it was in the late XIX century that a cultural movement, the *renacimiento euskerista* (Conversi, 1997), led by the *Asociación Euskara de Navarra*, which aimed to study and propagate the Basque language, literature, history and law, was born in the midst of the growing Castilian – Basque ethnic division and class divisions, related to migration and the urban bourgeoisie (Conversi 1997, 50). It presented a romanticised notion of Basque history and culture, based on the struggle to defend Basque privileges and traditions, as well as the egalitarian character of the traditional Basque society (Shafir 1995, 96).

The members of this organisation were disappointed with the profound societal changes that took place, and opposed the growing hegemony of the urban centres (Urla 2012, 31). The association's political involvement was minimal, however, and its main activities were related to the organisation of the so called *Juegos Florales (Fiestas Euskaras)*, where one could attend poetry recitals, or *bertsolaritza*, rural games and sports, or dances and singing activities (Conversi 1997, 51; Urla 2009, 31; Rubio Pobes 1999, 409). These games, unlike their Catalan prototype, were considered more of a folkloric event rather than a literary manifestation, and 'cultivated a conception of authentic Basque language and rural life that would become iconic of "Basque Culture" (Conversi 1997, 51).

From my ethnographic observations I can draw a hypothesis that current cultural activities also draw on such folkloric traditions. The rural games are integrated into the celebrations within the

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<sup>141</sup> However, this literary work comes from the Northern provinces (what is now France, precisely from Labourd) which, as Zuazo suggests based on the relatively high number of publications in Basque, constituted a region where Basque still enjoyed a high status and relatively high literary demand (1995, 13).

cities, such as the Fiestas de Virgen Blanca (White Virgin) in Victoria and Bertzolaritza poetry is still very much alive and cultivated in certain cultural circles. In fact, one of the participants (R5) confirmed her inability to be in the audience of such a show due to the fast advanced sale of the tickets. Another one of my observations related to the presence of folkloric themes in public cultural activities was during a celebration of Vitoria's European Green Capital<sup>142</sup> title, granted to the city in 2013, in which one of the acts was a folk music band: *Folk On*, whose members distributed song lyrics in Basque to their audience and engaged them in a common singing practice (see section 6.1).

At the time they originated, these type of cultural activities helped people from the rural areas to get their own voice in the public space normally dominated by the urban politics and Castilian, and served as points of encounter for the Basque reading and writing public (Urla 2012, 31). They linked language very strongly to the Basque identity (Rubio Pobes 1999, 409), for one of the leaders of this renaissance movement, Arturo Campión claimed that “the Basques were the people whose virtues appear to be linked to their language” [‘(...) de un pueblo cuyas virtudes parecen vinculadas a su idioma’](Campión 1905,35). For him the Basque language is a particular and defining characteristic of the Basque people, a marker of identification above all others (Urmeneta 1981, 657). Campión believed Basque to be almost extinct and dedicated a lot of his writings to describing the causes of the decline and solutions for language revival and the restoration of collective identity (ibid.). Among the factors that he identified responsible for the decline of Basque were the lack of a Basque university, absence of a literary standard, negative attitudes among teachers and shaming of Basque speaking children at school (Urla 2012, 31). Moreover, he criticized the Basque elite for stigmatizing Basque speakers and abandoning their indigenous language (ibid.).

## D.9. The Birth of Basque Nationalism

The changes in the demography and population of Basque cities described above, created the conditions for various forms of contestation, ones that praised Basque folkloristic and rural roots (like the *renacimiento euskerista*), and others that were stirred politically, rather than culturally. One of such reactions was institutionalised by Sabino Arana de Goiri in the form of the Basque Nationalist Party (*Partido Nacionalista Vasco*, PNV) founded in 1895.

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<sup>142</sup> An award granted by the European Commission to ‘cities which are making efforts to improve the urban environment and move towards healthier and sustainable living areas.’ (Europa.eu [online], no date).

Arana's ideology marked a clear separation between the categories of Basques and Spaniards, since one of the major postulates that he propagated was that a nation (Basques) has the right to free themselves from the oppressing state (Spain = Spaniards) (Villaroel Lopez, 1990, 26). In fact, as many scholars point out (Mar-Molinero 2000, Conversi 1997, MacClancy 1996, Zabalo et al. 2013, Shafir 1995, Tejerina Montaña 1999) he based many of his writings on a certain degree of racism towards the immigrants from other parts of Spain, whom he denominated *maketos*<sup>143</sup>, as well as towards the new urban bourgeoisie, whom he blamed for the loss of what he understood as truly Basque values (Woodworth 2007, 33). These values incorporated the Basque language, as he considered the lack of Basque use as a major factor that contributed to the subsequent loss of the language (Tejerina Montaña 1992, 270). Arana regarded anything Castilian as a threat to traditional values and morals and set out to prevent the Basque Country from Castilianisation (Shafir 1995, 94; Mar-Molinero 2000, 50). This is also why he discriminated against internal state immigrants, who "had more Castilian education and more 'Castilian national consciousness' than immigrants to Catalonia" (Linz 1967, in Shafir 1995, 95).

As the founder of Basque nationalism "Arana made Euskera a symbol of Basque nationhood" (even though secondary to race, as he thought race, unlike language, could not be contaminated with Castilian values) and this symbolism was visible in his various initiatives dedicated to the study and reform of Basque (Farwell 2009, 51; Urla 2012, 32). Arana's ideological thought included various notions of the role of language in the creation of Basque collective identity. First of all, following his convictions about the dangers brought about by Castilian influence, Arana intended to purify Euskera of any Spanish borrowings, as well as invented and coined some Basque neologisms, such as the name Euskadi (Conversi 1997, 64)<sup>144</sup>. This label along with other labels for Basque 'nation-state' were used as indexical of certain perceptions of the Basque space for both teachers and migrant participants.

Arana, however, placed more importance, not only on race, but more notably on patriotism, the so called *abertzale* [aberri = fatherland] (Urla 2012,37; Conversi 1997, 65). For him language revival had to go hand in hand with patriotism, as Euskera alone could not save the Basque mother country, just like patriotism could (Conversi 1997, 183).

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<sup>143</sup> From 'makuuak' – meaning 'those with bundles on their back.' (Kurlansky 2001, 169)

<sup>144</sup> He also invented such words as *gudari* (warrior/ soldier), *aberri* (fatherland) and *abende* (race) (Juaristi 1997, 201). They were later successfully adopted by other nationalists (Conversi 1997, 64).

## D.10. The Beginnings of Language Reform

Another key cultural institution set up at the time of modernization and the growing popularity of the nationalist political movement (1918) were the Basque Studies Society (*Eusko Ikaskuntza*) and the Basque Language Academy (*Euskaltzaindia*) (Urla 2012, 39; Hualde and Zuazo 2007, 143; Zallo 2006, 252). According to Urla, these institutions' agenda constituted the first attempts at language planning, since, unlike nationalism, it did not see the language as a 'marker of collective difference', but rather as 'an object of planning' (ibid.). The founders of these two institutions were acting independently of nationalism, as actors interested in the revitalisation of language and culture without resorting to the idea of an independent state (Conversi 1997, 71).

The first Congress of Basque Studies organized by *Eusko Ikaskuntza* elevated the idea of cultural mobilisation based on the premises of social engineering and its members made the search for solutions to the changes brought about modernisation in the Basque cities a priority (ibid.). They saw the growing pollution, housing problems, illnesses, as well as the developing anarchist and militant worker movements as factors "destabilising the roots of Basque identity" (Urla 2012, 40; 1989, 156). They felt the need to undertake a scientific social reform due to the fact that the Spanish state, weakened economically after losing its last colonies, was unable to deal with these special conditions in the industrial regions of Catalonia and the Basque Country (Urla 2012, 41; Conversi 1997, 70). The solutions to these problems were to be found in acting and planning of these areas of social life according to the modern rules of social science, rather than seeing their roots in 'racial contamination' (ibid.).

