

The Place of Language and the Language of Place in the Basque Country

Jan Mansvelt Beck
University of Amsterdam

1. Introduction

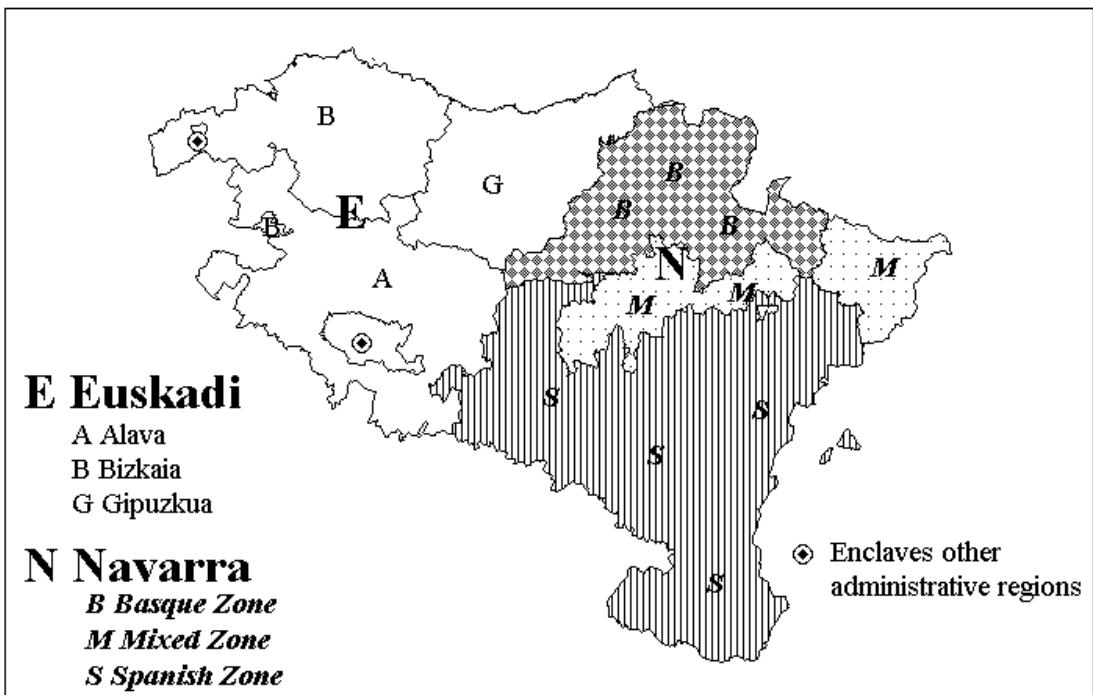
Spain's democratic transition of the 1970s was accompanied by the devolution of central powers to the regions. The creation of a new administrative layer of regions, the 'Autonomous Communities', was laid down in the 1978 Constitution. Each of the 17 Autonomous Communities obtained a distinct mix of powers in a de facto federal structure. Regions where minority languages were spoken generally got a high degree of autonomy in the field of language, usually resulting in the official recognition of minority languages like Catalan, Galician and Basque. Regional policies of language protection and promotion emerged and helped to generate a linguistic revival. The borders of the new administrative units did however not always coincide with the linguistic territories, in particular with respect to Catalan and Basque. In this paper I will focus on the Basque language (*euskera* or *euskara*) in the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country (Euskadi) and the Foral Community of Navarre (Navarra or Nafarroa).

Euskadi and Navarre, respectively two million and 500,000 inhabitants, have deployed different language policies reflected in a higher status of Basque in the public sphere in Euskadi compared to Navarre. The official status of *euskera* within Navarre is regulated according to a system of linguistic zoning. I will consider Euskadi and Navarre as different politico-institutional arenas each offering opportunities and constraints for the linguistic identification of their respective constituencies. In Navarre this arena is compartmentalized into the three language zones that differ according to language status and planning. These zones are an intermediate layer nested in between the Foral Community and the local environment. Also local contexts contribute to people's identification. The question on how linguistic identification relates to contexts of space and place is based on the assumption that human environments influence people's views and behavior. In multilingual environments the views and behavior concerning language affairs are often a crucial marker of ethnic distinction. Values hold on language and linguistic practice are respectively the spiritual and practical dimensions of linguistic identification. In the case of Euskadi and Navarre the complex patterns of institutional and social compartmentalization regarding Basque and Castilian give rise to expect local variations in diglossia and bilingualism (Fishman 1989, pp.183-189). In the Basque case linguistic identification in terms of values and beliefs has been fruitfully studied by anthropologists like Heiberg (1989), Del Valle (1993), Hendry (1997) and MacGlancy (1996), whereas more survey-like studies have provided a more quantified insight into the distribution of normative perceptions of Basque (see for instance Tejerina Montaña 1992, 1996, Aizpurua 1995; Vilches Plaza & Cosin Reta 1995).

The practical side of linguistic identification in terms of the daily use of Basque and/or Spanish is again partially covered by surveys of a sociolinguistic brand, mentioned here above, complemented by studies about the use of Basque in the public domain, the media or private enterprise (Martínez-Arbelaz 1996, Cenoz & Perales 1997). In my view, in a situation where Basque, Castilian and bilingual schools co-occur, parental choice for one of the school types reflects linguistic identification, though molded by its institutional and place-specific contexts. The latter implies that identification with a language through education is only subject to a more or less free choice in an institutional context that allows for a variety of educational types and a local environment, which tolerates the co-existence of this variety. I will show that institutional constraints are salient in Navarre, in particular in the Spanish speaking zones. In addition small-scale settlements usually put serious limits on the establishment of multilingual educational systems for two reasons. First in many villages a critical mass of children is missing in order to economically justify the concurrence of schools offering more than one linguistic

model, while secondly social control in the locale often has a homogenizing impact on visible behavior. In the Basque case social control is especially harsh in the smaller settlements dominated by radical nationalists, where dissident behavior hardly occurs as a consequence of fear. The idea that space and place, the *locale*, play a significant role in linguistic identification is not only present in the work of sociolinguists as Fishman (1989) or the ‘geolinguists’ (Williams 1994; Aitchison & Carter 2000), but also in the theoretical work of political geographers like Sack (1986) and Agnew (1987). The view proposed by Agnew (1987) is place-oriented as he tries to find alternative explanations for political phenomena in the specific, historically rooted socio-cultural and political configuration of the *locale*. His view can be extended beyond strictly political phenomena like party formation, voting and so on. Linguistic identification through the schooling system can also be interpreted as mobilization, which in the Basque case is frequently connected with political mobilization (Mansvelt Beck 1999a). Moreover Agnew’s awareness of the importance of local history can be applied to regional history in particular concerning the former Spanish provinces of Bizkaia and Gipuzkoa (fig. 1) with a collective memory of Francoist repression, in contrast with the ex provinces of Navarre and Alava¹ with a preferential treatment under the dictatorship.

