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Preserving Euskera in a Globalized World: Determining the Long-term Efficacy of Multilingual Schools in the Basque Country, Spain (Thesis)

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Chapter One: Introduction

Problem Statement

The indigenous language of the ancient Basque people of Spain, Euskera, has been the focus of substantial revitalization efforts in the secondary schools through the past several decades, and in recent years English has been added to these school curricula in order to produce competent multilingual adults, however little research has been done to understand how these competencies are maintained after students exit the structure of such programs and enter the world market. Euskera is unrelated to any other language family in the world, including other Indo-European languages (Cenoz & Valencia, 1994), and most Basque children are taught Euskera in primary and secondary schools, either as a first or second language. Euskera has been experiencing a relatively recent resurgence, and is often the language of instruction alongside Spanish in Basque Country bilingual schools. More recently Basque schools have begun to include instruction in English as a foreign language, due to the increasing importance of knowledge of English as an international language. In addition it is important that Basque children become multilingual in order to ultimately save their own indigenous language from eroding in the future (Elorza & Muñoa, 2008). This has led to the rise of trilingual education in the Basque Country.

Multilingual education, as opposed to simply bilingual education, in exceptional environments such as the Basque Country, is particularly important to minority language preservation: competence in English may increase the odds that minority languages will survive, following the evidence that proficiency in more than one language increases the facility in acquiring further languages. In order to better understand the role that multilingual education may have for both the preservation of heritage languages and the development of international

languages, it is important to understand attitudes and language use and competency in post-secondary Basque adults. If schools with multilingual curriculums succeed in producing individuals with a strong foundation in Euskera and the Basque culture as well as the ability, by way of English-language proficiency, to engage in the global marketplace, then they may be the best medium for both teaching international languages and for strengthening and preservation of heritage languages over the long-run.

Importance of the Problem and Rationale for the Study

Euskera is one of just a few indigenous languages remaining in Europe, and despite increasing importance placed on its preservation and use, it is still underused and underrepresented. A study by Huguet (2007) found that only 54% of the Basque Country population could understand Euskera, and just 20% claimed to speak Euskera as their first language. As Spanish is often the language of choice throughout the Basque Country, ikastolas (Euskera-centered schools) were developed to encourage the retention of and precision of communication in Euskera by making Euskera the main language of instruction. English is also used as a language of instruction for certain academic subjects, and alongside Spanish and Euskera study, competency levels in English are often high.

Ikastolas (also known as Model D schools) are only one educational model used in the Basque Country. Two other models, Model A (Spanish is the primary language of instruction) and Model B (dual-immersion Spanish and Euskera) represent a relatively large contingency of Basque Country schools (Balerdi,1997; Cenoz, 2005; Huguet, 2007). Euskera as a minority language is infrequently used in non-academic settings in favor of Spanish, and English is not a common spoken language nor is it a main language of instruction at the university level. Recognizing that competence in not just Spanish, but in both Euskera and English is important to

the preservation of Euskera, it is important to understand the impact that multilingual education has on the perceived importance by post-secondary adults of maintaining Basque culture and identity. If former students of the Basque Country multilingual schools maintain a significant competency level in Euskera and English following their graduation, and if these levels are significantly superior to those of older community members who were unable to receive education in Euskera, and infrequently in English, then it may be concluded that such multilingual education, as opposed to bilingual or monolingual education, is an important component to minority language preservation. Thus multilingual school models could be replicated in other cross-global contexts where a population seeks to preserve a minority language alongside other dominant languages. English, as a common international language, will often be included in such curriculum regardless of location.

Background of the Issue

The Basque people have preserved their indigenous culture and language despite the encroachment of Romance languages and invading forces including the Romans (Cenoz, 2005). It is thought that the relative isolation of high altitude Basque communities prevented their assimilation into broader European language groups and culture. From the 1930s through the 1970s, during General Francisco Franco's regime in Spain, laws were instituted that repressed Basque communities, making it illegal to speak Euskera and to learn Basque history in the schools (Breton & Ruiz, 2008). By the late 1970s and into the 1980s the laws reversed and intent on preserving Basque culture and language the first dual language schools were opened. In the 1990s school administrators in Spain were beginning to realize that bilingual school students had higher academic achievement levels than students of monolingual schools, contrary

to the popular belief of the time that bilingual curriculums would present an obstacle for students (Sierra, 2008).

In recent times English has been included as part of the school curriculums due to the importance of English as an international language, and the need for Basque children to grow up able to navigate a globalized world (Klein, 2007). Rather than simply teaching English as a foreign language, as it is taught in Model A model schools, it was used to teach content classes such as history and social sciences in the Model D schools. Researchers have found that introducing English at a young age facilitates its acquisition and that bilingual students tend to have an easier time acquiring a third language compared with their monolingual peers (Cenoz & Valencia, 1994). Students attending Model A schools, or monolingual schools, had significantly lower competency levels in both English and Euskera than their peers attending Model D, or trilingual immersion, schools.

