

**The Sociolinguistics of Iron and Coal
Capitalist Industrialization and Language Reproduction
in the Basque Country and Wales (1850-1920)**

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INTRODUCTION

The industrialization of the Basque country and Wales between the mid-nineteenth century and the First World War was part and parcel of the world-wide expansion of the capitalist mode of production. This period witnessed the increasing integration of different parts of the planet into a world market, a process that was materially based upon the massive expansion of production in heavy industry, the extension of transportation and the provision of adequate sources of energy. Iron ore and coal made possible these momentous transformations in which the Basque country and Wales played a strategic economic role due to their possession of large deposits of these minerals.

The environmental, demographic, social and political consequences of the global expansion of capitalism at this time were astounding. Biological and mineral resources were ruthlessly exploited. Frontier lands like the North American prairies and the Argentinean pampas were opened up to settlement. Dependent economic relations were established between the industrialized economies and the colonial or semi-colonial societies which were relegated to the production of minerals, raw materials and foodstuffs. Population growth exploded and millions of people moved to national centres of industry or emigrated overseas. The labouring masses of peasants and artisans were forcefully converted into wage-earners provoking the emergence of the working class and the birth of the socialist movement.

The linguistic consequences were equally remarkable. The genocide of the native populations of the Americas and other continents - which had been going on for centuries - intensified leading to the extermination of their languages. The creation of linguistic "melting pots" both in the industrial centres of the metropolis and in the lands of new settlement provoked the acquisition of new languages by the immigrants as well as the abandonment of their parents' native tongues by the younger generations. The establishment of European colonial rule in Asia and Africa imposed English and French as official instruments of administration and determined

their expansion as *lingua francas* over whole continents. In the industrializing societies of the European continent and the British Isles vernacular languages and nonstandard dialect varieties rapidly declined giving in to the relentless advance of the respective national languages.

The problems of the minority languages have reached worldwide dimensions during the 20th century and acquired great public visibility aided in many cases by the activism of nationalist parties and language revival movements.

The present work emerges from the concern within the discipline of sociolinguistics to understand the reasons for the decline of minority languages as exemplified by the cases of Basque and Welsh. This problem is approached through an inquiry into the connections between social production and language reproduction. From this viewpoint the object of the investigation are not so much minority languages as such, or empirical instances of speech behaviour, but rather the structure and transformation of communicative relations under different modes of production and the specific historical development of relations of domination between minority languages and dominant state standards. This requires a historical understanding of the unity of language and social development which is indicated by the concept of "language reproduction".

The selection of the Basque country and Wales for comparative analysis is based on the similarity of their respective processes of capitalist industrialization. For this reason the treatment of the Basque case focuses on the Spanish Basque country since the French Basque country was integrated into another nation state and remained untouched by industrialization. The period considered will be between 1850 and 1920 when the industrial development of both countries intensified and reached its highest point, coinciding with the centrality of iron and coal for world-wide capitalist development. The dissertation is structured into three major parts:

Part I: Theoretical Foundations

Chapter 1 pursues the development of studies about minority languages in sociolinguistics and postulates that some of their theoretical limitations could be overcome by taking social production as the driving force of language reproduction.

Part II: Historical Background

Chapter 2 traces the origins of the minority position of the Basque and Welsh languages back to the expansion of feudalism since the 11th century and the related process of state formation in Spain and Britain.

Chapter 3 examines the communicative consequences of the process of transition from feudalism to capitalism as the dominant mode of production in the Basque country and Wales from the mid-18th to the mid-19th century.

Part III: Capitalist industrialization and language reproduction

Chapter 4 outlines the economic and demographic consequences of capitalist industrialization.

Chapter 5 provides empirical evidence about the expansion of the national languages and the decline of the vernaculars on the basis of census data.

Chapter 6 deals with the impact of these linguistic and communicative changes at the level of political and linguistic ideologies.

CHAPTER 1

THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC ARTICULATION OF MINORITY LANGUAGE DECLINE

1.1 The development of sociolinguistic approaches toward minority language varieties

The questions of language inequality and the decline of minority languages in particular have been central concerns of sociolinguistics since the beginnings of the discipline and the development of sociolinguistic theory bears witness to this growing problematic.

1.1.1 Language contact and the study of language death

One of the pioneering sociolinguistic studies of language minorities was Weinreich's work on Norwegian immigrants in the USA.¹ In this and other early sociolinguistic studies the decline of minority languages was examined from the perspective of language contact, a field that includes a whole range of linguistic phenomena like second language acquisition, pidginization and foreign talk. The idea behind such an all-embracing scope is that different kinds of contact phenomena share common linguistic mechanisms:

¹ Weinreich (1953), *Languages in Contact*.

"In principle, the study of language contact can be defined open-endedly, dealing with the gamut of linguistic and sociolinguistic components, and ranging from microscopic analysis of recorded speech fragments to the fate of nations."²

The focus of interest were the internal transformations of language systems rather than the communicative relations among the speakers. Terms like interference, transference and borrowing were employed in order to uncover the mutual phonetic, lexical and grammatical influences among the languages concerned.

The language contact approach has also been later applied to the study of an extreme form of language decline known as language death. Language death is normally the final result of gradual language decline³ and as been defined as an:

"... interindividual phenomenon that either all speakers of a language or a whole generation of speakers within a well-definable geographical area possess a reduced language structure which is, in parallel ways for all of these speakers, impoverished in comparison with earlier stages of the language, without any compensating change within the same language."⁴

Studies of language death usually focus on very small communities where the language has reached a terminal stage.⁵ Characteristics that have been seen to be

2 Heath (1984:367), "Language contact and language change". And Geerts goes as far as equating the whole of linguistics with the study of language contact: "Each communicative act is essentially a contact event." Geerts (1987:601), "Research on language contact".

3 Campbell and Muntzel distinguish further the more rare cases of "sudden death" and "radical death" which are more or less the result of genocide, and of "bottom to top death" where the language still survives in a few ritual contexts. See Campbell and Muntzel (1989), "The structural consequences of language death".

4 Dressler (1982:234), "Acceleration, retardation and reversal in language decay?". This is an authoritative account in so far as the author co-edited an early collection of the *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* on the topic: Dressler and Wodak-Leodolter (eds.), *Language Death*, and has later written essays on language decay for the *Handbook of Sociolinguistics* (1987), and the *Cambridge Survey of Linguistics* (1988).

5 See Dorian (1978), *Language Death: the Life-cycle of a Scottish Gaelic Dialect*. See also the studies in Dorian (ed.)(1989),
(continued...)

common to many situations of language death include: a) an exaggerated lexical borrowing leading to massive relexification, that is, the substitution of indigenous terms by others taken from the contact language, b) the simplification of grammatical and phonetic structures and, c) a stylistic reduction.⁶

While the study of language contact and language death is a legitimate field of inquiry, the focus on linguistic structures alone is insufficient to explain language decline. This has already been recognized by linguists working in the field, such as Thomason and Kaufman who discussing the borrowing of linguistic features from a contact language remark:

"... it is the social context, not the structure of the languages involved, that determine the direction and degree of interference."⁷

5(...continued)
Investigating Obsolescence. Studies in Language Contraction and Death.

6 The kind of simplification that occurs in language death is different from that of "normal" language change where simplification in one part of the linguistic system is made up by the increase in complexity in other parts of the system. For instance, the loss of Latin case in the Romance languages was compensated by the introduction of articles and word-order rules.

7 Thomason and Kaufman (1988:19), *Language Contact, Creolization and Genetic Linguistics.*

1.1.2 From diglossia to the speech community

1.1.2.1 Diglossia

The concept of diglossia was popularized by Ferguson in an influential 1959 article.⁸ Originally diglossia was employed to characterize situations where two or more varieties of the same language are used under different conditions.⁹ This was an attempt to tackle the question of the sociolinguistic relations created by a particular form of standardization. As Ferguson put it:

"... the present study seeks to examine carefully one particular kind of standardization where two varieties of a language exist side by side throughout the community, with each having a definite role to play."¹⁰

Ferguson gave several examples such as Italian or Persian where many speakers use their local dialect at home or among friends but employ the standard language in communication with speakers of other dialects or on public occasion. Language varieties in diglossic situations were seen as falling into a "high" (or H) and "low" (or L) dichotomy defined by functional specialization:

"One of the most important features of diglossia is the specialization of function for H and L. In one set of situations only H is appropriate and in another only L, with the two sets overlapping very slightly."¹¹

The H variety is employed for official and ceremonial activities, business and education while the L variety is used in normal everyday life interaction. Both H and L have their own rules of use and associated language attitudes which will provoke

8 Ferguson (1972), "Diglossia". Originally published in *Word* (1959) 15:325-40. Ferguson was not the first to have used the term. However he was the first to provide an explicit sociolinguistic framework for the analysis of diglossia.

9 Despite this self-imposed limitation Ferguson included Haitian Creole together with Arabic, modern Greek and Swiss German as examples of diglossic situations. It can be argued, however, that Haitian Creole and French are not varieties of the same language.

10 Ferguson (1972:232), "Diglossia."

11 Ferguson (1972:236), "Diglossia."

formal or informal sanctions if they are broken. Speakers held H to be superior to L. The former carries high social prestige while the latter does not.

The forms of reproduction of each diglossic variety are also quite different. The low variety is transmitted through the family as the mother tongue of the whole population. The high variety on the contrary is usually passed down to an elite through specialized educational institutions.

While the hierarchical view of prestige postulated in the diglossia model corresponds with empirical observation, Ferguson left however unexplored the power relations which underline the prestige of the H variety, making it difficult to account for change in a diglossic situation. Not surprisingly, diglossia was seen as relatively non-conflictive and stable over long periods of time:

"It might be supposed that diglossia is highly unstable, tending to change into a more stable language situation. This is not so. Diglossia typically persists at least several centuries, and evidence in some cases seems to show that it can last well over a thousand years. The communicative tensions which arise in the diglossia situation may be resolved by the use of relatively uncodified, unstable, intermediate forms of the language... and repeated borrowing of vocabulary items from H to L."¹²

The question of whether diglossia is stable or not cannot be answered in a universal way. Thus, the claim that diglossia can be stable over long periods of time is actually only true in precapitalist societies where the low variety is used in material production by the majority of the population, while the high variety is employed by an administrative and intellectual strata.

However, the functional specialization characteristic of diglossia is no longer suitable for the communicative demands of a modern capitalist society that requires universal literacy in the national language. This is clear even in one of Ferguson's original examples - Greek - where the low variety became the official language after the fall of the military dictatorship in the mid-1970s.¹³

¹² Ferguson (1972:240), "Diglossia."

¹³ Frangoudaki (1992), "Diglossia and the present language situation in Greece: A sociological approach to the interpretation (continued...)"

Language function and language attitudes found a common expression in Ferguson's notion of appropriateness. As already noted above, H is appropriate only in one set of situations and in another only L.

The specialization of function refers primarily to the ability of a particular variety to function as a suitable vehicle in a specific communicative situation. A peasant vernacular, for instance, cannot be employed as the language of written legislation, at least in its current condition, because it lacks the vocabulary and level of standardization necessary to perform that communicative function.

Ferguson's notion of appropriateness has however been (mis)interpreted in later accounts of diglossia exclusively in terms of language attitudes, something that led to the widespread view of diglossia as being governed by cultural norms.

The concept of diglossia was reformulated by Fishman during the 1960s. In Fishman's understanding, diglossia is not restricted to varieties of the *same language* but became a relation that can also exist between two *different languages*, a situation avoided by Ferguson who wrote:

"... no attempt is made in this paper to examine the analogous situation where two distinct (related or unrelated) languages are used side by side throughout a speech community, each with a clearly defined role."¹⁴

13(...continued)
of diglossia and some hypotheses on today's linguistic reality".

14 Ferguson (1972:233), "Diglossia". Some authors still believe that diglossia proper should only be used in reference to varieties of the same language. But they have to acknowledge the: "... by now current use of the term diglossia where the insistence on the close linguistic kinship of the two competitors is practically forgotten and only the status difference intervenes. This has amounted to extending the use of diglossia to most cases of collective bilingualism." Martinet (1986:246). Kloss has proposed the term 'Binnendiglossie' (internal diglossia) for the differentiation of function between two closely related language varieties, and 'Außerdiglossie' (external diglossia) for the differentiation of function between two non-related idioms. See Kloss (1976:317).

Fishman has exercised a great influence upon the study of minority languages and shaped an academic field known as "language maintenance and language shift" which were seen as opposite outcomes of situations of societal bilingualism.

In Fishman's work diglossia loses its earlier implicit character of a historical relation between a state standard and non-standard varieties and becomes a typological term for the classification of sociolinguistic situations in general. This is apparent in the distinction between "diglossia" and "bilingualism". The former term refers to the existence of two or more languages or varieties with different status in a speech community while the latter to the individual knowledge of two or more languages.¹⁵

Several combinations of bilingualism and diglossia were deemed possible: 1) *bilingualism without diglossia*, in a society where all of its members speak two languages which are used in all situations and are equally valued and respected; 2) *diglossia without bilingualism*, for instance when the members of a conquering elite speaks one language while their subjects speak another; 3) *diglossia with bilingualism*, when two languages allocated to different communicative functions coexist together with a certain amount of individual bilingualism; and 4) *neither diglossia nor bilingualism*, which only obtains in very small and undifferentiated speech communities. "Diglossia with bilingualism" is clearly the most common of all of these cases and is often simply described in the sociolinguistic literature as "diglossia" without further qualifications.

Fishman emphasized that many bilingual situations are *intrinsically* unstable and that the transition to monolingualism in the dominant language is a pending matter:

"Bilingualism without diglossia tends to be transitional... Without separate though complementary norms and values to establish and maintain functional separation of the

¹⁵ Fishman (1967), "Bilingualism with and without diglossia. Diglossia with and without bilingualism."

speech varieties, that language or variety which is fortunate enough to be associated with the drift of social forces tends to displace the other(s)."¹⁶

This view opened the way for the perception of minority languages as being on the verge of extinction and has found great echo among minority language activists.¹⁷

The popularity achieved by Fishman's reinterpretation brought about an important shift of emphasis. The concept of diglossia largely lost its original meaning as a description of historical processes of language standardization and was fully incorporated into an ethnic group framework. This new perspective was doubtless influenced by the growing social conflicts in the USA during the 1960s and the shift in the social scientific paradigm away from the concept of the "melting pot" toward ethnic approaches.¹⁸

For Fishman diglossia results from ethnic contact, commonly as an ethnic group's dominant social and political position is translated into a superior prestige for its

16 Fishman, J.A. (ed.)(1972:298), *Advances in the Sociology of Language*, vol. 1.

17 A sociolinguistic study commissioned by the *Basque Academy of Language* shortly after Franco's death denied the possibility of a stable bilingual situation: "What we would like to emphasize here... is that stable social bilingualism is an utopian ideal maintained by ideologies interested in the ruin of one of the two languages..." However, its authors immediately go on to say that this could be achieved if an extremely unlikely situation obtains - Fishman's bilingualism without diglossia - namely, that everybody is equally proficient in two languages. And the way to achieve this is through governmental intervention in the school and administrative system: "This is what the Basques need to know: the truth that unless a mechanism is established in our country whereby all of the inhabitants are incorporated to the Basque language, at the same time as to Spanish, through school and university education and the administration, there will be no solution to the problem... Only two equally strong languages can coexist among one people." Siadeco (1979:19), *Conflicto lingüístico en Euskadi*.

18 See Dittmar (1976), *Sociolinguistics. A Critical Survey of Theory and Application* and Sledd (1976), "Double-speak: dialectology in the service of Big Brother."

language. In this way diglossia is reduced to a matter of prestige differences between the language of an ethnic majority and that of a minority.

The idea of functional specialization was equally reformulated in Fishman's concept of 'domain'. Domains were defined as cultural situations bounded by specific values and social roles and constituted the settings for language reproduction. In a study of the New York Puerto Rican community, Fishman and his associates postulated five different domains of language use: family, friendship, religion, employment and education.¹⁹ The use of Spanish was entrenched in the domains of family and religion while employment and education represented English domains.

Speech behaviour is however not as neatly separated into clear cut domains as Fishman would have it. Different sociolinguistic studies have shown that a great deal of language mixing (or code-switching) takes place in many bilingual situations.²⁰ Fishman's understanding of diglossia has been further criticized for legitimizing the relations of linguistic domination in which minority languages find themselves. Fishman describes the inferior position of minority languages as resulting from "functional specialization". But this hides the fact that in many cases minority languages have simply been expelled from most communicative situations, often through the force of state institutions, and can only be spoken at home and among relatives.

The limitations of the diglossia perspective and particularly its widespread interpretation within an ethnic and normative framework have led the sociolinguistic investigation of minority languages into a blind alley. A recent bibliographical review which lists over 1,000 articles on diglossia concludes:

"What, then, may be said in sum of more than 30 years' worth of diglossia research?
Perusal of the material in this bibliography will reveal that there is still widespread

19 Fishman, Cooper and Ma (1971), *Bilingualism in the Barrio*.

20 The literature on the topic is quite large. On New York Puerto Ricans see Poplack, S. (1982), "'Sometimes I'll start a sentence in English y termino en Español': toward a typology of code-switching", and Zentella, A.Z. (1982), "Code-switching and interactions among Puerto Rican children".

disagreement as to what kinds of sociolinguistic situations should be reckoned as instances of diglossia."²¹

1.1.2.2 The speech community

The concept of the speech community developed in the USA during the 1960s. It constituted a reaction against the relative neglect of speech in modern linguistics²² which resulted in the inability to explain variation among a group of speakers or even within an individual speaker. Such a problem was often dismissed as "free variation" by structuralist linguistics. Generative grammar, on the other hand, with its introspective methodological stand and its insistence on categorical rules could not tackle the problem either.

The response toward this problem took two major forms. Some authors like Labov adopted an empirical-statistical perspective which paid attention to the social and linguistic contexts in which variability occurred.²³ Others, especially those coming from an anthropological background, emphasized that much of the variability is culturally determined. They argued that there is more to language than grammatical structures inside the minds of speakers. Hymes, for instance, expanded Chomsky's idea of "linguistic competence" with the concept of "communicative competence", i.e., the fact that it is not enough to master the grammar, phonetics and lexicon of a language in order to function as a normal speaker.²⁴ Speakers also require knowledge of culture-specific forms of language use (ways of speaking). Studies in the

²¹ Hudson (1992:617-618), "Diglossia: a bibliographical review."

²² See Labov (1972), *Sociolinguistic Patterns*.

²³ Labov (1972), *Sociolinguistic Patterns*.

²⁴ Hymes (1974), *Foundations in Sociolinguistics: an Ethnographic Approach*.

"ethnographic of speaking" devoted themselves to discovering rules of speaking in many cultures and minority language situations.²⁵

Culture was regarded as a general organizing principle of speaking, supplying the conventions by which speakers interact with each other. Silence, for instance might be a sign of respect in one culture, but of defiance or impoliteness in another. However, culture did not provide a static framework. It was up to individual speakers to use the available linguistic resources in face-to-face interaction to pursue their own interests.

A consensus emerged from all of this work that interaction and shared norms are the two major constitutive elements of a speech community. Gumperz has defined the speech community as:

".. any human aggregate characterized by regular and frequent interaction by means of a shared body of verbal signs and set off from similar aggregates by significant differences in language use."²⁶

Some authors have put the emphasis on shared values and language attitudes rather than on similarity in language use. Labov, for instance, defines the speech community totally in cultural terms:

"The speech community is not defined by any marked agreement in the use of language elements, so much as by participation in a set of shared norms; these norms may be observed in overt types of evaluative behavior, and by the uniformity of abstract patterns of variation which are invariant in respect to particular levels of usage."²⁷

Sometimes full language ability is not even considered a necessary criteria for belonging to a speech community. In a study of a dying dialect of Scottish Gaelic,

25 Bauman and Sherzer (eds.)(1974) *Explorations in the Ethnography of Speaking*. For a bibliography see Philipsen and Carbaugh (1986), "A bibliography of fieldwork in the ethnography of communication".

26 Gumperz (1972:219), "The speech community."

27 Labov (1972:121), *Sociolinguistic Patterns*. Cooper similarly writes: "... people belong to the same speech community when they evaluate a given instance of language behavior similarly, as 'proper', 'correct', or 'good' or as 'improper', 'incorrect', or 'bad'." Cooper (1989:135), *Language Planning and Social Change*.

Dorian included semi-speakers and near-passive bilinguals as members of the minority speech community - despite their low-proficiency - because they shared ways of speaking characteristic of this community.²⁸

Thus, the concept of the speech community conceives language largely in cultural and symbolic terms. This already has a long tradition in North American linguistic anthropology where the study of American Indian languages has always gone hand in hand with the study of the remains of Indian cultures.²⁹

Debates within sociology have also influenced the development of alternative sociolinguistic approaches to diglossia in the study of minority languages. The diglossic perspective had its sociological foundations in structural functionalism, a norm oriented theory that conceived society as an ensemble of mutually reinforcing institutions. In the diglossia approach norms and values are somehow imposed by the "society", while speakers merely play out the roles assigned to them by their position in specific institutions like the family, school or religion.

But since the mid-1960s structural functionalism came under growing critique from symbolic-interactionist perspectives that started looking at conversation as a model for systems of human behaviour.³⁰ Speaking was considered to be an important part

28 "Despite their very limited productive skills, they were able to understand everything said, no matter how rapidly or uproariously... The second notable feature of the participation of low-proficiency network members was its sociolinguistic 'fit'. What they actually said might be very little, and some of their utterances were always grammatically deviant. But since their verbal output was semantically well integrated with what preceded in the conversation, and since it conformed to all the sociolinguistic norms of the dialect, the deviance could usually be overlooked." Dorian, N.C. (1982:28-29), "Defining the speech community to include its working margins". See also Dorian (1977), "The problem of the semi-speaker in language death."

29 There is another anthropological tradition represented by Malinowski for whom language is primarily a form of behaviour.

30 Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974), "A simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking in conversations."

of the social structure since people can persuade or manipulate others through speech. Some of the more radical ethnomethodological proposals went as far as suggesting that the social structure begins and ends in the act of speaking.³¹

From this critique of structural functionalism it was argued that diglossia portrayed language behaviour as a mere reflection of community-wide norms, thus denying speakers the possibility of language choice.³² From the point of view of the speech community, on the other hand, meanings associated to language varieties are not fixed or mechanically given by a particular social or economic structure but are continuously created, negotiated and recreated in open-ended speech interactions.³³

The concept of the speech community has, however, a certain amount of ambiguity in the scope of its application. It is not clear whether it is reserved for small groups or whether it can also be used to refer to a larger society.³⁴ Some accounts consider speech communities to be overlapping, which means that it is not necessary for each speaker to belong to only one speech community or even to two or more separate communities:

"A college student, for example, might be resident of a particular dormitory, a student at a particular college, a black person, an American, and a member of a Western, European derived society, all at the same time. Each of these 'speech communities'

31 Collins (1981), "On the microfoundations of macrosociology."

32 "There is no scope for dealing with individual or group variation within a structural-functional framework of this kind because of the emphasis on norms and consensus as central features of social relations and social activity." Martin-Jones (1989:108), "Language, power, and linguistic minorities: the need for an alternative approach to bilingualism, language maintenance and shift."

33 "Individual bilinguals are seen as actively contributing to the definition and redefinition of the symbolic value of languages within the community repertoire in the context of daily interaction, instead of passively observing idealized norms of language allocation." Martin-Jones (1989:114), "Language, power and linguistic minorities..."

34 For a discussion see Raith, J. (1987), "Sprachgemeinschaft".

might have at least some distinguishing communication rules. Some of these speech communities would be different from others by the addition of special rules of speaking."³⁵

In a complex society it can hardly be spoken about a general speech community where everybody shares cultural values and ways of speaking. Slicing up the larger society into many small speech communities facilitates the observation of their norms and patterns of linguistic behaviour. However, when small speech communities are found everywhere the concept eventually loses its analytical value, and the commonsensical observation that one group of people speak in some ways differently from other groups of people can hardly make the speech community into a fundamental concept of sociolinguistics.

1.1.3 From the network approach to the "political economy" of language

1.1.3.1 The network approach

The difficulties in grasping the speech community empirically contributed to the popularization of the social network approach, a perspective that built upon the interactionist elements which defined the speech community. Networks are formed by relatives, work mates, friends and in general by individuals with a relatively high degree of face-to-face contact.

An important element in network studies has been the critique of the hierarchical model of prestige characteristic of diglossia for its inability to explain the continued existence of low prestige vernacular varieties. It was argued that prestige does not have the purely vertical structure assumed in the diglossia model. While the so-called "status factors", i.e. the high prestige of the H variety are more or less accepted by the

³⁵ Fasold (1990:41-42), *The Sociolinguistics of Language*.

speech community as a whole, their impact upon language use is not automatic. Alongside the high status of the standard variety, specific social networks also have their local varieties which are valued within the community, bond their members together and provide them with signs of identity. Network pressures often induce speakers operating within the network to hold on to their vernacular varieties despite their low prestige from the perspective of the society as a whole.

An influential example of the network perspective for the study of minority languages is Gal's work on the Hungarian-German bilingual village of Oberwart in Austria. A declining frequency in the use of Hungarian and in the transmission of the minority language to the younger generations was observed in this community. Gal criticized however the characterization of language use in terms of domains:

"A few weeks of observation in Oberwart made it clear that no single rule would account for all choices between languages. Statements to the effect that one language is used at home and another in school-work-street, would be too simplistic."³⁶

The speech behaviour of Hungarian speakers was explained rather as governed by their position within local social networks. These networks were categorized in terms of employment. Agricultural occupation was dominated by Hungarian-speaking networks, while Hungarian bilinguals employed in industry and services were largely inserted into German-speaking networks.

Gal constructed an index of "peasantness" according to attributes such as the kind and number of animals owned, whether grain or potatoes were grown, type of employment, level of education, whether bread was baked at home or bought, etc. The use of Hungarian was found to reflect the degree of involvement in peasant networks.³⁷ Speaking Hungarian was interpreted both as showing a commitment to

³⁶ Gal, S. (1979:99), *Language Shift: Social Determinants of Linguistic Change in Bilingual Austria*.

³⁷ But even the continuation of agricultural production, where Hungarian was entrenched, might not be a sufficient guarantee for the survival of the minority language since rural work was no longer desirable by most local women and Hungarian-speaking farmers were forced to marry German-speaking women to carry on with the family
(continued...)

peasant identity and as a result of the pressures exercised by the peasant network on its members to hold on to their vernacular language. Language use was explained in this fashion as resulting from the symbolic evaluation of speech by speakers interacting within social networks:

"... the analysis of social networks illustrates the ways in which speakers exercise control over each others' linguistic presentations of self and thereby contributes to explaining the variation between informants in their patterns of language choice. The status that a person can symbolically claim in speech depends as much on the nature of the speaker's social network as on factors tapped by traditional status indices."³⁸

At the same time, those individuals who spoke German more often - which had connotations of pride in upward social mobility - had fewer contacts with peasants networks and could thus more easily evade their linguistic pressure to speak Hungarian.

Another influential investigation from the network perspective was Milroy's study of a Belfast working-class neighbourhood where a local non-standard variety of English was used. The networks established in this community were described as "close-knit" since their members were not only neighbours but often relatives and even colleagues at work.

The employment of a low prestige variety in this community was explained by the mutual pressures exercised by network members on each other in order to express solidarity by keeping their vernacular norms of speech. The tension between the "solidarity factor" and the "status factor" can, however, be responsible for language change if social change brings about transformations of the network structure:

"One important corollary to the link between language maintenance and a close-knit territorially-based network structure is that linguistic change will be associated with a break-up of such a structure. It is likely that two effects of the processes of

37(...continued)
farm. Gal (1978), "Peasant men can't get wives: language change and sex roles in a bilingual community".

38 Gal (1979:151), *Language Shift*.

urbanization and industrialization will be to disperse traditional close-knit networks, and to accelerate linguistic standardization."³⁹

In comparison with earlier diglossia studies the network approach originated an important shift of emphasis on the question of prestige. In Ferguson's formulation the prestige of the H variety did not jeopardize the existence of the L variety which had a secure footing in everyday interaction. In the network approach, on the contrary, nonstandard varieties and vernacular languages are thought to survive because they offer an "alternative" prestige to the H variety, in terms of neighbourhood solidarity, ethnic awareness, etc.

This has led to the postulation that minority languages can enjoy an alternative high prestige, especially among politically active groups. Limón describes the language attitudes of militant Chicano students as follows:

"It should not be surprising, therefore, that speaking Spanish came to be a valued end in this community. Individuals who did not initially possess great facility practiced their Spanish more often; others set aside a day for speaking only in Spanish with their friends; still others arranged to spend summers travelling in Mexico and other Latin American countries. One suspects that they were after more than a handy communication skill or an aesthetic mode; it was as if through language, one also acquired a distinctive sociopolitical and cultural understanding."⁴⁰

In the meantime this revised conception of prestige has become accepted even in studies that explicitly adopt the diglossia framework. As a paper on the Welsh city of Bangor puts it:

"Whereas Welsh may be seen as corresponding more closely to the L variety and English to the H variety, it must be said that the situation in Bangor is not as clear-cut as this. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the status of Welsh was very low indeed. Its use was restricted in schools, and it was largely excluded from government and official business. More recently too there were people who denied knowledge of Welsh on account of its low prestige, even when they were fluent Welsh speakers. But in the last 20 or 30 years, this situation has changed. The attempts to prevent the

39 Milroy, L. (1980:187-88), *Language and Social Networks*.

40 See Limón, J. (1982:328), "El meeting: history, folk Spanish and ethnic nationalism in a Chicano student community."

threatened death of Welsh have generated a pride in the language and a parallel resentment against the English language."⁴¹

In the network approach utmost attention is awarded to the issue of how identities and symbolic ties of solidarity are expressed through language. But practical communication is hardly the object of interest. Gal's discussion of the German-speaking women who married into Hungarian-speaking families before the Second World War illustrates this point.⁴² Gal remarks that the family members knew German but the bride spoke no Hungarian at all. Nonetheless: "*the family implicitly demanded that she learnt Hungarian, and thereby express respect and solidarity toward them.*"⁴³

Since a great deal of the interaction took place in cooperative farm work where Hungarian was the language used by the family, it actually made more sense to demand the wife to switch to Hungarian than to expect the whole group to speak German. However, Gal explains the language learning of the German-speaking wife as resulting from family pressures that demanded speaking Hungarian as a sign of solidarity.

41 Lindsay, C.F. (1992), "Welsh and English in the city of Bangor: a study in functional differentiation."

42 There were 5 of such mixed marriages before World War II and 7 in the postwar period. From the former group 4 women learnt Hungarian, whereas only 2 from the latter. The women who learnt the minority language were surrounded by a largely Hungarian-speaking environment: "The members of the family she lived with spoke Hungarian to each other, and the young wife worked with them all day. Before the war the neighbors and friends who helped with the farm labor also spoke Hungarian to each other and to the family members even when the new bride was present. Usually only the husband of the woman would speak German to her, and during the day they were rarely together. Whereas he worked with his father, she worked mostly with her mother-in-law." Gal (1979:144), *Language Shift*.

43 Gal (1979:144), *Language Shift*.

But if language use is seen as a communicative tool in social production it becomes clear why for the German-speaking wives who married after World War II the situation was quite different and many did not learn Hungarian:

"Those wives who did wage work or whose husbands worked, had very different experiences. Contacts at work were willing to use German with them. In the case of postwar wives, including those in peasant households, there were monolingual and bilingual neighbors and friends who were also willing to use German. Relatives could not exercise the same kinds of sanctions against the worker wife as against the peasant wife. With an independent source of income, little interest in inheriting land, and a supply of acquaintances from work or elsewhere, it mattered little, these women said, if the older peasants refused to help or considered them haughty."⁴⁴

Language use is explained again here in terms of individuals' willingness to speak one language or another. But for those wives who worked in non-agricultural occupations the use of German was probably dictated more by the nature of their work. And not being involved in farm work these wives had neither the need nor so many opportunities for learning Hungarian.

1.1.3.2 The "political economy" of language

Network studies of minority languages have tended to analyze local speech communities largely in isolation from the broader socio-political context. This proved to be insufficient for understanding the decline of minority languages. As Gal herself has more recently acknowledged:

"... although strategies of language choice are local conventions maintained by local social networks, they are nevertheless best understood as responses to a systemic context much wider than the local community."⁴⁵

A new perspective has developed since the mid-1980s that attempts to *complement* interactionist approaches with a historical and political awareness.⁴⁶ This is variously

44 Gal (1979:144), *Language Shift*.

45 Gal (1987:638), "Codeswitching and consciousness in the European periphery."

46 Gal (1988:248), "The political economy of code choice."

known as the "political economy" of language⁴⁷ or the sociolinguistics of the periphery. In this perspective social networks are inserted into a world-system or center-periphery model.⁴⁸ However the focus here is not on production and class structure, like in the classical tradition of political economy, but rather on ethnic groups which are considered as a form of social organization distinct from class:

"A broader perspective suggests that since ethnicity is a form of social organization distinct from class, the relationship of ethnic groups to class divisions and to power is historically contingent. Making this distinction is significant for my purposes."⁴⁹

Ethnic groups are conceived as the natural organization of language-using individuals. They are seen not only as a culturally and linguistically homogeneous entity but also as sharing a common class position. In a comparison of three European linguistic minorities - Italian immigrants to the German city of Konstanz, the German population in the Rumanian area of Siebenbürger and some small Hungarian villages in Austria - Gal concludes that: "... *some linguistic differences among the three minority groups are due to their historically different class positions.*"⁵⁰

This understanding of the relationship between the ethnic group and the wider society disregards class differentiation *within* the ethnic group itself. Early Basque nationalists like Campi3n realized that internal class differences inside Basque society resulted in different positions toward the vernacular language and blamed the decline of Basque on the Spanish-oriented *Basque* bourgeoisie:

47 The term "political economy" goes in quotation marks to emphasize that it is a very *sui generis* application of the term which has little to do with its traditional meaning in 19th century political economy or with Marxist understandings.

48 Gal (1988:251), "The political economy of code choice."

49 Gal (1987:638), "Codeswitching and consciousness in the European periphery."

50 Gal (1987:638), "Codeswitching and consciousness in the European periphery."

"The enemy that annihilates us, the enemy that tries to erase even the very name of the Basques... is a domestic enemy. He lives among us, he is called like us, he belongs to our race and family... The gravity of the current crisis lies in that the abandonment of the Basque language is moving from an unconscious event, involuntary, to a willing act, to something conscious, deliberately perpetrated..."⁵¹

Furthermore, the distinction between ethnic group and social class - which seems to exist only in the broader society but not in the ethnic group - suggests that language use does not have a fundamental and direct connection with social production:

"In this systemic view, the effort to find variables - for instance, industrialization, urbanization, economic development, "group vitality" - that will everywhere, in all periods, produce the same effects on minority language use or language evaluation misses the mark."⁵²

This account emphasizes that the relations between language use and social development are being "historically contingent". However, such a position is ultimately self-defeating since it makes it impossible to provide a historically grounded theory of the decline of minority languages.

The understanding of language in the political economy approach does not go beyond the limits of other sociolinguistic perspectives, such as the speech community and networks, and remains within the symbolic and identity levels. This is encapsulated in the definition of linguistic minorities as: "ethnic groups that use language as a boundary marker."⁵³

1.1.4 The micro-macro dilemma in sociolinguistics

The connection between social and linguistic processes is often understood as the problem of bridging the "micro" and "macro" levels. "Micro" normally refers to

51 Campi3n in a speech at the Basque Festivals in Ir3n in 1903. Quoted in Corcuera Atienza (1979:145), *Or3genes, ideolog3a y organizaci3n del nacionalismo vasco (1876-1904)*.

52 Gal (1988:251-2), "The political economy of code choice."

53 Gal (1988:250), "The political economy of code choice."

individuals' speech behaviour and "macro" to large social groups and structures.

Grimshaw puts it this way:

"Many students of language in use in social contexts see this distinction in terms of a difference between: (1) investigation of conversation and (2) study of systematic variation in language use in aggregated summary form as manifesting social processes of language change (and spread or contraction) and maintenance or conflict or other "structural" features such as class or political or economic organization or religion or linguistic heterogeneity or homogeneity."⁵⁴

The micro level is succinctly defined as the study of conversations, while the macro level is a hotchpotch that includes many disparate things.⁵⁵ This lack of clarity about what is exactly the macro level has given rise to a curious paradox. On the one hand, the importance of social processes for language dynamics in general and the decline of minority language in particular is commonly acknowledged. But when it comes down to accounting for specific instances of language change, the appeal to social processes is usually considered too vague to be of much use. As Mattheier writes:

"Soziale Veränderungen wirken 'irgendwie' auf den Sprachwandel. Aber es bleibt unklar, welche Veränderungen sich auswirken und besonderes warum und auch warum bestimmte soziale Veränderungen keine oder nur sekundäre Wirkung haben. Weiterhin wirken die sozialen Veränderungen fast immer nur pauschal und nicht im Detail. Der Buchdruck fördert die Sprachnormierung, die Verstädterung drängt die Dialekte zurück, die Alphabetisierung 'demotisiert' die Sprache. Das Aufkommen des Ritter- und Bürgertums fördert die Entstehung und den Ausbau von auch schriftlich verwendbaren Volkssprachen. Solchen pauschalen Aussagen kann man im allgemeinen

54 Grimshaw (1987:66), "Micro-Macrolevels."

55 Some authors have even given up the hope of a comprehensive sociolinguistics. Fasold, for instance, justifies the thematic separation of his two volumes textbook on sociolinguistics - *The Sociolinguistics of Language* and *The Sociolinguistics of Society* - as follows: "I am not able to see very much in common between the issues about the forms and use of language on a small scale that are treated in this book and the large-scale sociopolitical issues that are addressed in the other." Fasold (1990:viii), *The Sociolinguistics of Language*.

nur zustimmen, aber sie ergeben kein zusammenhängendes Bild historisch-soziolinguistischer Prozesse."⁵⁶

The persisting difficulty in finding a satisfactory answer to the micro-macro issue can be traced back to the distinction between a micro level where communication takes place and a macro level where it does not. Language development and social development are understood as two things that run independently of each other, rather than one single process with related lines of development.

The accepted wisdom is that language decline is the result of a multitude of factors and thus cannot be explaining causally by appealing to any single one of them.⁵⁷ Factors are regarded as more or less independent agencies with a cumulative effect on language development. Wardaugh, for instance, mentions the following: geographical opportunity, towns and cities, military conquest, political control, religious factors and economic factors. Lewis on his part distinguishes four major groups: speakers' attitudes, relationships among the speakers of the major languages, modernization (a cluster of economic, demographic and educational factors) and ideological factors (cultural, political and religious beliefs).⁵⁸

In such a listing of factors there is no attempt to establish a hierarchy or at least specify the relationships among the factors. The only proposal is an appeal to multidisciplinary work by bringing together contributions from the different academic disciplines in the study of the factors contributing to language decline.

However, the impression is transmitted that no inherent connection exists between language and social development and even the largest inventory of factors cannot satisfy those who insist on the primacy of speakers' interaction over social processes:

56 Mattheier (1987:1433), "Das Verhältnis von sozialem und sprachlichem Wandel."

57 "It is simply not possible to devise some kind of mechanical formula which takes into account all the factors affecting how languages prosper and decline and use it to predict trends." Wardaugh (1987), *Languages in Contact and Competition*.

58 Lewis (1982), "Movements and agencies of language spread: Wales and the Soviet Union compared."

"Knowledge of these [macro] factors does not guarantee insight into the process of language shift, since people bring this about in their daily speech, and it is on this level that explanations for shift must be found."⁵⁹

In this way the micro-macro dichotomy is often equated with a distinction between "language-mediated" face-to-face interaction and "language-less" social processes. This opposition reflects more a division of labour between linguistics and other academic disciplines than sociolinguistic reality because social processes cannot be conceived without communicative relations.

Macro-structural explanations are however typically rejected in sociolinguistics on the grounds that language change, and particularly the decline or even death of minority languages, does not simply reflect socioeconomic developments or other macro factors but constitutes a complex process mediated by language attitudes:

"... microsociological variables must be connected with, but cannot be reduced to, macrosociological factors; indeed, any correlationist sociolinguistics that directly correlates economic or socioeconomic variables with linguistic variables and interprets correlations between them causally, is doomed to failure, because the 'causal chain' necessarily comprises the attitudes, interpretations, identifications and actions of speakers. Only by accounting for these (independent) sociopsychological factors of language death and by modelling bridge theories between all the disciplines involved may we hope to approach a satisfactory explanation of language death."⁶⁰

Methodological individualism lies at the root of the micro-macro problematic. Contemporary sociolinguistics insists in regarding individual speakers as the decisive actors in language change.⁶¹ Sometimes the highly complicated philosophical and epistemological question of the relationships between the individual, language and society is even portrayed as a commonsensical matter:

59 Appel and Muysken (1987:32-3), *Language Contact and Bilingualism*.

60 Dressler (1988:190-1), "Language death" in Newmeyer (ed.) *Linguistics: the Cambridge Survey* vol. IV.

61 This is the case especially -and not surprisingly- in the interactionist perspective but can also be seen in Fishman's famous definition of sociolinguistics as the study of "Who speaks what language to whom and when."

"Obviously, languages without speakers do not change. Linguists, however, have not always drawn the correct conclusion from this truism, namely that it is speakers who change language. A language changes as a result of what its speakers do to it as they use it to speak to one another in everyday face-to-face interaction."⁶²

But from the tautology that speakers do the speaking it does not follow that they have the "last word" in language change. It is simply an illusion to think that because individual speakers control the articulation of the words they utter they are similarly in control of language change, a belief characterized by Maas as the conviction that "*die Subjekte Herr im Hause der Sprache sind*".⁶³ Absent from this methodological individualist position is an understanding of communicative relations that goes beyond their purely empirical manifestation in verbal interaction and which includes forces that lie beyond the will and understanding of individuals. To paraphrase Marx, speakers make language but not as they wish, but under conditions directly encountered and transmitted from the past. These conditions are the historical, social, political and ideological processes that shape speech and communicative behaviour and determine language reproduction.

The key to understanding minority language decline cannot thus be found in giving more weight to either the micro or macro factors, or building bridge theories between the two, as it is often argued. Once the unity of language and society is broken up into micro and macro factors there is no way of restoring it.

⁶² Trudgill, foreword to J. Milroy (1992:vi), *Linguistic Variation and Change*.

⁶³ "Zur Irritation vieler seiner Adepten bis heute schrieb Marx ein Buch über das *Kapital* - und nicht über die Unternehmer. Einen entsprechenden Sprung in eine theoretische Konstruktion haben wir in der Sprachsoziologie noch vor uns, einen Sprung, bei dem wir uns in jedem Fall von der Bindung an eine Vorstellung von Kommunikation lösen müssen, bei der die Subjekte Herr im Hause der Sprache sind." Maas (1989:352), *Sprachpolitik und politische Sprachwissenschaft*.

1.2 Social production and language reproduction

Human production requires organization, cooperation, coordination and division of labour. The social character of human work makes communication among the producers necessary, something exemplified lucidly in the Biblical myth of the origin of the diversity of tongues. The construction of the tower of Babel came to a standstill when men - who originally spoke one single language - started speaking different tongues and could no longer understand each other, making a cooperative effort impossible.

The necessity of procuring the material means of existence constituted the driving force for the emergence of language. As Engels put it:

"Die mit der Ausbildung der Hand, mit der Arbeit, beginnende Herrschaft über die Natur erweiterte bei jedem neuen Fortschritt den Gesichtskreis des Menschen. An den Naturgegenständen entdeckte er fortwährend neue, bisher unbekannte Eigenschaften. Andererseits trug die Ausbildung der Arbeit notwendig dazu bei, die Gesellschaftsglieder näher aneinanderzuschließen, indem sie die Fälle gegenseitiger Unterstützung, gemeinsamen Zusammenwirkens vermehrte und das Bewußtsein von der Nützlichkeit dieses Zusammenwirkens für jeden einzelnen klärte. Kurz, die werdenden Menschen kamen dahin, daß sie *einander etwas zu sagen hatten*."⁶⁴

Communication is achieved in the very process of production. Colonial slave plantations such as those found in the Caribbean bear witness to this fact. Under the whip of the slave driver slaves from very different linguistic backgrounds were forced to work together and communicate, a situation that provoked the emergence of pidgins which in many cases later evolved into fully functional creole languages.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Engels, "Anteil der Arbeit an der Menschwerdung des Affen." In Marx and Engels, *Ausgewählte Werke* (1988:380) vol. 5.

⁶⁵ A pidgin is sometimes defined as a restricted linguistic code spoken by people who have different mother tongues. When the pidgin becomes a mother tongue for a community of speakers and fully develops as a normal language it is called a creole.

Language is thus not only a tool of production but is itself a form of production.⁶⁶ Language is continuously undergoing change, be it in phonetics, grammar or vocabulary and follows closely changes in production activities and skills. For instance, specialized vocabularies or even whole jargons emerge with the development of different productive activities and an increasing division of labour.

At the same time language has its own process of reproduction. It not only needs to be transmitted to the new generations but its use needs to be perpetuated in different communicative situations. For this reason the notion of "language reproduction" is more adequate for the study of minority languages than the widespread conception of "language maintenance and language shift", the twin terms popularized by Fishman as alternative outcomes of diglossic situations.

Language reproduction cannot be understood however mechanically as a simple reflection of a form of social production. Pidgins and creoles are typical linguistic expressions of slave plantations but they are not an automatic reflection of the latter. For instance, a creole developed in Jamaica while it did not in Puerto Rico although both islands are remarkably similar in many ways.⁶⁷

On the other hand, processes of pidginization have also been documented in the industrial centres of modern capitalist countries like the Federal Republic of Germany, due to the large scale immigration of foreign workers since the mid-1950s.⁶⁸ During their early period of stay in Germany these workers developed a

66 The philosophical background for this view is provided by Rossi-Landi. See Rossi-Landi (1972), *Sprache als Arbeit und Mark* and Rossi-Landi (1974), "Linguistics and Economics."

67 The specific histories of each society, including issues such as the incorporation of their economies to international trade networks, the total number of slaves, their proportion among the population, the speed of their introduction, etc., would have to be considered to explain their different linguistic development.

68 An even closer comparison with Caribbean plantations would be the massive deployment of slave workers from all over Europe by the Nazis during World War II. It can be assumed that pidginization
(continued...)

pidgin -known as *Gastarbeiterdeutsch* in the sociolinguistic literature- which served as a means of communication at the shop floor.⁶⁹ The wider communicative and social conditions have prevented, however, this pidgin from developing into a creole since over the years these workers, and particularly their children, have acquired more or less standard German.

Although pidgins may occur under capitalism they are nevertheless a marginal and rather unusual phenomena. What characterizes communicative relations under capitalism is a twofold process of language reproduction which consists in the expansion of the national languages and the parallel decline of the minority languages. The sociolinguistic study of minority languages must then be located in the context of the power relations between national and minority languages. As Williams puts it in a critique of diglossia:

"If the L language is reproduced outside of the direct agency of the state, then its relation to both social and cultural reproduction is marginal... In Wales this distinction is reflected in the existence of the dominant language at all domains, whereas the minority language is restricted to a limited number of domains. That is, the dominant language is found in agencies of both direct and indirect social reproduction, whereas the minority language is found only in those domains which relate to indirect social reproduction."⁷⁰

These power relations between the dominant and minority languages emerge from a historical process founded upon the creation and expansion of state standards.

1.2.1 Authoritative discourses and standard languages

Several stages have been postulated in sociolinguistics regarding the development of language standardization. These include first the selection of a particular linguistic

68(...continued)
also developed in this context.

69 For a review with a large bibliography see Pfaff, C.A. (1981), "Sociolinguistic problems of immigrants: foreign workers and their children in Germany (a review article)."

70 Williams, G. (1986:86-7), "Language planning or language expropriation?"

variety and its acceptance by a leading social group which acts as the carrier of standardization. It follows a process of elaboration when the functions of the standard are developed into new spheres of use. Finally comes codification, which is the attempt to fix the standard variety as a set of rules, through the writing of grammars and dictionaries, the establishment of language Academies, etc. But what makes a standard into such is fundamentally its position of dominance vis-a-vis other speech varieties.

According to the relativistic standpoint of contemporary linguistics all languages are in principle equal, and each one is best adapted to the communicative uses for which its speakers employ it. A peasant dialect, for instance, is best suited for talking about agricultural tasks and a scientific jargon for discussing about scientific experimentation. But given the need and opportunity the peasant dialect could be developed to serve as a medium for scientific activity. This position rightly rejects widespread prejudices against minority languages and dialects and avoids any value judgements about whether one language variety is "better" than another. However, while all languages may be equal - to paraphrase Orwell - "some are more equal than others". In real life they are thus divided into dominant and minority languages.

The term "minority language" is, however, in so far misleading as it does not necessarily refer to a linguistic variety spoken by a minority of the population - although this can also be the case - but to a relation of subordination vis-a-vis a dominant language. Similarly a "dominant language" is not necessarily the most widely spoken language (a majority language) but rather a linguistic variety which allows the utterance of authoritative discourses.⁷¹ An English sentence spoken by a judge in a Welsh court of law after the official status of English was declared in 1536 could decide over a person's life or death. But no such effect could be achieved by uttering an equivalent sentence in the Welsh language.

⁷¹ For an anthropological discussion of authoritative discourses see Asad (1979), "Anthropology and the analysis of ideology."

Authoritative discourses are materially anchored on institutions and practices of political and economic domination but they do not even presuppose understanding in order to impose themselves. The bishop of Calahorra - whose dioceses included a part of the Basque country - reported in 1602:

"... we have been informed that priests in the Basque area preach in Spanish to have more authority, what causes great harm, because people who live in the farms cannot understand the sermon... we order that in those areas sermons are made in Basque and the priests be punished if they do otherwise."⁷²

Authoritative discourses are not dependent on shared culture. That is why a culturalist understanding of the speech community is insufficient for understanding authoritative discourses. While it might be argued that the Basque peasants "shared" a belief in the prestige value of Spanish, the question is what made them attribute such a value to a language that was meaningless to them. And it is clear that it was the relations of political and economic dominance associated with Spanish.

Sociolinguistic conceptions of state standards tend to emphasize that the standards are associated with a false ideology that is naively accepted by most people. The prestige of a standard variety is usually explained as emanating directly from the dominant social position of the classes who speak it:

"The belief in the existence of some 'inherently good' variety of their language is one of the most deeply held tenets of public ideology in most Western countries. Yet a cursory inspection of the facts will reveal that these standard varieties are nothing more than the social dialect of the dominant classes."⁷³

Standard languages are seen as playing a double functional role. On the one hand, they serve to exclude and discriminate groups of people. But, on the other, they carry a strong emotional identification and can be used as powerful symbols for mobilising people for a political goal. It is commonly argued in this vein that the ruling classes reinforce their ideological leadership through control of the standard:

"... the establishment of the French Academy promoted the power of the ruling elite by mobilizing writers and scholars in support of the regime and by imparting to the

72 Quoted in Juaristi (1987b:47), *Literatura vasca*.

73 Guy (1988:40), "Language and social class."

language of the elite an aroma of sanctity: legitimizing its language helped to legitimize its rule."⁷⁴

This view that the state standard constitutes a major instrument of political rule makes at the same time too much and too little of a standard language.

Language is awarded, on the one hand, a primordial importance as an instrument of ideological cohesion. But this is an exaggerated claim since ideological cohesion can be achieved through other means like common religion. Spain and England pursued identical ideological goals during the Reformation, i.e. achieving the religious homogeneity of the population, but with quite opposite policies and consequences for the vernacular languages (see chapter 2).

On the other hand, by reducing the role of the state standards largely to an ideological level the contribution of standards to the creation of a national administrative and economic unit is overlooked, although this constitutes the material foundation upon which a national culture can emerge.

Furthermore, while standards serve to justify and reproduce class inequality it cannot be concluded that the assumed "superiority" of the standard vis-a-vis other speech varieties is purely a myth destined to legitimize the rule of the dominant class. The dominant position of the standards is materially grounded on their use as communicative instruments in dominant realms of social life such as law and administration during feudalism and increasingly also in social production with the expansion of capitalism.

In fact, the difference between the terms "language" and "dialect" is itself a product of the emergence of states and state languages in Europe.⁷⁵ Criteria such as common intelligibility, genetic kinship, etc. are normally employed to distinguish between language and dialect but it is very difficult by linguistic means alone to determine

74 Cooper (1989:34), *Language Planning and Social Change*.

75 The historical context was however different in other societies. In China, for instance, a written standard emerged as a *lingua franca* for an Empire which encompassed very different languages. See Ramsey (1987), *The Languages of China*.

whether two varieties of a linguistic continuum belong to the same or to different languages. A typical example is that of the linguistic varieties spoken on both sides of a national border, for instance between Germany and Holland. While each of these varieties are linguistically very close they orient themselves nevertheless toward different national languages as their normative standards and can therefore be considered to belong to two different languages.⁷⁶

In many cases the pragmatic way of telling whether a linguistic variety constitutes a language or a dialect comes down to the question of whether it enjoys the recognition of state institutions or not. This is encapsulated in the provocative definition that: "*a language is a dialect with an army and a navy*".⁷⁷

1.2.2 The emergence of the national languages

The Revolution brought about the drive of making French the language of all French citizens - the national language - after which other speech varieties even lost their right of existence. Mastery of the national language became both a right and an obligation. It was necessary in order to become a full citizen since it was impossible otherwise to exercise civil rights and duties. This obligated the French state to make sure that all of its citizens were in command of the French language. From that time on the vernacular languages and regional dialects would be degraded to the status of "*patois*", primitive and uneducated form of speech associated with the obscurantism, superstition, backwardness and oppression of the *ancien régime*. This was an association reinforced by the opposition to the Revolution which was quite strong in the dialect-speaking and vernacular-speaking countryside. In 1794 Barère portrayed the minority languages as a danger to the Republic:

⁷⁶ This phenomenon has been characterized as the heteronymy of dialects towards their respective standard languages. See Chambers and Trudgill (1980:5-14), *Dialectology*. See also Haugen (1972), "Dialect, language, nation."

⁷⁷ Quoted by Steinberg (1987:199), "The historian and the *Questione della Lingua*."

"Federalism and superstition speak Breton, the exiles and the hatred of the Republic speak German, the counter revolution speaks Italian and fanaticism speaks Basque."⁷⁸

The national language has a very strong character of homogenizing the nation. This can be seen in Jespersen's definition of the best Danish as that variety which does not betray where the speaker comes from.⁷⁹ But the new national language which was in principle the language of every citizen could not escape its class nature and only the bourgeoisie had the material possibility of its full possession:

"With the French Revolution a new linguistic split appeared. To be sure the French nation after 1789 gained access to a common language, *le français national*. But, at the same time, what the French bourgeoisie gave with one hand, it took back with the other by inventing a *français fictif* which could only be mastered by those who had the time and leisure to learn a complicated grammar and orthography... The results were far reaching because a larger part of the population were again excluded by the bourgeoisie from a national linguistic community."⁸⁰

This was not new but had also occurred in England where a bourgeois state had been created earlier although under quite different sociolinguistic conditions. The inherent contradiction of a "national language" is that it is *both* a class variety and a popular language something which is also found in other national languages such as English.

After the battle of Hastings in 1066 the Normans established themselves as the ruling class in England and the country became linguistically divided. The Normans spoke French and the vast majority of the population English dialects.⁸¹ However, within

78 Quoted by Higonnet (1980:57), "The politics of linguistic terrorism and grammatical hegemony during the French Revolution."

79 Jespersen (1925), *Mankind, Nation and Individual from a Linguistic Point of View*.

80 Higonnet (1980:68), "The politics of linguistic terrorism and grammatical hegemony during the French Revolution."

81 The Norman conquest reversed the early standardization achieved by the West-Saxon dialect. "The use of Latin for learned work, and of Norman French for aristocratic entertainment, reduced the English vernacular to a set of spoken dialects with little common impetus towards a norm or standard, and West Saxon had no
(continued...)

a few generations due to intermarriage and to the overwhelmingly English-speaking environment, French ceased to be passed down as a mother tongue among the Norman ruling class.⁸² The loss of Norman possessions in France during the first half of the 13th century cut off contacts with the European continent reducing both the usefulness and possibilities of speaking French.

Nonetheless, French and Latin were used for official matters and in legal record until the late 14th century when they were replaced by English. Standard English appeared as a *lingua franca* for an emerging ruling class, formed by the gentry and the London-based merchants and the intelligentsia in the new university centers⁸³ that had a vital interest in the political and economic unity of the country, what was accompanied by a corresponding national consciousness.⁸⁴

81(...continued)
 successor as a common literary vehicle." Wrenn (1949:26), quoted in Price (1984:174), *The Languages of Britain*.

82 Rolf Berndt has systematically investigated the linguistic conditions in England during the Norman period. See Berndt (1969), "The linguistic situation in England from the Norman conquest to the loss of Normandy (1066-1204)"; Berndt (1972), "The period of final decline of French in Medieval England (fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries)"; Berndt (1976), "French and English in thirteenth-century England. An investigation into the linguistic situation after the fall of the Duchy of Normandy and other continental dominions"; See also Kibbee (1991), *For to Speke Frenche Trewely. The French Language in England, 1000-1600: its Status, Description and Instruction*.

83 The east midland dialect was used in Oxford and Cambridge where students from all over England met: "In the triangle formed by these three centers, a great deal of east midland speech would have been heard, and possibly used as a kind of lingua franca among a mobile social group. If such a popular standard existed, it would have helped to spread East Midland, not because of its prestige value, or because it was imposed by the most powerful group, but because of its usefulness in communicating with people who spoke another dialect." Leith (1983:39), *A Social History of English*.

84 "... it is at this time [the 14th century] that we observe a marked growth of national consciousness in England, a growing
 (continued...)

English was established as the language of the courts and Parliament in 1386 and after 1420 the royal Chancery began to use English in their official writings.⁸⁵ Through extensive contact with French and Latin over the centuries the ruling classes of English society developed a specific *class variety* of English which incorporated many loan words. These borrowings responded to the need of using lexical items that did not exist in English, but also were adopted partly in order to "embellish" the language, for refinement or simple ostentation:

"Prolonged bilingualism in one section of society (or even trilingualism among some of its members) and persistent unilingualism in the other section could not but create very dissimilar conditions for the shaping of the kind of English used by their members. It is scarcely conceivable that the kind of English finally adopted - three hundred years or so after Hastings - by even the most conservative members of the ruling class as their only means of communication was not different lexically (and grammatically?) from that of the '*comune folk*'..."⁸⁶

The linguistic ideology which had earlier associated social distinction with the knowledge of French was transferred to the kind of English spoken by the ruling

84(...continued)
sense of national entity which finds expression in glowing patriotism, often fanned by the ruling classes to make the masses forget their own social and economic grievances, and coupled with hatred of foreigners in general or with growing anti-French feeling or antagonism to the French" Berndt (1972:346), "The period of the final decline of French in medieval England (fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries)."

85 According to Fisher, the clear cut separation between spoken vernacular and official language eased the creation of a written standard: "... the use of English in speaking and Latin and French in administrative writing had established a clear dichotomy between the colloquial language and the official written language, which must have made it easier to create an artificial written standard independent of the dialects." Fischer (1977:878), "Chancery and the emergence of standard written English in the fifteenth century."

86 Berndt (1986:236-7), "Reflections on the development of social varieties of English in the late(r) Middle English and early Modern English period".

classes. And the control of the ruling classes over education was and still is a means for their control over the standard language:⁸⁷

"Lack of education (especially classical education) resulting from social inequality under capitalist conditions, in particular the granting of the privilege of education (in the sense of higher education) above all to members of the ruling classes, and lack of knowledge of Latin or a Romance language persists in the following centuries, including our own, as decisive factors which hold back a large section of society from access to a substantial part of the English vocabulary."⁸⁸

This situation is typical of cases of minority bilingualism. Processes of standardization create the conditions for the establishment of a national language but carry the seeds, under capitalism, of linguistic inequality between the linguistically educated and uneducated population.

1.2.3 Language ideology and nationalism

Many discussions about national languages start with a review of the origins of linguistic nationalism in the works of Leibniz, Fichte, Herder, Humboldt, etc.⁸⁹ However, each process of nation building and the connection between language ideology and nationalism has its own specificity. The German case, for instance, was quite different from the French one.

The German language had already had an important linguistic development toward standardization: the Austrian Chancery, Luther's Bible translation, the expansion of

87 National unification led toward a more secular, lay-controlled education in the vernacular: "The dissolution of monasteries and chantries gave an opportunity for creating a national educational system... In the long run the gentry used its power to monopolize the better schools and Oxford and Cambridge colleges, to the great detriment of those lower in the social scale." Hill (1968:25-26), *Reformation to Industrial Revolution*.

88 Berndt (1986:241), "Reflections on the development of social varieties of English in the late(r) Middle English and early Modern English period".

89 For instance, Coulmas (1988), "What is a national language good for?"

printing and commercial and literary use of the language. What was missing was a state that would make German into a national language.

The concept of the German nation was from the beginning a reaction against the principles of the French Revolution. German linguistic romanticism appeared in a situation where the ruling classes were using French as the educated language, at a time when the German small states were occupied by the Napoleonic Army. German identity was conceived as something eternal to be found in ethnic origins. From the beginning German linguistic nationalism identified the German language with the spirit of the German people. Thus the strong connection between Linguistics and Folklore (exemplified for instance in the research of the Grimm brothers). The comparison between German and Sanskrit and the resulting argument that German was one of the original languages whose "purity" could not be put in doubt. Language became one of the main marks of a racially based conception of nationality (for instance in Fichte's distinction between living and dead languages).

The question of the "national language" became increasingly formulated under Romantic anti-revolutionary guidelines under the principle "one people, one language, one nation". The German language represented the German nation but this was combined with a racial background. Even today people from Eastern Europe with German ancestry have a right to become German citizens even though they do not speak a word of German.

Since the German essence could be found in the language this led to a more tolerant attitude toward the dialects which (although in a sense inferior to the standard) were considered with respect, as a key to uncover the mysteries of German identity. It is not surprising that although dialectology as a linguistic discipline started in France and Switzerland its most important intellectual development took place in Germany.

Minority nationalist movements have turned the connection between language ideology and nationalism into a central concern. However, the relation between language and nationalism is mediated by many historical factors. And although the linguistic ideology of minority nationalisms may often seem to follow the patterns of German Romanticism, the situation of minority languages within a nation today

is fundamentally different from that of the emerging national languages during the 18th and 19th century. Therefore, the study of linguistic ideology cannot be separated from its historical context.

1.3 Conclusion

Language belongs both to the economic base and to the ideological superstructure since it plays a crucial role both in production and in ideological transmission in religion, morality, art and politics, although in reality the "communicative" and "symbolic" aspects of language form a unity and cannot be separated except for analytical purposes.

The driving forces of minority language decline are the loss of communicative functions and/or the inability to take over new ones which lead to restricted use. This produces both an impoverished linguistic structure of the minority languages and negative language attitudes toward them. Language attitudes are not a simply a by-product of what is essentially a communicative process determined by objective social forces. The situation is more complex since language appears as a symbol for ideological elaboration not only for state languages but also for nationalist movements that often adopt a declining language as the major symbol and identity of the nation.