Fig. 1 Euskadi (Historical Territories) and Navarre (Language Zones)



The data on school choice I will use cover 294 out of the 521 municipalities of Euskadi and Navarre. Therefore school choice data are not perfectly compatible with municipal data because not all small municipalities have a school while they may have children who attend schools. The population numbers in the municipalities excluded from the analysis are small while the numbers of children in the school-going age brackets in the school-less municipalities are negligible. Most of these municipalities are in depopulating rural areas. Quite commonly the closing down of the village school stimulates the last remaining families with children to migrate. Incompatibility between data based on children by schools per municipalities and municipal data is smallest in pre-school and primary education because at higher levels schools and other centers of education are concentrated in the district towns and cities. School-less municipalities are thus often practically childless. Another statistical bias may be an effect of busing, in particular to the bigger cities. This bias is however probably more theoretical than practical, as the statistical experts of the Department of Education and Culture of the Navarre

¹ The Basque Administration has replaced the denominator ‘Provinces’ by ‘Historical Territories’.

Government did not observe a particular bias in busing to Pamplona with regard to specific school types (personal communication, Autumn 2002). The higher the school type the more it is concentrated in the upper part of the urban hierarchy, and the greater will be the incompatibility between school and municipal populations. Therefore only pre-school and primary education will be included in the statistical analysis. The effects of busing, in particular when school types at the parents' choice are only available across the border may theoretically blur the geographical pattern of schooling along the borders of the linguistic zones. At present, however, busing between language zones in Navarre is suppressed by policies of the regional authorities. Meanwhile the need for daily commuting between the mixed and Basque zones is almost absent due to the availability of much pre-school and primary education in Basque in each of these zones.

An additional problem of working with municipal data is that they do not always reflect very well bigger urban areas subdivided into diverse municipalities, nor multi-polar municipal units consisting of various hamlets. The results of the analysis on the level of municipalities by aggregating all the municipalities of the contiguous urban area did not show significant differences with the non-aggregated units. Sometimes I have however aggregated municipalities recently split in order to let them fit into the data set.

I will now discuss the differentiating effects I expect the diverse settings will have on linguistic identification. These settings are subsequently the institutional contexts of Euskadi and Navarre, the geo-historical settings of formerly repressed Bizkaia and Gipuzkoa and 'francoist' Navarre and Alava, and the local linguistic and political environments. At the scale of the respective communities and former provinces I will compare the linguistic identification in each of these territories with the identity profiles I have developed earlier in order to assess which dimensions in the identity profiles may best predict linguistic identification (Mansvelt Beck 1999a, 1999b, Van Amersfoort & Mansvelt Beck 2000). An identity profile is constructed on three dimensions, namely a cultural-linguistic one, a political one and one of ethnocultural self-perception. These dimensions are made operational by respectively language spoken at home, voting for ethnonationalist or state-nationalist parties and declared belonging to the nation-state or an imagined sub or extra-state community. I will subsequently deal with meso scale and micro scales beginning with the regions of Euskadi and Navarre, followed by the linguistic zones of Navarre to end with the municipal level.

2. Euskadi and Navarre, Imagery and practice of two linguistic arenas

Basque nationalist rhetoric often sees the Navarre Government as a wet blanket because of sabotaging revival of Euskera. Basque nationalist newspaper Gara, ETA's mouthpiece, reported that the Navarre Government wanted to '...remove Euskera from the public domain...' and that Euskera in Navarre suffers from persecution (Gara 1-29 2002). To quote a more recent criticism of the same newspaper: '*The Government of Navarre, instead of preparing themselves so that the Administration can provide quality services to the entire society, they promote and ordain new norms, which impede the citizens to receive services in Euskera*' (Gara 4-4-2003)². Also Deia the daily of the biggest Basque nationalist party Partido Nacionalista Vasco (PNV) has criticized the politicians in the office in Navarre for their neglect and subversion of linguistic revival. There is indeed some ground to support the anti-Basque blames on the Navarre government because budgets to contract Basque-speaking civil servants have been cut and bilingual signposts have been taken away from the mixed zone resulting in a lowering of the status of Euskera (Deia 11-27-2002). The accusations of the nationalists have been added to the existing grievance of lack of Basque-taught subjects on Navarre's public university (El País 3-18-2003).

² «El Gobierno de Nafarroa, en vez de prepararse para que la Administración ofrezca un servicio de calidad a toda la sociedad, promueve y decreta nuevas normas que impiden que la ciudadanía pueda recibir servicios en euskara».

The language policy of the government of Euskadi is contested by the Spanish mainstream parties of PP, the most centralist now in government and, though to a lesser degree by the socialists for favoring too much Euskera to the detriment of Castilian, which is 'co-official' with Euskera according to the Autonomy Statute of 1979. On the other hand the radical nationalists of the now banned parties, subsequently appearing under the names of Herri Batasuna, Euskal Herritarrok, Batasuna, and Autodeterminaziorako Bilguna, accuse Euskadi authorities to do too little to promote and protect Basque. Despite these criticisms, Euskadi has an imagery of a regional arena that is very active in rebasquization for which it uses the term 'linguistic normalization'. Obviously, in a region where probably only one quarter of the population speaks Basque at home for many people confronted with the language policies, 'normalization' does not mean 'back to normal'. Instead for most Basques of Euskadi normalization implies in practice cultural innovation. Given the recent standardization of Basque into *euskara batua* many speakers of Basque dialects that differ deeply from *batua* may perceive the new 'official' Basque not as normal but as a novelty. In Navarre with about one on every ten inhabitants speaking Basque in the private sphere of the family, Euskera is even more a minority language than in Euskadi.

From the first regional elections in 1979 hitherto PNV has always been the most voted party of Euskadi. They have been in coalition governments without any interruption up to today. Until 1998 PNV has been in government with the regional branch of the Spanish socialist party, after 1986 joined by Eusko Alkartasuna (EA) that split off from PNV in that year. At present PNV and EA are in a coalition with the scarcely voted Basque branch of Izquierda Unida. PNV, EA and also the radical nationalists not in the Administration see language as the key marker of the Basque nation and as crucial to Basque identity. In their narrative language promotion is not only formal recognition or technically inducing a shift from Castilian to Basque, instead it means reinforcing and creating a collective Basque identity, or in Anderson's words to make Basques believe in an 'imagined community', in this case consisting of a Basque nation (Anderson 1991). In this respect language planning can be seen as part of a Basque nation-building project (Mansvelt Beck 2002).