The planning of the language was entrusted to *Euskaltzaindia* by the academic Congress (Zallo 2006, 138). The main problem for its founders was the question of how to plan the language revival, by whom and what criteria should be used (Urla 2009, 42). Both of the previously established Basque cultural institutions were focused on the social life of the language: its demographic distribution and its absence from various important domains of everyday use, such as commerce or urban life (Urla 2009, 43). The Basque Language Academy worked on the corpus of the language, but also sought to find ways to improve its status in terms of its use in publishing, academia and the literacy of its speakers (Conversi 1997, 71). Also, at the outset of its work, it established the theoretical bases on which the future *ikastolas* were to function, and commissioned the drafting and publication of the first school textbooks in Basque (Eusko Ikaskuntza, 2005). Its members also debated how the Basque language could be made up to date with the new domains of use and how it could find its rightful place in the coming century (ibid.). This required an effective search for some standard norms, as it had been done for the more powerful Castilian and other languages in European states at the time.

*Euskaltzaindia* worked on all dimensions of language planning: corpus, status and acquisition, in the context of deep economic and social changes, thus drawing on the advances of modern social scientific research (Urla 1988, 383). Its actions, however, did not come uncontested, as the major differences between dialects in the Basque speaking territory, raised fears of artificiality and incomprehension associated with an entirely new standard (Urla 2009, 45). Another problem was posed by possible societal stratification, since the planners aimed at avoiding the deepening of linguistic differences related to economic status after the society became rather stratified within the cities, and between cities and rural areas during the immigration period of the 1960s (ibid; Shafir 1995, 41). There were various positions advocated by linguists involved in *Euskaltzaindia*, ranging from the creation of a completely new standard, not based on existing dialects or of a complete lack of intervention (Urla 2012, 46).

The issue of the standard variety vs. local dialect forms is still problematic for certain groups of learners and newcomers, I believe. Some of the participants in my study showed their concern as to the possibility of being understood while learning only the standard variety, *Batua* (introduced in 1968), especially in rural areas considered to be more authentic (see section 6.1). The problems of authenticity with regards to *Euskaldun Berri* (new Basque speakers) as well as issues of migrants' Basque resources uptake and their other-ascribed stance of inclusion the inclusion or solidarity dimension of attitudes were also raised during the AISA course, which I discussed in section 6.2.

### **D.11. Basque Language in the Franco Regime**

As the reformers approached the issue with caution and detailed study, full attempts at standardisation were interrupted by the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War (Urla 2009, 47). The government of the second Spanish Republic (1931-1939) had granted autonomy to the Basque Country in 1933, which meant that Basque nation building was developing within the republican structures (Beck 2005, 50). However, the victory of the Spanish Nationalists and General Francisco Franco in 1939 brought about enormous changes with regards to the expression of Basque nationalism, but also to the expression of the Basque identity itself. A deep division was created between the victors and the defeated; the latter were considered as traitors against the Spanish state and had to be "severely punished" (Urla 2012, 53). The violence against the defeated forces: assassinations, labour camps, confiscation of property and political and ideological repression were common in almost every sphere of everyday life (ibid.). The provincial governments of the regional autonomous regions went into exile and the nationalists who remained in the BAC territory were driven underground (Shafir 1995, 102). The previously approved (during the Second Spanish Republic) Statute of Autonomy (1933) was nullified, the government went into exile and institutionally the Basque country no longer existed in its administrative form, with the law being

executed by the militaries (Urla 2012, 54). All inhabitants of the Basque territory were persecuted, particularly Guipúzcoa and Vizcaya, and considered as “traitor” provinces due to their support of separatism and the previous granting of autonomy (Woodworth 2007, 64).

## D.12. Cultural Repression

The ultimate goal of Franco’s policies was the unity of Spain and anything that questioned this unity had to be eliminated (Shafir 1995, 101). As Mar-Molinero emphasizes,

absolutely crucial to the definition of Spain was the exclusion of those who threatened the sense of there being one single, unchallenged Spanish identity. (2000, 84).

Indeed, the Franco victory was portrayed as a victory in a crusade to restore the country’s traditional values and integrity, as well as to destroy nationalist sentiments (Lecours 2007, 72; Urla 2012, 54). The other regions of Spain, which had struggled for the recognition of their own identity and linguistic rights (Phillipson and Kutnabb-Kangas, 1995), during the Second Republic were considered to imperil the central power of the Spanish state (Urla 2012, 54).

The unity of Spain was not only to be expressed on an economic and state levels, but also on the cultural one. Thus, one and united, Catholic Spain was to speak one Castilian Spanish and the peripheral languages were to be abandoned and their use was entirely prohibited in the public sphere (Conversi 1997, 81). Euskera was banned from educational institutions, religious ceremonies and public broadcasting (Lecours 2007, 72). In the Basque Country repression on the level of the language use went as far as mass burnings of books in Euskera, the prohibition of Basque names on tombstones and a release of decrees requiring the translation of all Basque names in official documents (ibid.). The PNV, was particularly repressed by Franco, as it dared to challenge the unity of Spain in the name of independence of the Basque nation (Woodworth 2007, 64). All of these actions were drawn attention to in the 1952 letter of the president of the exiled Basque Government, José Antonio Aguirre, in the opposition to Spain’s petition to enter UNESCO, on the grounds of repression and cultural genocide with regards to the Basque culture (Urla 2012, 55).

The projects introduced at the beginning of the Second Republic that promoted bilingual education were abandoned under Franco’s rule (Urla 2012, 54). In fact, there were penalties for the use of any minority language in the public sphere, including teaching (Mar-Molinero 2005, 84). The only

guise, under which any expression of the Spain's regional cultures or languages was tolerated, was as a quaint form of folklore (Urla 2012, 55). Indeed, the non-Castilian languages were often referred to as dialects, which served to diminish their role and status, and treat them as mere instances of low culture expressions, while Castilian was elevated to a morally superior status of a Christian language: *cristiano* (Mar-Molinero 2000, 85; Urla 2012, 55).

### D.13. Language as Resistance

Nevertheless, through this severe repression and ideological domination the regime obtained the opposite effect, since the non-Castilian languages became real symbols of resistance against it (Urla 2012, 56; Mar-Molinero 2000, 85; Tejerina-Montaña 1997, 120). Indeed, it has been shown that both the language as well as Basque cultural symbols were cultivated and reproduced in close knit circles, family homes and parish churches which sometimes allowed their spaces for the formation of sport or cultural associations (Tejerina-Montaña 1997, 120). It could be argued that the intensity of the cruelty against minority cultures was so strong that it made the minority language speakers aware of the role and the decline of their mother tongue and subsequently prompted some circles to develop much stronger ties to that language as a badge of identity (Tejerina-Montaña 1996, 225). What is more, the dictatorship made Arana's claims about an occupied and subjugated nation a reality and the consequences of the dictatorship's policies were the making of Basque and Spanish identities mutually exclusive (Woodworth 2007, 66; Urla 2012, 56). And it was in those circumstances that new nationalistic movements and labour unions began to mobilize their forces, among which one of the most powerful ones, which forged the new idea of Basque nationalism and Basque independence, was *Euskadi ta Askatasuna* (ETA) (Woodworth 2007, 66).

### D.14 ETA and the Language Question

ETA came into being at the time of social unrest and lost hope with regards to the fate of the Basque independence, as a by-product of Franco's dictatorship and an illegal underground body (Shafir 1995, 103). The 1950s brought about general strikes and student protests against censorship in the academia and the public life, as the regime loosened up its constant control (Urla 2012, 57). All hope for the nationalist cause was lost soon after Spain joined UNESCO (1952) and the USA collaborated with the dictatorship in an agreement to build military bases on the Spanish territory under the ideological premises of the Cold War (Payne 1987, 417). Spain was trying to recompose its image and dust off the remains of the Civil War in the public memory and succeeded in passing through as a new holiday destination, a country full of history, values and attractions for

Western visitors (Urla 2012, 57). But the final nail in the coffin was the expulsion of the Basque nationalist leadership from the embassy in France (Conversi 1997, 96). The Basque case therefore called for more radical steps and these were beginning to find their way at the University of Deusto's student organisation *Ekin*, which in 1959 changed its name to ETA (Anderson 2003, 18; Conversi 1997, 84). Formed by new generation nationalist radicals, it firstly set out its main task to educate themselves in Basque cultural, linguistic and historical matters (Urla 2012, 57). The original movement had also much in common with progressive Catholic activism, as many priests during the Civil War and in its aftermath provided the space for Basque cultural development and political studies (Tejerina-Montaña 1997, 120).