The focus of analysis in the study of language reproduction should not be then the ethnic group - a culturally defined speech community - or freely interacting speakers. Factors like urbanization, religion, conquest, etc., cannot be postulated either as being responsible *in general* for language decline (or language spread) in different historical periods. From this point of view it is improper to deny the role of capitalism in the decline of minority languages as it is sometimes argued in sociolinguistic writings:

"Nobody would deny that socio-economic and political changes may be seen as the deepest causes of language shift (the necessary but insufficient preconditions of language death). But developments in capitalist economy are neither sufficient nor

necessary causes of language death, since many languages are dying in countries with socialist economies."⁹⁰

The major contention of this work is that the communicative use of language in social production constitutes the driving force behind language reproduction. It follows from this view that processes of language reproduction are *specific* to each mode of production and must be understood from their own historical development.

90 Dressler (1988:190), "Language death" in Newmeyer (ed.) *Linguistics: the Cambridge Survey* vol. IV.

CHAPTER 2

LANGUAGE RELATIONS BEFORE CAPITALISM

2.1 The renaissance of Latin and the emergence of state standard languages

The development of social production since the eleventh century granted a great economic and military strength to the European feudal formation which experienced a remarkable expansionist vitality. The fall of Toledo to Castile in 1085, the Norman conquest of Sicily in 1086 and the beginning of the Crusades in 1096 are examples of this expansion. Improvements in agricultural techniques, such as the three-field-system, allowed the increase of population and the growth of production for the market.

Economic development led to the foundation of cities and the expansion of trade and resulted in a transformation in the social relations of production. The serfs were increasingly able to labour their allotted plots of land independently and in exchange paid a fixed tribute to the lord. Some bought off their freedom and others left to colonize new territories in Eastern Europe or the lands conquered from the Moors in the Iberian Peninsula.

The expansion of trade fostered the growing use of accountancy, the standardization of units of measurement (like money and weights) and literacy. The enlargement of the state's authority and the creation of administrative machineries necessitated a linguistic medium for the exercise of political domination in the form of new laws, bureaucratic administration, tax collection, etc. This was a role traditionally fulfilled by Latin which underwent a great revitalization in response to the communicative

needs of trade and early state formation.¹ As an existing *lingua franca* Latin was the only available linguistic code suitable for wider communication and literacy.

This Latin renaissance was at first intellectually fostered by monastic movements such as the Cluny reform and was also propitiated by the expansion in the power of the Church during the 12th and 13th centuries. However, in this changing society Latin acquired a new character:

"... this new Latin was associated not so much with the monks and prelates which had been the transmitters of the Romano-Christian heritage, as with the secular *moderni* of the schools. The schoolmen, the 'masters' of Paris and Bologna and then at Oxford, were a novel phenomenon of the twelfth century. Latin was their primary language, whether they were lawyers, academics or royal officials. They were responsible for ensuring that Latin could cope with the new demands made on it by the schools, city communities, religious orders, and royal lordships which took shape in the twelfth century and produced documents in unprecedented numbers."²

Latin was similarly bolstered by the rediscovery of Roman law which provided a ready-made juridical framework for the emerging bourgeois property relations. As Engels observed:

"Das römische Recht ist so sehr der klassische juristische Ausdruck der Lebensverhältnisse und Kollisionen einer Gesellschaft, in der das reine Privateigentum herrscht, daß alle späteren Gesetzgebungen nichts Wesentliches daran zu bessern vermochten... Die weitere geschichtliche Entwicklung des bürgerlichen Eigentums konnte aber nur darin bestehen, daß es sich, wie auch geschehen, zum reinen Privateigentum fortbildete. Diese Entwicklung mußte aber einen mächtigen Hebel finden im römischen Recht, das alles das schon fertig enthielt, dem die Bürgerschaft des späteren Mittelalters nur noch unbewußt zustrebte."³

1 See Haskins (1957), *The Renaissance of the 12th Century*. Although no longer a native language, Latin was by no means "dead" during the Middle Ages. For an account of its transmission see Murphy (1980), "The teaching of Latin as a second language in the 12th century".

2 Clanchy (1979:170), *From Memory to Written Record*.

3 Engels (1988:332), "Über den Verfall des Feudalismus und das Aufkommen der Bourgeoisie". In *Marx und Engels Ausgewählte Werke*, vol. 6

However, even a revitalized Latin, which was still the language of the old ruling class, could not fulfill the communicative needs of new productive relations and social organization. This was particularly the case for the social classes and fractions, such as merchants and handworkers who were the most dynamic elements in the new relations of production and exchange.

The alliance between the emerging class of town dwellers and the crown strengthened royal authority and led to a process of state building, a process that found a certain foundation in the already existing linguistic groups.⁴ With the integration of different regions within the territorial boundaries of the state the use of a standardized written vernacular variety became increasingly necessary. Maas characterizes the driving forces of this period of language development as:

"Die Herausbildung von vormodernen Staaten auf der Basis einer sich entfaltenden Warenproduktion und damit einer Arbeitsteilung, die nicht mehr im lokalen Rahmen überschaubar ist. Träger dieser Staatenbildung ist eine Schicht, die gewissermaßen die gesellschaftliche Synthesis leistet: auf der einen Seite die Händler für die Zirkulation der Waren auf dem sich erweiternden Markt, auf der anderen Seite die Schicht der Verwaltungsbeamten (und die mit der Sicherung des Staatsapparats Betrauten, insbesondere seit der frühen Neuzeit ein stehendes Heer). Die Agenten dieser Staatsform bedürfen dazu zwangsläufig eines überlokalen Verkehrsinstruments, das aber eben auch nur für sie von Bedeutung, insofern an sie gebunden ist und *neben* die lokalen sozialen Formen tritt."⁵

4 "Die Sprachgruppen einmal abgegrenz... war es natürlich, daß sie der Staatenbildung zur gegebene Grundlage dienten, daß die Nationalitäten anfangen, sich zu Nationen zu entwickeln. Wie mächtig dies Element schon in neunten Jahrhundert war, beweist das rasche Zusammenbrechen des Mischstaats Lotharingien. Zwar blieben das ganze Mittelalter durch Sprachgrenzen und Landesgrenzen weit davon entfernen sich zu decken; aber es war doch jede Nationalität, Italien etwa ausgenommen, durch eine besondern großen Staat in Europa vertreten, und die Tendenz, nationale Staaten herzustellen, die immer klarer und bewußter hervortritt, bildet einen der wesentlichen Fortschrittshebel des Mittelalters." Engels, "Über den Verfall des Feudalismus und das Aufkommen der Bourgeoisie" in *Marx und Engels. Ausgewählte Werke*. vol VI, 330-31.

5 Maas (1989:360-1), *Sprachpolitik und politische* (continued...)

The sharpening of the power struggle with the Papacy since the 14th century which culminated in the Reformation aided the determined advance of the European vernacular languages.⁶ As a result, Latin increasingly withdrew into religious and academic realms.⁷

2.2 Conquest and language domination in Wales

2.2.1 The Norman conquest and colonization of Wales

The appearance of the Welsh language and of Wales as a political entity can be historically traced to the defeats of the Celtic peoples and their reduction to a marginal position after the Roman and Anglo-Saxon invasions of Britain.⁸

Medieval Welsh history is a puzzle of small kingdoms and lordships engaged in continuous fighting and where succession crises usually terminated the short-lived supremacy that any one of them may have acquired over the others. Political

5(...continued)
Sprachwissenschaft.

6 This was decided in favour of the former: "Solange die Zentralisierung der Kirche einen gewissen Vorsprung gegenüber Zentralisierungsprozessen im staatlichen Bereich aufwies, mochte es - etwa unter Innocenz III. - scheinen, als ob die Machtpolitik der Kurie eine Chance der Realisierung hätte. Sobald aber in einigen wichtigen europäischen Staaten die Stellung der Zentralgewalt stabilisiert war, trat die Irrealität der päpstlichen Ansprüche offen zutage..." Töpfer (Hrsg.)(1991:291), *Allgemeine Geschichte des Mittelalters*.

7 This was however a long process. In the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, for instance, Latin was used in the administration until the late 18th century when it was replaced by German.

8 The confinement of the Welsh to the south western fringe of Britain was further underlined by the construction of Offa's Dyke between 778 and 796 which marked broadly the borders of contemporary Wales. This dyke constituted the major military construction in medieval Europe and was designed in order to protect the kingdom of Mercia from Welsh raids.

fragmentation together with a mountainous terrain, wet climate and few and poor roads contributed to a relatively long but fragile resistance to Norman control.⁹

The Normans carried out a piecemeal conquest of Wales in several phases. During the late 11th and early 12th century Norman warlords conquered the fertile eastern lowland territories - the Marches - and areas of the southern coastal strip such as southern Pembrokeshire and Gower.

The Norman conquests had a European-wide dimension. They conquered England, settled in southern Italy and Sicily and were influential in the crusades.¹⁰ Although located at the margins of the British Isles Wales could not avoid falling into the orbit of Norman power.

The economic superiority of Norman feudalism with their advanced feudal agriculture was the backbone upon which their military power was based.¹¹ The establishment of multiple trade links since early on brought Wales under Anglo-Norman control:

9 "Wales's lack of an adequate network of communications served her both ill and well: it helps to explain the country's political fragmentation and the difficulty of sustaining princely control, but it also acted as a major obstacle and deterrent to would-be conquerors." Davies, R.R. (1987:143-4), *Conquest, Coexistence and Change. Wales 1063-1415*.

10 Walker (1990:20-21), *Medieval Wales*.

11 "That war passed into the military textbooks, with Edward's seaborne assault on Anglesey synchronized with attacks on the mountain front, supported by Welsh auxiliaries and a massive programme of forest clearance and fort-building... The war of 1276-77 was bitter and prolonged. But it exposed some serious weaknesses in the Principality... The prince of Gwynedd enrolled twelve-year-old boys in his armies, screwed out every ounce out of his subjects, built castles on their backs. The resources of his Principality, unaided, could not sustain his ambition. Even so, Edward had to mortgage the crown to Italian bankers, to mobilize the merchants and to start the revolutionary change in English military society towards a contractual 'bastard feudalism'. In a long, amphibious campaign without precedent, he finally broke the prince." Williams, G.A. (1985:84), *When was Wales?*

"During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries an army of foreign merchants, townsmen and settlers bound Wales, more especially southern lowland Wales, to an increasingly English-oriented economy and trade network. Once that happened political domination would follow sooner or later."¹²

In 1277-83 Edward I incorporated large areas of north and southwest Wales to his private dominions after the successful war against the prince of Gwynedd. A revolt lead by Owain Glyn Dŵr in the early fifteenth century was crushed by Henry IV putting an end to dreams of Welsh independence.

Two major ecological regions can be distinguished in Wales: the mixed farming lowlands¹³ fringing on the upland massif and the pastoral stock-rearing highlands. The distinction between upland and lowland (*blaenau* and *bro* in Welsh) roughly resembles the distinction between Norman-colonized and native society. The areas which fell first to Norman control and subsequent colonization (by English settlers above all, but also by Flemish and other populations) were characterized by being relatively accessible and appropriate for the manorial system.

The extension of manorial agriculture corresponds to the breadth of Norman expansion in Wales (see Map 1). It was established most intensively along the coastal lowland regions of south Wales (southern Gwent, the Vale of Glamorgan, peninsular Gower, and south Pembroke), and in the eastern lowlands along the Usk, Wye and Severn valleys. In the north the distribution was confined mainly to the east of the river Dee, with occurrences to the west. Thus, the upland/lowland divide constitutes not only an economic but also for a major cultural and linguistic division:

"... manorial institutions never took root outside certain Normanized parts of the March which were situated in the coastal lowland and eastward-facing valleys of the south ...

12 Davies, R.R. (1990:8), *Domination and Conquest*.

13 Seven major subdivisions of the lowlands can be made: Anglesey, Llŷn, the Border lowlands of Flint and Denbighshire with the vale of Clwyd, the central borderlands, lowland Gwent and the vale of Glamorgan, Gower, Pembrokeshire and south-west Wales.

As for the rest of Wales... landownership in 1500 rested on a basis of intrinsically native institutions."¹⁴

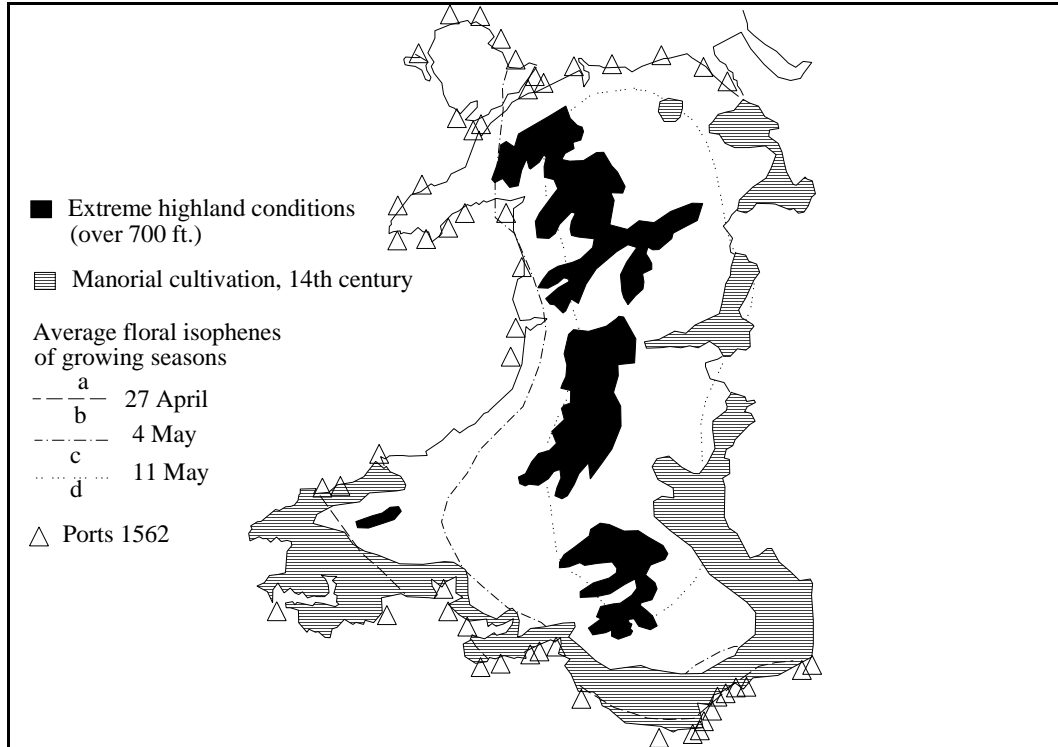
The lowlands were self-sufficient in grain and in good years produced an agricultural surplus while the highlands were largely dependent on livestock rearing, wool and woollen manufacture since conditions for agriculture were quite adverse. The dispersed farm was the predominant form of settlement in the Welsh uplands. Despite being in many ways a subsistence economy the upland Welsh-speaking areas were incorporated into market circuits from early on:

"Already by 1212 the monks of the remote abbey of Strata Florida (Ceredigion) were given permission to send wool overseas for three years. This license is doubly significant. It is a reminder that wool was the commodity *par excellence* which brought parts of Wales, however hesitantly, into the orbit of international trade. It is also a reminder of the role that those powerful corporations, especially Cistercian abbeys and Anglo-Norman lords, played in exploiting the pastoral wealth of upland Wales and in investing capital in large-scale farming and long-distance trade."¹⁵

14 Pierce (1967:357), "Landlords in Wales".

15 Davies, R.R. (1987:170), *Conquest, Coexistence and Change. Wales 1063-1415*.

Map 1 Welsh agriculture in the 16th century
 Source: Emery (1967:115)



In the lowlands, on the contrary, most of the land was gathered into compact farms owned by a few landowners who leased out small holdings to tenants. Many poor tenants had to seek additional income by working as home-based weavers and spinners in the so-called "putting-out system", or work for wages for wealthy farmers or landowners.¹⁶ Commercial agriculture allowed a more important urban development in the lowlands. Accordingly the southern towns of the anglicized lowlands - many of them seaports - accounted for a majority of the urban population. The importance of these towns was out of proportion to their small size.¹⁷

16 The landless rural workers -also called *cottagers*- formed a social class at the bottom of the social hierarchy. Cottagers provided their labor in exchange for being allowed to set out potatoes in the farmers' fields.

17 "Most enterprising of all [the colonists] were the Flemings. Well-versed as they were from experience in their homeland 'in (continued...)"

"They lubricated local trade and accelerated and formalized opportunities for the sale and exchange of produce and thereby, for the circulation of money. Their burgesses often commanded more liquid assets than other members of the community. They might use them to weave a network of loans and rural credit... to buy land in the vicinity of towns, to rear flocks of sheep... and herds of cattle for sale on the market, lease mills, demesne lands, and escheated settlements, and exploit the mineral wealth of the hinterland..."¹⁸

The English language made inroads into the highlands from its lowland urban base through the growing contacts propitiated by market towns with the cattle trade and the rural woollen manufacture.

2.2.2 The Welsh literary tradition and Norman cultural influence

The impact of Norman conquest was not only political, economic and demographic but inevitably cultural and linguistic as well. Several hundred words were assimilated into medieval Welsh from French (or rather Anglo-Norman), some directly and others through medieval English. They largely reflected the areas of contact with the Normans, such as war (words like *gleif*, *helmauc*), aristocratic life (*pali*, *barwn*, *ffigys*), and commerce (*bwrtais*).¹⁹

Another consequence of the conquest was the decline of the early Welsh bardic tradition of epic literature and laudatory verse. The bards - also known as the *Gogynfeirdd* - were half poets and half magicians patronized by the Welsh kings and feudal lords. Over the centuries they developed a rich and elaborate - largely oral - body of poetry:

17(...continued)
commerce and the woollen industry', they were soon exploiting the pasture lands of south-west Wales commercially." Davies, R.R. (1987:159), *Conquest, Coexistence and Change. Wales 1063-1415*.

18 Davies, R.R. (1987:168), *Conquest, Coexistence and Change. Wales 1063-1415*.

19 Norman conquest also influenced Welsh literature. The prose of the time bears witness of the Anglo-Norman impact in the newly introduced themes of knightly adventure and chivalric love characteristic of French romance.

"Conservative in theme and invariably conventional in treatment, archaic in diction, forms and construction, replete with compound words and articles which very often can only be translated into English by a whole clause, intentionally involving in syntax and abounding with stereotyped metaphors and similes, the poetry of the *Gogynfeirdd* is unquestionably the most difficult corpus of verse to have survived in Welsh and 'linguistically one of the most difficult bodies of verse in any European language'. Poetry which clearly exhibits such a highly developed technique presupposes a long and vital tradition behind it."²⁰

The Norman conquest and subsequent elimination of the native princely dynasties jeopardized the existence of the bards. Under the new political and social conditions the traditional poets' craft was faced with a strong crisis:

"... the new grammar schools within Wales and, more often at Shrewsbury and Westminster; the Inns of Court, the universities, the London season, the exclusion of Welsh from official business, threatened to withdraw the traditional patronage of the gentry. The invention of printing had destroyed the secrecy and exclusiveness by which the poets' guild lived. The advance of merchant and agrarian capitalism and the laws against vagrancy undercut the mode of production which had sustained them."²¹

Eventually the literary culture of the bards disintegrated and retreated into folklore. However, their literary heritage left its traces in the model of standard Welsh created by the Bible translation.

Wales not only received new cultural influences, but contributed itself important elements to the formation of the emerging mythology of the new British nation.

"Intellectually and emotionally central to this enterprise was the assertion of an aboriginally independent and imperial British identity, whose sources had to be sought in those remote ages when Albion was an empire and its Christianity free from Rome. Here, Welsh traditions were inescapable."²²

The story of Madoc -a Welsh prince who supposedly had discovered America in the thirteenth century- is an example of this. It was seized as a weapon in the struggle

20 Lewis, C. W. (1992:145), "The court poets: their function, status and craft".

21 Williams, G.A. (1985:129), *When was Wales?*

22 Williams, G.A. (1985:123), *When was Wales?*

against Spain and used as an ideological justification for the British colonization of North America.²³

2.2.3 The integration of Wales into the English state

The conquest of Wales was legally completed by the Acts of Union of 1536 and 1543 which established English laws in the whole of Wales.²⁴ These Acts formed part of a trend of national unification in Britain which gathered pace in the 1530s, a decade which saw the proclamation of the Anglican Church and the introduction of the English system of shire administration into Ireland and Wales.

Before the Acts of Union Wales was fractionated into a multitude of small lordships, each one with their own legislation. But through the Union Wales obtained a distinct system of higher administration and justice, the so-called Welsh Great Sessions.²⁵ Thus, while the Acts of Union ended the notion of Wales as an independent political unit, they also brought about a legislative, cultural and linguistic unification of Wales to a degree that had never existed before. This provided the foundations for the development of a Welsh consciousness.

A fundamental linguistic repercussion of the Act of 1536 was the imposition of English as the official language in Wales. The Act ordered that:

"... all Justices Commissioners Shireves Coroners Eschetours Stewardes and their lieutenautes and all other officers and ministers of the lawe shall proclayme and kepe the sessions courtes hundredes letes Shireves courtes and all other courtes in the Englisshe Tonge and all othes of officers juries and enquestes and all other affidavithes

23 See Williams, G. A. (1979), *Madoc: the Making of a Myth*.

24 The territories of the crown in Wales were already under English law before the Acts of Union. But after them the institutions of sheriffs, justices of the peace and members of Parliament applied to the whole of Wales.

25 The Welsh counties -excluding Monmouthshire- were grouped into four circuits of three counties each. Monmouthshire had a full parliamentary quota and was excluded from the Welsh Great Sessions, although was traditionally regarded as part of the Welsh Church. The Great Sessions were abolished in 1830.

verdictes and Wagers of lawe to be geven and done in the Englishe tonge And also that frome henforth no personne or personnes that use the Welsshe speche or langage shall have or enjoy any maner office or fees within the Realme of Englonde Wales or other the Kinges dominions upon peyn of forfeiting the same offices or fees onles he or they use and exercise the speche or langage of Englishe."

This exclusion of the Welsh language was enforced for more than four hundred years until 1967 when the Welsh Language Act made Welsh equal to English in public administration.²⁶ The transformations effected by the Acts of Union consolidated the position of the gentry which continued its rise after the War of the Roses. With the confiscation and sale of land owned by the monasteries in 1536 the gentry was able to accumulate land-holdings and to occupy many of the new administrative and legal positions acting as brokers of royal power.

This process of British state building transformed the language of the gentry, whose members abandoned Welsh within a few generations. During the sixteenth and early seventeenth century Welsh still remained the home language of the gentry, although male members went to England in growing numbers to acquire an education. The turning point seems to have been reached around the middle of the seventeenth century when gentry women also ceased speaking Welsh.²⁷

The gentry's dominant position in Welsh society and their broker role with the English state demanded that they spoke English. This was necessary for the administration of justice and for commercial transactions.

26 The Act stated that ministers: "... may by order prescribe a version of (any) document or words in Welsh [and that] having anything done in Welsh in a version authorized by Section 2 of the Act shall have the like effect as if done in English." Quoted in Lindsay (1993:10), "Welsh and English in the city of Bangor: a study in functional differentiation".

27 Williams, W.O. (1964:85), "The survival of the Welsh language after the Union of England and Wales: the first phase, 1536-1642".

2.2.4 The Reformation and the standardization of Welsh

Unlike the situation in the 19th century when language assumed a central role in the building of national identity, in the great struggles which cemented the absolutist states in the 16th century language played an ideologically subordinated role to religion:

"The Reformation thus nationalized the church of which all Englishmen were members. It prohibited any appeal outside England, and forbade any foreigner to intervene in English affairs on pretext of religion... In sixteenth-century Spain the Inquisition served as a royal instrument for national unification. So did the protestant church in Tudor England."²⁸

Henry VIII became the head of the Anglican Church with the Act of Supremacy of 1534 uniting religious and political authority in his person. But the Counter Reformation remained a serious risk at least until the victory over the Spanish Armada in 1588.

The vernaculars were instrumentalized for purposes of political domination through religious homogenization.²⁹ The Welsh language was enlisted for the achievement

²⁸ Hill (1968:22), *Reformation to Industrial Revolution. A Social and Economic History of Britain 1530-1780*.

²⁹ The vernacular languages were tolerated in so far as they proved to be useful in administration. For instance, Spanish colonial institutions in Peru endorsed Quechua which led to its further expansion as a *lingua franca* in large areas of the Andes and the Amazones long after the Inca empire had been vanquished. "In spite of the relative recent introduction of Quechua to many of the Indian groups, the former *lengua general* of the Inca Empire was becoming established over all other indigenous languages and, for many functions, over Castilian as well. Spanish officials' use of Quechua in political, economic and religious affairs had continued the spread of Quechua which the Inca had begun. Aymara had not been able to hold its own as a *lingua franca*. Quechua had the advantage of being established in regional and local administrative units controlling distribution of labor and agricultural goods... Thus retention of large portions of Inca administrative structure and personnel helped spread Quechua in commercial and political affairs, as Spanish dominion spread far beyond the area of original Inca influence." Heath and Laprade (1982:125), "Castilian colonization (continued...)"

of the rapid conversion of the population to the new Anglican religion. An Act of Parliament from 1563 prescribed the use of Welsh as the language of cult ending the traditional use of Latin in church services:

"The whole Dyyvne Service shall be used and sayd by the Curate and Ministers throughout all the said Diocese where the Welsh Tongue is commonly used in the said Britishe or Welsh Tongue."

The Welsh bishops were assigned the task of providing the necessary religious texts in the vernacular language.³⁰ The Book of Common Prayer and the New Testament were translated in 1567 and the first complete edition of the Welsh Bible was ready by 1588. A revised second version of the Bible was published in 1620 and through its diffusion over the years became the model of standard Welsh.³¹ Its popularization was aided by a vigorous publishing campaign.³²

29 (...continued)
and indigenous languages: the cases of Quechua and Aymara".

30 The importance of a written standard was recognized by the Bible translator bishop Salisbury who wrote around 1547: "Do you suppose that ye need no better words and no greater variety of expression to set out learning and to treat of philosophy and the arts that you have in common use in daily converse when you buy and sell and eat and drink? And take this as a warning from me -unless you bestir yourselves to cherish and to mend the language before the present generation is no more it will be too late. And if there be no more learning, wisdom and piety in a language what better is it than the churn of fowls or the bleating of beasts?" W. Salesbury, "Oll Synnwyr Penkembero yngyd". Quoted in Williams, C.H. (1980:222), "Language contact and language change in Wales, 1901-1971: a study in historical sociolinguistics".

31 The translators were no mere intellectuals but were deeply involved in the politics of the time: Richard Davies -who translated the Book of Common Prayer- was bishop of St. Davids while the Bible translator William Morgan was Bishop of Llandaff and later of St. Asaph.

32 "Ten years later [after the revised translation of the Bible] came the epoch-making *Beibl Bach*, the "little Bible" at five shillings, destined for the respectable hearth and home which Protestantism had made the focus of religious training. It was
(continued...)

The enormous task of the Bible translation was eased by the existence of the old literary tradition of the Welsh bards upon which the translators could rely in their search for literary models. William Morgan has been praised for taking the bardic tradition as the foundation of the Bible translation:

"Morgan had the vision and judgement to base his language firmly on that of the literary tradition rather than on one or more of the regional varieties of contemporary spoken Welsh and so took a major step forward in the process of creating a standard written Welsh."³³

Most authors take a positive stock of the impact of the Reformation upon the Welsh language and see the standardization achieved as decisive for the survival of Welsh:³⁴

"... sixteenth century Protestantism came almost dramatically to the support, if not the rescue of the Welsh language. It provided the chief, indeed, almost the only comprehensive motive for the fashioning of Welsh into a modern, literary language; and it ensured that Welsh should become the language of religion for the majority of the Welsh people, one of the principal determining factors in the later history of the language, particularly in the nineteenth century when Nonconformity came to take so strong a hold upon Wales."³⁵

Thus the consequences of the Norman conquest and the subsequent integration of Wales into the English state were contradictory for the Welsh language. Although

32(...continued)
accompanied by a tide of publications, the most celebrated being *Canwyll y Cymry* (The Welshman's Candle) by the Old vicar, Rhys Prichard, from Llandovery, an enormously popular collection of carols and verse." Williams, G.A. (1985:127), *When was Wales?*

33 Price (1984a:265), *The Languages of Britain*.

34 "Perhaps the greatest service of the Bible to Welsh literature was that it gave the nation a standard tongue superior to any dialect. In a country which lacked a university or any cultural institution to act as a centre for its literary vitality and to foster that enlightened conservatism which is indispensable to the continuance of tradition, there would have been a risk that the language might degenerate into a number of disconnected dialects..." Parry-Bell (1959:195-6). Quoted in Price (1984a:99-100), *The Languages of Britain*.

35 Williams, W.O. (1964:75) "The survival of the Welsh language after the Union of England and Wales: the first phase, 1536-1642".

English was imposed in the administration, the standardization of Welsh was achieved as a result of a political compromise allowing its literary cultivation and its primordial position in the field of religion.

The context in which the standardization of Welsh took place largely limited developments in Welsh literature to the religious sphere. This could have hardly been otherwise since Welsh was excluded from official affairs. Furthermore, the intensive commercial relations with England made English the language of trade. These sociolinguistic patterns kept the literary cultivation of the Welsh language within certain thematic boundaries although publication output was considerable, especially since the 18th century. A recent bibliography of Welsh books and books published in Wales between 1546 and 1820 lists a total of 5,656 entries, many of which were written in Welsh.³⁶

2.3 Feudal expansion and language relations in the Basque country

2.3.1 The impact of Romanization

As opposed to the relatively clear outlines of the beginnings of the Welsh language the origin of Basque is unknown. The study of toponimics and the earliest chronicles attest, however, that Basque and perhaps other related languages were spoken on both sides of the Pyrenees before the Roman conquest, in the territory comprised between the rivers Garonne and Ebro.³⁷ The influence of Latin can be ascertained from the many Latin borrowings into Basque. These concerned aspects like trade, the iron industry, household utensils, law and religion.³⁸ Latin varieties seem to have

³⁶ Rees (1987), *Libri Walliae. A Catalogue of Welsh Books and Books Printed in Wales, 1546-1820*.

³⁷ For a recent review of a fashionable hypothesis about the origin of Basque see Rayfield (1990a), "Killing the chimæra: the Basque-Caucasian hypothesis".

³⁸ Trade: Basque: *merke*- Latin *MERCE*- English: "cheap"; *karrika*- *CARRICARE*- "street". The iron industry: *mailu*- *MALLEU*- (continued...)

replaced Basque in some areas from early on, since Romance varieties have been spoken in the Basque country as long as can be traced back in the written records:

"... in the whole contemporary and historical Basque-speaking area Romance has always been spoken next to Basque, in greater or smaller measure. Although in the period of latinization, Latin was perhaps a *lingua franca* or a pidgin and not a mother tongue... it became a mother tongue at some point, since the Romance spoken in this whole area is a language from which early evidence exists."³⁹

The impact of Romanization was stronger in Navarra than in the coastal areas. The foundation of Pamplona by the Romans attests to the importance of Navarra as a agricultural region. The Romans also knew about the large iron ore deposits of Vizcaya which were mentioned in the early chronicles.

2.3.2 The pilgrim road to Santiago and the process of urbanization

The spread of Islam during the eight century reached deep into the Iberian Peninsula but its northern fringe, including most of the Basque territories except southern Navarra, managed to resist the Arab advance. As a result there was a historical contact and confrontation between two different social formations.⁴⁰ The Arab part of Iberia belonged to a socioeconomic and cultural system which spanned the whole of the Muslim world in North Africa and the Middle East, while its Christian part was situated at one of the borders of the European feudal formation.

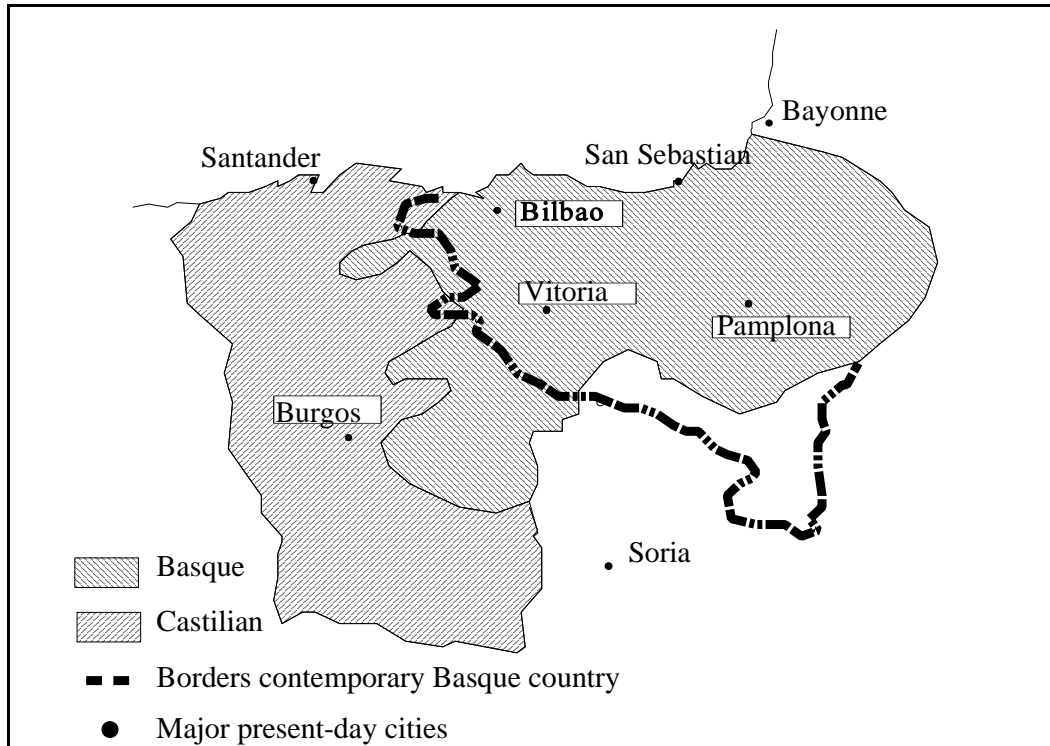
The Iberian Christian kingdoms participated in the expansion of European feudalism since the mid-11th century. This expansion - known as the *Reconquista* in

38(...continued)
 "hammer"; *ingure*- INCUDINE -"anvil". Agriculture: *gaztaina*- CASTANEA -"chest nut"; *piper*- PIPER- "pepper". Household utensils: *sartagin*- SARTAGINE- "frying pan"; *lapiko*- LAPIDEU- "cooking pot". Law: *errege*- REGE- "king"; *lege*- LEGE- "law". The church and religious terms: *aingeru*- ANGELU- "angel"; *arima*- ANIMA- "soul". See Echenique (1987:65-66), *Historia lingüística vasco-romana*.

39 Echenique (1987:74), *Historia lingüística vasco-romana*.

40 See Pastor de Togneri (1975), *Del Islam al cristianismo. En las fronteras de dos formaciones económico-sociales*.

Map 2 Basque and Castilian language areas around 950
 Source: Azaola (1976:106)



Spanish historiography - was legitimized as the defense of the Christian faith against the infidels and involved the piecemeal conquest of Arab territories until the fall of Granada in 1492.⁴¹

The early advance of the *Reconquista* resulted in the colonization of parts of Burgos and the Rioja by Basque speakers and the spread of the language (see Map 2).⁴² Around 950 Basque was spoken in areas of Castile and in the northern Rioja area

41 The year 1492 is normally taken to mark the end of the *Reconquista* although Castile continued carrying out a similar policy in north Africa during the 16th century. See Hess (1978) *The Forgotten Frontier. A History of the Sixteenth-Century Ibero-African Frontier*.

42 This map is reproduced from Azaola, J.M. (1976:106), *Vasconia y su destino*. II vol. 1 *Los vascos ayer y hoy*. Azaola adapted it from Carretero y Jiménez, A. (1968:125), *La personalidad de Castilla en el conjunto de los pueblos hispánicos*.

where it was still being commonly used in the mid-13th century.⁴³ However, by the mid-10th century Basque seems to have been already lost in a small corner of western Vizcaya⁴⁴ as well as in southern Navarra which was a territory subjected to strong Romance and Arabic influences.⁴⁵

Navarra was the largest Iberian Christian kingdom in the early eleventh century. During the reign of Sancho III (1004-1035) Navarra's dominions included the Basque-speaking territories, Aragon, Castile and the kingdom of Leon.⁴⁶

43 Merino Urrutia (1962), *El vascuence en la Rioja y Burgos*.

44 This territory was populated by the tribe of the *autrigones* in Roman times and it has been hypothesized that they may not have spoken Basque. See Caro Baroja (1971:29), *Los vascos*.

45 Arabic exercised a strong influence upon the Romance dialects of the Iberian peninsula during the period of splendour of the Khalifat of Cordoba. See Lapesa (1981:133-55), *Historia de la lengua española*. Menéndez Pidal writes that the king of Navarra and Aragon -Pedro I- habitually signed in Arabic characters, which is an indication of the political relations in the Iberian peninsula in the early period of the *Reconquista*. See Menéndez Pidal (1964:74), *El idioma español en sus primeros tiempos*.

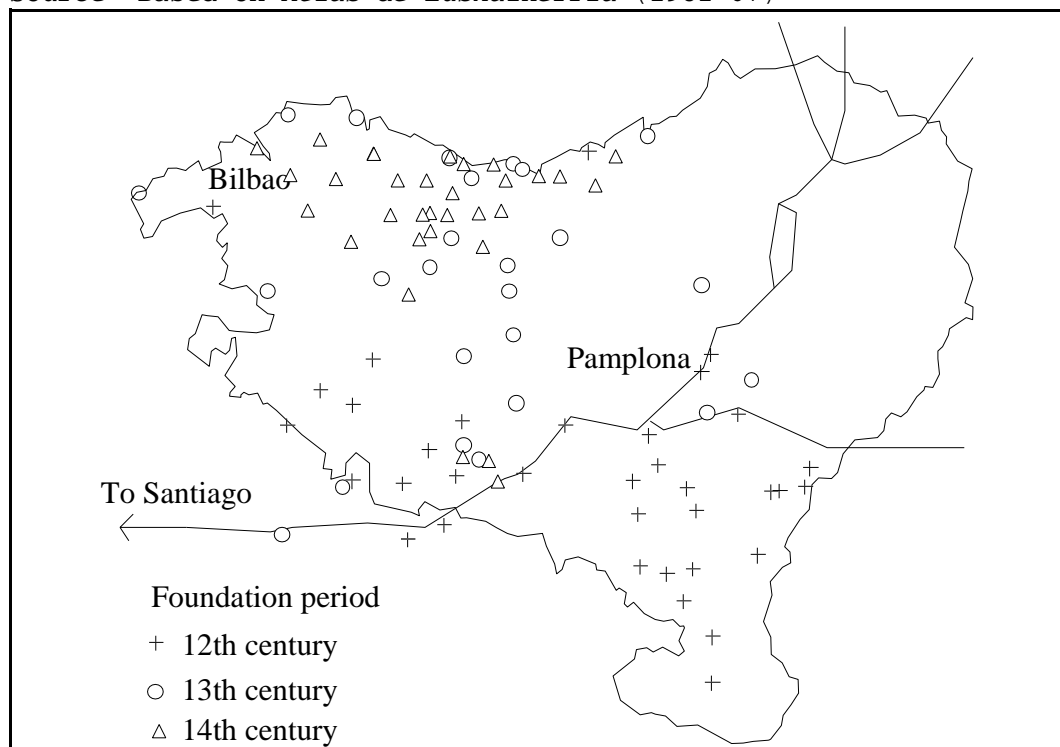
46 The history of the kingdom of Navarra can be divided into three major periods. First: consolidation and expansion (905-1035). Second: crisis and disappearance. After Sancho III's death Navarra was divided among his sons but fighting among them led to the partition of the kingdom and its annexation by Aragon and Castile in 1076. Third: reconstitution. After the election of García Ramirez as king of Navarra in 1134 the kingdom was reestablished with smaller borders. Alava and Guipuzcoa were definitively lost to Castile in 1200. After 1234 Navarra came under the French orbit and in 1316-28 the crowns of France and Navarra were held by the same person. In 1512 Fernando "El Católico" conquered Navarra until the Pyrenees. See García de Cortázar and Montero (1983:179-186), *Diccionario de historia del País vasco*, vol. 2.



Crucial for the early expansion of the *Reconquista* was the pilgrim road to the tomb of St. James - Santiago - at Compostela in the northwestern corner of the Iberian peninsula. Santiago de Compostela constituted with Rome and Jerusalem one of the major centres of pilgrimage in medieval Europe.

Seeking to attract a skilled population of traders and artisans Sancho III redirected the pilgrim road making it pass through Pamplona and then into the north of the

Map 3 The pilgrim road to Santiago de Compostela and early Basque urbanization
Source: Based on *Atlas de Euskalherria* (1982:67)



Castilian plateau on its way to Santiago de Compostela.⁴⁷ Several major roads originating from different European areas converged in Navarra whose strategic location triggered off a process of urbanization along the pilgrim road during the 11th and 12th centuries (see Map 3).⁴⁸ This brought about a process of economic and military expansion, population resettlement and urbanization along the pilgrim road:

"Along the road moved masons, carpenters, painters, sculptors, artists and artisans...
Down the road came knights, adventurers, and soldiers of fortune ready to fight for a price or an ideal. After completing their pilgrimage, they remained to continue the

47 Early pilgrims had followed the route along the Atlantic coast which, while more difficult, offered better protection from Arab raids.

48 Towns in the map are listed according to the date of foundation: Pamplona (founded by the Romans), Miranda de Arga (1028), Estella (1090), Arguedas (1092), Logroño (1095), Caparroso (1102), Marcilla (1115), Gallipienzo (1119), Tudela (1119), Puente la Reina (1122), Sangüesa (1122), Carcastillo (1129), Caseda (1129), Peralta (1144), Monreal (1147), Olite (1147), Peña (1150), Tafalla (1157), Laguardia (1164), San Vicente de la Sonsierra (1172), Los Arcos (1175), San Sebastian (1180), Vitoria (1181), Antoñana (1182), Bernedo (1182), Villaba (1184), Villafranca (1191), Puebla de Arganzón (1191), Treviño (1191), Artajona (1193), Larraga (1193), Navarrete (1195), Labraza (1196), Miranda de Ebro (1199), Valmaseda (1199), Fuenterrabia (1203), Valle de la Burunda (1206), Sto. Domingo de la Calzada (1207), Guetaria (1209), Motrico (1209), Orduña (1229), Bermeo (1236), Plencia (1236), Zarauz (1237), Ochandiano (1250), Briones (1256), Contrasta (1256), Ordicia (1256), Salvatierra (1256), Segura (1256), Tolosa (1256), Mondragon (1260), Tiebas (1263), Torralba (1263), Lanz (1264), Vergara (1268), Genevilla (1273), Urroz (1286), Lanestosa (1287), Iciar (1294), Bilbao (1300), Azpeitia (1310), Renteria (1320), Portugalete (1322), Aguilar de Codes (1323), Espronceda (1323), Azcoitia (1324), Ondarroa (1327), Salinas de Léniz (1331), Elgueta (1335), Villaro (1338), Torres (1341), Deva (1343), Placencia (1343), Eibar (1346), Elgoibar (1346), Zumaya (1347), Marquina (1355), Elorrio (1356), Guernica (1366), Guerricaiz (1366), Usurbil (1371), Durango (1372), Ermua (1372), Hernani (1375), Miravalles (1375), Larrabezua (1376), Munguía (1376), Rigoitia (1376), Orío (1379), Cestona (1383) and Villareal de Urrechú (1383). Included in the 12th century group are also Miranda de Arga (1028), Estella (1090), Arguedas (1092), Logroño (1095) and Pamplona.

crusade and the reconquest of Spain. Along the road moved merchants and traders; and the pilgrims themselves carried goods and money to Santiago de Compostela. Towns and monasteries were founded and expanded to provide for the material needs of the travelers."⁴⁹

The Pyrenees and associated lower mountain chains divide the Basque territory into an Atlantic and a Mediterranean side. The southern Basque country opens up to the Ebro river valley and the Castilian plateau, and its watershed ends in the Mediterranean. It has a flatter relief, continental climate and is suitable for cereal cultivation. The northern side, on the other hand, is more mountainous, has an Atlantic climate and a poorer agriculture.⁵⁰ The practical totality of towns founded in the 11th and 12th centuries took place in the south of the Basque-speaking territory where the traffic along the pilgrim road was most intensive.

Thirty-one towns were founded during Navarra's early period of urbanization most of them during the 12th century (the average foundation year was 1182).⁵¹ But this process did not stop at the kingdom's borders and some towns were even established outside Navarra's territory, such as San Sebastian and Vitoria, both founded by the king Sancho "the Wise" (1150-1194).

This urbanization policy, like in other parts of Europe, granted a privileged status to the newcomers. At first only foreigners were allowed to settle in the newly founded towns. This gave rise to violent conflicts between the newcomers and the native population. These conflicts reached their highest violence during the 13th century and culminated in 1276 when the French of Pamplona supported by troops of the king of France assaulted and destroyed the "Navarrería", Pamplona's quarter where Navarran natives lived.⁵²

49 Stockstad (1978:14), *Santiago de Compostela. In the Age of the Great Pilgrimages*.

50 García Fernández, J. (1975), *Organización del espacio y economía rural en la España atlántica*.

51 Excluding Pamplona that was founded by the Romans.

52 The conflicts were sparked off by the marriage of the
(continued...)

The integration of the other Basque provinces into the Spanish state did not occur through conquest as in Wales but largely as an outcome of the internal developments and class struggles of these societies. The territories of Alava and Guipuzcoa which had been historically disputed by Castile and Navarra came definitively under the control of Castile in 1200. The harsh town foundation policy of the Navarran kings which discriminated against local people in favour of foreigners, seems to have induced Alava and Guipuzcoa to pledge allegiance to the Castilian king. Later Vizcaya was also incorporated to the Castilian crown through inheritance.⁵³ Navarra was conquered by Fernando "El Católico" - king of Aragon and espouse of Isabel of Castile - in 1512, but this occurred in a situation of internal conflict in Navarra between two fractions which supported opposite alliances with Spain and France respectively.

In the territories of Alava, Guipuzcoa and Vizcaya new towns were founded by local people under the protection of the Castilian king.⁵⁴ These towns were situated along a south-north axis connecting the growing trade between Castile and Northern Europe.

The resulting economic and political ties with Castile provoked a wave of urbanization during the 13th and 14th centuries. In Guipuzcoa 26 towns were founded between 1180 and 1383 (the average foundation year was 1302), while in Vizcaya 20 towns were founded between 1199 and 1376 (the average foundation year was 1321). Castilian wool and Basque iron were the main trade items and represented

52(...continued)
heirress to the Navarran crown with the eldest son of the king of France.

53 The Haro family ruled Vizcaya since the mid-11th century, but when their male line became extinct it passed through marriage to the Castilian Lara family. In 1371 prince don Juan of Castile inherited the lordship. However, Vizcaya was not assimilated into Castile but preserved its *Fueros* and peculiar political system.

54 In Vizcaya towns were founded by local lords, but their inhabitants would soon demand royal protection.

the beginnings of a Basque merchant class which took advantage of good natural harbours and relatively easy access from the Castilian hinterland. Bilbao managed to establish itself as a major trade center:

"Although an inland city, Burgos through its merchants controlled the exit of most Castilian wool, and in 1494 a trading body called the *Consulado* was created, with a monopoly over trade to northern Europe. Bilbao, the Basque port from which most shipments were made, retaliated by claiming a share of the trade, and in 1511 obtained the formation of its own *Consulado*. A compromise between the cities was reached in 1513, but in turn this agreement was contested by other northern ports, principally Santander, which never succeeded in attaining the pre-eminence of Bilbao."⁵⁵

2.3.3 The emergence of Castilian as a state standard

Although a 1167 document from the Navarran court described Basque as the "*lingua navarrorum*" reflecting its widespread use in the kingdom,⁵⁶ Navarran society had acquired a multilingual character by that time. An autochthonous Romance variety was spoken in the southern part of the kingdom, and in the Navarran court most documents were written in Latin. The new urban settlers also spoke or used in

55 Kamen (1984:51), *Spain 1469-1714. A Society of Conflict*.

56 A contemporary account of the Basque territory at this time was provided by the cleric Aymeri, author of a famous medieval pilgrims' guide to Santiago known as the *Codex Calinicus*. Aymeri portrayed the Basques on the French side of the Pirenees as a savage people with a barbarous language: "*The ferocity of their faces and the appearance of their barbarous speech terrifies everyone who sees them.*" His opinion about the Navarrese was not much better and remarked that: "*Hearing them speak reminds one of barking dogs. Their language is completely barbarous.*" Quoted in Stockstad (1978:31-33), *Santiago de Compostela*. The *Codex Calinicus* has also a linguistic interest since it is one of the earliest documents to provide a list of Basque words. Aymeri's anti-Navarrese bias betrays the conflicts that existed between the French town dwellers and the native population. See Otazu (1986:56), *El "igualitarismo" vasco: mito y realidad*.

writing other languages like Gascon, a Romance variety spoken in the French Basque area.⁵⁷

In the complex linguistic interaction among peoples living along the Ebro river valley Castilian started taking shape since the 10th century as a *lingua franca*. This sociolinguistic situation resulted in an stabilization of its linguistic characteristics:

"Since Castilian was not an spontaneous product of the breakup of Latin but a transitional speech between two linguistic blocks, it was natural that it would have a certain fixation of linguistic components - phonetic, grammatical or lexical - as it is generally the case in this type of mixed languages in which the functional need that is the reason for their existence - basically, the need for effective and unambiguous communication among different communities - determines always a marked rigidity of their peculiarities which predominates over disintegrating dialectal tendencies."⁵⁸

This *lingua franca* was first used in the Ebro River valley and then spread through the pilgrim road in central Castile and Leon, and finally in other Iberian kingdoms.⁵⁹ It is quite telling that the first written testimonies of early Spanish - Castilian - and Basque appear in the same document: a Latin manuscript with bilingual glosses found at the Navarran-sponsored monastery of San Millán in the Rioja area. This manuscript provides evidence that the formation and early expansion of Spanish

57 It has been hypothesized that the longer preservation of Gascon in the Basque-speaking territories was due to the Basque origin of its speakers: "The fact that the use of Gascon has been preserved longer in Basque-speaking territories, disappearing along with the spread of Castilian, seems to suggest that a good deal of these immigrants, or children of immigrants, were Basque speakers from the French side that spoke Basque with each other and with the local population, but used Gascon in writing instead of Castilian which they did not know." Azaola (1976:128), *Vasconia y su destino. II Los vascos ayer y hoy*. vol. I.

58 López García (1984:43), *El rumor de los desarraigados. Conflicto de lenguas en la península ibérica*.

59 López García (1985:46), *El rumor de los desarraigados*.

responded to developing communicative needs of a society in which bilingual Romance-Basque speakers were actively involved.⁶⁰

Given that Spain was among the first absolutist states, it is perhaps no accident that the first grammatical study of a European vernacular language was devoted to Spanish.⁶¹ This was Nebrija's *Gramática de la lengua castellana* published in Salamanca in 1492, a year when three fundamental events in the formation of the Spanish state took place: the conquest of Granada, the discovery of America and the expulsion of the Jews. Nebrija dedicated the *Gramática* to Queen Isabella and in the introduction he spelled out unmistakably the relationship between language and political domination:

"Language was always the companion of empire, and it followed it in such a fashion that they begun, grew and flourished together, and then joint was their fall."⁶²

Nebrija made it clear that a state standard language was a necessary instrument of communication intended as a tool of political domination:

"... after your Highness subjected to her rule many barbarian peoples and nations of alien languages, they need to receive the laws that the victor imposes upon the

60 "Navarra has the honour.. of having in its historical inheritance the first documents of two Spanish languages of utmost cultural value: Spanish and Basque. Documents which appeared under the shelter of the religious and cultural life of a monastery of Navarran protection, *San Millán de la Cogolla*, in the innovative horizon of the medieval pilgrim road to Santiago in the Rioja area." Viñes (1987:46-47), "Primer testimonio escrito del vascuence navarro: El manuscrito Emilianense."

61 For an analysis of European grammatical schools of the Renaissance see Padley (1988), *Grammatical Theory in Western Europe 1500-1700. Trends in Vernacular Grammar*, 2 vol.

62 Nebrija (1980:97), *Gramática de la lengua castellana*. Next is the extended quotation in the original Spanish: "*Cuando bien conmigo pienso, mui esclarecida Reina, i pongo delante los ojos el antigüedad de todas las cosas que para nuestra recordación i memoria quedaron escriptas, una cosa hallo i saco por conclusión mui cierta: que siempre la lengua fue compañera del imperio, i de tal manera lo siguió, que juntamente començaron, crecieron i florecieron, i después junta fue la caída de entreambos.*"

vanquished and with them our language; then with my Grammar they will be able to learn it... And it is true that not only the enemies of our faith need to know the Castilian language, but also the Vizcayans, Navarrese, French, Italians and all those who have something to do with Spain..."⁶³

Nebrija's mention of Vizcayans and Navarrese among those peoples who needed to learn Spanish reflected the reality of long and multifaceted relationships between the Basque country and Castile.

The different Basque territories had played an active military role in Castilian expansion during the *Reconquista*, both in land and at sea.⁶⁴ And as subjects of the Castilian crown, many Basques would later be heavily involved in the colonization and christianization of America and other lands. Basque navigational skill was especially important in the exploration effort.⁶⁵ In the period of colonial expansion the sword and the cross fared together and some Basques were among the prominent clerics of the time.⁶⁶ Basque merchants entertained multiple trade contacts with Castile and the colonies and an important Basque merchant community was established in Cadiz and Seville. The iron manufacturing industry which provided the raw material for weapon production was another significant Basque contribution

63 Nebrija (1980:102), *Gramática de la lengua castellana*.

64 For instance, the Navarran army participated in the conquest of Almeria in 1147 and the Vizcayan navy in the conquest of Sevilla in 1248.

65 Basque sailors were already part of the crew in Columbus' first trip to America. One of the three ships of the discovery expedition was fleted by Manuel Pinzón, a Santander merchant with close connections with Basque sailing interests. Among the famous Basque sailors of the time the names of Elcano, who completed Magellan's expedition around the globe, and Legazpi, who incorporated the Philippines to the Spanish crown, immediately come to mind.

66 For instance, Zumárraga (1476-1548) confessor of Charles V who became the first bishop of Mexico in 1528, Ignatius of Loyola (1491-1556) founder of the Jesuits and Francis Xavier (1506-1552) who missionized the Far East.

to Spanish colonialism. As Calderón de la Barca remarked in one of his plays: "*Por el hierro de Vizcaya conserva su oro España.*"⁶⁷

2.3.4 The *Fueros* and Spanish literacy in the Basque country

During the 14th and 15th centuries the Basque country lived through a period of heightened class conflicts which swept through the whole of Europe. In an attempt to control the growing wealth and power of the towns, the feudal lords organized themselves into two "*banderizo*"⁶⁸ groups on the basis of blood relations and engaged themselves into a prolonged civil war against each other and the towns.⁶⁹ These class conflicts ended largely with the victory of the towns, a success founded upon their commercial strength and the consolidation of royal authority.⁷⁰

67 "Spain keeps her gold because of Vizcayan iron." Quoted in Dolores Ibarruri (1979), *El único camino*.

68 The name *banderizos* means that they formed *bandos*, or fractions. In Vizcaya and Guipuzcoa, the two main groups were the *oñacinos* and the *gamboinos* which, quite schematically, represented feudal lords established in the coast and in the mountain area respectively and to some extent represented pro-Castilian and pro-Navarrese fractions. A similar conflict was articulated in Navarra between those favouring a policy of approach to Castile and those who advocated closer relations with France, dividing the kingdom into two enemy fronts, the *agramonteses* and *beamonteses*.

69 The Castilian king Juan I shildered the situation in 1414 as follows: "The gentlemen, the farmers, the smiths of my Lordship of Vizcaya, come to me demanding justice, and they say that some gentlemen and their servants ramble around the roads, in the farmer's houses and the smith's workshops of my Lordship of Vizcaya, and demand bread, wine, foodstuffs, and money, and threaten them and injure them until they get it." Quoted in García de Cortázar and Montero (1983, vol 1:352), *Diccionario de Historia del País Vasco*.

70 In 1456 several leading feudal lords were exiled to the border territory with the khalifat of Granada. They were allowed to go back to Vizcaya a few years later but with their power greatly diminished.

The defeat of the warring feudal lords resulted in the establishment of a form of administration and legal privileges known as the *Fueros* which marked the success of a new emerging urban class and remained in existence until 1876.⁷¹ The term "*Fuero*" refers originally to a municipal charter or, more generally, to privileges or exemptions granted by the king upon the foundation of a town. However, in the newer sense of the term, the *Fueros*, or the "Foral system", refers to a political legislation typical of the Basque provinces whose first written expression is found in the Vizcayan *Fuero Nuevo* from 1526.

While specific to each province and changing in different times and places, the *Fueros* nevertheless had some common characteristics. A most important privilege contained in the *Fueros* was the granting of the status of nobility to a majority of the Basque population.⁷² This was aimed at making the urban inhabitants equal to the old feudal nobility and was based on the claim of purity of blood, i.e. that Basque blood was pure Christian blood not tarnished by Jewish or Muslim ancestry, what resulted in the "universal nobility of the Basques".⁷³

The *Fueros* constituted a system of shared sovereignty between the central government and the Basque provincial administrations. The king of Castile had to swear the *Fueros* before his authority was recognized by the provincial Parliaments

71 There were repeated attempts to abolish the *Fueros* during the nineteenth century, but their definitive abolition in Vizcaya, Alava and Guipuzcoa, only took place after the end of the II Carlist War in 1876. In Navarra the *Fueros* were abolished in 1841 after the so-called "*Ley paccionada*".

72 The status of nobility was granted to a significant number of natives of Vizcaya and Guipuzcoa as well as to those of some areas of Alava and Navarra.

73 In the *Coreografía de Guipuzcoa* (1754), Larramendi defended the universal nobility of Guipuzcoans with these words: "How can they all be noble? I will say why: because they come from a noble origin and of pure blood clean of all races of Jews, Moors and *moriscos*, blacks and mulatos, serfs and commoners." Quoted in Juaristi (1987:246), *El linaje de Aitor. La invención de la tradición vasca*.

and Castilian laws had to be in accordance with the principles of the *Fueros*.⁷⁴ Foral organization followed a representative principle which contained elements of a modern form of political organization. The members of the provincial Parliaments were chosen by the local communities, but they were controlled by landowners and merchants since property ownership and *Spanish literacy* were necessary qualifications for being elected.

While poor in agricultural resources, the coastal provinces of Vizcaya and Guipuzcoa were endowed with very favourable conditions for maritime trade and fishing, and boasted large and rich iron ore deposits. This turned iron manufacture into a key sector of the economy. The importance of iron manufacture can be appreciated from the prohibition of exporting iron ore abroad stated in the 1526 Vizcayan *Fuero*:

"... neither natives nor strangers of the Lordship of Vizcaya, of the whole kingdom of Spain or foreigners, are allowed to take out of the Lordship of Vizcaya for foreign kingdoms iron ore or other metal used for making iron or steel."⁷⁵

Among other privileges, the Basque provinces were exempted from taxation:⁷⁶

"... the Vizcayan nobles are and will be free and not subject to taxation to buy and sell and receive in their homes any kind of merchandises that can be bought or sold, either of wool or of iron, or of any other material, as they have always been."⁷⁷

74 This did not mean that the Basque Parliaments could reject any royal legislation they disliked but offered a certain protection of the legal peculiarities of the Basque provinces, what often led to conflicts between the central and provincial administrations. For a fuller account see García de Cortázar and Montero (1983), *sDiccionario de Historia del País Vasco*, vol. 1.

75 Quoted in Uriarte Ayo, R. (1988:27), *Estructura, desarrollo y crisis de la siderurgia tradicional vizcaina (1700-1840)*.

76 Taxes were paid to the central administration mainly in the form of free "donations" whose amount represented a topic of never-ending controversy.

77 Quoted in Aranzadi (1981:400), *Milenarismo vasco. Edad de oro, etnia y nativismo*.

This free trade status remained in existence until 1841 and allowed the export of Basque iron to Spain and overseas Spanish colonies, while foodstuffs could be imported at a reduced price. At the same time, restrictive immigration policies were put into practice making very difficult for non-Basques to settle in the Basque provinces, a measure aimed at excluding converted Jews from the profitable Bilbao wool trade. The 1526 Vizcayan *Fuero Nuevo* puts it like this:

"Because all Vizcayan are *Hijos-Dalgo*, and of noble lineage, and pure blood, and they had royal permission that the newly converted, Jews and Moors, their descendants or those of their blood, cannot live nor dwell in Vizcaya."⁷⁸

Access to public office in Castile and the colonies was reserved to the nobility. A certificate of "purity of blood" was a requisite for the exercise of public office in Spain until 1867. The nobility of the Basques represented a "comparative advantage" vis-a-vis converted Jews who were also prominent in the bureaucracy.⁷⁹ Their noble status allowed many Basques to become scribes and secretaries and climb up to senior bureaucratic positions:

"... a very important contingent of the bureaucracy of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries was constituted by Basques and in very far away places: in America, in the Habsburg empire, in Flanders. They showed up everywhere. This gave them the possibility... of taking part not only in public affairs, but also in private businesses."⁸⁰

Spanish literacy was also necessary in the advanced sectors of the Basque economy. The technological innovations introduced through the *Camino de Santiago* and the intense trade with Castile and northern Europe developed a new form of social production in the Basque country which required literacy skills among a growing number of people. The training of literacy specialists gave rise to the development of a scribal tradition:

78 Quoted in Aranzadi (1981:400), *Milenarismo vasco. Edad de oro, etnia y nativismo*.

79 See Juaristi (1992), *Vestigios de Babel. Para una arqueología de los nacionalismos españoles*.

80 Caro Baroja (1986:56), *Introducción a la historia social y económica del pueblo vasco*.

"This was a teaching that depended on the church, on rural notaries, they took youngsters from the towns or even the countryside and prepared them not only for writing in Castilian, but also for writing public documents in a nice, elegant and intelligible manner. They were also taught accountancy, book keeping, etc."⁸¹

Caro Baroja once remarked sarcastically that the Basques have written a great deal but have not read in equal measure. It is in any case no accident that Basque scribes have set the standards of Spanish calligraphy.⁸² Knowledge of Spanish *literacy* was a meritocratic way out for many who saw their future away from the Basque country. This functioned as a powerful magnet for the reproduction of Spanish among the better off sections of the Basque population.

The poverty of agriculture and the widespread practice of single inheritance of the farmstead resulted in a demographic model, particularly in Vizcaya and Guipuzcoa, which combined natality controls through celibacy and late marriages with the systematically expulsion of the surplus population.⁸³ This also explains why so many Basques became sailors, soldiers and saints under the banner of Spanish colonialism. For those who could not inherit a farm the common available choices were local manufacture, the Church or emigration to other Spanish provinces or overseas.

81 Caro Baroja (1986:54-5), *Introducción a la historia social y económica del pueblo vasco*.

82 Earlier exponents of this calligraphic tradition are Juan de Iciar and Madariaga. In the 19th century José Francisco de Iturzaeta Eizaguirre (1788-1853) published standard works on calligraphy and became director of the Royal Teacher's Training College.

83 The medium age of women at marriage in Vizcaya was 27.5 years at the end of the 18th century and maintained itself at this level during the 19th century. Only during short periods after wars the availability of vacant farmsteads permitted younger couples to marry earlier.

2.3.5 The articulation of traditional agriculture and iron manufacture

The reproduction of the state language beyond urban contexts and the realms of administration and trade was, however, relatively limited. The subsistence family farm constituted the basic production unit in the countryside where the Basque language had its home base.