In Navarre Basque nationalists never have been in the regional government that has initially been in the hands of the Spanish socialists, and after 1986 in the hands of the quasi regionalist '*españolista*' party Unión del Pueblo Navarra and Partido Popular. Basque nationalist parties have always been at the margin of regional politics in Navarre, as they never obtained more than about 20% of the valid votes. Unlike Euskadi command of the Basque language is not a career asset in the Navarre administration, nor a necessary ingredient of Navarrese identity. The new regional political class is basically Spanish or at best Spanish-Navarrese who has its clientele mainly among Castilian-speaking voters. In contrast to Navarre the new employment opportunities offered by the regional post-Franco administration are mostly for Castilian speakers. Given Navarre's scarce career perspectives for Basque-speaking in the public sector and the declining efforts to basquify the job market one would expect less interest in Basque-taught education than in the case of Euskadi. Political messages may be welcomed or accepted, neglected or reinterpreted by the public. This is also the case with the Basquization message as part of the nationalist discourse actively promoted by the Euskadi Government and absent in the narrative of Navarre's dominating political parties³. While the political message embodies the building of 'the' Basque nation, parents who have to send their children to school may opt for Basque-taught or bilingual education because of the career perspectives in the regional administration. Such an instrumental motivation is not uncommon (Hendry 1997, p. 222; Cobarrubias 1999, pp. 80-82). In addition people may send their children to certain schools because of convenience in terms of proximity of the school or availability of transport. Finally fear for the social cost of deviant behavior in smaller settlements may force people to send their children to schools of models they do not sympathize with.

Apart from the distinct political arenas of Euskadi and Navarre, the different institutional contexts of both Communities have determined the availability of school models. I will first discuss these

³ In Basque nationalism language has gradually become a core value at the cost of descent (Conversi 190, 1997).

models and the number of children attached to each model. According to the Euskadi Navarre language regulations there are four types of education available at the free choice of the parents, respectively⁴:

- Model X in Euskadi, model G in Navarre, teaching in Castilian; no Basque
- Model A, teaching in Castilian; Basque as a subject
- Model B, teaching in Basque and Castilian
- Model D, teaching in Basque, Castilian as a subject

Commenting these models as mono or bilingual, the X, G and A models can be considered as monolingual Castilian since Basque is only taught at a subject in the A model and absent in X and G. Theoretically it might favor bilingualism in a purely Basque-speaking environment. In practice however such an environment does not exist due to diglossia biased toward Castilian. Moreover, as I will show further below, in the Basque-speaking area monolingual education in Castilian hardly exists in pre-school and primary education. The fact that model X is practically suppressed by the Euskadi language planners, does not matter in this respect. The B model is rather widely spread in Euskadi, but practically non-existent in Navarre where the authorities work against it. Basque monolingual education has better results concerning Basque proficiency because it does not harm Spanish-Basque bilingualism whereas the bilingual model maintains existing diglossia to the detriment of Euskera (Martínez-Arbelaz 1996, p. 363). In addition Spanish-biased diglossia through schooling in Castilian is reinforced at post-primary school levels.

The expected biases toward respectively Basque monolingual teaching in Euskadi and Castilian monolingual teaching in Navarre are not confirmed by the figures (table 1, fig. 2). In Euskadi with about one quarter of the population stating to speak Euskera at home, over half the population send the children to Basque-taught schools. In Navarre with slightly over 10% of the population talking Euskera in the private sphere, one quarter of the children are sent to Basque-taught schools. The main difference regards bilingual schools that make up 29% of the school-going children in Euskadi, whereas in Navarre this educational model has a mere symbolic presence of only 0.2% of the children. Most Navarre children thus are linguistically separated from the Basque language, meanwhile in the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country practically all children are to some degree involved in learning Basque since the X model is suppressed by the Euskadi Administration. Politico-institutional environments thus clearly constrain linguistic identification through education.

Table 1. Teaching models in Euskadi and Navarre, pre-School and Primary Education, number of Children Enrolled, 2002-2003

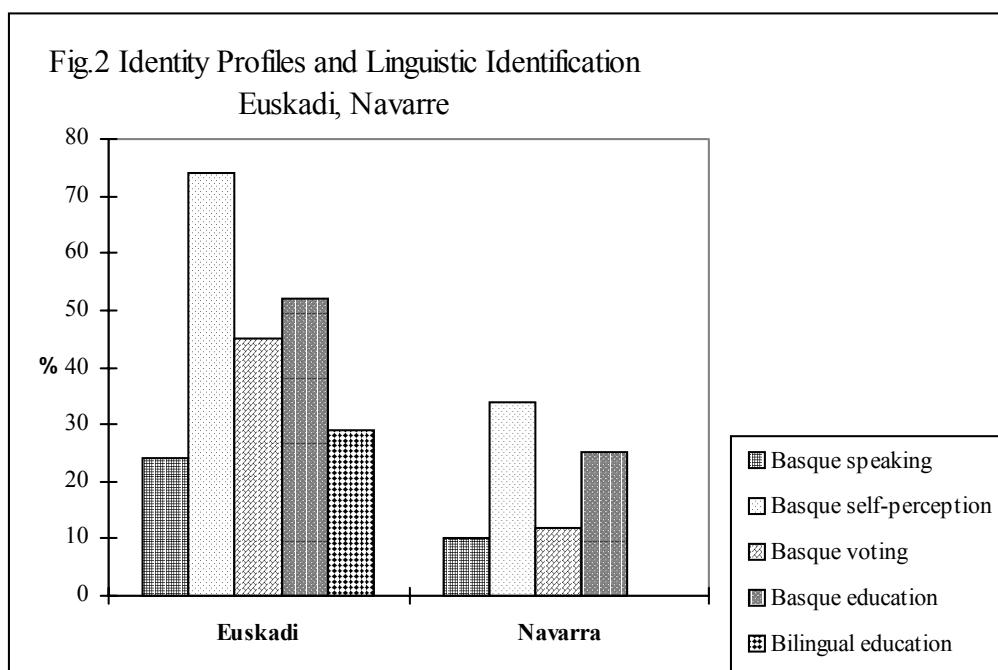
Model	Euskadi		Navarre		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
X+G+A: Monolingual Castilian	29,175	18.6	34,784	74.5	63,959	31.4
B: Bilingual	45,509	29.0	97	0.2	45,606	22.4
D: Monolingual Basque	82,214	52.4	11,823	25.3	94,037	46.2
Total	156,898	100.0	46,704	100.0	203,602	100.0

Sources: Euskadi: http://www.eustat.es/elem/ele0000100/tbl0000106_c.html, visited 16 April 2003. Navarre: diskette gently put at my disposal by the Department of Culture and Education of the Navarre Government.

How does linguistic identification fit into the identity profiles of both administrative Communities? In Euskadi a pure Basque linguistic identification corresponds best with a Basque political identification in electoral terms. Conversely in Navarre it seems that Basque self-perception in the identity profile coincides with Basque linguistic identification displayed by the bar 'Basque education' (%children enrolled in Model D). Further below I will comment upon bilingual education in Euskadi and relate it with local political and linguistic environments. Some caution in the interpretation of the identity profiles is however required. First the meaning of Basque self-perception differs for

⁴ A complete list of official texts issued by the Euskadi and Navarre Governments is available on the Mercator website: <http://www.mercator-education.org> visited 15 April 2003.