## D.15 Beginnings of ETA

As students dissatisfied with the inactivity of older generations<sup>145</sup>, they saw the manifestation of cultural elements through mild political acts and clandestine activity as appropriate means for advocating their cause, and began their activity by distributing leaflets, painting anti-Francoist graffiti, hanging out of *Ikurriñas* (Basque Country's national flags) and organising courses on Basque culture related matters (Conversi 1997, 90; Tejerina-Montaña 1997, 120). For its members the real mobilisation and social awakening could only be achieved when the members of the society had knowledge and understanding of their own roots and traditions (Urla 2012, 57). They also pointed to the language abandonment, as one of the most severe consequences of the cultural repression (ibid.). They argued that the "Francoist propaganda had distorted if not completely erased a sense of Basque identity and history", and that is why they needed to instil a new kind of patriotism in both 'the Basque people' and immigrants, a patriotism that would make them willing to take upon the project of national reconstruction (Tejerina-Montaña 1997, 125).

Moreover, this new generation of nationalist members of ETA declared itself secular and moved away from the Romantic visions of Basque culture in opposition to the regime and Church supported doctrine of "nacionalcatolicismo" (Conversi 1997, 92; Tejerina-Montaña, 1995, 124). The defining text of ETA's new ideology, *La nueva Vasconia*, written by Federico Krutwig (1963), for the first time recreated Basque identity as a concept created through culture, a state or self-definition which is acquired and expressed through language (ibid.). It replaced Aranist race as a core value with the concept of 'ethnos', which can be created and manifested through language

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<sup>145</sup> (PNV's activities after the possibility of receiving help from the US government was lost were confined to the organisation of festivals and cultural events, portrayed by *Ekin* as folkloric and conservative, so as not to upset the regime; Conversi 1997, 87).

and culture (Conversi 1997,93). That is also why *Vasconia* was appealing to many nationalist fractions, from secularists to Marxists and culturalists (Conversi 1997, 93).

## D.16 Language in ETA's Ideological Thought

Krutwig, as a linguist and a former member of the Basque Language Academy, looked for clues regarding Basque culture and relation of language and identity in the lexicon and etymology of Basque words (Urla, 2012, 59). As Urla points out, the prime example of this can be perceived in the word *euskaldun*, used to describe a Basque speaker, whose literal meaning is 'a person who has Basque' (ibid.)<sup>146</sup>. This particular label is still very much in use (see for instance Ortega et al. 2015) and indexically important also in my data, as I explored in section 6.3 with regards to language and authenticity.

In this way he manifested the central place of language in the Basque identity. But it was not only ethnic identity that used language as its core. Language related also to the state entity as well as the geographical territory, as Krutwig wrote:

El Euskera es la quintaesencia de Euskadi: mientras Euskera viva, vivirá Euskadi.' ['Basque is the quintessence of the Basque Country: while Basque lives, so will live the Basque Country.']<sup>147</sup>(in Tejerina-Montaña 1995, 125).

In fact, for Krutwig, the possibility of any action with regards to the Basque language revival could only be contained within an independent political entity (ibid.).

What is more he blamed the nationalist bourgeoisie concentrated in PNV for manipulating language and culture only to advance their economic interests and strengthen urban capitalism (Urla 2012, 59). Similarly, he criticised the lack of language transmission across generations, especially among nationalists (Urla 2012, 61). He compared the acceptance and usage of Spanish as a high status language to the acceptance of colonialism (ibid.). The idea of colonialism in the Basque Country was also used to justify the radical, nationalist cause, since the close relationship between the economic elite and the dictatorship, combined with massive repression, were often compared to colonial rule (Shafir 1995, 105).

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<sup>146</sup> See section 5.3.

<sup>147</sup> My own translation.

The work of Federico Krutwig was followed and elaborated by Txillardegui, an ETA member who became a prominent and influential thinker in the nationalist movement. He also criticised the nationalists' attitude towards Basque who, according to him, did nothing to learn it (Urla, 2012, 61). He emphasized the fact that nationalists wrote their manifestos in Castilian – the 'colonial language' (ibid.). In his writing he tried to establish a fundamental relation between the independentist struggle and the recuperation of Euskera (ibid.).

Thus, ETA made language subject to the political claim of Basque independence. Language decline was the subject of much analysis in ETA's publications, including its handbook for young militants, which stated that those who do not cultivate the language will be considered unpatriotic (ibid.). Language revitalisation was seen as part of nation building and the study of the physical characteristics of race were abandoned in the independentist discourse and left for scientific, anthropological study – making the character of the new nationalist discourse 'civic', rather than 'ethnic' (ibid.).

## D.17 Demographic Changes of the 1960s

However, this cultural turn in ETA's programme did not last for a long time. The economic boom of the 60s created new problems and rapid changes for both Spanish and Basque society (Whittaker 2012, 153). The Franco regime began to implement a new "Stabilisation Plan" (*Plan de Estabilización*, 1959) designed and directed by the new technocratic government (Urla 2012, 62; Payne 1987, 471). It introduced significant changes in the tariff laws and new tax reliefs, which allowed for fast industrial growth, in which Basque industry concentrated in Vizcaya played a crucial role (ibid.). This economic growth had important demographic consequences: as cheap labour was needed, more and more workers from other regions of Spain were immigrating to the Basque Country and by the end of the dictatorship the population of Euskadi had grown by 60% in 20 years (Heiberg 1989, 94). This change brought with it negative social consequences: adequate housing was scarce and the new inhabitants had to reside in poorly constructed housing complexes; the number of hospitals or schools and other social services was also insufficient (Urla 2012, 63).

However, others see these major social changes as helpful in promoting ethnic solidarity through the idealisation of the traditional Basque culture (Whittaker 2012, 153). It is not clear whether this was shared by all sectors of the society, and while Whittaker admits that the nationalist movement became increasingly inter-classist, the immigrant population was still a distinct sector of the society and the newly arrived had trouble understanding the Basque context of cultural and linguistic repression, since the regime's ideology promoted Castilianization and the unity of Spain (ibid., 64). This was because those seen as immigrants brought with them different cultural and linguistic

forms, which re-forced the Castilian ubiquitous presence (Tejerina-Montaña 1997, 135). This was also visible in my data, in that most of the participants came from a Castilian speaking country and were Castilian mother tongue speakers. These participants often indicated their initial lack of familiarity with any kind of 'Basqueness' and their understanding of Spain as a centralised state and a unified mono-cultural entity.

Immigrants of that period did not find much incentive to learn Basque, mainly because it did not guarantee any social mobility: indeed, the opposite was true, since the state and its institutions favoured the language of the newcomers (Urla 2012, 64.).

There was also a rather high degree of segregation among the inhabitants of both towns and villages, as the Spanish migrants tended to settle in the new housing complexes which created Spanish-speaking islands among Basque-speaking communities (Urla 2012, 64).

From this, it could be drawn that for nationalists the only real factor that was able to make immigrants learn Basque was the new nationalist idea of independent Euskadi based on language and immigrants' involvement in the Basque nation building (ibid.). There was no official provision and promotion of Basque, so the only way they could approach language learning was through participation in grassroots movement's evening schools which were open to anyone (Urla 2012, 65). There were instances of migrant learners' involvement in or identification with some forms of grassroots movement. Such cases were showing their understanding of language learning as helpful in advancing a political cause.