The family farm seems to have existed in relatively unchanged form since the Middle Ages. It was usually leased for several generations and constituted an indivisible unit of production which had to be passed down as a unit.⁸⁴ The farmsteads were not only production units for the subsistence of the family but they generated rent for the landlord as well. Farming was mixed with corn⁸⁵ and garden vegetables for family consumption and wheat for the payment of rent. The communal lands provided an additional source of income for the peasantry.

Despite its fundamentally subsistence character the family farm participated indirectly in the commercial circuit. Since agricultural production could not satisfy the needs of the local population, food had to be imported which resulted in higher wheat prices and equally high benefits for the landowners.⁸⁶

Iron manufacture - formed by a multitude of small workshops scattered throughout the countryside - encompassed a whole range of related activities such as mining, wood cutting, coal making, transportation, etc. Traditionally the raw materials of iron

84 However, inheritance practices varied regionally. In the Vizcayan area of *Encartaciones* land was divided equally among the children, while in other parts of Vizcaya the eldest son usually inherited the whole farm. In parts of Navarra, the parents chose one of the children - who could also be a daughter - to inherit the family farm.

85 The introduction of corn since the 17th century permitted an important population growth in the countryside. Corn adapted very well to the local climatic conditions in the Atlantic Basque country and quickly became the staple food of the peasantry. On the other hand, the expansion of its cultivation responded to a period of crisis in the commercial and iron manufacturing sector.

86 In fact the major uprisings during the *ancien régime* often started in protest against speculation in the price of wheat.

manufacture - such as iron ore or trees needed for charcoal production - were obtained from communal lands.

With the expansion of the Spanish colonial market the traditional iron masters could not finance the whole production cycle alone and had to borrow money, food or raw materials from the Basque merchants who later bought the finished product at favourable prices.⁸⁷ Despite an increasing technological backwardness iron manufacture managed to endure for centuries due to the easy access to very rich iron ore deposits, proximity to harbours for exporting the final product and a legislation which made the Basque provinces into tax-free zones and allowed the protected access to Spanish colonial markets.⁸⁸

In the context of the Basque economic structure with its iron manufacturing industry and distant trade links, the use of Spanish was widespread in the towns. However the Basque language continued reproducing itself in the subsistence economy of the family farm.

2.3.6 The impact of the Counter Reformation on the Basque language

The Basque language is taken nowadays as demonstration that the Basques constitute a unique ethnic group, and in nationalist discourse as evidence that they are not Spaniards. During the *ancien régime*, on the other hand, Basque intellectuals used the antiquity of the vernacular language as proof that the Basques were the "first" Spaniards. In the sixteenth century the Basque scribe Garibay - a personal secretary of Philip II - put forward the theory that Basque was the original language of Spain.

87 This practice known as the "Verlagssystem" gave the merchants higher profits than the simple interest on lent capital and constituted a major mechanism for the reproduction of capital in this advanced feudal social formation. See Fernández de Pinedo (1982), "Los primeros pasos en el proceso de industrialización en el País Vasco."

88 See Bilbao Bilbao (1983), "La primera etapa de la industrialización en el País Vasco, 1800-1880: cambio tecnológico y estructura de la industria siderúrgica."

The Basques were supposed to have been one of the 76 tribes that resulted from the confusion of Babel and to have entered the Iberian peninsula led by Noah's grandchild Tubal.⁸⁹ This theory - known as Basque-Iberism - underscored the claim that Basque blood had no mixture with Jewish or Muslim blood and fitted perfectly in an ideology which underlined the loyalty to the Castilian crown and saw Foral privileges as rewards for long and faithful service to the monarchy.⁹⁰

As opposed to Wales where a political compromise allowed the standardization of the vernacular as a means of spreading the state religion, this did not happen in the Basque country. Vernacular Bible translations were associated with the ideas of the Reformation and as Spain clung to Catholic orthodoxy this nipped in the bud the literary development of the Basque language and its standardization.⁹¹ The development of written Basque was nonetheless encouraged for a short period of time in a small territory of the French Basque country: the area of Soule in Bearn, ruled by the Queen of Navarra Juana Albrecht.⁹² The Queen launched a campaign of evangelization after her conversion to Calvinism in 1559. In 1563 the Synode of Pau entrusted the priest Leizarraga with the translation of the New Testament which was

89 See Tovar (1980), *Mitología e ideología sobre la lengua vasca. Historia de los estudios sobre ella*. Since Tubal is described in the Bible as a smith it seemed natural that he would have been the "ancestor" of the Basques for whom the working of iron was traditionally a very important activity.

90 This theory became quite popular and was later propagated by authors like Andrés de Poza, Baltasar de Echave, Joanes Etcheberri de Sara and Manuel de Larramendi from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. Wilhelm von Humboldt was another adherent of Basque-Iberism although only from a linguistic point of view.

91 The first full translation of the Bible to Basque was done by Jean Duvoisin at the request of prince Bonaparte and was published in London between 1859 and 1865.

92 After the conquest of most of Navarra by Fernando "El Católico" in 1512, the Navarran kings took refuge in their remaining possessions in French Navarre.

published in 1571.⁹³ Since his audience were the Queen's subjects in Soule, Leizarraga's translation was based upon the local Labord dialect which was embellished by the profuse use of Latin borrowings. This dialectal base and the abundance of Latin neologisms made Leizarraga's Gospel translation inappropriate as a model of standard Basque:

"... the use of neologisms instead of Basque words of common use (*fluvio* instead of *ibai*, *cena* for *afari*, *damnacione* for *kalte*, *pescadore* for *arrantzale*, etc.) responded to the plan of constructing a language as different from colloquial Basque as possible. Pursuing the highest form of expression which the Basque language could furnish to the sacred text, Leizarraga achieved something totally different from a koine: he created a style, admirable perhaps, but impracticable for the rest of the Basques."⁹⁴

Leizarraga's difficulties were compounded by the lack of a literary tradition that would provide some guidelines for the Bible translation as had been the case in Wales. But most decisive was the defeat of Protestantism in the northern Basque territories following the end of the Concilium of Trient in 1563. The Basque language was reduced to serving the everyday needs of the peasant community and under these circumstances literary production was minimal.

Most early works of Basque literature were written in the French Basque area, a fact that has been explained as the positive influence exercised by the seminal efforts of Leizarraga.⁹⁵ In the 18th century literary developments gained a new impulse in the Spanish Basque country under the Guipuzcoan Jesuit Manuel de Larramendi who

93 Leizarraga and his collaborators published three books in 1571: *Jesus Christ Gure Jaunaren Testamentu* (Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ), *ABC edo Christinoen Instruktionea* (ABC or Instruction of the Christians) and *Kalendrera* (Calendar).

94 Juaristi (1987:43), *Literatura vasca*.

95 Leizarraga and Axular were the major representatives of the so-called school of Sara. However, this school declined in the 18th century along with the French-Basque economy affected by the loss of fisheries in Newfoundland and America at the treaty of Utrecht in 1713. See Sarasola (1982:51), *Historia social de la literatura vasca*.

published the first Basque grammar in 1729 and a Basque-Spanish-Latin dictionary in 1745.⁹⁶

As Sarasola remarks: "*Basque literature is the literature of the Basque clergy*".⁹⁷ This statement is validated by looking at the Basque literary production until the late 19th century. Between 1545 and 1879 only 587 books were published in Basque, 101 of which were original works - not translations - (see Table 1 for the total literary production between 1545 and 1879). Most of these books except twelve dealt with religious topics. They were mainly prayer books that were often intended for being read aloud to an audience.⁹⁸ This meager Basque literary production lacked linguistic unity since each author usually wrote in his local dialect.⁹⁹

96 This dictionary contains many neologism and is an early exponent of the purist orientation which would pervade Basque literature in the early part of the twentieth century.

97 Sarasola (1982:52), *Historia social de la literatura vasca*.

98 Basque has a rich oral tradition which has been studied by linguists and folklorists. See Azkue (1988), *Euskalerrriaren yakintza. Literatura popular del País vasco*.

99 Certain dialect-specific conventions developed but they fell short of a proper standardization.

2.4 Conclusion: dynamics of language reproduction under feudalism

Under pre-capitalist relations of production the Basque and Welsh languages were able to reproduce themselves for centuries despite being subordinated to their respective state languages. The expansion of feudalism and the settling of foreign populations led to the development of cities and the establishment of new relations of production and exchange. The wars between the towns and the feudal lords (War of the Roses and the *Banderizo* Wars) resulted in the consolidation of royal authority and the strengthening of state apparatuses.

The urban classes and commercial landowners allied themselves with the monarchy and emerged victorious in the struggles against the feudal lords. This process resulted in the final integration of the Basque country and Wales into their respective states and established a new political structure (two legal landmarks of this process are the Acts of Union of 1536-1543 and the Vizcayan *Fuero Nuevo* of 1526). The state language was employed as a tool of political domination, as shown by the official

Table 1 Basque literary production by dialect (1545-1879)
Source: Sarasola (1982:182)

	1545 to 1599	1600 to 1649	1650 to 1699	1700 to 1749	1750 to 1799	1800 to 1849	1850 to 1879	Total
V				2	9	38	27	76
G				8	45	46	96	195
L	3	11	21	18	36	81	89	259
S			4	6	13	21	13	57

The dialects are V= Vizcaino, G= Guipuzcoano & Altonavarro, L= Labortano & Bajonavarro, S= Suletino & subdialect of Mixe

status of English in Wales and the requisite of Spanish literacy for being elected to the Vizcayan Parliament.¹⁰⁰

The expansion of feudalism through conquest and colonization turned Wales into a society with two different socio-economic formations, the traditional upland tribal social organization and a new advanced feudal agriculture and urban economy:

"Between the late eleventh and early fourteenth century a major influx of alien colonists (in relation to the existing size of the population of Wales) settled in the country. This alien settlement was part of the movement of peoples in search of new lands common throughout much of Europe in these centuries. In Wales, as elsewhere, it was a movement undertaken under the aegis and within the framework of lordship; its aim was to underpin the process of military and political subjection... Wales was now a country of two peoples, two cultures, two (or more) languages, and, in a measure, two social and economic formations."¹⁰¹

In the Basque country the *Reconquista* and the integration into the emerging Spanish state similarly gave rise to two quite different social and linguistic formations. Caro Baroja refers to two rhythms of development in the Basque society of the 16th century based upon a different technology and social organization of production:

"It is very curious that it is still possible to study today - through linguistics and folklore - something that connects with a primitive past. But we need to consider another rhythm... the rhythm of a technologically spinning modernity."¹⁰²

The articulation between these two social formations, the still dominant feudal agriculture and the urban economy, highlights the relationship between social production and the spread of the state languages. Early Basque urbanization took

100 "The Acts of the Vizcayan Parliament during the 18th century provide evidence of punishments and fines imposed to the villages which dared to send delegates which did not fulfill this requisite [of Spanish literacy] and spoke only Basque." Extramiana (1979:342), *Historia de las guerras Carlistas*, vol. 1.

101 Davies, R.R. (1987:462), *Conquest, Coexistence and Change. Wales 1063-1415*.

102 Caro Baroja (1986:28), *Introducción a la historia social y económica del pueblo vasco*.

place following the *Camino de Santiago* in the southern Basque territories which were more accessible and suitable for commercial cereal cultivation. Therefore Basque retreated in this area much faster than in the coastal provinces where agricultural production was dominated by the subsistence family farm. Similar geographical factors mediated the Norman conquest and colonization of Wales which occurred first in the agriculturally rich eastern lowlands and southern coastal areas. There too, English replaced Welsh which survived in the upland areas of the country.

The coexistence of the state languages and the vernacular varieties in feudal society was possible because the vernacular varieties remained as the language of production. The urban classes acquired the state language, but a large part of the population continued using the vernaculars in their productive activities and everyday life in general. Literacy was a professional skill practiced by specialized groups such as scribes and lawyers who mediated between the state language and the majority of the vernacular-speaking population. A description of the sociolinguistic situation in the Basque-speaking areas in 1778 illustrates this:

"... priests, scribes, doctors, surgeons, pharmacists, veterinaries, iron masters, tax collectors, students, some muleteers and sailors know the Castilian language and the rest the Basque language which is the most used and common."¹⁰³

The driving forces of the reproduction of the state languages in the Basque country and Wales were determined by the articulation between the feudal economy and the emerging capitalist elements within it. However, the specific manner in which state integration occurred in each case had different consequences for the vernacular languages.

Wales was conquered and fully integration into the British state since early on through the imposition of English laws and political institutions. But while its independence was negated, at the same time a fragmentized Wales became united and this permitted the development of a Welsh identity. Although English was imposed as a state language the ideological imperative of converting the king's

103 Quoted in Apat-Echebarne (1974:60), *Una geografía diacrónica del euskera en Navarra*.

subjects to the state Anglican religion in the 16th century brought about a Bible translation which became the foundation of a written standard Welsh that would become crucial for the continued literary cultivation of the language.

The Basque country, on the other hand, while it had a multitude of economic and political relations with Spain preserved a great deal of administrative autonomy. By recognizing the authority of the Spanish king its inhabitants enjoyed privileges such as tax exemption and the status of nobility. But the provincial character of the *Fueros* did not allow the development of a Basque administrative unity. On the other hand, the leading role of Spain in the Counter Reformation prevented a full Bible translation in Basque and the standardization of the language as had been the case with Welsh and other European vernaculars. As a result the Basque language was not able to overcome dialectal fractionation and its literary development was aborted. A standard unified Basque - known as *euskara batua* - has only been created in the late 1960s.

CHAPTER 3

CAPITALIST TRANSITION AND LANGUAGE RELATIONS (1750-1850)

3.1 Capitalist transition in the Basque country

3.1.1 Economic crisis and the completion of national integration

The Basque economy had been closely involved with the Spanish colonial empire through its iron manufacture and commercial contacts. The province of Guipuzcoa, for instance, was granted a royal trade monopoly with Venezuela in 1728 which led to the foundation of the profitable "*Compañía Guipuzcoana de Navegación de Caracas*".¹

The Spanish Empire had however been facing an increasing challenge from England and other colonial powers,² and the decline of long-established colonial markets since the 18th century resulted in a serious economic crisis for the Basque country. During the War of Independence against Napoleon (1808-1814) Spain loosened its grip on the American colonies which after 1815 achieved their independence in rapid succession.

The Basque provinces had traditionally been free trade zones and were exempted from custom duties. But the Bourbon monarchy attempted to change this situation from the beginnings of the 18th century. The custom decrees of 1763, 1779 and 1789 taxed goods brought into Spain through the Basque provinces, something that had negative repercussions on Basque trade:

1 Sarasola points out that the literay movement which emerged around the Guipuzcoan Jesuit Larramendi coincided with this period of prosperity. Sarasola (1982:54), *Historia social de la literatura vasca*.

2 After the treaty of Utrecht in 1713 Spain lost Gibraltar and gave the rights for the slave trade with the American colonies to England.

"... between 1800-1808 wool exports collapsed. In the first five years of the nineteenth century 25 to 30 per cent of exports were lost, paradoxically coinciding with an increase in the consumption of Spanish wool by England."³

Together with the loss of the colonial markets and the increasing taxation pressure from Spain the major pillar of the Basque economy - the traditional iron industry - underwent a great crisis increasingly unable to stand the competition of industrially produced British iron. During the 1760s yearly iron output in Vizcaya was around 7,000 tons. By 1826 it had been halved to approximately 3,300 tons. In Guipuzcoa it fell from 4,300 to 2,800 tons during the same period.⁴ The Basque merchants progressively withdrew from their earlier financing of iron manufacture and stopped selling Basque iron.⁵ By the mid-nineteenth century the traditional iron workshops had practically died out.

Looking for a way out of the crisis the Basque merchant bourgeoisie started an engagement in industrial production. The first attempts to modernize the iron sector were undertaken in the mid-19th century. In 1841 the first charcoal blast furnace in Vizcaya was built in Bolueta, a high blast furnace in Guriezo followed in 1847 and in 1859 a factory was opened in Baracaldo using the Charnot method. Accompanying developments in the iron industry the food and paper sectors were also industrialized. By 1866 the province of Guipuzcoa was producing most of the Spanish paper.⁶

With this incipient industrial orientation the free trade status of the Basque provinces - one of the cornerstones of the *Fueros* - increasingly turned into a handicap for Bilbao and San Sebastian merchants, as well as for Navarran

3 García de Cortázar & Montero (1983:192-3) *Diccionario de Historia del País Vasco*, vol. 1.

4 Fernández de Pinedo (1982:16), "Los primeros pasos en el proceso de industrialización en el País Vasco".

5 Some Basque merchants however imported English iron and introduced it into Spain as if it were Basque iron in order to avoid paying higher taxes.

6 González Portilla (1981:165), *La formación de la sociedad capitalista en el País Vasco*.

landowners, whose products found outlet in the Spanish market. Thus the calls for a complete integration of the Basque provinces into Spain intensified:

"Having lost the external market (the American colonial market and the European for Basque iron), the formation of an internal market was of decisive importance both for the Catalan textile bourgeoisie and for the incipient Basque industrial bourgeoisie. Their prosperity depended on the abolition of the old shackles that prevented the free circulation of goods between the Basque country and the rest of Spain."⁷

The free trade status was however in the interest of the peasantry and urban consumers which could this way acquire cheaper cereals and other foodstuffs. Since the 18th century the question of the custom borders became enmeshed with the broader issue of preserving the *Fueros*. Already in 1718 there had been an early attempt to move the customs to the coast, but the idea was abandoned in 1723 after peasant protests. In 1766 there was another large scale peasant uprising (*matxinada*) against grain hoarding and speculation by merchants and landowners during a period of scarcity.⁸

The wars with France at the turn of the 19th century - War against the Convention (1793-95) and the War of Independence (1808-1814) - aggravated the crisis of the Basque economy.⁹ Due to its strategic position the Basque country was the first territory to be occupied and the last one to be abandoned in both wars. The destruction caused by the wars and the taxes levied by the warring parties brought many municipal councils into great financial hardship. Some were forced to sell their communal lands in order to pay back the debts.¹⁰

7 González Portilla (1981:168-9), *La formación de la sociedad capitalista en el País Vasco*.

8 See Otazu (1982:117), *La burguesía revolucionaria vasca a fines del siglo XVIII*.

9 There was a third French intervention in 1823 when the army of the "Hundred thousand children of St. Louis" invaded Spain to put an end to the Liberal regime in power since 1820. But this time the French troops came in to support the *ancien régime*.

10 See Fernández de Pinedo (1974b), "La entrada de la tierra (continued...)"

The privatization of the commons deprived the peasantry of vital resources for survival. In Vizcaya, for instance, the mines were communal property and any Vizcayan native had the right to dig up a mine and sell the ore extracted.¹¹ The Spanish Mining Law of 1825 put an end to this traditional form of ownership legalizing the private property of mineral resources. This law was passed by the Vizcayan Parliament in 1827 with the proviso that *only Vizcayans* had the right of acquiring the mines. This was justified on the grounds that until that time the mines had belonged to the inhabitants of the province. The local bourgeoisie thus managed to exclude foreign capital from the ownership of the mines which by the mid-19th century had become concentrated in the hands of a few merchant families from Bilbao.¹² The old prohibition of exporting iron ore was also abrogated. The transformations in land ownership and related legal changes thus set the foundations for the large-scale export of iron ore toward the end of the century and the development of industrial capitalism in the Basque country.

10(...continued)
 en el circuito comercial: la Desamortización en Vascongadas. Planteamiento y primeros resultados", and Fernández de Pinedo (1985a), "Del censo a la obligación: modificaciones en el crédito rural antes de la primera Guerra Carlista en el País Vasco."

11 But if the mine was not worked for over a year it reverted to communal ownership. Von Humboldt travelled through Vizcaya during 1802 and found this form of pre-capitalist production very inefficient. See Wilhelm von Humboldt: "Reisseskizzen aus Biskaya", *Gesammelte Werke*. Band III (213-240).

12 See Mutiloa, J.M. (1984), *La desamortización en Vizcaya*. On the ownership of the mines see Uriarte Ayo, R. (1988:26), *Estructura, desarrollo y crisis de la siderurgia tradicional vizcaina (1700-1840)*.

Table 2 Basque population (1787-1857)
Source: Fernández de Pinedo (1974:100)

	Vizcaya	Guipuzcoa	Alava
1787	114,726	119,415	71,182
1797	111,603	104,491	69,158
1810	112,920	115,587	70,000
1825	144,875	135,838	92,807
1857	160,579	156,493	96,398

Between 1768 and 1857 the population of the Basque provinces increased approximately 50 percent (see Table 2). This surplus population could not be absorbed by the declining traditional manufacture or by the traditional farm whose existence was made inviable by the privatization of communal lands. The rural population was forced to emigrate to American destinations or to other Spanish provinces:

"By the 1850s emigration of both Spanish and French Basques involved thousands of persons annually... The notable difference between this movement and the earlier colonial emigration of Basques to the New World was that it was no longer constituted by elitist missionaries, mercenaries, mariners and merchants. Peasants and the urban lower classes predominated in this search for new opportunity, and they were disposed if need be to enter the lowest rungs of the New World socioeconomic scale."¹³

3.1.2 The civil wars and the abolition of the *Fueros*

The conflicts generated by the transformations in land ownership and the structural crisis of the Basque economy exploded violently into two civil wars: the First Carlist War (1833-1839) and the Second Carlist War (1871-1876).¹⁴

¹³ Douglass and Bilbao (1975:122), *Amerikanuak. Basques in the New World*.

¹⁴ The First Carlist War started as a dynastic succession conflict. The Liberals supported Ferdinand VII's daughter Princess Isabel (only 4 years old at her father's death in 1833), while the
(continued...)

"The ruling group was divided, the rural masses were cruelly affected by the crisis, unemployment was chronic and the *Fueros* were being challenged; the clergy, also discontent, came increasingly closer to the people. But the urban masses were also victims of the same economic crisis; discontent seemed generalized. However, the Basque people was split up into two hostile camps."¹⁵

The bourgeoisie, some successful landowners and other urban strata stood on the Liberal side, while the peasantry established a common front with a sector of the landowners and the Church. The Liberal orientation of the Basque bourgeoisie was not new. Already in 1794, after San Sebastian surrendered to the troops of the French Convention, some local merchants demanded that the province of Guipuzcoa should join the French Republic.¹⁶ And during the War of Independence leading members of the Basque bourgeoisie supported the regime established by the French.¹⁷

Although the vast majority of the Basque territory - apart from Bilbao and a few other towns - was under Carlist control in both wars, eventually the Liberal side emerged victorious from these confrontations. The Liberals constituted a small minority in the Basque country but ultimately gained military superiority assisted by troops brought in from other parts of Spain. The Carlist army, on the contrary, was formed by local recruits. Thus, the defeat of the Carlists generated a feeling of military occupation and, together with the transformations of industrialization,

14(...continued)
Conservatives stood by the king's brother, Prince Don Carlos. Some authors even talk about three Carlist Wars, counting the sporadic armed confrontations of the late 1840s as the Second Carlist War. This is however not a widely accepted position.

15 Extramiana (1979:124-25), *Historia de las Guerras Carlistas*, vol. 1.

16 For the background to this early revolutionary position of the Basque bourgeoisie see Otazu (1982:117), *La burguesía revolucionaria vasca a fines del siglo XVIII*.

17 Urquijo and Mazarredo, two Basque ministers under Carlos IV, continued in their positions under the government of Napoleon's brother José I.

constituted one of the foundations for the emergence of Basque nationalism toward the end of the 19th century.

The consequences of the civil wars were the full integration of the Basque provinces into the Spanish state and the end of their peculiar long-standing legal status. In 1841, after the end of the First Carlist War, the custom borders were definitively moved to the coast.¹⁸ The privatization of common lands was set forth by Liberal governments in the late 1830s and mid-1850s.¹⁹ And in 1876 - immediately after the conclusion of the Second Carlist War - the *Fueros* were abolished. Some of the earlier economic privileges were however preserved and even strengthened for the benefit of the victorious Basque bourgeoisie. In an agreement reached with the central government following the abolition of the *Fueros*, a new form of financial administration known as the "*conciertos económicos*" was introduced. The Basque provinces were now required to contribute a negotiated tax amount to the central administration. But it was up to the provincial governments to raise this sum of money as they wished. In practice this system awarded a great deal of financial and taxation autonomy which responded fully to the interests of the bourgeoisie that controlled the provincial administrations.²⁰

3.1.3 The appearance of the Basque language as a political issue

The defense of the *Fueros* was not only a Carlist demand but found widespread support in Basque society during the 19th century. Even some Basque liberals wished

18 An earlier attempt to do that had taken place during the "*Trienio Liberal*" (1820-1823).

19 These privatization programs are known as "*amortizaciones*". See Mutiloa (1984), *La desamortización en Vizcaya*.

20 The first "*concierto*" was approved on the 28th of February 1878 and, while in principle agreed only for a period of eight years, was prolonged several times until 1937 when the Basque provinces achieved an Estatute of Autonomy during the short-lived Spanish Second Republic.

their reformed preservation after the economic integration into the Spanish market had been achieved.²¹

Traditionally the status of nobility and the special privileges contained in the *Fueros* were clear signs that differentiated the Basques from the rest of the Spaniards. The defense of the *Fueros* generated a cultural movement during the 19th century which idealized them and forged a Basque tradition. This was achieved through the literary genre of the historical novel - all written in Spanish - where the value of the *Fueros* was exalted by a mixture of real historical events and mythology. The oral poetry in the Basque language known as "*bersolarismo*" was also associated to the defense of the *Fueros*.²²

Despite of the fact that many Basque-speaking areas had become bilingual since the 17th and 18th century and that parts of Alava and Navarra had lost Basque, the language had never been an issue of public concern. During the period of absolutism the Basque language had been a more or less taken for granted as part of Basque identity and even considered as evidence that the Basques were the original Spaniards (see chapter 2).

21 Some nationalist spokesmen argue that without Spanish military intervention a sector of the Basque bourgeoisie which supported the *Fueros* might have developed into a national bourgeoisie that would have striven for Basque independence. Beltza, for instance, argues that: "... in the last instance, the decisive factor for the inclusion of Southern Euskadi in the Spanish nation state during the nineteenth century did not stem from the internal development of our society but, above all, from the whole political life of nineteenth century Spain." Beltza (1978:86), *Del Carlismo al nacionalismo burgués*. However, the desire to preserve the *Fueros* presupposed a Spanish national framework, and demands of national independence were never formulated by the bourgeoisie at that time.

22 Despite its popularization through Basque festivals this form of oral poetry could not shake off its folkloric and peasant character. In the Basques Festivals of Marquina in 1883 the first poetry prize was awarded as much money as the second prize in the hand ball competition. See Juaristi (1987), *El linaje de Aitor. La invención de la tradición vasca*.

But with the crisis of traditional society the distinctive character of the Basque language increasingly became a symbol that emphasized the difference between the Basques and the rest of the Spaniards. Immediately after the abolition of the *Fueros* the *Asociación Euskara* was founded in Navarra in 1878 with the objective of "*preserving and propagating the Basque-Navarrese language, literature and history, study their laws and contribute to the moral and material well-being of the country*". But this intellectual attempt only lasted a few years and did not lead to a mass linguistic and cultural movement.

The decline of the vernacular acquired a growing visibility²³ in the political discourse where the language was used in a symbolic way. This can be exemplified by the speech of a Vizcayan politician in 1864:

"A feeling saddens my soul and a bitter sorrow burdens my heart which is full of enthusiasm today. I am a Vizcayan but I neither speak nor understand the language of this country that stands at the summit of the history of all peoples. I have heard many times about the riches that it possesses, but I have never been able to understand its beauty. I have only learnt two words... they are two words that make wonders in our souls... (*Great expectation*) Do you know which words they are? JAUNGOICOA ETA FORUAC! DIOS Y FUEROS! [GOD AND FUEROS!] (*Long applause*) We bow in front of God and in front of the *Fueros* we all raise our hearts with both hands. See how great we are! No wonder they envy us so much! (*Bravo, bravo!*)."²⁴

This tendency of reducing the use of the Basque language to a symbolic level and emphasizing it as a major element in the definition of Basque identity became more and more pronounced with the appearance of nationalism at the turn of the twentieth century.

23 In 1879 the poet Arrese Beitia won a prize in the Basque Festivals held at Elizondo with a composition entitled "*¡Ama Euskeriari Azken Agurrak!*" (Last Goodbye to Mother Euskera) where he grieved over the loss of Basque.

24 Quoted in Herbosa López (1992:306), "Traducciones, declaraciones y jaculatorias. El euskera en las instituciones forales vizcaínas en el siglo XIX."

3.2 Determinants of capitalist transition in Wales

3.2.1 Industrialization and social conflicts

Welsh industrialization was driven by the force of the rising British colonial market. Wales possessed abundant mineral resources and a favourable location between the leading slave trade centres of Liverpool and Bristol. Since the mid-18th century Englishmen began establishing metal industries in Wales and by the early 19th century capitalist industrialization had already taken root in the southern counties of Glamorgan and Monmouth as well as in the northern coalfield of Flint. The Welsh iron industry reached its heyday at about the same time as Basque iron manufacture entered into its final crisis and certainly played a role in the latter's decline. By 1800 Wales accounted for 40 per cent of British pig iron production, a share still maintained in 1823 with an output of 182,300 tons. In 1847 Welsh iron represented 35 per cent of British total production with 720,000 tons.²⁵ Other important industries were those of copper, brass and tin located around Swansea.²⁶

Early industrialization coincided with an agricultural depression which lasted from the end of the Napoleonic wars until the mid-19th century. Land rents increased substantially during the war years and remained high despite falling agricultural prices after the wars. Farm leases which had traditionally been long-term were progressively shortened and became allocated annually in order to keep up with inflation. Furthermore, the enclosures of communal lands deprived tenants of a major resource for their livelihood through a loss of grazing rights. The growth of the population from 278,000 in 1650 to 480,000 in 1801 aggravated land scarcity and many tenants were forced off the land. As a result of the process of land concentration by 1873 a mere 1 per cent of the landowners possessed 60 per cent of

²⁵ Minchinton (1969:xiii-xiv), *Industrial South Wales 1750-1914: Essays in Welsh Economic History*.

²⁶ Before 1800, 90 per cent of the copper and brass industries of Britain were located around Swansea.

the land while 75 per cent of small landowners held only 5 per cent.²⁷ Local politics and justice were controlled by the gentry which subjected the peasantry to onerous tax burdens.

At the same time, the development of industrial capitalism in England drove the traditional Welsh wool home manufacture into acute crisis as they could not compete with the Liverpool and Lancashire textile factories. The issue of Corn Laws was another cause of discontent since most tenants were compelled to purchase corn for their own consumption at artificially high prices. The increasing misery of the rural population produced outbreaks of rural protest such as food riots in the 1790s and early 1800s and the Rebecca riots in 1839 and 1842-1843. In the expanding industrial sector resistance against the appalling working and living conditions generated the first working class protest movements like the 1816 miner's strike and the Scotch Cattle movement of the early 1820. Early working class activism reached its climax with the Merthyr Rising of 1832 and the support of Chartism in the 1830s and 1840s.

3.2.2 Class struggle and the spread of nonconformity

The class conflicts in the countryside and in the expanding industrial sector took the appearance of a conflict that could be schematically described along religious and linguistic lines.²⁸ Both the Welsh landed gentry and the new English capitalist class had a "foreign" character in language, religion and culture. The Welsh gentry had already been anglicized for centuries and stood against a majoritarily Welsh-speaking and increasingly non-conformist peasantry.

Since the late 18th century a majority of the Welsh people left the established Anglican Church and were converted to any of the different nonconformist

²⁷ Evans, D.G. (1989:199), *A History of Wales 1815-1906*.

²⁸ This does not mean that it was an ethnic conflict between English and Welsh nor that an "ethnic division of labour" was established where the Welsh as a whole became an exploited ethnic group, as Hechter would have it. See Hechter (1976), *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development*.

denominations which included Baptists, Independents, Presbyterians and some smaller sects. Nonconformity grew so dramatically because it offered an ideological discourse to oppose the landlord class:

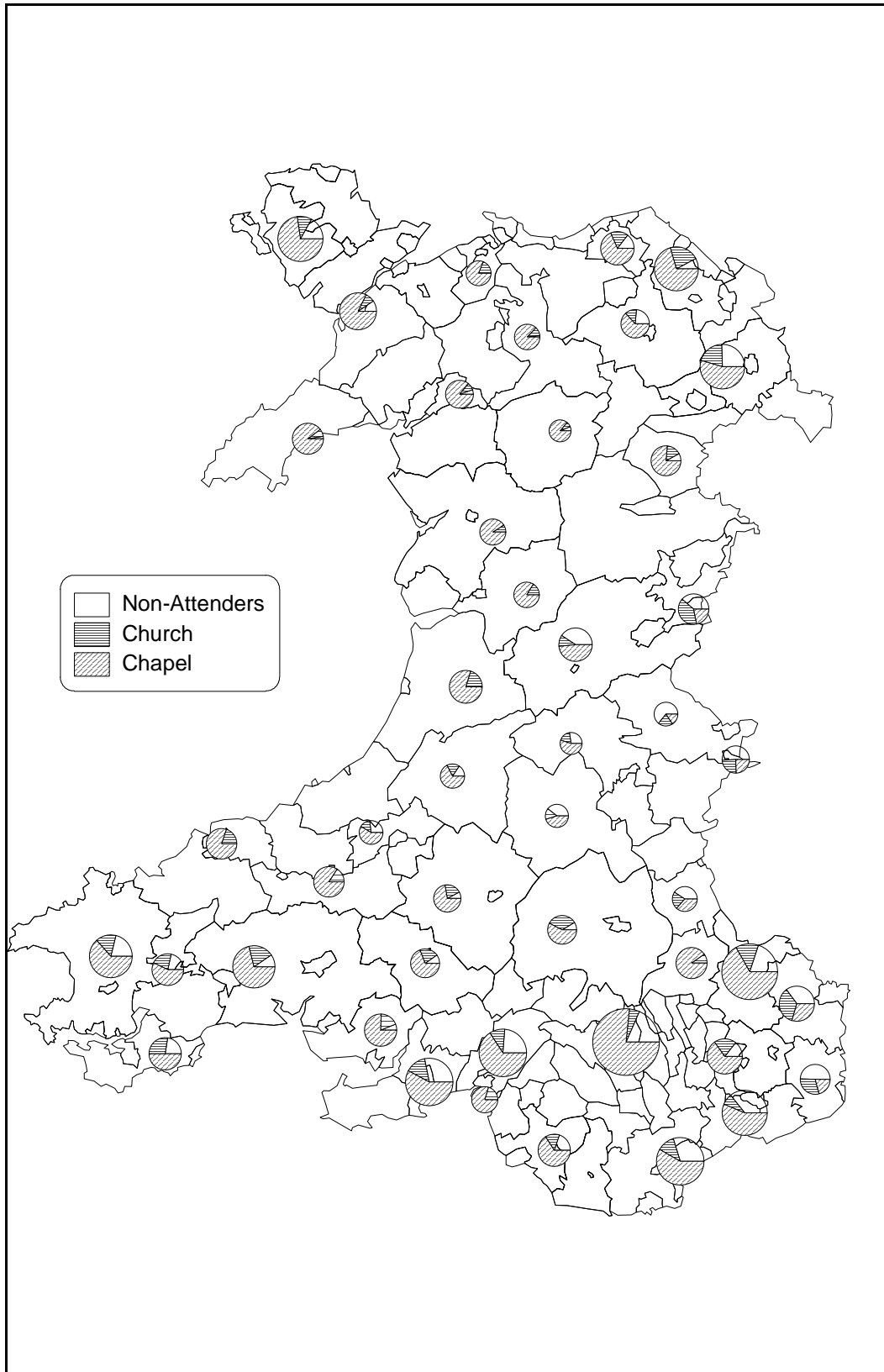
"The imagery of resistance is of a Welsh tenantry oppressed and exploited by an English landed class. This class imposes a foreign religion in an alien language on a culturally and religiously homogeneous people, the Welsh. The discourse of tenant politics is national in character."²⁹

In the second half of the 19th century the membership of the nonconformist denominations far outnumbered that of the Anglican Church (see Map 4). The religious census of 1851 obtained the following count of attendance to Sunday service: 65% non-conformist chapels (767,882), 16% Anglican Church (189,459) and 18% non-attenders (216,176).³⁰

²⁹ Adamson (1991:106), *Class, Ideology and the Nation. A Theory of Welsh Nationalism*.

³⁰ The figures for nonconformity may be inflated in some places due to the fact that some people went to both morning and afternoon services and were thus counted twice. For instance, in the Poor Law District of Aberystwyth 20.3% of the population attended church services while 101% went to the chapel! In the cases where the number of attendants exceeds the total population the figures for nonconformity has been calculated by deducing the number of church-goers from the total population. The data upon which the map is based comes for Poor Law Districts. Since these do not correspond to the boundaries displayed in the map, the pie figures have been located at the centroid of each urban or rural district whose name corresponds to a Poor Law District.

Map 4 Religious census of Wales in 1851
Source: Based on E.T. Davies (1985:33-34)



The cultural divide was equally apparent in the new industrial areas where the Welsh working class confronted English owners and managers. The *Commission on Education* which toured Wales in 1847 described the social structure and sociolinguistic situation of an industrial community as follows:

"The works themselves contain no middle class. There are the proprietors and their agents of administration on the one hand, the mass of operatives on the other. The elimination of the middle class is rendered more complete when, to the economical causes tending to reproduce it, is superadded the separation of language."³¹

Since the mid-nineteenth century there was a turn in economic orientation and the iron industry gave way to coal mining as the engine of economic growth. This provided the economic basis for the triumph of nonconformity since coalmining - as opposed to the earlier industrial phase - was largely financed by local Welsh capital.³² The opening of a mine did not require a great deal of capital and enriched shop owners or middle merchants were in the position to finance it. A new capitalist group formed by native Welsh entrepreneurs emerged along with these changes as the economic ruling class. These economic transformation underlied the growing confidence of the native bourgeoisie which was reflected in the strength of Nonconformity. The struggle of the emerging bourgeoisie for political power was led by the Liberal Party through an alliance with the peasantry:

"The new indigenous bourgeoisie had itself an interest in ending the political supremacy of the landed elite. This emergent capitalist class was in pursuit of its own hegemony; and the feudal landed class was the primary impediment to this process. In addition to the conflict between landlord and tenant, that is, classes belonging to the feudal social formation, we find conflict between a landed class and a capitalist class,

31 Quoted by Davies, E.T. (1965:19), *Religion in the Industrial Revolution in South Wales*.

32 "The economic basis of the triumph of Nonconformity in the social field was bound up with the transition from iron to coal. The hierarchy of the iron and steel industry strengthened the churches rather than the chapels in north Monmouthshire and north-east Glamorgan, because the managerial and technical staffs for those industries had to be imported, usually from the north of England." Davies (1965:147), *Religion in the Industrial Revolution in South Wales*.

the latter being an element of the transition from feudalism to capitalism. The defeat of the landed class is a prerequisite for the establishment of a new economic, political and social hierarchy determined by the relations of production in the capitalist industrial sector of the economy."³³

The defeat of the gentry became obvious in the political struggle for representation in the Westminster Parliament. After the 1870s practically all parliamentary seats - which had traditionally been occupied by the gentry - were taken by the Liberal Party.

3.2.3 The creation of a Welsh tradition

A growing interest in Welsh culture emerged along with the disappearance of the old society. This expressed itself in the foundation of learned societies and institutions promoting Welsh culture both within and without Wales. The efforts of rediscovering a Welsh tradition ended in some cases in its deliberate invention. Many of today's popular symbols of Welsh identity were created at this time:

"... in 1751, when Lewis Morris designed a banner for the newly created Cymmrodorion Society of London Welshmen, he chose, as the two supporting figures to the coat of arms and symbols, the Ancient Druid and St. David... The harp, the leek and the wild mountain goat also emerged as representative symbols of Welsh tradition, as did the three ostrich plumes of the Prince of Wales. In the early nineteenth century the red dragon became a popular symbol, while in the 1830s Augusta Waddington, Lady Llanover, created what is now considered the traditional national costume of Wales, consisting of a large red cloak and a tall black hat."³⁴

During the romantic revival of the end of the eighteenth century the cultural festivals and literary competitions known as the *eisteddfod* were resurrected under the guidance of emigré London Welsh Societies. In its original form the *eisteddfod* constituted a structured guild-like meeting of poets under the patronage of the aristocracy. But by the mid-nineteenth century the *eisteddfod* had become a highly popular institution:

33 Adamson (1991:107), *Class, Ideology and the Nation. A Theory of Welsh Nationalism*.

34 Evans R.P. (1988:157), "Mythology and tradition".

"Every locality, every sizeable chapel in the coalfield, organized its *eisteddfod* as part of the annual round of its week-day activities, and there is no exaggerating the prestige and honour, both on a local and national scale, which was attached to the winning competitors."³⁵

Accompanying this revitalization of "tradition" there was another major impulse for the Welsh language connected with the circulating schools movement founded by Griffith Jones. These schools have been described as "*the most striking experiment in mass religious education in England and its colonies during the eighteenth century*".³⁶ The sole purpose of the schools was spreading Bible literacy among the Welsh population.³⁷ About 150,000 children and 300,000 adults were taught to read the Welsh Bible and at least 116,000 Welsh Bibles were distributed.³⁸ The success of these schools represented a major contribution for the preservation of the Welsh language:

"Although it would be an exaggeration to claim that Griffith Jones's scheme saved the Welsh language from extinction, it is certainly true that the circulating schools were the chief means by which the native tongue was strengthened and preserved during the eighteenth century... Moreover, his schools encouraged the use of Welsh as a spoken and written language and thus enhanced the prestige-value of the language. By 1780 the Welsh language was in a much stronger position to withstand the pressures of

35 Jones, "The south Wales Collier", in Jones, I.G. (1987:132-33)

36 Williams, G. (1979:137), *Madoc: the Making of a Myth*.

37 "What length of time... how many hundreds of years must be allowed for the general attainment of English, and the dying away of the Welsh language?... And in the meantime, while this is adoin... what myriads of poor ignorant souls must launch forth into the dreadful abyss of eternity, and perish for want of knowledge." Griffith Jones in *Welch Piety* (1740). Quoted in Meic Stephens (ed.) (1992:25), *A Most Peculiar People. Quotations about Wales and the Welsh*.

38 The Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge granted Jones financial help. Later the British and Foreign Bible Society was founded in London in 1804 and by 1819 it had financed no less than 143,000 Welsh Bibles. See Durkacz (1983:107), *The Decline of the Celtic Languages*.

Anglicization than it had been fifty years earlier... Not only did Griffith Jones increase literacy levels dramatically, but he also infused new life into an old and honorable Tongue."³⁹

By the end of the eighteenth century a majority of the adult population had become technically literate in Welsh.⁴⁰ The tradition of circulating schools was later continued in the nineteenth century by the Sunday schools of the nonconformist chapels. The widespread character of Welsh literacy was attested by several reports in the mid-19th century. In a description of the industrial town of Merthyr in 1840 Tremenheere wrote:

"... standing behind each other, close to the works and a fair average of the whole, seventeen of the twenty families were Welsh; ten of the husbands could read Welsh and four of the wives could read the Welsh Bible."⁴¹

And the 1847 Commission of Education performed a random check among workers in a Glamorgan company and found that although twenty-three out of twenty-four individuals had attended an English day school, only four of them were capable of reading English. However, nineteen in the same group claimed to be able to read Welsh.⁴²

3.3 Studies about the Basque and Welsh languages on the eve of capitalist industrialization

The socio-historical study of language is a complicated task partly because of the lack of historical language data. Most of the early information available is of an anecdotic nature, such as travel reports or bypassing remarks in literary works, etc.

³⁹ Jenkins, G.H. (1987:380), *The Foundations of Modern Wales 1642-1780*.

⁴⁰ Williams, G.A. (1985:155), *When was Wales?*

⁴¹ Tremenheere (1840) "The state of elementary education in the mining districts of South Wales 1839-40", quoted in E.G. Lewis (1981:113-14), *Bilingualism and Bilingual Education*.

⁴² Durkacz (1983:157), *The Decline of the Celtic Languages*.

But the great social transformations of the nineteenth century awakened an interest in the issue of language which also enabled its social-scientific study.⁴³ The situation of Basque and Welsh on the eve of capitalist industrialization will be discussed on the basis of the contributions of several 19th century and contemporary scholars.

3.3.1 Bonaparte and the study of Basque dialects

Prince Louis Lucian Bonaparte, nephew of Napoleon Bonaparte, undertook several research trips to the Basque country in the 1850s and 1860s to collect lexical, phonetic and grammatical materials about Basque dialects. In 1863 he published a map with a detailed classification and description of the geographical extension of Basque dialects and a year later a book on the Basque verb.⁴⁴ Despite the limitations of the old-fashion view which conceived dialects as homogeneous wholes Bonaparte seems to have had possessed a good ear and after extensive field research arrived at a reasonable classification. With small corrections his classification remains the standard typology of Basque dialects until today.⁴⁵

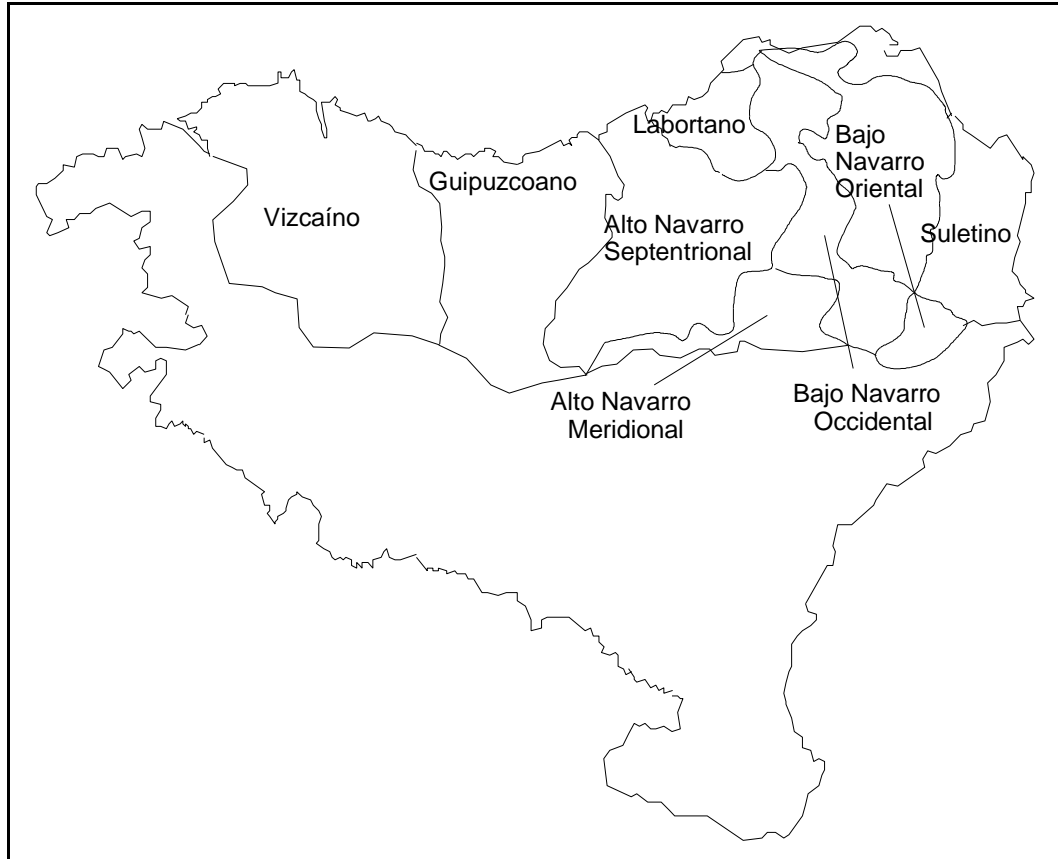
Bonaparte divided Basque into three main groups, eight dialects, twenty-five subdialects and fifty varieties (see Map 5). Unfortunately, he gave no detailed figures about the number of Basque speakers. He indicated however the frequency in the use

43 Several European scholars became interested in the study of the Basque language. Wilhelm von Humboldt was one of the early ones. He accepted the theory that Basque was the primitive language of Spain and contributed to propagate a romantic image of the Basque people. The Irishman Antoine d'Abbadie patronized Basque festivals in the French Basque country since the mid-19th century.

44 Bonaparte, L.L. (1863), *Carte des sept provinces basques montrant la délimitation actuelle de l'euscara, et sa division en dialectes, sous dialectes, et variétés*; and Bonaparte, L.L. (1864), *Le verbe basque en tableaux, accompagné de notes grammaticales selon les huit dialectes de l'euscara*. The map was actually printed in London in 1869 although it is dated in 1863.

45 For an early critique see Menéndez Pidal (1962:45), *En torno a la lengua vasca*. For a contemporary statement of the problem Yrizar (1981), *Contribución a la dialectología vasca*.

Map 5 Bonaparte's classification of Basque dialects in 1863
 Source: Yrizar (1981)



of Basque by distinguishing what he called a "zone of lesser Basque intensity" which included areas in Alava and Navarra where Basque was only spoken by a relatively small percentage of the population, usually older people.



Bonaparte's study portrays the situation of Basque at the end of a long process of subordinated coexistence with the state languages French and Spanish. Basque had been losing territory to them in a slow but continuous process. Western Vizcaya, most of Alava and the southern half of Navarra were already Spanish-speaking at the time of Bonaparte's research. Studies conducted in the 20th century have confirmed the disappearance of Basque in this zone of "less intensity" (especially in Navarra). Sometimes the loss of complete varieties can be precisely dated to the death of its last speaker.⁴⁶

46 Apat-Echebarne (1974), *Una geografía histórica del euskera* (continued...)

The differences among Basque dialects are not reduced to phonetic nuances or lexical peculiarities but can be acute, even in the verbal system, especially among distant dialects. A few examples taken from two distant dialects - vizcaino and labortano - and modern unified Basque, which has come into existence since the late 1960s, highlight the great diversity existing in the Basque speech community even today (see Table 3).

This fractionation can be traced to the coexistence of a relatively isolated subsistence-oriented family farm in the countryside, on the one hand, and an advanced commercial sector in the cities, on the other. This socioeconomic system resulted in very localized and distinct Basque varieties being preserved in the scattered farmsteads and small villages, while a very high level of Spanish literacy existed in the cities due to their advanced economic contacts with Spain and the Spanish colonies.

Table 3 Some forms in Basque dialects and unified Basque
Source: Rayfield (1990b:420)

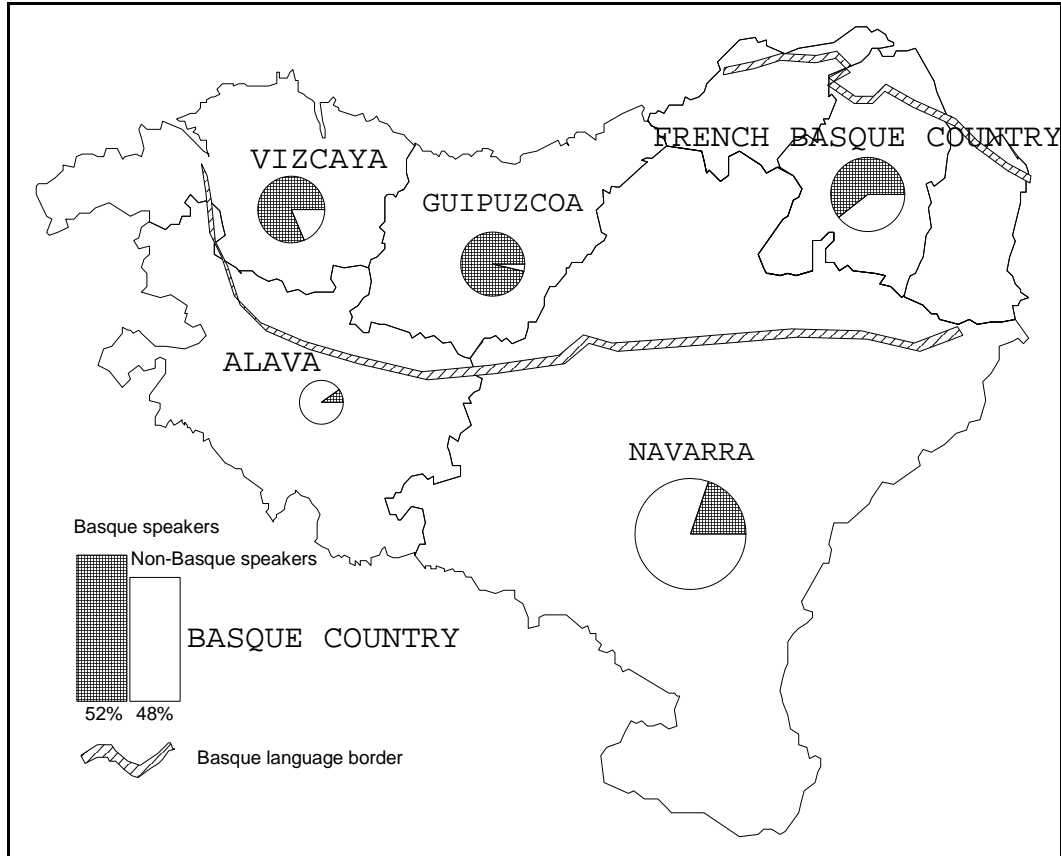
Unified Basque	Vizcaino	Labortano	English
askotan	sarri	ardura	often
atzean	ostean	gibelean	behind
azkar	arin	fite	quickly
bukatu	amaitu	finitu	finished
eseri	jezarri	jarri	to sit
gehiegi	larregi	sobera	too much
jarri	ipini	ezarri	to put
zail	gats	neke	difficult
larunbat	zapatu	egubakoitz	Saturday
verbal forms			
eman diot	-deutsot	-dakot	I gave it to him
ikusi ditut	-dodaz	-tut	I saw them
iruditzen zait	-jat	-zaut	it seems to me

3.3.2 Velasco's overview of the number of Basque speakers

Another scholar that depicted the situation of the Basque language at the beginnings of the period of industrialization was the geographer Ladislao de Velasco in a chapter of his 1879 book *Los euskaros de Alava, Guipúzcoa y Vizcaya*. Velasco stated that over half of the Basque population could speak the vernacular language. However he provided no figures regarding the number of Basque speakers in specific localities or about the crucial question of Basque mono- and bilingualism.⁴⁷ His calculations were simply a subjective estimation of the percentage of Basque speakers on the

⁴⁷ With the exception of some figures for a few villages in northern Alava which are however partly inaccurate. See Apraiz y Buesa (1976:29), *El vascuence en Vitoria y Alava en la última centuria (1850-1950)*.

Map 6 Basque speakers in 1879
 Source: Based on Velasco (1879)



basis of the population figures of the 1867 census (see Map 6). According to Velasco, Basque was almost universally understood in Guipuzcoa. Out of a population of 176,000 in the province 170,000 people knew Basque (96.5 per cent of the provincial population) and 140,000 used it in their everyday life:

"In Guipuzcoa Basque is the language of the people and even the high classes of society who live in the capital and most important towns can speak it although they may not always use it in their everyday life."⁴⁸

Vizcaya with a population of 183,000 also had a relatively high number of Basque speakers. The vernacular language was however not spoken in the western district of Valmaseda (population 28,000) where the mining area was located. Velasco assumed that an estimated number of 6,000 in-migrants who lived in Bilbao did not speak

⁴⁸ Velasco (1879:483), *Los euskaros de Alava, Guipúzcoa y Vizcaya*.

Basque either. Taking away both figures from the provincial population he arrived at the number of 150,000 Basque speakers in Vizcaya (81.5 per cent of the total). This suggests that the nascent industrialization of Vizcaya and the accompanying in-migration⁴⁹ were bringing about the expansion of Spanish (see footnote 49 for a definition of demographic terminology).

According to Velasco Basque had practically disappeared in Alava (population 120,000). It was only preserved in a small northern fringe of the province where 10,500 out of 30,000 people spoke Basque. Together with a further number of 1,500 estimated Basque speakers resident in the capital Vitoria, the number of Basque speakers in Alava was calculated at around 12,000 (only 10 per cent of the provincial population).⁵⁰ For Navarra, Velasco gave the number of 60,000 Basque speakers of a total provincial population of 300,000 (20 per cent of Basque speakers). Most of them lived in an area close to the Pyrenees. For the French Basque country Velasco estimated 80,000 Basque speakers from a population of 123,000 (65 per cent of the total).

While Velasco's figures are simply estimates the overall sociolinguistic picture is similar to that provided by Bonaparte. Guipuzcoa and most of Vizcaya constituted the Basque-speaking stronghold in Spain, while the vernacular had disappeared in most of Alava and Navarra surviving only in the northern regions of both provinces.

49 Contemporary demographic studies tend to use the terms "emigration" and "immigration" to refer to the movement of people *between* nation states (from the perspective of the sending and receiving countries respectively). The parallel terms "out-migration" and "in-migration" describe the movement of people *within* a nation-state. An in-migrant is defined as a person living in a different county or province from that of birth. This usage will be followed in the present work although it needs to be born in mind that some of the authors quoted here use the term *immigration* in a more general way meaning both "in-migration" and "immigration" in the above explained sense.

50 The figure of 120,494 inhabitants for Alava at this time is certainly too high and according to what we know from other censuses cannot have exceeded 100,000.

3.3.3 Ravenstein's study of the Celtic speakers in the British Isles

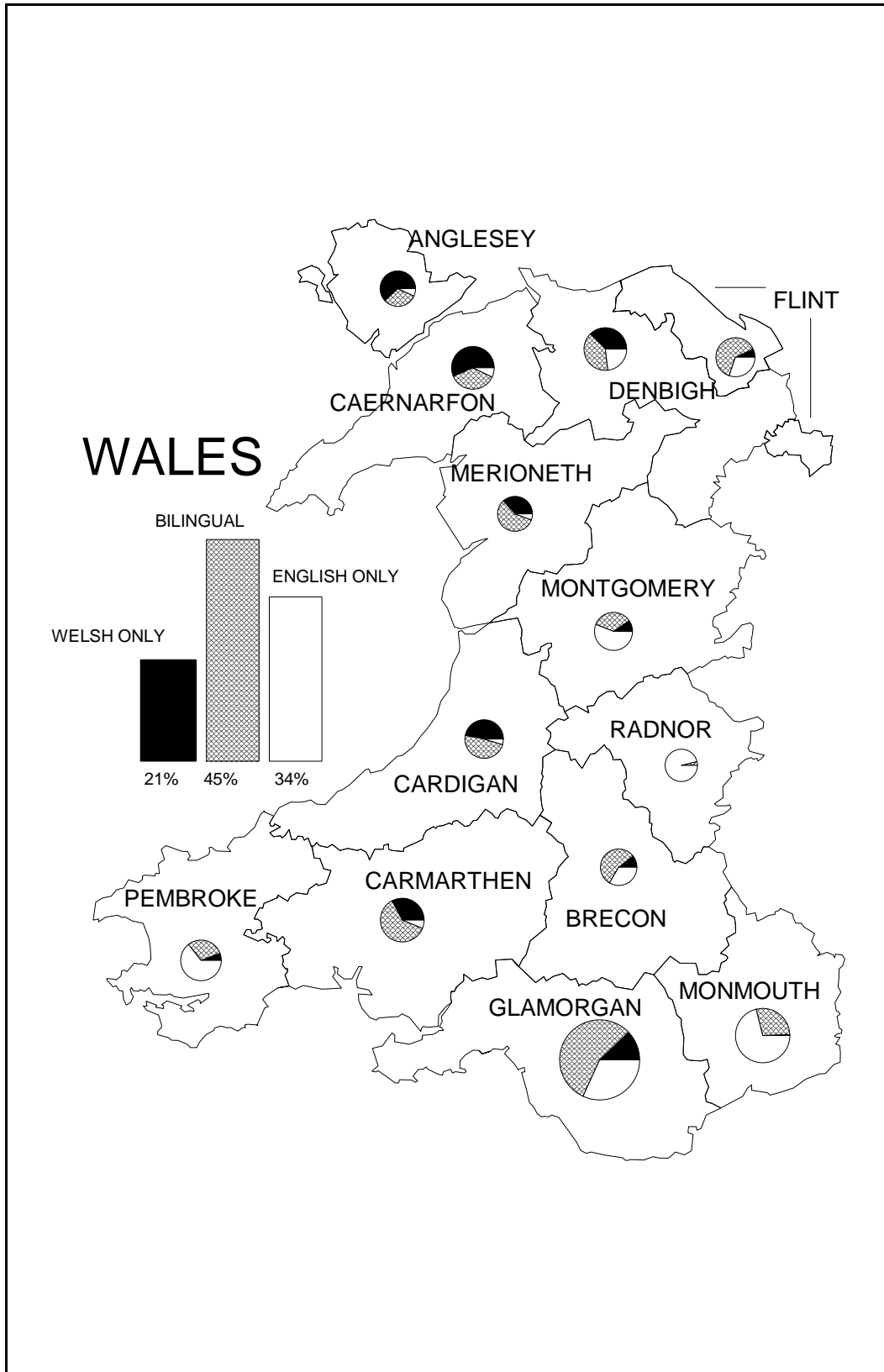
Also in 1879 - the same year as Velasco's study - the statistician Ravenstein published a seminal article about the speakers of Celtic languages in the British Isles. However, as opposed to Velasco, Ravenstein based his study on detailed empirical data. Language statistics were available for Ireland since 1851, but not yet for Scotland or Wales (a language question regarding Scottish Gaelic and Welsh was included for the first time in the censuses of 1881 and 1891 respectively). Ravenstein overcame this difficulty by collecting the statistics himself:

"I sent out no less than 1,200 circulars, addressed to registrars of births, clergymen, schoolmasters, and others, likely to be intimately acquainted with the linguistic conditions of their neighbourhood, besides carrying on a voluminous correspondence with gentlemen whom, in the course of my inquiry, I found to take a special interest in the subject I proposed to deal with. I am happy to say that fully one-half of my circulars met with a satisfactory response. Some villages, however, proved singularly obdurate to my appeals; but when the notabilities of the place, appealed to in turn, failed to furnish the information I wanted, I addressed myself as a last resource to the leading inkeeper, and generally obtained what I required."⁵¹

Ravenstein calculated that two-thirds of the Welsh population -almost one million people- spoke the vernacular language and about one-fifth were Welsh monolinguals (see Table 4 and Map7).

⁵¹ Ravenstein (1879:580), "On the Celtic languages in the British Isles; a statistical survey."