Bascophones and Castilian speakers as the former identify Basqueness with language whereas the latter connect it with birth or residence in the Basque Country. Secondly, in the sociolinguistic survey by Aizpurua (1995) used to operationalize self-perception, respondents only had state to what extent they considered themselves Basque. Albeit within Euskadi this may have resulted in a self-rating on a Basque-Spanish continuum, in Navarre Basque or Spanish self-perception is less widespread than regional Navarrese identity. Navarrese identity is strongly rooted in the mixed and Spanish areas, and slightly more important than a Basque identification in the Euskera-speaking zone (Vilches Plaza & Cosín Reta 1995, pp. 291, 345, 387). Thirdly the language spoken at home is self-declared which may overestimate the proportion of those who have a good command of the language. Inflation of figures of the proportion of Basque speakers based on self-rating can particularly be expected in contexts with many Basque speakers wherein a self-definition of Bascophone is socially desirable. The negative imagery of the Navarre political scene regarding rebasquization may be true for the general status of Euskera in the region, but is disputable with respect to Basque-taught education. Occasionally the dark picture of Euskera in Navarre is lightened in the nationalist press. Agirreazkuenaga, professor of the Basque Public University, displayed a critical attitude against UPN language policies in Navarre, but on the other hand he honestly admitted progress in the use of Euskera (Deia 27 March 2001). In Navarre the comparatively scarce rebasquization efforts in the public sector and the concomitant low demand for Basque-speaking civil servants suggest a linguistic identification with Euskera grounded on affective instead of instrumental or opportunistic motivations.



Sources: Basque speaking and self-perception: Aizpurua, X. (ed.) (1995) Spanish national elections 1996: ANUARIO EL PAÍS 1997 (1997)

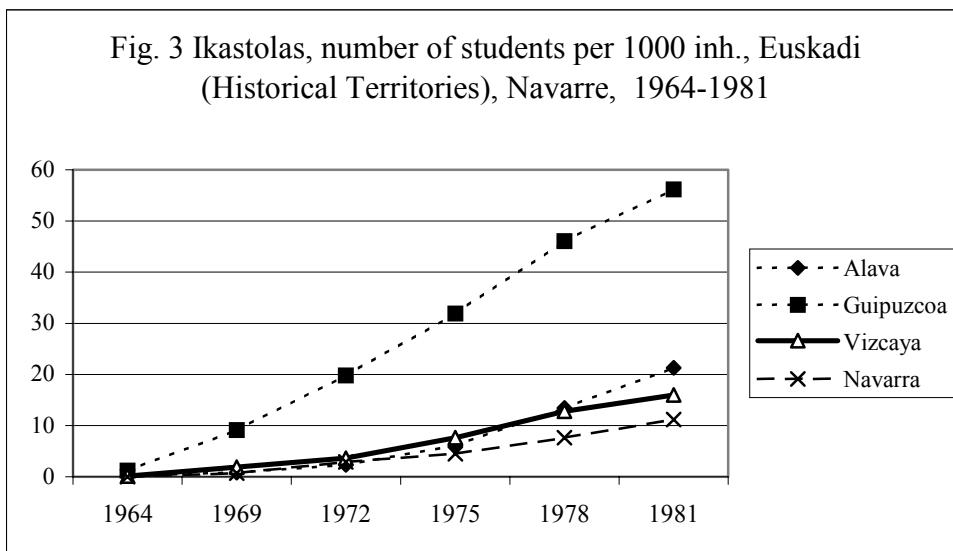
*Basque speaking is here the sum of the percentages bilinguals and bascofonos (Aizpurua 1995, p. 62).

**Basque self-perception is here taken as the percentage of respondents who have answered yes on the question 'do you consider yourself Basque?' Aizpurua (1995, p. 52).

***Basque voting is here operationalized as the percentage of valid votes for Basque nationalist parties. The 1996 instead of the 2000 elections have been taken because in 1996 the radical Basque nationalists participated while in 2000 they did not take part, which artificially lowers the Basque voting proportion.

3. The former provinces: a geohistorical perspective on linguistic revival

So far I have made general comments on the Euskadi and Navarre politico-institutional and linguistic contexts. However, Euskadi is internally fragmented in a historical, political, demographical, linguistic, and dialectological sense. Dealing with the former provinces of Bizkaia (1.1 million inh.), Gipuzkoa (660,000 inh.), Alava (280,000 inh.) and Navarre I will demonstrate that in whatever respect Gipuzkoa is the core of linguistic revival. The mostly spoken dialects are most close to standardized Basque as in the case of Navarre. In Gipuzkoa the proportion of Basque speakers is considerable higher than in the other territories. With Bizkaia Gipuzkoa shares a common history of repression and territorial discrimination under francoism still nourishing anti-Spanish feelings. In contrast the preferential treatment of Alava and Navarre through the *regímenes especiales*, a fiscal *status aparte* within the predominantly centralist state, has not resulted in popular resentment against Spain or Spanishness. Gipuzkoa has deep historical roots concerning language activism, albeit in the 19th century on a merely discursive level Arturo Campi3n in Navarre has been the precursor of language activism. Before the outbreak of the Civil War (1936-1939), the association *Euskaltzaleak* was the organizational harbinger of the spread of Euskera under late francoism. Under the leadership of *Aitzol*, pseudonym for the priest Jos3 Ariztimu3o the association organized meetings to mobilize teachers, founded reviews, established Basque theatre and initiated other activities to revitalize Euskera (Elorza 1978, pp. 317-322). When under francoism Basque-taught education was organized on a voluntary base in language schools or *ikastolas*, Gipuzkoa was a center of diffusion (fig. 3). Also regarding adult education Gipuzkoa was the heart of early innovation as in 1977 radical nationalists established AEK (*Alfabetatze Euskalduntze Koordinakundea*), which was and is most deeply institutionalized in Gipuzkoa.

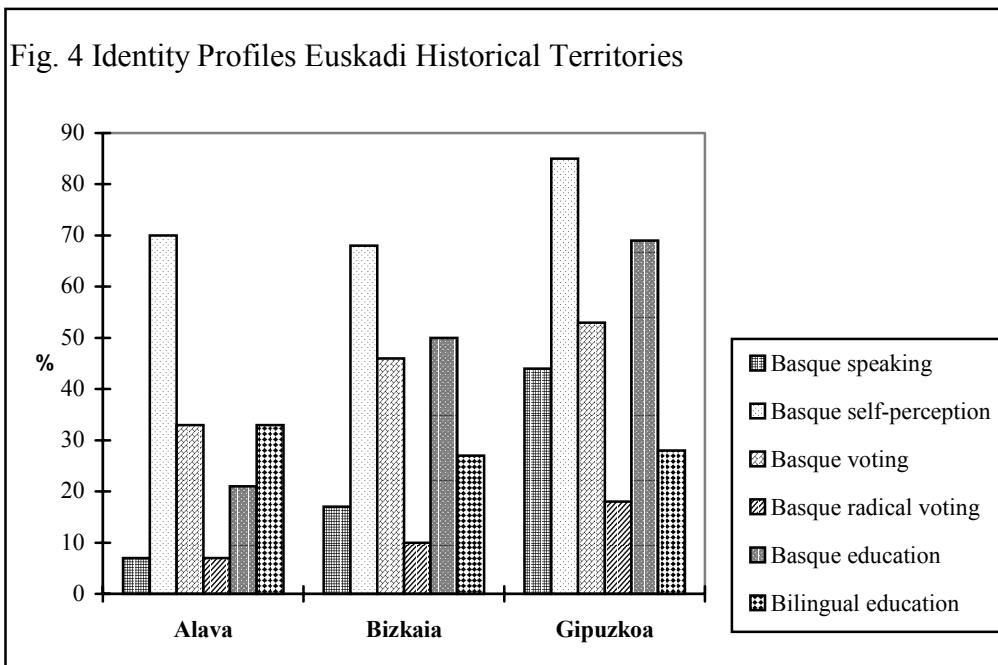


Sources: Tejerina Montaña (1996, p. 228, 230); for numbers of inhabitants: INE Anuario de Estadística (issues 1965 to 1982)