## **D.18 A Socialist turn in ETA**

But, in the long run, this inclusion of Spanish workers in the nationalist cause was only possible because of ETA's inclination towards Marxism and the fight against class segregation (Conversi 1997, 101). Workers' unions could form alliances with nationalists and organize major strikes and mass work stoppages (Payne 1973, 695). These strikes were mainly organised by the communist-led workers' commissions and followed the patterns of other Western European countries at the time (McAdam et al. 2001, 177). As a reaction to them, Franco declared special states of emergency (between 1967 and 1971; Spanish *estado de excepción* or *estado de emergencia*) in which all civil rights were suspended: the law enforcement lay directly with the police, who could enter houses, assemblies, confiscate any correspondence or listen to phone conversations without any authorisation (Bruni 1993, 227; Urla 2012, 65). These special states were often extended to the whole of the country or region, but took place most often in Vizcaya and Guipúzcoa (Bruni 1993, 227).

ETA became divided<sup>148</sup>, as some of its members decided to follow a socialist line, while others tried to work out a policy that would tie the nationalist cause together with issues of economic justice through portraying the capitalist Spanish state as its main enemy (ibid.). This allowed for the creation of a complex new identity of a patriotic (as in the nationalist imagery) immigrant worker, as it had become clear for the nationalists that immigrants or assimilated Basques could not be mobilised through race, religion or language revivalism (Conversi 1997, 203; Kasmir 2002, in Urla 2012, 66). With this, *ekintza* (Basque for 'action') began to define the membership in the Basque collective identity, as the new nationalist fractions believed that a Basque is one who, showing emotional engagement for his *patria*, fights for its liberation (Heiberg 1989 in Conversi, 1997, 204). However, what turned out to be an even more unifying factor, were the armed actions and violence employed by ETA since 1965 as a form of direct confrontation with the state (Conversi 1997, 102). Such political and violent actions increased the number of immigrants in the ETA structures (Conversi 1997, 203).

### D.19 Culturalists' Response

Nevertheless, for some, especially the early ETA activists, such as Txillardegui, this solution and the organization's inclination towards socialist cause were not acceptable (Zirakzadeh 1991, 170). For them, the revolution and fight for independence could only be Basque speaking and the class struggle without language revival was a denial of the original postulates of ETA (Urla 2012, 67). Those activists did not reject the civic nature of the socialist side of nationalism, however, for them it had a distinct basis: the language and culture, which could be in themselves inclusive and shared by the society (ibid., 68). Indeed, the 'culturalists' of ETA treated language as the centre of the 'ethnic' collectively (Bruni 1993, 79).

Moreover, they insisted that language should not be just an ethnic symbol, but it should be present at all levels of linguistic practice (Urla 2012, 68). This stress on practice has been the key point in the discourse of language revival activism and its role in the defining of the modern Basque identity for the culturalists (ibid.). So, according to Txillardegui, Basque socialism must have been led by people who spoke Euskera, while nationalists must have strived to restore Basque as the language of the whole of Euskadi (Conversi 1997, 183).

Language activists of the mid-twentieth century used linguistic science to show how language is interwoven in the relations of power and how its loss is never without consequences for society

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<sup>148</sup> Into ETA V and ETA VI, the latter one abandoning the nationalist cause for a purely class struggle (Conversi 1997, 101).

(Urla 2012, 69). Txillardegui started cooperating with cultural and educational institutions that published materials on behalf of a cultural movement called *kulturgintza*, meaning “culture making” (Urla 2012, 68). In his writing, he once again challenged the linguistic subordination of minority language speakers and insisted on showing that language revival movement should not be equivalent with class struggle (Conversi 1997, 182). He saw language as a factor shaping the expression of ideas and unconscious cognitive structures, such as identity (Urla 2012, 70). These ideas were later disseminated in adult language classes, as well as various cultural publications, as a form of contestation of the dominant Francoist ideology which did not see the loss of Basque as a serious cultural loss (ibid.).

Their claims drew on the pragmatic definition of Basque identity in which both patriotism and ‘Basqueness’ became performed through the use or learning of language (Urla 2012, 72). Such concept of identity assumed that anyone could be involved in the nation building project through a common ground, since the language was not seen as an essential feature of identity, but rather a feature that can create an identity through performance – so in the ideological light of constructionism (Urla 2012, 73).

Figure 5.1. HABE AISA Course Description

<p>“AISA Harrera-Ikastaroak” (AISA <i>Cursos de recepción</i> lingüística para inmigrantes)</p> <p><b>¿Qué son los cursos de acogida AISA?</b></p> <p>Son cursos de acogida lingüística para personas inmigrantes que comiencen el aprendizaje del euskara.</p> <p><b>¿A quién van dirigidos?</b></p> <p>A las personas inmigrantes mayores de 16 años y residentes en la Comunidad Autónoma Vasca que no han tenido contacto con la lengua vasca.</p> <p><b>¿Qué finalidad tienen?</b></p> <p>Que las personas inmigrantes conozcan la sociedad vasca y den los primeros pasos en el aprendizaje del euskara.</p> <p><b>¿Qué duración tienen?</b></p> <p>60 horas en total: 6 horas semanales repartidas en 3 días.</p> <p><b>¿Qué se aprende?</b></p> <p>En estos cursos se trabajarán temas motivadores que permitan la posibilidad de conocer la sociedad: los saludos, los números, la familia, la escuela, el transporte, la salud, el deporte, el mercado... Los ejercicios se centrarán principalmente en el vocabulario de esos temas así como la comprensión básica de la lengua (los rótulos de las calles, carteles...).”</p>
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Figure 5.4. Dossier Informativo Vitoria-Gasteiz

<p>‘Se trata de cursos de acogida lingüística para las personas inmigrantes que deseen dar los primeros pasos en el aprendizaje del euskera. Se trabajan temas que permiten un mejor conocimiento de la sociedad: los saludos, los números, la familia, la escuela, el transporte, la salud, el deporte, el mercado...</p> <p>Los ejercicios se centran en el vocabulario correspondiente a esos temas, así como en la comprensión básica de la lengua (rótulos, carteles...)</p> <p>¡Recordad! Son cursos de INICIACIÓN para personas que no saben nada o casi nada de euskera.</p>
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Si la persona interesada es muy joven y ha tenido contacto con el sistema educativo, es muy probable que ya tenga unos conocimientos mínimos: este curso no es para esas personas.

Está destinado a personas mayores de 16 años. El diseño y la financiación de los cursos corresponde a HABE (Gobierno Vasco) y este organismo solo tiene competencias en la enseñanza de euskera a personas adultas.'

### Episode 5.1.

- 1 Int: que imaginaban que era? porque además tiene un nombre así País Vasco (.)
- 2 no?
- 3 S1: sí aunque País Vasco dicen en castellano (.) no? porque así es Euskal Herria
- 4 (laughs) o Euskadi.
- 5 Int: y por qué dicen-
- 6 S1: no (.) Euskadi es el sitio donde se habla euskara (.) ej?
- 7 S3: no. es al revés.
- 8 S1: a no? Perdona. al revés

### Episode 5.2.

RM: dużo rzeczy związanych z językiem i kulturą jest bardzo upolitycznionych (..) wydaje się że ci co bronią języka baskijskiego (.) muszą mieć jakieś konkretne poglądy (.) a samo słowo Euskaldun (.) słowo oznaczające mówiącego po baskijsku- ten który ma esukera (.) to słowo oznaczające Baska też (.) tego co nie mówi w esukera (.)więc czasem jest taka polemika właśnie (.)że są ludzie którzy uważają się za Basków ale nie mówią (.) nie chcą-

### Episode 5.3.

- 1 T: Bizarduna?
- 2 T: Bizarduna?
- 3 S: barba.
- 4 S1: barbudo.
- 5 T: barbudo. eso es!
- 6 T: bizar(.)duna(.) ej?
- 7 T: vale(.) euskal(.)duna(.) lo veis?
- 8 Sts: (collectively) ujm.
- 9 T: 'duna' es 'que tiene'. 'que tiene'.
- 10 T: bizarduna eta euskalduna. que tiene el euskara. que lo habla.
- 11 S2: aj.
- 12 T: sí?
- 13 S2: aj (..) euskalduna.
- 14 T: si habláis esta lengua (..) os convertís en euskaldunak↑
- 15 S2: aja ¡sí! (..) qué bien!
- 16 T: automáticamente. ej?
- 17 T: es otra concepción de las cosas ej?
- 18 S2: euskaldunak.
- 19 T: si hablas inglés(.) no eres inglés.
- 20 S2: no.
- 21 S13: no.
- 22 S2: no.