A study by Cenoz and Valencia (1993) found that there is a correlation between Basque students and their motivation to increase their competence in Euskera depending on extracurricular access to Euskera-based social networks. However, the study did not look at English language competence, likely because there are few extracurricular opportunities for students to use English. Lasagabaster (2005) found that increased knowledge of multiple languages is positively correlated with increasingly positive attitudes toward the acquisition of languages, while Cenoz (2005) found that motivation to learn English is high in early primary school but that motivation declines when English is introduced at more advanced levels, possibly due to less interactive teaching methods. This indicates that early entry into multilingual educational models may be imperative to the development of minority and foreign languages.

Statement of Purpose

I will conduct partially structured and structured interviews with adult alumni of Basque Country multilingual schools who are current students at the University of Deusto in Bilbao, Spain, and with Basque Country community members, some of who may not have experienced multilingual education, to examine their post-secondary language use and to understand what their attitudes are toward both Euskera and English education. In addition I will administer an electronic survey to a wide range of these alumni and community members, and I will examine publicly available data on language proficiencies in the Basque Country in order to triangulate the data that I collect. Multilingual education for the sake of both heritage language preservation and international language development can only be effective if the competency levels gained by their students are first, established, and second, maintained after leaving the structure of the educational system. In addition, understanding the linguistic and cultural attitudes of the community members and alumni of these secondary schools may help determine the importance of developing multilingual schools in areas where minority languages face competition from other dominant languages.

Research Questions

The following research questions were developed to ascertain attitudes and use of Euskera and English by students and community members in the Basque Country:

- How do participants view the importance of acquisition of Euskera and English?
- What are participants' opinions regarding the role of multilingual schools in the preservation of Euskera and the development of English?
- How do participants currently use, or expect to use, English and Euskera?
- What opinions/feelings do participants have regarding the future of Euskera and English?

Research Design

This study utilizes a mixed-methods qualitative approach including an electronic survey, partially-structured and structured interviews with local Basque Country community members and alumni of Basque Country multilingual schools, and analysis of publicly available Basque Country language proficiency records maintained by the Basque Government. The study will take place primarily on the campus of the University of Deusto in Bilbao, Spain, and participants will be solicited both through this school and through access to Basque Country and Euskera-centered sites on Facebook. Permissions will be requested from each participant, as well as from the Department of Modern Languages and Basque Studies at the University of Deusto. Initially permission must also be granted from the IRB at Grand Valley State University.

Key Terms

Model A schools: schools where the primary language of instruction is Spanish. In some schools Euskera and English may be minimally taught as foreign languages.

Model B schools: schools where Euskera and Spanish are equally utilized as languages of instruction. English is often taught as a foreign language.

Model D schools (ikastolas): Basque Country trilingual schools where Euskera is the main language of instruction, and Spanish and English are additionally utilized to teach subjects.

Euskal Herria: the name in Euskera for The Basque Country

Euskaldun: the name in Euskera for a person of Basque heritage

Euskera: the indigenous language of the Basque people of Spain

Minority language: in the context of this study, a minority language is a language that is native to a particular geographic area, but that is spoken by less than half of the area's population.

Multilingual education: in this study multilingual education specifically refers to a curriculum that features a country's official language, a minority language and a foreign language as equal languages of instruction.

Limitations of the Study

To date, studies regarding multilingual education in the Basque Country have focused primarily on attitudes of the students, and success and importance of such programs. No study has yet attempted to understand long-term effects of such schools on Euskera and English proficiencies of former students. The present study has attempted to gain insight into how these languages may be maintained and utilized, or lost, in the future, though to an extent the results represent only probabilities, as some participants are university students, and as such are indicating their current thoughts and plans regarding their future – something relatively tenuous. It would be ideal to study a wide range of former multilingual school students to form a more extensive profile of how these languages are being used, however at present it provides a significant challenge to access this population. In light of this challenge, this study, at present, incorporates data from 36 survey respondents and 5 interviewees, which provides an interesting look at linguistic issues and dynamics, but is limited by its small sample size.

Finally, this study includes, in part, university students from schools in the Basque Country, which offer a variety of classes via Euskera, in addition to Spanish. While these students have experienced some separation from the structure of their secondary schools, their present university offers at least some support for Euskera and English languages, and as such does not necessarily reflect the potential future environment of the participants. However these students represent only a third of all of the participants in the study, and their experiences all the same are important threads in the fabric of the Basque Country linguistic environment. The

present study does not attempt to provide a solid view of long-term language use of these Basque Country participants, as it cannot, however it does attempt to open a window into this important area of research by addressing, in a general manner, the issue of linguistic longevity and language preservation and maintenance. As a final note, the researcher will continue data collection through December 2010, and will be able to provide updated results in the future.

Organization of Thesis

This thesis is organized into five main chapters, and are as follows:

Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Chapter 3: Research Design

Chapter 4: Results

Chapter 5: Conclusions

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Introduction

In order to better understand the central issues surrounding the matter of multilingualism in the Basque Country, Spain, and how education plays a role in both minority language preservation and the acquisition of English, an overview of the most important literature relating to this topic will follow. These issues fall into three general categories and, following a discussion of the theoretical framework used in approaching this research, they will be explored in this order: 1) Importance of multilingual instruction for Basque language preservation, 2) Attitudes and motivation of Basque students and community toward Basque and English acquisition, and 3) Increased facility of 3rd language acquisition for bilingual learners. While these categories are considered separately, they influence and relate to each other intimately. Finally, a summary of the literature review will be provided followed by a conclusion that outlines how the current investigation will address holes in the research. A list of contributing resources will conclude the chapter.