Not only in the field of mobilization behind linguistic ideals the other provinces lagged behind. Linguistic mobilization was accompanied by the spread of radical nationalism that became far more rooted in Gipuzkoa than in the other territories. The ‘other’ nationalists of PNV never encountered a fertile breeding ground in Gipuzkoa. Their power base was and is in Bizkaia. Regarding language revitalization they were latecomers as their nationalist narrative based Basque identity primarily on descent, catholic orthodoxy and the restoring of the *fueros*, ancient regional privileges. Moreover in Bizkaia, PNV’s heartland, part of the population, in particular in the northwest was Castilian speaking and often of Castilian descent while the Basque dialects spoken differed far more from *batua* than the Gipuzkoa and Navarre dialects. Although PNV’s political position under the Autonomy Statute has been always in favor of a complete rebasquization of Euskadi, the policies pursued have been less

demanding. Its political position in this respect has emphasized the need to study both Euskera and Castilian without specifying whether this implied teaching Basque or teaching in Basque (Mezo 1996, pp 560-561).

The expectation about the geographical distribution of monolingual Basque teaching is confirmed by the provincial figures: Gipuzkoa on top with 69% of the children immersed in Basque, against 50% in Bizkaia and 33% in Alava (fig. 4). The only surprising element may be the relatively high proportions in Model D in Bizkaia and Alava against an acoustic *décor* dominated by the usage of Castilian in the public and private spheres. Moreover, given Alava's a weak nationalist mobilization, the enrollment rate in Basque-taught education is remarkably high. Concerning bilingual education the former provinces do not differ very much one to another. In PNV's core territory the party's lack of clear linguistic goals and practical tolerance toward the bilingual model did not result in a particular appeal of this model. On the other hand Gipuzkoa, with its deeply rooted language activism and massive support for radical nationalism has a firmly established bilingual school system. In a linguistic sense Basque nation building in the politically and linguistically 'Spanish Province' of Alava has been incredibly successful with almost three out of four children being partially or completely taught in Euskera. Linguistic identification through education has become the most successful part of the Basque nation-building project orchestrated from Euskadi's capital Vitoria. It is far ahead compared to rebasquization of the civil servants working in the public sector whereas nation-building in terms of identification with other Basque institutions has rather fragmented than unified the Euskadi population (Mansvelt Beck 2002). In sum the only clear coincidence observed in fig. 4 is between the proportions of monolingual Basque education and nationalist mobilization.



Sources and method: See fig. 2

*Basque radical voting is here operationalized as the percentage of valid votes for Herri Batasuna

4. Fragmented linguistic landscapes: Navarre's *Apartheid*?

In 1988 the underground comic *Napartheid* was first published in Pamplona. *Napartheid* associated with a Basque nationalist message of supposed and desired unity of Navarre and Euskadi, not realized because of the *Apartheid*-like politics of the Spanish Government. Two years later a popular song by the Basque hip-hop band Negu Gorriak took *Napartheid* as the theme. Obviously the parallel with apartheid as it existed in South Africa can hardly be supported because according to the 1978 Constitution the Navarrese have the right to decide themselves to join the Autonomous Community of

the Basque Country if they wish so. If there is any tendency to *Apartheid* it is not in the relationship Euskadi-Navarre, nor in terms of discriminatory practice keeping poor ethnically different people territorially apart from a wealthy society. Instead I will argue that if there is any sign of *Apartheid* it is located *within* Navarre where it is closely related with language planning.

Slightly over half the Navarrese population live in the mixed language zone, 11% in the Basque-speaking zone and 37% in the Castilian part. From the 1950s the Basque and Castilian areas have suffered from depopulation as most of the rural areas of Spain. Conversely the mixed zone with the Pamplona as its growth pole has experienced continuous population growth, in particular in the neighboring municipalities of Pamplona (Zabaleta 1995, p.30; figures linguistic zones 1996, see: http://www.cfnavarra.es/estadistica/agregados/3_poblacion/tipo_lengua.xls, visited 16 April 2003). In the Bascophone zone an overwhelming majority of children attend completely Basque-taught schools (Table 2). Only a 97 go to bilingual schools in Vera (Bera) de Bidasoa and Santesteban (Doneztebe), both small local towns organizing their immediate rural environment situated on the banks of the River Bidasoa (for the exact location of the municipalities of Navarre, see: <http://www.cfnavarra.es/obraspublicas/cartografia/topo.htm>, visited 16 June 2003). Comparing the Bascophone area having about 60% Basque speakers with Gipuzkoa, the near to absence of bilingual education in Navarre's Basque zone is striking. On the other hand a Spanish educational monoculture has developed in the Castilian-speaking zone. Out of the 14,534 children, 14,166 attended Castilian-taught schools in 2002-2003. The remaining 368 children (2.5%) are enrolled in two private schools in respectively Tafalla and Sanguësa. The mixed zone with some 7% of Basque speaking does not have any presence of bilingual education. The Basque-taught model totals 8,058 out of 27,943 students, which is a proportion of almost 30%. Given the Navarrese unfavorable institutional context against the background of a predominantly Spanish-speaking environment this is a surprisingly high rate. Apparently in the contact zone between Basque and Castilian, natives and migrants from other parts of Spain, where due to migration from other areas the language composition is changing rapidly, there is an increased linguistic consciousness among locally born and migrants, and among Basque and Spanish speakers. A relatively unfavorable politico-institutional context accompanied by sociolinguistic change both menacing the survival of the minority language thus has a paradoxical effect of linguistic identification of the language in peril of extinction. During fieldwork in 2001, I have observed a similar language context in the French Basque Country in the rapidly urbanizing zone in between the densely populated and urbanized coastal frenchified fringe and the Basque-speaking depopulating inland, where like in Navarre with unfavorable institutional and worsening sociolinguistic conditions enthusiasm for the old language is booming.