Map 7 Ravenstein's estimation of Welsh speakers in 1879
 Source: Based on Ravenstein (1879:639)



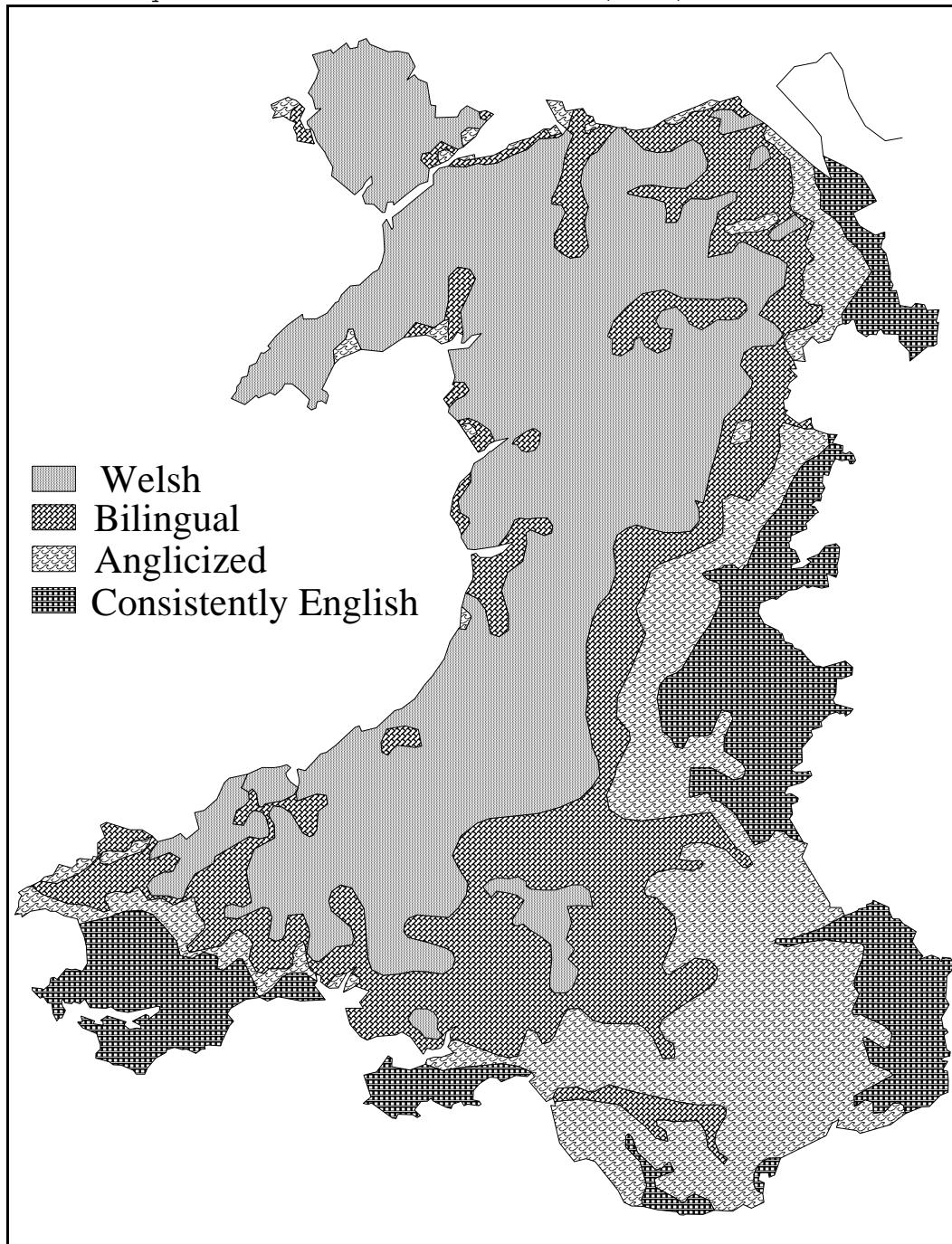
In the eastern counties most of the population spoke Welsh. Anglesey had 62 per cent Welsh monolinguals and 31 per cent of bilinguals and Cardigan 47 per cent of Welsh monolinguals and 56 per cent of bilinguals. Even in the major center of coal mining and industry - the southern county of Glamorgan - there were 12 per cent of monolinguals and 56 per cent of bilinguals. Radnor, with a negligible 4 per cent of Welsh speakers, was the only county where the vernacular language had practically disappeared.

Table 4 Welsh-speaking population in 1879
Source: Ravenstein (1879:639)

Counties	Population 1879	Welsh only	Welsh & English	% Welsh speakers
Anglesey	51,040	31,650	15,850	93.06
Brecknock	59,901	6,340	33,530	66.56
Caernarfon	106,121	60,000	38,600	92.91
Cardigan	73,444	34,500	35,600	95.45
Carmarthen	115,710	37,800	70,920	93.96
Denbigh	105,102	39,500	41,500	77.07
Flint	76,312	5,420	47,890	69.86
Glamorgan	397,859	48,350	223,110	68.23
Merioneth	46,598	17,000	27,000	94.44
Monmouth	195,448	1,500	55,000	28.91
Montgomery	67,623	6,600	23,100	43.92
Pembroke	91,998	5,430	27,320	35.60
Radnor	25,430	20	1,000	4.01
WALES	1,412,586	294,110	640,420	66.07

In the 1870s Glamorgan alone accounted for a large proportion of the total number of Welsh speakers (about one sixth of the Welsh monolingual and one third of the bilingual population). Thus, the language situation of the industrial areas, where bilingualism was already expanding quickly, would be crucial for the future of the language as a whole.

Map 8 Trends of language contact in Wales (1750-1900)
Source: Pryce in *National Atlas of Wales* (1986)



3.3.4 Contemporary studies

Building upon the 19th studies discussed above, some contemporary scholars have examined the historical retreat of Basque and Welsh. W.T.R. Pryce describes the historical trends of language contact between English and Welsh from 1750 to 1900 (see Map 8).

Using the parish visitation records of the Anglican Church, Pryce has been able to reconstruct the main cultural and linguistic zones of Wales and traced their transformation and evolution since the mid-18th century.⁵² The visitation returns were the answers to a survey performed every few years inquiring into the language(s) used at Sunday services in the Anglican Churches. They were designed for informing the Church hierarchy about local linguistic conditions and needs. The language question asked in one of the surveys was:

"Is public service duly performed twice every Lord's Day in Your Church, and in what language? And is one or more sermons in Welsh or English preached? On what days besides are prayers read there, and in what language?"⁵³

Pryce's method consisted in plotting the information contained in the visitation returns onto maps and then comparing them over a period of time. While some of the returns have been lost, it is still possible to draw an accurate general picture. By observing the long-term changes in the language used at Sunday services a dynamic classification of language areas was arrived at. Price established a five-fold

52 This method has been pursued in several of his studies. See Pryce, W.T.R. (1974) "Industrialization, urbanization and the maintenance of culture areas: northeast Wales in the mid-nineteenth century"; Pryce (1975) "Migration and the evolution of culture areas: cultural and linguistic frontiers in north-east Wales, 1750 and 1851"; Pryce (1986) "Wales as a culture region: patterns of change 1750-1971"; Pryce (1978) "Welsh and English in Wales, 1750-1971: a spatial analysis based on the linguistic affiliation of parochial communities", Pryce (1988) "Language areas and changes c. 1750-1981"; Pryce (1990), "Language shift in Gwent, c. 1770-1981."

53 Pryce (1986:37), "Wales as a culture region: patterns of change 1750-1971."

categorization of the parishes along a continuum that ranges from Welsh only to English only, reflecting the historical direction of language reproduction. These categories are Welsh, mainly Welsh, bilingual, mainly English and English.

In Pryce's map the areas labelled "consistently English" are the territories exposed to an early and intense form of Norman colonization (eastern counties of Montgomery, Radnor and Monmouth, as well as the southwestern county of Pembroke). The "anglicized" areas are mostly situated in the hinterland of the former. Welsh retreats in a westward fashion.

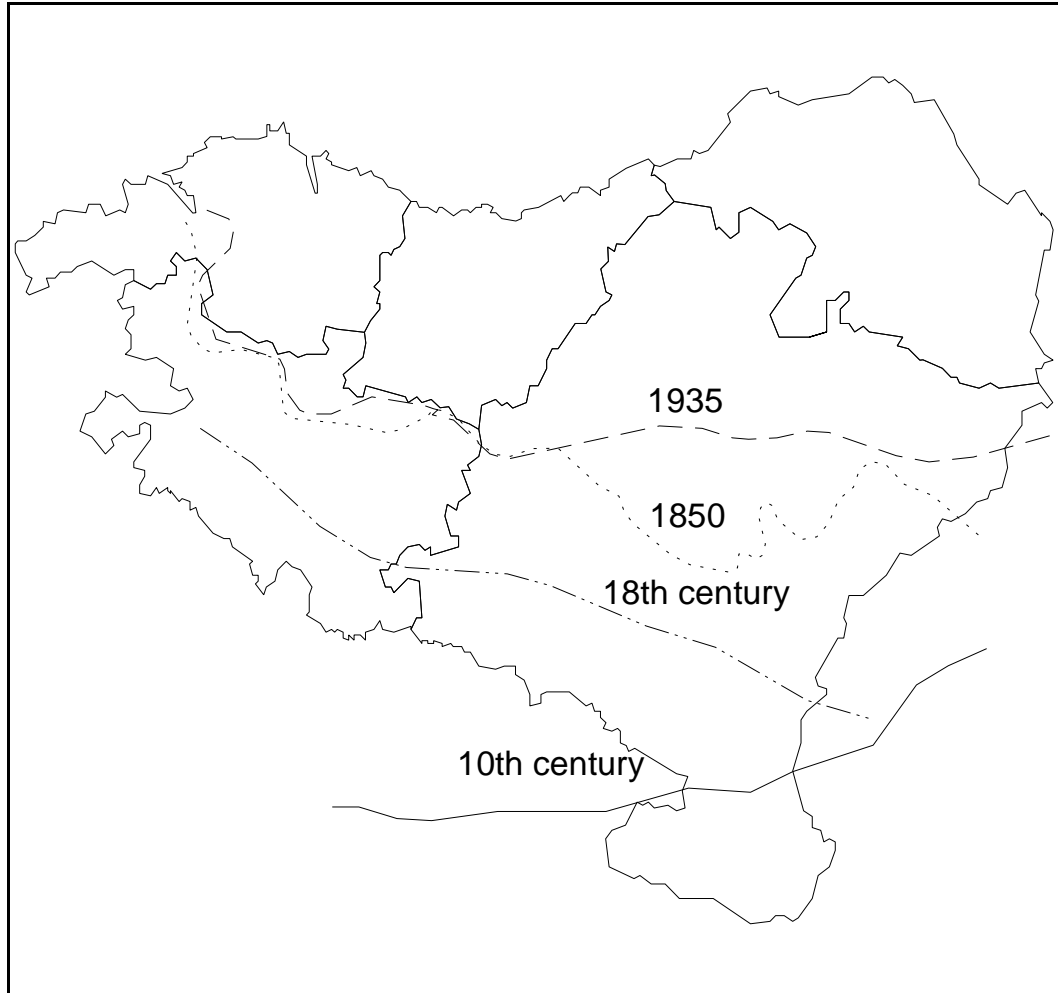
In the Basque country, on the other hand, the loss of the vernacular language moves in a south-north direction. In a book about the influence of Latin upon Basque, Caro Baroja provided a map with an overview of the historical retreat of Basque (see Map 9).⁵⁴ From a similar approach of cultural diffusion Caro Baroja portrays the Basque-speaking area in terms of a core and a periphery, the latter shrinking in a secular process of giving way to the advancement of the Spanish language.

"Theoretically, every area has its core, or central point, of more concentrated and typical [cultural] forms, and its marginal areas... There is no doubt that in our particular case, central Navarra and most of Alava are today "marginal zones"... [and] the core of such culture must be sought in the not yet industrialized areas of Guipuzcoa and Atlantic Navarra."⁵⁵

54 This map has been widely reproduced. It appeared originally in Caro Baroja (1945), *Materiales para una historia de la lengua vasca en su relación con la latina*. The *Atlas de Euskal Herria* (1983) and the *Atlas lingüístico vasco* (1984), are some of the many publications that have replicated it, often without mentioning the source.

55 Caro Baroja (1972:377), *Los vascos*. Quoted in Azcona (1984:75), *Antropología y nacionalismo vasco*.

Map 9 The retreat of Basque since the 10th century
 Source: Caro Baroja (1945:12)



3.4 Conclusion

The breakup of pre-capitalist relations of production and ownership in the countryside (privatization of the commons, commercialization of agriculture and rural depopulation) destroyed the material foundations for the survival of the peasant society which had been the home of the vernacular languages and cultures.

This process of capitalist transition provoked sharp class conflicts. In the Basque country it resulted in two civil wars while Wales went through a long period of civil strife and social uprisings. In both societies they ended with the victory of the ascending bourgeoisie class. However, the political and cultural repercussions were

very different. In the Basque country the peasantry formed a common front in two civil wars with the conservative forces represented by the Church and a part of the landed aristocracy. God and the *Fueros* were the two principles upon which their ideological stand against Liberalism was based. In Wales, on the contrary, the peasantry allied with an emerging Welsh bourgeoisie on the basis of a common language and nonconformist religion.

In the Basque country the abolition of the *Fueros* stood at the centre of political debates. In Wales, on the other hand, political conflict took rather a religious and cultural expression. The issue of Disestablishment, i.e., the abolition of the privileged status of the Anglican Church, always figured prominently in the Liberal programme.⁵⁶

The vernacular languages which had existed until then in relatively isolated and self-sufficient communities became subjected to the double pressure of state language policies and the demographic and economic dynamics of industrialization.

In Wales, however, the existence of a literary standard, the propagation of Welsh through the circulating schools and the ascendancy of the native bourgeoisie against the anglicized landowning class resulted in a certain strengthening of the Welsh language. In the Basque country, on the contrary, the lack of a literary standard, the practical absence of vernacular literacy and the defeat of traditional society in the Carlist Wars put the Basque language in a very difficult position in the face of industrialization.

The studies of Bonaparte, Velasco and Ravenstein show that while a high degree of bilingualism already existed in the Basque country and Wales on the eve of capitalist industrialization, nonetheless the vernaculars were still widely known and used. The universal reproduction of the state languages and the swift decline of the vernaculars would only reach its full extent with the unfettered expansion of capitalist industrialization.

⁵⁶ Bell (1969:227-28), *Disestablishment in Ireland and Wales*.

CHAPTER 4

INDUSTRIALIZATION AND THE SPREAD OF THE STATE STANDARD LANGUAGES IN THE BASQUE COUNTRY AND WALES (1850-1920)

During the period 1850 to 1920 the industrialization of the Basque country and Wales was founded upon an economic structure characterized by the specialization on mineral extraction and the production of iron and steel and related industries. Technological developments since the mid-19th century turned Vizcayan iron ore and Welsh coal into strategic resources in the international economy. The Bessemer method of steel production invented in the 1850s required a type of non-phosphorous ore that was only available in Vizcaya.¹ On the other hand, Welsh coal - especially the type known as "steam coal" - was particularly well suited as fuel for steamships and found worldwide demand. Of every three steamships in the decades before the First World War two would have been running on Welsh coal.²

4.1 Welsh industrialization and population movements

4.1.1 The expansion of the coal industry and the occupational structure

Between the mid-19th century and the First World War south Wales was transformed into an enormous coalfield and Cardiff became the coal metropolis of the world. Its share of British coal exports swelled from 24 per cent in 1860 to over 40 per cent in 1910. Growth was sustained, despite short term fluctuations, and it became frantic since the turn of the 20th century reaching a record of 56.8 million tons in 1913 (see

¹ Deposits of this kind of ore existed also in Sweden but under much more difficult conditions of extraction and transportation.

² Jones, I.G., (1987:216), *Communities*.

Table 5 Coal production in South Wales (1855-1913)
Source: Walters (1977:316)

	Production	Export		U.K. consumption	
	Total	Total	%	Total	%
1855	8,550,270	1,113,982	13.0	7,436,288	87.0
1865	12,656,336	2,381,705	18.8	10,247,631	81.2
1875	14,173,143	3,686,002	26.0	10,487,141	74.0
1885	24,342,856	9,824,116	40.4	14,518,740	59.6
1895	33,040,114	14,651,725	44.3	18,388,389	55.7
1905	43,203,071	20,053,007	46.4	23,150,064	53.6
1913	56,830,072	29,784,930	52.4	27,045,142	47.6

Table 5).³ The dimensions acquired by the industry led the concentration of the coal business and the development of a monopolistic class of coal owners in south Wales.

Facing growing industrial competition from Germany and the U.S.A., Britain increasingly specialized in commerce and the provision of financial services after 1870. Welsh coal became a strategic resource in this new orientation since it was not only precious for the British merchant marine and navy but it became itself a major export item acquiring great importance for the stability of the balance of payments. Until 1860 only one tenth of Britain's coal output was exported but by 1913 exports represented more than one third of total production. By the end of the nineteenth century coal had a share of more than ten per cent of total British exports.⁴

In Wales the overwhelming dominance of mining and related industries after the mid-19th century was reflected in the occupational structure. The number of miners increased from 17 per cent of male employment in 1851 to 31.6 per cent in 1921, while the number of workers in metal manufacture increased from 9.2 per cent to

³ Employment peaked in 1920 with 271,516 miners, but output was only 45.3 million tons. See Walters (1977:316), *The Economic and Business History of the South Wales Steam Coal Industry, 1840-1914*.

⁴ Taylor (1968:39), "The coal industry."

11.5 per cent.⁵ Agricultural employment, on the other hand, dropped from 35 per cent to only 10.8 per cent in the same period (see Appendix A Table 26).⁶

These trends were even more pronounced in the county of Glamorgan where the share of agriculture in male employment declined from 15.5 per cent to only 2.3 per cent in the 1851-1921 period. Mining, on the contrary, which already employed one-fourth of the Glamorgan male occupied population in 1851 experienced a relentless increase until reaching the figure of 38.8 per cent in 1921 (see Appendix A Table 26).⁷ The weight of mining employment was most extreme in some valleys like the Rhondda, where in 1911 three-fourth of the occupied males were miners.⁸

The growth of coal mining promoted the development of other economic sectors like transportation. Between 1851 and 1921 the proportion of male workers employed in transportation in Glamorgan doubled from 6 to 12 per cent. This was largely motivated by the manpower necessary to move thousands of tons of coal from the valleys to the harbours.⁹

Metal industries, on the contrary, underwent a relative loss of importance in Glamorgan in comparison to the coal industry. Their share of total male employment dropped from 16 per cent in 1851 to 12 per cent in 1921, although in absolute terms they increased from 13,670 to 52,564 workers in this period (see Appendix A Table 26). Other occupational categories, on the other hand, were practically

5 In absolute numbers this represented 65,398 miners in 1851 and 278,003 in 1921. In metal industries they were 35,659 and 100,889 workers for the same years.

6 These were 135,443 people in 1851 and 94,739 in 1921.

7 There were 13,139 agricultural workers in 1851 and 9,796 in 1921. The number of miners was 22,320 in 1851 and reached the record figure of 163,399 in 1921.

8 There were 41,145 miners out of 55,785 workers in the district. See Williams, J. (1989:8), "The rise and decline of the Welsh economy, 1890-1930."

9 This was a ninefold increase from 5,629 in 1851 to 51,241 in 1921.

insignificant. Several of the 22 census occupational groups such as fishing, wood and furniture, brick and cement, skin and leather, paper, textile fabrics and chemicals accounted for less than one per cent of the employed population in both Glamorgan and Wales. Professional occupations represented only about 2.5 per cent of total employment in Glamorgan in 1921.

The dominance of coal mining also produced a great unbalance in the sexual division of labour. More men were employed than women and their participation in the active population even increased over time.¹⁰ In Wales in 1851 three men were employed for every woman while in 1921 the relation was four men to one woman. Domestic service took the lion's share of women's employment and in several census decades reached more than half of female employment. The participation of women in mining activities was, on the contrary, practically insignificant.¹¹

The especially complex geological structure of the south Welsh coalfield thwarted attempts to mechanize production. The difficulty of increasing productivity through technological innovation put a great deal of pressure on wages whose reduction was practically the only way of lowering production costs. Until the end of the 19th century miners' wages were calculated by a sliding scale against coal prices and were paid on a piece rate. In periods of depression men would have a lower piece rate and worked fewer hours. But since the turn of the 20th century the combination of strong foreign competition and a militant trade union movement led to fierce conflict, such as during the Tonypandy Riots of 1910 when Churchill sent in the army to put down a miners' uprising. After the First World War the British coal industry entered into

10 385,958 men and 125,862 women were employed in 1851. The figures for 1921 were 880,407 males and 213,149 females respectively. In Glamorgan there were 84,787 occupied males and 22,893 females in 1851 (21.3 per cent women and 78.8 per cent men). By 1921 the figures for men were 421,087 and for women 89,227 (17.5 per cent women and 82.5 per cent men).

11 In Glamorgan only 678 women were employed in mining in 1851 and just 119 in 1921.

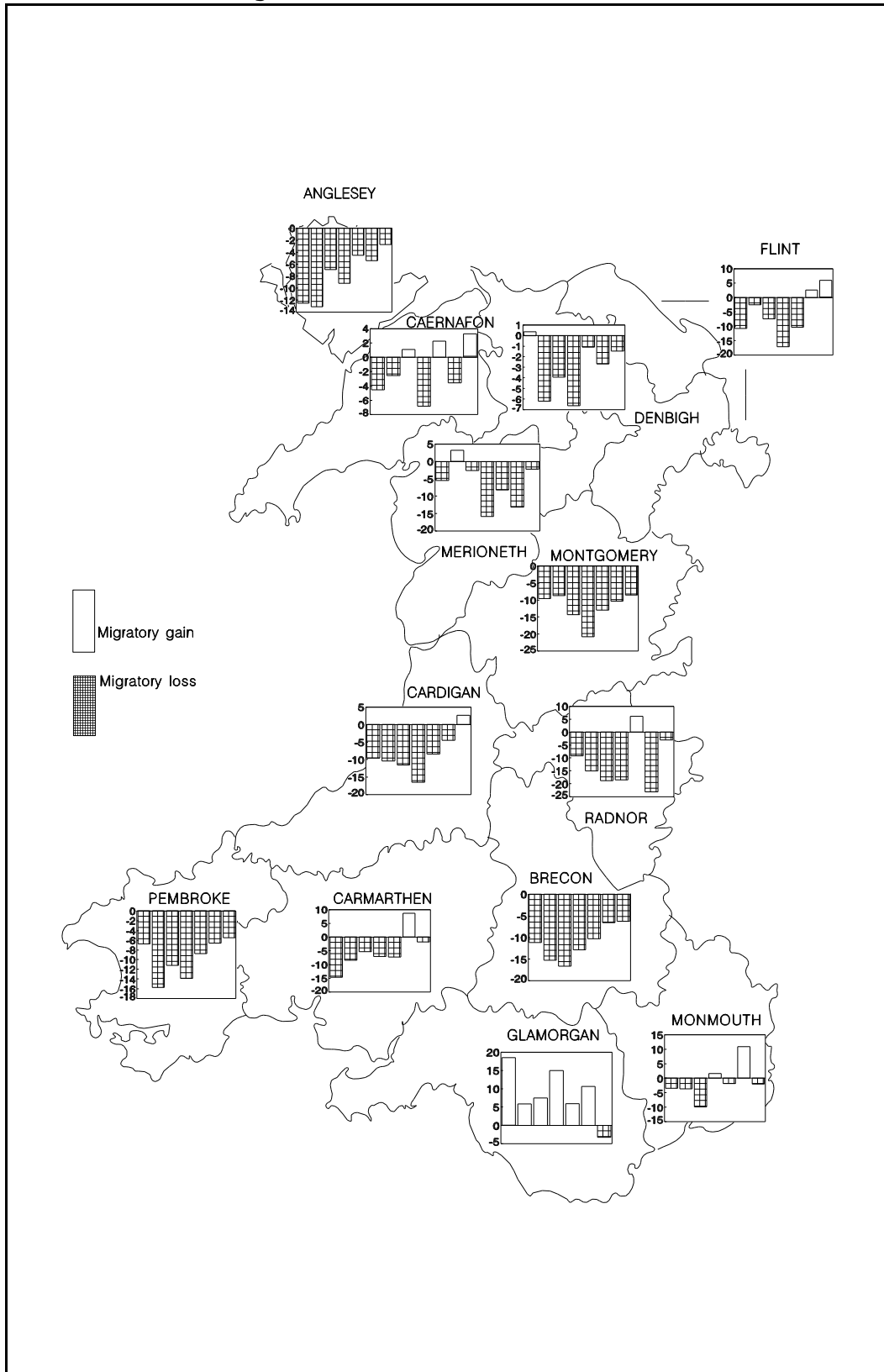
a period of great depression along with the loss of foreign markets and the rapid switch to oil as transportation fuel. As a result the class struggle took on sharp forms.

4.1.2 Population changes 1851-1921

Between 1851 and 1921 the population of Wales more than doubled from 1,163,000 to 2,656,000 (see Appendix A Table 27), but population growth was very unequally distributed. The unbounded expansion of coal mining in the south and north east Welsh industrial areas provoked a breathtaking demographic development. In the countryside, on the contrary, the depression of agriculture - partially caused by the import of overseas foodstuffs - and the crisis of traditional manufacture - affected both by the decline of the size of the rural population and by the direct competition with factory-made articles - set on a process of rural depopulation (see Map 10).

These divergent population trends in the industrial and rural areas were a direct outcome of the uneven development of capitalist industrialization in Wales which drew people away from the rural areas into the mining and industrial centers. Since many in-migrants were young people this had the further effect of making the birth rate explode in the cities while it declined in the countryside.

Map 10 Percentage of migratory balance by county, Wales (1851-1921)
 Source: Based on *Digest of Welsh Historical Statistics* (1985:68-75)



Glamorgan and Monmouth, the two major coal mining counties, which already constituted one third of the Welsh population in 1851, grew to almost two-thirds of the Welsh total by 1921. Monmouth almost tripled its population in the period 1851-1921, while Glamorgan increased more than five times. Glamorgan had a consistent positive migratory balance, except in 1911-1921, when the coal industry entered into a crisis at the end of the decade (see Map 10). At first in-migrants came largely from Wales but later - together with the massive dimensions reached by the coal industry - they migrated increasingly from England (see footnote 49 in chapter 3 for a definition of migration terminology).

However, the industrial areas did not only receive population. The cyclical succession of booms and crisis resulted in the expulsion of population in the downturn phase of the cycle. The development of the coal industry also encouraged a great deal of short-distance migration within the coalfield. Despite strong and steady population growth Monmouthshire had negative migratory balances during most of the period, except during 1900-1911, following closely the cyclical trends of the coal industry. In Glamorgan too, accompanying a massive rate of in-migration there was also a relatively high rate of out-migration.¹² It has been estimated that between 1861 and 1900 about 4.2 per cent of Glamorgan's male population and 2.2 per cent of its females left the county every decade. This was equivalent to about 22 per cent of its young males and about 12 per cent of its young females and constituted one of the highest emigration rates in Britain.¹³

12 In some cases this was due to the structural crisis of an industry. The re-location of the Glamorgan iron works (as a result of the use of Vizcayan iron ore rather than low quality local ores) provoked internal and long-distance migration in Glamorgan as the iron workers of Merthyr Tidfill relocated with the industry or left the country altogether for the USA.

13 Baines provides the following estimates of overseas migration in Glamorgan: 1861-71 (17,600), 1871-81 (15,700), 1881-91 (continued...)

Table 6 Natural growth per decade as a percentage of county population, Wales (1851-1921)

Source: *Digest of Welsh Historical Statistics* (1985:68-75)

	1851 to 1861	1861 to 1871	1871 to 1881	1881 to 1891	1891 to 1901	1901 to 1911	1911 to 1921
Glamorgan	17.46	18.56	20.28	18.75	19.17	19.89	14.97
Monmouth	14.65	15.19	16.54	15.89	16.83	20.01	15.97
Carmarthen	16.69	13.41	15.12	13.70	12.22	13.61	10.98
Flint	7.98	11.40	12.56	10.03	9.55	12.58	9.05
Brecon	10.65	11.99	11.74	10.51	10.15	11.02	9.49
Denbigh	9.81	11.91	11.31	9.89	10.93	10.84	8.41
Radnor	13.78	15.46	12.55	10.90	12.18	9.64	7.16
Pembroke	10.61	11.41	10.97	11.85	9.30	9.61	7.74
Montgomery	9.22	10.55	11.43	9.04	7.81	7.51	4.96
Anglesey	8.52	5.14	6.92	6.61	6.22	7.01	4.34
Caernarfon	10.0	10.10	10.05	8.27	7.04	6.87	1.48
Merioneth	9.17	12.28	13.53	10.55	7.54	6.84	1.08
Cardigan	9.32	10.91	8.77	7.32	4.16	2.19	-0.97
<i>Wales</i>	<i>12.30</i>	<i>13.52</i>	<i>14.73</i>	<i>13.73</i>	<i>14.06</i>	<i>15.26</i>	<i>11.59</i>

The natural growth of the industrial population was already high by the mid-19th century and continued increasing with the expansion of coal mining. Over two-thirds of Glamorgan's population growth of over half a million between 1861-1901 was due to natural growth while less than a third to net in-migration.¹⁴ Glamorgan's rate of natural growth was 17.5 per cent for the decade 1851-1861 and reached a record figure of 19.9 per cent in 1901-1911 (see Table 6). Monmouth increased from 14.7 to 20 per cent in the same period.

13(...continued)
(14,000) and 1891-1901 (3,500). See Baines (1985:160), *Migration in a Mature Economy. Emigration and Internal Migration in England and Wales, 1861-1900*.

14 Thomas, B. (1987:430), "A cauldron of rebirth: population and the Welsh language in the nineteenth century."

Table 7 Gross reproduction rate in coal-mining areas (1851-1911)
Source: Friedlander (1973:42)

	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1911
Glamorgan	2.35	2.56	2.69	2.61	2.57	2.08
Monmouth	2.32	2.50	2.70	2.55	2.53	2.07
Durham	2.58	2.73	2.98	2.75	2.57	2.08
England/Wales	2.22	2.28	2.35	2.30	2.01	1.42

High fertility rates were typical of British coal mining areas (see Table 7) which were characterized by high rates of in-migration, nuptiality, and mortality.¹⁵ The ability of men to enter the high-earning stage in the miner's life-cycle at an early age, the unequal sex ratio resulting from a strong male in-migration and the limited opportunities for female employment contributed to early marriages and a high fertility in the south Welsh coalfield.¹⁶ Miners were subjected to high risks of injury or even death and their income started to decline before retirement. High fertility rates thus provided a sort of social security net for the miner's family since children could support the parents in old age or in case of accident.¹⁷

The demographic situation in the countryside was an inverted mirror of the population trends in the industrial areas. The great majority of Welsh counties had negative migratory balances during the period 1851-1921 (see Map 10).¹⁸ Anglesey,

15 Friedlander (1973), "Demographic patterns and socioeconomic characteristics of the coal-mining population in England and Wales in the 19th century" and Haines (1977), "Fertility, nuptiality and occupation: a study of British mid-19th century mining populations."

16 Church (1986:618), *History of the British Coal Industry*.

17 Friedlander (1973:45), "Demographic patterns and socioeconomic characteristics of the coal-mining population in England and Wales in the 19th century."

18 In some cases the intercensal change may not be identical to the difference between the populations of two subsequent census years since adjustments have been made for boundary changes. The migratory balance has been calculated as follows. Carmarthen, for
(continued...)

Denbigh, Merioneth, Carmarthen and Cardigan - all of them counties with large Welsh-speaking populations - as well as Radnor, Pembroke, Montgomery and Brecon experienced a practically uninterrupted overall negative net migration flow (see Map 10).¹⁹ Rural exodus reached its greatest dimensions coinciding with the agricultural depression of the 1870s and 1880s.²⁰

Due to the continuous loss of young population through migration in these rural counties the rates of natural growth²¹ were small and exhibited a continuously declining trend. The Welsh-speaking county of Caernarfon, for instance, had a rate of natural growth of 10 per cent in the census period 1851-1861 but dropped to under 7 per cent in the decade 1901-1911 (see Table 6).²² Most extreme was the case of the heavily Welsh-speaking county of Cardigan whose rate of natural growth

18(...continued)
instance, had a population of 160,406 in 1911 and of 175,073 in 1921. This represents an intercensal change of 14,667 people and a percentage change of 9.14 per cent (14,667/160,406 x 100). The natural increase during the decade was 17,615 (10.98 per cent over the 1911 population). The migratory balance is calculated by taking away the natural growth from the total change during the period (14,667-17,615=-2,948). The percentage of migratory balance is calculated in a similar fashion, by taking away the percentage of natural growth from the percentage total change during the period (9,14%-10.98%=-1,84%). See the *Digest of Welsh Historical Statistics* for details.

19 In some decades there were a few exceptions to this general trend. For instance, in 1901-1911 Carmarthen attracted in-migrants through the expansion of the anthracite coalfields. The northern county of Caernarfon had alternate positive and negative migratory balances along with the development of slate quarries.

20 For example, Cardigan, Denbigh, Caernarfon, Flint, Merioneth and Montgomery had record negative migratory balances in 1881-1891.

21 This is calculated for census decades according to the following formula: (population at the beginning of the decade+net out-migration)/(population at the end of the decade+net in-migration)*100

22 Merioneth, Pembroke, Montgomery and Anglesey similarly had low and declining rates of growth.

declined from 9.3 per cent in 1851-1861 to a negative value of -0.97 per cent in 1911-1921. This means that more people died than were born in the county during that decade, a dramatic indication of the demographic crisis of the Welsh-speaking areas and their inability to contribute to the pool of Welsh speakers whose absolute number has been shrinking steadily since 1911.

The combined impact of high out-migration and low vegetative growth resulted in absolute population loss in the Welsh-speaking rural areas. Montgomery lost almost one fourth of its population during this period while Cardigan only reached 86 per cent of the 1851 figure in 1921. Other counties with an absolute population loss were Anglesey (90 per cent), Radnor (95 per cent), Pembroke (98 per cent) and Brecon (99 per cent). About one third of the population of Wales lived in these six rural counties in 1851, but in 1921 only about one-eighth (see Appendix A Table 27).²³

4.1.3 The impact of migration on the Welsh language

Adding the migratory balances of the counties which lost and gained population it can be appreciated that Wales as a whole lost people through migration during the period of industrialization, except for the first decade of the 20th century coinciding with a gigantic expansion of mining in the years 1899-1913 (see Appendix A Table 28).

Some of the displaced Welsh population from the rural or industrial areas found outlet in England and America. The number of Welshmen in the U.S.A. grew from 30,000 in 1850 to 75,000 in 1870 and reached its peak with 100,000 in 1890.²⁴ In 1891, on the other hand, over 228,000 Welsh people were resident in England. This was especially true of migrants from the north of Wales for whom Liverpool or other major English cities were closer and more accessible than the southern coalfield. In

²³ The population of the six rural counties was 375,788 out of 1,163,139 for the whole of Wales in 1851 but only 340,605 out of 2,656,474 in 1921.

²⁴ *Digest of Welsh Historical Statistics* (1985:76)

1901 over 60 per cent of the migrants from rural Welsh counties were enumerated in England while only one third in Glamorgan.

However, what is significant about Welsh migratory movements during the period of industrialization is that a great deal of the Welsh rural population relocated within the country. Until around 1871 the labour requirements of the southern coalfield were largely met by Glamorgan and the neighbouring Welsh counties. In the decade 1861-1871, for instance, over three-fourths of the in-migrants came from Wales (see Table 8). The coalfield was located in a Welsh-speaking area, and the continuous flow of Welsh in-migration resulted in a strengthening of the Welsh language and culture in the mining villages both in populational and cultural terms.²⁵

The large size of Welsh in-migration to the mines and factories of the southern coalfield has led Brinley Thomas to propose the thesis that industrialization, far from being detrimental to the Welsh language, in fact helped its preservation. Thomas has argued that the expansion of the coal industry enabled much of the displaced Welsh rural population to remain in Wales. Had it not been for industrialization - he contends - many Welsh people would have been forced to leave Wales and the vernacular language would have suffered an irreparable loss:

"If Wales had been an agricultural country like Ireland, the whole of her surplus rural population, which was Welsh to the core (nearly 400,000 in the sixty years up to 1911), would have had to go to England or overseas; these people, together with their descendants, would have been lost to the land of their birth forever. This would have been a major disaster to the Welsh language, the number speaking it would probably have been well below half the figure recorded in 1911. The reason why this did not

²⁵ Welsh in-migration to Glamorgan was largely directed to the coalfield rather than to the county's coastal ports. This was due to two major reasons. First, since the coalfield was situated in the north of Glamorgan, in-migrants from central and north Wales reached the coalfield first. Second, there was a migratory tradition since the early 19th century to the Glamorgan iron towns which were located in the coalfield. With the change to coal mining in the mid-19th century the area continued attracting Welsh in-migrants. See Jones, P.N. (1970), "Some aspects of immigration into the Glamorgan coalfield between 1881 and 1911" and Jones, P.N. (1988:191), "Population migration into Glamorgan 1861-1911: a reassessment."

happen was the vigorous growth of the South Wales coalfield. Industrial development was on such a scale that Wales was able to retain a large proportion of the indigenous stock which was displaced from the countryside."²⁶

Thomas concludes that the combined effect of internal migration and high natural growth enabled an increase in the Welsh population which saved the Welsh language:²⁷

"... the Welsh language was saved by the redistribution of a growing population brought about by industrialism."²⁸

Thomas' thesis circumscribes itself to the second half of the 19th century since toward the end of the century - along with the ever-growing expansion of coal mining - the migratory current became predominantly English. In 1891-1901 still more than half of the in-migrants came from Wales, but in 1901-1911 over two-thirds came

26 Thomas, B. (1962:27), *The Welsh Economy: Studies in Expansion*.

27 The background to this whole discussion is Thomas' thesis that the rhythms of the Welsh economy were oriented to the economic development of the U.S.A. and followed American business cycles rather than British ones. Similarly, as opposed to the rest of Britain which had a large-scale rate of overseas migration during the 19th century, the displaced Welsh rural population largely remained in Wales. The argument that industrialization saved the Welsh language was an offshot of this thesis.

28 Thomas (1962:26), *The Welsh Economy: Studies in Expansion*.

from England (see Table 8).²⁹

A purely computational treatment of migratory movements is however insufficient for understanding their complex communicative implications. Migration is a two-way process that also contributed to bringing the English language into the rural Welsh-speaking areas. Already in the mid-nineteenth century farmers from Carmarthen and Brecon were accustomed to move into the iron works and mines of Monmouth and Glamorgan during the slack farming seasons:

"This constant mobility had two opposite consequences. It helped regularly to reinforce the existing Welsh character of the industrial areas. At the same time it facilitated the disintegration of the settled traditional Welsh pattern of rural life, helped to promote

Table 8 Glamorgan in-migrants from England and Wales (1861-1911)
Source: Lewis (1978:278)

	Total	Welsh counties	%	English counties	%
1861-1871	21,000	16,300	78	4,700	22
1871-1881	74,700	31,400	43	43,300	57
1881-1891	108,800	48,200	44	60,600	56
1891-1901	105,000	55,400	53	49,600	47
1901-1911	128,500	42,900	33	85,600	67

²⁹ The estimation of the exact amount of migratory movements in Wales is a controversial issue. The nature of census data does not allow to take into account short-term migration, a fact which may lead to counting migrants twice. There are also disagreements about the value of the data itself. Baines argues, for instance, that the 1871 census figures for Glamorgan are faulty. For an overview of the debates see Jones, P.N. (1988), "Population migration into Glamorgan 1861-1911: a reassessment."

the acceptance of novel ideas, and to prepare the way for the forces tending towards the anglicization of even remote rural areas."³⁰

Furthermore, industrialization undermined the demographic strength of Welsh in its home base in the countryside (through out-migration and a reduction of the birth rate). The arrival of many Welsh-speakers to the mining area cannot, thus, be interpreted simplistically as a contribution of industrialization to the saving of the Welsh language but constituted a much more complex phenomenon:

"... paradoxically, [industrialization] both helped to ensure the survival of Welsh and precipitated its further decline. Industrialization generated extensive migrations of people from rural Wales to the coalfield... But towns are central places in which peoples of all varieties meet and where, as a consequence, a common means of communication is essential. Thus it was that English, already the language of government and law, became the language of burgeoning commerce and business... All this meant that the frontier of the language, adjudged by the proportion of people speaking it rather than their absolute numbers, was pushed back in the industrial areas in a further major episode of retreat."³¹

By 1921 Wales was divided into a sparsely populated Welsh-speaking countryside and a few densely populated and largely anglicized urban areas.

The major agglomeration was found in the southern coalfield (which included central and northern Glamorgan, eastern Monmouthshire and a small part of southwestern Carmarthen), and in the nearby coastal cities of Cardiff, Swansea, Newport and Barry. Another densely populated area - if in much smaller measure - was the northern coalfield that included sections of Flint and Denbigh (see *Map 11*).³² This population

30 Lewis, E.G. (1982:240), "Movements and agencies of language spread: Wales and the Soviet Union compared."

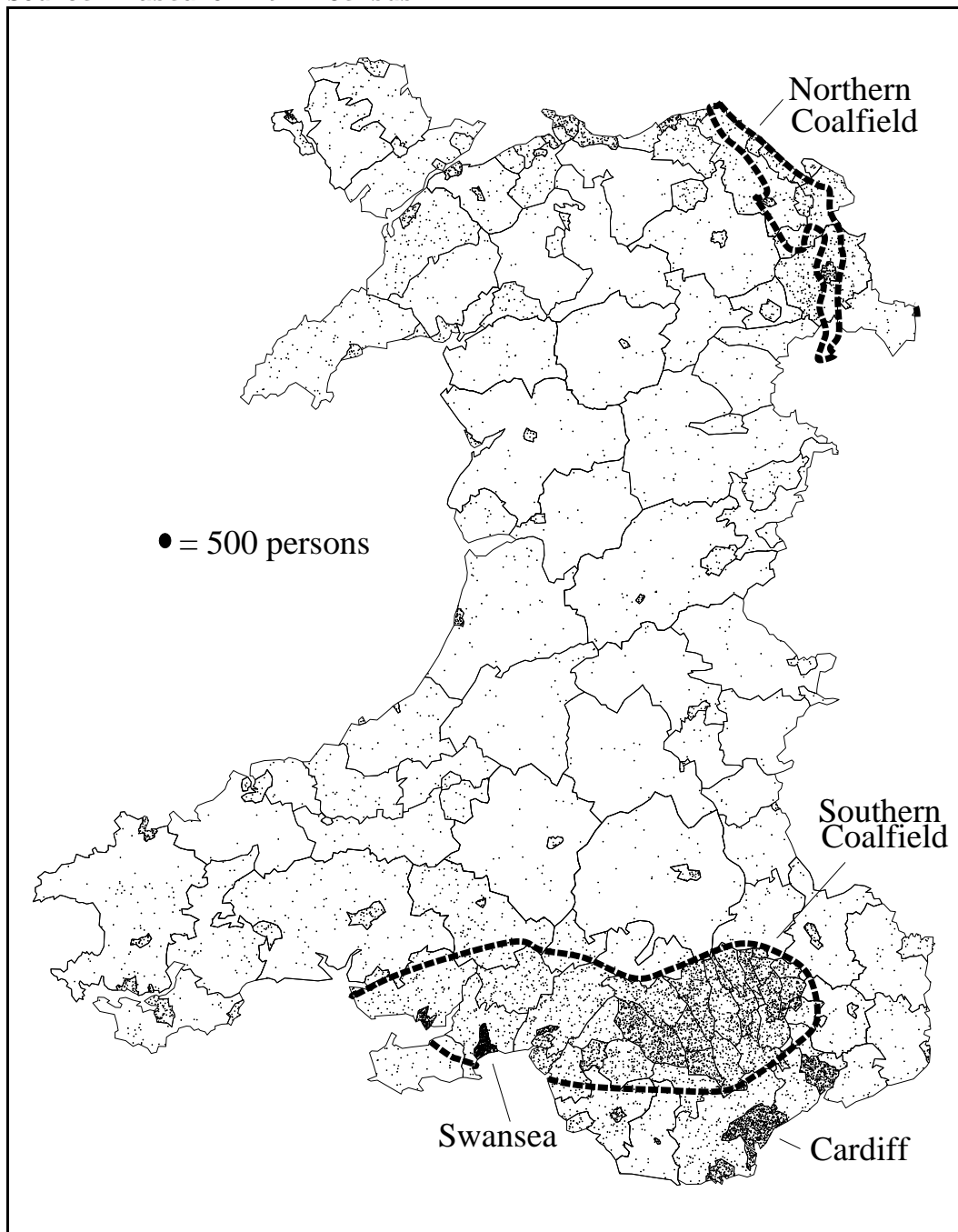
31 Aitchison & Carter (1985:5-6), *The Welsh Language 1961-1981. An Interpretative Atlas*.

32 The major agglomeration was found in the southern coalfield, which included central and northern Glamorgan, eastern Monmouthshire and a small part of southwestern Carmarthen, and in the nearby coastal cities of Cardiff, Swansea, Newport and Barry. Another densely populated area - if in much smaller measure - was the
(continued...)

distribution resulting from the dynamics of capitalist industrialization represented the demographic foundation for the decline of Welsh which lost its population base in

32(...continued)
northern coalfield that included sections of Flint and Denbigh.

Map 11 Welsh population by district in 1921
Source: Based on 1921 Census



the countryside and became increasingly insignificant in the urban areas.

4.2 Basque industrialization and demographic developments

4.2.1 Iron mining and the steel industry

The first attempts to create a modern industry in the Basque country date from the mid-19th century. However, it was after the end of the Carlist civil wars and with the development of mining that Basque industrialization really took off.

Iron ore extraction witnessed a tremendous expansion after the end of the II Carlist War in 1876. The few families from the Bilbao bourgeoisie in whose hands the ownership of the mines was concentrated were able to accumulate large fortunes.³³ However, the lion's share of the profits went to European capitalist interests, especially English, which after the Mining Law of 1868 took mining concessions³⁴ and controlled the shipping of iron ore:

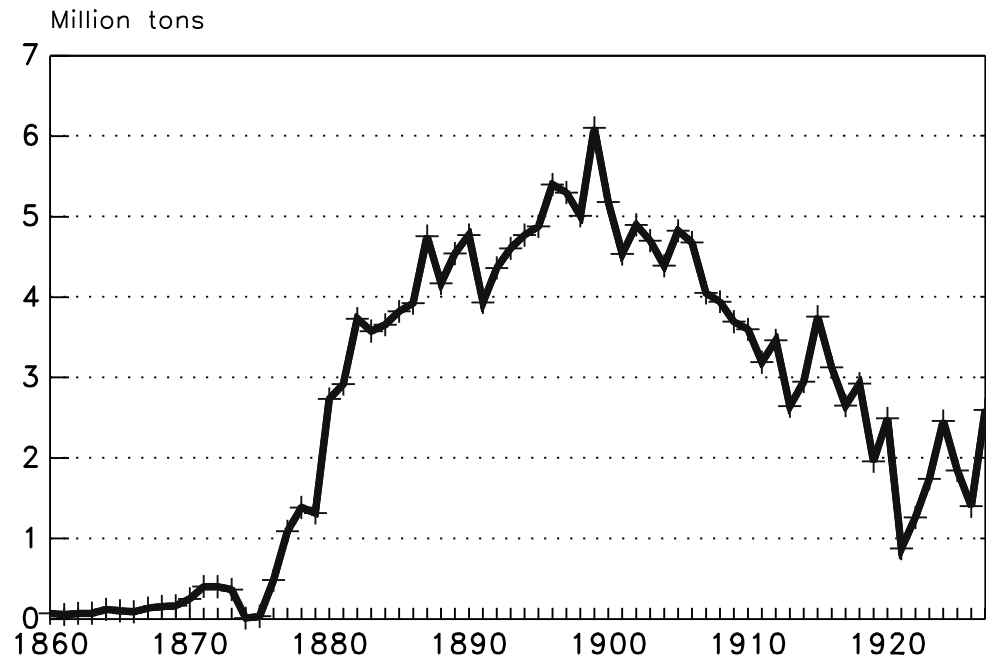
"It was estimated during the 1880s that about three-fourths of mining investment had been undertaken by foreigners. We must thus assume, that a similar percentage of the profits, at least, would go to their hands; without forgetting that in the last third of the 19th century most of the mineral was carried by foreign ships."³⁵

33 In 1890 44.7% of the mines belonged to the families Ibarra and Chavarri which exploited some of them directly and rented out the rest. See González Portilla (1981:46), *La formación de la sociedad capitalista en el País Vasco*. vol. 1.

34 In 1871 four British companies with a total capital of £1,060,312 registered to conduct operations in the area. The following year eight new companies with a capital of £781,000 were authorized to mine. By the 1875, some twenty-two British companies, involving a total authorized capital of £2,113,713 had been established. Flinn (1955:87), "British steel and Spanish ore: 1871-1914."

35 Fernández de Pinedo (1982:24), "Los primeros pasos en el proceso de industrialización en el País Vasco."

Figure 1 Vizcayan iron ore output (1860-1925)
 Source: Villota Elejalde (1984:303-4)



Between 1878 and 1900 almost two thirds of the total iron ore production (58 million tons) was exported to Britain, a good part of it to steel works in south Wales. There was an important Welsh presence in Vizcayan mining. Together with other companies the Welsh Dowlais Iron Company founded in 1872 the Orconera Mining Company which would become one of the major firms in the business.³⁶ The growing

³⁶ Another example of Welsh involvement in the Bilbao trade is provided by the Morel brothers who: "... were chartering up to 120 vessels a month in addition to those they owned. In 1876 they acquired their first steamship, and others followed built specially for the Bilbao iron ore trade which formed the main interest of the concern." Daunton (1977:66), *Coal Metropolis*.

importance of Vizcayan ore provoked the re-location of the Welsh iron works to the coast in order to save transportation costs of the imported ores inland.³⁷

The extraction of iron ore in the Vizcayan mines reached its summit in 1899 with just over 5.5 million tons (see Figure 1).³⁸ But in the following years output declined steadily due to the exhaustion of reserves. Once the best deposits had run out lower quality ores were burnt in order to enrich the mineral, what resulted in massive ecological damage and health problems. The mining area evoked the image of a burning inferno in the minds of some contemporaries and the combination of ecological destruction and social malaise encapsulated all the evils of industrialization.³⁹

Coinciding with the expansion of iron mining a modern steel industry developed in the Basque country. The steel industry normally locates next to coal mines since the production of steel requires more coal than iron. But the ships that loaded iron ore

37 The Welsh iron-works were originally located inland close to both iron and coal mines. But the structural problems consisting of technical and locational disadvantages could not be solved and several steel companies would go bankrupt in the late 19th century. For the reasons of the decline of the iron industry in the second part of the 19th century see Evans, D.G. (1989), *A History of Wales 1815-1906*.

38 Villota Elejalde, I. (1984:303-4), *Vizcaya en la política minera española. Las asociaciones patronales 1886-1914*.

39 In the Basque language novel *Kresala* Domingo Aguirre, a leading Basque writer of the time, described the mining area in these terms: "In these mountains there are no trees, there are no flowers, there is not even grass. These red mountains are torn asunder by iron. They look as dirtied by blood as by sweat. The men, red also, do not have a good reputation. Many, perhaps most of them, could perhaps be the children of honest parents, but evil deeds learnt from mean and wicked companions have perverted them. They take boldness as their Lord, immorality as their friend, strength as their law, blasphemy as a joke or as a sign of cleverness. In this air full of curses, in this garbage dump their souls rot away." Quoted in Sarasola (1982:87), *Historia social de la literatura vasca*.

in Bilbao had their destination in coal rivieras and in their return trip carried coal at very cheap freights.⁴⁰ This locational advantage together with the existing iron manufacturing tradition⁴¹ - which provided a supply of skilled workers - and the profits accumulated in mining determined the establishment of a technologically advanced steel industry next to the iron mines.⁴²

Several companies were founded in the 1880s, but they came together at the end of the century forming the powerful "*Altos Hornos de Vizcaya*". The concentration of industrial and financial capital created a small but very powerful bourgeoisie whose interests were at first connected to the external market where they exported mineral and steel bars.

However, toward the end of the 19th century there was a world recession which brought about the establishment of protectionist measures throughout Europe. This prompted the Basque bourgeoisie to demand a policy of import substitution which would absorb the steel that could not be sold abroad by encouraging a national light

40 Returns of British coal amounted to 105,195 tons in 1880-81; 544,760 tons in 1890-91 and 634,451 tons in 1900. See González Portilla (1981:179-81), *La formación de la sociedad capitalista en el País Vasco*. For a general overview see Flinn (1955), "British steel and Spanish ore: 1871-1914".

41 The available "human capital" of skilled workers from the traditional manufactures was without doubt one of the factors contributing to the industrialization of the Basque country. Howell and Baber maintain on the other hand that "... *the absence of an industrial tradition in South Wales*" was largely responsible for the failure to develop secondary processing industries. Howell and Baber (1990:314-25), "Wales."

42 Some historians regard the profits from iron ore export as determinant for Basque industrialization. Other authors argue, on the other hand, that mining profits were only one among several sources of investment such as merchant capital, repatriation of colonial capital, self-financing of the iron industry, etc. For these different positions see González Portilla (1981), *La formación de la sociedad capitalista en el País Vasco* and Escudero (1988), "Minería e industrialización en Vizcaya: objeciones a una teoría tradicional".

industry. These demands found a first response in the tariff law of 1891 which imposed very high duties on machinery and manufactured iron products. The Basque industrial bourgeoisie gained a virtual monopoly over steel production in the Spanish market. From 1881 to 1931 Vizcaya produced two-thirds of the total Spanish production of steel bars.⁴³

In this protected national market a number of metal industries emerged around Bilbao and the nearby mining area. Since the beginning of the twentieth century the province of Guipuzcoa also experienced a wave of industrialization - although in smaller scale - based upon light industries that profited from a long iron manufacturing tradition. Tools, bicycles, sewing machines and fire arms were some of its typical products. The provinces of Alava and Navarra, on the other hand, remained largely unaffected by industrial developments at the time.

4.2.2 Population developments 1877-1920

The direction of the demographic dynamics of industrialization was already evident ten years after the end of the Second Carlist War in 1876, even though its effects were still relatively limited. From 1877 to 1887 Vizcaya - where the iron mines were located - experienced a population increase of almost 30 per cent while in the traditional agricultural areas of Navarra and Alava the population stagnated or even declined (see Table 9).

Ortega Berruguete has classified the demographic structures of the Basque

Table 9 Basque population (1857-1920)
Source: Castells (1987:160)

	Guipuzcoa	%	Vizcaya	%	Alava	%	Navarra	%
1857	156,493	100.0	160,579	100.0	96,398	100.0	297,422	100.0
1877	167,207	106.8	189,954	118.3	93,538	97.0	304,184	102.2
1887	181,845	116.2	235,659	146.8	92,915	93.4	304,122	102.2
1900	195,850	125.1	311,361	193.9	96,385	100.0	307,669	103.4
1910	226,684	144.9	349,923	217.9	97,181	100.8	312,235	105.0
1920	258,557	165.2	409,550	255.0	96,668	100.3	329,875	110.9

⁴³ Fusi (1975:15), *Política obrera en el País Vasco (1880-1923)*.

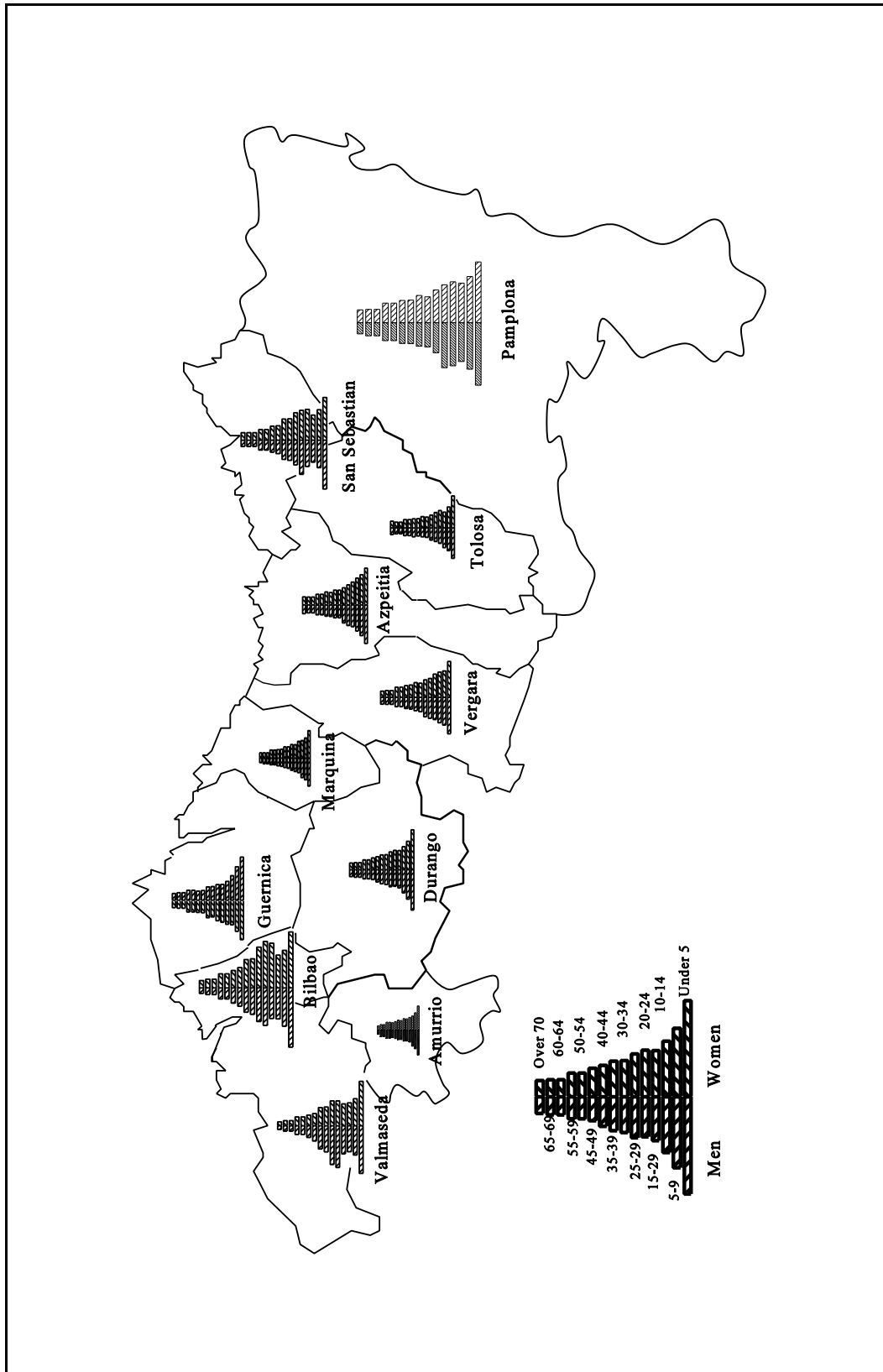
provinces at the beginnings of industrialization into several models according to the 1887 census.⁴⁴ The "self-restrained" model corresponds to the traditional demographic structure of the Basque-speaking countryside which was characterized by a narrow base due to late marriage and fertility restrictions and a relatively high life expectancy. Such a demographic structure can be observed in Guipuzcoa, in *partidos judiciales*⁴⁵ such as Tolosa, Azpeitia and Vergara (see Map 12). However, by 1887 a new and fundamentally different demographic model had emerged in the industrial area of Valmaseda which was characterized by high male in-migration and elevated birth and death rates.⁴⁶

44 Ortega Berruguete et al. (1988a), "La población del País Vasco peninsular a través del Censo de 1887: estructura de edades."

45 The *partido judicial* is a medium-size administrative category, half-way between the larger one of the province and the smallest of the *municipio* .

46 The local statistician Gurmésindo Gómez estimated in 1887 that among a group of European cities the death rate of Bilbao was the second highest after that of St. Petersburg. See Solozábal (1975:54), *El primer nacionalismo vasco*.

Map 12 Age pyramid of Basque-speaking regions in 1887
 Source: Based on 1887 census



The opposite demographic dynamics in the industrial and rural areas can be appreciated by comparing the number of children under 5 with that of people over 60. While the mining area of Valmaseda had 3.2 children for each older person and Bilbao had 2.6 to 1, the rural area of Amurrio only had 1.2 to 1.⁴⁷ In some rural areas the demographic decline was mitigated, however, by the commercialization of agriculture and the new employment opportunities especially in those areas close to the cities.⁴⁸ These ratios reflect the movement of young people away from the rural areas into the cities which restricted the birth rate of the former and exploded that of the latter.

The impact of migratory movements can be ascertained by the size of the group of young adults (16 to 30 years old) in the different pyramids. In the mining area the strong in-migration swells this age group to 31 per cent of the population, while in the provincial capitals of Bilbao and San Sebastian it represents around 30. Rural regions lost young people through migration and showed much lower proportions. In Amurrio, for instance, young adults represented only 22 per cent of the total population.⁴⁹

These unequal demographic trends - already apparent in 1887 - accentuated with the expansion of capitalist industrialization. During the period 1887-1900 Vizcaya had the highest rate of population growth in Spain receiving around 60,000 in-migrants.⁵⁰ Population growth concentrated in the capital Bilbao and the industrial zone. In Guipuzcoa demographic increase was limited until the end of the 19th century but started showing positive migratory balances with the development of light industry

47 The rates in other rural areas were as follows: Azpeitia (1.5), Tolosa (1.2), Marquina (1.7), Vergara (1.8).

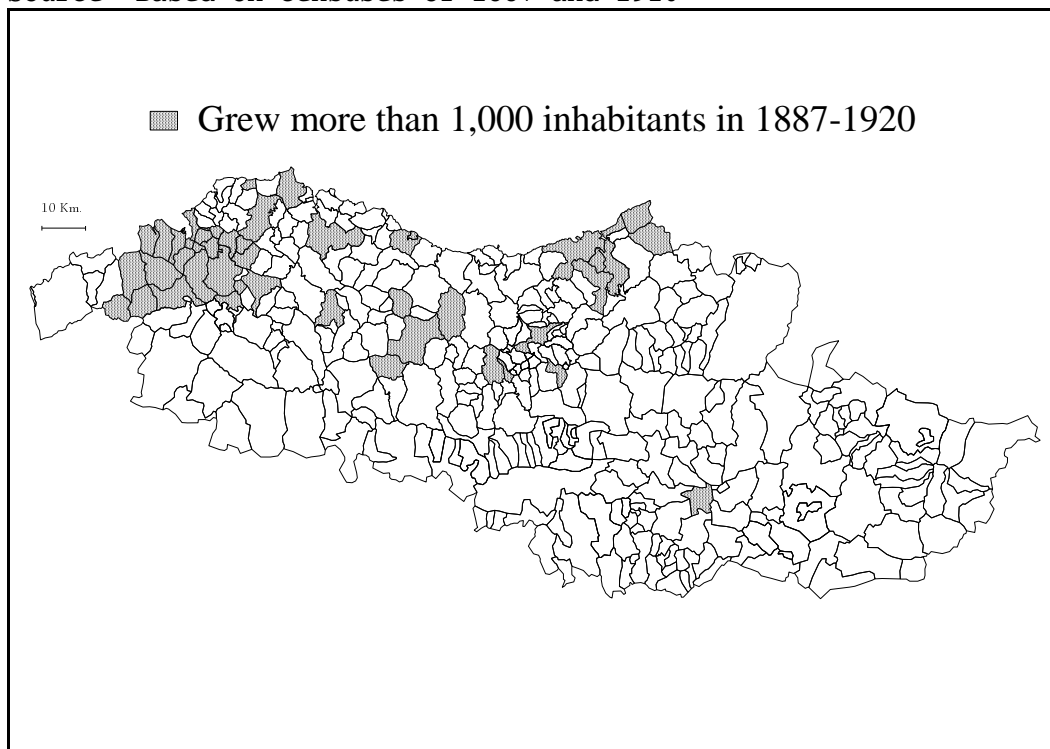
48 For instance, two rural regions close to Bilbao, Guernica and Durango, had a relatively large young population with ratios of 1.81 and 1.87 respectively.