23 T: si hablas no sé(.) polaco por ejemplo(.) no eres polaco. si hablas euskara (..)  
24 euskalduna zara.  
25 S2: aj  
26 (incomprehensible)  
27 T: a mí me costó. ej? yo en Bilbao estuve en una taverna. porque es donde se  
28 aprende el euskara .ej? bastante.  
29 Sts: (Laughter)  
30 T: y estaba con mi pote y (.) mis amigos de Bilbao me decían. 'zu euskalduna zara'  
31 'eta ni (.) ez ez ni katalan naiz.'  
32 Sts: (laughter)  
33 T: y ya sabéis el tema de (incomprehensible)  
34 T: 'eta Katalan naiz.'  
35 T: 'ez. Euskalduna. '  
36 T: 'ez. Katalan. no?'  
37 Sts: (laughter)  
38 T: Hasta que aprendí (.)que bueno(.) me adoptaban no?  
39 Sts: (laughter)  
40 S2: y yo?  
41 T: Bai?  
42 S2: Euskalduna seré?  
43 T: Como?  
44 S2: Euskalduna seré?  
45 T: izan. el verbo ser. izango naiz. ni euskalduna izango naiz.  
46 S2: ujm.

- 47 T: bai? euskaldun berria. gu euskaldun berria gara. euskaldunes nuevos. eta
- 48 euskaldun zaharrak.
- 49 T: euskaldun zaharrak (..) los nativos (.) los indígenas (.) ej?
- 50 T: euskaldun zaharra. euskaldun berria. baina euskaldunak. ados?
- 51 S2: ujm. sí.
- 52 T: y aquí también hay polémica(.) ej?
- 53 S2: Sí sí.
- 54 T: si eres de aquí y no sabes euskara (..)ez zara euskalduna.
- 55 S2: Ez euskalduna?
- 56 T: si eres de aquí (.) nacido en en País Vasco o donde sea(.) en Euskal Herria(.) ej? y
- 57 no eres (.) no hablas el vasco ez zara euskalduna (..) ados?(.)
- 58 T: Es (..) un enfoque lingüístico (.)vale? sí? oso ondo. (...)

## Episode 5.5.

- 1 Int: y os parece que Euskadi es realmente distinto a el resto de España? no sé si  
2 conocéis mucho↑
- 3 PS1: yo creo que aquí es completamente  
4 Int: pero mucha gente dice que aquí  
5 PS1: distinto por ejemplo a Asturias o a Galicia(.)  
6 es distinto porque si sales (.) si sales de aquí por ejemplo para irte a Asturias o  
7 Barcelona (.) o donde sea (.) y la forma de despedirnos aquí (..) a que estamos  
8 nosotros aquí acostumbrados es agur↑. vas allí y te miran así diciendo como pero  
9 bueno y esta↑
- 10 Int: ujm.  
11 PS2: se dice.  
12 PS4: ciao.  
13 PS2: pues adiós(.) ciao(.) no se dice (..) nos miran raro pues (.) peor se dice que si eres  
14 de (.) si vives en el País Vasco peor te miran↓  
15 Int: ujm.  
16 PS3: no pero si te escuchan a hablar y (saben) algo del terrorismo (laughter)  
17 (incomprehensible)  
18 PS4: en euskera todo↑  
19 PS3: claro↑  
20 PS2: ya aunque seamos extranjeros(..) me lo ha pasado a mi ej?

## Episode 5.8.

- 1 PD: rozmawiasz z jakimś tam(.)zwykłym prostym człowiekiem(.)który ma jakiś taki  
2 pozytywny stosunek do baskijskiego (.)no i się okazuje że że przyjeżdża ktoś z Polski  
3 (.)z drugiego końca świata(.)bo on tak do końca nie wie gdzie jest Polska(.)gdzieś  
4 tam koło Rosji nie? i że mówi po baskijsku(.)no to zawsze zdarza mi się(.)że ze  
5 wzruszeniem na ciebie patrzą. czasem jak mi się nie chce tłumaczyć (.)całej historii  
6 mojego życia (.)to mówię że jestem z Vitorii. ale nie wyglądasz↑
- 7 PN: ale ściema!
- 8 PD: mieszkam na casco viejo całe moje życie i w ogóle o co chodzi?
- 9 (LAUGHTER)
- 10 PN: na prawdę?
- 11 PD: na prawdę.
- 12 PN: cudowna jesteś!

## Episode 6.2.

- 1 Int: aquí se habla euskera? escucháis en la calle o solo hay sitios donde se habla  
2 euskera?
- 3 S1: hay sitios que sí.
- 4 Int: sí?
- 5 S1: hay bares y hay gente que he visto que solo hablan euskera(.) sabes?
- 6 S13: y en la universidad también.
- 7 S2: también(.) no?
- 8 S13: sí.
- 9 S3: sí. la gente joven.
- 10 S1: eso es. Los muy mayores y los más joven. que del intermedio están más  
11 (..)hablan en Castellano(.) sabes? pero de los más jóvenes hoy en día -
- 12 S3: pero estudian en euskera. nada más.
- 13 S2: es ahora creo que estudian en euskera. porque antes no era un idioma  
14 que(.)que tenías que estudiar(.)no?
- 15 S3: sí. es que tienen un sistema de modelos lingüísticos. desde un modelo(.)todo  
16 castellano y todo euskera (➔ continues to explain)
- 17 Int: y suelen ir a estos sitios donde se habla solo euskera (.) o prefieren los otros?
- 18 S1: no. pero en los sitios de esos donde he estado (.)aun que hablen solo- no es  
19 que se habla solo en euskera. La gente sí. suele hablar mucho en euskera. pero  
20 también se puede hablar en castellano(.) sabes? si vaya allí y si saben que yo no  
21 hablo en euskera(.) sí van a hablar a mí en castellano. la gente que sirve allí. pero  
22 hay más gente que hablan euskera allí. como si fueron más vascos mismo. En este  
23 sitio van más vascos que españoles. como suelen decir.

### Episode 6.3.

- 1 Int: pero aquí en la ciudad (.)hay mucha gente que habla euskera? escucháis  
2 mucho euskera o no?
- 3 M: Castellano también se oye bastante.
- 4 K: yo cree que iba a ser más todavía-
- 5 L: yo también ej?
- 6 K: me dije(.)uy uy a ver que va a haber muchísima más gente hablando (.)pero no.
- 7 L: pensabas que ibas a oír más gente hablando euskera?
- 8 K: sí.
- 9 L: yo también. yo también.
- 10 K: si en algún punto me o sea por un lado es más fácil cuando recién llegas  
11 porque bueno no sé pero por otro lado es así que uy me gustaría que se hable  
12 más que sea más euskalduna y no sé-
- 13 L: sí sí sí sí.
- 14 K: me da pena que la gente que es de aquí no lo hable.
- 15 L: pero es que en el interior si se habla más.
- 16 K: sí.
- 17 M: claro.
- 18 L: bastante más.
- 19 M: yo cuando llegue a H\* (.)a ver mis suegros (.)y todo eso. y en H\* todo todo  
20 todo en el pueblo (.)en todo se oía en todos (..) yo no entendía nada y decía dios  
21 mío! que me voy a hacer yo aquí? todos en euskera en el (.)salíamos al mercado  
22 (.)en euskera(.)en H\*(.)en la familia de mi marido todos euskera. yo ya loca!
- 23 K: sí. claro (laughter)
- 24 M: no entendía nada.
- 25 K: te sale un modelo. es ese.
- 26 M: y poco a poco (.) o sea voy aprendiendo con mis(.) los (.) las hijas y todo  
27 pequeñas. ogia. ogia hartu. emaizu. voy aprendiendo poco a poco. cosas.