Table 2 School choice Navarre by Language Zones, 2002-2003*

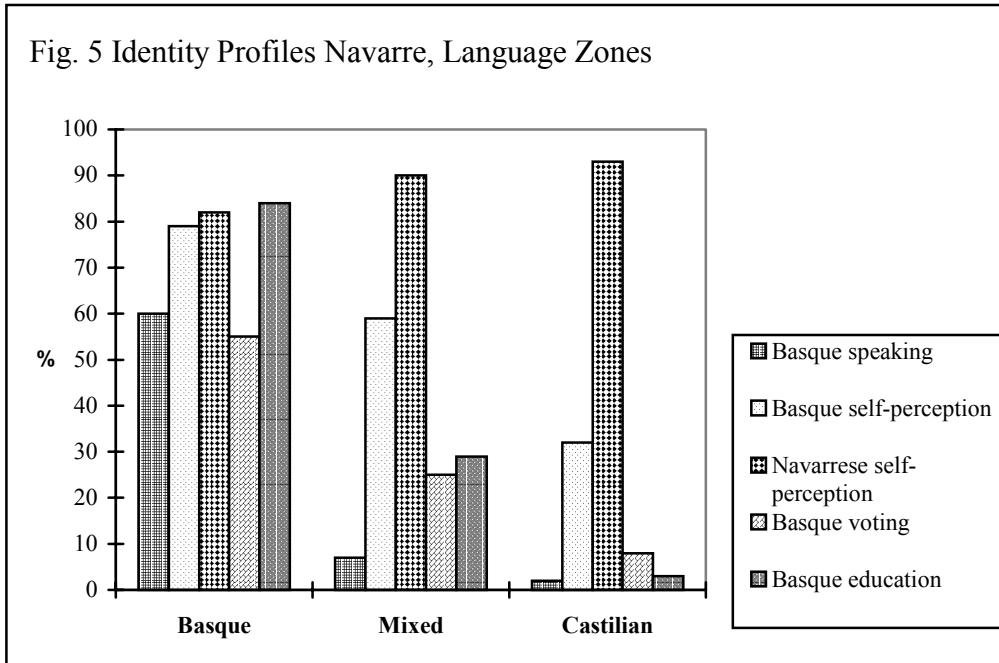
Language Zone	Basque speakers		Children in Basque Schools		Children in Castilian Schools		Children in Bilingual Schools	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Basque	33,429	60	3,280	84	512	13	97	3
Mixed	19,604	7	8,058	29	19,885	71	0	0
Castilian	1,437	2	368	3	14,534	97	0	0

Sources: *Number of Basque speakers in1996 for whom I took those who declared to speak the language well: http://www.cfnavarra.es/estadistica/agregados/3_poblacion/nivel_lengua.xls

**Children enrolled: diskette (see sources table 1)

The Navarre Government has enforced a strict separation between the zones, particularly from the beginning of the 21th century. At present school busing from the Spanish to Euskera schools of the mixed zone is obstructed by the regional Administration by changing bus routes and cutting subsidies. Parents from seven municipalities south of Estella have blamed the regional authorities because bus facilities for their children who went to school in Estella (*Lizarra*) were withdrawn (Diario de Noticias, 1 June 2002). Another newspaper has reported quarrels in Villava in the mixed zone about physically segregating the school population of educational centers according to the models not only leading to a

discriminatory segregation of educational facilities like the library, but also causing a break-up of a locally popular combining of two educational models *in situ* (Noticias de Navarra, 2 August 2002). These examples illustrate recent policy changes in Navarre, which decrease interaction between language groups and artificially divide the Foral Community into linguistic compartments. As I have shown, the Apartheid-like divide of Navarre has not hindered linguistic identification with a minority language in the Basque and mixed zones. If language, institutional space and ethnic self-perception do not explain the bias toward Euskera, to what extent can it be attributed to a Basque ethno-cultural identity?



Sources: Speaking, see table 2, Self-perception: Zabaleta 1995, pp. 291, 345, 387; voting: European elections 1999

Because survey data available for the language zones differ in a methodological sense from those used for the construction of the identity profiles displayed above, I have been obliged to use data from distinct surveys. In particular the self-perception data differs in the survey by Zabaleta (1995) I have used because she asked for identifications with respectively European, Spanish, Basque, Euskal Herria, Euskadi and Navarrese and left open to the respondents to state multiple identification. Two observations based on the survey results qualify the identity profiles used so far. First this survey reveals that a multiple self-perception should not be rejected at beforehand since for example many respondents in the Basque zone identified themselves strongly as both Basque and Navarrese (fig. 5). Secondly, the questions asked in the survey of Aizpurua forced the respondents to answer on their degrees of Basque and Spanishness whereas a Navarrese identity was erroneously excluded at beforehand.

The Basque zone of Navarre is the area where the dimensions of Basque identification are most in line with each other. The only awkward building block in the identity profile (fig. 5) is the occurrence of a strong Navarrese territorial identification in combination with a Basque one. In the mixed zone there is a coincidence of Basque voting and Basque schooling similar to the profiles of the territories of Euskadi while Basque or Navarrese self-perception reach far higher peaks than Basque education. Finally in the Castilian zone the two places with Euskera-taught schools (Tafalla and Sangüesa) are place-specific exceptions that can only explained by place-bounded features. From the analysis so far no place-to-place variations can be distilled because they are masked by the aggregations at the level of bigger administrative territories. Therefore I will now use the municipal data set in order to assess to

what extent local variations on the observed tripartite correlations between political, language and school choice variables can be explained by locational and place-specific features.

5. Language, politics and linguistic identification in local environments

Case studies suggest a place-bounded and supported continuation of Basque nationalist discourse (Heiberg 1989, Jauregui 1996, Mansvelt Beck 2000, Pérez-Agote 1986, Raento 1997, Römhildt 1994, Zulaika 1988). According to these authors the discourse takes place in local closed communication systems that are characterized by specific types of social organization and social control. According to Tejerina Montaña (1992) discourse, political behavior and the building of political and language institutions have compartmentalized the Basque Country into micro-societies that are often confined to local environments. If social control at the local level can influence political behavior and language activism to such an extent that the *locale* forms both the décor and frame of reference for collectively held political views and common behavior, why then should social control not influence linguistic identification?

I will use municipal data to find out which variables explain the distribution of school choice at a local level. Based on multiple regression and using school choice as a dependent variable I have selected the following variables:

