

# Standardization, functional shift and language change in Basque

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## Abstract

This paper presents a quantitative variationist analysis of data collected in sociolinguistic interviews in the Basque town of Oiartzun in an effort to gauge the influence of a generation of language planning efforts on the local Basque vernacular. In particular, this paper makes the following three claims about these processes. First, the data provide strong apparent-time evidence of change in progress toward standard features. For two morphological variables and one lexical variable, young speakers show significantly lower frequencies of nonstandard forms than middle-aged and older speakers. Second, the changing functional distribution of Basque vs. Spanish in Oiartzun also appears to have had an important impact on younger speakers' speech. In particular, younger speakers show significantly lower frequencies than older speakers for two informal phonological features. This difference plausibly reflects the fact that younger speakers, unlike their elders, have grown up using Basque in high-register domains –especially schools and the media– where these phonological processes are least common. Third and finally, quantitative variation data together with speakers' metalinguistic comments in sociolinguistic and ethnographic interviews suggests support for Echeverria's (2000) proposal that masculinity is iconically linked to informal/low-prestige forms through their association with 'traditional' rural Basque spheres.

**Key words:** Basque, standardization, language change, gender.

## Resumo

Este artigo apresenta unha análise cuantitativa variacionista dos datos recompilados mediante entrevistas sociolingüísticas na cidade vasca de Oiartzun, nun esforzo por

calcular a influencia dunha xeración de medidas de planificación lingüística no éuscaro vernáculo local. En particular, este estudo formúlase as tres cuestións seguintes sobre estes procesos. En primeiro lugar, os datos fornecen unha forte evidencia de mudanza en tempo aparente de cara á adopción de trazos estándar; para dúas variables morfolóxicas e unha léxica, os falantes mozos amosan frecuencias significativamente menores de formas non estándar que os falantes adultos e vellos. En segundo lugar, a distribución funcional cambiante do éuscaro verbo do castelán en Oiartzun tamén semella ter un importante impacto na fala dos máis novos; en concreto, os falantes de menor idade mostran frecuencias significativamente máis baixas cás dos seus maiores para dúas variables fonolóxicas informais; verosimilmente esta diferenza reflicte o feito de que os falantes máis novos, a diferenza dos seus antecesores, medraron utilizando o euskera en dominios formais (especialmente escolas e medios de comunicación), que é onde estes procesos fonolóxicos son menos habituais. Finalmente, os datos de variación cuantitativa xunto cos comentarios metalingüísticos dos falantes en entrevistas sociolingüísticas e etnográficas, suxiren o apoio á tese de Echeverría (2000), segundo a cal a masculinidade está iconicamente vencellada ás formas de prestixio baixo/informal a través da súa asociación coas esferas rurais ‘tradicionais’ vascas.

**Palabras clave:** éuscaro, estandarización, cambio lingüístico, xénero.

## 1. Introduction<sup>1</sup>

In the decade following the end of the Franquist dictatorship in 1975, a newly invented Basque standard variety, *Batua*, was gradually introduced into the Basque educational system and media as part of a massive language revitalization effort. Prior to this time, no broadly accepted Basque standard existed, and Spanish was used exclusively in many prestige domains –schools, the media, government– in which *Batua* is now an option. In the years since then, a generation of speakers has grown up with extensive exposure to *Batua* through schools and media. These changes suggest the possibility that younger speakers will borrow features from *Batua* into their vernacular, leading to change in local dialects.

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This paper presents variation data collected in sociolinguistic interviews in the Basque town of Oiartzun<sup>2</sup> in an effort to gauge the influence of standardization and recent language planning efforts on the local vernacular. In particular, this paper makes the following three claims about these processes. First, the data provide strong apparent-time evidence of change in progress toward standard features. For two morphological variables and one lexical variable discussed here, young speakers show significantly lower frequencies of nonstandard forms than middle-aged and older speakers. Second, the changing functional distribution of Basque vs. Spanish in Oiartzun also appears to have had an important impact on younger speakers' speech. In particular, younger speakers show significantly lower frequencies than older speakers for two informal phonological processes. This difference plausibly reflects the fact that younger speakers, unlike their elders, have grown up using Basque in high-register domains –especially schools and the media– where these phonological processes are least common. Third and finally, data on one of these style markers –/b, d, g, r/ deletion– suggests support for some of Echeverria's (2000: chapter 4) claims concerning gender ideologies in Basque. In particular, women show significantly lower frequencies for informal deleted forms than men. These data, together with evidence from participants' metalinguistic evaluations of these forms in sociolinguistic and ethnographic interviews, support Echeverria's proposal that masculinity is iconically linked to informal/low-prestige forms through their association with 'traditional' rural Basque spheres.

The discussion is organized as follows: part 2 of this paper reviews some relevant aspects of the development and introduction of *Batua*; part 3 discusses methodology; part 4 presents the results; part 5 discusses these results and argues for the above claims in detail.

## **2. Oiartzun and the introduction of *Batua***

### **2.1. The speech community of Oiartzun**

Oiartzun is located in the northeastern corner of Gipuzkoa along the Gipuzkoa-Navarre border (see Map 1).

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<sup>2</sup> Many place names used herein have both Basque and Spanish (and French) spellings. In this article, Basque orthography is used for all place names.

**Map 1.** The Basque Country and major Basque dialects (adapted from Trask, 1997: 6).



Table 1 shows that Oiartzun is similar to other towns in the greater Donostia area in terms of economic activity. However, Oiartzun differs from most other towns around Donostia, including its immediate neighbors Errenteria and Lezo, in that industrialization came much later to Oiartzun, and immigration has been relatively light. Persons born outside the Basque Autonomous Community account for only 7% of Oiartzun’s population, but 25% of the population of more heavily-industrialized Errenteria. Partly as a result of its late industrialization and light immigration, Oiartzun has remained heavily Basque-speaking. Table 2 shows that the percent of the population reporting Basque as a mother tongue and the language spoken at home is much higher in Oiartzun than in the Greater Donostia Area, or in Gipuzkoa as a whole.