#### Episode 6.4.

- 1 N: esto de euskera (.) cuando la gente sabe que eres inmigrante y (.)sabes porque  
2 hay muchas personas que son de acá-
- 3 Int: ujm.
- 4 N: y que no hablan euskera. y cuando tú comienzas a contestar. hablar. responder  
5 se quedan sorprendidos de que tu sepas más que ellos mismos (.)que son de aquí  
6 con el poco tiempo que uno lleva que entiende más que ellos-
- 7 Int: ¿que se esfuerza?
- 8 N: o sea (.) exactamente que se esfuerza por aprender algo (..) cualquier cosa.
- 9 Int: ujm
- 10 S: yo creo que igual les gusta. a los que hablan euskera (.) les gusta porque ellos  
11 sienten que nos adaptamos más pero (..) igual son muy tercos y no quieren decir  
12 (..) no quieren decir
- 13 N: sí sí sí sí. mayor (incomprehensible)
- 14 S: así que les sorprende porque se dan cuenta que tu estas aquí porque quieres ()  
15 [porque te gusta su país]

## Episode 6.5.

- 1 Int: vosotras vais a las fiestas?
- 2 H: sí. al cuatro bueno(.) cuatro? de (..) o cinco?
- 3 N: uj?
- 4 H: cuatro o cinco?
- 5 N: jej?
- 6 H: cuatro o cinco de agosto (.) era lo de la fiesta de la blanca?
- 7 N: aj! el cuatro Zeledón. y el cinco la blanca.
- 8 H: ahora parece más internacional porque estamos más(.)de extranjeros (laughs)
- 9 J: (laughs)
- 10 Int: sí. bueno.
- 11 J: yo no. o sea. las fiestas típicas de aquí sí. suelo ir a casi todas. aunque lo malo
- 12 es que no siempre te dicen de que trata. o que solo suelen hablar en euskera(.) y
- 13 claro. si tú no hablas 100% euskera(.) no lo entiendes.
- 14 H: aj vale.
- 15 J: así que tampoco se acercan a los inmigrantes.
- 16 Int: y no os intentan explicar en castellano?
- 17 J: gente que nota igual sí te dicen
- 18 H: ahora escucho historias de (.) como era la batalla de Vitoria. cosas así. ahora
- 19 me estoy enterando más. no sé. esto se aprende creo con los años. no no  
(incomprehensible)

### Episode 6.6.

- 1 Int: y entras en estos bares y pides en euskera?
- 2 S15: todavía no (laughs)
- 3 Int: yo tampoco
- 4 S15: no pero por ejemplo este fin de semana he estado con gente(.) todos hablan
- 5 Euskera y no(.) son nativos (.) hablan euskera que estamos aprendiendo nosotras o
- 6 nosotros ahora no? pero luego también conozco a gente que lo habla como lengua
- 7 materna y bueno(.) sin más (.) para no sé es que ya la relación está cambiando (.) es
- 8 que se nota mucho (.) o lo noto yo mucho cuando empiezo a preguntar cosas. o
- 9 cuando se dan cuenta que estoy estudiando así (.) o es que un poco más (..) uff
- 10 (..) entonces (..) una sensación más cercana aunque ya nos conozcamos algún
- 11 tiempo no? pero con el euskera pues (.) es un poco(.) es un(.) un asunto un poco
- 12 privado digamos. que la gente se lo toma de una manera muy positiva cuando
- 13 alguien se molesta en estudiarlo y está muy motivada para enseñarte cosas y quiere
- 14 responderte cuando tienes alguna duda.

## Episode 6.7

- 1 S15: y en (.) digamos en Alemana, cada uno habla su dialecto y no nos entendemos  
2 (.) ej? porque el vocabulario es muy diferente. la gramática también es diferente.  
3 y entonces (.) pues se desarrolló como lingua franca el alemán estándar. lo que. es  
4 lo que enseñamos(.) y bueno ya lleva más años. entonces es más fácil entenderse.  
5 como en todas las partes te entienden hablando en alemán estándar(.) mientras  
6 con el euskera pues(.) no lo tengo muy claro. (laughs)
- 7 T1: el qué?
- 8 S25: bueno que-
- 9 T1: con el euskera Batua?
- 10 S15: porque nosotros aprendemos el Batua.
- 11 T1: sí
- 12 S15: pero no estoy muy segura si en los pueblos por allí nos entienden.
- 13 T1: aa↑
- 14 S15: hablando el Batua.
- 15 T1: el Batua es muy joven aún.
- 16 S15: pues por eso (.) por eso lo digo que el alemán estándar (.)pues ya que se habla  
17 por muchos años entonces-
- 18 T1: sí.
- 19 S15: no hay problema con esto (.)pero claro más tarde (.) es que los alumnos de  
20 alemán entiendan a la gente (.)porque si hablan su dialecto(.) pues a mí como me  
21 hablan es que lo mismo pasa con los nativos (.) ej?
- 22 T1: pero que si es-
- 23 S15: lo que pasa con el euskara (.)es que el euskara Batua sí. que se entiende(.) ej?  
24 palabras o algún verbo así (.)la gente de Bizkaia sobre todo tiene dificultad para  
25 entender. pero Batua-
- 26 S15: es más que-
- 27 T1: es (.) si es (.)se basa en el dialecto de Lapurdi(.) de del norte de del País Vasco  
28 francés y es muy similar a el navarro (.) a el Guipuzcoano (.) pero vizcaíno cambia

29 completamente. de tal manera que la gente mayor tiene dificultades. pero  
30 entiende (.)ej? entender entiende. y al revés no. es decir nosotros podríamos  
31 entender navarros. podrías entender Guipuzcoanos.con el Batua. a la gente de  
32 Iparralde bastante bien. según la zona. y a los Vizcaínos nada.nada. cambia la  
33 lengua completamente. Vale?  
34 S7: sí sí.

### **Episode 6.8.**

1 S13: pero eso depende del receptor?  
2 T1: sí (..) depende a quien le dirijas una palabra-  
3 y claro en todas las fichas que hay (..) vais a ver los verbos aparecen conjugados en  
4 esta manera. los que tenéis aquí (..) entonces para facilitar las cosas quería os  
5 explicar que era el hitan que existía(.) es digno de decir que existe(.) porque es muy  
6 utilizado ej? en Guipúzcoa(.) en Navarra(.) sobre todo en Iparralde(.) aunque la  
7 lengua esté a punto de desaparecer (..) pues allí son muy vivos los registros muy  
8 muy vivos (.)ej? y pues para hablar euskara estándar también hay una manera de  
9 hablar hitanoa(.) si? pero no nos podemos meter en eso-

### **Episode 6.9.**

1 PS2: pero por ejemplo(.) si se escucha cuando salen las madres que  
2 tienen los pequeñitos(.) las madres que hablan (.)quieren conservar la lengua.  
3 PS1: sí sí. el el idioma.  
4 PS2: sí les hablan mucho en euskera.  
5 PS1: a los niños.  
6 PS4: a los más pequeñitos sobre todo.  
7 PS1: pues eso.  
8 PS3: porque no a los más grandes ya no.  
9 PS1: porque es (.)porque las madres sí. quieren conservar y es un euskera-  
10 PS2: muy lavado!  
11 PS1: de ikastola(.) o sea no es el euskera-

- 12 PS2: muy lavado.  
13 PS1: sí.  
14 PS3: sí.  
15 Int: lo que aprendemos nosotros(.) no?  
16 PS2: sí.  
17 PS1: sí.

### Episode 7.1.

- 1 R3: y claro ella- yo también siendo informático(.) no es extremadamente necesario  
2 pero sí que es un impulse bastante bueno(.) a menos aquí o sea al nivel del País  
3 Vasco decir que tú tienes Euskera(.) sabes euskera por lo menos un poco(.) tu  
4 puede crecer mucho tu nivel así profesional(.) no? porque parece una tontería pero  
5 si estás haciendo una página para el internet(.)no? y si estas (.) necesitas al menos  
6 una frase simple no? (>>>) tienes que llamar a una persona (.)que sepa euskera  
7 (.)entonces es conveniente que y aquí todas las paginas en el internet tienen que  
8 ser euskera.