- *School choice.* The data consists of sum of the children enrolled in pre-school and primary and education according respectively Model D and Model D + B divided by the total number of children enrolled in all models. The proportion of enrolled in D and D+B have subsequently been entered separately as dependent variables.
- *Voting behavior.* Usage of Euskera as a home language would have been an interesting variable to enter into the analysis. However the proportion of Bascophones shows a high correlation with Basque nationalist voting behavior (0.86) while its correlation with school choice (0.80 for Basque and 0.68 for Basque + Bilingual) is comparatively lower than the correlation of nationalist voting and school choice (0.86 for Basque and 0.82 for Basque + Bilingual). Due to the high collinearity between voting and speech and the higher correlation between voting and school choice the language variable has necessarily been removed from the regression analysis. I have taken the results of the last European elections of 1999 because of the comparability between the two autonomous regions of Euskadi and Navarre (they voted for the same institution) and because the mainstream Basque nationalist parties of PNV and EA, and the radical nationalists of Euskal Herritarrok (formerly Herri Batasuna) all participated in the elections. The percentage of votes cast of the valid votes per municipality indicates the degree of nationalist voting. The combined nationalist vote correlates higher with the school-choice variables than the votes for each of nationalist parties.
- *Population change.* Here above I have suggested a relationship between inflow of migrants and increasing linguistic consciousness expressed in Basque-biased school choice. Around Pamplona, the newly created municipalities of Barañáin (1984), Berriozar y Ansoain (1991) and Zizur Mayor (1992) with a high net migration have 35% of the children going to Basque-taught schools against 19% in the central municipality Pamplona. The ‘Spanish’ character of Pamplona is also due to the location of many big private ‘Spanish’ schools in the within the city. Around San Sebastian a similar pattern of linguistic identification can be observed, with 42% enrolment on Basque-taught schools in the central municipality and 71% in the surrounding municipalities belonging to the administrative district of San Sebastian. Bilingual education shows a bias toward the San Sebastian (39%) whereas in the rest of the District 27% attend bilingual schools. The variable entered is the municipal population growth corrected for changes in municipal borders from 1960 up to 1991, or the number of inhabitants of 1960 divided by the 1991 number, multiplied by 100.
- *Unemployment.* I have taken the unemployment rate, the number of unemployed on the total occupational population per municipality in 1995, as the third independent variable. I use unemployment as an indicator for social deprivation in the expectation that in environments characterized by high levels of unemployment, job opportunities in the respective regions will influence parents’ decision on the election of school models.

- *Rurality*. The original idea was to enter the scale variable (the logarithm of the number of inhabitants per municipality) as an indicator reflecting social control. This worked well in a previous study on Euskadi's political geography (Mansvelt Beck 1999). However the proportion of the agricultural population on the total active population shows a high collinearity with scale and a slightly stronger correlation with Basque school choice, though the correlation as such is still very low (-0.21). The latter in combination with high collinearity has forced me to exclude the scale variable.

I will now briefly review the results of the regression analysis. Let me first discuss the equation resulting from the variable bilingual plus Basque model as the dependent variable. Basque political mobilization explains for 89% the observed variance (table 3). Surprisingly the results of the equation hardly differ when Basque or Basque plus bilingual education are taken as the dependent variables. Meanwhile the other variables attribute very little to the explanation given their low standardized Beta coefficients.

Table 3 Multiple regression %School Choice for Basque (B) and Basque plus Bilingual (B+Bi) education in 2002-2003 (dependent variables), BETA scores, municipalities (N=294)

Independent variables	Standardized Coefficient BETA (B)	Standardized Coefficient BETA (B+Bi)
%Basque Nationalist Voting	0.87	0.89
%Workforce in Agriculture	0.12	0.05
Population Change 1961-1991	0.13	0.14
% Unemployed	0.00	0.01

The residuals I have selected when the municipal scores have at least 1.5 times the standard deviation. In 'normal' English this means that if municipalities show positive residuals in the regression equation, they have higher scores on the school choice variables than is predicted by the statistical relationship (the regression equation). Negative residuals thus reflect lower scores than predicted. There are 24 municipalities showing positive residuals and 26 having negative ones (Table 4, fig. 6). Navarre is best represented in both categories, which is rather logical because this region totals half the municipalities of the study area. Gipuzkoa is the worst represented territory with only one positive and one negative residual. The positive residual is however important as it concerns the town of Irún on the border of Gipuzkoa and France with over 50,000 inhabitants (for the location of the Euskadi municipalities, see also: http://www.euskadi.net/rev_e_etxeak/datos/42_08_09_c.pdf, visited 16 June 2003). Irun has much unemployment and among its inhabitants there are many descendants of migrants from the rest of Spain. The town forms a mainly Castilian-speaking enclave in Gipuzkoa's Basque-speaking area. The proportion on monolingual Basque schools is higher than predicted by the equation, which may reflect a certain polarization according to educational models. Moreover the example of Irun shows that at a local level a relatively weak political identification with Basqueness does not necessarily result in a non-Basque linguistic identification.

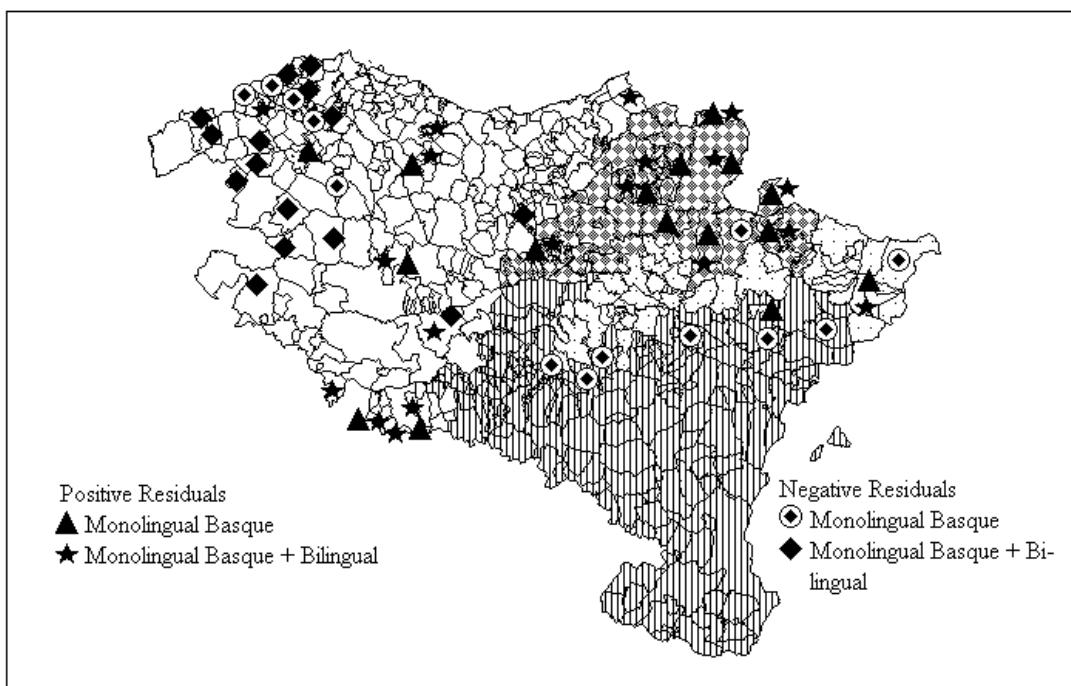
Table 4 Residuals of Multiple Regression analysis with %School Choice for Basque (B) and Basque plus Bilingual (B+Bi) education, 2002-2003 as dependent variables

Residuals	(B)	(B+Bi)	(B) and (B+Bi)	Number of municipalities	Location
Positive	17	19	12	24	TOTAL
	4	6	3	7	Alava
	2	2	0	4	Bizkaia
	1	0	0	1	Gipuzkoa
	11	10	9	12	Navarre
Negative	17	13	4	26	TOTAL
	5	0	0	5	Alava
	11	5	4	12	Bizkaia
	1	0	0	1	Gipuzkoa
	0	8	0	8	Navarre

The positive residuals of Alava concern mostly rural and depopulating municipalities, perhaps with the exception of Arrazua-Ubarraundia, which at present experiences a revival due to suburban sprawl from Vitoria. The second exception is the more urban Iruña de Oca with 2582 inhabitants, a high unemployment rate of 18% and a population loss of 600 inhabitants from 1991 to today preceded by population growth during the 1961-1991 period. The positive residuals in the rural areas may be interpreted as a consequence of institutional colonization orchestrated by the Basque Department of Education or as the expression of local enthusiasm for the old language. Some schools, probably in the more densely populated Rioja Alavesa may have children from neighboring municipalities on their rolls, compensated by Castilian schools in the vicinity that enroll children from elsewhere. The Alavese municipalities having negative residual scores do so on monolingual Basque education used as the dependent variable. Bilingual education perhaps fits better in the Castilian-speaking environment. In fact the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of these negative residuals do not differ so much from the positive ones as they are also rather rural, stagnating but mostly depopulating while the numbers of inhabitants range from 188 to 1269.