49 Durango 22.6 and Azpeitia 24 per cent.

50 Fusi (1984:43), *El País Vasco. Pluralismo y nacionalidad*.

Map 13 *Municipios* that gained more than 1,000 people between 1887 and 1920

Source: Based on censuses of 1887 and 1920



since the beginnings of the 20th century. Neither in-migration nor urbanization reached the massive proportions it had acquired in Vizcaya.⁵¹ In 1920 only the capital San Sebastian had more than 15,000 inhabitants and only three other towns had more than 10,000 (Irun, Eibar and Tolosa). Failing to industrialize, Alava and Navarra lost people steadily through migration and the total populations stagnated.

Over 90 per cent of the population growth between 1887 and 1920 concentrated in *municipios*⁵² which grew by more than 1,000 inhabitants during the period (see Map 13). This growth was located in three main areas. First, and most importantly, Bilbao and the Vizcayan industrial and mining area. Second, San Sebastian and its

51 In 1900-1910 from the provincial population growth of 30,834 people 6,159 were in-migrants. In 1910-1920 the number of in-migrants was 8,173, or 25.6 per cent of the total population growth.

52 *Municipios* are the smallest administrative units in the Spanish census data.

immediate hinterland. And thirdly, a few scattered *municipios* - especially in Guipuzcoa - where light industries were starting to take off.

Even in 1887, and despite the incipient industrialization, 53 per cent of the active populations of Vizcaya and Guipuzcoa were still engaged in agriculture. Industry employed 28 per cent of the active population in each province. By 1920, however, the situation had been overturned and in Vizcaya 43 per cent of the active population were employed in industry while agriculture amounted to 23.5 per cent. In Guipuzcoa the share of industry was slightly smaller, 41 per cent, while agriculture amounted 35 per cent (see Table 10).

Table 10 Active population of Vizcaya and Guipuzcoa (1887-1920)
Source: Olabarri Gortazar (1978:447) and Castells (1987:188)

	Primary sector	%	Secondary sector	%	Tertiary sector	%
VIZCAYA						
1887	61,879	52.60	33,148	28.17	22,621	19.23
1900	54,662	41.67	42,738	32.58	33,767	25.74
1910	40,368	30.10	32,494	24.23	28,296	21.10
1920	37,616	23.52	69,014	43.16	53,288	33.32
GUIPUZCOA						
1887	46,871	53.20	24,976	28.40	16,239	18.40
1900	36,789	43.50	28,634	33.80	19,171	22.70
1910	36,595	38.40	34,245	35.90	24,557	25.70
1920	34,320	35.00	40,142	40.90	23,627	24.10

* The figures for the secondary and tertiary sectors in Vizcaya are smaller in 1910 than in 1920 due to the different categorization of professional groups in both census years.

4.2.3 Migratory currents

Several migratory currents were set into motion in the Basque country during the period of industrialization. Escaping from the agricultural crisis a significant number of the Basque rural population emigrated overseas, while others chose to remain in the Basque country and made only a short distance migratory move to the mining and industrial area. At the same time, large numbers of Spanish in-migrants were attracted to the Basque industrial areas. The percentage of in-migrants in Vizcayan increased from 15 to 28 per cent between 1877 and 1900 remaining around that level until 1920 (see Table 11).⁵³

Table 11 Place of birth of Vizcayan population (1877-1920)
Source: Castells (1987:182)

	born in Vizcaya	%	born another province	%	Born abroad	%
1877	162,415	85.5	26,195	13.8	1,344	0.7
1887	187,726	79.7	46,022	19.5	1,909	0.8
1900	225,449	72.4	85,452	26.5	3,460	1.1
1910	255,620	73.1	91,183	26.1	3,068	0.9
1920	297,506	72.6	107,278	26.2	4,046	1.0

The movements of in- and out-migration responded to the disintegration of traditional agricultural and manufacture and to the succession of cyclical booms and crisis and which resulted in the attraction/repulsion of population at the different stages of the cycle. Many Basques emigrated to America during the 19th century, although it is difficult to estimate their exact numbers. The Spanish emigration statistics started being collected in 1881 but until 1911 they only specified the harbour of departure, making it impossible to trace the number of emigrants from

⁵³ In-migrants concentrated in the industrial area. For instance, in 1887 in the mining town of Abanto y Ciervana, there were 1,694 Vizcayans and 1,710 people born in another province. In the industrial city of Baracaldo the figures were 2,765 and 2,006, and in Bilbao 16,705 and 10,815 respectively.

each province.⁵⁴ Besides many emigrants travelled from French ports and were not even registered in the Spanish emigration statistics.⁵⁵

Emigrants were not only peasants but also included urban artisans and skilled workers who may have seen in America a chance to escape from impending proletarianization.⁵⁶ However, with the take off of industrialization an increasing number of Basque people seem to have moved to the industrial area, particularly those who had no relatives in the New World or could not afford the cost of the passage.⁵⁷

The coincidence of migratory currents of opposite directions (emigration of Basques to America and in-migration of Spaniards to the Basque country) has sometimes been

54 Some people left the country illegally in order to escape from military service which was imposed in 1876 after the abolition of the *Fueros*. In 1913 and 1914, 20.76 and 22.09 per cent of Spanish recruits respectively did not show up for service, percentages which were even higher in the Basque provinces. See Douglass and Bilbao (1975:122-24), *Amerikanuak. Basques in the New World*.

55 Two thirds of the 64,227 emigrants who embarked from Bayonne between 1832 and 1884 were Basques. This is an estimation of Etcheverry, quoted in Douglass and Bilbao (1975), *Amerikanuak. Basques in the New World*. Between 1865 and 1920, 370,000 persons emigrated from Bourdeaux to North and South America. At least 114,000 of them were Spaniards and Basques formed a very important contingent among them. See Roudié (1985:272), "Long distance emigration from the port of Bourdeaux 1865-1920."

56 Corcuera's data for Bilbao shows a significant drop in the percentage of artisans between 1890 and 1900. Corcuera Atienza, J. (1979:79), *Orígenes, ideología y organización del nacionalismo vasco 1876-1904*.

57 Some of the responses to an emigration survey carried out in Vizcaya in 1881 seem to confirm this view. Several villages replied that farmers were leaving for the mines rather than overseas and those who emigrated to America were largely women for family reasons. Nonetheless, emigration continued if perhaps in smaller proportions. See Fernández de Pinedo (1993:102-3), *La emigración vasca a América, siglos XIX y XX*. For the period between 1911 and 1915 the official emigration statistics include 2,186 natives from Alava; 2,811 from Guipuzcoa and 11,050 from Vizcaya.

interpreted from an ethnic perspective as evidence of the cultural gap existing between the new industrial centers and the traditional Basque countryside and as a reflection of the pride and independence of the Basques.⁵⁸ Basque overseas emigration and Spanish in-migration to the Basque country cannot, however, be seen as opposite phenomena since many Basques also worked in the Basque mines and industries while, at the same time, hundreds of thousands of Spaniards also emigrated to America.

It is not strange that a great deal of the in-migrants to the Basque mines and factories came from outside the Basque country. The location of the industrial area at the western corner of the Basque country facilitated the influx of in-migrants from Castilian provinces, some of which were closer to the mines than other Basque provinces like Guipuzcoa or Navarra.⁵⁹ Furthermore, the Basque country was among the first regions to become industrialized in Spain and this constituted a "pull factor" for the labour force from the rural areas of its hinterland.

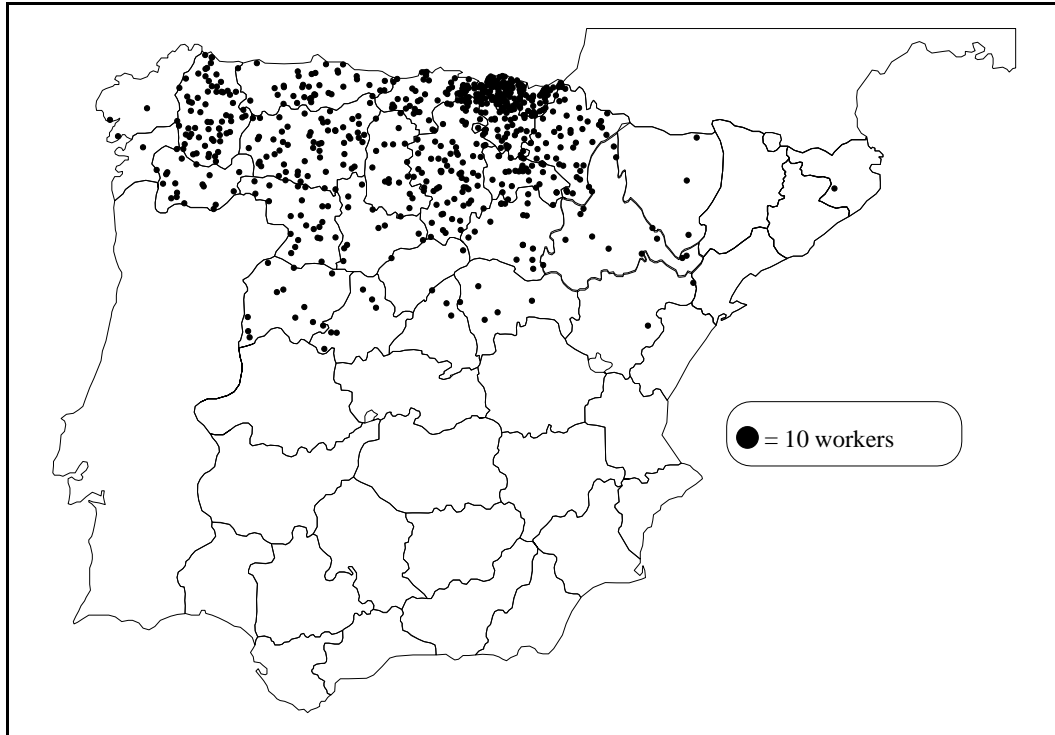
The Vizcayan city of Baracaldo illustrates these patterns of in-migration. Almost half of the in-migrants came from six neighbouring provinces to Vizcaya, among them two Basque provinces.⁶⁰ With the advance of industrialization in-migrants from

58 "... Basques from other areas, above all the Basque-speaking ones, tended to consider Bilbao and its great industry as foreign to the country, even as inimical to it. To become a proletariat in the mining town of Somorrostro was considered more shameful and unacceptable than leaving for America. The latter was the traditional choice, while the former was something unknown, and the condition of wage-miner was especially disgusting for peasants in whose world view the independence of the "etxeko-jauna" [the head of the family farmstead] appeared as an indisputable value." Beltza (1978:135), *Del Carlismo al nacionalismo burgués*.

59 For a case study on the neighbouring province of Burgos see Pérez Castroviejo (1987), "La emigración de la montaña burgalesa a la zona minera vizcaína a finales del siglo XIX."

60 Vizcaya itself provided 27.90% of the in-migrants, Burgos (12.62%), Alava (9.69%), Santander (8.14%), Asturias (7.57%), Logroño (4.10%), Guipuzcoa (4.05%). See González Ugarte (1992:160- (continued...))

Map 14 Steel workers in Vizcaya by province of origin in 1902
 Source: Based on Pérez Castroviejo (1992:44)



more distant Spanish provinces were increasingly recruited.⁶¹ In 1902 more than half of the employees of the major steel company *Altos Hornos de Vizcaya* came from within a radius of about 150 km. from the location of the factory, 21 per cent from Vizcaya and over 35 per cent from the neighbouring provinces. The rest originated from provinces in the whole north-eastern quarter of Spain (see Map 14).⁶²

60(...continued)

1), *Demografía e industrialización en Vizcaya, 1860-1930*.

61 For some data on the evolution of in-migration in the mining district of Ortuella see Pérez Castroviejo (1986), *La inmigración, factor clave en el crecimiento demográfico de la cuenca minera vizcaína: Santurce-Ortuella, 1852-1910*.

62 These figures highlight the complex linguistic situation in this steel company and in the industrial area in general. Among the 1,531 workers from Vizcaya and the 358 from Guipuzcoa there must have been a good number of Basque speakers. Many of the 893 Galician in-migrants must have spoken Galician. And to complete this picture the various Spanish dialects spoken by in-migrants from other provinces would have to be considered.

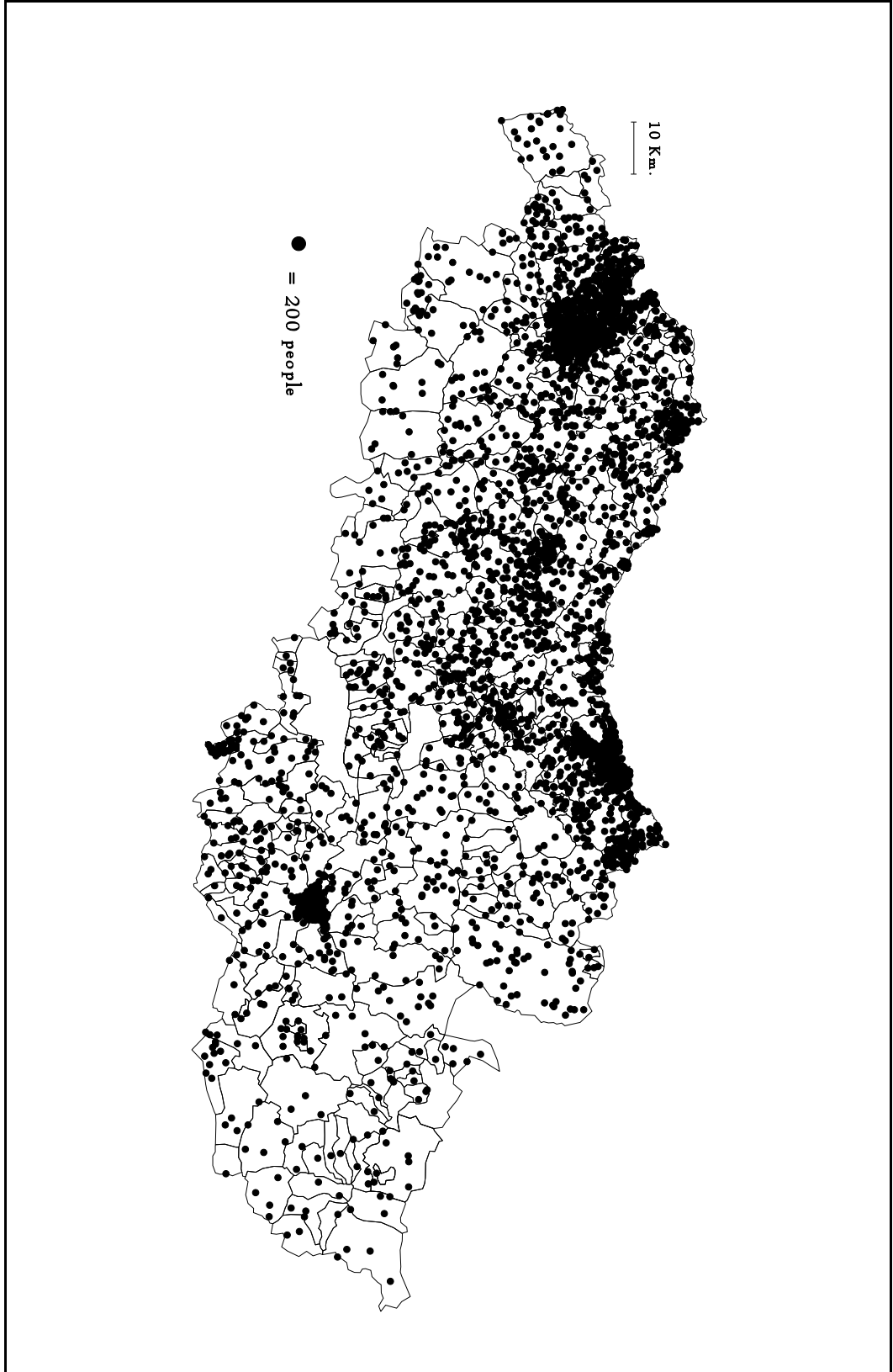
4.2.4 The impact of migratory movements upon the Basque language

The concurrent existence of Basque emigration to America and Spanish in-migration to the Basque industrial areas had a double demographic effect. First there was an absolute loss of Basque speakers and a net increase of Spanish-speakers. Secondly, since most of the Basque overseas migrants were young males,⁶³ this created a shortage of marriageable male Basque-speakers while, at the same time, there was a surplus of male Spanish in-migrants. This propitiated mixed marriages and affected vernacular language transmission negatively.⁶⁴

63 See Fernández de Pinedo (1988), "Los movimientos migratorios vascos, en especial hacia América."

64 It cannot be assumed, however, that "mixed" marriages necessarily meant marriages between Basques and non-Basques because - from a sociolinguistic point of view - they also resulted from marriages between Basque-speaking and Spanish-speaking *Basques*.

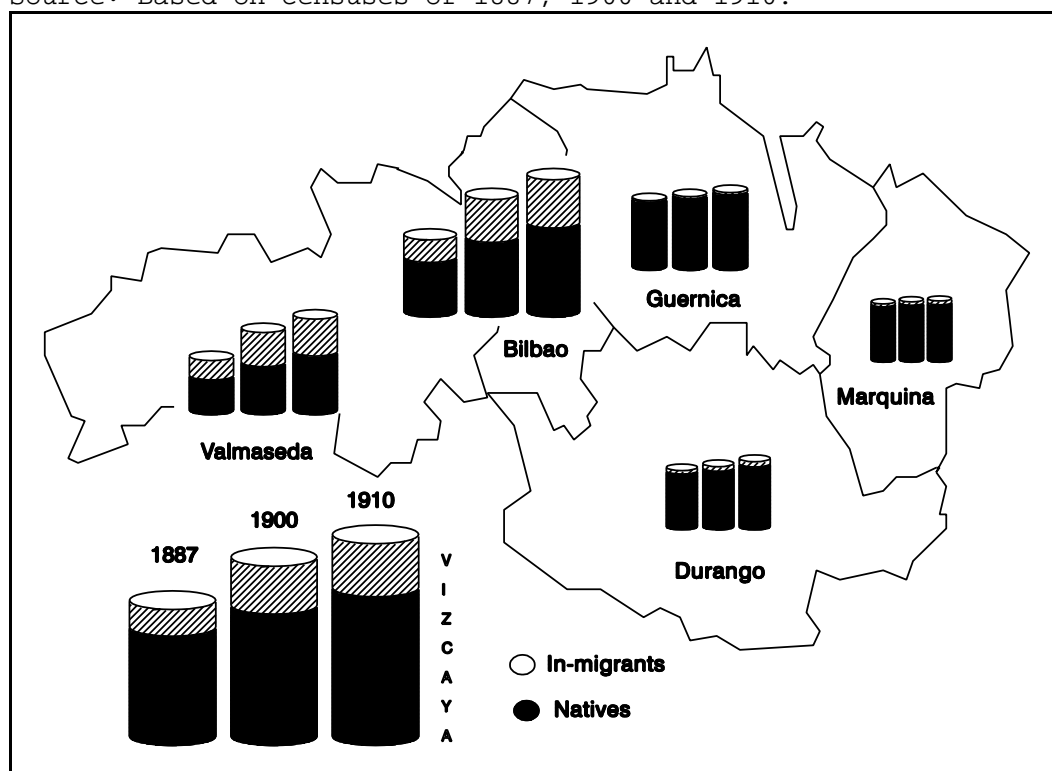
Map 15 Basque population in 1920
Source: Based on 1920 census



The natural growth of the population accentuated the unbalanced population distribution caused by migratory movements. This resulted in the growing concentration of the population in the urban areas, something which was already clear by 1920 (see Map 15). The de-population of the countryside deprived the vernacular languages of a base for their reproduction. At the same time, the high birth rate of the industrial areas - together with the generalization of the national language there - were responsible for the rapid loss of the vernacular in the industrial areas and its decline in the country as a whole.

Spanish was the language of industrialization from the beginning even though many Basques also migrated to the industrial area. Several reasons contributed to this. One was the mixed linguistic background of the in-migrants which made Spanish into a *lingua franca*. On the one hand, the Vizcayan mines were located at a corner of the Basque country, in an area where the Basque language had either been lost for

Map 16 Native and in-migrant population in Vizcaya (1887-1910)
Source: Based on censuses of 1887, 1900 and 1910.



centuries⁶⁵ or where bilingualism was widespread due to the historical role of Bilbao as a Spanish-speaking enclave. At the same time, Spanish in-migration concentrated massively in the industrial areas of Valmaseda and Bilbao accentuating their Spanish-speaking character (see Map 16). Basque-speakers were thus never able to achieve a critical mass that would give the vernacular language a certain presence in the Vizcayan industrial areas.

The case of Guipuzcoa presents, on the other hand, some special characteristics. It has been conjectured that a more measured form of capitalist development might have permitted the survival of Basque:

"... in the case that agriculture would have been the dominant sector in the economic structure of the Basque country... it is quite possible that the process of domination of Spanish over Basque would not have taken place (or at least not so strongly); in a second assumption, that industrial development would have started from small and middle size industries, more dispersed financially and geographically (Catalan case and later also that of Guipuzcoa) it is also possible that through the cultural assimilation of the in-migrant labour force, the language of this industrial society would have been Basque (at least in those areas where Basque was being used as the normal means of communication)."⁶⁶

However, the savage industrialization of Vizcaya was to some extent a precondition for a more balanced industrialization in Guipuzcoa. The weapons industry, the bicycle and knitting-machine factories could probably not have developed without the Vizcayan iron mines and steel industry. It is nonetheless true that the Basque language was able to adjust better to the impact of industrialization which was not as traumatic as in Vizcaya, and even nowadays Guipuzcoa is still the most Basque-speaking of the Basque provinces.

65 The core of the mining area was formed by Somorrostro and the surrounding villages of Gallarta, Ortuella, La Arboleda, Las Carreras and San Salvador del Valle. The Basque language was lost in this area since the 16th century.

66 Corcuera (1979:145), *Orígenes, ideología y organización del nacionalismo vasco 1876-1904*.

4.3 Capitalist production and the national language

The organization of capitalist industrial production exhibits the tendency toward increasing specialization and interdependence among the producers and the different branches of economic activity. As Engels remarked:

"Wenn wir die ökonomischen -industriellen und landwirtschaftlichen- Verhältnisse untersuchen, die die Grundlage der gegenwärtigen bürgerlichen Gesellschaft bilden, so finden wir, daß sie die Tendenz haben, die isolierte Tätigkeit mehr und mehr durch kombinierte Tätigkeit der Individuen zu ersetzen. An die Stelle der kleinen Werkstätten isolierter Produzenten ist die moderne Industrie getreten, mit großen Fabriken und Werkstätten, in denen Hunderte von Arbeitern komplizierte, mit Dampf angetriebene Maschinen überwachen... Überall tritt die kombinierte Tätigkeit, die Komplizierung voneinander abhängender Prozesse, an die Stelle der unabhängigen Tätigkeit der Individuen."⁶⁷

The cooperative nature of factory production required the use of a common means of communication for workers who came from different linguistic backgrounds (see footnote 60). The great population movements unleashed by industrialization uprooted the rural population and directed masses of people to national metropolis or overseas. This gave rise to complex linguistic situations whose outcome was the rapid transformation of a heterogeneous population consisting of different mother tongues and dialects into a population largely monolingual in the national language.

But the expansion of the state standard language was not simply a natural consequence of its role as a lingua franca in a situation of great population movements. Under capitalist relations of production vernacular-speaking populations have been *compelled* to acquire the national language. The real utilitarian value of the national language - which is often used ideologically to justify its expansion - reflects the power of the state that stands behind it and the situation of subordination of the minority languages vis-a-vis the state standard. As a wealthy Welsh entrepreneur said in speech at the Aberysthwyth *eisteffod*:

"I am a great admirer of the old Welsh language and I have no sympathy with those who revile it. Still I have seen enough of this world to know that the best medium to

⁶⁷ Engels, "Von der Autorität", in *Marx und Engels. Ausgewählte Werke*. vol.4:287-288.

make money by is the English language. I want to advice every one of my countrymen to master it perfectly; if you are content with brown bread, you can, of course, remain where you are. If you wish to enjoy the luxuries of life with white bread to boot, the only way to do so is by learning English well. I know what it is to eat both."⁶⁸

The linkage between industrialization and the state standard has been recognized by people representing different political positions. The founder of Basque nationalism, Sabino Arana (1865-1903), was conscious of the dilemma confronted by the Basque language:

"The farmer knows well enough that Basque is useless for his children. The remedy is then, to create industries, to launch naval companies, to organize cooperatives in handicrafts, fishing, agriculture and animal husbandry, to take over or open new means of transportation... to nationalize all of these spheres of life, so that the Basque language becomes useful, because it should be compulsory in order to participate in them. The Basque language must become necessary but in reality is only useful to talk about agricultural activities."⁶⁹

Arana realized that although the Basque language still had a communicative function in the countryside it played an insignificant role in the expanding capitalist industrial production. With the collapse of precapitalist agriculture and the traditional iron manufacture the farmer's children were forced to migrate to the industrial areas where they would find themselves in the need to speak Spanish.

The linguistic character of capitalist industrialization - which imposes the state language upon vernacular-speaking populations - was pointedly expressed by the

68 Quoted in Humphreys (1898:182), *The Taliesin Tradition. A Quest for the Welsh Identity*.

69 Arana in a letter to Aranzadi from 1901. Quoted in Solozábal (1975:366), *El primer nacionalismo vasco*.

1847 Royal Commission on the State of Education in Wales⁷⁰ that advocated the eradication of Welsh:

"The Welsh language is a vast drawback to Wales, and a manifold barrier to the moral progress and commercial prosperity of the people... It dissevers the people from intercourse which would greatly advance their civilization, and bars the access of improving knowledge to their minds."⁷¹

This critique that the mother tongue of the Welsh becomes an obstacle for the Welsh people themselves should be rather understood in the sense that those who did not speak the national language constituted an obstacle for the expansion of capitalist industrialization in Wales.⁷² Welsh was not only perceived as a barrier for industrialization, but also as the language of a rebellious proletariat and should be suppressed. On the wake of the Chartist uprisings of the 1840s a Welsh M.P. remarked in a speech at the House of Commons:

"It should be borne in mind, that an ill educated and undisciplined population, like that existing among the mines in South Wales, is one that may be found most dangerous to the neighbourhood in which it dwells, and that a band of efficient schoolmasters is kept up at a much less expense than a body of police or soldiery."⁷³

Despite of the fact that the Welsh miners were highly literate in Welsh, they were regarded as "ill-educated" and "dangerous" because capitalist society does not simply require literacy in general but specifically literacy in the national language. The modern nation state - as the political form of capitalism - fulfills two major

70 The 1847 Education Commission came to life after the initiative of William Williams, a Welsh M.P. who requested that a commission be set up to inquire into: "... the state of Education in the Principality of Wales, especially into the means afforded to the labouring classes of acquiring a knowledge of the English tongue." See Humphreys (1989:168), *The Taliesin Tradition. A Quest for the Welsh Identity*.

71 Quoted in Price, G. (1984a:103), *The languages of Britain*.

72 This was an oft repeated theme. The Royal Commission on Land at the end of the 19th century similarly concluded that the Welsh language was a major barrier to agricultural development.

73 Quoted in Humphreys (1989:168), *The Taliesin Tradition. A Quest for the Welsh Identity*.

objectives. One is to secure a home market for the national bourgeoisie allowing the development of national industry and providing protection against foreign competition. And second, it provides the political force to expand in foreign markets. The national language is one of the material conditions of social production and for the creation of a national market since production and exchange always go hand in hand with communication.

The deployment of labour as a commodity is governed by two major considerations: cost and productivity. Lack of literacy in the national language becomes an obstacle for production and increases costs. With the proletarianization of large masses of the population the state as the "executive committee of the bourgeoisie" became increasingly responsible for guaranteeing the general conditions of capitalist production.

The need to understand the national language and basic literacy skills were met by the provision of compulsory education. In this way the state interfered directly into language reproduction for the mass of the population, an intervention which is unknown in earlier modes of production, where language reproduction took place largely in the context of the family and where the state standard language was only passed down to a small elite.

State institutions reached deeper and deeper into the everyday life of individuals, demanding the exercise of reading and writing skills. The relation between the state and the individual was earlier mediated by a group of trained specialists, such as the Basque scribes. Many ordinary people who were not used to writing found themselves in a situation which increasingly demanded literacy.⁷⁴ The large-scale movements of people during industrialization created new needs of communication at the individual level. At the same time, the increasing mobility of the population

⁷⁴ Grosse, Grimberg, Hölscher and Karweick (1989), "*Denn das Schreiben gehört nicht zu meiner täglichen Beschäftigung.*" *Der Alltag kleiner Leute in Bittschriften, Briefen und Berichten aus dem 19. Jahrhundert. Ein Lesebuch.*

speeded up the disappearance of the oral form of contractual relations which were still common under feudalism.

However, most important was the inherent demand of literacy for capitalist industrial production. The connection between capitalist development and literacy can be observed in one of its early ideological manifestations in the protestant emphasis on Bible reading as a requisite for salvation.

The individual worker became more and more directly confronted with literacy demands at the work place. While there has been a certain historical tendency toward Taylorization and the de-skilling of labour a more important trend has been in the direction of the greater technological complexity of production and the parallel need of raising the educational level of the labour force.⁷⁵ The Tayloristic paradigm of the proletariat as a "working gorilla" is hardly a realistic model of production which is always mediated by communication, both in the form of face-to-face interaction and, increasingly, in written form.

The intermission and active participation of the state in language reproduction disrupted the overall transmission of the vernacular language. As a result the vernacular was confined to the rural areas where the traditional life style still survived or to the family domain in the urban areas. For many minority languages, and in particular for those like Basque which never had a change to standardize, the challenge of the state language under capitalist industrialization put them on the verge of extinction.

⁷⁵ This has created the contradiction that an uneducated working class can be easily used as reserve army of labour for low-paid jobs but, on the other hand, the qualified manpower for more advanced and profitable forms of production may be in short supply. This is most obvious in the case of the contemporary U.S.A. where a large minority of the population are functionally illiterate.

CHAPTER 5

EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE ABOUT LANGUAGE REPRODUCTION

5.1 Introduction: language reproduction under capitalist industrialization

The state standard languages had already achieved an increasing presence and use in the Basque country and Wales by the 1870s. However, there were still large numbers of vernacular monolingual and bilingual speakers, as shown by the studies of Ravenstein, Bonaparte and Velasco. All of this was to change between 1870-1920 with the unbounded expansion of capitalist industrialization. The combined effect of the dynamics of capitalist production and of the state intervention in the linguistic and cultural fields resulted in an unprecedented process of decline for the vernaculars languages. Writing at the turn of the 20th century, Unamuno described the situation of the Basque language in terms that left no doubt about the seriousness of its condition:

"The Basque language is being lost, is being lost very fast; and is being lost in two ways: in extension and in intensity. It is being lost in extension since Spanish is spoken in villages where hardly twenty years ago Basque was used, and this loss increases day by day. And it is being lost in intensity, in that, on the one hand, the Basque spoken today is more and more mixed with words of Spanish origin and, on the other, in that it becomes simplified and loses its character everyday."⁷⁶

Unamuno identified two major dimensions in the dynamics of the process of decline. On the one hand, he pointed out the rapid elimination of the vernacular language from whole territories where it had not long ago been spoken. Furthermore, he saw this decline as a self-accelerating process that once set into motion becomes very difficult to stop. On the linguistic level, on the other hand, Unamuno recognized the occurrence of phenomena such as relexification, simplification and structural deterioration, a diagnosis which bears a striking resemblance to the analysis of language death in contemporary sociolinguistics (see chapter 1).

⁷⁶ Unamuno "La cuestión del euskera" in Unamuno (1958) *Obras Completas. La raza y la lengua*. Volume VI.

The study of the more purely linguistic aspects of the decline goes beyond the scope of this work. The demographic and spatial processes of language reproduction will be examined in this chapter on the basis of the available empirical evidence, largely census data.

5.2 On the validity of language census data for historical sociolinguistics

Official statistics, particularly census data related to language knowledge and literacy, are important sources for the analysis of sociolinguistic relations over time. The existence of a rich pool of language census data⁷⁷ in Wales has been instrumental in the development of a research tradition about the Welsh language. As Zelinsky and Williams remark: "... *there may be no other country where scholarly scrutiny of the geography and sociology of language... has been so intense and persistent.*"⁷⁸

However, one of the problems with language census data is simply that there is too little of it. Even in the relatively well documented case of Wales language census data is only available since 1891. In the Basque country, on the other hand, the first language census was carried out in 1981, almost one century later, what has greatly hindered inquiries into historical sociolinguistics. As Ruiz Olabuénaga writes in a study of the 1981 census: "... *we totally ignore the successive phases of monolingualism, bilingualism and diglossia experienced by the geographical area occupied, continuously or discontinuously, by the Basque language.*" And concludes that the elaboration of a historical Atlas of the Basque language: "... *is an utopian attempt and completely impossible, at least for the time being.*"⁷⁹

77 Here the terms Welsh and Basque census refer respectively to the sections for Wales and Monmouthshire in the *Census of England and Wales*, and to those related to the provinces of Alava, Guipuzcoa, Navarra and Vizcaya in the *Censo de Población de España*.

78 Zelinsky and Williams (1988:348), "The mapping of language in North America and the British Isles."

79 Ruiz Olabuénaga (1984:11), *Atlas lingüístico vasco*.

As an alternative to the missing Basque language census data the figures for *Spanish* literacy - provided in the census since the late 19th century - will be used as an index of changing language relations in the Basque country.

5.2.1 Arbitrary and changing character of territorial units in the census

Census data cannot be used uncritically since it exhibits many shortcomings. One problem related to the territorial nature of the census data is that the language figures are aggregated according to areal units which follow administrative and not linguistic criteria. Homogeneity is thus imposed upon places which may have very different language conditions but happen to belong to the same administrative area. One example of this is the county of Pembroke which contained a very anglicized south and a Welsh-speaking north. Being close to the Welsh heartland in Cardigan the northern districts of Pembroke were heavily Welsh-speaking. In 1901, for instance, the district of Llanfyrnach had 99 per cent of Welsh speakers and St. Dogmells 96 per cent. On the contrary, southern coastal districts like Milford Haven, with only 5 per cent of Welsh speakers, were almost completely anglicized. The demographic importance of the anglicized areas resulted in an overall figure of 34.5 per cent of Welsh speakers for the county as a whole which obscures the above mentioned internal differences.

This problem can be partly reduced by considering smaller units than counties such as Urban Districts, Rural Districts, Municipal Boroughs and County Boroughs, or even smaller one like registration districts (only available after 1921). But no matter how small the territorial units, there will always be a certain amount of distortion imposed by the scale of measurement:

"Even the evidence on whether Welsh is or is not a minority language in any area has been seen to vary according to the scale at which observation has been made..."⁸⁰

A solution proposed by some authors has been to conduct studies that use micro-scale mapping. This would allow going down to levels as detailed as the individual

⁸⁰ Ambrose, J. and Williams, C.H. (1981:13-14), "Scale as an influence on the geolinguistic analysis of a minority language."

household. However this requires fieldwork and is impossible using the published census data (with the exception perhaps of the census enumerators' books discussed later).

Another problem that makes it difficult to compare census data over time are the changing boundaries of territorial units in the census data. In Wales, for instance, due to administrative changes no single territorial unit has been used consistently from 1891 to the present.⁸¹ The 1891 census grouped figures of speakers by registration counties while later censuses have used administrative counties. After the local administration reform of 1973 county boundaries experienced important changes. As a result, language data at the county level can only be reliably compared between 1901 and 1971.

The same problem applies to smaller unit than the counties such as urban and rural districts. However, although some of them have changed over the census decades it is possible to aggregate the data for those counties whose boundaries have been altered in order to create territorial units that can be then compared over several census periods.

5.2.2 Sources of inaccuracy in the Welsh language census data

The figures reported in the censuses are not always correct. Sometimes the reason for the inaccuracies may be of a technical nature. For instance, as the census authorities acknowledged, the delay in carrying out the 1921 census resulted in the over-enumeration of English speakers in some Welsh coastal towns. Instead of the originally planned date of April the census was taken on June when many English tourists had already arrived to these holiday resorts.⁸²

81 See Pryce, W.T.R. and Williams, C.H. (1988:175), "Sources and methods in the study of language areas: a case study of Wales."

82 Summer visitors inflated the size of the population in the following towns: Aberystwyth 19.9%, Colwyn Bay 15.7%, Conway 5.0%, Llandudno 33.1%, Porthcawl 16.7% and Rhyl 22.7%. See *Census of 1921*, Appendix A 99. (198-201).

In other cases the formulation of the question elicited in the census gave rise to confusion. As the 1891 General Report states, in the census questionnaires for Wales:

"... a column was added to the householder's schedule, headed "Language spoken," with the instruction appended "If only English, write 'English'; if only Welsh, write 'Welsh'; if 'English and Welsh', write 'Both'."

And goes on to say that:

"This instruction seems clear enough. Nevertheless abundant evidence was received by us that it was either misunderstood or set at naught by a large number of those Welshmen who could speak both languages, and that the word "Welsh" was very often returned, when the proper entry would have been "Both"; on the ground, it may be presumed, that Welsh was the language spoken habitually or preferentially."⁸³

The General Report also noted with a certain dryness that in some cases newly born infants were returned as Welsh monolinguals.⁸⁴ Due to these different problems it is commonly agreed that the 1891 Census over-estimates the number of Welsh monolinguals.⁸⁵ The misunderstanding was due to the fact that "language spoken" can be taken to mean the language commonly used, while the census officials meant the ability of speaking.⁸⁶

⁸³ *Census of England and Wales 1891, General Report, vol. IV, p. 81.*

⁸⁴ For this reason in later censuses the language question was restricted to people of 3 years or older.

⁸⁵ This view was also expressed in the 1921 census. See Census Report (1921:184), *General Report*.

⁸⁶ In 1921 the language question was "Can you speak Welsh only/English and Welsh/English only". This was also confusing and 86,907 persons failed to reply (as opposed to 12,833 in 1891; 2,757 in 1901 and 38,930 in 1911). The problem was that persons able to speak Welsh and/or English and other languages could not, technically answer the question. After people were merely asked to state if they could speak Welsh, or Welsh and English. In 1971 a further question was introduced regarding Welsh literacy.

5.2.3 Methodological remarks on the Basque language censuses

In Spain there are two autonomous communities where Basque is spoken: the Basque Autonomous Community (B.A.C.) which includes the provinces of Vizcaya, Guipuzcoa and Alava, and the Autonomous Community of Navarra. The statistical bureaus of each of these Communities have collected language census data independently which has led to some peculiarities.

The first Basque language census was carried out in the Basque Autonomous Community in 1981. It included four questions related to the ability of understanding, speaking, reading and writing Basque and contemplated three possible answers: well, some (with difficulty) and none. It is not easy to discuss the figures of people who claimed to understand or speak Basque with difficulty since this is a loosely defined category which ranges from knowing a few words to a limited fluency in the language. Therefore, here the number of Basque speakers refers to those people who stated that they could speak Basque well.⁸⁷ The 1986 census of the Basque Autonomous community introduced a new question on the mother tongue which allowed four possible answers: Basque, Spanish, both (Basque and Spanish) and other.

The census of Navarra included for the first time a language section in 1986 with the same questions as the 1981 census of the Basque Autonomous Community (i.e. the mother tongue question was missing). Technically the statistics for 1981 belong to the "*Censo de población y vivienda*" whereas those for 1986 to the "*Padrón municipal de habitantes*."⁸⁸ For short both will be referred to as the '1981 Basque

87 As already mentioned in the discussion of "semi-speakers", people who claimed to understand Basque well but can only speak the language with difficulty could have also been considered. But few people belong to this category and the issue would have been complicated unnecessarily.

88 The census is performed every ten years and is a more exhaustive statistical account than the "*Padrón*" which is carried out between censuses and is largely a population count.

census data' although it needs to be born in mind that the figures for Navarra are from 1986.

It may be mentioned in passing that there are still no official language statistics for the French Basque provinces of Labourd, Basse Navarre and Soule up to today. This is a situation common to all minority languages in France which have been systematically denied official recognition since the time of the Revolution. It has been estimated that the French Basque country accounts for around 15 per cent of the total number of Basque speakers on both sides of the border.

One major difference in the formulation of the language question in the Basque and Welsh censuses is that the Welsh censuses inquiry about Welsh and English monolingualism and bilingualism, while the Basque censuses only ask about knowledge of Basque. The resulting figures are presented in the published census reports as a measure of the number of Basque speakers, but it would be more proper to see them as a measure of bilingualism. Despite the growing presence of the vernacular language in the media and the administration, the census seems to assume that it is practically impossible to live in the contemporary Basque country without knowledge of Spanish. While there may be a few cases of Basque monolingualism - a few old people or some very small children - the omission of the question of Basque monolingualism in the census can be interpreted as a reflection of the fact that it does not exist. It is thus important to keep in mind that census figures of Basque speakers are in reality about *bilingualism*, a fact that is not always realized but that constitutes a major obstacle for the revitalization of the vernacular language since the Basque population already communicate using Spanish.

The administrative units considered in the B.A.C. census consist of a hierarchy comprised by province, *comarca* and *municipio*. The *municipio* is the smallest one and the *comarca* a middle-size administrative unit between the province and the *municipio*. In the 1986 census of Navarra the *comarca* has been replaced by explicitly designed language zones. The census itself served as a technical aid for language legislation. As opposed to the B.A.C. where both Basque and Spanish possess the status of official languages in the whole territory in Navarra three language zones

with different language rights were established. The "*Basque zone*" comprises *municipios* where more than 25 per cent of the population speak Basque. It is located in the north of the province and the vernacular language enjoys full official status there. The "*Mixed zone*" includes counties whose percentage of Basque speakers ranges between 5 and 25 per cent. It is located around the capital Pamplona as well and in the eastern Pyrenees area. Basque has limited rights in this area. The "*Spanish zone*" comprises counties with less than 5 per cent of Basque speakers. It includes districts in the centre and southern part of the province and Basque has no legal status there. This legislation, which allocates language rights on the basis of percentage of speakers, has been criticized as cementing the marginal status of Basque in Navarra by creating a sort of linguistic reservation.

5.2.4 Language knowledge in the census and language use in reality

As shown in the preceding discussion the language questions normally asked in the census are of a cognitive rather than of a communicative nature. This emphasis on language cognition makes it impossible to tell from census data alone the degree of minority language use. An expert in the language census of Scotland acknowledges:

"... the census is not necessarily an accurate guide to numbers speaking Gaelic and is little or no use in investigating how Gaelic was used, to whom, when and why, or in exploring process of language transmission."⁸⁹

A survey study performed in the Basque-speaking province of Guipuzcoa in the early 1980, at about the same time as the first language census, confirms the discrepancy between census figures of language knowledge and actual language use. The number of people who used Basque regularly was found in this study to be significantly lower than the figures of language knowledge reported in the census.⁹⁰

Furthermore the ambiguity of the census questions can sometimes lead to surprising results when estimating the actual size of the vernacular speech community. In a

⁸⁹ Withers (1991:171), "On the geography and social history of Gaelic."

⁹⁰ Siadeco (1984), "Euskararen erabilpena Gipuzkoan."

study performed shortly after the first language census Ruiz Olabuénaga counted 696,695 Basque-speakers in 1981:

"According to the population census of February 1981, the number of Basque speakers in the Autonomous Community, was close to 700,000 which represented almost one third of its population."⁹¹

However, using identical data in a later work the same author provides a much lower estimate of the population who understood Basque:

"... the broadest level of diffusion of euskera, that of simple understanding (which also includes semi-speakers, also called passive Basque speakers) reaches 22,67 per cent of the population of the Basque Autonomous Community."⁹²

But before coming to the logical inference that more people can speak Basque than actually understand the language, it must be said that the first study considered everyone who could speak Basque either well or with difficulty as a Basque speaker, while the second only those who could understand Basque well.

5.2.5 Language census and ideology

A major source of "distortion" of census results is constituted by the ideological and political context in which the census takes place. This is not meant in a positivistic sense as if the existence of a speech community was something totally objective without anything to do with ideological or cultural aspects (see the discussion on the semi-speaker in chapter 1). However, it is also true that sometimes political conditions may pervert the results of a census. For instance, the changes in the German population reported in the Hungarian censuses after the Second World War reflected considerably the current political situation of the German minority in the country, varying in size accordingly.⁹³

91 Ruiz Olabuénaga (1983:25), *La lucha del euskera*.

92 Ruiz Olabuénaga (1984:21), *Atlas lingüístico vasco*.

93 Gal, S. (1993), "Diversity and contestation in linguistic ideologies: German speakers in Hungary."

But beyond these clear politically motivated occasioned distortions, the very nature of the subordinate status of minority languages implicitly contains attitudinal elements which may also make the census results questionable. Minority language speakers sometimes deny their knowledge of the language because of inferiority feelings. As the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language complained, the figures of the 1851 census were unreliable:

"... as the council are aware that the returns do not include the entire number of people who speak Irish, since it is well known that many persons, for want of education in the vernacular, and of due appreciation of its value, do not admit their knowledge of the language, and that many more who know it were never questioned on the subject at the census taking."⁹⁴

The opposite phenomenon can also occur - often out of nationalistic enthusiasm - that some speakers exaggerate their knowledge of the minority language portraying themselves as bilinguals or even minority language monolinguals in an attempt to inflate the census figures.

Finally, a census is a form of production of knowledge about a population and in a certain sense the census itself *creates* the reality which it studies. For instance, the categorization of Basque speakers by means of a complex range of different forms and degrees of language knowledge was not simply a description of a linguistic reality but it constructed a vision and a knowledge of that reality:

"Speakers of different varieties are aggregated into a single and endangered "Basque" linguistic community. At the same time, *euskaldunak* [Basque speakers] are differentiated from one another by degrees of literacy and expertise in Basque. In highlighting literacy and eliding dialects, the census categories refute the long standing

94 Quoted in Ravenstein (1879:581), "On the Celtic languages of the British Isles: a statistical survey". Withers also points out that the first language census of Scotland in 1881 also contained an under-enumeration of Gaelic speakers due to this reason. See Withers, C.W.J. (1989:107), "On the geography and social history of Gaelic."

assumptions that Basque is not a fully modern language and that Basque speakers are not a single language community."⁹⁵

The new intellectual orientation to the Basque language implicit in the census stands out by comparing it with a study undertaken a decade earlier by the Basque linguist Yrizar. In the early 1970s Yrizar carried out single-handedly a study which attempted to establish the number of Basque speakers and the strength of the different dialectal varieties. He explained the necessity of such a study arguing that until that time there had not been a:

"... complete exploration of the whole Basque-speaking area specifying the number of people who speak Basque in each town and district, neither has the numeric strength of the different language varieties been determined, and by implication of each dialect and subdialect."⁹⁶

Even today this study still represents the only modern empirical work about the whole Basque language area and its dialects. In its scope and methodology it resembles Ravenstein's hundred year old investigation of the Celtic languages. Yrizar sent a questionnaire to the priests in each locality inquiring into the number of Basque speakers and the Basque dialect(s) spoken.

Yrizar's work stands within a tradition of Basque studies that can be traced back to Bonaparte and which conceives Basque as formed by specific territorially grounded varieties.⁹⁷ Thus, the loss of Basque speakers is not simply seen as a quantitative decline but implies the geographical retreat of the language and the irreparable loss of Basque varieties.

The survey focused on the area where Basque was still used, excluding the southern Basque territory and capital cities like Bilbao. The changing reception of this work

⁹⁵ Urla, J. (1993:831), "Cultural politics in an age of statistics: numbers, nations, and the making of Basque identity."

⁹⁶ Yrizar (1973:3), "Los dialectos y variedades de la lengua vasca. Estudio lingüístico-demográfico."

⁹⁷ See Mokoroa (1971), *Lengua vasca de hoy y de mañana* for an articulate statement of the traditional position at the height of the unification debate.

tells a great deal about contemporary developments in Basque studies. Soon after the publication of Yrizar's study Apat-Echebarne wrote:

"It is a magisterial study... that will become a milestone [in Basque studies] since nothing like that has been done since Prince Bonaparte's map of 1863."⁹⁸

However, within a few years the orientation toward the study of the Basque language experienced a radical transformation. This change of intellectual approach had a political background: the end of the Franco Dictatorship and the coming to power of a nationalist government in the Basque Autonomous Community. As a result, the lonely scholar has been replaced by research institutes, census bureaus, computer centres and a small army of low-paid interviewers and high-paid bureaucrats. In this new context Yrizar's work has been lightly dismissed:

"His methodology, rudimentary and primitive, ... lacks any scientific guarantee, and his estimations must be considered only as an amateurish approximation to the real number of Basque speakers."⁹⁹

However, Yrizar's figures practically coincide with the findings of a sociological survey study carried out in the mid-1970 which has been described by the same critic as having "*methodological rigour and guarantee of reliability*", and are also quite similar to the census results of 1981.¹⁰⁰

One crucial difference between the "traditional" and "modern" studies of the Basque speech community relates to the attitude toward the dialects. Whereas in the traditional view the Basque language is seen as the sum of its dialects - Yrizar's study was appropriately entitled "The dialects and varieties of the Basque language" - in contemporary sociological studies, on the other hand, Basque is presented as a unity.

Most telling is the fact that Yrizar's work does not consider unified Basque (*euskara batua*). This is understandable since when the study was carried out unified Basque was still practically "under construction." Agreement about the basic

98 Apat-Echebarne (1974:17), *Una geografía diacrónica del euskera en Navarra*.

99 Ruiz Olabuénaga (1984:13-14), *Atlas Lingüístico vasco*.

100 Ruiz Olabuénaga (1984:14), *Atlas Lingüístico vasco*.

structure of unified Basque was first achieved at the Congress of Arantzazu in 1968. Besides, as a literary standard, unified Basque does not have any home base, although over the years it might conceivably develop as an urban variety. The newer sociological studies, on the other hand, do not even mention the existence of dialects. The first question of a survey sponsored by the Basque government in the early 1980s inquired about the dialect spoken by the subjects interviewed (Vizcayan, Guipuzcoan, Unified Basque - *euskara batua* - or other). However, the findings of the study relating to this question do not appear in the published report.¹⁰¹

Yrizar's study also gave valuable detailed information about the local conditions of the vernacular language, something that by its very nature is not available in the census data. He documented the retreat of Basque and the situation of language use. In the *canton* of Tardets on the French side of the border it was reported that:

"Every native of Soule older than twenty or twenty-five years of age... can speak the Soule dialect perfectly. They speak it among themselves at home and most of their children can only speak Basque when they start primary school at the age of five or six. However, after a while, these children have more and more the tendency to switch to French if the parents are not careful. Unfortunately there is a great deal of indifference among them and one can sometimes hear parents speaking Basque to their children who answer back in French."¹⁰²

The issue of the reliability of language census data is not simply a technical question but is intimately related to the whole ideological and political context in which the census is embedded. In the Austro-Hungarian Empire, for instance, the language census was intended as a means of ordering the population into clear-cut

101 See Ruiz Olabuénaga (1983), *La lucha del euskera*. It may be speculated that this responded to the official policy of supporting the emerging standard and playing down the dialectal diversity existing in Basque. Interestingly, the Basque and Spanish versions of the study are slightly different. The former one includes a chapter on the "*euskaldunberriak*" - people who have learnt Basque as adults often taking courses on the unified language - which is missing in the latter.

102 Yrizar (1973:55), "Los dialectos y variedades de la lengua vasca"

national groups. This gave the apparently technical language question a deep political dimension:

"In truth by asking the language question censuses for the first time *forced* everyone not only a nationality, but a linguistic nationality. The technical requirements of the modern administrative state once again helped to foster the emergence of nationalism..."¹⁰³

But if the census can be easily faulted for failing to live up to its assumed goal of objectivity it would be equally unwarranted to dismiss it as a purely ideological product. Census data is certainly not the answer to all sociolinguistic questions but, with all the necessary qualifications, at least it provides an approximation to an empirical reality of language change over time and space. And it has also helped the development of a sociolinguistic literature about minority languages which:

"... would never have been written without the support of existing census data, deficient though they may be. Certainly, the twentieth-century decline of Welsh must be one of the best documented linguistic events in Western Europe, and its discussion has become increasingly more refined and analytical."¹⁰⁴

5.3 Wales

5.3.1 The geographical retreat of the Welsh language

The historical decline of the Welsh language has been accompanied by its geographical retreat which in its cartographic representation appears as the inexorable advance of the standard state language into the vernacular language areas.

Relying on census data as well as other sources Welsh geographers have been able to document quite precisely the spatial processes associated with the reproduction of English into Welsh-speaking areas.¹⁰⁵ Pryce, for example, examined the retreat of the

103 Hobsbawm (1990:100), *Nations and nationalism since 1870*.

104 Ambrose, J. (1980:7), "Micro-scale language mapping: an experiment in Wales and Brittany."

105 For a study that makes use of contemporary census data see Aitchison and Carter (1985), *The Welsh Language 1961-1981. An* (continued...)

Welsh language from the wider perspective of culture contact (see chapter 3). Since language is one of the major traits of a culture, the Welsh culture area has often been defined according to the intensity of the Welsh language.¹⁰⁶ Pryce adopted specifically the "culture region" model in geography. Each culture region is formed by a core area where the characteristics of the culture are found in most intense form.¹⁰⁷ Surrounding the core there is an area called the "domain" where the native culture is still present but with less intensity. Finally in the outer borders, in an area called the "sphere", the culture is already quite diluted and is only found in minority forms. The process of acculturation to another contact culture area is quite advanced there.

Before industrialization in the late 18th century Wales was an overwhelmingly Welsh-speaking country:

105(...continued)
Interpretative Atlas.

106 In a nation without a state the language became a major mark of the identity of the nation: "Indeed Welsh culture is largely a literary and linguistic culture and the language has played the most important part in its perpetuation. It is no wonder, therefore, that the word *iaith* (language) was used in the Middle Ages to denote 'nation'. Therefore, in the centuries following the Middle Ages (and indeed today) it was customary to confine the word *Cymro* (Welshman) to someone who spoke Welsh." See Bowen (1986:69-70), "The geography of Wales as a background to its history." Bowen has divided Wales into two basic culture areas: an Inner Wales in the northern and western parts of the Principality and an Outer Wales in the southern and eastern parts of the country.

107 Despite the very different character of the visitation data and of census statistics both are in some ways similar. The visitation returns - just as the census figures - probably reflect quite correctly the extent of *language knowledge* in the community but they do not allow to make predictions about *language use* outside the church premises. It might even be suspected that in so far as the Welsh language became increasingly restricted to the religious sphere - especially in the industrial areas - the visitation returns may in some cases overrepresent the real strength of the vernacular language in actual communicative use.

"From the vast majority of churches no other observation was received beyond the fact that Welsh was the sole language used in public worship. These conditions, however, did not prevail everywhere for towards the border with England there occur frequent references to an incipient invasion of the English language."¹⁰⁸

However, with industrialization in the 19th century, the diffusion of English into the Welsh-speaking area took place according to Pryce through a "bilingual zone" which acted as a buffer zone of acculturation. It was a territory where both English and Welsh came into contact largely from the encounter of two monolingual populations:

"Very considerable evidence that the linguistic character of the bilingual zone was determined by varying admixtures of Welsh and English monoglot populations occur in the remarks sent in to the bishops."¹⁰⁹

The emergence and advance of the bilingual zone was a function of three related processes: industrialization, in-migration and urbanization. In-migration is, in fact, the major factor for Pryce who explains the expansion of English largely through the scale of migratory movements and the inability of the Welsh-speaking communities to integrate the English in-migrants:

"The mechanisms underlying all of these changes must have been of very great complexity. In part they were shaped by the movements of people: initially the migration of families from the rural counties of central Wales helped to reinforce and sustain the "new" Welsh-speaking communities of the iron works and the coalfield... Later, however, increasing labour needs and a vastly expanded scale of production meant the in-migration of a non-Welsh-speaking population and these have never been fully absorbed by the receiving communities."¹¹⁰

But the demographic argument can be turned around. Thomas has countered the contention that English in-migration served to create a bilingual zone which acted as an agent of anglicization with his own thesis that industrialization "saved" the Welsh language (see chapter 4):

"This may well have been so in certain areas [the existence of a bilingual zone] and I do not underestimate the importance of this aspect of the subject. Nevertheless it

108 Pryce (1986:38-39), "Wales as a culture region: patterns of change 1750-1971."

109 Pryce, (1986:43), "Wales as a culture region."

110 Pryce (1986:57), "Wales as a culture region."

cannot alter the fact that by the middle of the nineteenth century the *absolute number* of people speaking Welsh had reached a total which would have been impossible if Wales had not had an industrial revolution based on coal, iron, steel and ample capital resources."¹¹¹

But as already mentioned a demographic argument *alone* cannot provide a satisfactory explanation. Two facts need to be considered in this connection. On the one hand, it was possible for English in-migrants to work in a relatively high Welsh-speaking area such as the southern coalfield without having to learn Welsh. This would have been unthinkable for Welsh in-migrants in England, or even for Welsh in-migrants to the mining area who sooner or later became bilingual if they were Welsh monolinguals.

On the other hand, language change does not necessarily occur one way only. There is some evidence that - especially in the early process of industrialization - some English in-migrants and their children managed to learn Welsh.¹¹² The question is then why it was largely English and not Welsh that spread in the bilingual zone.

While population figures obviously play a role, the determinant aspect is not so much the number of "individual" speakers of a particular language, but rather the character of the communicative relations which shaped their linguistic practices. And English was clearly the dominant language in the production process, even in areas with an otherwise high Welsh-speaking population. The bilingual zone model shows nonetheless that bilingualism was the crucial moment in the process of English reproduction:

"... by the early 1900s, the Welsh-speaking core had retreated westward under pressure from the encroaching bilingual zone... [and]... once a community moved towards a

¹¹¹ Thomas, Brinley (1986:15), "The industrial revolution and the Welsh language."

¹¹² Southall, for instance, pointed out that the census figures of 1891 seemed to suggest that some English in-migrants in Cardiganshire and their children acquired the Welsh language. Southall (1895:17), *The Welsh Language Census of 1891. With Coloured Map of the 52 Registration Districts into which Wales is Divided and Remarks on the Future of the Language.*

bilingual status then almost inevitably English was to gain overwhelming dominance in the next generation."¹¹³

This insight that geographers have developed in the analysis of the spatial distribution of the language can be applied to other dimensions of language reproduction.

5.3.2 The census figures for the Welsh language

Taking the Welsh-speaking population as a percentage of the total population of Wales the picture is one of relentless decline. In 1891 still 54 per cent of the population could speak Welsh.¹¹⁴ However, this figure does not represent a majority of the population, since the existence of 24 per cent of bilinguals and of 46 per cent of English monolinguals indicates that altogether 70 per cent of the Welsh population could speak English. But in 1901 the proportion of those who could speak Welsh fell for the first time just under the 50 per cent mark. The decline set forth in 1911 with 43.5 per cent Welsh speakers, although their absolute number reached its highest recorded value with 977,366 people. The decline continued after 1921, both in absolute and relative terms. By 1981 only 19 per cent of the Welsh population could speak Welsh, just over half a million people.

The historical decline of the Welsh language has followed a two-step process in the road toward massive anglicization which reflected the expansion of English into most productive realms and as the dominant means of communication for social life in general. First there was an increase in the number of bilinguals which was accompanied by the reduction of the Welsh monolingual population. In the next stage, once the number of Welsh monolinguals had become practically insignificant, the bilingual population started to decline in turn. The general direction of language

¹¹³ Pryce, (1986:47), "Wales as a culture region. Patterns of change 1750-1971."

¹¹⁴ Southall calculated that around 60% of the *native born* Welsh population could speak the vernacular language. See Southall (1895:32), *The Welsh Language Census of 1891*.

change was from Welsh monolingualism towards English monolingualism through an intermediate bilingual stage. There were however some regional variations within this overall trend. For instance, while some of the strong Welsh-speaking counties were still in the process of losing their Welsh monolingual populations, other counties such as Monmouthshire had already become practically English monolingual. The census figures spell out the dramatic decline experienced by the Welsh language during the 20th century (see Table 12).

Table 12 Language censuses of Wales (1891-1971)
Source: *Digest of Welsh Statistics* (1985:78-88)

	Welsh only	Bilin- gual	English only	Welsh speakers	Total Population
Absolute figures					
1891	508,036	402,253	775,325	910,289	1,685,614
1901	280,905	648,892	931,884	929,797	1,861,681
1911	190,292	787,704	1,269,931	977,996	2,247,927
1921	155,989	766,103	1,564,648	922,092	2,486,740
1931	97,932	811,329	1,563,117	909,261	2,472,378
1941	No census				
1951	41,155	673,531	1,757,707	714,686	2,472,393
1961	26,205	629,779	1,862,727	655,984	2,518,711
1971	32,715	509,705	2,060,540	542,420	2,602,960
Percentages					
1891	30.14	23.86	46.00	54.00	100
1901	15.09	34.86	50.06	49.94	100
1911	8.47	35.04	56.49	43.51	100
1921	6.27	30.81	62.92	37.08	100
1931	3.96	32.82	63.22	36.78	100
1941	No census				
1951	1.66	27.24	71.09	28.91	100
1961	1.04	25.00	73.96	26.04	100
1971	1.26	19.58	79.16	20.84	100

* Figures for 1891 are for the population older than 2 years and for the later censuses for the population older than 3 years.

Between 1891 and 1911, when the expansion of the coal industry reached its zenith, the number of bilinguals doubled from 400,000 to almost 800,000 people. These people were largely Welsh monoglot speakers who became bilingual - many of them after migrating to the industrial areas - and children who grew up bilingually, specially after the introduction of compulsory English education in 1879. In these two decades of the turn of the 20th century the percentage of bilinguals among the Welsh population increased from 23.9 per cent to 35 per cent. From 1911 to 1931 the number of bilinguals stagnated although they declined slightly in percentual terms (from 35 to just under 33 per cent).

On the other hand, during the period 1891-1931 the monolingual reservoir was practically depleted, from over half a million to just under 100,000. The proportion of Welsh monolinguals declined from 30 per cent to just under 4 per cent of the population of Wales in this period. Within forty years the sociolinguistic situation in Wales changed from one in which almost one third of the population *only* spoke Welsh to another in which almost everybody knew English.

During this period (1891-1931) the total number of Welsh speakers hardly changed maintaining itself just above the figure of 900,000 people. This simply reflected the expansion of English among the Welsh monolingual population at a time when the population of Wales was growing rapidly. The gain in the number of bilinguals amounted more or less to the reduction in the number of Welsh monolinguals. The final inflection in the curve of decline of the vernacular language comes in 1911, a date after which the absolute number of Welsh speakers starts to decline.

Along with the stagnation in the numbers of people who could speak Welsh and their transformation into *bilingual* speakers, there was an explosive growth of English monolingualism. Within just thirty years (1891-1921) the number of English monolinguals duplicated from 775,000 to 1,564,000, an increase from 46 per cent of the Welsh population to almost 63 per cent. Large-scale English in-migration contributed to this massive expansion of the English language. However, it was mostly an expression of the abandonment of the vernacular by children who had

acquired some Welsh in their childhood as well as by the lack of transmission of the vernacular in families where one or even both parents were Welsh-speaking.

The census figures indicate that the major push of bilingual expansion had already been completed by around the time of the First World War which marked a significant break in economic, migratory and political terms.

In his pioneering study of the 1891 census Southall already guessed the alternatives facing the Welsh language. He stated that if the next census of 1901 would show an increase of even just one per cent: "*there would be ground to expect an indefinite prolongation of the life of the language.*"¹¹⁵ But he also warned that:

"If, however, the decrease reaches 4 or 5 per cent, well distributed over all Wales, there would be an indication that phthisis (sic) of a pronounced kind had set in, and we shall have to say to the daughter of many centuries, whose face even now at times exhibits the blushes of youth, "set thy house in order, for thou shalt surely die;" yet even then, just as a patient sometimes lives long with but one lung, West Wales might come forward to make good a new lease of life for the old inheritance."¹¹⁶

This quotation summarizes quite well the state of Welsh at the turn of the twentieth century. It was an ambiguous one in which glimpses of hope about the vitality of the language and the still respectable size of the vernacular-speaking population were mixed with a serious concern. At the same time, this account makes clear the existence of an important gap between the rural Welsh-speaking areas and the anglicized urban ones.