### Episode 7.2.

- 1 S9: no tanta burocracia (.)pero lo que me ha chocado era el hecho que para la  
2 rotulación o en la publicidad (.) y todo eso cuando empiezas a vender (.)a montar la  
3 tienda entonces ya (.)cuando empiezas hay que ponerlo todo en euskera.  
4 Int: aún aquí en Vitoria tenías que ponerlo en euskera?  
5 S9: sí sí sí. en euskera (.)y no es una regulación que me han dado o que es  
6 obligatorio-  
7 Int: pero es buen visto?  
8 C: sí. Eso. son aquí puntos hablamos de puntos (.)y son realmente puntos (.)ya a  
9 nivel así puntos (..) y bueno más puntos buenos tienes más (.) bueno ves a ver el

10 periódico está en un lado en euskera y otro castellano casi todo (..)en todo Eroski  
11 (..)todo está en euskera y en castellano (..)vas a Carrefour aunque sea francés las  
12 publicidades están en euskera (>>>)no me (..)o sea no es una formalidad (..)no lo  
13 veo en contra. debería hacerse así (incompreensible) pero es por preferencia. lo  
14 haces tú para el cliente ...) tenemos que mantenerla viva la lengua(.) pero no hay  
15 que obligar a la gente. no me gusta para nada esta forma de-

### Episode 7.3

1 Int: para que necesitas euskera?  
2 E: necesito el euskera primero para trabajar(.) porque muchos de mis clientes son  
3 Euskaldunes. todos hablan castellano pero (..) pero muchos son euskaldunes y (>>>)  
3 me parece una falta de respeto no saber euskera. es un país que me está dando la  
4 posibilidad de trabajar.me está dando la posibilidad de vivir (>>>)  
5 Int: y les respondes en euskera?  
6 E: sí sí. hay clientes que solo los atiende 100% en euskera. pues (..) son euskaldunes.  
7 de todos los clientes euskaldunes que tengo(.) hay solamente uno que me dijo que  
8 el entendí (..)que yo no debía aprender euskera (..) o porque él dice (..) vamos a  
9 entendernos(.) una persona de 85 años una persona que nació en un caserío  
10 (..)vivía en un caserío casi toda la vida(.) dejó el caserío para ser la mili (..) salió de la  
11 mili y volvió al caserío (..) y vivió toda la vida en el caserío (..)entonces él dice el  
12 Euskera es para los euskaldunes (..) tú eres de fuera habla otro idioma. es un  
13 concepto que yo no respeto (..)porque es de él. pero lo comparto. lo puedo  
14 compartir. todos los otros clientes (..)todos están encantados de que yo aprendo  
15 euskera (..)me ayudan por ejemplo (..)en euskera (..)me corrigen cuando me  
16 equivoco.

### Episode 7.6

- 1 PO: no (.) dla własnej satysfakcji to nauczyłabym się włoskiego(.) portugalskiego (..)  
2 nauczyłabym się większego języka. baskijskiego bym tylko potrzebowała żeby  
3 dostać normalną pracę-  
4 PN: wiesz (.) w szkole (to the interviewer)

### Episode 7.7

- 1 PN: no już nie mówiąc o tym że znajomość baskijskiego też ułatwia zdobycie pracy (.)  
2 ewentualnie bo wszystkie trzy mamy mamy tytuły.  
3 Int: a wy uczycie w szkole tak?  
4 PN: tak odpowiedni tytuł (.) no i każda z nas ma chyba po trochu(.)to znaczy ty  
5 chyba najwięcej uczyłaś baskijskiego(.) ale każda z nas miała jakiś epizod. ty wciąż uczysz też  
6 PM: no. uczę dwóch.

### Episode 7.8

- 1 PN: (...) a jak się z tym czułaś jak cię ktoś tak ten?  
2 PO: wkurzam się twierdząc że to są głupi Baskowie i że są rasistami tak↑  
3 PN: really?  
4 PO: no przepraszam(.) uczyłam się ich języka dobra (.) yyy ja od nich nie wymagam  
5 żeby mówili po polsku do mnie. uważam (.)że dopóki możemy się komunikować i ja  
6 go nie zmuszam do mówienia po hiszpańsku (.)no to chyba może tolerować to (.) że  
7 ja wolę mówić po hiszpańsku (.)bo czuję się pewniej w innym języku (.) i uważam że  
8 to jest no trochę nie fair w stosunku do mnie (.)no bo dlaczego ja się mam zarzywać  
9 mówić po baskijsku (.) i nie móc przekazać wszystkiego tego co chcę (.)datego że on  
10 nie chce słuchać hiszpańskiego? trochę mi się to wydaje niefajne-

## Episode 7.9

1 Int: ¿piensas que los inmigrantes aquí deberían aprender euskera?

2 R4: sí. si se quieren quedar aquí. sí. si se quieren quedar aquí en Vitoria o en el País  
3 Vasco deberían. aunque fuera lo básico (.) así pueden tener más opciones (..) ahora  
4 le dan mucha más importancia (.) porque igual cuestiones del trabajo (.) sí. igual  
5 tiene más salida.

6 (>>>)

7 Int: te hablan en castellano en el trabajo algunas personas?

8 R4: no (.) por ahora no. pero la nueva ley hace (una semana) van a empezar a exigir  
9 a la gente que sepamos euskera. así seamos eventuales.

10 Int: pero las personas que cuidas (..)?

11 R4: no no nadie. hablan (.) tienen estos dos idiomas pero no(.) como nosotras les  
12 hablamos en castellano nos contestan en castellano. depende. de como si tú le  
13 hablas ellos te contestan.

14 (>>>)

15 Int: Porque entonces has decidido estudiar euskera?

16 R4: Me llamó mucha atención (.) porque me gusta y porque mi pareja es  
17 euskalduna (.) y quiero compartir con el hablar en euskera. y más que todo para el  
18 trabajo (.) porque ahora la nueva ley de gobierno (..) es que las auxiliares que  
19 trabajamos con diputación o con residencias municipales (.) tenemos que tener  
20 conocimiento de euskera aunque sea (..) entonces me venía de maravilla el haber  
21 entrado. (>>>)

22 R4: eee sí (.) pero solo en la sanidad para las personas- esta semana ha salido (.)eso  
23 que ha salido una nueva ley (.)que las personas eventuales que trabaja- las  
24 personas eventuales que trabajan en sanidad (.)como auxiliares de enfermería (.)  
25 hay que saber (.)tienen que tener nociones de euskera.

26 (>>>)

27 R4: me parece que es una obligación. están imponiendo algo que no me parece

28 justo.porque cada uno debería ser libre de elegir como quiere hablar (.) en  
29 castellano o en Euskera (.) entonces me parece como algo impuesto(.) y que no  
30 debería ser así (.) porque imagínate una persona (.)o una persona que lleve- que  
31 tenga una edad avanzada y que en este momento se ponga a estudiar euskera (.) si  
32 a nosotros nos cuesta-

### Episode 7.10

1 E1: a ver depende (.) depende (.) yo hace hace poco he entrado a trabajar con uno.  
2 Español. El mismo no sabe euskera (.) así que pedir euskera en los trabajos del  
3 ayuntamiento sí. Pero a ver (.) si buscas trabajo y lo encuentras con uno de España  
4 (.)español que el mismo no sabe euskera (.) como te va a pedir euskera (.) eso no (.)  
5 no tiene sentido.