**Table 1. Employed population aged 16 and over according to branches of activity.**

	Total	Agriculture	Industry	Construct	Services
<b>Gipuzkoa</b>	233,028 (100%)	5,956 (3%)	79,603 (34%)	16,371 (7%)	131,098 (56%)
<b>Greater Donostia Area</b>	106,349 (100%)	1,892 (2%)	26,843 (25%)	7,212 (7%)	70,402 (66%)
<b>Oiartzun</b>	3,416 (100%)	144 (4%)	906 (27%)	352 (10%)	2,014 (59%)

**Table 2.** Population by mother tongue.

	Total	Mother Tongue			
		Basque	Span.	Both	Other
<b>Basque Country</b>	2,098,055 (100%)	425,524 (20%)	1,554,312 (74%)	84,182 (4%)	34,037 (2%)
<b>Gipuzkoa</b>	676,208 (100%)	261,312 (39%)	364,115 (54%)	40,272 (6%)	10,509 (2%)
<b>Oiartzun</b>	8,878 (100%)	6,022 (68%)	2,269 (26%)	495 (6%)	92 (1%)

Source: Basque Statistical Office, 1996.

## 2.2. The introduction of Batua

The development of a literary standard had been a goal of Basque language planners since the birth of *Euskaltzaindia* (The Basque Language Academy) in 1918. *Euskaltzaindia*'s development of Batua was interrupted by the civil war (1936-1939) and the Franquist dictatorship, but resumed in the late 1950's and 1960's. In 1964, *Euskaltzaindia* published a standard orthography for Batua, and since then it has gradually developed syntactic, morphological and (more recently) phonological norms to serve as a standard. These norms mainly come from the most central dialect, Gipuzkoan, but include contributions from all dialects, especially the Northern Basque dialects Lapurdian and Low Navarran. Today, Batua is used in most print publications including a Basque-language daily newspaper *Berria*. In addition, Batua is used on most of the region's Basque-language television and radio stations, including broadcasts by the Basque government's radio and television network, EITB, founded in 1982 (see also Urla, 1995).

More importantly, Batua is taught in all government-run Basque-medium schooling, and in the overwhelming majority of private Basque-medium schools. Today, most primary and secondary education students in Oiartzun attend Hartzaro, the local *ikastola* (private, Basque-medium school) founded clandestinely during the waning years of the Franquist dictatorship. During the 1980's, Oiartzun's other school—a public school—also began offering Basque-medium instruction, and today, the overwhelming majority of students in Oiartzun's two schools are enrolled in Basque-medium programs. The remainder are enrolled in bilingual programs in which both Basque and Spanish are used as the medium of instruction. No students are enrolled in exclusively Spanish-medium programs (informant data; cf. Basque Statistical Office, 1996).

Hence, except for the handful of young Oiartzuarrans who attend non-Basque-medium schools outside Oiartzun, all younger speakers have received considerable

exposure to Batua through these two schools (and media). Moreover, because Batua has only been introduced in the last thirty years, local speakers' exposure to it varies by age. All of the younger speakers in the present study (20-30 years old) but none of the middle aged and older speakers (over 40) received Batua-medium primary and secondary instruction. These social changes suggest the possibility that use of Batua as a classroom language will influence students' speech outside the classroom, and hence shape the development of the local dialect over time. Indeed, the possibility that Batua's use in the classroom shapes young people's non-classroom speech is part of the popular local discourse about language. When I commented to informants and other locals that young people seemed to speak very differently from older people, several people explained the difference in terms of the use of Batua in the classroom (and in the media).

For example, in one interview, a younger speaker (speaker 4), made the observation in (1).

(1) Speaker 4 (20's)

Guk askoz# e hola batuago hitz iten dugu [...] <sup>3</sup>

'We speak much, um like more Batua-like.'

Other participants were nostalgic about the loss of local features, as in (2).

(2) Speaker 2 (80's)

[...] ahalegin ber genula# herri bakotsan# bere hizkuntza berriz ekartzea #lengora# porke klaro, gaurko # ikasketakin eta geo euskera batuakin# hoi guziak alkartuta# ba asko ahaztu dela herritako hizkuntza, eh? ta# berritu ber dela#

'We had to try, in each town, to bring its language back to before, because, of course, with today's education and then with euskara batua... all that together, well, the language of the towns has been lost a lot, no? and it has to be recovered.'

Crucially, community members tend to describe the difference between younger speakers' Basque and older speakers' Basque in terms of phonological features (reductions) rather than morphological features. In particular, older people are said to "eat their words/letters" or "speak closed".

(3) Speaker 14 (20's) describing how older speakers speak:

Ez dakit, hola, hitz ein bertzu letra asko jaten# eta, azkar-azkar.

'I don't know, like that, you have to talk eating a lot of letters, and fast.'

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<sup>3</sup> The Basque examples are given in standard orthography adjusted to reflect local phonological processes. The symbol # marks pauses and 'x' marks material that was not clear enough to transcribe.

Hence, for many community members the most salient intergenerational change is the gradual disappearance of certain phonological reductions, which they link to the introduction of Batua. As will be discussed below, however, these changes are not strictly speaking a consequence of contact with Batua, but rather plausibly reflect the dramatic realignment in domains of use of Basque over the last 30 years and increased contact with speakers of other dialects.

### 3. Methodology

#### 3.1. Data collection

The data used in this paper were collected in sociolinguistic interviews conducted by the author in July and August of 2001. Two aspects of the interview context are likely to have favored the use of standard forms. First, while certain standard measures were taken to elicit the vernacular (see below), the formal nature of the interview context often tends to favor more self-conscious, formal forms and disfavors the vernacular (Labov, 1972: chapter 3). Recent work on language attitudes in the Southern Basque Country suggests that Batua has come to be seen by many speakers as the appropriate variety for formal contexts (Amorrortu, 2000: 164-172). This stands to reason given that Batua is the variety used in the overwhelming majority of Basque-language media and Basque-medium schools. Consequently, younger speakers, most of whom have been educated in Batua, may have accommodated the interviewer to some degree using standard Batua forms.

Older and middle-aged speakers, who are generally much less familiar with Batua, may have converged using the regional standard, Gipuzkoan, which until 30 years ago served as a de facto Basque standard. This prediction is in keeping with comments by informants. One informant remarked that Oiartzuarrans often considered Beterri Basque (an area of Gipuzkoa) to be “cleaner” sounding than the local dialect, and that when people try to speak more clearly, they often used Gipuzkoan forms. The local features examined here were carefully chosen to ensure orthogonality between Gipuzkoan and Batua forms in order to distinguish the influence on the local speech of these two varieties. The dialectal distribution of these features is discussed below.