Theoretical Framework

This research project is rooted in second language acquisition theory, particularly in the idea of additive bilingualism, and in the case of this study, additive trilingualism, as discussed by Cenoz (1994, 2003 and 2003). Studies in additive bi- and trilingualism have produced findings that "suggest that previous knowledge of a language facilitates acquisition of another one" although "complete success, as in L1 acquisition, is not guaranteed" (Montrul, 2009, pg. 59). This is critical because it provides evidence in support of multilingual education insofar as increased competencies in more than one language provide learners with a distinct advantage in the learning of additional languages. This, in turn, has a correlational effect on language

attitudes, which is encouraging for those striving for a multilingual Basque Country where Euskera shares equal footing with Spanish, English and possibly additional foreign languages.

Synthesis of Research Literature

1) *Importance of multilingual instruction for Basque language preservation*

Elorza and Muñoa (2008) write "The future of Basque speakers is, therefore, multilingual…Basque speakers also need to be able to speak other languages, since otherwise Basque itself will be in danger" (pg. 85). They go on to make the point, reflected by Klein's study (2007), that Euskera speakers in the Basque community "also need to acquire a broad knowledge of English, as the dominant language of international communication" (pgs. 85-86). In addition, keeping in mind the potential for a decline in linguistic competence in the Basque and Spanish languages upon introduction of English into the curriculum, Elorza and Muñoa mention that "the early introduction of English had no effect on the lingustic competences of either Basque or Spanish, nor on cognitive abilities…" (pg. 93). They conclude that "the resulting multilingual proficiency should enable Basque citizens of future generations to make the language choices best suited to their communicative needs, whilst maintaining a strong commitment to the preservation of their own language" (pg. 99).

In their study on additive trilingualism in the Basque Country, Cenoz and Valencia (1994) add utilizing a second language, such as Euskera, as a medium of instruction in an environment where the majority of students' first language is the dominant community language (Spanish) may positively influence third language acquisition, in this case English. They go on to say that such study results are mirrored in immersion programs, where the addition of a third language positively influences linguistic acquisition both of the second and first languages. Cenoz and Valencia conclude that "the acquisition and reinforcement of heritage languages

within the educational system and the use of the minority language as the language of instruction can improve linguistic proficiency, not only in a second language (Basque), but also in a third (English)" (pg.206).

Furthermore, as Sierra (2008) indicated, the Basque Country school system set a proficiency standard for students in Model B and Model D schools requiring students to reach a level of "B2", meaning that they would have achieved a proficiency sufficiently high to allow them to both interact with native Euskera speakers with ease, and in addition to learn academic content via Euskera. While this proficiency level has been controversial in the Basque Country, encouraging students to reach such a level has overall positive effects on the long-term survival of the minority language.

2) *Attitudes and motivation of Basque students and community toward Euskera and English acquisition*

Martínez de Luna and Suberbiola (2008) conducted a study of language use in the school context, specifically which language, Euskera or Spanish, students chose to speak while either at play or in the classroom. They write,

> In a language contact situation…competence and motivation are needed on an individual level to ensure that a specific language is chosen by the speaker. Speakers need to have a positive attitude to language and motivation to use it. The value they place on the language may be pragmatic, symbolic, integrative or other…undoubtedly there are minimum conditions that must be met to ensure that the threatened language is used, but…the most relevant ones are relative competence and motivation (pg. 59-60).

Cenoz (2005) found that students tended to experience higher levels of motivation to learn additional languages when the languages were introduced at a young age. After primary school, students tended to undergo a decrease in motivation in second and third language acquisition, which Cenoz suggests may be due to a change in the way in which language is taught to students of different ages.

Lasagabaster's study (2005) findings show that "those Basque students who can speak another language (irrespective of their degree of competence) are the ones who hold more positive attitudes towards Spanish and English" (pg. 312). The study suggests that due to this evidence, school curriculums should incorporate additional foreign languages so that students develop increasingly more positive attitudes toward the acquisition of multiple languages, which will ultimately support a multilingual society.

Interestingly, a previous study by Lasagabaster (2003) indicated that the Basque community exhibits somewhat contradictory attitudes toward English and Spanish as dominant languages in the Basque Country. Lasagabaster writes, "Although they are very reluctant to be taught in English, they widely support its learning at school and defend that it is worth learning it, as well as believing it enriching" (pg. 593). There is an important issue of the politicization of language in the Basque country which has led to these disparate views toward non-minority languages. While there is a profound movement to maintain Euskera as a marker of social and cultural identity, there is also a growing understanding of the importance of English as a lingua franca, especially in the wider European context (Cenoz and Jessner, 2000).

Also worthy of mention is a recent study by Lasagabaster (2008) showing that while attitudes toward Euskera and Basque culture were relatively high in the diasporic Basque population of Nevada, in the United States, proficiency in Euskera was comparatively very low. This indicates that attitudes do not necessarily correlate with proficiency, particularly in areas where access to the minority language is limited.