### Episode 7.11

1 Int: ¿os ha afectado la crisis?  
2 E1: hombre! Sí.  
3 Int: ¿se nota la crisis? hay menos trabajo? antes era mejor? y ahora? Como os  
4 parece?  
5 E1: pues antes de que entré la crisis no miran a la lengua (.) no miran ni al español  
6 ni al euskera. Te miran al hombre si es fuerte para trabajar (laughs) creo yo (.) pues  
7 cuando hay cuando ha empezado la crisis pues (..) cuando ha empezado la crisis  
8 pues (.) igual trabajo (.)hay selección a la gente primero los la gente de aquí (.)  
9 luego la gente que está igual sabe euskera pues porque está integrado y algo así no  
10 sé (>>>)  
11 Int: os parece necesario que los inmigrantes aprendan euskera?  
12 E1: necesario necesario no. Yo no creo que es ni necesario necesario (.) porque hay  
13 gente de aquí gente que ha nacido aquí y no saben euskera y no estamos animados  
14 a estudiar euskera (.) somos (.) como nosotros algunos llevan poco tiempo y están  
15 animados al euskera (.) no es cuestión (.) no es obligatorio así que creo yo no sé.

16 animar animar sí. El ayuntamiento te dice tienes que hacer esto pero igual si no  
17 quieres no creo que es obligatorio. No sé.  
18 E2: obligatorio no. Pero no sé (.) sabes creo yo (.) que está necesario porque antes  
19 cuando había trabajo no necesitan a pedir euskera (.) porque hay gente que ha  
20 nacido aquí y están en fábricas fijos (.) y todavía están siguiendo trabajando.  
21 (>>>)  
22 E2: pero ahora como hay crisis (.) la mayoría no se puede (.) como se llama (.)  
23 encontraron un puesto de trabajo así sin aprender euskera (.) o la mayoría (.) por  
24 ejemplo en muchas comunidades que miro son muchos muchos servicios (.) no se  
25 puede (.) hay muchos servicios no te quieren coger sin saber euskera.

### Episode 7.13

1 Int: a zdarzają się negatywne lub (.) pozytywne reakcje w związku z tym że jesteście  
2 Polkami(.)albo (.) nie wiem-  
3 PD: wciąż jest podobna historia nie? Mówisz (.) że jesteś z Polski (.) i mówisz po baskijsku to  
4 jest wielkie halo  
5 PN: bo PD jest słynna na uniwerku (slight laughter)  
6 PD: no tak ty te jesteś słynna (.) oni rzadko tu są przyzwyczajeni (.) jakoś bardziej (.) ludzie na  
7 ulicy(.) nagle rozmawiasz z jakimś tam zwykłym prostym człowiekiem który ma jakiś taki  
8 pozytywny stosunek do baskijskiego (.) no i się okazuje że (..) że przyjeżdża ktoś z Polski (..)  
9 (z drugiego końca świata) bo on tak do końca nie wie gdzie jest Polska (.) gdzieś tam  
10 koło Rosji nie? (.) i że mówi po baskijsku (.) no to zawsze zdarza mi się że ze wzruszeniem  
11 na ciebie patrzą (..) takie to było bardzo (.) to znaczy (.) no ale niektórzy myślą że Ci się  
12 nudzi? bo sama rozumiem że niektórzy ludzie są uprzedzeni (.) zwłaszcza w tej francuskiej  
13 części (.) w Iparralde bo tam francuski (.) baskijski jest jakby w gorszej sytuacji więc (..)

## Episode 7.14

- 1 Int: les parece bien que aprendiste?
- 2 LM: sí sí sí. la verdad que la gente está muy contento. y me dicen joder tú has  
3 venido solo hace seis años y hablas perfectamente euskera. así están muy  
4 contentos. Sí. (>>>)
- 5 Int: te parece que la gente esukalduna tiene más oportunidades para el trabajo?
- 6 LM: sí sí. sobre todo si eres extranjero o extranjera (.)si y te ven como yo(.) negro  
7 así (.) ahora en euskera (.) la gente- joder como hablas (.)así te ayudan más  
8 todavía(.) sí. Sí. porque hay gente que han nacido aquí y no saben euskera. y  
9 entonces si ven a una persona de fuera que habla Euskera(.) les da como animo(.)  
10 también (.) joder mira este ha venido y ya ha aprendido (.) dirán (.) me voy a  
11 euskaltegi yo (>>)
- 12 Int: me dijiste que te contratan para las escuelas para decirles cosas?
- 13 LM: si hombre! me llamaron allí (.)allí los niños haciendo preguntas(.) como has  
14 venido (.)de dónde has venido (.)pero sí(.) pues en euskera sí (.)nosotros  
15 intentamos ir allí para hablar así con los niños (.) sí.
- 16 Int: y te gusta eso?
- 17 LM: sí sí no me importa (..) me preguntan qué idiomas hablas (.)y como has  
18 aprendido euskera(.)eso sí(.) eso es (...) eso (.)creo que por aprender euskera por  
19 integrarme también (.) de aprender euskera te hace que la gente te conozca más(.)  
20 y eso es. eso es.

### Episode 7.15

- 1 PS4: Hola (.) yo soy XX. soy de Bolivia. llevo aquí 10 años. tengo un niño de 10 años  
2 y actualmente trabajo en limpieza. como la otra compañera. y estoy aquí porque  
3 tengo un niño de tres años. ya el cole a que va es euskera (.) y me toca aprender.  
4 Int: y esto lo elegiste (.) lo elegiste tú o?  
5 PS2: no lo elegimos. es porque la mayoría de los centros (.) llevan el modelo D de  
6 euskera entonces-  
7 PS4: ahora ya.  
8 PS2: es lo que se imparte (.)y no es opción.  
9 PS4: no tienes opción.  
10 (>>>)  
11 Int: Y como os parece que ya no tenéis opción?  
12 PS2: pues (.) a ver (.)es como que vamos a otros países que hablan otro lenguaje  
13 (.)por ejemplo eres (.) si hubiésemos ido a Polonia(.) Polaca tuviéramos la  
14 obligación de aprender tu idioma (.)porque también tenemos que a atarnos a otro  
15 idioma que nos toca.  
16 PS4: claro. claro.  
17 PS2: aunque tengamos nuestra lengua materna (.)que es el castellano para  
18 mayoría(.) pues(.)tenemos que aprender si queremos defendernos y saber un poco.

## Episode 7.16

Int: porque euskera?

S12: mira. mi nene (.)es más (.)es porque le tengo en el modelo B y pues (.)cuando ya le dejan deberes y eso (.)o en el cole suelen les hablar así euskera y tal (.) entonces que pues (.) yo digo si estoy aquí (.)qué más da aprenderlo. y no sé (.)qué bien abre (.)sabes (.)eso (.) me abre la mente y todo (.)y por el nene también (.)cuando le toca hacer deberes (.)cuando (.)o no sé (.)por todo. y porque siempre que (.)todo está en los anales y todo (.)está en otro idioma (.)y yo quiero saber que dice (.)como siempre esta bilingüe (.)yo me pongo ver acá (.)que bien (.)no sé (.)y porque últimamente lo están hablando más.

## Episode 7.18

1 Int: ¿habéis estudiado algo de euskera antes?

2 H: yo cuido a niños. y los niños acá hablan euskera y (.) yo ya sabía un poco. Yo

3 siempre leía con la niña (.)cosas así (.)siempre lo hacía.

4 (>>>)

5 H: con los niños si hablamos (...) No me daba vergüenza ni esto que yo o sea si no

6 decía bien ellos me corregían lo que tenía que decir correctamente (.) eso sí. pero

7 una persona normal así adulta (.)yo no digo yo que no (...) (incomprehensible)

### Episode 7.19

- 1 PS2: yo tengo mi sobrina. tiene 7 años. y todas- y estuvo en el colegio en el C (.) y  
2 ahora le cambiamos en el B (.) y le pregunto cosas. como que era. y ella me  
3 corrige. por ejemplo yo le decía mesedez (.)por favor (.)y ella me decía mesedes  
4 (.)le decía (.)y ella me decía (.)es Mesedez(.) es mesedez tía (.)a vale vale vale (.)y  
5 con eso me quedo. que le digo cosas. y ella me corrige. tiene siete años. pero  
6 entiende perfectamente euskera.
- 7 Int: ?te enseña?
- 8 PS2: sì. me enseña. sì sì sì.



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