Second, the fact that the interviews were conducted by the author –a non-native speaker of Basque, and a non-member of the community– may also have favored more careful speech (Rickford & McNair-Knox, 1994). Several comments by participants during the interviews suggest that they were conscious that the interviewer was a non-native speaker. For example, one speaker offered a repair for a colloquial expression meaning ‘free’ (*musutruk*): “without charging anything” (*ezer kobratu gabe*). Another speaker interrupted a narrative describing collection of a local shrub, gorse, (*otea*) to ask “Do you know what it is?”. Because gorse is

abundant in the Basque Country, it seems unlikely that this question would have been posed to a native speaking community member.

Two measures were taken during the interviews to encourage participants to use the vernacular. First, the interviewer used local dialectal forms to the extent possible during the interviews. The purpose of this was to signal to participants that the interviewer was familiar with the local dialect, and also to help establish an informal mood for the interview. Second, whenever possible, informants were interviewed in pairs or with another community member present and participating. Eight of the twelve participants who provided data for this study were interviewed in pairs or with another community member present; the remaining four were interviewed one-on-one by the author. The fact that the interview situation varies across speakers introduces a different methodological problem since the effect of the interview situation is not constant for all speakers. Differences in data among speakers may partially reflect differences in the interview situation rather than the effects of the independent social and linguistic variables of principal concern. To address the problem of a non-community member interviewer, tokens were coded for interview-type in multivariate analysis.

Participants were told that the purpose of the study was to learn about language and local life in Oiartzun and that the interview itself would focus on these topics. The interview questions were organized into the following modules: childhood, local life and traditions, personal experiences, goals/aspirations, language and background/biographic information. However, since the goal of the interview was to elicit maximally unself-conscious speech, the interviewer did not interrupt participants when they occasionally strayed from the interview topics to issues that held greater interest for them.

Participants were recruited with a view toward creating an even distribution of speakers across sex and age groups. Table 3 shows that a relatively even distribution of participants by age and sex was achieved.

**Table 3.** Participants.

Speaker	Sex	Age	Interview type
1	M	41	Other community member present
2	F	81	Alone
3	M	67	Other community member present
4	F	20	Pair
5	M	25	Pair
6	M	51	Alone
7	F	75	Other community member present
8	F	87	Other community member present
9	M	60	Alone
10	M	49	Alone
11	F	20	Pair
12	M	24	Pair

The data were analyzed using the variable rule applications Goldvarb, version 2.0 (Sankoff & Rand, 1990) and Goldvarb 2001, version 1.0.2.13 (Robinson, 2001). Results of these analyses are presented in 3.0.

### 3.2. Selection of variables

While Oiartzun belongs to the province of Gipuzkoa, its dialect is historically closer to High Navarran than Gipuzkoan (see above Map 1). Nevertheless, much recent dialectological and sociolinguistic work suggests that in Oiartzun and neighboring towns along the Gipuzkoan/High Navarran dialect boundary, High Navarran features are gradually being replaced by Gipuzkoan features (Zuazo, 1997; Olano, 2000; Haddican, 2003). The variables examined in this paper were carefully chosen to distinguish the effects of this process of change from those of principal concern in this paper: the influence of Batua on local speech. In particular, the morphological and lexical features examined here are characteristic of both the local dialect and Gipuzkoan, but *not* Batua. Hence, processes of dialect alternation between local forms and the erstwhile Gipuzkoan standard is orthogonal to participants' use of these forms. Table 4 summarizes the dialectal distribution of these features. (The formal nature of these elements is described in Part 4).

**Table 4.** Dialectal distribution of three features.

	Oiartzuera	Gipuzkoan	Batua
<i>baino</i> 'but'	Yes	Yes	No
<i>-tu</i> affixation on <i>egon/izan</i>	Yes	Yes	No
Pleonastic <i>-an</i>	Yes	Yes	No

These features, moreover, do *not* mark informality in the local dialect. This fact is crucial to the argument that lower frequencies of these features among younger speakers are a consequence of contact with the standard and are unrelated to independent shifts toward higher-register forms (which are argued to be largely a consequence of shifts in domains of use of Basque). One kind of evidence to this effect comes from native speaker intuitions: participants report no strong formal/informal difference between these forms, and generally have very little conscious awareness of variation in these variants at all. A second kind of evidence comes from written texts. The few available texts written in the local dialect before the promulgation of Batua show variation in both *-tu* affixation and pleonastic *-an*. (In the case of *baino/baina*, the question of style shifting is moot, since use of the local alternant, *baino* is categorical among the older two age groups). For example, in the writings of the 18<sup>th</sup> century Jesuit priest and Oiartzun native Sebastian Mendiburu, participial forms of *egon/izan* are used both with and without *-tu*, although he appears to favor forms with *-tu*, which is the overwhelmingly preferred

variant in local speech as will be seen below. Similarly, a stele dating from 1910, introducing stations of the cross on a mountain-side (Urkabe) in the center of the valley, contains the following text with an example of pleonastic *-an*.

- (4) Izan**ik**an Pio X Erromako Aita Santua...  
 be-ik-AN Pius X Rome-of father holy  
 ‘being Pius X the Holy Father of Rome...’

The fact that written texts in the local dialect include these features, then, provides further evidence that they do not mark informal speech.

This paper also examines variable use of two phonological processes, /t/-palatalization and intervocalic /b, d, g, r/-deletion. Both of these processes are informal features orthogonal to the Batua/Oiartzuera distinction: in careful or high-register local speech –e.g. in sermons in mass, or in *bertsorlaritza* (improvisational sung verse)– these processes are avoided, but in less self-conscious kinds of speech are robust. Euskaltzaindia’s (the Basque Language Academy) language planning work has focused primarily on establishing norms for a written standard, and as such, most of the academy’s norms have focused on orthography, morphology and lexis. In addition, however, the academy has recently begun to establish standards for “careful” pronunciation Batua, in which it admits these two phonological reductions in less formal kinds of speech (Euskaltzaindia, 1998).

Hence, the two phonological processes discussed here –/t/-palatalization and /b, d, g, r/ deletion– are orthogonal to the Batua/Oiartzuera distinction; this distribution is summarized in Table 5.

**Table 5.** Sociolinguistic distribution of /b, d, g, r/-deletion and /t/-palatalization.

Style/register	Batua	Oiartzuera
High	*b, d, g, r/ deletion *palatalization	√b, d, g, r/ deletion √palatalization
Low	√b, d, g, r/ deletion √palatalization	*b, d, g, r/ deletion *palatalization

## 4. Data

### 4.1. Morphological and lexical variables

#### 4.1.1. *Baino* vs. *baina*

In the local dialect, the conjunction akin to English ‘but’ is rendered alternantly as [ba’ .no] [bi’ .no] or [mi’ .no]. In the standard, this element is /ba’ .na/.