A fourth study by Ibarraran, Lasagabaster and Sierra (2005) produced results that seem to contradict the previous studies in terms of Basque attitudes toward language, however the limited scope of the study must be taken into account. This study comparing linguistic attitudes of

Basque students compared with immigrant students in the Basque Country indicated a relatively negative attitude toward Euskera, and a positive attitude toward Spanish, by both groups of participants. However the immigrant students tended to favor English whereas the Basque students held a slightly lower opinion of the language. The bias that must be considered is that the Basque participants were students at Model A schools, meaning Spanish was the primary language of instruction, and English and Euskera, if present, received minimal instruction time as a subject. Those participants from both Basque and immigrant groups who indicated a positive attitude toward English also expressed an understanding of the importance of English as a lingua franca, and described it as necessary to secure a high-paying job. The researchers suggest the need for a language awareness component in Basque Country curriculum to enhance appreciation of "other" languages.

In her study of students in Gipuzkoa, an area within the Basque Country, Echeverria (2005) found that Spanish monolingual students and Basque/Spanish bilingual students alike rated the two languages as equally important, but that vernacular Euskera, as opposed to the standard Euskera used in schools, rated even higher than Spanish overall in terms of popularity. The ability to use vernacular Euskera among particularly adolescent Basque students became a facet of solidarity amongst Euskera-speakers and therefore became a popular trend for students of all language abilities. However it is important to mention that in Echeverria's study she found that students gave Spanish a higher importance rating than standard Euskera, and that even bilingual students educated exclusively in Euskera-dominant schools predominantly chose to use Spanish both outside the classroom and during down-time within the classroom (pg. 252).

Finally, an earlier study by Cenoz and Valencia (1994) found that "even though Basque is a low-vitality language in comparison to its powerful neighbors (Spanish, French), Basque

people present very strong, positive attitudes toward their language. These attitudes, and the increasing institutional support of the Basque language, could create an additive cultural and social context…" (pg. 205).

3) *Increased facility of 3rd language acquisition for bilingual learners*

Sagasta Errasti (2003) studied additive bilingualism in the Basque Country and found that "minority language use also appears to foster third language acquisition, as learners that use the minority language in the surroundings of their family, in their social life, and as part of their education, have been reported to attain better results in English as a third language" (pg. 28). She went on to add that "minority language use in social contexts and at school has also been proved to foster third language acquisition…students who make active use of the minority language in the Basque Country are highly competent speakers of both Basque and Spanish, and it is probably this degree of bilingualism that gives them an advantage over their mainly Spanish-speaking peers when confronted with a third language" (pg. 40).

Sagasta Errasti makes an important point that "language use outside the curriculum plays an important role…the curriculum cannot do the job which is fulfilled traditionally by a speech community" (pg. 40). In other words, while academic language skills are important to increasing multilingual competencies, a socio-cultural environment supportive of multiple language development is vital to ensuring a balanced acquisition.

Cenoz and Valencia (1994) assert that bilingual people have more resources to draw from when learning a new language. They write, "when bilingual students acquire a third language (English), they gain an advantage because they use their knowledge of two other linguistic systems (Basque, Spanish) and compare them to the new code. This metalinguistic awareness

could possibly account for a higher level of linguistic competence in a third language" (pg. 205). These findings are supported by studies conducted by Cenoz (2003 and 2003).

Zalbide and Cenoz (2008) highlight the critical need for the development of social and cultural contexts in which Euskera and English can be used by such learners, citing the dearth of such environments, and the concern that linguistic competencies will suffer over time if the respective languages are not regularly used. This concern is shared by Balerdi (1997), Huguet (2007) and Cenoz (2005), and reflected in the Lasagabaster study (2008).

Finally, Gallardo del Puerto's study (2007) reflects the results of the previous researchers, and goes on to show that the degree of bilingualism does not affect an individual's ability to achieve proficiency in a third language, while Cenoz and Gorter's study (2008) highlights the added benefit to multilingual learners of a social and civic linguistic landscape that includes multiple languages in its context.

Summary

The findings of Cenoz and Valencia (1994) and Elorza and Muñoa (2008) regarding the important role that English language instruction may have in the preservation of Euskera are vital because they highlight populations (in this case Basque) that highly value English language acquisition as a way of ensuring their place in an international worldscape while simultaneously balancing a non-English majority language and a minority language that the community is striving to maintain. This is a special circumstance that some international English instructors may find themselves in, and one worthy of attention. These findings also demonstrate that English language acquisition may be vital to the preservation of certain minority languages across the globe, and as such presents important evidence in favor of the development of multilingual schools.

Cenoz and Valencia (1994) emphasize the significance of the fact that the Basque people have been able to maintain their language in the face of the strong presence of Romance languages, in part due to the deep pride that the Basque community feels toward their culture. Intersecting this, Martínez de Luna and Suberbiola (2008) establish the critical relationship between motivation and language use, which ultimately determines whether or not the integrity of a particular language is preserved, and perhaps even if an underused language will survive.

Echeverria's (2005) findings regarding the popularity of vernacular Euskera amongst Basque Country youth might offer a greater degree of hope in the sense that they highlight a trend in which young people may contribute to the use and preservation of the Basque language. However if youth in the Basque Country continue to select Spanish over Euskera, there is likely to be a decay in the quality of the Basque language over time, regardless of the prestige associated with being capable of speaking it. The studies by Ibarraran, Lasagabaster and Sierra (2005), Lasagabaster (2003, 2005 and 2008) indicate that there is a variety of attitudes toward Euskera and English held by the Basque community, although overall there appears to be a consensus that Euskera should be preserved, and English is important as a lingua franca.