5.3.3 Regional patterns of vernacular language decline

The decline of the Welsh language had different regional speeds depending of each county's specific history and patterns of industrialization. Three major county groups can be established according to the levels of Welsh-speaking (see Map 17 , Table 13 and Table 14)

115 Southall (1904:34), *The Welsh Language Census of 1901*.

116 Southall (1904:34), *The Welsh Language Census of 1901*.

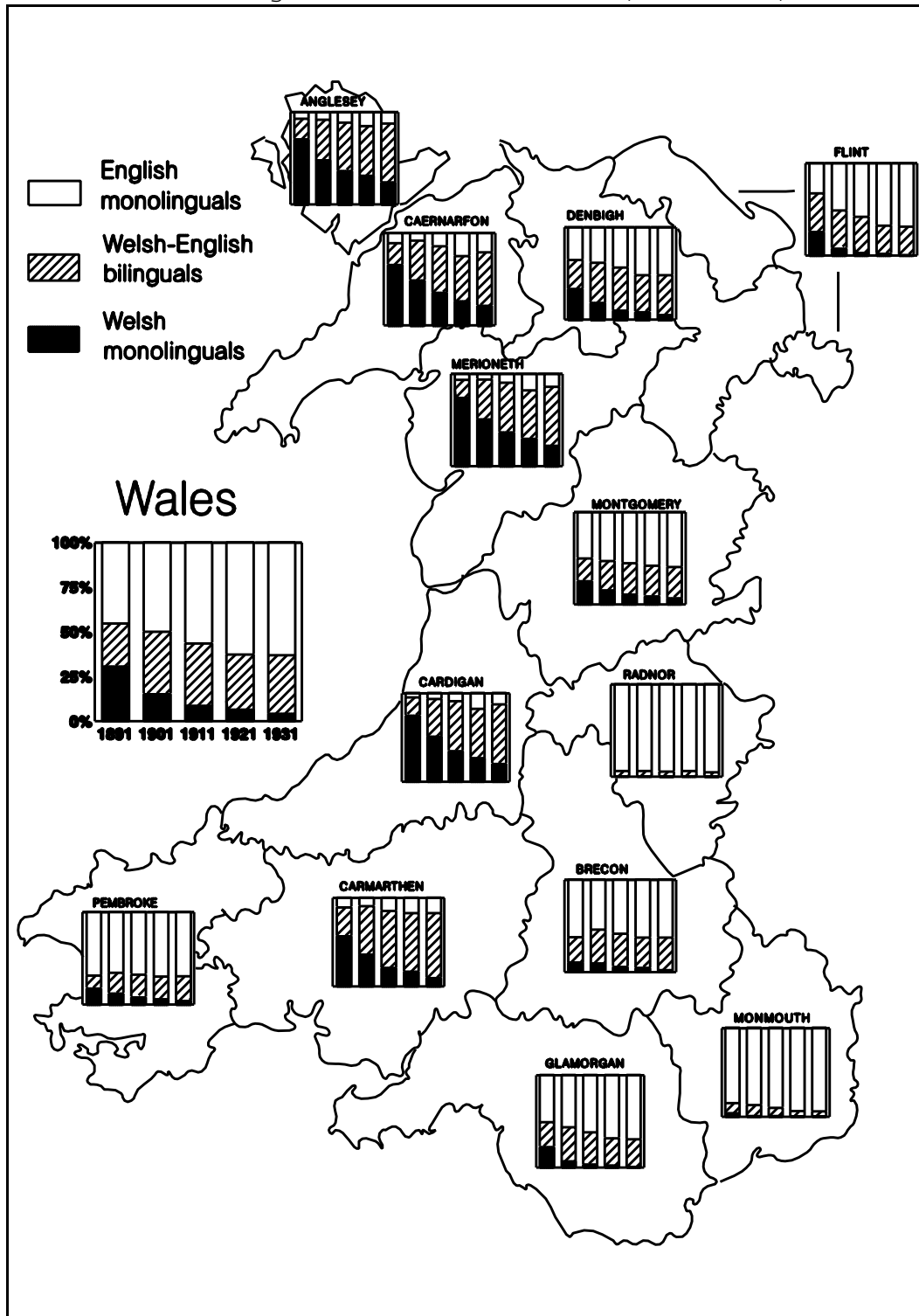
The first group is formed by five counties of high Welsh-speaking intensity situated along the west coast. Their population contained over 90 per cent of Welsh-speakers in 1891 and several of them had over 70 per cent of Welsh monolinguals. However by 1921 - although they still boasted over 80 per cent of Welsh speakers - the trend toward bilingualism was apparent, since their rates of bilingualism had more than doubled within these 30 years. Anglesey had 22 per cent of bilinguals in 1891 and 54 in 1921, Caernarfon 24 and 49, Cardigan 21 and 56, Carmarthen 33 and 66, and Merioneth almost tripled its percentage of bilinguals from 19 to 52 (see Table 14).

As a result of this bilingual transition the Welsh monoglot population of this county group was more than halved. Anglesey had 70 per cent Welsh monolinguals in 1891 but only 31 in 1921, Caernarfon 65 and 26, Cardigan 74 and 26, Carmarthen 56 and 16, and Merioneth 74 and 30 (see Table 14).

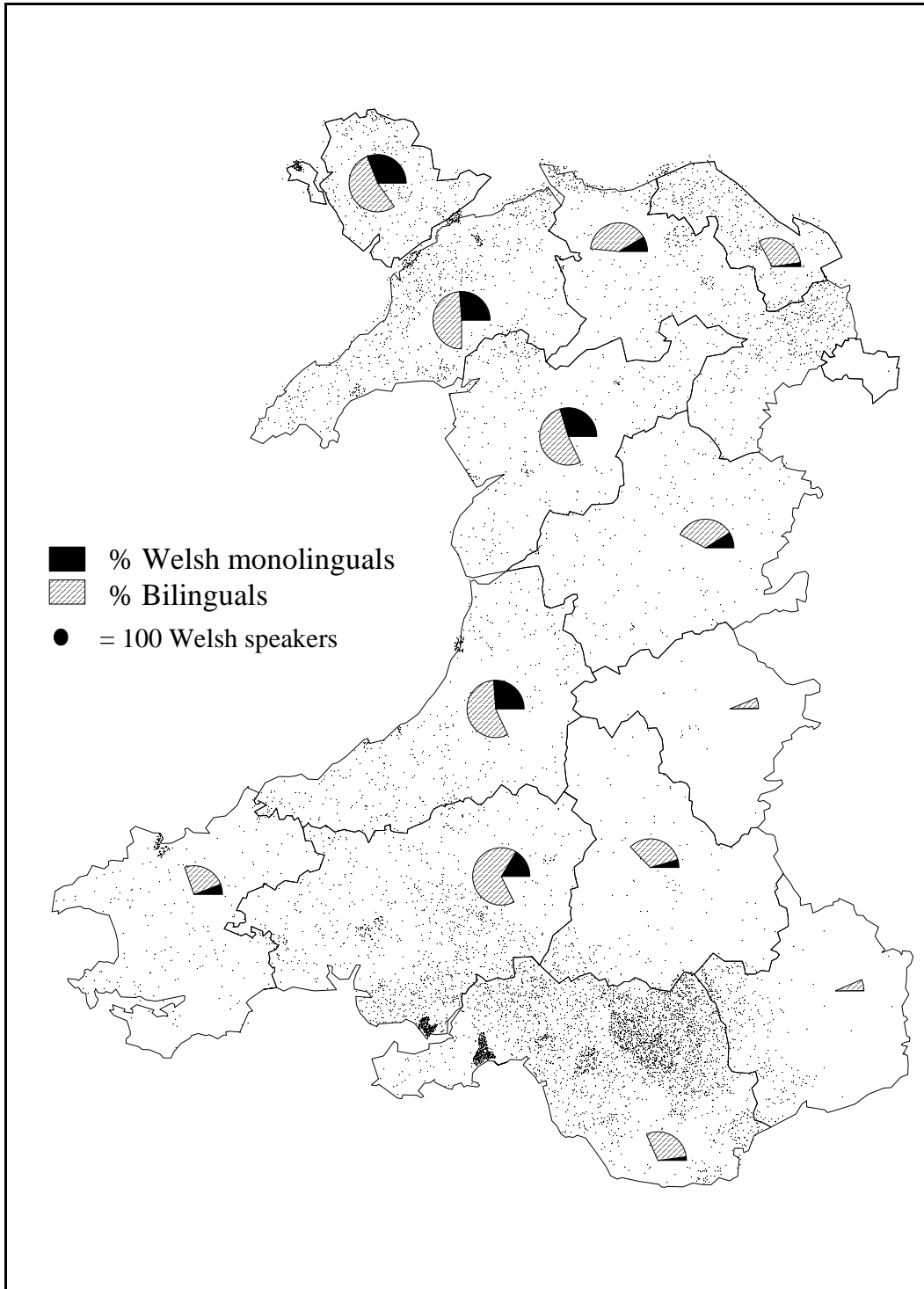
While these western counties had a high percentage of Welsh speakers they were however thinly populated and exhibited both high rates of out-migration and very low rates of vegetative growth (see chapter 4). Thus, although they formed the core Welsh-speaking area the bulk of the Welsh-speaking population did not live there but in the industrial areas, where it was surrounded by an English monolingual majority, which constituted a very adverse environment for the transmission of the vernacular language.

In 1891 the five Welsh-speaking western counties accounted for 41 per cent of the total number of Welsh speakers in Wales (374,000 people). In 1921 their share declined slightly to 38 per cent (352,000 people). However, their contribution to the number of Welsh monolinguals was over-proportional: in 1891 they included 54 per cent of the total Welsh monoglot population and in 1921 this figure proportion even increased to 68 per cent (see Map 18 for a comparison of absolute and relative figures of Welsh-speaking in 1921). This meant that Welsh monolingualism could only continue languishing in some of the isolated rural areas.

Map 17 Welsh language censuses 1891-1931 by county (in %)
 Source: Based on *Digest of Welsh Statistics* (1985:78-88)



Map 18 Absolute and relative numbers of Welsh speakers in 1921
Source: Based on Census 1921



Another five counties in eastern and central Wales formed a group of medium Welsh-speaking intensity. They were characterized by a small growth in the proportion of bilinguals and great decline in Welsh monolingualism indicating that the decline of the vernacular had already achieved an advanced stage. Brecon had 27 per cent of bilinguals in 1891 and 32 in 1921, Denbigh 31 and 40, Glamorgan 22 and 29, and Montgomery 25 and 33. Flint was already moving toward English monolingualism. Its bilingual population declined from 42 to 30 per cent.

These counties practically lost all of their Welsh monolingual population during this period. Brecon had 10 per cent of Welsh monolinguals in 1891 and only 5 in 1921, Denbigh 33 and 8 and Montgomery 25 and 9. The decline was particularly dramatic in the two major industrial counties of Flint and Glamorgan which passed from 26 and 22 per cent of Welsh monolinguals respectively in 1891 to just 2 per cent in each case in 1921 (see Table 14). Glamorgan stands out among them due to its demographic dominance. In 1921 it accounted for 47 per cent of the population of Wales and 40 per cent of the total number of Welsh speakers. However, the actual communicative use of the language was much more reduced than the figures of Welsh speakers in the industrial areas might lead to presume.

Finally there is a group of low Welsh-speaking intensity formed by three counties in the eastern and southwestern fringes of Wales which had been subjected to very old and deep pressures of anglicization. had very few Welsh speakers: Monmouth had only 4 per cent Welsh monolinguals and 11 per cent of bilinguals in 1891, Pembroke 17 and 14, and Radnor 0.4 and 6.¹¹⁷ In 1921 the situation was as follows: Monmouth 0.2 Welsh monolinguals and 6 bilinguals, Pembroke 6 and 24 and Radnor 0.5 and 6 (see Table 14).

¹¹⁷ Pembroke was anglicized in its southern part.

Table 13 Language census figures by county, Wales (1891-1921)
 Source: *Digest of Welsh Statistics* (1985:78-88)

	Welsh only	Bilingual	English only	Welsh only	Bilingual	English only
	Census 1891			Census 1901		
Anglesey	23,200	7,201	2,435	22,791	20,736	3,977
Brecon	5,228	13,699	31,408	4,674	18,445	27,290
Caernarfon	78,780	28,330	13,204	55,955	49,346	9,331
Cardigan	61,624	17,111	4,244	29,081	24,557	4,026
Carmarthen	63,345	36,937	12,403	44,901	69,046	12,219
Denbigh	37,195	35,030	38,966	22,366	53,238	46,591
Flint	10,484	16,879	13,238	5,722	31,568	38,641
Glamorgan	142,346	177,726	333,817	52,493	292,399	446,955
Merioneth	45,856	12,023	4,024	23,081	19,674	2,876
Monmouth	9,816	29,743	220,474	2,013	33,677	238,725
Montgomery	16,414	15,846	32,099	7,980	16,361	26,969
Pembroke	13,673	10,804	53,686	9,797	18,536	53,890
Radnor	75	924	15,327	51	1,309	20,394
WALES	508,036	402,253	775,325	280,905	648,892	931,884
	Census 1911			Census 1921		
Anglesey	17,434	25,232	5,429	15,133	26,364	7,379
Brecon	3,015	19,881	32,419	2,603	18,806	36,131
Caernarfon	42,097	59,150	17,097	32,701	60,986	31,273
Cardigan	19,497	32,210	5,332	15,158	32,444	10,416
Carmarthen	30,705	96,531	22,455	27,063	108,424	28,832
Denbigh	13,637	63,224	58,746	12,380	58,174	75,385
Flint	2,946	33,587	50,037	2,323	30,513	67,526
Glamorgan	31,719	361,973	640,025	25,540	343,357	799,072
Merioneth	15,857	23,119	4,233	12,699	22,455	7,652
Monmouth	1,496	33,751	329,343	973	25,976	391,896
Montgomery	5,367	17,039	27,602	4,289	16,152	27,929
Pembroke	6,511	20,879	57,073	5,024	21,169	60,230
Radnor	11	1,128	20,140	103	1,283	20,927
Wales	190,292	787,704	1269,931	155,989	766,103	1,564,648

Table 14 Language census percentages by county, Wales (1891-1921)
 Source: Based on *Digest of Welsh Statistics* (1985:78-88)

	Welsh only	Bilingual	English only	Welsh only	Bilingual	English only
	Census 1891			Census 1901		
Anglesey	70.65	21.93	7.42	47.98	43.65	8.37
Brecon	10.39	27.22	62.40	9.27	36.59	54.14
Caernarfon	65.48	23.55	10.97	48.81	43.05	8.14
Cardigan	74.26	20.62	5.11	50.43	42.59	6.98
Carmarthen	56.21	32.78	11.01	35.59	54.73	9.68
Denbigh	33.45	31.50	35.04	18.30	43.57	38.13
Flint	25.82	41.57	32.61	7.54	41.57	50.89
Glamorgan	21.77	27.18	51.05	6.63	36.93	56.44
Merioneth	74.08	19.42	6.50	50.58	43.12	6.30
Monmouth	3.77	11.44	84.79	0.73	12.27	86.99
Montgomery	25.50	24.62	49.87	15.55	31.89	52.56
Pembroke	17.49	13.82	68.68	11.92	22.54	65.54
Radnor	0.46	5.66	93.88	0.23	6.02	93.75
WALES	30.14	23.86	46.00	15.09	34.86	50.06
	Census 1911			Census 1921		
Anglesey	36.25	52.46	11.29	30.96	53.94	15.10
Brecon	5.45	35.94	58.61	4.52	32.68	62.79
Caernarfon	35.57	49.98	14.45	26.17	48.80	25.03
Cardigan	34.18	56.47	9.35	26.13	55.92	17.95
Carmarthen	20.51	64.49	15.00	16.47	65.98	17.55
Denbigh	10.06	46.62	43.32	8.48	39.86	51.66
Flint	3.40	38.80	57.80	2.31	30.40	67.28
Glamorgan	3.07	35.02	61.91	2.19	29.40	68.42
Merioneth	36.70	53.51	9.80	29.67	52.46	17.88
Monmouth	0.41	9.26	90.33	0.23	6.20	93.57
Montgomery	10.73	34.07	55.20	8.87	33.39	57.74
Pembroke	7.71	24.72	67.57	5.81	24.49	69.69
Radnor	0.05	5.30	94.65	0.46	5.75	93.79
WALES	8.47	35.04	56.49	6.27	30.81	62.92

5.3.4 The drop in Welsh language transmission through the generation chain

The data upon which the published census results are based stem from the so-called census enumerator's books, i.e., the actual records of the census officials. These books must observe a 100 years privacy clause and at the present moment only the enumerator's books for the 1891 language census are available for investigation. Even a small sample of two families taken from these raw census data illustrates the complexity of the linguistic situation at the individual and family level which existed

Table 15 Two families in the census enumerators' books of 1891
Source: Davies, J. (1993:53-54)

Name	Relation	Age	Profession	Birth place	Language
Parry family					
James	Head	38	Miner	Aberdare	Welsh
Mary	Wife	34		Lanelly	English
Harriet	Daughter	8		Lanelly	English
Benjamin	Son	6		Lanelly	English
William	Son	4		Lanelly	English
William	Father	67	Miner	Monmouth	Welsh
Bowen family					
William	Head	41	Blacksmith	Llanelly	Both
Elizabeth	Wife	40		Llanelly	Both
Elizabeth	Daughter	6		Llanelly	English
Keturah	Daughter	14		Llanelly	English
John	Son	12		Llanelly	English
Anne	Daughter	9		Llanelly	English
Charlot	Daughter	6		Llanelly	English
Harriet	Daughter	3		Llanelly	English
John Parry	Father-in-law	66	Miner	Llanelly	Welsh

in industrial areas such as the coal mining district of Llanelly in the county of Carmarthen (see Table 15).

The head of the Parry family and his father - both miners - were recorded as Welsh monolinguals, while the wife and children as English monolinguals. This seems somewhat unlikely since it would imply that the husband could not communicate with his wife or children, and the same applies to the grandfather. It seems more plausible that both the husband and the grandfather did at least understand some English although their major language was Welsh. As already mentioned, the 1891 Census Report had remarked that some of the people reported to be Welsh monolinguals probably knew some English.¹¹⁸ However, this apparent stubbornness to admit a knowledge of English may be a hint that for many people Welsh still had a major communicative value in everyday life in 1891.

Apart from the acquisition of the state language through school instruction, the reproduction of a national language also takes place simply through exposure to communicative situations in that language. In this context it seem quite plausible that in an early period sectors of the vernacular-speaking population acquired at least a passive knowledge of the national language. Ravenstein's study provides information about an early period of bilingual transition. He encountered in his circulars that "*In many cases persons were stated to understand English without being able to speak it...*" He himself was amazed by this finding which he thought to be quite contrary "... *to the experience of those who learn foreign languages from books.*"¹¹⁹ But with the expansion of compulsory education in later periods passive bilingualism in the national language is only found among older speakers.

118 Southall also shared this point of view: "... I imagine that many who are returned as Welsh only could speak sufficient English for ordinary business purposes." Southall, J.E. (1895:13), *The Welsh Language Census of 1891*.

119 Ravenstein (1879:581), "On the Celtic languages of the British Isles: a statistical survey."

Geographical studies of the retreat of Wales and the census reports show that the process of reproduction of the state language takes place through an intermediate bilingual stage. The term "bilingualism" is however ambiguous in so far as it actually applies to very different sociolinguistic situations. For instance, a Welsh-dominant coal miner and his English-dominant grandchildren may both have been categorized as bilinguals in the census data. But these two forms of bilingualism are quite different, not only in terms of individual language cognition, but also as they reflect two different moments in the process of vernacular language decline.

The loss of transmission of the vernacular along the generation chain can be observed clearly in the Bowen family (see Table 15). Expressing this microlinguistic situation in figures provides a hint as to the wider sociolinguistic reality. One-third of the members of the Bowen family could speak Welsh. But Welsh probably played a much more marginal role in the communicative practice of the family than the figure of 33 per cent suggests. And once the grandfather passed away, the main

Table 16 Percentage of bilinguals by age and county, Wales 1901
Source: Based on Census 1901

	3-15	16-25	26-45	46-65	over 65
Anglesey	34.91	52.66	49.84	43.11	32.82
Brecon	23.61	34.30	40.73	48.93	52.60
Caernarfon	35.36	52.72	45.83	38.15	27.74
Cardigan	35.51	56.61	49.80	36.98	25.30
Carmarthen	50.91	62.68	59.92	50.20	38.42
Denbigh	37.62	48.62	48.31	46.06	39.23
Flint	30.59	40.90	43.33	46.33	43.61
Glamorgan	29.96	38.41	40.43	42.35	40.90
Merioneth	34.28	58.31	48.33	37.93	27.89
Monmouth	5.37	9.33	14.67	22.49	24.70
Montgomery	21.94	32.82	36.20	37.00	38.02
Pembroke	15.87	23.28	24.97	26.84	27.41
Radnor	1.63	3.89	7.94	9.24	12.19

reason for continuing using the vernacular within the family would also have been gone. The similarity of this family example with the wider society cannot be exaggerated. After all, even in anglicized industrial areas there were sizeable numbers of Welsh speakers which could carry on using the language in a number of cultural and religious activities. However, the comparison illustrates pointedly the earlier mentioned discrepancy between census figures and the communicative use of a minority language, and how it was possible to pass from Welsh monolingualism to English monolingualism within two generations.

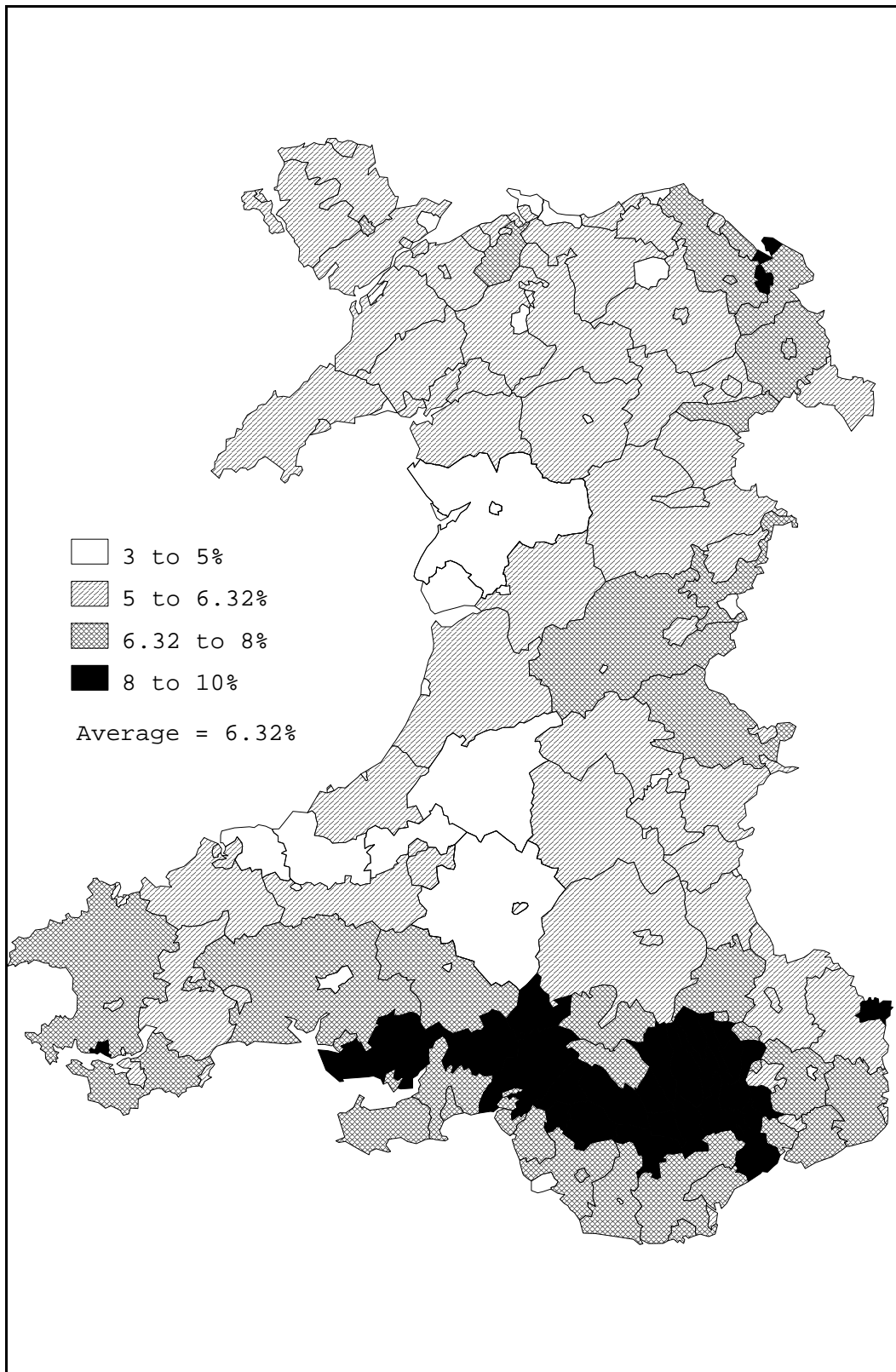
The inverse relation between age and knowledge of the minority language is common in many cases of minority bilingualism.¹²⁰ Typically, the grandparents' generation are dominant in the vernacular language which they use in most situations. The parents use a greater mix of both languages, while children mostly use the dominant language and only employ the vernacular - if at all - to talk to the oldest generation. Since the reproduction of the vernacular language took place overwhelmingly in the family realm where the vernacular became increasingly the language of the old generation, its long term reproduction encountered unsurmountable difficulties.

The family structure of the Welsh industrial areas was characterized by a high natality rate which provided the demographic conditions for a rapid linguistic transition. The contrast between the coal mining valleys and the rural Welsh-speaking areas was especially strong. In the former the percentage of small children among the total population was two to three times higher than in the latter (see Map 19). This made it possible in the urban areas to pass from Welsh monolingualism to English monolingualism practically within two generations, as in the above mentioned example of the two families.

120 Gal, for instance, emphasized the importance of age in minority language decline: "*Among the various attributes of speakers it is neither their status as peasants nor the nature of their social networks that correlates most closely with language. It is their ages.*" Gal (1979:136), *Language Shift*.

Map 19 Percentage of children under 3 years of age over total population, Wales 1911.

Source: Based on Census 1911



The census data reveal two different trends in the development of bilingualism in rural and urban areas. In 1901 the curve of bilingualism in rural counties with large Welsh-speaking populations, such as Anglesey, Carnarfon, Cardigan and Merioneth, exhibited an arch shape among the younger generations. This shows a trend towards the acquisition of English during the years of youth and early adulthood among children who had grown up as Welsh monolinguals (see Table 16). In these counties bilingualism in each age group grew from around 35 per cent for children (3 to 15 years), to 55 per cent for youth (16 to 25 years) and started to decline afterwards.

In the counties with an already large English-speaking population, such as Glamorgan, Flint or Brecon, the curve of bilingualism followed a linear trend, increasing with age. In these industrial areas where the process of transition from Welsh monolingualism to bilingualism had practically been completed, bilingualism was now giving way to English monolingualism. In 1921 in Glamorgan almost 75 per cent of the population between 3 and 15 years of age were English monolinguals while among the group over 65 years of age only 53 per cent spoke English only. Almost an identical relation between the young and old age groups obtains in Flint: 76 and 54 per cent respectively.

The rapidity of these changes becomes apparent by comparing the differences in language ability for the youngest age group (3 to 15) in the two census years of 1901 and 1921.¹²¹ The highest losses in bilingualism were experienced in the districts of the southern coalfield whose percentage of bilingualism in 1921 was reduced between 15 and 33 per cent in comparison with the 1901 figures (see Map 20).¹²² At the same time, several coalmining areas had the highest percentual growth in English

121 These figures have been calculated by subtracting the percentages for 1901 from those of 1921.

122 These were districts such as Merthyr Tydfil, Gelligaer, Rhymney, Caerphilly, Glyncoed, Omore & Garw, Llantrisant & Llantwit-Fardre, Maesteg, Margam, Penybont and Briton Ferry.

monolinguals in the age group 3 to 15. They gained between 24 and 31 per cent in this period (see Map 20).¹²³

The census officials confirmed the trend of transition from bilingualism to English monolingualism performing an age-cohort survival test for 1911-1921. They compared language ability among children in two census period, the group of 5 to 15 years old in 1911 with those who were between 15 and 25 years old in 1921. Disregarding migration this refers in principle to the same group of people over a ten years period. It was found that the number of monoglot English speakers in 1921 exceeded the figure predicted by the survival ratio test by 20,000. The General Report of the 1921 Census concluded that the decline in Welsh language ability was due to the abandonment of Welsh by previously bilingual children. And the loss of bilingualism continued in older age groups:

"... the gradual shedding of the Welsh element appears to be steadily maintained up to the latest years of life."¹²⁴

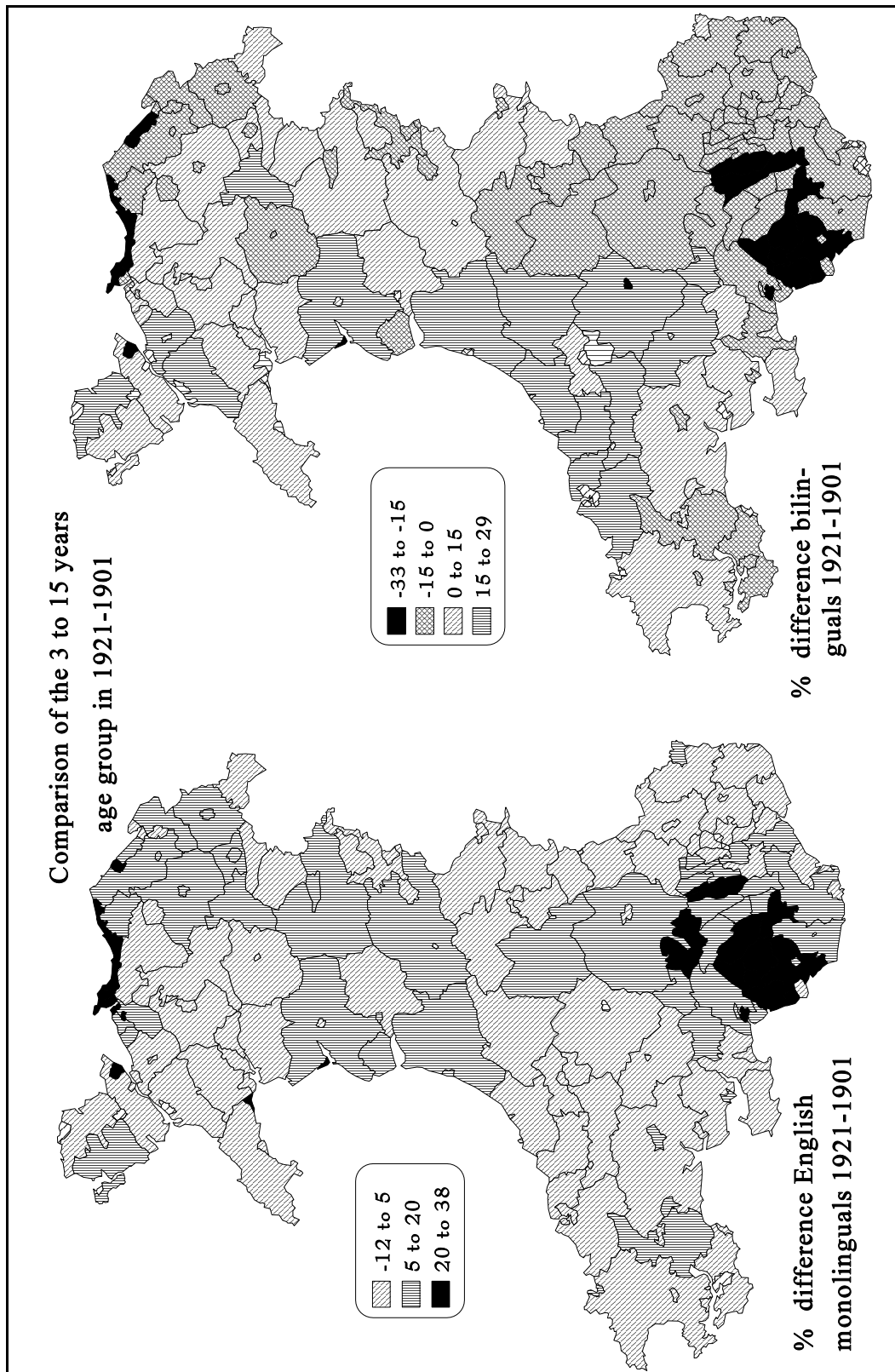
Less and less children were growing up Welsh monolingual and those who were acquired English sooner or later. The consequence was that by 1931 practically the whole Welsh population could speak English.

123 These districts were: Glyncoirwg, Ogmored & Garw, Llantrisant & Llantwit-Fardre, Gelligaer and Rhymney.

124 Census Report (1921:263), *General Report*. Quoted in Williams, C.H. (1980:218), "Language contact and language change in Wales, 1901-1971: a study in historical sociolinguistics."

Map 20 Difference in the percentage of language ability in the 3 to 15 years old age group in 1901 and 1921

Source: Based on censuses of 1901 and 1921



5.4 Spanish literacy and Basque language decline

Since census data about the Basque language have not been available until recently the statistics of Spanish literacy which form part of the census since the late 19th century can serve as alternative sources for the historical study of the vernacular language. Three categories are distinguished in the literacy section of the census: can read, can read and write and can neither read nor write. The census of 1887 also provides the figures of literacy by age and *partido judicial*¹²⁵ and after 1910 there is also age data of literacy for cities with more than 10,000 inhabitants and for each province as a whole.

It has to be born in mind, however, that using literacy figures as an index of bilingualism underestimates the extent of bilingualism, especially among the adult and elderly population who might have had little or no schooling during their childhood in the second half of the 19th century but who nevertheless would in many cases have understood and been able to speak Spanish, although they may not have been able to read or write it.

5.4.1 The development of Spanish literacy in the Basque country, 1887-1920

It can be assumed that Basque-speaking was a deterrent to Spanish literacy because it implied the additional difficulty of acquiring literacy in a *foreign* language. However, this assumption is wrong if formulated in such simplistic terms. The population of the Basque provinces was much more literate than that of other Spanish provinces (see Table 17). In 1887, for instance, the heavily Basque-speaking Guipuzcoa had - together with Alava and Madrid - the highest female literacy rate in Spain.

¹²⁵ The *partido judicial* is a medium-size administrative category, half-way between the province and the *municipio* comparable to the *comarcas* of the 1981 census although their borders do not coincide in some cases.



Table 17 Illiteracy in the Basque provinces and Spain (1887-1910)
Source: Based on censuses of 1887, 1900 and 1910

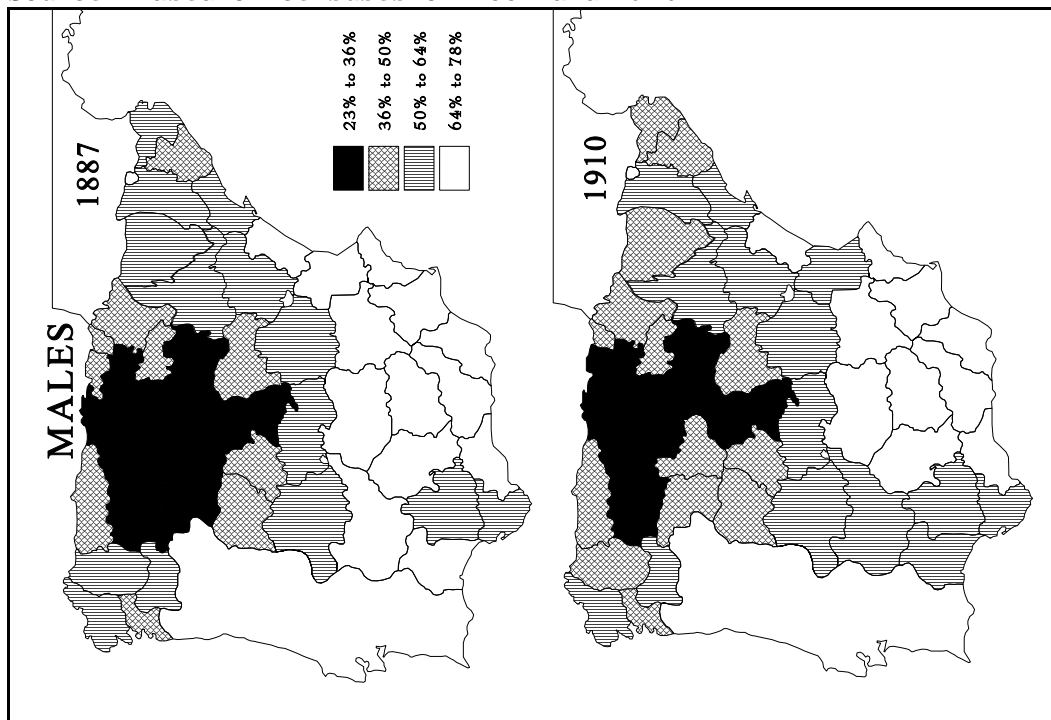
YEAR	ALAVA	VIZCAYA	GUIPUZCOA	NAVARRA	SPAIN
MEN (percentages)					
1887	22.90	40.28	47.01	41.79	54.15
1900	21.20	33.44	38.53	40.33	50.12
1910	27.87	35.92	39.66	40.43	52.68
WOMEN (percentages)					
1887	38.68	57.71	50.92	54.65	67.81
1900	33.34	47.55	42.34	48.85	60.54
1910	36.87	45.64	41.66	46.32	52.65

Socio-economic factors were more important for the expansion of literacy than purely linguistic ones. Most of Andalusia - still sunk in semi-feudal relations of production in the 19th century - was practically illiterate. On the other hand, the Basque provinces and Catalonia - two most industrialized regions where Spanish was not spoken natively - had among the highest rates of literacy (see Map 21 and Map 22). A historical factor that may help to understand the high literacy of the Basque country was the earlier discussed scribal tradition and the recruitment of Basques for the Spanish bureaucracy.

Although forced by state¹²⁶ intervention in the educational field the driving force behind the expansion of Spanish literacy among the Basque-speaking population was sheer economic necessity. As Arana put it: "*The farmer knows that Basque is useless for his children*" (see chapter 4). The farmer might have continued working his small field and speaking Basque in his productive activities. But his children could hardly escape entering into wage relations in the capitalist labour market.

126 "State" does not simply mean the central Madrid administration since it must also be considered that the Basque provinces had a certain amount of autonomy in the provision of education.

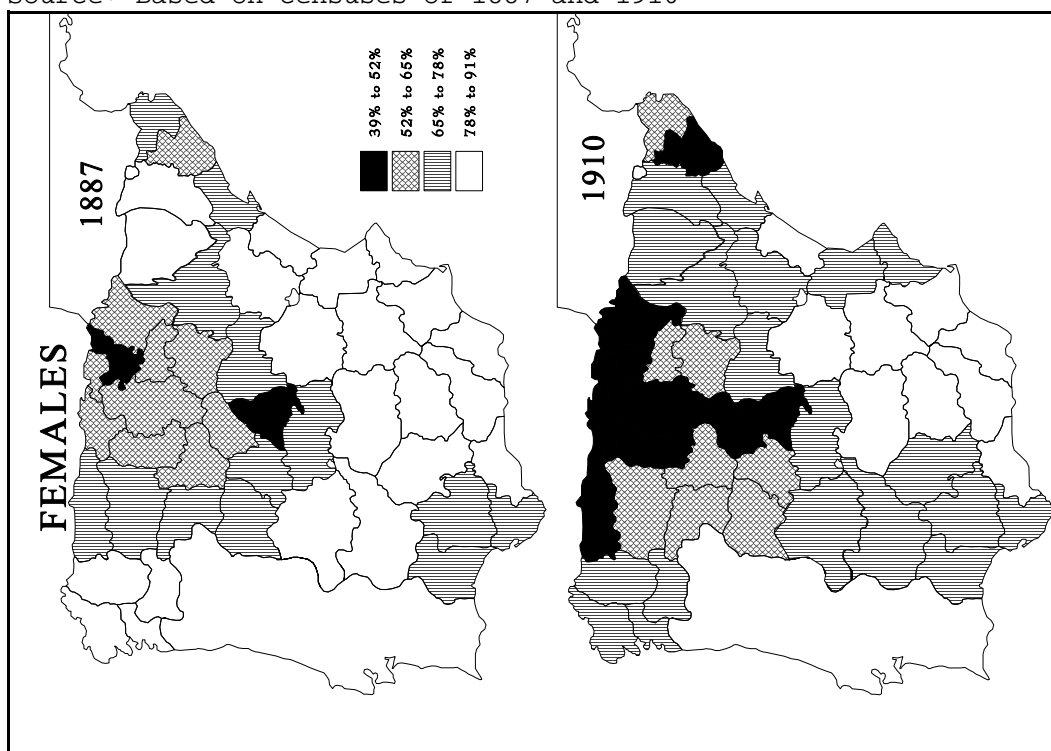
Map 21 Percentage of male illiteracy in Spain 1887-1910
Source: Based on censuses of 1887 and 1910



Many were faced with the alternative of overseas migration or a move to the mining and industrial area. And whether the choice was Buenos Aires or Bilbao, Spanish was the language that they would encounter. This socio-economic context indicates that knowing Spanish and Spanish literacy became a necessity not only in the new Basque industrial society but also in the apparently still "traditional" areas.

The increase in literacy took place everywhere in the Basque country during the period of industrialization, although it was more rapid and comprehensive in the urban areas. According to the census of 1887 less than half of the population of the Basque provinces could read and/or write Spanish while the 1920 census reports that

Map 22 Percentage of female illiteracy in Spain 1887-1910
Source: Based on censuses of 1887 and 1910

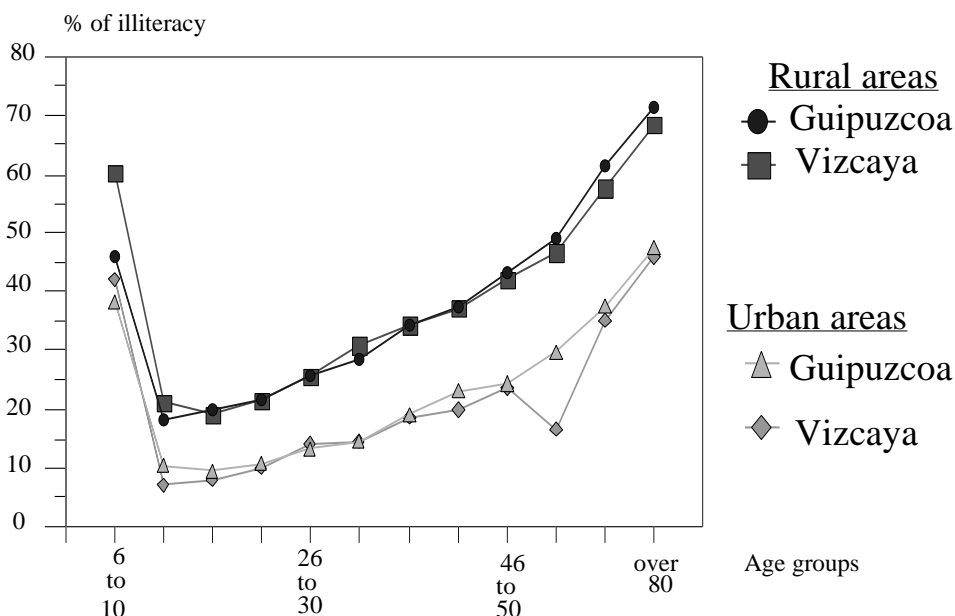


two-thirds were literate.¹²⁷ In 1887 there were only 39 *municipios* with the highest level of literacy (between 60 and 75 per cent). However by 1920 there were already 88 *municipios* with ranges of literacy between 70 and 86 per cent. Furthermore, the demographic size of this group had increased significantly by 1920. While in 1887 it represented only a total population of 33,500 it had grown more than ten times by 1920.

While historical language census data are not available for the Basque country the figures of Spanish literacy provide conclusive evidence that (Spanish) bilingualism was expanding rapidly in the Basque-speaking area at this time.

¹²⁷ Literacy percentages refer to the population four years and older.

Figure 2 Percentage of illiteracy by age group and rural and urban areas in Vizcaya and Guipuzcoa in 1910
Source: Based on census 1910



The census of 1910 gives for the first time literacy statistics for cities with more than 10,000 inhabitants as well as for the rest of the population in each province (which are referred next as the urban and rural areas for short).¹²⁸ The figures for Vizcaya and Guipuzcoa show an almost identical trend in the percentages of literacy for their respective urban and rural populations (see Figure 2)¹²⁹. Urban inhabitants were consistently more literate than rural ones. However, there were also some differences among the urban areas. Industrial towns like Baracaldo and Sestao had lower literacy

128 In Vizcaya the urban area was composed by the capital Bilbao and the nearby towns of Baracaldo and Sestao where the heavy industry was located. In Guipuzcoa it was formed by San Sebastian and the industrial towns of Eibar and Irun.

129 The age groups are categorized in the census data in 5 years intervals until the age of 50 and from then on in 10 years intervals.

rates than commercial and administrative centers like Bilbao and San Sebastian, since they employed more unskilled labour and received in-migrants with a lower educational level.

The growing demand of literacy in the society appears with particular clarity among the youth. According to the 1910 census the percentage of literacy was highest among the age group from 11 to 25 years. The rapid expansion of Spanish at this time can be deduced by comparing the changes in the 23 year period between the two census years 1887 and 1910 (see Table 18).¹³⁰

In 1887 in Bilbao about three-fourths of the male population between the age of 11 and 45 years were literate. By 1910 practically everybody in this group were literate (over 90 per cent). In rural Vizcaya the literacy rate of the same age group remained under 60 per cent in 1887. By 1910 it had increased to around 80 per cent.

Just as literacy was strongly dependent upon age, gender was another important factor. As a rule men were more literate than women.¹³¹ However by 1910 the differences were becoming smaller - both in the rural and urban areas - especially among the younger age groups (see Table 18). Higher male literacy figures may have been accentuated in the rural areas by male migration and its influence upon the age structure (in so far as young men emigrated and older women stayed.)

130 The census figures do not allow the calculation of levels of literacy by age and *municipio*. However, this comparison can be done at a regional level. There is a slight difference in the administrative areas in both censuses. The 1887 census provides age data by *partido judicial*, while the 1910 census only by cities with over 10,000 inhabitants.

131 In Guipuzcoa however the rate of female literacy was higher than that of men in some areas.

Map 23 Municipios with high illiteracy in 1887 and 1920
Source: Based on censuses of 1887 and 1920

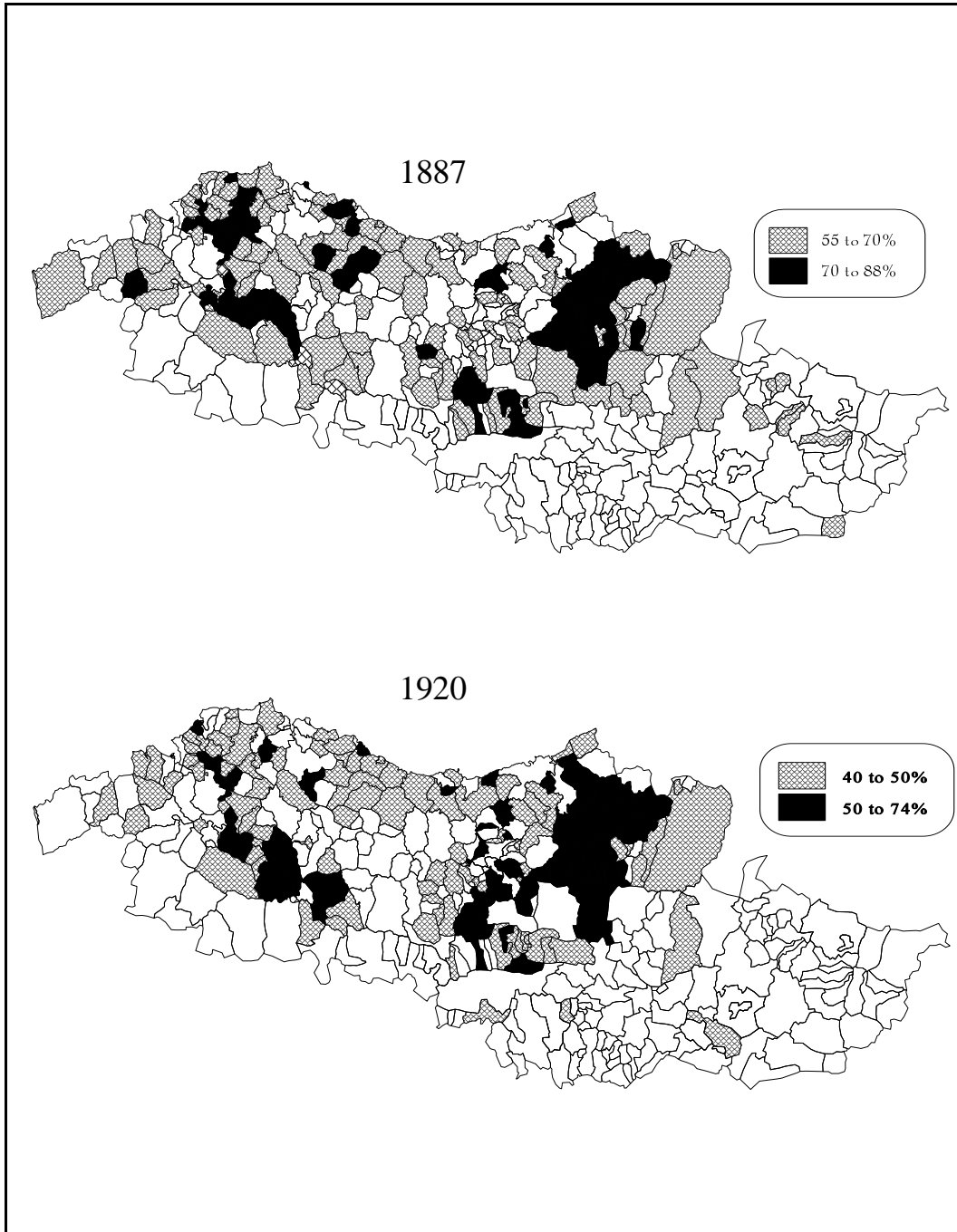


Table 18 Literacy by age group in Vizcaya 1887 and 1910
 Source: Based on censuses 1887 and 1910

	1887		1910	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Bilbao				
6 to 10	44.32	37.10	59.97	57.50
11 to 15	76.92	61.94	95.69	92.95
16 to 20	78.30	57.55	96.06	89.73
21 to 25	75.82	57.09	96.18	87.89
26 to 30	78.42	55.24	94.71	82.99
31 to 35	78.72	50.92	94.81	81.03
36 to 40	75.27	48.40	91.69	76.51
41 to 45	74.91	46.54	90.78	72.88
46 to 50	69.13	40.26	88.07	69.43
51 to 60	68.14	37.79	87.65	90.00
61 to 70	61.43	35.70	83.53	57.94
71 to 80	61.29	32.49	72.50	48.19
81 to 90	57.33	33.10	66.07	41.80
Rural Vizcaya				
6 to 10	29.20	24.84	41.23	32.90
11 to 15	59.18	48.70	81.89	72.95
16 to 20	58.31	45.92	82.92	76.43
21 to 25	58.83	40.00	83.54	71.77
26 to 30	57.83	38.65	80.91	64.89
31 to 35	58.88	36.38	76.56	57.28
36 to 40	55.10	32.37	75.46	52.86
41 to 45	54.35	29.31	74.45	46.68
46 to 50	50.41	25.96	70.22	41.14
51 to 60	43.46	19.83	67.62	35.77
61 to 70	41.72	22.54	56.67	27.32
71 to 80	42.77	19.14	43.96	20.04
81 to 90	28.57	17.08	41.73	17.14

According to the 1887 census the areas with the highest level of illiteracy - from 70 to 88 per cent - were situated in the Basque-speaking zones of Vizcaya and Navarra. While the level of illiteracy in Basque-speaking areas might seem relatively high it must be kept in mind that schools were scarce and were often located quite far from the scattered farms. Nevertheless, a great number of the Basque rural population still managed to acquire the rudiments of Spanish reading and writing. By 1920 illiteracy had been reduced to between 50 and 75 per cent in this area (see Table 19 and ?)

It must also be considered that school age children were the segment of the population which contributed most to the increase of literacy rates and these were few in the rural areas and many would migrate during their youth.

Table 19 *Municipios* by level of illiteracy in 1887 and 1920
Source: Based on censuses of 1887 and 1920

Groups by % range of illiteracy	Number <i>municipios</i>	Total illiterates	Total population	Average illiteracy per group
Census 1887 average illiteracy = 53.4%				
25-40%	39	11,844	33,477	35.38
40-55%	148	160,235	336,942	47.56
55-70%	116	112,012	181,555	61.7
70-88%	46	36,869	48,993	75.31
Census 1920 average illiteracy = 33.6%				
14-30%	88	80,739	346,377	23.31
30-40%	117	90,519	259,092	34.94
40-50%	94	82,879	189,701	43.74
50-75%	50	32,565	56,312	57.83

5.4.2 The retreat of the Basque language in the light of contemporary evidence

In the absence of language census data or of detailed empirical case studies it is very difficult to calculate the extent of Basque-speaking toward the turn of the 20th century. However, given that the structure of any population encapsulates the trends of its historical development, contemporary language censuses can throw some light upon earlier periods of language reproduction. Today's language statistics will be used to look in retrospect at the question of language transmission and the demographic development of the Basque-speaking *municipios* at the turn of the 20th century.

5.4.2.1 Yrizar's study

The retreat of the vernacular is apparent by considering the shrinking of the Basque language area, as documented by Yrizar's study in the early 1970s, in relation to the situation in the early 19th century (see Map 24). Above all the vernacular has disappeared in central and eastern Navarra, northern Alava and eastern Vizcaya, the areas where Basque was already in a precarious condition in the 19th century. The Roncal variety from northeastern Navarra, for instance, which was regarded by Bonaparte as a likely independent dialect, had died out with its last speaker by the early 1970s.

Apart from the territorial retreat, Yrizar's study points out a serious decline in the intensity of vernacular language use and in the number of its speakers. In the small Navarran village of Garralde with 301 inhabitants:

"Only one family composed of eight people: grandparents, parents and four children, speak Basque regularly. In the rest of the village, among the old people there are fifty

who know the language, but very few speak it. It is now starting to be taught to those who want to learn it."¹³²

Yrizar provided the figure of 533,000 Basque speakers within the limits of the Basque-speaking zone in the early 1970s (see Table 20).¹³³ He estimated further that around 80,000 Basque speakers lived outside this zone, although he was aware of the tentative character of this estimation.¹³⁴

The most important dialects in terms of number of speakers were Vizcayan and Guipuzcoan - each with around 200,000 speakers - which belong precisely to the two most industrialized and populated provinces.¹³⁵ The rest of the dialects were comparatively quite small and some were on the brink of extinction.

132 Yrizar (1973:66), "Los dialectos y variedades de la lengua vasca."

133 The southern parts of Navarra and Alava, as well as the provincial capitals Bilbao, Vitoria and Pamplona were excluded from the survey.

134 However it must be remarked that Yrizar's figures - which include the French Basque country - are actually very close to the results of the 1981 census which give half a million Basque speakers for the two Basque-speaking Autonomous Communities in Spain.

135 The designation of these two dialects does not correspond exactly however to the limits of each province. The Vizcayan dialect is spoken not only in Vizcaya but also in western Guipuzcoa and northern Alava. In the province of Guipuzcoa, on the other hand, besides Guipuzcoan and Vizcayan a Navarrese dialect is also spoken.

Map 24 Yrizar's study of Basque dialects in the early 1970s
 Source: Based on Yrizar 1973

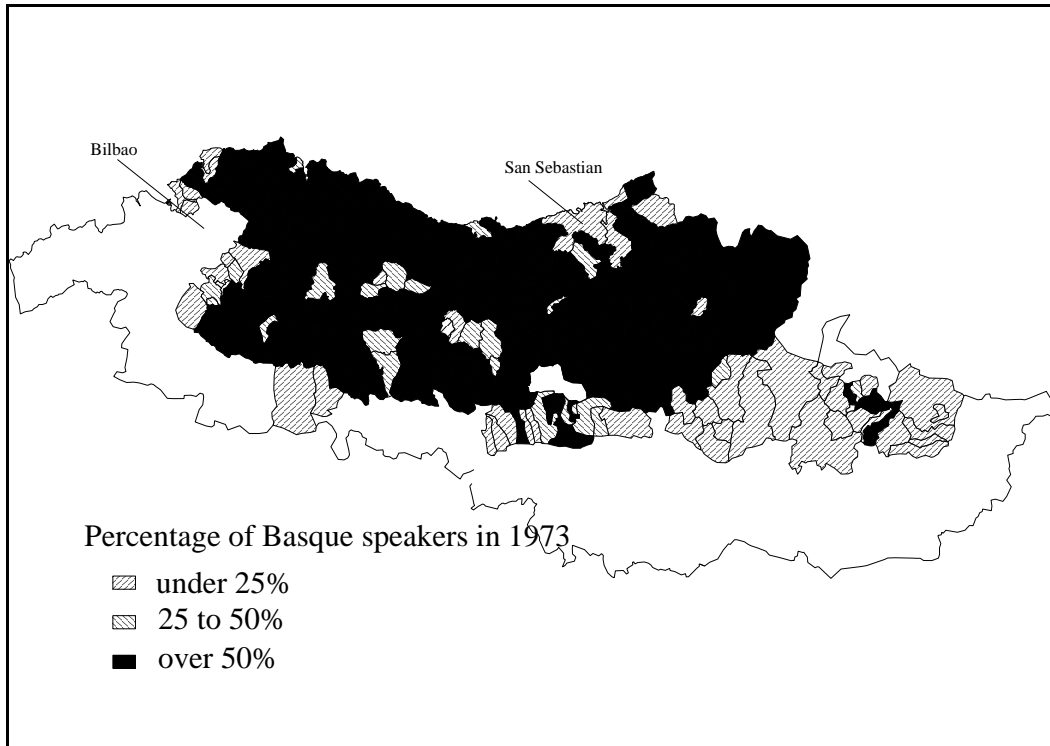


Table 20 Basque dialects in 1973
 Source: Yrizar (1973:66-67)

Basque dialects	Number of Basque speakers
Alto Navarro Meridional	440
Alto Navarro Septentrional	51,000
Bajo Navarro Occidental	22,790
Bajo Navarro Oriental	23,760
Guipuzcoano	200,050
Labortano	22,970
Suletino	11,090
Vizcaíno	200,480
Undefined	915
TOTAL	533,495

5.4.2.2 The Basque language censuses of the 1980s

Despite the relentless decline of Basque during the 20th century the outlines of the situation of the vernacular language according to the 1981 census of the Basque Autonomous Community and the 1986 census of Navarra still bear some resemblance to the picture sketched by Velasco one hundred years earlier. Basically, Guipuzcoa, a good part of Vizcaya and northeastern Navarra remain the Basque-speaking heartland. But while Velasco had stated in 1879 that practically everybody in Guipuzcoa could speak Basque, by 1981 Basque speakers constituted less than half of the population of the province. In Vizcaya, where Velasco estimated that four-fifths knew Basque, there were less than one-fifth of vernacular speakers according to the census. For Navarra, Velasco calculated a figure of 20 per cent, but in the 1986 census the number of Basque speakers had been halved to less than 10 per cent.

According to the 1981 census 43.8 per cent of the people could still speak Basque well in Guipuzcoa (see Table 21). In Vizcaya the figure was 17.6 per cent and in

Table 21 Basque language ability in the 1980s
Source: B.A.C. census 1981 and Navarra census 1986

Can speak	Alava		Vizcaya		Guipuzcoa		Navarra	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Well	17,349	6,71	200,734	17.5 4	292,932	43.7 6	49,953	9.97
Some	48,871	16,96	205,016	17.9 1	113,670	16.9 8	26,478	5.28
None	197,57	76,35	748,958	64.5 6	262,886	39.7 0	424,558	84.7 4

Alava just 6.7 per cent.¹³⁶ The majority of Basque speakers today live in urban areas. In fact, almost one-third of all the Basque speakers live in the two major cities of Bilbao and San Sebastian. In 1981 the metropolitan area of Greater Bilbao had a population of 910,000 inhabitants among whom just under 60,000 could speak Basque well, only 6.5 per cent. Being such a small minority of the population the Basque language is hardly heard in the city. In many coastal villages of Vizcaya, on the other hand, the Basque language is still used on an everyday basis although their populations are very small. Lea-Artibai, for example, had 25,000 Basque speakers out of a total population of 33,700.

Several fishing and agricultural areas had the highest percentage of Basque speakers in the 1980s: Lea-Artibai (74 per cent), Busturialdea (72 per cent) and Urola Costa (74 per cent) (see Table 22). Lea-Artibai had 30 per cent of the population employed in the primary sector, Busturialdea 25 per cent and Urola Costa 23 per cent.¹³⁷ There were also several industrial regions, especially in Guipuzcoa, where the percentage of Basque speakers was high. For instance, in Tolosaldea - the centre of the cooperative movement - with a figure of 63 per cent (see Table 22).¹³⁸ The other major population center in the Basque country - formed by San Sebastian and its industrial ring - had about one-fourth of Basque speakers, a proportion much smaller than in other areas of Guipuzcoa.

136 The percentage of people who speak some Basque is practically the same in the three provinces, around 17 per cent. The size of the latter group does not thus bear any relation to the size of the vernacular speech community. The variety learned by students in language classes is unified Basque, which is not spoken natively in the villages where the Basque language is a common means of intercourse.

137 See Eustat (1985), *Indicadores municipales*.

138 The active population of Tolosaldea was formed by 40 per cent occupied in industry as opposed to 11 per cent in agriculture.