**Table 6.** Use of /ba' .ɲa/; by age group and sex (from Haddican, 2003).

	Women	Men
<b>Older (60-87)</b>	0/108 (0%)	0/59 (0%)
<b>Middle aged (41-51)</b>	0/14 (0%)	0/85 (0%)
<b>Young (20-25)</b>	1/35 (3%)	4/50 (8%)

The only participants who use *baina* in the present data are the young speakers, and they use it very little (6%). That they use it at all would seem to follow from the fact that, unlike the speakers in the two older groups, the young speakers have received Batua-medium primary and secondary instruction.

#### 4.1.2. *-tu* affixation on *egon* and *izan*

Main verbs in Basque may bear one of three perfective markers. For an older class of verbs ending in /-n/, this marker is standardly  $-\emptyset$ . This class includes *izan*, ‘have, be’, Aux, and *egon* ‘be-loc’, as shown in (5). However, in Oiartzun, and in other central dialects, *izan* and *egon* variably take the open class perfective marker *-tu* as shown in (6)<sup>4</sup>.

- (5) Batua  
ez nuen arazor-ik      **izan- $\emptyset$**
- (6) (Speaker 2)  
Lehendabiziko eskola **izan-du** zen partikularra.

<sup>4</sup> It bears observing, however, that *-tu* on these three verbs appears to differ from *-tu* on other verbs in that it cannot co-occur with any other affixes such as the future suffix *-ko* and passive *-ta*.

- (i) Open class verbs in both Batua and Oiartzuera.

har-**tu-ko** dut  
take-**tu**-Fut Aux  
‘I will take it.’

(i) shows that for most verbs, in both the local dialect and Batua, the future is formed by stacking a future affix *-ko* onto the verb root + *-tu*. However, sequences of *egon* + *-tu* and *izan* + *-tu* do not cooccur with *-ko*. Instead, future forms of these verbs are categorically formed as in the standard, without *-tu* as shown in (ii).

- (ii) *izan*, *egon* in Oiartzuera.

a. \*Izan-**du-ko** dut  
have-**tu**-Fut Aux  
‘I will have it.’

b. Izan- **-go** dut

In the present data set, sequences of *\*-tu* + *-ko* are unattested with *egon* and *izan*, and indeed evidence from speaker intuitions are consistent with these facts: native Oiartzuera speakers unflinchingly reject sequences of *\*-tu* + *-ko* on *egon* and *izan*. These facts, then, suggest that *-tu* with *egon* and *izan* is of a somewhat different nature than *-tu* with other verbs.

Neg Aux problem-Part have- First school be-du Aux private  
 ‘I didn’t have problems.’ ‘The first school was private.’

**Table 7.** (Nonstandard) *-tu* affixation on *egon/izan* by age group.

Age group	Frequency	Probability	Coefficient
Older speakers (60-87)	61/73	83%	.56
Middle-aged speakers (41-51)	40/47	85%	.68
Young speakers (20-25)	18/38	48%	.20

[Overall tendency: .79, N=158, p=.04. The factor groups selected (in order) were age group, verb (i.e. *izan* vs. *egon*) and sex. The only factor not selected was interview type].

Although the token set for *-tu* affixation is limited (N=158), the data in Table 7 suggest support for the hypothesis of change in progress: younger speakers show the lowest factor weights for non-standard forms (.20) followed by older speakers (.56) and finally middle-aged speakers (.68). These data, then, together with the above data on *baino/baina* provide support for the hypothesis of change in progress pursued here.

The fact that older speakers show lower factor weights than middle-aged speakers is somewhat unexpected from the perspective of the foregoing discussion. A tentative explanation for these data is proposed below.

#### 4.1.3. Pleonastic *-an*

Oiartzuera is one of several central dialects stretching across northern Gipuzkoa, into northwest Navarre and into parts of the Northern Basque Country, in which a series of affixes ending in [ik] optionally bear an additional “pleonastic” or “euphonic” suffix *-an* (Zuazo, 1998: 198). These affixes include those shown in (7). This element is proscribed in the standard.

(7)<sup>5</sup>

Adverbs	bakar(r)- <b>ik</b> -(an) ‘only’
Partitives	diru(r)- <b>ik</b> -(an) ‘money’
Ablatives	hemen- <b>dik</b> -(an) ‘from here’
Motivatives	zer- <b>gatik</b> -(an) ‘why’ ‘because’

<sup>5</sup> Like *-tu* discussed above, pleonastic *-an* seems not to allow stacking of other affixes. In (i) below, the partitive marker combines with the adnominal affix *-ko*. In (ii), in which *-an* is inserted to the right of the partitive suffix but before *-ko*, the result is unacceptable. (i) hori-et-arik-(k)o bat

**Table 8.** (Nonstandard) pleonastic *-an* by age group.

Age group	Frequency	Probability	Coefficient
Older speakers (60-87)	72/314	22%	.35
Middle (41-51)	64/171	37%	.77
Young (20-25)	27/129	20%	.49

[Overall tendency: .21, N=614, p=.010. Factor groups selected (in order) were morphological environment, age group, sex, and stress. The only factor group not selected was interview type].

The factor weights for the three age groups in Table 8 are unexpected from the point of view of change in progress. Older speakers show the lowest factor weights for nonstandard forms (.35), while middle-aged speakers show the highest weights (.77); younger speakers fall in the middle (.49).

These facts, then, are reminiscent of the data presented above on *-tu* affixation in that factor weights for middle-aged speakers are higher than those for older speakers. One possible explanation is that these data partially reflect an independent process of dialect shift. Abundant recent dialectological work has shown that several isoglosses in Oiartzun and neighboring towns along the Gipuzkoan/Navarre border are moving eastward (Zuazo, 1997; Olano, 2000; Haddican, 2003). One possible explanation for data in Tables 7 and 8, then is that both *-tu* affixation and pleonastic *-an* are Gipuzkoan innovations that are gradually spreading eastward into Oiartzun as part of this process of shift. From this perspective, the relatively lower frequencies of these forms among younger speakers may then reflect the influence of the standard, as argued above in the case of *-tu* affixation and *baino/baina*<sup>6</sup>. This account is admittedly speculative; more data are needed to support this hypothesis.