Both Sagasta Errasti (2003) and Cenoz and Valencia (1994) underscore the fact that the addition of a third language to the bilingual school curriculum does not compromise competency in any of the languages, and on the contrary that bilingual students are able to draw from significant linguistic resources that ultimately improve their ability to master a new language. This is noteworthy considering the concern held by some that the introduction of and emphasis on additional languages may detract from the competence of second and/or third languages. Since this is the case, multilingual schools may well be the ideal setting for the development of multiple languages, including English, and concurrently the preservation of minority languages

and cultures. However, as Zalbide and Cenoz (2008), Huguet (2007) and Cenoz (2005) point out, in order to maintain multilingual competencies over time, a variety of sociocultural environments must be nurtured that support each language.

Conclusion

The findings discussed in the previous section all represent critical aspects of the issues discussed in Chapter 1, which form the basis for my research on post-secondary language use and socio-linguistic attitudes of both university students and other Basque Country community members. Linguists and international English language instructors teaching in an increasingly globalized world have the responsibility of supporting the maintenance of minority languages and cultures – some of the very things that contribute priceless depth and diversity to humanity - that without special attention and planning risk being diminished and, in some cases, eventually lost. The multilingual curriculums of the Basque Country schools in Spain may provide a strong model for ways in which minority language maintenance may take place actively alongside the acquisition and maintenance of dominant and third languages (in this case English) in an educational setting. A critical component to their success however will depend on the language practices and attitudes of alumni. Comparing the attitudes and linguistic behavior of alumni with those of older community members may additionally provide valuable data regarding the effects and outcomes of multilingual education.

Chapter Three: Research Design

Introduction

This study was conducted in the Basque Country, Spain using a mixed-methods design, utilizing interview, survey and document analysis. The initial interview and public document collection occurred during a one and a half week period of time in early June in Spain. The survey was initially accessible in an electronic format from late May through late July 2010 for the purpose of this thesis, however will continue to be available for data collection through January 2011. The results will increase understanding of the language use of alumni of Basque Country multilingual schools, shed light on the efficacy of the role of multilingual schools in preserving Euskera while promoting English, and moreover how English, as a language of international communication, may support heritage language preservation.

Participants/Subjects

The study was primarily conducted at the University of Deusto in the city of Bilbao in the Basque Country, Spain, and involved both male and female participants who have graduated from Basque secondary schools within the last 35 years. In addition I examined publicly available data on language proficiency levels in the Basque Country provided by the Basque Government. The study participants were selected via both purposive and convenience sampling. I accessed participants via the current student population at the University of Deusto, through recommendations from university professors, and on four Facebook sites dedicated to Euskera and the Basque Country. I conducted interviews with five students and community members, and used the following method to select participants: in the case that five individuals agree to be interviewed I planned to interview them all; in the case that too few agreed to participate I planned to solicit participants from a wider circle of University of Deusto and

Basque Country alumni networks and recommendations; and in the case that I receive more than five individuals interested in participating in an interview, I planned to simply shuffle names and randomly select up to a maximum of 15 participants. Ultimately five participants fully participated in the interview process.

Instrumentation

The data collected included an electronic survey through surveymonkey.com that featured primarily Likert-scale type questions regarding Basque Country secondary-school alumni language use and attitudes regarding language and identity. This survey was developed by the researcher in order to best approach the specific research questions of this study. While Lasagabaster (2005) developed a survey instrument treating English, Spanish and Euskera as a single linguistic unit for the examination of student attitudes toward language, I preferred to maintain the three languages as separate entities. In addition to the survey, partially-structured and structured interviews were conducted in Spanish with five participants from the Basque Country – three alumni of Basque Country multilingual schools, and two older Basque Country residents who did not attend such schools. Interviews probed further into personal backgrounds, attitudes toward language acquisition, and how language ability may have influenced their current academic and career paths.

The survey and interview instruments created for this study were reviewed by five professors: four from the English and Education departments at Grand Valley State University and one from the Modern Languages department at the University of Deusto. I translated both instruments into Spanish, and had an additional Spanish speaker review the translations to ensure clarity. The professor from the University of Deusto cautioned me that asking questions relative to cultural identity may be uncomfortable for some participants, but I should ask the questions as

long as I was prepared for the possibility that some may choose not to answer. I explained that I was open to that, and very understanding of it, and that the electronic survey consisted of entirely optional questions, which may be skipped according to the desire of the individual participant. (A copy of the instruments used in this study may be found in Appendixes A and B.)

Finally, I examined publicly available language proficiency data provided by the Basque Government.

Data Collection

My overall role was that of a researcher and as such I conducted interviews, served as survey administrator and document reviewer and analyzer. I have not offered, nor will I be offering post-research advice or commentary to the participants or university unless specifically requested. The purpose of this research is to contribute to current knowledge regarding plurilingual education and its effect both on the preservation of heritage languages and the development of global lingua francas, and therefore is primarily aimed toward other researchers, linguists, language teachers and curriculum builders worldwide.

Three different data types were utilized in order to improve the validity of my results, as it allows for triangulation and cross-referencing of information and sources. Data is in no way connected to personal information of the participants, and consent forms have been kept secure and available only to the researcher.