Map 25 Basque speakers 1981-86
 Source: Based on C.A.V. census 1981 and Navarra census 1986

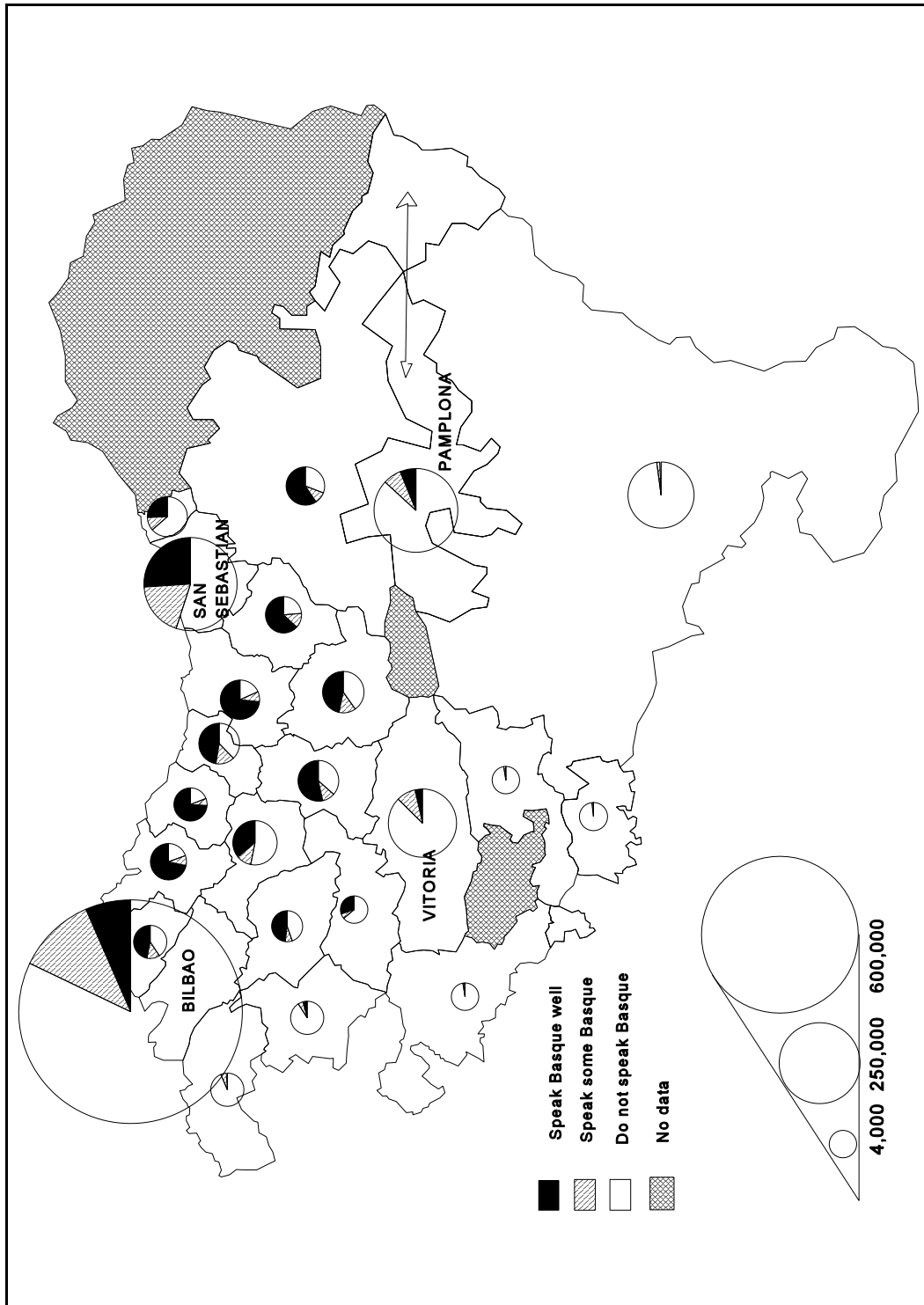


Table 22 Basque-speaking ability by comarca in 1981 and 1986
Source: B.A.C. 1981 census and Navarra 1986 census

	Basque-speaking ability					
	Well	%	Some	%	None	%
GUIPUZCOA						
Alto Deba	34,834	53.44	6,540	10.03	23,811	36.53
Bajo Bidasoa	15,992	25.47	6,840	10.90	39,948	63.63
Bajo Deba	30,818	47.51	9,558	14.74	24,487	37.75
Goierry	31,952	46.71	8,887	12.99	27,573	40.30
Donostialdea	80,643	26.05	58,545	18.91	170,398	55.04
Tolosaldea	28,649	63.04	6,000	13.20	10,799	23.76
Urola Costa	43,891	73.62	4,881	8.19	10,845	18.19
VIZCAYA						
Arratia-Nervi3n	10,427	47.93	1,634	7.51	9,692	44.55
Duranguesado	29,582	36.19	8,570	10.48	43,594	53.33
Encartaciones	313	1.03	1,691	5.54	28,496	93.43
Busturialdea	32,220	71.60	4,003	8.90	8,774	19.50
Gran Bilbao	59,493	6.53	103,399	11.36	747,686	82.11
Lea-Artibai	25,056	74.33	2,286	6.78	6,369	18.89
Uribe-Butron	15,223	46.85	4,060	12.49	13,210	40.65
ALAVA						
Valle de Ayala	1,447	4.38	1,518	4.60	30,070	91.02
Gorbea	1,285	30.24	248	5.84	2,717	63.93
Llanada	6,913	3.54	17,644	9.03	170,855	87.43
Monta3a Alavesa	20	0.56	77	2.14	3,496	97.30
Rioja Alavesa	81	0.87	137	1.47	9,083	97.66
Valles Alaveses	40	0.95	71	1.69	4,090	97.36
NAVARRA						
Basque zone	33,285	59.37	5,499	9.81	17,279	30.82
Mixed zone	16,366	6.20	18,502	7.01	228,949	86.78
Spanish zone	1,302	0.71	2,477	1.36	178,330	97.92
TOTAL						
TOTAL	499,832	19.35	273,067	10.57	1,810,551	70.08

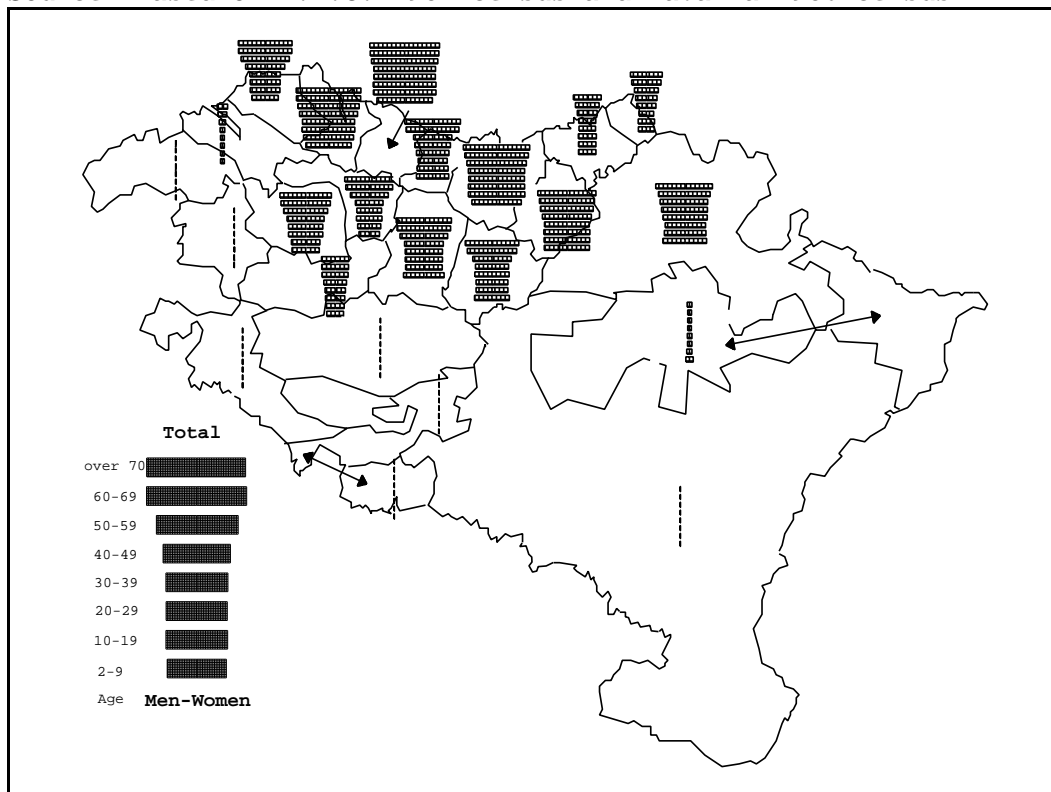
Table 23 Mother tongue by province in the B.A.C. 1986 (percentages)
Source: Soziolinguistikazko Mapa (1989:40)

	ALAVA	VIZCAYA	GUIPUZCOA	B.A.C.
Basque	2.73	13.86	38.32	20.35
Both	1.57	3.08	6.42	3.97
Spanish	94.54	81.26	53.49	73.96

The urban/rural dichotomy in the distribution of the vernacular runs parallel to the structure of the active population. The vernacular language is preserved much better in farming and fishing regions where Basque continues playing a communicative role in these occupations. These "traditional" occupations represent however only 1.6 per cent of the total occupied population.¹³⁹ Basque is, of course, employed by individual Basque speakers in other industries and businesses and it is increasingly encouraged in the administration and educational institutions. But it is precisely the combination of using Basque at work and in the wider community that has permitted the preservation of Basque in some rural areas and coastal towns.

139 See Eustat (1985), *Indicadores municipales 1985*

Map 26 Percentage of Basque speakers by age group and *comarca*
 Source: Based on B.A.C. 1981 census and Navarra 1986 census



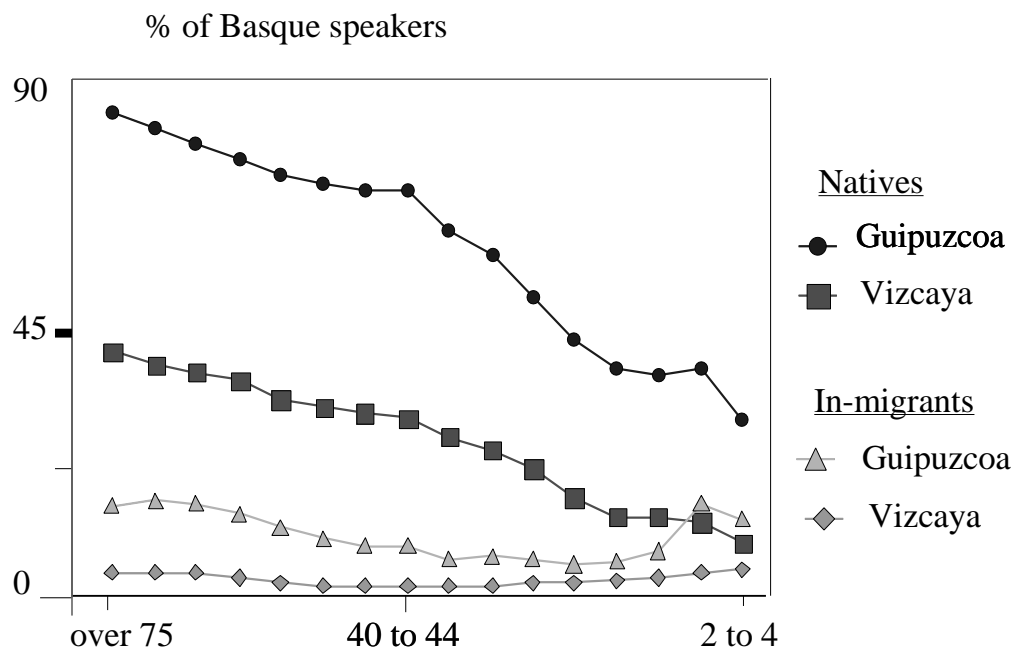
Census figures show that the Basque-speaking ability of the population tends to diminish with age. This is reflected in the inverted shape of the population pyramids portraying the percentage of Basque speakers by age group in each census area - *comarcas* - (see Map 26). While the population pyramids have a broad base in the rural areas they become very narrow in urban areas like Bilbao, and even look like a single line in the southern area of the Basque country where the vernacular language has practically disappeared.

Given that the contemporary Basque population includes a great deal of in-migrants¹⁴⁰ a more accurate impression of the amount of transmission of the

140 In-migration to the Basque provinces has been massive from the mid-1950s to the mid-1970s. In Vizcaya and Guipuzcoa practically more than 40 per cent of the population over 25 years of age were in-migrants in 1981. In some age groups - among the 40 to 44 years old, for instance - they even represented more than half of the
 (continued...)

vernacular can be obtained by separating people born in the same province as that of residence (natives) from those born elsewhere (in-migrants).¹⁴¹ The distinction between natives and in-migrants - especially in Vizcaya - cannot totally exclude the impact of Spanish-speaking in-migration since even among the oldest age groups there are some children of the first generation of in-migrants which arrived to Vizcaya in the late 19th century and - having been born in the province - are counted as Vizcayan natives, although their parents' came from other provinces.

Figure 3 Percentage of Basque speakers among natives and in-migrants in Vizcayan and Guipuzcoa in 1981
Source: Based on census 1981



140(...continued)
population.

141 Strictly speaking some of the in-migrants are native Basques because, for instance, a person born in Guipuzcoa but resident in Vizcaya is an in-migrant according to this definition. However, the number of people born in one Basque province but resident in another one is very small in comparison to those born somewhere else in Spain.

Guipuzcoan natives show a high proportion of Basque-speaking ability (over 80 per cent for the group over 75 years old), while the figures for Vizcaya are only about half of those for Guipuzcoa (see Figure 3). The earlier expansion of industrialization in Vizcaya explains the greater retreat of Basque in this latter province.

5.4.2.3 Survey studies

A sociolinguistic survey carried out in 1981 at the same time of the first language census provides some further evidence about the issue of language transmission. Respondents to this survey were divided into natives and in-migrants depending on whether they had been born in the Basque country or not.¹⁴² The native group was further subdivided into "full natives" (natives of native parents) and "mixed natives" (natives with at least one in-migrant parent). The group of "full natives" is the one which permits to identify the "true natives", i.e. where Basque had the greatest possibility of being transmitted as a mother tongue (see Table 24).

This survey reveals an important break in Basque language transmission around the

Table 24 Percentage of Basque-speakers by age group (1981 survey)
Source: Ruiz Olabuénaga (1983:72)

Age	Year of Birth	% Total population	% natives	% Full natives
75 <	before 1908	41.5	52.9	58.1
65-74	1908-1917	39.4	54.1	62.1
55-64	1918-1927	30.9	43.4	48.4
45-54	1928-1937	27.2	40.1	48.4
35-44	1938-1947	25.6	38.0	42.4
25-34	1948-1957	23.5	30.5	39.6
18-24	1958-1964	20.8	23.5	35.3

¹⁴² Ruiz Olabuénaga (1983), *La lucha del Euskara*. Note that our earlier definition - based on the information provided in the published census data - counted as natives those people born and resident in the same province.

time of the First World War. There is a difference of almost fourteen percentage points (from 62.1 to 48.4) in knowledge of Basque between full natives born between 1908-1917 and those born in 1918-1927 (see Table 24). The findings of this survey are only impressionistic since it is impossible to reconstruct fully the sociolinguistic situation in the early 20th century from an interview with some of the survivors still resident in the Basque country in 1981.¹⁴³ However, external evidence seems to support the hypothesis that the time of the First World War represented a crucial turning point for the decline of Basque. Spain's neutrality in the First World War turned the war years into the golden age of Basque capitalism and represented the *apex* of a cycle of capitalist industrialization between 1850 and 1920.

5.4.3 Population dynamics and Basque-speaking between 1887 and 1920

A more detailed analysis which takes account of the relationships between Basque-speaking and demographic evolution at the turn of the 20th century can be undertaken in the light of the data of the first language census of 1981 (see Table 25).¹⁴⁴

143 The sample was representative of the population *living* in the Basque Autonomous Community at the time of the study in 1981. However, it might not be wholly representative of the different generations *born* in the Basque country over the twentieth century.

144 It needs to be borne in mind, however, that in places where Basque is a minority language today the situation might have been quite different a hundred years earlier. The industrial town of Eibar in Guipuzcoa serves as an example. Eibar more than doubled its population between 1887 and 1920, growing from 5,103 to 11,888 inhabitants. It was a socialist bastion where the Spanish Republic was first proclaimed in 1931. In 1981 Eibar only had 37.6 per cent of Basque speakers but it was however largely Basque-speaking in the the late 19th century.

Table 25 Population change during the period 1887-1920 according to the level of Basque-speaking ability in 1981

Source: Based on censuses of 1887, 1920 and 1981

Group	Number <i>municipios</i>	Population		Difference	
		1887	1920	Absolute	%
Under 10%	117	231,734	372,157	140,423	160.60
10 to 30%	31	80,430	137,894	57,464	171.45
30 to 50%	29	46,629	66,307	19,678	142.20
over 50%	159	232,168	256,168	24,473	110.54

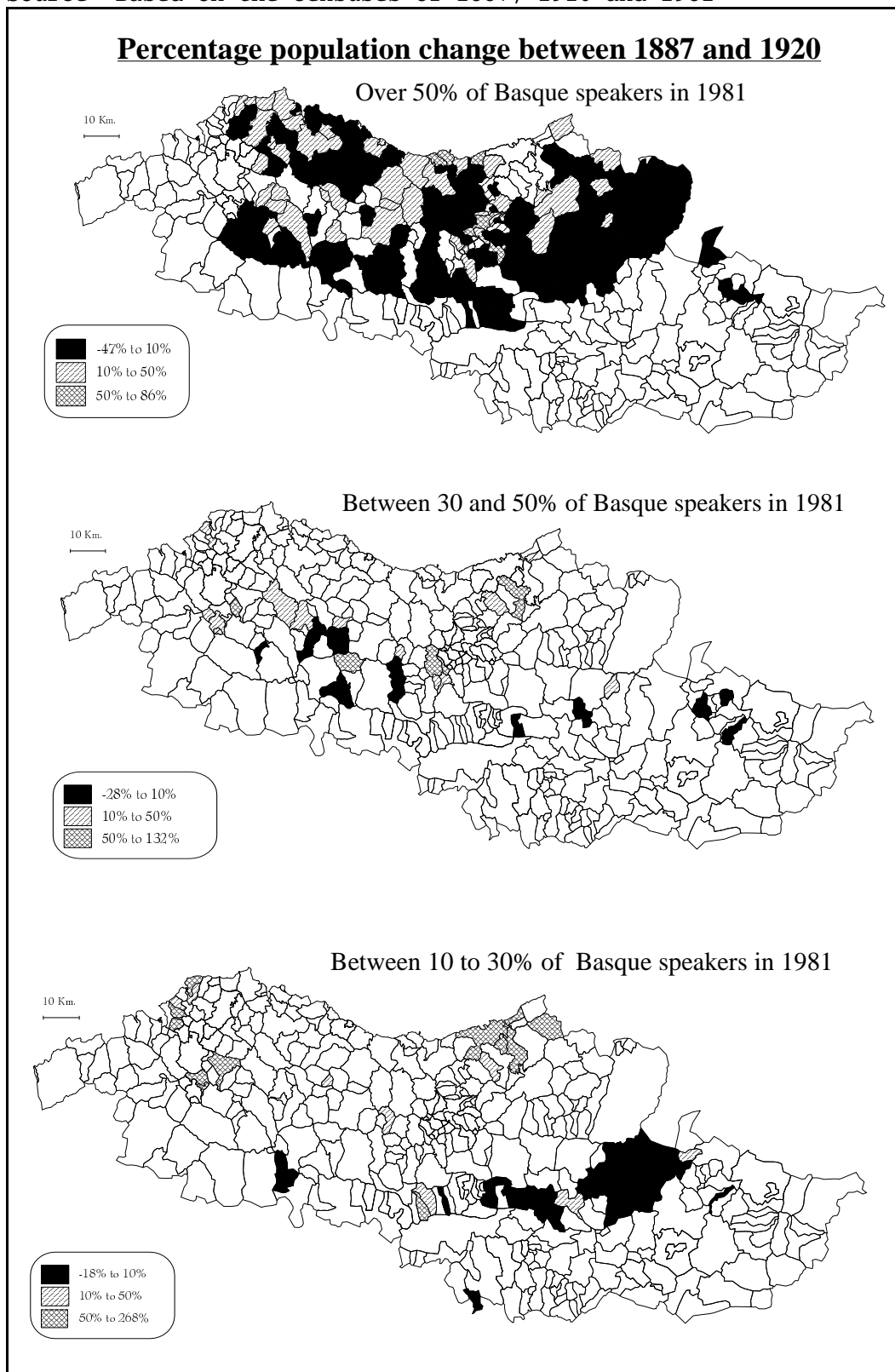
Four groups have been established according to the percentage of Basque speakers in 1981: a high Basque-speaking group formed by *municipios*¹⁴⁵ with more than 50 per cent of Basque speakers, medium-high from 30 to 50 per cent of Basque speakers, medium-low from 10 to 30 per cent, and a low Basque-speaking group for those areas with less than 10 per cent of Basque speakers (see Map 27).¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁵ *Municipios* are the smallest administrative areas in the census.

¹⁴⁶ The cartographic representation of these groups uses an overlay mapping technique. First the *municipios* that fit into the selected percentage of Basque-speaking are selected. In a second step the different ranges according to the amount of population change are singled out by means of distinctive shading patterns. The following maps display thus, as it were, two maps in one: Basque speaking ability in 1981 and population change between 1887 and 1920.

Map 27 Population change in the period 1887-1920 according to the level of Basque-speaking in 1981

Source: Based on the censuses of 1887, 1920 and 1981



Most of Guipuzcoa except the zone around San Sebastian, a large part of Vizcaya apart from Bilbao and the industrial area, and the north-east of Navarra remains today as the highest Basque-speaking area. The population of this area grew only 10 per cent between 1887 and 1920, reaching just over 250,000 people in 1920. Almost three-fourths of the *municipios* of this area lost population or remained relatively stagnant during the period 1887-1920 (see Table 25). Thus the vernacular language only continued reproducing in areas that became marginalized both in an economic and demographic sense.

Furthermore, the self-subsistence orientation of the Basque farm was transformed by the expansion of markets and the commodity economy in general. This increased the possibilities of rural inhabitants for speaking Spanish and getting into contact with city people. Rural depopulation led to a reduction in the number of domestic groups which in turn resulted in the falling into disuse of traditional forms of reciprocity and cooperation.

The most dynamic among the areas that today have between 30 and 50 per cent of Basque speakers were some small pockets of industrialization in the Basque core area, especially in Guipuzcoa with towns like Eibar, Mondragon, Beasain, Villafranca de Ordicia and Hernani, several of which doubled their population between 1887 and 1920. Although nowadays these industrial towns have less than 50 per cent of Basque speakers the decline of Basque probably occurred not so much during the early part of the 20th century, when a great deal of the labour force came from nearby Basque-speaking areas, but rather after the 1950s, when another wave of industrialization and in-migration took place.

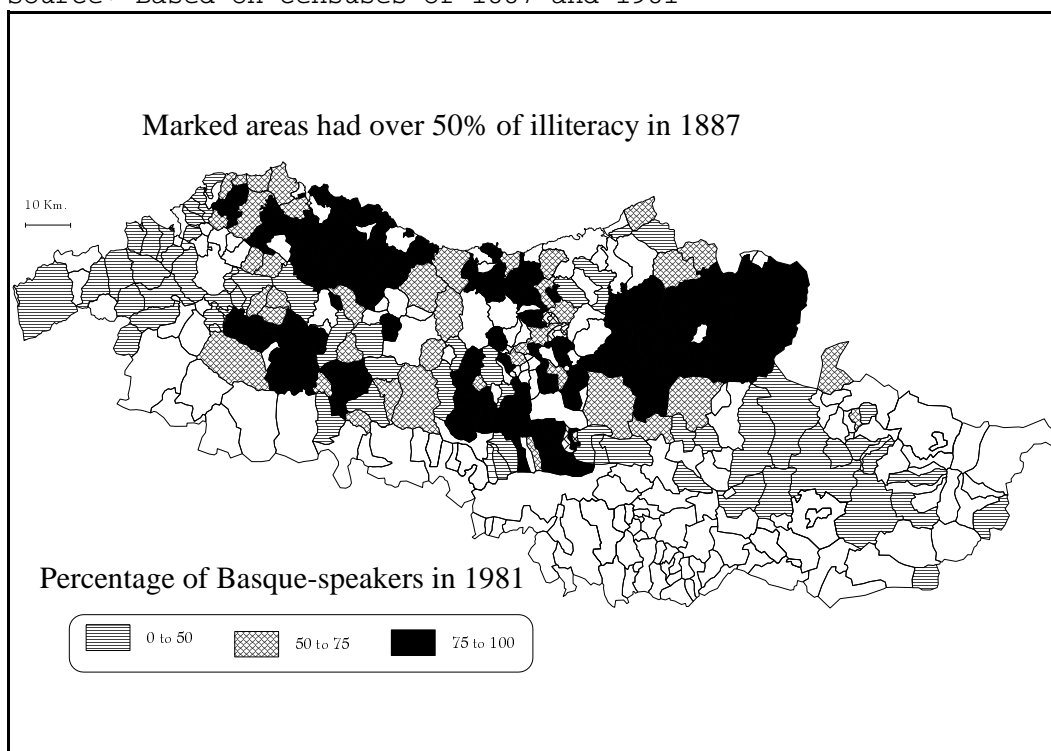
San Sebastian and its immediate hinterland including the emerging industrial towns of Renteria, Pasajes and Irun , which today have between 10 and 30 per cent of Basque speakers, experienced a significant demographic development between 1887 and 1920. This was due to the incipient industrialization and expansion of commercial agriculture required by the need to feed the growing urban population.

The population increased most during the period 1887-1920 in the area which today has less than 10 per cent of Basque speakers, including Bilbao and the nearby

industrial towns of Baracaldo and Sestao. Despite the presence of Basque speakers among the population, the loss of Basque as a language of communication was quite radical.

From today's viewpoint it can be seen that most of the Basque-speaking areas suffered a great stagnation during the period of industrialization. On the other hand, most of the the population growth occurred in areas where Basque was not the dominant means of communication.

Map 28 Municipios with over 50% of illiteracy in 1887 by percentage of Basque speakers in 1981
Source: Based on censuses of 1887 and 1981



5.4.4 Literacy and Basque-speaking in 1887

A comparison of the Basque language census figures for 1981 with those of literacy for 1887 show that literacy was lower in Basque-speaking areas (see Map 28).¹⁴⁷ The southern limits of the Basque-speaking area had higher levels of literacy in 1887. This was also the case in the urban centers of Bilbao and San Sebastian and in the emerging industrial centers of Guipuzcoa. Most of today's highly Basque-speaking *municipios*, on the other hand, had the largest figures of illiteracy in 1887. From this coincidence between low Spanish literacy and high Basque-speaking ability it cannot be concluded, however, that one was the result of the other. Although Basque monolingualism was certainly an added difficulty for the expansion of Spanish literacy, the lower literacy of the Basque-speaking areas can also be explained by factors similar to those which resulted in high levels of illiteracy in other Spanish-speaking rural areas.

Literacy is a linguistic skill which corresponds to the needs of specific production relations and the organization of labour. This skill was largely transmitted by means of the state educational system and the pattern of establishment of schools reflects precisely the unequal development of industrialization. While splendid schools were built in Bilbao, educational facilities were lacking in many rural areas. In 1894 one-fourth of the boys and one-third of the girls did not attend school in the province of Vizcaya.¹⁴⁸ In a lecture at the First Congress of Basque Studies in 1919 Landeta stated that educational facilities were still deficient in many parts of the Basque-speaking countryside, a fact that deprived the population of literacy which under capitalist industrialization has become a basic social skill for participation in the new society, a right for every citizen and an obligation for the state:

147 Since these two kinds of data are separated by a time span of almost one hundred years this comparison has similar limitations to the earlier one with the population change between 1887 and 1920 (see chap. 4).

148 Arrien Berrojaechevarria (1987), *Educación, y escuelas de barriada de Bizkaia. (Escuelas y autonomía 1896-1936)*.

"The creation of the primary school was a conquest of democracy, and because of it and thanks to it the people could come in touch with culture. But in Vizcaya and in many parts of the Basque country where children only speak Basque, the fruits of this achievement have not yet arrived or are not yet ripe, and therefore the people have not been able to enjoy them."¹⁴⁹

5.5 Conclusion

Just as in Wales, by the decade of the First World War the spread of the national language had been completed in the Basque country. According to the literacy figures for 1910 the large majority of the Basque active population - the people involved in production - had acquired Spanish literacy and were bilinguals or Spanish monolinguals.

This implies the closing of a cycle of language reproduction which started with capitalist industrialization and ended with a major crisis of the economic model based upon iron and coal. By the end of this period there was no space for the survival of a monolingual vernacular population.

The depression which shuttered the capitalist world economy after 1929 affected the Basque country and Wales deeply. The collapse of coal mining and the massive emigration experienced during the 1920s and 1930s relegated Wales to a peripheral position within the British economy. In the Basque country, on the other hand, the depression led to another civil war in 1936 which marked the beginning of a new historical period.

149 Landeta, "Estado actual de la escuela en el País Vasco... Sus remedios inmediatos. Organización de la escuela vasca de conformidad con las condiciones locales". En *Primer Congreso de Estudios Vascos* p. 878. Quoted in Arrien Berrojaechevarría (1987:54), *Educación, y escuelas de barriada de Bizkaia*.

CHAPTER 6

THE LANGUAGE ISSUE IN THE POLITICAL STRUGGLE

Language reproduction is not simply a mechanical process that reflects changes in the economic structure but takes place through human interaction and human consciousness. The focus on cultural and ideological aspects may help to explain some differences in the sociolinguistic history of the Basque country and Wales, despite the similarity of the economic and demographic processes of capitalist industrialization.

6.1 Ideological justifications for the decline of minority languages

In the 19th century the integration of small peoples into strong nation states was seen by many people as both inevitable and positive. As Stuart Mill wrote:

"Nobody can suppose that it is not more beneficial for a Breton or a Basque of French Navarre to be... a member of the French nationality, admitted on equal terms to all the privileges of French citizenship... than to sulk on his own rocks, the half-savage relic of past times, revolving in his own little mental orbit, without participation or interest in the general movement of the world. The same remark applies to the Welshman or the Scottish highlander as members of the British nation."¹⁵⁰

Despite his admiration of Celtic literature the influential literary critic Matthew Arnold felt that the spread of English in Wales was a worthwhile goal:

"It must always be the desire of a government to render its dominions, as far as possible, homogeneous... Sooner or later, the difference of language between England

¹⁵⁰ Stuart Mill, *Utilitarianism, Liberty and Representative government*. Quoted in Hobsbawm (1990:34), *Nations and Nationalism since 1870*.

and Wales will probably be effaced... an event which is socially and politically so desirable."¹⁵¹

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries an organic view of language was widespread which conceived language as a living organism that was born, developed, reached its zenith and then declined and died. Along with the popularization of social Darwinist theories some languages were even regarded as more fitted for survival, while others seemed to be doomed to extinction. These different fates were attributed to the very genius and internal essence of each language, a belief that sometimes was even instrumentalized for chauvinistic apologetics or outright racism.¹⁵²

Minority languages were not only widely held to be inferior to the national language but also seen as incapable of adaptation to the demands of modern civilization. For instance, the 1847 Commission on the State of Education in Wales stressed the inadequacy of the Welsh language for modern life:

"... it would be impossible to express in Welsh many ordinary propositions in politics and science in such a way as completely to convey the sense to even an intelligent Welsh reader unacquainted with English."¹⁵³

The judgement of the Commissioners about the inability of the vernacular to survive in the modern world was shared by people who were very attached to it. For instance,

151 Quoted in Humphreys (1989:179), *The Taliesin Tradition*.

152 Hobsbawm writes however, that this attitude was not necessarily chauvinistic: "It did not imply any hostility to the languages and cultures of such collective victims to the laws of progress (as they would certainly have been called then). On the contrary, where the supremacy of the state-nationality and the state-language were not an issue, the major nation could cherish and foster the dialects and lesser languages within it, the historic and folkloric traditions of the lesser communities it contained, if only as proof of the range of colours on its macro-national palette." Hobsbawm (1990:35), *Nations and Nationalism since 1870*.

153 Reports of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the State of Education in Wales (Parliamentary Papers XXVII of 1847, part III, p. 853n). Quoted in Hobsbawm (1990:56), *Nations and nationalism since 1780. Programme, Myth, Reality*.

the Rev. Griffiths of the Dissenting College, Brecknock similarly accepted that Welsh was condemned to die:

"Let it [the Welsh language] die fairly, peacefully and reputably. Attached to it as it were, few would wish to postpone its euthanasy. But no sacrifice would be deemed too great to prevent its being murdered."¹⁵⁴

And the Basque intellectual and linguist Miguel de Unamuno shared a similar view about the Basque language:

"It is my old conviction that Basque -which is an interesting language of study- lacks intrinsic conditions to serve as a means of expression for a people that is entering fully into modern spiritual life, and that it represents a grave obstacle for the diffusion of European culture in my country."¹⁵⁵

Accompanying the expansion of the national language there was a generalization of negative attitudes toward minority languages, not only by dominant ideologies but also among the speakers of the minority language themselves. This whole complex of beliefs and attitudes about language took place in the context of political and ideological struggle which has been characterized by Gramsci as the attempt of creating a cultural hegemony:

"Each time that in one way or another, the question of language comes to the fore, that signifies that a series of other problems is about to emerge, the formation and enlarging of the ruling class, the necessity to establish more 'intimate' and sure relations between the ruling groups and the national popular masses, that is, the reorganization of cultural hegemony."¹⁵⁶

Cultural hegemony represents the struggle by different social classes and fractions to make their own world view prevail over society as a whole, a struggle in which the language question gains a primordial importance. However, at the same time the struggle for hegemony set into motion counter tendencies. The emergence of

154 *Inquiry on Education in Wales*, Parliamentary Paper, 1847, XXVII, part II (Report on the Counties of Brecknock, Cardigan and Radnor), p. 67. Quoted in Hobsbawm (1990:35), *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*.

155 Quoted in M. de Ugalde (1979:27), *Unamuno y el vascuence*.

156 Gramsci (1977:2346), *Cuaderni di carcere*.

minority nationalisms, for instance, opposed the devaluation and dismissal of the vernacular languages, putting them at the centre of the political struggle.

6.2 Language and ideology in the Basque country

6.2.1 The emergence of Basque nationalism

The transition from a feudal society to another one dominated by capitalist relations of production in the Basque country was a long and bloody process which involved military occupation, the proletarianization of peasants and artisans and the destruction of traditional values and institutions.

The political relations which emerged in the Basque country after the end of the II Carlist War still contained some elements from the earlier period based upon the opposition between Liberals and Conservatives. However the new political structure was in many ways quite different. As a result the Basque political system lost the polarity between Liberals and Conservatives that had characterized it during much of the 19th century and became much more complex. The two new political themes that dominated this period can be briefly characterized as the national question and the social question.

The emergence of a working class movement was a consequence of the savage industrialization of Vizcaya in the late 19th century which generated great social and health problems: crowded dwelling conditions, epidemics, an extremely high mortality, etc. Labour conflicts became increasingly violent, in response to these conditions of exploitation. Alone between 1890 and 1903 twenty strikes took place in the mining area, three of which were general strikes.¹⁵⁷

One social group that underwent a rapid proletarianization in the early years of industrialization was the Bilbao petty-bourgeoisie. The family of the founder of

¹⁵⁷ They were motivated by the demand to reduce the working day, wage-increases, in protest for the functioning of canteens and sleeping quarters and in solidarity with workers that had been fired. See Solozabal (1975:147), *El primer nacionalismo vasco*.

Basque nationalism - Sabino Arana - born in Bilbao in 1865, provides a good example. Arana's father owned a small shipyard in Bilbao and was very active during the II Carlist War lending money to the Carlist side. The end of the war meant bankruptcy for the family who lost their loan and their business.¹⁵⁸

The Bilbao petty-bourgeoisie was the social group which first articulated a nationalist discourse, conceived in a first instance as a critique of the consequences of capitalist industrialization. This found expression in early nationalism in the conception of Basques and Spaniards as constituting two totally different races. This idea can be traced back to the deep-rooted ideology of the Foral conception of the "universal nobility" of the Basques. With the coming into vogue of scientific racism in the late nineteenth century the traditional conception of the purity of Basque blood became reformulated in racist terms:

*"Ethnographically there is a great difference between being Spanish and being Basque, because the Basque race is fundamentally distinct from the Spanish race (something that not only we alone say, but that all anthropologists say), and the ethnic concept is not juridical, but physical and natural, because it is related to race; so that ethnographically, the Basques cannot be Spaniards even if they wanted to, because in order to be Spaniards they would have to stop being Basques. Therefore, when we say Spanish people, Spanish nation, we cannot include in such a term the Basque people, unless we are terribly ignorant of what is well known in ethnology, because people and nation are terms that refer to race and not to law."*¹⁵⁹

Starting from this racist idea the Spanish in-migrants were made responsible for the malaise of industrialization and blamed for bringing in negative moral influences into the Basque country. The racist rejection of the in-migrants constituted the original foundation of the nationalist ideology that started growing in the 1880s:

158 At the age of 18 Arana left for Barcelona to study law where he was exposed to the emerging Catalan nationalist movement. He returned to Bilbao in 1888 and started his activity for Basque nationalism. He was imprisoned in several occasions and died in 1903.

159 Arana, quoted in Azkona (1984:108), *Etnia y nacionalismo vasco. Una aproximación desde la antropología*.

"The Spanish people, despite the many centuries in which they have enjoyed a Catholic government and legislation, have always resisted its beneficial influence, have always remained irreligious and immoral, so that their current character cannot be in any way attributed to the current liberal government and legislation which rule them at the present moment... Theoretical or doctrinal liberalism can be learnt... but practical liberalism resides in the very human nature, it started with the original sin and it is expressed in many, latent in everyone: it is manifest in the character and customs of the Spaniard, and in the contact of the Spaniard with the Basque the liberal character shows up in the latter and his character and customs are altered."¹⁶⁰

The polar images of the evil and corrupted Spanish in-migrant workers versus the honest, pious Basque farmer were used for purposes of political mobilization. The Spanish in-migrant workers were labelled with the scornful term "*maketos*" and the whole migratory phenomena was referred as a *maketo* "invasion".¹⁶¹

Ideologically nationalism came from the Carlist political tradition with strong Catholic integrist elements. Early nationalism rallied under the slogan "*Jaungoikoa eta lagi zarra*" (God and the old law) which had a great affinity with the Carlist slogan "God, King and *Fueros*". As the Carlist camp split up into several parties during the 1880s Basque nationalism tried to fill up this political space with a program that took up some of the Carlists demands (religion and the *Fueros*) but with the new goal of national liberation.

The religious salvation of the Basque people entailed the eradication of the degraded morals brought in by the Spanish in-migrants.¹⁶² But as opposed to other

160 Sabino Arana, "Efectos de la invasión" in *Baserritarra*, July 11, 1897. Quoted in Corcuera (1979:321), *Orígenes, ideología y organización del nacionalismo vasco (1876-1904)*.

161 The word "*maketo*" encapsulates all of the supposed defects of the Spaniards. The term originates from the neighbouring province of Santander where it is used to refer to Castilians. See Michelena (1985:159), *Lengua e historia*, note 27.

162 Many statements on this issue can be founded throughout Arana's work: "My patriotism is not founded in human motives, nor is it directed to material aims, my patriotism was founded and everyday is more and more founded in my love of God, and the aim that
(continued...)

Catholic parties Arana claimed that the salvation of the Basque country demanded the political separation from Spain:

"Basque Catholics who want to save the Basque country uniting it to Spain are wrong... Carlism, integristism and modern catholic regionalism, will never be able to save the Basque country because from the very moment that the Spanish and the Basque people establish an intimate union, they oppose that the latter fulfills its goal, that its children serve God and save their souls."¹⁶³

The influence of the *Fueros* tradition in nationalist conceptions was profound. The *Fueros* had always been provincial institutions and the emerging nationalist movement was at first confined within this thinking. Arana was concerned in his early writing with Vizcaya as the political unit to be liberated from Spanish domination. This is clear from the title of his first book: "*Vizcaya por su independencia*" and the foundation in 1895 of the *Bizkai Buru Batzar* a Vizcayan organization forerunner of the Basque nationalist party.

But it was not only the ideological inheritance of centuries of provincial Foral administration that made it at first difficult to think of a Basque nation. Nationalism started in the late 1880s and early 1890s as a petty bourgeois rejection of industrialization. But until the end of the 19th century capitalist industrialization had only reached a large-scale dimension in some parts of Vizcaya. Since the beginnings of the 20th century nationalism started its spread in Guipuzcoa along with the

162(...continued)

I seek is to lead to God to my brothers of race, to my great family, the Basque people." Or "If we assert the independence of our race, we assert it as necessary and inevitable to avoid the mortal contamination and in order to save our brothers, our family, our motherland." Arana, "Efectos de la invasión". Quoted by García Cortázar (1982:219 and 221), "La iglesia vasca: del carlismo al nacionalismo".

163 Arana, "Efectos de la invasión". Quoted by García de Cortázar (1982:220-21), "La iglesia vasca: del carlismo al nacionalismo".

industrialization of the province. But its expansion was much more limited in Alava and Navarra whose industrialization only took off since the 1960s.¹⁶⁴

The Bilbao petty-bourgeoisie led Basque nationalism from the 1880s until the end of the 19th century with the demand of political independence and an ideology based upon the ideas of race, religious integrism and language purism. However this early orientation gave way in the early decades of the 20th century to a more pragmatic attitude that demanded autonomy within the bounds of the Spanish state and put a greater emphasis on the revival of the Basque language and culture. The irruption of a sector of the Basque bourgeoisie into the nationalist movement was responsible for this transformation.

González Portilla has explained this change as resulting from a split in interests between the monopolist bourgeoisie -owners of steel companies and banks- and other bourgeois fractions involved in shipping and in smaller industries. The enrichment of a few Bilbao families with the export of iron ore and related industrial and financial businesses produced a very powerful bourgeois class. By intermarriage with the Spanish landed aristocracy and ennoblement this bourgeoisie became incorporated into the Spanish establishment. Through lobbying they put pressure on the central government to erect or maintain protectionist measures that awarded them a virtual monopoly over the Spanish iron and steel market. Ideologically they became the self-proclaimed champions of "national industry" and exponents of Spanish nationalism.

For the monopolist bourgeoisie capital accumulation was linked to a very protected internal market whereas the ship owners were rather oriented toward the international market.¹⁶⁵ A specific point of conflict was the export of mineral which was a major

164 See de Pablo Contreras (1988), "Las bases sociales del nacionalismo vasco en Alava durante la Segunda República".

165 See González Portilla (1981), *La formación de la sociedad capitalista en el país vasco*. For a critical view of this position see Fernández de Pinedo (1985), "Las dudosas bases económicas del primer nacionalismo vasco en el último tercio del siglo XIX".

trade item for the ship owners, but as the ore reserves started becoming depleted this caused alarm among the monopolist bourgeoisie which saw the foundations of the steel industry jeopardized.¹⁶⁶ Smaller capitalist, on the other hand, were at the mercy of the economic power of the monopolist bourgeoisie and were forced to pay higher iron prices:

"Simplifying things very much we would find that the first group can be identified by the practice of a (Spanish) "nationalist" and protectionist economic policy... The other group of the big Basque bourgeoisie (ship owners, ship owners-miners), to which must be added the petty and medium bourgeoisie, whose material interests in the case of the former, depended above all from the external market, where competition was hard and prices free, or in the case of the latter, of the price of the basic raw material consumed by their factories and workshops: iron and steel (which will be exploited by the monopolist sector through its price structure). This will bind together and give coherence to early nationalism and provide an important social base for the Basque nationalist party..."¹⁶⁷

Nationalism started acquiring political weight after receiving financial and organizational support from bourgeoisie sectors that had been asking for the restoration of the *Fueros*. But under this new bourgeois leadership there was a change in orientation. Now independence was no longer demanded but only autonomy. Arana himself was caught into this contradictory ideological change. In 1902, shortly before his death and while in prison, Arana became convinced of the impossibility of attaining the independence of the Basque country. He renounced his earlier principles and proposed autonomy as the political aim of nationalism. Whether this was only a tactical move destined to win bourgeois support was never

166 Pedro de Alzaola, a spokesman of the monopolist bourgeoisie, wrote in 1897: "With two tons of mineral worth 18 pesetas one ton of pig iron worth 64 pesetas can be produced. If the latter is transformed into rails then the value is enhanced to 140 pesetas with the result that if we export the greater part of our mineral for the negligible price of 9 pesetas, we imitate Essau in selling his right of inheritance for a bowl of lentils." Quoted in Flinn (1955:89), "British steel and Spanish ore: 1871-1914".

167 González Portilla (1981:194), *La formación de la sociedad capitalista en el País Vasco*.

dispelled, since his sudden death left the nationalist party in the midst of an ideological crisis.

Corcuera has argued that the Basque autonomist bourgeoisie never formulated its own nationalist project as was, for instance, the case in Catalonia.¹⁶⁸ It was the petty-bourgeoisie victim of industrialization that first formulated a Basque nationalist project in strongly traditionalist and backward-looking terms. Although a sector of the bourgeoisie later took over the political leadership of the nationalist movement, Corcuera argues that Arana's charismatic personality and early death made it difficult to challenge the principles of the founding father. Thus the nationalist project has always combined two very different orientations: the early radical independentist thesis of Arana, on the one hand, and a more compromising attitude seeking a large measure of autonomy within the framework of the Spanish state, on the other. However, the nationalist bourgeoisie has also benefitted from this ideological ambiguity, emphasizing one extreme or the other according to the specific political situation.

The growing economic power of the nationalist bourgeoisie, especially after the great profits made by the shipping companies during the First World War in which Spain remained neutral, helped nationalism to score its first major political victory in 1917 winning a majority in the Vizcayan provincial elections. The Basque administrative system which allowed a great deal of autonomy through the *conciertos económicos* had been dominated by the monopolist bourgeoisie until the First World War, particularly in Vizcaya by buying votes and other illegitimate electoral practices.

With the intensification of the class struggle, especially after the general strike of 1917, the monopolist bourgeoisie turned toward increasingly conservative positions and it eventually stood on the fascist side during the 1936-39 civil war.

¹⁶⁸ Corcuera (1979), *Orígenes, ideología y organización del nacionalismo vasco (1876-1904)*.

During the period of the Primo de Rivera Dictatorship (1923-1929) the conduct of open political activity was prohibited. However in these years nationalism achieved a strong expansion in different cultural, educational and trade union activities.¹⁶⁹ The victory in the 1933 elections brought the nationalists to power and in 1936 an Statute of Autonomy for the Basque country was finally obtained.

The nationalist bourgeoisie strove the formation of an interclass alliance under its leadership that would appeal to some fractions of the native working-class. Arana himself had formulated the project of the establishment of a Basque trade union:

"... the socialist party is today composed almost exclusively of *maketos*... What is strange is that even a single Basque worker is found among the socialists. Because if they really aim to destroy the bourgeois tyranny and to recover the human and citizen rights that are denied to them today, or at least greatly diminished, where can they better achieve this than in nationalism that is the doctrine of their blood? And even if they mistrust the nationalist party and they fear that within it there may be differences between capitalists and workers, why do the Basque workers not come together separating themselves from the *maketos* and totally excluding them, to combat this despotic bourgeois oppression which they justly criticize? Do they not realize that if bourgeois domination is hateful, *maketo* domination is even more hateful?"¹⁷⁰

This project would be realized in the trade union of Catholic inspiration *Solidaridad de Trabajadores Vascos* which acquired some importance during the 1920s and 1930s, especially in industries owned by the nationalist bourgeoisie such as the shipyards of the Sota company, although it was never able to challenge the supremacy of the socialist trade union *Unión General de Trabajadores* in the working class movement as a whole.

The socialists took an oppositional stand toward Basque nationalism for two major reasons. On the one hand, the development of working class organization took place in a Spanish national context. The idea of a small, inward-looking, "regionalist" movement could not be accepted by the socialists which considered it to be against

169 See Camino and Guezala (1991), *Juventud y nacionalismo vasco. Bilbao (1901-1937)*.

170 Quoted in Elorza (1978:138), *Ideologías del nacionalismo vasco*.

the trend of modern social and political developments. On the other hand, the racism embodied in the first nationalist formulations made the socialists -many of whom were in-migrant workers- mistrust Basque nationalism. Tomás de Meabe, a leading figure of the Vizcayan socialist movement, interpreted this racist rejection as a consequence of the cyclical nature of capitalist development:

"Thousands of men are *brought* from other parts of Spain to sink in the mineral of our mountains or in the smoke of our factories. The rich amuse themselves and become arrogant piling up money with both hands. But later, long crisis occur whose immediate consequence is an excess of population. There is no bread or work for so many and many are forced to emigrate. But hardship continues since boom and depression succeed each other at regular intervals. Then everything turns against the men from other regions; it is true that they have also shared the tax burden, that they have worked like beasts and eaten worse than them, that they have risked their lives everyday, that they have an eternal drama of misery at home... But it does not matter, they are insulted and abused: they are *invaders*, they are *lazy*, they are *maketos*."¹⁷¹

Thus, for the socialist the racist formulations of early nationalism responded to the interests of capital in general that profited through the resulting division of the working class.

6.2.2 Purism: the linguistic ideology of early Basque nationalism

Throughout its history Basque nationalism has had the tendency to use the Basque language as a means of *symbolic* differentiation. As a result making the symbolic difference that the Basques are not Spaniards became the message itself. From the beginnings of the nationalist movement linguistic topics such as Basque surnames, orthography and etymology have gained an increasingly important political dimension. For Arana the Basque language was fundamentally a marker of Basque ethnic identity and it is perhaps not accidental that he started his journalistic career

¹⁷¹ Meabe's article was published in the Bilbao socialist newspaper "*La lucha de clases*" in 1902 (emphasis in the original). Quoted in Elorza (1978:143), *Ideologías del nacionalismo vasco*.

in 1886 with an article about the orthography of the word "*vasco*".¹⁷² Two years later Arana published some proposals for an ortographic reform of the Vizcayan dialect in an 1888 book entitled "*Manual de ortografía del euskera Bizcaíno*".

Arana's ortographic reform attempted to create a *visible* difference between Basque and Spanish by transforming the Basque alphabet. To achieve this goal the "v" was substituted by the "b", the "c" for the "k", the "ch" for the "tx", the "rr" for the "r", etc. This orthographic reform even affected the Spanish written in the Basque country and in many nationalist writings "Vizcaya", for instance, was spelled as "Bizcaya". Even today's unified Basque ortography -while rejecting some of Arana's proposals- has carried on with this tendency of differentiation. Thus, the Spanish "ñ" has been replaced for "ni", the "ll" for the "l", the "g" for the "j", etc. While some of these reforms aim at regularizing the orthography and making it more logical and consistent, the overall effect has been to make Basque look less and less like Spanish. In contemporary standard Basque, for instance, "Vizcaya" is spelled "Bizkaia".

Arana also created a whole array of nationalist symbols like the Basque flag, Basque first names, a new name for the Basque country and other Basque terminology.¹⁷³ The Basque country was known in Latin as "Vasconia". During the Middle ages it was sometimes referred as "Navarra", although often the term "vizcaino" was used to refer to the Basques in general, including those from provinces other than Vizcaya.¹⁷⁴ But the traditional name of the Basque country for the Basques is "*Euskalherria*" a term that comes from "*euskal*", which means Basque-speaking, and "*herria*",

172 Among his abundant linguistic writings the following stand out: *Etimologías euskérica*, *Pliegos euskeráfilos*, *Tratado etimológico de los apellidos euskérikos*.

173 Arana drew from the tradition of historical novels and mythology which had emerged in defense of the Fueros.

174 Azaola (1976:15-16), *Vasconia y su destino*. II vol 1.

meaning people. Thus the Basque country was effectively defined as "the people who speak Basque".¹⁷⁵

However, the traditional identification between the Basque language and the Basque people became increasingly anachronistic as the vernacular language rapidly lost ground with the expansion of capitalist industrialization. Under the new social, economic and political conditions Arana, himself a native Spanish-speaker, coined in 1899 a word that embodied a new understanding of the Basque country and included the Basques who did not speak the vernacular.¹⁷⁶ This was the term "*Euskadi*", a neologism formed by the root "Eusk", meaning Basque, and the suffix "di", used to group things, thus meaning something like "the country of the Basques".

The new name for the Basque country appeared at a time of crisis for traditional Basque society, when the secular process of decline of the Basque language was in full swing. Referring to the Basque country as "*Euskadi*" allowed the development of a political discourse about the Basque nation which was independent from Basque-speaking ability. While the traditional term "*Euskalherria*" conceived the Basque country in linguistic and cultural terms, the term "*Euskadi*" overcame the traditional conception of the Basque country in term of provinces, conceiving it in terms of a modern nation state. Arana's coinage arose some controversy. As Campión put it in a 1907 article:

"The name "Euskalherria" is blamed by some people of being anti-Basque: 'because it serves to separate and create distance among the children of the Basque race'. And this is because the Basques who speak the Basque language only call Euskalherria to the country where the Basque language is spoken... This division does not stem, unfortunately, from the words but from the facts; and whether the country is called

175 Considerable variation exists in earlier spelling of these and other Basque terms. Here today's standard spellings "*Euskadi*" and "*Euskalherria*" have been used although in the past spellings like "*Euzkadi*", "*Euskal-Erria*" and others were common.

176 Arana also coined the term *euskotar*, today significantly no longer in use, to refer to "racial" Basques who did not speak the Basque language.

Euskadi or Euskalherria, there will always be a difference, and a great one, between the region that lost and the one that preserved its language."¹⁷⁷

However, with the success of nationalism the term "*Euskadi*" achieved widespread currency and has become standard usage today. Nowadays both "*Euskadi*" and "*Euskalherria*" are used more or less synonymously. However "*Euskadi*" has become integrated into Spanish language and is primarily used in Spanish-speaking discourse. For example, the official Spanish name of the Basque Autonomous region is "*Comunidad Autónoma de Euskadi*", while its Basque equivalent is "*Euskal Herriko Autonomia Elkarteko*" which holds on to the traditional term.¹⁷⁸

6.2.3 The purist movement

With the advance of capitalist industrialization the Basque language was increasingly perceived among religious sectors as a moral barrier against pernicious anti-Christian influences. In the introduction to a textbook on the Guipuzcoan dialect Arigarai wrote:

"To conclude I just want to say this to the Basque youth: love God and love your motherland. If you love God you must also love Basque, because it is today the best way to free our people from so much corruption and impiety as it is being constantly exposed from Spanish newspapers, magazines and books. If you love your motherland, you must love Basque, because it is the most genuine expression of our people's soul. Basque was the language of your grandparents. It has been the language of your parents. With it they worshipped God, the almighty *Jaungoikoa* and they never blasphemed."¹⁷⁹

177 Campión (1907), "Sobre el nuevo bautizo del País Basko".

178 This can be observed in many other examples, for instance in a sociolinguistic study published by SIADECO in 1976 entitled "Language Conflict in the Basque country". The Spanish title was *Conflicto lingüístico en Euskadi* and the Basque one *Hizkuntz Borroka Euskal Herrian*.

179 Quoted in Sarasola (1982:72), *Historia social de la literatura vasca*. In a speech marking the foundation of a Society of Priests devoted to the the spread of "good and pious" literature in the Guipuzcoan dialect it was stated: "... we are happy to repeat (continued...)

Spanish was blamed for transmitting all the immoral influences that were perverting the Basque people. This was a theme repeatedly taken up by Arana for whom not only contact with the Spaniards, but even the Spanish language itself, was corrupting and degenerating Basque society:

"No matter how uncivilized and savage a people may be they do not curse as much as the Spanish people... A Muslim may be careless in the observance of the obligations imposed by his religion, but when he hears the name of Allah, he bows respectfully in submission... only, only the Spanish people and those who have received their language and customs use these filthy words..."¹⁸⁰

The Spanish language was furthermore seen not only as contaminating the souls of the Basque people but also undermining the essence of the Basque language, impoverishing its vocabulary and distorting its grammar. Arana considered, therefore, necessary to undertake a restoration effort which would reinstate the primitive purity of the language. In an 1899 article Arana assigned every Basque speaker the task of the purification of the language:

"... to the reconstruction of Basque... each Basque speaker must contribute with energy, starting by himself... to correct every known mistake and to use the words and grammatical forms that have been created correctly in accordance with the language, that is, according to the roots and the laws of the language itself."¹⁸¹

179(...continued)
that we love the Basque language with true devotion. But not so much because, having seen its unusual beauty, we keep it with justifiable pride in the most splendid museum of our mountains, or because it is the softest speech in which we learnt to babble the first prayers offered to the Lord; above all because we regard it as the wall and safeguard of the healthy ideas that took root here as soon as Christ's Gospel was heard, and of the celebrated customs of Euskera, that had their root in those ideas emanated from Heaven." Quoted in Castells (1987:368-69), *Modernización y dinámica política en la sociedad guipuzcoana de la Restauración 1876-1915*.

180 Published in the Bilbao newspaper *Diario de la mañana* on June 18th, 1899. Arana, *Obras completas*, p. 1,681.

181 Sabino Arana "*Vicios usuales del euskera vizcaino*" en "*Diario de la mañana*" Bilbao January 8th, 1899. In Arana (1965:1681), *Obras completas*.

This statement implies a purist manifesto, i.e., the will to reshape the common language spoken by the people according to an assumed ideal of purity. This was to be achieved by following the mandate of logic. The purist writer Imanol Arrandiaga, wrote:

"Logic is the primary law of Basque grammar and, therefore, its dictate must be accepted without hesitations by Basque speakers; otherwise we will destroy grammar and sacrifice the Basque language: an illogical Basque is not Basque, it might be perhaps a Basque corpse, since it does not have a soul that are its laws."¹⁸²

A double tendency characteristic of the purist movement can be observed here. On the one hand, the living Basque language spoken by the popular masses was looked down upon and was even equated to a corpse. On the other hand, blind obedience was demanded to the leadership of purist intellectuals.

Language purism was synonymous with the racist rejection of the Spanish in-migrants at the linguistic level. Language was assigned an instrumental role in maintaining a strict separation from the in-migrants. Arana went as far as stating that if the in-migrants would learn Basque, the Basques would have to abandon their language, keep its grammar and dictionary, and start speaking Russian, Norwegian or other foreign languages as long as *Euskadi* remained under Spanish domination. In this respect Arana saw Basque nationalism as quite different from Catalan nationalism.¹⁸³

"The Catalans would like that not only them but also other Spaniards established in their region speak Catalan; for us it would mean bankruptcy if the *maketos* residing in our territory spoke euskera. Why? Because the purity of race is, like that of language, one of the foundations of the Vizcayan principles, and while the language, as long as we have a good grammar and dictionary, can be restored even though nobody speaks it, race, on the contrary, cannot be resuscitated once it has been lost."¹⁸⁴

182 Quoted in Sarasola (1982:78), *Historia social de la literatura vasca*.

183 Arana (1978:188), *Obras escogidas*.

184 Arana (1978:188), *Obras escogidas*.

Arana was convinced that as long as the language was preserved in an archive form -even if it did not survive as a means of communication- it could be resuscitated by gaining political power. This idea seemed reasonable at a time when artificial languages like Volapuk and Esperanto were being created and popularized.

The purist movement contained, however, a good deal of fanaticism. Words of Latin or Romance origin were dogmatically rejected, despite of the fact that many had been assimilated into Basque for centuries, and new terms were coined often in a chaotic and arbitrary manner. Most Basque speakers could not understand this jargon which was nicknamed "*euskera berri*" or "new Basque". Thus the radical renovation of the language intended by the purist program did not reach beyond a small group of nationalist intellectuals.

Purist literature focused almost exclusively on the idealization of the rural Basque country while the industrial areas were treated as something foreign:

"The Basque country reflected in Basque literature is necessarily that of the immaculate farmsteads, picturesque mountains and green meadows; its characters are the honest fishermen and farmers that preserve the old and revered traditions."¹⁸⁵

At the same time, the topics addressed were Basque rural life and religion which lacked interest for urban readers. This created a fundamental contradiction for purist literature:

"Due to its language it was inaccessible to the peasant masses (who were on the other hand characterized by not having a need to read), but because of its content it could not be of interest either to the urban educated Basque-speaking minority, who constituted the only base upon which a competitive national culture could be established and offer a real and efficient alternative to the needs of the Basque collectivity."¹⁸⁶

Purist writers considered earlier Basque literature vulgar and without any artistic value. However, the attempt to turn the linguistic order upside down could not serve as a platform for cultural development. Literary production became chaotic while the

¹⁸⁵ Sarasola (1982:85), *Historia social de la literatura vasca*.

¹⁸⁶ Sarasola (1982:150), *Historia social de la literatura vasca*.

reading public encountered a language that could not be understood and topics that were uninteresting.

Basques, like other minority languages speakers, were already experiencing negative feelings toward their language. This was manifested in the shame of speaking it and the wish not to transmit it to their children.¹⁸⁷ Nationalist writers like Campi3n acknowledged this reality:

"... history teaches us that the immense majority of dead languages *did not just die but were killed*... For a people to lose their language it is necessary that in some degree they *start feeling contempt against themselves*. Language is the exteriorization of the ethnic soul, and the soul cannot be reached by the chains of the conquerors or the knife of the tyrant."¹⁸⁸

Purism brought about a contradictory exaltation of the language together with a feeling of inferiority among the native speakers. This resulted in the spread of linguistic insecurity among speakers who suddenly found themselves speaking "incorrect" Basque. As an early critic of the purist tendency said in 1909:

"... both newspaper articles, as well as everything written in Basque, must be in a simple and popular language, avoiding an intricate style and the exaggerated urge in the present circumstances to form a pure written language which is not read later. We must always prefer bad Basque to good Spanish, and to strive for exaggerated perfection has the result that many are afraid to write or even to speak in their own language."¹⁸⁹

187 These may however be contradictory. A discrepancy may also exist between a person's spoken variety and the language as a whole, idealized in another variety: "Negative evaluations of personal varieties of Welsh, rather than a low evaluation of the language *per se* are not usually considered in macro-level studies of language shift to English, and may be a significant factor." Thomas, B. (1987:81), "Accounting for language shift in a South Wales mining community".

188 Campi3n in a speech at the Basque Festivals in Azpeitia in 1901. Quoted in Huici Urmeneta (1981:658), *Historia contempor3nea de Navarra. Dos siglos de crisis, 1773-1975*.

189 Belaustegigoitia: "*Por la lengua nacional vasca*". Quoted in Aquesolo, et. al. (1989:183) *Federico Belaustegigoitia 1876-1947*.

The leaders of language revival movements are often not native speakers of minority languages but have learnt them at an adult age. This was also the case in the Basque country since the ruling classes and its intellectuals had historically been the first to abandon the vernacular language. A list of the intellectuals who lead the linguistic movement of the time would reveal a good deal of non-native Basque speakers.¹⁹⁰ In fact, the purist movement had little to do with spreading Basque as a means of communication and a great deal of the production of the literary revival, also known as the Basque renaissance at the time, actually consisted of works written in *Spanish*:

"... the Basque literary 'renaissance'... was founded above all on Spanish, reserving for the Basque language a purely decorative and marginal function, a fact that did not cause any scruples of consciousness to its protagonists."¹⁹¹

The leaders of the Basque renaissance stemmed from the same social fractions which had functioned as the organic intellectuals of the ruling classes during the ancien regime. They were members of a declining petty-bourgeoisie who -through their role in the linguistic and cultural nationalist movement- staked a claim to continue their ideological leadership in the new industrial society.

190 Campi3n, for instance learnt Basque after being reproached in one occasion for not knowing the language. He later published important linguistic works such such as: *Ensayo acerca de las leyes fon3ticas del euskera and Gram3tica Bascongada de los cuatro dialectos literarios de la lengua euskara*. It is interesting to compare the cases of Unamuno and Arana: "... they both had the same age and were from Bilbao... They came from similar social backgrounds, from the sector of small landowners that provided the social base of *fueros* and nationalism... From Basque-speaking parents neither of them learnt Basque in their childhood and acquired it, through their personal effort, in their adolescence years." Juaristi (1987b:87), *Literatura vasca*. A similar phenomenon would repeat itself in the 1960s, among several of the intellectuals behind the project of unified Basque.