In Bizkaia the positive residuals represent four bigger municipalities of in between 3000 and 9000 inhabitants, non-rural, and high unemployment rates. Two are in the urban field of Bilbao (Arrigorriaga and Ortuella) and two are close the Gipuzkoa border. Bizkaia has a surprisingly high number of twelve municipalities displaying negative residuals, four even on both dependent variables. Five of the negative residuals are situated in the Encartaciones district where for many centuries Castilian has been the dominant language. To this type of municipalities one can add the Castilian-speaking municipalities of Muskiz, west of the Nervión estuary that links Bilbao with the sea, and Orduña, a Bizkaia exclave in Alava. These Castilian-speaking municipalities show relatively high rates on nationalist political mobilization, but their educational Basqueness lags behind in the identity profile with respect to their political basqueness. The other 'negative' municipalities are in Basque-speaking areas and have dialects that differ considerably from *batua*, which may explain their tempered enthusiasm for monolingual Basque education. These municipalities are medium-sized with almost 3,000 inhabitants at the average, and mainly non-agrarian, except Arcentales in the Encartaciones District.

Fig. 6 Residuals Multiple Regression Analysis, Monolingual Basque and Monolingual Basque + Bilingual Education as Dependent Variables



From twelve positive residuals in Navarre ten consist of municipalities situated in the Bascofona zone while two are located in the mixed zone. Most municipalities are small, rural, and depopulating. Baztán with almost 8,000 inhabitants looks exceptionally big, but in reality it is composed of many small villages and *baserriak* (isolated farmsteads). In this Basque-speaking municipality with tourism from the rest of Spain as an important income source, Basque nationalism is less established than in other Basque-speaking areas. Historical relations with Madrid royalty existed because many people Baztán worked in the royal administration. Nowadays tourism is the main link with Spain. Probably Baztán's identity profile reflects a relatively Spanish political orientation together with a Basque linguistic identification, the latter presumably more a result of affection toward the language rather than a manipulation in which hate and fear are prominent. Aoiz is the only municipality of Navarre among the positive residuals that fits in the picture of population growth caused by immigration the mixed zone with a considerable impact on linguistic mobilization.

Six out of the eight negative residuals of Navarre are in the Castilian zone. With the exception of Noáin on the urban fringe of Pamplona they are rural, depopulating villages, which also applies to one Basque-zone village (Erro) and another mixed-zone village (Isaba). The six Spanish-zone municipalities all located close to the border of the mixed zone, are a clear example of a high degree of political mobilization ranging from a nationalist vote of 16 to 31%, which would predict a certain degree of enrolment in Basque-taught schools, but obviously nipped in the bud as a result of a prohibitive politico-institutional environment. For example, in Lumbier located in the Spanish zone, a privately ran *ikastola* exists but without any official recognition as it is located in the non-Bascofona zone (Diario de Noticias de Navarre, 1-26-2003). It is therefore particularly in Navarre that place features are determined by the institutional space in which they are nested. On the other hand the example of Baztán shows the occurrence of local environments not solely determined by institutional contexts but colored by their own geohistory of a specific interaction of the locale with the outside world.

6. Conclusion

Linguistic identification is connected with political mobilization behind Basque nationalism. Despite the historical links with the radical brand of nationalism and language activism linguistic identification in the Basque Country and Navarre nowadays coincides with both radical and non-radical nationalism. Linguistic identification through school choice has a more salient presence than the usage of the language itself. As such the place of language is often more important than the language of place. I have shown that linguistic identification can be considered as one of the building blocks of an identity profile that consists of dimensions of language, political mobilization and self-perception. The identity profiles observed vary considerably according to the territories where they are being applied.

From the examples of Euskadi, Navarre as a whole and each of Navarre's language zones I have demonstrated that linguistic identification through school choice is constrained by the politico-institutional territory reducing the gamma of educational options. The hypothesis that Euskadi's opportunity structure favoring Basque compared to Navarre's relatively hostile opportunity structure would result in a higher incidence of Basque-taught education in Euskadi has been rejected. However when Basque and bilingual education would be taken together as an expression of identification not direct in favor toward bilingualism but in practice favoring bilingualism, then Euskadi's institutional context certainly favors bilingualism more than Navarre's context. This is particularly the case in the most castilianized areas of Euskadi where many parents have opted for bilingual and Basque monolingual education. On the other hand in the mixed and Basque zones of Navarre the hostile environment in terms of job opportunities and usage of Euskera in the public domain has not hampered linguistic mobilization. Given the generous provision of Basque immersion education in these zones the negative imagery about Navarre as a hostile opportunity structure should be qualified.

Linguistic mobilization goes hand in hand with political mobilization irrespective of space and place. To understand place-to-place variations in linguistic identification the general pattern of interrelated political mobilization, linguistic identification and sociolinguistic context is not always enough. Like political mobilization linguistic mobilization has both its entrepreneurs and militant opponents. From the residuals studied it is not yet clear whether activities of successful linguistic entrepreneurs in rebasquization may explain a high linguistic identification in the locale, or whether it is the result of school-planning policies pursued in the regional capitals.

Despite the success of rebasquization it goes too far to conclude that this implies a deep rebasquifying of society. In this respect the identity profiles clearly show that some dimensions of Basqueness do often not correspond with other dimensions. Conventional theory of nationalism and ethnic identity is still based on what Brubaker has called 'groupism': "...a social ontology that leads us to talk and write about ethnic groups and nations as real entities, as communities, as substantial, enduring, internally homogeneous and externally bounded collectivities" (Brubaker 1998: 292). Contrary to prevailing 'groupism' and in line with Brubaker's critical position (Brubaker 1996: ch 1, 1998: 292-298) I think that nationalist and ethnic expressions may vary according to contexts as determined by space, place and time. By applying identity profiles I have shown that multiple expressions of ethnolinguistic identity often discern a configuration, which is space and probably also place-specific. Spatial contexts thus have the capacity of combining conflicting expressions of ethno-linguistic identity. The data used do not allow to draw such a conclusion on the level of human groups and individuals, however, I would not be surprised that the imagery of groupism in the Basque case would be undermined by the identity profiles at group and individual levels.

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