Some interviews were conducted in person, and others (according to access limitations) were filled out by participants via email. I accepted completed, electronic surveys via surveymonkey.com from all participants who were interested in completing one, and the survey will continue to be accessible through January 2011 to allow for data to continue to be collected.

The following table outlines key time frames and their associated actions:

Dates	Actions
November 2009 – April 2010	Contact made with University of Deusto to establish a contact and relationship, and clarify resources available at the campus in Bilbao.
May 2010	Research proposal will go before the Human Research Review Committee for approval
June 2010	Research approved by HRRC
June 2010	Travel to Bilbao, Spain Conduct interviews Distribute survey link Review documents
June 2010-December 2010	Return to Michigan Begin process of analyzing/interpreting data, and recording results

Initial permissions were acquired from the Human Subject Review Board at Grand Valley State University in order to be able to commence my study. Permissions were additionally obtained from the participants involved as well as the Modern Languages department at the University of Deusto, which granted me an invitation to be Visiting Researcher for the Summer of 2010.

Data Analysis

Data collected during the process of this study was analyzed using both structural and interpretive methodologies. I examined publicly available language proficiency data provided by the Basque Government, in order to gain better insight into the linguistic environment of

participants. Survey results have been organized into tables with percentages, participant numbers, and rating averages, and have then been cross-analyzed with the data from Basque Government proficiency data and the information collected from interviews.

Summary

The present study utilizes a multi-methods, qualitative approach triangulated with survey, interview and publicly available linguistic data. Five participants completed interviews, while the electronic survey was available to a significant number of university students and community members (both accessed through university contacts and Facebook groups), selected via purposive and convenience sampling methods. Permissions were secured from both the HRRC at Grand Valley State University and the University of Deusto, and individual participants were provided with permissions contracts prior to participation in the study. The results from this study aim to contribute to current research on plurilingual education and minority language preservation.

Chapter Four: Results

Context

This study officially commenced during a 10-day stay in Bilbao, Spain in early June 2010. Some data were collected during this time, though a majority was collected electronically, following return to the United States. Data will continue to be gathered data through December 2010, therefore this study represents only the data collected to date. Electronic surveys were made available to an unlimited number of students at the University of Deusto, circulated via email by university professors, particularly three professors from the Department of Modern Languages. In addition, surveys were posted on four Basque Country-related Facebook sites with member lists numbering as high as 8,000.

Thirty six surveys were ultimately started, and 29 were completed, however all data collected will be considered, as all survey questions were purposefully left "optional," hence did not require a response in order for the participant to continue with the survey. This was done in order to allow for participant agency in expressing opinions on sensitive subject matter, and actual participant number for each question will be delineated each is discussed. Twenty four of the 28 survey participants that chose to describe their cultural identity self-identified as Basque or Euskaldun, one as Basque-Spanish-European, one as Basque-Galician, and one as Basque-Spanish. The remaining participant identified solely as Spanish. Seven participants chose not to identify their cultural identity. Ten participants identified themselves as university students who currently study in a wide range of degree programs. Of the 36 survey participants that chose to identify their first language or languages, 61.1% (22 respondents) chose Castilian, while 77.8% (28 respondents) chose Euskera. Age and gender of survey participants are illustrated in Tables 1 and 2.

Partially-structured and structured interviews were conducted in person at the campus of the University of Deusto with one 19-year-old female university student, Isabel[1], and one 49-year-old female university professor, Clara. Thirteen survey respondents agreed to also complete an optional, structured interview electronically, however only three of those were completed and forwarded to the researcher via email by the following participants: a 52-year-old male professor, José; a 24-year-old male former multilingual school student, Federico; and a 21-year-old male university student, Jaime. Three interviewees – Isabel, Clara and Jaime - identified themselves as Basque-Spanish, while the remaining José and Federico identified themselves as Basque. All interview participants indicated that Castilian was their first language.

Table 1

Age categories of survey respondents

Age	Response %	Response Count
18-24	**38.9%**	**14**
25-30	16.7%	6
31-36	22.2%	8
37-42	13.9%	5
43+	8.3%	3
Total	100%	36

Table 2

Indicated gender of survey respondents

	Gender	Response %	Response Count
	Female	41.7%	15
	Male	**58.3%**	**21**
	Other	0.0%	0
Total		100%	36

Findings

The findings of this study will be organized according to the original research questions posed in Chapter One, and will be supported by data from the survey and interviews, as well as with some statistical data about language proficiencies in the Basque Country provided by the Basque Government.

[1] All formal names used in this study are pseudonyms to protect participant privacy.

1) Participant views on the importance of acquisition of Euskera and English

In the Basque Country, Euskera is the minority language of the Basque community, and has been undergoing a revival over the last few decades since the long-term repression of Franco's regime attempted to do away with all languages but Castilian. In addition, English is currently experiencing a strong emphasis as it has grown into the central lingua franca for world communication. This section discusses current opinions regarding both languages, comparing interviewee and survey participant responses. Data concerning English are preceded by the data concerning Euskera, therefore survey and interview data is shown in alternation, rather than being strictly separated.