191 See Juaristi (1987:79), *El linaje de Aitor. La invenci3n de la tradici3n vasca*.

Purism allowed them to present their artificial variety of Basque as the "pure" one. In this sense a mechanism of inequality common to the relations between national languages and the dialects was reproduced in the social dialect propagated by purist writers. It legitimized the guiding role of intellectuals who claimed to know *proper* Basque. In a lecture delivered in 1919 Eleizalde argued that if the loss of the Basque language had started from the ruling classes it was necessary that its recuperation would follow a similar pattern:

"If the loss of euskera has come from the top to the bottom, from the supposedly preeminent classes to the people, it is natural and obliged, and also efficient, that the remedy comes along the same lines, that the bad example be followed by the good..."¹⁹²

And he urged that the leadership in the social restoration of the Basque language should be taken by "the high classes and the clergy":

"The leading and influential classes of society today are represented, as much or even more than by birth, by fortune and intellectual culture: among them we have, of course, the elite of men of liberal professions. These classes must give the example of the social rehabilitation of euskera in the complete security that the people will follow the good example given from above."¹⁹³

6.2.4 Other positions about the language issue

The impending decease of the Basque language was a widely accepted view in the late 19th century. People from different political positions agreed that the decline of the language was not simply due to Spanish influence but that the Basques were turning their backs upon their language. Even Arana blamed the Basques themselves for the loss of their language:

192 Eleizalde (1920:430), *La lucha por el idioma*.

193 Eleizalde (1920:431), *La lucha por el idioma*.

"Basque is dying, it is true. It is not being killed by strangers. The Basques themselves are killing it. A long time ago they started denying it nourishment and even air to breath."¹⁹⁴

The question of what to do about the declining Basque language became a debate of central political and cultural importance. Nationalism with its purist position created a great controversy and granted the language issue a large visibility in public opinion.

One of the hardest critics of the purist movement was Unamuno. He compared the purist activities to the creation of the artificial language Volapuk. He condemned purism not only because it distorted the authentic, still alive Basque varieties, but because it would also prevent the preservation of the few remains of the language for the future:

"The only thing we can do... is to embalm it [the Basque language] in science; to preserve with devotion its remains before they fall into oblivion; to erect a funerary monument. And this monument, which will show future generations the love of the Basques to their race and to their old language will only be blemished with fantastic inventions, with fancy corrections of what is alive, with the ridiculous attempts to create a Volapuk."¹⁹⁵

Unamuno was convinced that the Basque language, through its immense dialectal fragmentation and in a situation of rapid industrialization, was doomed and that all attempts to stop its decline would be in vain. In a speech at the Bilbao Festivals of 1901 he declared that:

"Basque is being lost and no human effort can possibly prevent its extinction; it dies by law of life. Let us not mourn that its body dies if its soul endures."¹⁹⁶

He regarded the Basque country as an integral part of Spain, and saw the contributions of the Basque people to world history as being only possible through

¹⁹⁴ Sabino Arana, quoted in Lorenzo Espinosa, J.M. (1992:269), *Gudari, una pasión útil. Eli Gallastegi (1892-1974)*.

¹⁹⁵ Unamuno, "La cuestión del vascuence". For comments on this aspects of Unamuno's thought see Martín de Ugalde (1979), *Unamuno y el vascuence*.

¹⁹⁶ Unamuno (1945:373), *Ensayos*.

the channel of Spain. Unamuno used the metaphor of a small river whose water flows into the larger one of Spanish civilization. The "spirit" of the Basque language would endure by joining and enriching the Spanish language and culture.

The socialist newspaper *La lucha de clases* believed that Basque was: "*like a person sick of tuberculosis in last degree that unavoidably dies.*"¹⁹⁷ The metaphor of tuberculosis, a disease that decimated the working class and that symbolically stood for all the malaises of industrialization, could not have been more appropriate here. For the socialists, engaged in fighting social injustice, the question of the Basque language appeared irrelevant. In a polemic account of ten years of nationalist political activity (still known as *bizkaitarrismo*, or Vizcayan-ism) the socialist leader Meabe accused the nationalists of using the language as a attempt to diverge attention from the great social problems of the time:

"What has *bizkaitarrismo* done in this time? It has been concerned with Basque history and Basque orthography, with commemorating old battles... and in the meantime the disinherited fell in the harsh encounter with misfortune."¹⁹⁸

In a spirit of internationalism the socialists argued on the contrary for the necessity of an universal language:

"Talking about a small country and pretending to preserve a regional language when everything tends towards universalization is a great madness. What we need is a large country, as large as possible, so that we all treat each other like brothers at least to some degree, and we need a universal language so that we can all understand each other."¹⁹⁹

Among the working class there was a small but active Esperanto movement in Bilbao and the mining area.²⁰⁰ But as opposed to Arana's idea of an artificial

197 *La lucha de clases*, October 5th, 1901.

198 Tomás de Meabe, "Los antepasados y sus leyes", in *La Lucha de clases*. Quoted in Solozabal (1975:203), *El primer nacionalismo vasco*.

199 Quoted in Elorza (1978:141), *Ideologías del nacionalismo vasco*.

200 Olabarri Gortázar (1978:100), *Relaciones laborales en*
(continued...)

language which was exclusivist, the socialist Esperanto movement tried to include the whole of mankind.

For the nationalist bourgeoisie the issue of the Basque language was rather secondary. Their cultural mouthpiece, the magazine *Hermes* (published between 1917 and 1922)²⁰¹, was concerned with presenting a modernist image of the Basque country in which the vernacular language and rural culture did not fit well. The magazine avoided the exaltation of the countryside that had been typical of early nationalism.²⁰² Its tendency was to identify the whole Basque country with Bilbao, the major industrial and financial center. While lip-service was paid to the value of the vernacular it included scarce contributions to Basque topics and just a few Basque poems.²⁰³

6.2.5 The growing importance of the Basque language in the definition of Basque nationality

Inside the nationalist movement there was also an increasing critique against purism which saw language merely as an abstract symbol rather than as a constitutive part of the identity of the Basque people. Thus the preservation of the *living* Basque

200(...continued)
Vizcaya (1890-1936).

201 The bourgeois inspiration of the magazine is clear from the following statement of its founder and editor: "For us Basque nationalists the national wealth is directly linked to the very essence of nationality. We know that without public wealth no nationality can revive or citizen's rights can have any effect... Wealth is the foundation of nationality. Nationalism considers its holders, regardless of their political ideas as an intangible element of nationality." Jesús de Sarría, *Ideología del nacionalismo vasco* (1918:66-67). Quoted by Mainer (1982:132), *Regionalismo, burguesía y cultura*.

202 Mainer (1982:128), *Regionalismo, burguesía y cultura*.

203 On the other hand major Spanish and foreign writers, such as Ezra Pound, contributed articles to the magazine.

language became a growing concern in nationalist thinking which embodied a full-scale cultural campaign for the conquest of political power.

While early nationalism was grounded on a racist conception of Basque nationality this was increasingly replaced by a fully-fledged conception of Basque identity based on language and culture. In a 1918 lecture the nationalist theoretician Eleizalde said:

"... in order to determine the character of a race, of a nationality, craniometric measures are not enough, it is necessary to take into account the intellectual activity of the whole, whose principal sign and at the same time medium is language."²⁰⁴

A three-stage program was proposed by Eleizalde for the long-term development of Basque nationalism in which the cultivation of language and culture played a fundamental role:

"First comes the social and cultural stage, in which the consciousness of nationality wakes up and takes root, here the socio-political program of the future will be formulated. This is the fundamental stage, the stage of schools, academies and cultural societies, of scientific and literary publications, of workers cooperatives, of research congresses, of social weeks, etc. Next comes the political stage, although the earlier one is not complete and continues its existence. During this stage nationalism, through its parliamentary and administrative representation, tries to incorporate to public life the set of solutions studied and elaborated during the earlier stage. This second stage is one of elections, of political meetings and the whole movement that this kind of activity brings about. Finally comes the complete triumph and full power, which will be the more stable and solid the more conscientiously the work has been done in the earlier stages."²⁰⁵

Eleizalde considered the Basque language an essential part of the moral character of the Basque people, and not simply a barrier to negative foreign influences:

"From a moral point of view a people that lose their language are fatally condemned to degrade themselves with the utilitarianism and materialism of today's industrial and centralized society, through the corrosive and dissolvent action of the low city press,

204 Eleizalde (1920:14), *La lucha por el idioma*.

205 Eleizalde, "Etapas del nacionalismo" in *Euzkadi* 4-12-1921. Quoted in Arrien Berrojaechearría (1987:101-2), *Educación, y escuelas de barriada de Bizkaia. (Escuelas y autonomía 1896-1936)*.

through the inevitable tendency to copy the worst and most vicious of the foreign character, because it is the easiest to copy."²⁰⁶

Other nationalist writers like Campi3n equally underlined the linguistic element in the definition of nationality:

"... Basque is the congenital language of the Basque race that has not received it from any other alien race. It is the most original of all its characters."²⁰⁷

This new emphasis on language and culture necessarily clashed with the exaggerations of purism which started being questioned in the 1910s. In 1920 a group of writers founded the society "*Euskaltzaleak*" (Friends of the Basque language) which tried to keep distance from the exaggerations of purism and to create a more popular literature. By the 1930s many Basque intellectuals were openly advocating the abandonment of purist principles.²⁰⁸ The prestigious writer Severo Altube criticized the purist orientation of the Basque "renaissance" in a 1933 lecture:

"There was, therefore, a most profound mistake: the plan of the renaissance should not have been to hassle, attack and take prestige away from the Basque then in use... but to admire and praise it as it deserved, trying of course, to improve and enrich it through literature, but without throwing away or scorning not even one of the morphological and syntactic elements which were sufficiently rooted in the people."²⁰⁹

The move away from purism was related to the emergence of a new breed of nationalist intellectuals. While the early spokesmen of Basque nationalism had largely been people from an urban Spanish-speaking petty-bourgeois background, this new group of intellectuals was largely recruited among the Basque-speaking clergy.

The Basque provinces were Catholic strongholds. In 1897 the provinces of Vizcaya, Guipuzcoa and Alava encompassed in the diocese of Vitoria comprised a number of 1,279 priests for a total population of 576,261 inhabitants, a figure comparatively

206 Eleizalde (1920:15-16), *La lucha por el idioma*.

207 Quoted in Huici Urmeneta (1981:657-8), "Ideology and pol3tica in Arturo Campi3n"

208 A good example is Ibar (1936), *Genio y lengua*.

209 Altube (1933:69), *La vida del euskera*.

much higher than in other parts of Spain (without counting a large numbers of nuns, monks and friars, and the influence of the Church and religious orders in education, charity and other institutions). The strong religious character of early nationalism constituted an obvious appeal for the Basque clergy which had traditionally sided with Carlism during the 19th century. However, it was not until the triumph of nationalism in the 1917 elections that a clear nationalist orientation can be observed among broad sections of the young Vizcayan clergy:

"The mobilization of the young Basque clergy after the nationalist ideology brought with itself the decisive will to recruit the people in a new inter-class politics, that attempted to hide class struggle, through the proclamation of fraternity in race and common religious faith."²¹⁰

These nationalist priests have been described as playing a disproportionate role - considering their small numbers- in the spread of nationalism:

"Their main activity will take place in the labor camp, supporting *Solidaridad de Obreros Vascos*, but their participation in the cultural camp was also decisive, and even so in the folkloric..."²¹¹

As opposed to the urban intelligentsia, represented by lawyers and bureaucrats, the clergy largely originated from the Basque-speaking countryside and many priests came from poor rural backgrounds. Unlike the children of the primarily Spanish-speaking Basque bourgeoisie or landowners who could afford an education at the universities of Salamanca or Madrid, children of peasant families only had the opportunity of attending the local seminary at Vitoria. They often returned to their places of origin after completing their studies.²¹² Due to the lack of institutions of higher education in the Basque country until recently the Church was the only institution that enabled the pursuit of intellectual activities with a local orientation. The clergy was also practically the only social group that had historically made any contribution to Basque literature.

210 García de Cortazar (1982:227), "La Iglesia vasca. Del Carlismo al nacionalismo"

211 Elorza (1978:190-91), *Ideologías del nacionalismo vasco*.

212 Ugalde (1979:36-37), *Unamuno y el vascuence*.

The clergy were conscious of their role as a leading intellectual force in the Basque cultural movement. In 1918, one year after the nationalist victory in the Vizcayan elections, Manuel de Lekuona, a priest and scholar, said in a lecture at the Vitoria seminary:

"Because, my dear seminarists, priests of tomorrow, it is necessary that in this Basque cultural movement you are the vanguard, take the initiative... Culture is a field in which you also have to intervene... and intervene as who you are: salt of the earth, light of the world..."²¹³

The whole political and cultural activity about the language issue was accompanied by a scientific preoccupation. Since the early twentieth century an intense movement of scientific organization and research brought about the foundation of the intellectual society "Eusko-Ikaskuntza - Sociedad de Estudios Vascos",²¹⁴ the establishment of the scholarly journal "*Revista Internacional de Estudios Vascos*" and the organization of several Basque Studies Congresses (the first one in 1918).

The leading Basque intellectuals tried to bring a new tone to Basque studies and free them from the charlatanery in which they had been surrounded for centuries,²¹⁵ a development that some authors have even seen as a qualitatively new approach.²¹⁶

Another fruit of these intellectual labours was the creation of the Basque Academy of Language or "*Euskaltzaindia*" in 1918. One of the objectives of the Academy was to work toward the establishment of a literary standard.

213 Lekuona (1978:158), *Obras completas*, vol. 1.

214 Estornés Zubizarreta (1990), *La contrucción de una nacionalidad vasca. El autonomismo de Eusko-Ikaskuntza (1918-1931)*.

215 See Tovar (1980), *Mitología e ideología sobre la lengua vasca. Historia de los estudios sobre ella*.

216 "... the scientific and modernist orientation of the Basque Studies Society represents a significant break from the nostalgic and traditional rhetoric one associates with Basque nationalism. From the perspective of Society members -many of whom, it should be stressed, were strongly nationalist- Basque society, in order to survive did not so much have to be *sheltered* from contact as it had to be properly *managed*." Urla (1988:384), "Ethnic protest and social planning: a look at Basque language revival".

There had already been some attempts in the early years of the 20th century to arrive at a standardized Basque orthography but they were unsuccessful. Two congresses were called for this purpose: the first in Hendaye in 1901 and the second in Fuenterrabia in 1902, but they ended amid great controversy and with no concrete results. Arana was accused of sending many of his supporters in order to impose his own orthographical reform.

The Language Academy however took the goal of standardization seriously and even inscribed it into its foundational statutes. The sixth article states that the Academy will:

"... preferably work in forming a literary language unified in lexicon, syntax and orthography that nourishing from the sap of all the dialects will enable us to enjoy a common literary language."²¹⁷

Soon after the Academy's foundation two of its members -Cami3n and Broussain- were commissioned to make an inquiry into the possible alternatives for the creation of a standard Basque. Together with their recommendations the report -published in 1920- mentioned four major reasons contributing to the decline of Basque:²¹⁸

- The disinterest or even contempt with which the high classes regarded the language.
- Compulsory military service and the Spanish school system.
- The large variety of dialects, subdialects and varieties of the language that made communication among Basque speakers difficult and forced them to use Spanish or French when dialectal differences were very deep.
- The growing poverty of Basque vocabulary.

Cami3n and Broussain concluded from this analysis that: "*Either the Basque language unifies... or it will inevitably degenerate into a patois and die.*" They

217 Euskaltzaindia (1984:116), *A Brief History of Euskaltzaindia, Royal Academy of the Basque Language.*

218 Cami3n and Broussain, (1920), *Informe de los se1ores acad3micos A. Cami3n y P. Broussain a la Academia de la lengua vasca sobre unificaci3n del euskera.* It was also published later in the Academy's journal *Euskera* (1922:4-17).

proposed three possible models for standardization:²¹⁹ a) to choose one of the existing dialects as the standard one, b) to create an artificial standard variety and c) to take the central Guipuzcoan dialect as the base of the future standard and enrich it with contributions from other dialects.

The first suggestion was regarded as a discrimination against speakers of other dialects and thus was rejected. The second one, which has been the guideline of today's unified Basque *batua*, was considered at the time too complicated to be practicable. The last alternative, which was supported by Azkue the first president of the Academy, was seen as more reasonable. However, standardization was seen as a medium- to long-term process. In 1934 Azkue published *Gipuzkera Osotua*, which contained a sketch of the future standard.

However, the coming of the Spanish Civil War and the succeeding Franco Dictatorship paralyzed the further development of the standardization project. And it was not until the 1960s when a new generation of young intellectuals addressed the topic again.

Today the Basque language -euskera- has become a central question for radical nationalism. A manifest of the Basque independentist organization E.T.A. published in the 1970s asserts:

"For a Basque that deserves such a name, the problem of the survival or disappearance of the *only Basque national language* must be vital... A Basque for whom the problem of Euskera is not decisive is a traitor."²²⁰

219 Arana's orthographic innovations were not without influence even for those who did not accept them. In the original Spanish text the two members of the Academy choose the traditional Basque term to refer to the Basque country "Euskal-Erri" (Euskalherria in today's standard spelling). However, in referring to Vizcaya they break with Spanish orthographic norms and they use the spelling "Bizkaya" that bears witness to Arana's influence ("b" for "v" and "k" for "c").

220 From *Euskera y patriotismo vasco*, quoted in Azkona (1984:113), *Etnia y nacionalismo vasco. Una aproximación desde la antropología*.

6.3 Wales

6.3.1 The ideological hegemony of Liberalism in Wales and the challenge of the working class movement

While during the early period of Welsh industrialization there were violent working class protest movements, the second half of the 19th century was a relatively quiet period of industrial relations. This was a result of the alliance between the emerging Welsh bourgeoisie, the peasantry and the working class against the anglicized Welsh gentry. The Welsh origin of both coalowners and miners provided a certain cultural cohesion in the coalfield at least for an early period. In the early nineteenth century the pits had been small in scale and the majority of the coalowners were Welshmen, lived locally and shared the same nonconformist faith of the workers. Miners' leaders in the late 19th often took a prominent part in the religious life of their district, and many were known as lay preachers. Under a compromise which stressed the mutuality of interests between owners and workers wage regulation was determined by the sliding-scale system which automatically adjusted wages to coal prices. Emphasis was laid upon conciliation and peaceful settlement:²²¹

"These were the days when miners' meetings and demonstrations were addressed by Liberal M.P.s... largely in the Welsh language, and to the accompaniment of Welsh hymns."²²²

By the 1870s liberalism emerged as the strongest party in Wales. Its superiority became even clearer after the Parliamentary Reform Act of 1884 and the enlargement of the franchise. The Welsh electorate of 74,936 voters in 1880 increased to 200,375

221 The early miners' leaders: "... sincerely believed in the identity of interest between capital and labour, and in the futility of the strike weapon." Evans, E.W. (1961:139), *The Miners of South Wales*.

222 Davies (1965:161), *Religion in the Industrial Revolution in South Wales*.

in 1885.²²³ With the expansion of the coal industry the Welsh bourgeoisie reached an unchallenged position in the second half of the 19th century.

"It was local entrepreneurs who dominated this second phase of industrialization. The Nonconformist petty bourgeoisie now became fully bourgeois, owners of capital and direct exploiters in their own right. The new positions of civil authority in the developing local and central state system were theirs for the taking. They emerged as Welsh-speaking, Nonconformist Liberals, leading Welsh radicalism into its most successful years."²²⁴

Liberalism and nonconformity - the two pillars of bourgeoisie hegemony in Wales - were largely indifferent to labour issues. Nonconformity had taken a radical position against the landowners in the countryside in the first half of the nineteenth century, but in the industrial areas it was more preoccupied with the issue of personal salvation than with social justice. Similarly, the Liberals were silent on industrial questions:

"Rather was it assumed that Liberalism in Wales as elsewhere united all the productive classes, middle and working class, against an anachronistic feudal order. The Liberal ethic presupposed the harmony of classes, a co-operative ethic to unite middle-class enterprise and working-class solidarity..."²²⁵

The Welsh bourgeoisie was thus only able to forge a temporary class alliance. After the six months strike of March-September 1898 socialism emerged as a strong political force in the coalfield. By 1905 twenty seven branches of the Independent Labour Party had been established in south Wales. And the almost one year long strike in 1910-11 against the giant coal company Cambrian Combine started a period of bitter class struggle. The Tonypany Riots of the same year witnessed a full scale confrontation with the army. The publication of *The Miners's Next Step* in 1912 - a pamphlet calling for revolutionary action - was another high point in the development of class struggle in the coalfield before World War I.

223 Jones, "Health, wealth and politics", in Jones (1987:347).

224 Adamson (1991:117), *Class, Ideology and the Nation. A Theory of Welsh Nationalism*.

225 Morgan (1981:53), *Rebirth of a Nation: Wales, 1880-1980*.

The common work experiences and the struggles for the improvement in the conditions of living contributed decisively to the formation of a class conscious proletariat in south Wales. The shift from a non-conformity dominated culture to an emerging working class culture was accompanied by the rapid reproduction of the English language. And here the vernacular language could not escape getting caught in the wider struggles.²²⁶

"On a much wider scale, the language question was hopelessly enmeshed with the social conflict. It was precisely against the world which the Welsh language had come to enshrine, at least in its official aspect, that these people [the miners] were rebelling. In many places at different times in the coalfield, the Welsh language was that of conservatism and accommodation."²²⁷

Nonconformity became increasingly alienated from the working class movement. After the great struggles of the the turn of the 20th century the working class abandoned a language which was very much identified with the chapels which had no interests in dealing with the social problems:

"To abandon Welsh became not only a valuational but also a symbolic gesture of rejection and of affirmation - the rejection of the political philosophy and the sham combination of Lib-Labism and the affirmation of new solidarities and new idealisms based upon a secular and anti-religious philosophy... What some thinkers had consistently feared had come about: the language and the religion which had grown together would decline together."²²⁸

Even in heavily Welsh-speaking areas preference was given to English by the miners themselves. The minutes of the South Wales Miners Federation highlight this transformation. Until 1901 the Rhonda District of the miners' Union - which

226 The nature of the work process which requires cooperation in a dangerous working environment has helped the spread of a lingua franca in multilingual mining situations. This has been the case in the Zambian copper belt studied by British social anthropologists in the 1950s where a pidgin language developed as a means of wider communication. See Fabian (1986), *Language and Colonial Power. The Appropriation of Swahili in the former Belgian Congo 1880-1938*.

227 Williams, G.A. (1985:248), *When was Wales?*

228 Quoted in Jones, I.G. (1980:68-69), "Language and community in nineteenth century Wales".

contained a heavy concentration of Welsh speakers - printed its rules in English and Welsh. From 1901 to 1907 they summarized every report in Welsh. From 1908 to 1911 they simply gave a synopsis of the whole minutes in Welsh. After 1911 only the agenda was given in Welsh. In July 1909 the Chairman asked at the monthly meeting: "*Is there anyone who wants the resolution in Welsh?*" - to which the delegate from Lodge 22 replied, '*Everyone here understands English*'.²²⁹

It would be insufficient to characterize English merely as an utilitarian language, or to emphasize solely its political dimension as the language of a British working class, ignoring its cultural dimensions. English offered immense and exciting new perspectives, especially in a small parochial country. As G. A. Williams puts it: "*No one can miss the sense of liberation which swept over many young people at this time on being admitted to a world language of infinite scope...*"²³⁰ Furthermore, the whole impact of the new popular culture in music and movies must be considered. The Welsh language which was largely restricted to religion could offer few cultural alternatives in this situation. The Welsh language had very much become:

"... the language of the chapel, of political interests which seemed irrelevant, of a rather meager recent literature which did not connect. Ironically, it was at this very time that Welsh-language culture was entering its twentieth-century renaissance, in the new dramatic, forceful, high-quality writing of such as T. Gwynn Jones, W.J. Gruffydd, Silyn Roberts... But such people were by then remote. Most of the Welsh-language literary culture of the time *was* irrelevant to a majority of the Welsh people, as irrelevant to living concerns as a folk museum to Mardy Lodge."²³¹

6.3.2 The language issue and nonconformity

During the second half of the 19th century - the period of flourishing of the Lib-Lab class alliance - the Welsh language enjoyed a rich literary life. It has been calculated that in 1866 five quarterlies, twenty-five monthlies and eight weeklies were

229 Quoted in Smith, D. (1980:12), "Wales through the looking glass".

230 Williams, G.A. (1985:247), *When was Wales?*

231 Williams, G.A. (1985:247-48), *When was Wales?*

published in the Welsh language.²³² This created a feeling of assurance about the future of the language among some people. In an article entitled "The Welsh Language" in the *Welsh Encyclopedia* of 1891, Morris Jones claimed confidently that:

"More people speak it today than ever in its history; it is more widely read in proportion to its speakers than, possibly, any other language. One quarterly and two bimonthly magazines are published in it, some fifteen monthlies, as well as eighteen or twenty weekly papers. It has at last been given recognition by the British government; acts of parliament and other parliamentary papers are translated into it. The government pays for teaching it as a special subject in primary schools... A century ago it was prophesied that it would be extinct within a hundred years. No-one today would dare utter a similar prophecy."²³³

Despite the apparent strength of the language, there was a cultural ambivalence among the Welsh intellectuals represented by the leaders of nonconformity. English was conceptualized as the language necessary to do well in the world. As a Welsh entrepreneur put it:

"If you wish to continue to eat black bread and to lie in straw beds carry on shouting 'Long live the Welsh language'. But if you wish to eat white bread and roast beef you must learn English."²³⁴

However, English was also regarded as the carrier of subversive ideas like infidelity and atheism. In an address to the Congregational Union of England and Wales in 1865 Thomas Rees said:

"The country [Wales] is in a state of transition. English men, English capital and enterprise, English customs, and, unhappily, English vices, with very little English virtue and religion, are rushing in upon us, like mighty irresistible torrents carrying

232 See Morgan (1981:21), *Rebirth of a Nation: Wales, 1880-1980*.

233 Quoted in B.L. Jones (1984:40), "Linguistic conservatism and shifting bilingualism".

234 Quoted in Jones, I.G. (1980:62), "Language and community in nineteenth century Wales".

away before then our ancient language, social habits, and even our religious customs and influence over the masses."²³⁵

On the other hand, Welsh was considered as a defense against the spread of irreligion and radical ideas.²³⁶

"It was accepted without question that Welsh was a barrier to lax morals and evil customs, that as one moved nearer the English border and the predominance of the English language that the people became more and more degenerate. The Welsh language protected the people against slavery and oppression: it gave the worker a dignity which his English fellow-worker could not possibly have."²³⁷

For the leadership of nonconformity English became a potential threat to Welsh culture. However, with the flood of in-migration into the Welsh industrial areas the nonconformist denominations were forced to face the question of language. But it was felt that the problem could be solved through a policy of accommodation which would both preserve the vernacular language and bring additional benefits:

"First, although they [the nonconformist leaders] noted the growth of the English increment in the inflow of people into the new and old urban places, the sheer size of the Welsh contribution would have reassured them of the stability and durability of the religious culture which they led... Second, it seemed to them that in those conditions, wherever they were reproduced, it was possible to have the best of both worlds. Let the children learn English, not only in order to be better equipped for the competitive business of life outside the chapel -and what calvinistic Methodist ever doubted the

235 Quoted in Davies (1965:167), *Religion in the Industrial Revolution in South Wales*.

236 As the president of the Gwyneddigion Eisteddfod in Denbigh stated in 1828: "It is not, gentlemen, in my estimation the least valuable feature in the advantages of the Welsh language, that it has been the means of preserving the Welsh peasantry... from the pestilent contamination of such writers and Paine, Hone, Carlile, and I will even add Cobbett... Wales has remained in a state of peaceable subordination." Quoted in I.G. Jones (1980:65), "Language and community in nineteenth century Wales"

237 Jones, I.G., (1987:155), *Communities. Essays in the Social History of Wales*.

value of the protestant ethic?- but also in order to be made free of the classics of English religious and devotional literature."²³⁸

The missionary zeal of the nonconformist denominations led to a powerful programme of chapel building. This was supported by the widespread belief that the working classes suffered from 'religious deprivation' due to a lack of provision of places for religious instruction and worship. Their goal was to gain the English in-migrants and anglicized Welsh people into the chapels. The leaders of nonconformity believed that:

"... it was the religion of Wales that was its distinguishing mark, and it was to the purity and virility of this religion as embodied in the experiences of countless men and women that they devoted their lives. They were not blind to the role of the Welsh language in this: it is simply that they gave the priority to religion and morality."²³⁹

In the process nonconformity itself became increasingly anglicized. This also had to do with the attitude of Welsh nonconformity toward English in-migrants, which was quite different from that of Basque nationalism toward Spanish in-migrants. Religion was a primary concern of both. But in Wales the challenge posed to the native culture by large-scale in-migration was answered by attempting their integration, while in the Basque country by seeking their segregation. Welsh identity did not mark itself through a racial opposition between Welsh and foreigners as was the case in the Basque country, but rather through the opposition between the chapel and the public house. Drink was accordingly seen as a great evil.²⁴⁰

Inside the chapels the debate about which language to use gained growing importance. In Monmouthshire, for instance, where a clear linguistic frontier existed between the Welsh north and the English south the Baptists embarked on an anglicizing policy since early on:

238 Jones, I.G. (1987:229-30), *Communities*.

239 Jones, I.G. (1980:233-34), "Language and community in nineteenth century Wales".

240 The temperance campaign culminated with the passing of the Welsh Sunday Closing Act in 1881.

"Not only were the Baptists following an English policy in respect of their language of worship, but their Sunday schools were largely bilingual from an early date... The Welsh Baptists were easily the most anglicized and anglicizing denomination among the Welsh Nonconformists."²⁴¹

It seems that some leaders of nonconformity were prepared, if necessary, to sacrifice language to religion:

"Welsh religion must be given and English dress whenever it was necessary. In bilingual areas the service should become bilingual with the major role being taken by the dominant language of the locality. In towns and in anglicized parts of the countryside chapels must be provided and it was believed that if such chapels were founded by Welsh mother-churches and maintained in a close connection they would effectively provide English speakers with an essentially 'Welsh' religion."²⁴²

Other religious bodies like the Calvinistic Methodists, however, were not prepared to make any language changes and this may be explained by the fact that, as opposed to the Baptists and the Independentists, they were entirely a Welsh religious body in their origin in the eighteenth century and had no connection with larger unions which were more English than Welsh in their ramifications.

The centrality of the question of Disestablishment for the Welsh nonconformist denominations during the 19th century resulted in a certain deviation from other political themes such as demands of a nationalist character. This was quite different from Ireland where separation and home rule were the crucial demands. Thus, it was the struggle for Disestablishment at the political level and against secularization and irreligiosity which stood at the center of their preoccupations.

6.3.3 The development of education

The nonconformist chapels have been a major educational institution in Wales. The chapels provided not only Sunday schools teaching the Welsh Bible, but also day schools teaching English literacy:

²⁴¹ Davies, E.T. (1965:71), *Religion in the Industrial Revolution in South Wales*.

²⁴² Jones, I.G. (1987:230-31), *Communities*.

"Many ministers supplemented their stipends in this way; for generally the coalfield ministers earned about the same as the colliers who subscribed to their keep. In a chapel society there was but little need to stimulate a demand for education: basic literacy, which was the achievement of the chapels opened eyes to its worth, created a demand for its realization, and made possible the creation of an educated elite among the colliers themselves upon whom the communities relied for leadership."²⁴³

The first to start English education in Wales was the National Society, an organization of the Anglican Church, which began establishing schools since 1811. The spread of English education in Wales proceeded however slowly until the mid-19th century. Several Official Commissions (1840, 1848, 1858) had investigated the state of education in Wales which was shown to be in a poor shape. The 1848 Commissioners even remarked that many teachers had an imperfect knowledge of English.

The Forster Education Act of 1870 introduced English compulsory education. The new educational system cemented the leadership for the middle-classes which the industrial revolution had produced in the iron and coal districts:

"They produced the first professional class in this society, a class which consisted for a long time of the children of Nonconformist ministers, tradesmen and colliery officials. These children passed through the schools to become lawyers, doctors and schoolmasters, and although many were to leave the industrial scene for other pastures, those who stayed at home became prominent in their circles. It was Welsh Nonconformity which largely benefitted from this grammar-school education and its social results, for the schools were Welsh in atmosphere and, although unsectarian in religion, their ethos was Nonconformist."²⁴⁴

However, as Southall pointed out, the school system was far from functioning as well as it was supposed to do and in some Welsh-speaking areas even by the end of the nineteenth century English was still ignored by many children despite compulsory education:

"The percentages [of Welsh speakers] existing in West Wales after 21 years of Foster's Education Act, constitute a remarkable testimony both to the vitality of the language,

243 Jones, I.G., (1987:128-29), *Communities*.

244 Davies (1965:146), *Religion in the Industrial Revolution in South Wales*.

and to the comparative inefficiency of a system which was intended to minimize, if not to obliterate, the distinctions caused by the former."²⁴⁵

Out of the realization of the English-only model of education was insufficient came the conviction that bilingual education would be an appropriate means for spreading *the knowledge of English*. Early educational experiences like the National Society were completely English-medium. But the futility of completely suppressing Welsh soon became evident. However, early attempts of introducing bilingual instruction clashed with the attitudes of the parents who opposed it:

"In one of the society's schools, it was reported, instruction in Welsh reading was given despite disapproval of the parents who insisted on a purely English education for their children. This was the start of the claim that Welsh had a right to a place in the National Society system - a claim which gradually won its way until its leaders were strongly advocating bilingualism."²⁴⁶

This bilingualism was however primarily intended as a tool for the better acquisition of English. The interest for the promotion of bilingual education advanced with the century.²⁴⁷ This interest was expressed in the foundation of the "Society for the use of the Welsh language" in the 1880s. The "Welsh Intermediate Education Act" of 1889 introduced bilingual education and in 1891 Welsh was offered as an optional subject for the advanced levels. By 1914 the teaching of Welsh was widespread both in the rural and industrial areas:

"... by the 1880s a view of the proper educational use of Welsh had matured and had found support in respectable Welsh society. This was a far cry from the early nineteenth century when a total neglect of Welsh in the day schools was the rule."²⁴⁸

245 Southall (1904:31), *The Welsh Language Census of 1901. Shewing the Population of each Urban and Rural District in Wales with the Percentage of Welsh Speakers in Each. Also a Coloured Linguistic Map of Wales with Chapter on Welsh in the Schools.*

246 Durzack (1983:157-58), *The Decline of the Celtic Languages.*

247 In 1864 James Jones published *A Few Plain Hints and Suggestions for Teaching English in Welsh Country Schools* which was favourably received by educational authorities.

248 Durzack (1983:167), *The Decline of the Celtic Languages.*

But the consciousness about the important of bilingual education also reflects an awareness about the decline of the vernacular. From its early objective as a way of spreading English, bilingual education became an instrument for the preservation of Welsh. By the time bilingual education has achieved respectability in the official school system the Welsh language had entered an irreversible process of decline. Southall praised the educational attempts taking place in Wales toward the end of the 19th century (the expansion of primary and secondary education, the establishment of a university). He felt that this would encourage the development of Welsh culture. However, this would not be enough in itself to save the language since:

"In reality, however, the future of Welsh lies rather with the mass of the working population than with a few of the middle class."²⁴⁹

6.4 Conclusion

During the late 1870s a dramatic change took place in the political structure of the Basque country and Wales. The abolition of the *Fueros* gave way to a period of almost absolute rule by the industrial and financial bourgeoisie in the Basque country. In Wales the elections of 1880 represented an all-out victory for the Liberal Party. These political changes had been on the making for decades.

In Wales the native culture, coated by a mantle of Liberalism and nonconformist radical protest achieved a hegemonic position in the country for almost half a century along with the victory of the native bourgeoisie against the anglicized Welsh landowners. The strength of Welsh culture in the second half of the nineteenth century was reinforced by the important presence of native Welshmen among the working class of the industrial communities in the coalfield. But after the bourgeoisie had taken the dominant position the Lib-Lab alliance broke up and the social conflict took on the form of class struggle. Since the turn of the twentieth century the

249 Southall (1904:32), *The Welsh Language Census of 1901. Shewing the Population of each Urban and Rural District in Wales with the Percentage of Welsh Speakers in Each. Also a Coloured Linguistic Map of Wales with Chapter on Welsh in the Schools.*

dominant nonconformity-based Welsh culture eventually gave way to an English-based, socialist-inspired working class culture which developed with the deepening of industrialization.

In the Basque country the victory of the weak bourgeoisie could only be obtained through the intervention of the Spanish army. The uprising of the Basque peasantry and a sector of the feudal ruling class against capitalist encroachment was defeated during the Carlist Wars. The traditional social structure disintegrated under the new capitalist mode of production. The feeling of occupation and defeat led to the interpretation of the new social problems of industrialization as a form of national oppression. Some of the moral and cultural values of the old order found a new expression in the emerging ideology of Basque nationalism. In this political and cultural context the vernacular language became a symbolic reference for a society that was being ruthlessly swept aside by the expansion of capitalist relations of production. Language purism was a product of a declining class -the urban petty-bourgeoisie- trying to use the vernacular language to gain back their intellectual leadership.

In Wales the social conflicts of capitalism were not perceived in national terms as in the Basque country but rather in terms of class struggle. For this reason the development of a nationalist party did not take place until 1926. Its first timid electoral victories have only occurred since the mid-1960s. Similarly, the language movement -in the sense of a conscious militant attempt to save the language- has only started since the 1960s with the creation of "The Welsh language Society".

7 CONCLUSION

7.1 The specific nature of language reproduction under capitalist industrialization

In the early 19th century the Basque and Welsh languages were widely spoken and many people were even vernacular monolinguals. But by the end of the First World War the vernaculars were habitually spoken mostly by an aging population in the depressed countryside while the majority of the people, now residing in urban areas, largely used the national languages in their everyday lives. Nowadays only a bilingual minority of around 20 per cent in the Basque country and 17 per cent in Wales are able to speak the vernaculars. This drastic decline of the vernaculars within little more than a century can only be understood considering the expansion of the capitalist mode of production and specifically of capitalist industrialization.

Spanish and English had already achieved a measure of standardization by the Renaissance, technical advances like the press were already available and sectors of the Basque and Welsh population could speak the state standards and were even literate in them. However, the vernaculars had no difficulties in their continued reproduction. This was due to the administrative and bureaucratic functions of the state language in feudal society while the vernacular varieties were employed by the majority of the population in production and everyday life. This functional specialization in language use is essentially captured in Ferguson's concept of diglossia.

Under feudalism production and exchange took place in relatively small-scale geographical units. In this situation a sociolinguistic arrangement was possible whereby the direct producers in the rural communities preserved their local speech varieties. The emerging bourgeoisie and the representatives of state apparatuses, on the other hand, resorted to the state standard.

But with the breakup of feudal relations of production and the establishment of capitalism as the dominant mode of production, which resulted in the exodus of the

rural population into the cities, the communicative and linguistic balance was fundamentally and irreversibly overturned.

Under capitalist conditions a common instrument of communication was an objective requirement of factory production where people of different linguistic backgrounds worked cooperatively. This role would be fulfilled by the national language which also became increasingly necessary in order to participate in the new communicative forms of urban life. Ravenstein's observation that many people were reported to understand English but were not able to speak it²⁵⁰ suggests that bilingualism was already spreading in the early period of industrialization out of the need of communication at work.

Capitalist industrialization took place under the new political form of the nation state which came into existence largely through a series of bourgeois revolutions during the nineteenth century. The nation state supplied the institutional framework which guaranteed the creation of an internal market and the protection of the national industry against foreign interests.

Furthermore, the capitalist state intervened in language matters in a way that was unknown in any other former modes of production. The English state, for instance, had made English the official language in Wales in 1536, but this was largely restricted to the administration of justice. The capitalist nation state, on the other hand, made sure that the whole population acquires the national language through compulsory education. This responded to two major political and economic demands of language reproduction in the capitalist mode of production. One was the economic function of supplying a qualified labour force and helping to overcome linguistic and communicative barriers which could be a hurdle to the development of capitalist production. At the same time, the school propagates the ideology of the nation state and create its citizens.

The expansion of the national languages involves both coercion and consent. The coercive nature of the state standard is most obvious in the compulsory character of

250 See chapter 5.

schooling and in the common prohibition of speaking the vernacular at school and the punishment for doing so. But schooling does not only have the oppressive dimension of imposing a foreign language on a vernacular-speaking population and indoctrinating children into a national ideology. Schooling is necessary for participating in contemporary society and becomes a human right of which nobody should be deprived. The national language is thus not only a language of the bourgeoisie but is also accepted by the working class. It became the foundation of a capitalist culture which is not only a bourgeois culture but also a working class culture.

7.2 The situation of minority languages under capitalism

The expansion of capitalist industrialization set into motion large scale population movements which had a double negative impact on the vernacular languages. On the one hand, the demographic substance of the vernacular speech community in the rural areas was undermined. On the other hand, the massive migratory movements contributed decisively to making vernacular speakers into a minority. Despite of the fact that large numbers of vernacular speakers lived in the industrial areas in the Basque country and Wales they found themselves in an environment where the national language was the dominant means of communication.

The patterns and rhythms of industrialization allowed for some variations in this overall trend. The first phase of industrialization in Wales - until the 1870s - drew primarily on Welsh speakers and this gave the Welsh language and culture a strong presence in the mining and industrial districts. However the concentration of Welsh people in the industrial areas cannot be interpreted to mean that industrialization "saved" the Welsh language. When the general context is considered, there can be no doubt that industrialization was responsible for the transformation of Wales from a largely Welsh-speaking country in the mid-19th century to another where almost everyone knew English by 1931. And this happened in the period of a person's lifetime.

The new Welsh industrial communities - through the nature of communication in production and their linguistically mixed environment - contained a dynamic toward the growing reproduction of the national language, first through bilingualism and eventually ending in English monolingualism. The limited and restricted use of the language made it increasingly difficult to pass down the vernacular to the younger generations.

Under industrialization the national language became the language of production at the factory. Apart from the *lingua franca* function of the national language among people of mixed linguistic backgrounds, the minority languages themselves were not in a position to serve as communicative instruments in the new society. Basque, for example, was fractioned into countless varieties and lacked a written standard.

Even vernaculars which were already standardized - such as Welsh - lacked the necessary vocabulary for the new industrial society. And not being used in industrial production they were unable to modernize and keep up with social developments. As a result they became increasingly backward and entered into a process of deterioration characteristic of language death.

The "inferiority" of the minority languages vis-a-vis the national languages was thus not just an expression of prejudice or arrogance on the part of the dominant classes but was materially founded upon the inability of the vernaculars to participate in the new communicative relations of industrial capitalism. This inability was, on the other hand, not inherent to the linguistic structure of the vernaculars - as Unamuno and other scholars believed - but the historical product of a secular process of linguistic domination which provided the preconditions for the rapid decline of the vernaculars during the period of industrialization.

Being excluded from production, trade, administration and education the reproduction of minority languages fell on the family further restricting its range of communicative use. Even in many vernacular-speaking families the vernacular became more and more the language of the older generation, and in mixed family situations where only one of the parents spoke the vernacular it was often lost altogether.

Long term historical studies such as those of Pryce and the examination of census data demonstrate that the expansion of bilingualism and the resulting extinction of the vernacular monolingual population constituted the first step in the process of reproduction of the national languages. In a second historical stage the bilingual population increasingly abandoned the vernacular language.

The period between 1850 and 1920 encompasses a whole period of capitalist industrialization in the Basque country and Wales based upon iron and coal. This period of momentous socioeconomic and political transformation was accompanied by the completion of a process of bilingual expansion. By the end of the First World War the vernacular languages had practically lost their monoglot population and entered into an unstoppable process of decline.

The uneven nature of industrialization created strong regional differences in economic structure allowing the survival of the vernaculars in some areas. This is to be explained as a combination of the impact of historical processes and of capitalist industrialization.

In Wales the areas that underwent the direct impact of Norman colonization (such as the western lowlands and southern Pembrokeshire) and/or capitalist industrialization (the southern and northern coalfields) have largely lost the Welsh language. On the other hand, Welsh has survived much better in the uplands or on the west coastal areas which were not much affected by the earlier mentioned processes.

In the Basque country, the areas in Navarra and Alava that experienced the transit of foreign populations and the process of urbanization generated by the pilgrim road to Santiago lost Basque from an early time.

But in the rural areas of the coastal Basque provinces where the traditional productive activities continued the vernaculars survived. Nowadays the vernacular is still preserved in zones where a significant proportion of the population are employed in "traditional" activities like farming and fishing, although it must be emphasized that even there the Basque language finds itself in a situation of bilingualism. In urban areas, on the contrary, although a relatively large numbers of

vernacular speakers concentrate there the vernacular language could not reproduce itself.

The high percentages of vernacular speakers in some rural areas is however no guarantee either for the continued reproduction of the language in the future. These rural areas are marginalized in an economic sense and very insignificant demographically. The crucial point of the survival of the vernaculars revolves around the question of whether they can find some room in industrial production and in urban life in general.

The case of Guipuzcoa illustrates that a slower pace of industrialization based on small-scale, light industries that emerged out of a local tradition of iron manufacture and which drew upon the local population provided a better background for the survival of Basque. But even in these circumstances the expansion of bilingualism in the national language could not be stopped either because the vernacular language community was unavoidably inserted into a wider national society.

This raises an issue propagated in some nationalists political programs, namely that the creation of an independent nation state is the *only* way to guarantee the survival of minority languages. A national language has become - especially after the French Revolution - a major mark in the identity of a nation. This has generated, as a reaction, parallel movements of language revitalization among minorities which also see their languages as the major symbol of their nation and as oppressed by the national and/or colonial language.

Many nationalist movements make their minority languages into a symbol of identity and believe that through a political act the historical dynamics of language reproduction that led to their decline could be overturned. The experience of Ireland proves that this is not that easy.

Minority language have nowadays lost their communicative value in most productive contexts and their use is often restricted to serve as a badge of identity. Accordingly sociolinguistics investigations of vernacular languages concern themselves primarily with the ideological and symbolic aspects of minority language use. These research topics are both interesting and important. The problem with

many contemporary sociolinguistic studies is rather that by taking the reality of minority language use at face value (and not as the result of historical processes of social production) they make the mistake of trying to explain minority language decline on the basis of symbolic and ideological factors. From such an approach "ethnic identity", language attitudes and the free will of the individual speaker become the driving forces of language reproduction.

While some new perspectives like the so-called "political economy" of language have attempted to incorporate historical, political and economic factors into the analysis, they have continued defining linguistic minorities in ethnic and cultural terms. Such a definition precludes an interpretation that puts social production and class struggles as the driving forces of language reproduction.

A language can only survive if it is used and this primarily depends on whether it has a communicative role in production. During the period of capitalist industrialization the national language expelled the vernacular from most sectors of production. And whether minority languages can preserve their reduced space of use or can even expand into new domains will be crucial in determining their future survival.

APPENDIX A: WELSH BASE MAP AND DATA

The Welsh map (see Map 29) includes counties and county subdivisions at the levels of Urban Districts, Rural Districts, Municipal Boroughs and County Boroughs. It is a copy of the base map of the *National Atlas of Wales*.

A few corrections have been done on the original data in order to regularize it for the census years considered. Some areas have also been grouped in order to account for territorial changes over the census decades.

Map 29 Base map of Wales

Source: *National Atlas of Wales* (1986)

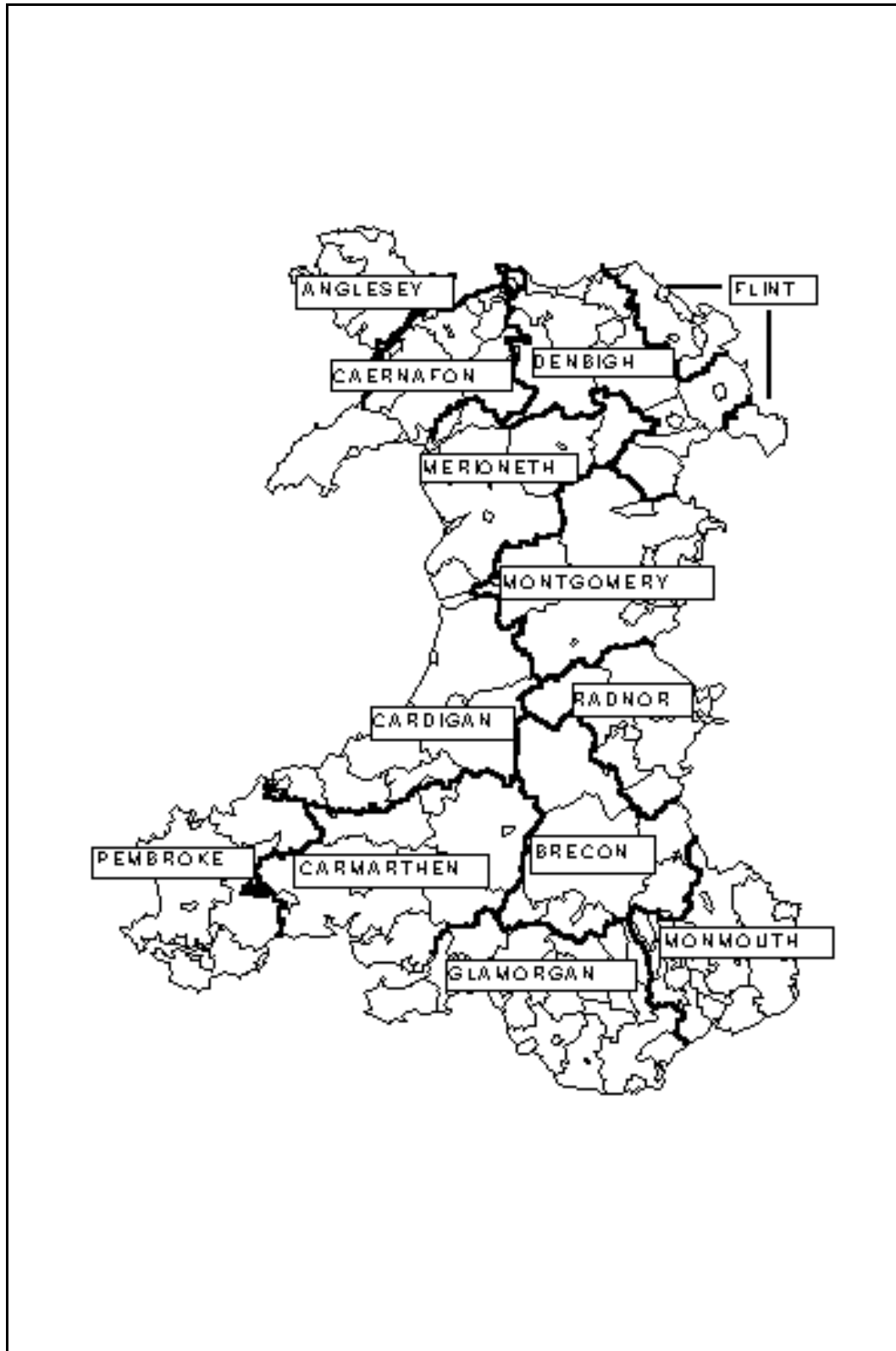


Table 26 Selected occupations in Wales & Glamorgan (1851-1921)
 (percentage of male employment)
 Source: *Digest of Welsh Historical Statistics* (1985:95-118)

	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921
WALES								
Professionals	1.77	1.84	1.95	2.54	2.57	2.82	2.77	2.82
Transport	4.18	5.37	5.72	7.48	9.03	10.64	10.57	10.72
Agriculture	35.09	30.72	24.08	20.43	17.19	13.98	11.87	10.76
Mines	16.94	18.09	19.31	20.76	25.12	28.82	31.69	31.58
Metals	9.24	11.21	11.57	11.34	10.84	10.37	11.23	11.46
Construction	6.76	7.54	7.24	8.14	7.65	7.94	7.42	6.93
GLAMORGAN								
Professionalss	1.50	1.46	1.63	2.19	2.19	2.55	2.51	2.55
Transport	6.64	8.02	9.12	10.55	11.16	13.16	12.62	12.17
Agriculture	15.50	11.51	8.20	5.98	4.21	3.10	2.48	2.33
Mines	26.32	27.31	26.88	28.89	34.21	37.19	39.33	38.80
Metals	16.12	18.08	17.60	15.95	12.92	12.45	12.65	12.48
Construction	7.45	7.87	6.99	7.88	7.65	7.14	6.90	6.01

	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921
Anglesey	57,327	54,609	51,040	51,416	50,098	50,606	50,928	51,744
Brecon	61,474	61,627	59,901	57,746	57,031	54,213	59,287	61,222
Caernarfon	87,870	95,694	106,121	119,349	118,204	125,649	125,043	130,975
Cardigan	70,796	72,245	73,441	70,270	62,630	61,078	59,879	60,881
Carmarthen	110,632	111,796	115,710	124,864	130,566	135,328	160,406	175,073
Denbigh	92,583	100,778	105,102	111,740	117,872	131,582	144,783	154,842
Flint	68,156	69,737	76,312	80,587	77,277	81,485	92,705	106,617
Glamorgan	231,849	317,752	397,859	551,433	687,218	859,931	1,120,910	1,252,481
Merioneth	38,843	38,963	46,598	52,038	49,212	48,852	45,565	45,087
Monmouth	157,418	174,633	195,448	211,267	252,416	298,076	395,719	450,794
Montgomer	67,335	66,919	67,623	65,718	58,003	54,901	53,146	51,263
Pembroke	94,140	96,278	91,998	91,824	89,133	87,894	89,960	91,978
Radnor	24,716	25,382	25,430	23,528	21,791	23,281	23,590	23,517
WALES	1,163,139	1,286,413	1,412,583	1,611,780	1,771,451	2,012,876	2,421,921	2,656,474

Table 27 Welsh population by county (1851-1921)
Source: Digest of Welsh Historical Statistics (1985:7-24)

Table 28 Migratory gain, loss and balance, Wales (1851-1921)
 Source: Based on *Digest of Welsh Historical Statistics* (1985:68-75)

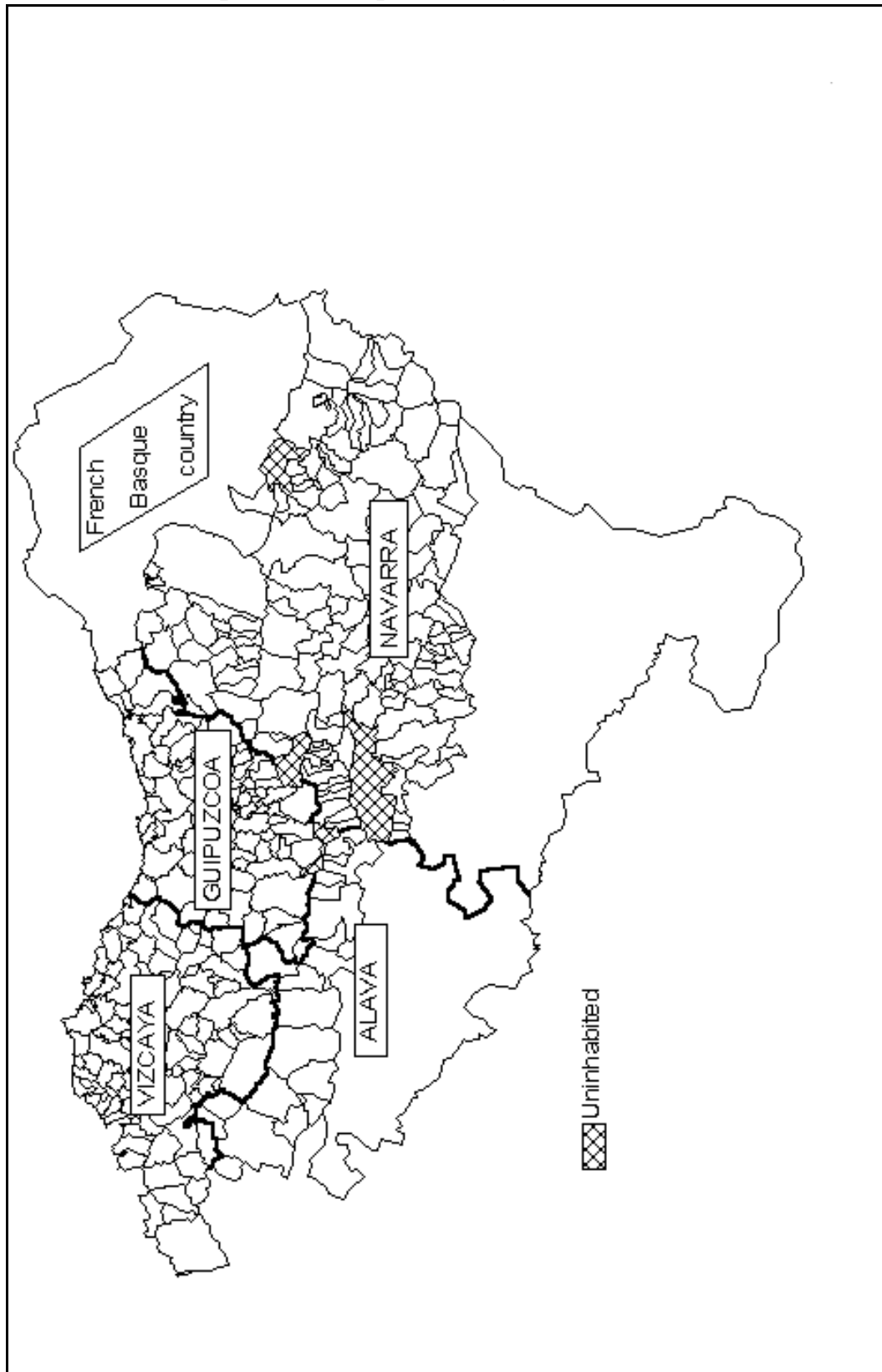
	1851-18	1861-187	1871-18	1881-18	1891-190	1901-19	1911-19
Migratory balance by county							
Anglesey	-4,959	-4,993	-2,418	-3,223	-1,538	-1,888	-1,394
Brecon	-6,618	-8,985	-9,475	-6,959	-5,579	-3,525	-3,694
Caernarfon	-4,467	-2,622	1,215	-8,459	2,812	-4,893	4,077
Cardigan	-9,313	-10,160	-11,314	-15,722	-7,268	-3,747	1,584
Carmarthen	-13,824	-8,231	-5,452	-7,870	-8,588	10,664	-2,948
Denbigh	362	-6,124	-4,117	-7,456	-1,227	-3,354	-2,119
Flint	-4,381	-979	-3,209	-7,801	-4,368	1,573	5,526
Glamorgan	44,235	18,981	30,309	77,467	40,970	92,121	-36,269
Merioneth	-2,780	1,743	-1,548	-10,713	-5,228	-8,365	-970
Monmouth	-6,109	-7,188	-21,725	3,701	-5,135	34,408	-8,130
Montgomery	-7,335	-6,640	-11,165	-15,786	-8,687	-6,601	-4,519
Pembroke	-5,747	-13,826	-9,392	-11,590	-7,208	-5,472	-4,944
Radnor	-2,889	-3,156	-3,710	-3,423	1,037	-4,687	-690
Migratory movements for the whole of Wales							
Migratory loss	-68,422	-72,904	-83,525	-99,002	-54,826	-42,532	-65,677
Migratory gain	44,597	20,724	31,524	81,168	44,819	138,766	11,187
Migratory	-23,825	-52,180	-52,001	-17,834	-10,007	96,234	-54,490

APPENDIX B: BASQUE BASE MAP

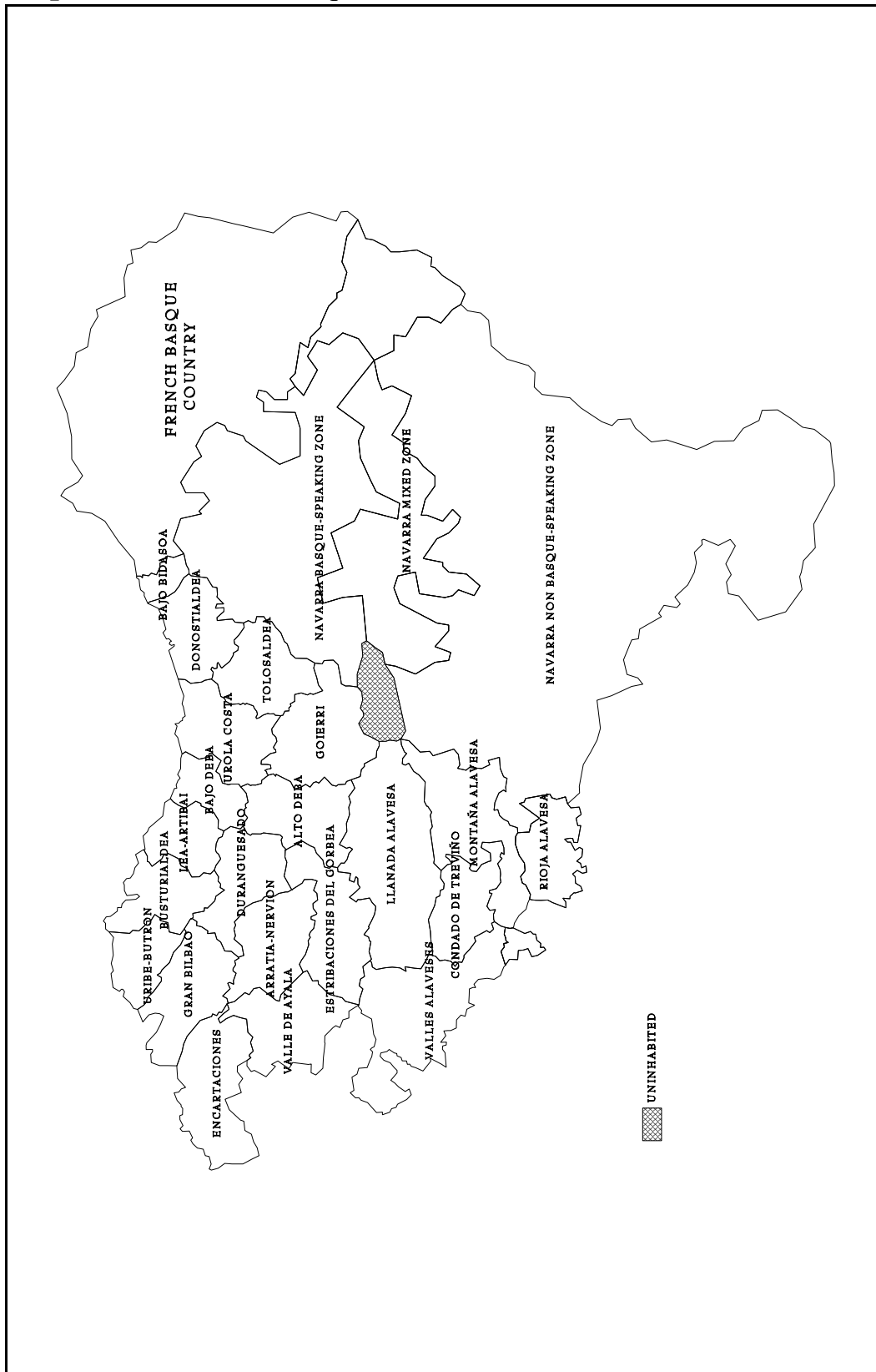
While the Welsh map includes the whole of the country, the Basque map displays only the core Basque-speaking areas and their surrounding bilingual territories as well as the mining area (see map 30). The areas where the Basque language had been lost for centuries, such as southern Alava and Navarra, are excluded. This map depicts the situation of the Basque-speaking area approximately around the mid-nineteenth century and is based upon Bonaparte's map from the early 1860s.

The base map has been drawn putting together four different provincial maps published by the respective provincial governments (*Diputaciones*).

Map 30 Base map of the Basque country



Map 31 Comarcas in Basque census data



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