## 4.2. Phonological variables (style markers)

### 4.2.1. Palatalization of /t/

Oiartzuera, like many other western and central dialects has the following palatalization rule.

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DEM-PL-PART-ko one

‘One of those.’

(ii) \*hori-et-arik-AN-go bat

DEM-PL-PART-AN-ko one

‘One of those.’

<sup>6</sup> I am grateful to Koldo Zuazo and to participants in Gregory Guy’s Spring 2003 *Seminar in Sociolinguistics* at NYU for a helpful discussion of these data.

(8) /t, n, l/ [c, ɲ, ʎ]/i, j\_\_ V, #

This paper focuses only on palatalization of /t/. Palatalization of /n/ and /l/ is nearly categorical in local speech across age groups and registers and thus does not bear on the questions pursued here. In addition, /t/-palatalization is constrained both morphologically and phonologically; significant variation is limited to palatalization in onset position in monomorphemes, and across certain morpheme boundaries (i.e. with absolutive plural markers, and with the aspectual markers *-tu* and *-ten*). This paper, then, only considers palatalization of /t/ in these environments.

**Table 9.** /t/-palatalization by age group.

Factor group	Age	Frequency	Probability	Coefficient
Older speakers	(60-87)	126/155	81%	.64
Middle-aged speakers	(41-51)	90/130	69%	.48
Young speakers	(20-25)	48/77	62%	.26

[Overall tendency: .79, N=362, p=.00. Factor groups selected (in order) were morphological environment and age. Factor groups not selected were sex and interview type].

Table 9 shows that, as in the case of *-tu* affixation, younger speakers show the lowest factor weights for non-standard forms: older speakers favor palatalization (.67) followed by middle-aged speakers (.44) and finally young speakers (.29). While the low factor weights for young speakers are expected in light of the discussion in Part 2, the sharp difference between middle-aged and older speakers is more surprising. Unlike the younger speakers in this study, none of the middle-aged or older speakers grew up with the standard as their everyday classroom language; all attended Spanish-medium schools. These data are discussed further in 5.2.

#### 4.2.2. /b, d, g, r/ deletion

Across a broad range of dialects, /b/, /d/, /g/ and /r/ delete intervocalically and in Oiartzun this process is robust (Fraile & Fraile, 1996: 49, 54).

**Table 10.** /b, d, g, r/ deletion by age group.

Sex	Frequency	Probability	Coefficient
Men	546/917	59%	.56
Women	239/452	52%	.38
Age group			
Older speakers (60-87)	330/562	58%	.62
Middle (41-51)	201/328	61%	.50
Young (20-25)	254/479	53%	.37

[Overall tendency: .60, N=1369, p=.004. Factor groups selected (in order) were morphological category, preceding vowel, deleted segment, following vowel, sex, age group and interview type. All factor groups selected].

The age pattern in Table 10 is similar to that for /t/-palatalization: older speakers strongly favor non-standard, deleted forms (.62), followed by middle aged speakers (.50) and finally young speakers (.37). These data, then, together with the data on /t/-palatalization, provide substantial support for the hypothesis of a change in progress in these style/register markers.

Finally, unlike in the case of palatalization, sex is selected as a significant factor group for /b, d, g, r/ deletion: men favor nonstandard, deleted forms (.56) and women strongly favor standard non-deleted forms (.38). This difference is discussed in detail below.

## 5. Discussion

### 5.1. The influence of Batua

The data on *baino/baina*, pleonastic *-an* and *-tu* affixation provide strong support for the hypothesis of change in progress as a consequence of the introduction of Batua. In all three cases, younger speakers show higher frequencies of standard forms than their elders. This change seems likely to be driven in large part by prescriptive brute force: i.e. standard language ideology, particularly through Basque-medium schooling. Batua was not primarily intended as a replacement for local dialects, but rather to complement them as a written standard and as a lingua-franca among dialect speakers. Nevertheless, dialect speakers often view Batua as more objectively “correct” than their own dialect (Urla, 1987: 313, 318).

Evidence from participants’ metalinguistic comments in sociolinguistic and ethnolinguistic interviews supports this view. In particular, several middle-aged and older participants complained that their Batua-knowing children and grandchildren often corrected their dialectal forms.

(9) Speaker 18 (40’s)

bai nik etxeko xx pos, jan itten dutela nik # beaiek garbiago #eta bueno aditzan ta zea, izaten dute izugarrizko akats[ak]...

[a few seconds later]

esaten dute “jo, ama hori ez da hola esaten”#in ber zenuke hau esan ta hua ez san”

yes, home xx, well I eat it a lot. They [speak] cleaner. And, well, on the verb and everything, they [the verbs] have incredible mistakes...

[a few seconds later]

they say “Jeez, mom, it’s not said like that. You should say it like this and not like that.”

Indeed, the notion that Batua is “better” than the local dialect seems to be reinforced by the fact that many middle-aged and older speakers of Oiartzuera and of other local dialects (Urla, 1987: 313-314) tend to have a low opinion of their own dialect.

(10) Speaker 18 (40’s)

Oiartzuarrak beti izan dugun fama “jo es, eske zuen hizkuntza da mas basto.”

The fame that we Oiartzuarrans have always had, “Jeez, it’s, it’s that your language is [Spanish:] so coarse”.

These facts suggest that the prescriptive influence of Basque-medium education is likely to be a principal force driving this change. The present data are unable to shed any light on the extent to which this ideology may be connected to class/status distinctions as suggested by Urla (1987: 311-326). (See also Amorrortu, 2000, who argues explicitly against the notion that standard vs. dialect differences index class/status distinctions as in other well-studied contexts –Labov, 1972: chapters 4 and 5).

## 5.2. The shifting domains of use of Basque and Spanish

The data in part 4 show that younger speakers also differ from their elders in showing dramatically lower rates of /b, d, g, r/ deletion and /t/-palatalization. Again, these phonological reductions are style/register markers orthogonal to the Batua-Oiartzuera distinction. These intergenerational differences are plausibly related to the fact that these speakers, unlike their elders, have had much greater exposure to Basque in schools and the media where these higher register/style forms predominate. All of the younger speakers in the present study, but none of the middle-aged or older speakers, received Basque-medium education.

At the same time, for many younger speakers today throughout the Basque Country (even in a heavily Basque-speaking town like Oiartzun), Spanish has begun to replace Basque in many informal domains, especially in many peer groups. Speaker 16’s observation in (11) is typical in this regard.