Participants in the study overwhelmingly expressed the opinion that the acquisition of Euskera and preservation of Basque culture is extremely important. While every interviewee agreed that preservation of Euskera is necessary, Jaime and José both specified the need to maintain the language as a matter of cultural identity, explaining that not only does Euskera define the Basque people, but it is particularly precious for having both survived a long history of State support for Romance languages and for being a unique, indigenous language.

Table 3 reflects that of the 29 survey participants that responded to the question "It is important to have an advanced proficiency in Euskera," 27 either strongly agreed or agreed, with a rating average of 3.62 on a 4-point scale Likert scale. Twelve of those respondents chose to elaborate on their answer, and all of their comments reflect the sentiments of José and Jaime. A sample of their comments is as follows[2]:

Comment 2 (of 12): *"Basque is the language that characterizes us. It shouldn't be a second language. It's clear that it's not a practical language, but it's a great cultural inheritance and it must be conserved."*

Comment 4 (of 12): *"It is our language, which we use to communicate with each other within our own country, and it depends solely on us."*

[2] A full account of all participant comments are available in Appendix C.

Comment 8 (of 12): *"I need it to speak with my friends and family, and those of my city. Furthermore it is something that characterizes us."*
Comment 10 (of 12): *"We live in Euskal Herria, our language is Euskera."*

Table 3

Survey Participant Agreement with Importance of Having Proficiency in Euskera

Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Rating Average	Response Count
72.4% (21)	20.7% (6)	3.4% (1)	3.4% (1)	3.62	29

Table 4

Survey Participant Agreement with Importance of Preserving Basque Culture

Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Rating Average	Response Count
89.7% (26)	6.9% (2)	0.0% (0)	3.4% (1)	3.83	29

Similarly, when asked to indicate level of agreement with the statement "It is important to preserve the Basque culture," 28 out of 29 survey participants agreed or strongly agreed, with a rating average of 3.83 (See Table 4). Nine of the 29 participants to respond to the question chose to comment on their replies. A sample of those comments follows, reflecting the feelings and opinions described above:

Comment 2 (of 9): *"It is important as much for its cultural value (isolated, pre-Indo-European language, ancient culture, etc.) as for its value as an element of cohesion for Basque society."*
Comment 6 (of 9): *"If we don't conserve our culture, what do we have left?"*
Comment 8 (of 9): *"Currently it is the oldest language and culture in Europe, which has managed to survive after thousands of years of repression at the hand of other peoples and languages throughout its history (our history) and even today it continues to be repressed and stepped-on by the states of Spain and France."*

English was rated highly important by all study participants as well, though naturally for different reasons than Euskera. English is generally valued for its role as a lingua franca, and that because of this, proficiency is necessary in order to gain access to people, resources and information. All five interviewees felt strongly about the importance of English language, and some of their comments are as follows:

José: *"It is necessary in order to obtain and transmit information."*

Isabel: *"It's important: it's the medium through which to speak with foreigners."*

Clara: *"It is marvelous and essential. English and Castilian are the most important languages in the world. Anyone who speaks any other language must learn English."*

Survey participants' responses and comments support the perspectives of the interviewees. Of 28 replies to the statement "It is important to have an advanced proficiency in English," 26 either strongly agreed or agreed, with a rating average of 3.54 (see Table 5). This rating is slightly lower than that of the ratings for Euskera and Basque culture, but still overwhelmingly positive, and, interestingly, is slightly higher than the rating average of 3.46 for the statement "It is important to have an advanced proficiency in Castilian," where 29 participants responded (see Table 6).

Table 5

Survey Participant Agreement with Importance of Having Proficiency in English

Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Rating Average	Response Count
60.7% (17)	32.1% (9)	7.1% (2)	0.0% (0)	3.54	28

Table 6

Survey Participant Agreement with Importance of Having Proficiency in Castilian

Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Rating Average	Response Count
48.3% (14)	**48.3% (14)**	3.4% (1)	0.0% (0)	3.46	29

Out of the 28 participants that responded to the statement regarding importance of English proficiency, 10 chose to provide additional comments, a sample of which follow below:

Comment 2 (of 10): *"If we spoke English as well as we speak Castilian, the doors to the whole world would be open to us."*

Comment 3 (of 10): *"English is the global language par excellence, and there is a multitude of academic information that is only available in that language."*

Comment 6 (of 10): *"I believe it is important for all occupations, and for those interested in travelling and being able to communicate in other places, because it is the international language par excellence."*

Comment 9 (of 10): *"Euskal Herria isn't the world, and the world works in English."*

2) *Participant opinions regarding the role of multilingual schools in the preservation of Euskera and the development of English*

Data on participant opinions concerning the efficacy of multilingual schools for development of both Euskera and English is copious and somewhat varied. In the Basque Country, Euskera is making a relatively recent come-back after years of repression under General Franco's regime. For some of the older study participants Euskera was never offered as a language of study or of instruction when they were in secondary school, for it wasn't until approximately the early 1980s that Euskera began to be incorporated into school programs, and to appear as a language of primary instruction in Model D schools. For this reason, older generation Basque Country citizens either lost their indigenous language entirely, or were forced to acquire it as young adults, their success often reliant on self-guided instruction. Today, some Basque Country youth acquire Euskera as young children in a family context, but many are learning it primarily in the context of their school curriculum. This section will begin with an overview of interviewee responses to questions relative to multilingual education, and will conclude with data collected from survey participants.