(11) Speaker 16 (20’s), discussing intergenerational differences in local speech  
gazteak askoz geio iten dute erderaz

[later in the interview]

gure lagunak# guk mutillakin erderaz hitz eiten dugu#

[later in the interview describing when she uses Spanish vs. Basque]

itxian euskeraz, [...] mutillakin euskeraz ta erderaz ta lagunakin ba segun zeinekin euskeraz ta segun zeinekin erderaz

‘Young people speak in Spanish a lot more.

[later in the interview]

Our friends, we speak Spanish with the boys.’

[later in the interview describing when she uses Spanish vs. Basque]

at home, in Basque, [...] with my boyfriend in Basque and Spanish and with friends, with some in Basque and with others in Spanish.

Local Basque speech, then, appears to be increasingly skewed toward high prestige domains. While previous generations received almost exclusively Spanish-medium education and tended to interact with friends in Basque, the opposite relationship is increasingly the case among today’s younger speakers.

The behavior of middle-aged speakers is somewhat unexpected from the perspective of this analysis. Both in Tables 8 and 9, middle-aged speakers show lower factor weights for low-register forms than the oldest age group. This is surprising since, unlike the youngest age group, these speakers attended Spanish-medium schools, not Basque-medium ones, and grew up without exposure to extensive Basque-medium television and radio. These data, however, would seem to suggest that, despite the fact that all of these speakers were adults (above 20) by the time these changes began in earnest, the functional shift in Basque in the post-Franquist era has left its mark on their vernacular.

### 5.3. Mobility and contact with speakers of other dialects

Another kind of social change that is likely to bear on these linguistic phenomena is that Oiartzun is increasingly a much less insular and linguistically homogeneous speech community than it was in previous generations, primarily as a consequence of rapid economic development and increased individual mobility. During the Franquist Dictatorship (1939-1975), mobility in Spain was more restricted than today. Through the 1970s, few people in Oiartzun owned cars, and train and bus service was relatively limited. One 45 year-old informant recalls as a child never dreaming of owning a car. Another 41 year-old informant remembers as a child knowing of only four or five cars in the whole town, and that, during the period of transition, people began acquiring cars very rapidly.

One consequence of increased mobility has been that community members today spend more time outside of town. In narratives about childhood, several middle-age and older informants recalled that most people in town rarely left the valley and tended to remain in their villages. Community members today are conscious of the fact that local communal life has ebbed in recent years, partly because of this.

(12) Speaker 2 (80’s) describing her childhood.

ordun barrion geio itten zen bizitza

‘Life was lived in the neighborhood more then.’

One of the main social activities for young people of previous generations was *bilerak*, ‘dances’ in different locations in town, and people rarely attended *bilerak* in far away towns. Today’s young people, however, tend to spend much more time outside of town. Teenagers and young adults in particular are much less likely than previous generations to stay in town on weekends. Rather, they often go to Donostia, the provincial capital, or Hernani, another nearby town popular on weekend nights.

(13) Speaker 12 (20’s) describing how younger speakers spend more time out of town.

Horregatik ba, ez do ezer e. [...] leno ez ginen esijentiak# baino wain exijentiak gea#eta ez badago ezer kampoa nijoa bila#

That’s exactly why. There’s nothing at all [in town]. [...] Before we weren’t demanding. But now we’re demanding, and if there’s nothing [in town] I’m going outside [of town] to find it.

A second consequence of increased mobility has been that Oiartzun has increasingly become a bedroom-community suburb of the provincial capital Donostia, 15 minutes away by highway. In recent years, an extraordinary number of new houses have been built in Oiartzun, to accommodate this demand. Many of the newcomers are also not speakers of Basque (or are native speakers of other dialects), and although their children often learn Basque in one of the two local schools, they are often not perceived as fully competent in the local dialect.

(14) Speaker 16 (20’s)

baino, bai notatzen da iwal etxian ez dakitenak#osa e, erderaz hitz iten dutenak etxian eta ikastola juten dienak#badakate batu zeago#osa ez da oiartzuarra x#  
osa #ezberdina# geio kostatzen zaie baitare#

‘But, yes, you can tell maybe those who don’t learn at home. I mean, uh, the ones who speak Spanish at home and go to the [Basque language] school. They’ve got a more Batua thing. I mean, it’s not Oiartzuera. I mean, different. It’s harder for them, too.’

The linguistic relevance of these social changes is that today’s younger speakers in Oiartzun, much more than previous generations, are either (i) non-native speakers of Basque who have learned Basque primarily in one of the two schools or (ii) are native dialect speakers who interact with speakers of other dialects of Basque and have reason to use standard features to communicate with non-Oiartzuera speakers.

(15) Speaker 12 (20’s) a teacher talking about talking to kids in other towns.

kampo joten zeanin ya# ba ni eondu naz, zumarraga, donosti, elgoibar eta#eta wan errenterin, ba han, ezin zu oiartzuera erabili#hika, o hoi [click], batuera erabili ber dezu jen, ta pixkabat# hurbiltzeko beraiengana# hoiek beren euskera

dakate#euskera baldin badakate, klaro#baldin badakate [laugh]# ez eta ordun, ba erabili in bertzu# neri etzait ateratzen naturalki [...]“joango gara, eh patiora” ta eztakit zer

‘When you leave town... I’ve been in Zumarraga, Donostia, Elgoibar, and now Errenteria. Well, there, you can’t talk in Oiartzuera. You have to use *Hika*, or um [click] *Batua*, the peo... and a little bit, to get closer to them. They, their Basque... If they have Basque, of course, If they have Basque [laugh]. No, and so you have to use... it doesn’t come out of me naturally: “we’re going, eh to the schoolyard”, and whatnot’.

In imitating *Batua* –“jongo gara eh, patiora”– speaker 12 fails to delete intervocalic /r/’s in two enormously propitious environments for deletion: as a plural marker on auxiliaries (*gara*) and as an adlative affix (*patio-ra*) ‘to the schoolyard’ (Hualde, 1991: 65-66). These data, then, suggest a tendency to avoid phonological reductions when talking to non-Oiartzuera speakers.

#### 5.4. Gender marking and functional restriction

Table 9 shows that variation in /b, d, g, r/ deletion is conditioned by speaker gender: women show lower rates of deletion than men. One possible interpretation of this difference is in terms of Echeverria’s (2000) work on gender marking in Basque. In particular, Echeverria argues that use of prestige/formal vs. solidarity/informal forms in Basque is broadly gender-patterned in a way frequently reported in sociolinguistic literature in western contexts: women tend toward prestige forms and men, informal forms (Gal, 1979; Labov, 1972: 301-304; but also James, 1996). One striking phenomenon in support of Echeverria’s thesis is the well-documented fact that men use informal, allocutive<sup>7</sup> agreement (addressee agreement) marking

<sup>7</sup> Some Basque dialects preserve a system of agreement in informal speech in which the interlocutor’s gender is marked on the inflection-bearing verb, even when the interlocutor is not an argument of the verb. Allocutive (addressee) agreement of this kind is popularly referred to as *hika*. (i) and (ii) illustrate this phenomenon.

(i) *garestia d-a* (non-allocutive agreement)

expensive 3sg-Root

‘It’s expensive.’

(ii)

a. *garestia d-u-n* (allocutive agreement)

expensive 3sg-Root-2sg Fem.

‘It’s expensive.’

b. *garestia d-u-k* (allocutive agreement)

expensive 3sg-Root-2sg Masc.

‘It’s expensive.’

(popularly known as *hika*) much more than women. Echeverria explains this difference in terms of ideologies of language and gender in which masculinity is iconically linked (Gal & Irvine, 1995) to allocutive use in two ways: (i) through its connotations of “spontaneity, directness, naturalness, anger and fun” –that in turn index masculinity (reminiscent of Bourdieu’s 1982 discussion of *la gueule*)–, and (ii) through its association with traditional Basque life. The use of allocutive forms is likely associated with “authentic” Basque life partly because use of these forms is most common in rural areas. Echeverria argues that males have much greater visibility in popular representations of these traditional spheres than women, and that “authentic” Basque-ness is thereby constructed as masculine. In school materials in her study, images of individuals engaged in “authentic” Basque roles, such as farmers, fishermen, and those practicing traditional sports, were much more often male than female.

Participants’ metalinguistic comments in sociolinguistic and ethnographic interviews suggest that /b, d, g, r/ deletion marks similar kinds of meanings. Participants’ evaluations of the term *kaxero* are particularly revealing in this regard. *Kaxero* comes from the Spanish *casero* ‘(small-scale) farmer’. As a pejorative term, akin to Am. English “hick” or “bumpkin,” it is often rendered as ka[š]ero. In Basque, unlike in Spanish, [s] and [š] are distinct phonemes, and this rendering seems to index a stereotype of the speech of Basque farmers. (Whether this indexes the sound of Basque, or the speech of Basque farmers when they speak in Spanish, or both, is unclear at this time). The salience of linguistic practices in defining a *kaxero*, then, is visible in the term itself.

When participants were asked to describe how a *kaxero* speaks, the most frequently mentioned linguistic properties did not include these sibilants, but rather (i) allocutive, *hika* forms, (ii) a fast rate of speech and (iii) speaking *itxia*, “closed” or “eating words/letters” (*letrak/hitzak jaten*). As discussed above, these seem to index a series of style-marking phonological reductions, of which /b, d, g, r/ deletion is one of the most common.

(16) Speaker 2 (80’s)

lehen hitz eitten zen erara ez du hitz itten wain askok# hitz itten dugu lehngo jéndik #bino gaziék ez, [...] hitz asko, guk, jan itten ttugu, oiartzungo#moztu itten ttugu# ze esango nizuke adibidez#mm “in al dun” esate da hika ez? “egin al dezu” saten da.

‘The way of speaking before, not many speak that way now. Those of us from

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In the forms in (ii), the final *-n* and *-k* morphemes on the auxiliary mark agreement with the interlocutor’s gender even though the latter is not an argument of the verb. See Oyharçabal (1983) for a more detailed discussion of the formal properties of this phenomenon.

before speak that way# but young people no. [...] A lot of words, we eat them, Oiartzun... we cut them. What should I say to you, for example... mm, “[eg]in ahal dun”[allocutive informal: ‘have you done it’] you say in *hika*, right? “egin ahal dezu” [non-allocutive formal: have you done it’] is said.

In (16), speaker 2’s example of “eating words” and “cutting words” includes intervocalic /g/ deletion: /egin/ in. Moreover, speaker 2 also links “eating words” and “cutting words” to the use of informal, allocutive agreement, *hika*. Observations by other participants also suggest that these two linguistic features mark similar social meanings. In (17) and (18) below speakers 14 and 16 mention both *hika* and speaking “closed” or “eating words” as characteristic of *kaxero* speech.

(17) Speaker 14 (20’s)

ba deitze zu kaxero bat baxerriak, bueno... tipiko ere bai, da hoi, zea baxerriko hoi, ezdakiena, euskera batuan ondo... eta hitzeite una “jungo gattuk” [...] *hika* asko ta azkar azkar, ta, letra asko jaten

‘Well, you call a kaxero farmhouses, well, typical also, is that, um farm thing, that doesn’t know Euskara Batua well... and that talks “we’re going to go” [allocutive (*hika*)] [...] a lot of *hika*, and fast fast, eating a lot of letters.’

(18) Speaker 16 (20’s)

osa, # hoi ke, ke kaxero esaten denian# normalian *hika* erabiltzen dutelako#ta “jango yeu zerbatte” ba ez “jango yeu” ba “jaten dugu zerbait” ezberdina da edo “jango yeu” [shout] epa! como...

[a few seconds later]

osa da itxiagoa bezela

like, that, when you say “what, what a kaxero,” usually because they use *hika*. And, “are we going to eat something” [allocutive], well not “we’re going to eat” [allocutive] well “do we eat something” [non-allocutive]. It’s different. Or “we’re going to eat” [shout] epa! [Spanish:] like...

[a few seconds later]

Like it’s more closed.

Speaker 16’s quote is also revealing in that her example of the allocutive form *yeu* shows /b, d, g, r/ deletion (among other reductions). In particular, the /g/ in the 1pl ergative agreement marker, *-gu-*, is deleted /diagu/ *yeu*. In contrast, this same /g/ is conserved in speaker 16’s non-allocutive example, *dugu*.

These data, then, suggest that /b, d, g, r/ deletion is likely to be gender-patterned in a way similar to allocutive, *hika* use. From this perspective, the higher factor weights for men in Table 10 are expected since, as in the case of allocutive use, “eating words”/“speaking closed” is associated with roughness and rural spheres,

which in the Basque Country are traditionally linked to masculine stances and meanings (Echeverria, 2000). From this perspective, it is surprising that no gender difference emerges in the case of palatalization, another style-marking phonological reduction in local speech. In fact, men do show slightly higher frequencies of palatalization than women –74% vs 70% respectively– but this difference is not selected at .05 ( $p=.14$ ). The absence of a significant sex-difference in these data, then, warrants caution with regard to the foregoing analysis of gender ideologies in the use of these style-markers. It bears observing that the data set for /b, d, g, r/ deletion is larger than that for /t/-palatalization (N=1369 vs N=362 respectively). A larger data set for /t/-palatalization, then, may shed further light on these facts.

The sex difference in /b, d, g, r/-deletion does not seem to be uniform across age groups. A cross-tabulation of the data in Table 10 by age group and sex shows that the age difference is greatest for the oldest age group but much smaller for younger speakers.

**Table 11.** /b, d, g, r/ deletion by age group and sex.

	<b>Women</b>	<b>Men</b>	$\Sigma$
<b>Older (60-87)</b>	159/297 (54%)	171/265 (65%)	330/562 (59%)
<b>Middle aged (41-51)</b>	—	201/328 (61%)	201/328 (61%)
<b>Young (20-25)</b>	80/155 (52%)	174/324 (54%)	254/479 (53%)
$\Sigma$	239/452 (53%)	546/917 (60%)	785/1369 (57%)

The present data set –12 speakers– is precariously small; more data are needed to determine whether this reduced sex-difference among younger speakers is more general. Nevertheless, the data in Table 11 suggest a parallel with Mougeon and Beniak’s (1995) data from Franco-Ontarian communities in Canada. The latter show that class-stratified variation in Ontarian French tends to break down among speakers for whom use of French is functionally restricted, i.e. limited to certain domains. A similar case is described in Williams’ (1987) discussion of variation of Welsh: “it is often difficult to determine a bilingual’s class location when he/she speaks the minority language, whereas it can be relatively easy when the same person speaks the dominant language”. Moreover, among the youngest generation, use of Welsh is increasingly restricted to Welsh-medium schools, as in the Basque Country.

The foregoing discussion suggests a similar state of affairs in Oiartzun. Again, younger speakers in Oiartzun, unlike middle-aged and older speakers, almost all received Basque-medium primary and secondary education. At the same time however, younger speakers increasingly use Spanish among their peers. The Oiartzun Basque situation, then, is like that of Welsh according to Williams in that use of the minority language is increasingly restricted to the school. A plausible account of the data in Table 11, in view of Mougeon and Beniak's and Williams' discussions is that the changing functional distribution of Basque is responsible for the blurring gender distinction. If this analysis is correct –and to the extent that it is substantiated by further data– it suggests that the consequences of functional restriction for social variation are not limited to class as suggested by Mougeon and Beniak's and Williams' work, but rather extend to other kinds of socially-conditioned variation as well, in this case gender marking. (I am unaware of any work that addresses whether functional restriction has similar consequences for internal variables).

As Mougeon and Beniak further observe, in communities where social variation is ideologically linked to stylistic (formal vs. informal) variation, such a reduction in social variation seems to predict a concomitant reduction in stylistic variation. Indeed, evidence from the use of allocutive (informal) vs. non-allocutive (formal) agreement marking suggests that this is in fact the case.

*Hika* vs. *zuka* agreement marks familiarity with the addressee in a way comparable to T vs. V pronouns, respectively. As discussed above, *hika* use is much more common among men than women, and is most common with interlocutors of the same sex. In Oiartzun, as in many other Basque-speaking communities, competence in and use of informal allocutive agreement marking (*hika*) is declining dramatically. Among the oldest group of speakers interviewed, competence in and use of *hika* is robust; among middle-aged speakers it is significantly less common and among the youngest age group it is relatively rare. Evidence to this effect comes from the author's field observations and also from participants' metalinguistic comments. The passage in (19) by speaker 16 is typical in this regard.

(19) Speaker 16 (20's)

hombre adibiez hika... # guk ez dugu#neskan artean ez da erabiltzen desde luego#

nere, [nere?] aita adibiez# bere lagun neskakin hitz eiten du hikaz# ba, guk ez# guk hika ezta mutilakin ezta neskakin# mutilan artean bai# geo ta gutxio eh, baino...#

[a few seconds later]

baino nere aitak adibiez# *hika* hitz eiten du bere lagun guztiakin neskakin ta mutilakin# *hika* desde luego galtzen ai da#

Man, for example, *hika*... we don't, among girls it's not used [Spanish:]

certainly. [Basque:] My, [my?] father, for example, speaks *hika* with his girl [(women)] friends. Well, we don't. We [don't speak] *hika* with boys or with girls. Among boys, yes... Less and less, but...

[a few seconds later]

But my father, for example, speaks *hika* with all his friends, with boys and girls. *Hika* is being lost [Spanish:] certainly.

In this sense, Basque appears to be following the historical evolution of standard English: informal markers are gradually being lost, and (erstwhile) formal markers are increasingly used in all contexts. These facts, then, suggest that stylistic reduction is indeed taking place in Oiartzun Basque as expected from the perspective of the foregoing analysis of social (gender-marking) reduction in /b, d, g, r/ deletion. This is not to say that the disappearance of *hika* is related exclusively to functional restrictions in use. Indeed, Echeverria's work, and the foregoing discussion of the term *kaxero* suggest ideological motives for speakers to abandon it, i.e. to not sound like a *kaxero*. Nevertheless, the fact that *hika* is preserved precisely in those areas of the Basque Country where Basque rather than Spanish is used most heavily in the domestic spheres and within peer groups suggests that its disappearance is related in part to the functional division of labor between these two codes.

## 6. Conclusions

This paper presents data from sociolinguistic and ethnographic interviews collected in the Basque town of Oiartzun. The data presented here support the following three conclusions.

1. The data provide some evidence of change in progress toward standard lexical and morphological features. For two of the three variables presented here, younger speakers show significantly lower factor weights for nonstandard forms than middle-aged and older speakers.

2. The intergenerational changes that are most salient in local metalinguistic discourse are not a consequence of the introduction of *Batua*, per se, but rather are plausibly related to two other kinds of social changes—realignments in domains of use of Basque in Spanish—and increased contact with speakers of other dialects.

3. Frequency of /b, d, g, r/-deletion is conditioned by sex: men tend toward low-register deleted forms more than women. These data suggest support for Echeverria's (2000) analysis of gender ideologies in Basque in which masculinity is iconically linked to informal/low-prestige forms through their association with 'traditional' rural Basque spheres.

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