Interview Data

Clara and José both are considered to be among the "lost generation" of Basque residents who were not raised with Euskera in any capacity. José, who graduated from secondary school in 1974, considers himself Basque above all, and taught himself Euskera as a young man, studying with such dedication that over time he became fluent. He later became a professor of English philology though he would have preferred Basque philology, which did not exist at the time of his university education. He studied Euskera diligently, and even went on to develop

and publish a detailed book on the linguistic characteristics of Euskera. José studied French in secondary school in a solid curriculum that allowed him to develop a reasonable proficiency in French, although most instruction was book-based, which he described as boring. He comments, "Environmental pressure toward Castilian is very strong, and a program with the same amount of exposure to English/Castilian/Euskera doesn't produce equal learning in the three languages. The Basque Country needs more monolingual Euskera programs" (personal communication, July 14, 2010). His love of language learning led him to develop other basic proficiencies in Chinese and German, in addition to his fluency in Euskera and English.

Clara graduated from a religious secondary school in 1979, and studied only English, apart from Castilian. She explained that her best English professor was the one she had in primary school and the worst was the one she had in secondary school – she has never been able to forget either of them. As her secondary school eventually began to eliminate the five hours per week of English instruction, her parents sent her to an English language tutor for five hours of extracurricular English language study. She attributes this to her high level of English proficiency, which eventually led to fluency. Unlike José, Clara never seriously studied Euskera, and admits to a very basic proficiency in it, however she considers herself to be both Basque and Spanish. Clara indicates a love of language learning, and has moderate proficiencies in German, Italian and French.

Federico attended a multilingual school in the Basque Country, graduating in 2003. He feels that his current proficiency in Euskera is due to having attended his secondary school, although he does not claim to have a notably high proficiency in English. In Federico's secondary school Euskera was the principal language of instruction, and he received four hours of English instruction weekly. He explained that he enjoys learning languages, and exhibits

pride regarding his competency in Euskera, and though he is not similarly proficient in English, he feels that English is an important language.

Isabel was the youngest of the participants interviewed, and graduated from her secondary school in 2009, going directly into a degree program in Modern Languages, as she enjoys language learning very much. Isabel attended a Model B multilingual school, where half of the instruction was in Euskera, half in Castilian, and English was taught as a foreign language. She believes that her secondary school supported her development of multiple language proficiencies as they taught students how to use various languages from a young age. Isabel considers herself to be multilingual in Castilian, English and Euskera, and identifies as both Basque and Spanish, because her family comes from both the Basque Country and other regions in Spain. Aside from these three languages, Isabel has a more basic proficiency in German, and is proud at her linguistic abilities, as she says "not everyone has the ability to speak so many languages" (personal communication, June 9, 2010).

Jaime, the final interviewee, graduated from secondary school in 2007. He attended a Model D multilingual school, and attributes his current fluency in Euskera to his attendance, although he does not yet consider himself trilingual; Jaime is studying English on his own, hoping to develop fluency in the language in the future. Though his first language is Castilian, he considers himself to be Basque as well as Spanish, and expresses an intrinsic love for the study of language.

Survey Data

Survey participants answered a variety of questions relating to attitudes toward language instruction, language proficiencies in secondary school, and opinions about the efficacy of multilingual schools in producing alumni with strong multilingual competencies. The first two

questions discussed, answered by up to 34 participants, inquire about language use in their school curriculum, and their extracurricular language use (see Tables 7 and 8). Results show that Euskera (3.54 rating average) and Castilian (3.53 rating average) were principal components of the majority of participants' secondary school curriculums, while English (2.81 rating average) played a more secondary role. However, in students' extracurricular lives English (1.63 rating average) was rarely utilized in favor of Castilian first (3.74 rating average), and Euskera second (3.24 rating average).

Table 7

Indicated quantity of time dedicated weekly to each language in secondary school

	Every day	2-4days/week	1 day/week	Never	Rating Average	Response Count
Castilian	**64.7% (22)**	26.5% (9)	5.9% (2)	2.9% (1)	3.53	34
Euskera	**72.7% (24)**	15.2% (5)	3.0% (1)	9.1% (3)	3.54	33
English	6.3% (2)	**75.0% (24)**	12.5% (4)	6.3% (2)	2.81	32

Table 8

Indicated quantity of time dedicated weekly to each language outside of secondary school

	Every day	2-4days/week	1 day/week	Never	Rating Average	Response Count
Castilian	**85.3% (29)**	**5**.9% (2)	5.9% (2)	2.9% (1)	3.74	34
Euskera	**60.6% (20**)	18.2% (6)	6.1% (2)	15.2% (5)	3.24	33
English	3.7% (1)	18.5% (5)	14.8% (4)	**63.0% (17)**	1.63	27

A third survey question inquired about the self-reported proficiency levels in the three languages upon graduation from secondary school, which was answered by up to 34 participants. Results show that proficiency levels in each language reflect language use during and outside of school, with high proficiencies in Euskera (3.41 rating average) and Castilian (3.91 rating average), and low to moderate proficiencies in English (2.63 rating average) (see Table 9).

Table 9

Indicated proficiency levels upon graduation from secondary school

	Fluent-Advanced	Intermediate	Basic	No proficiency	Rating Average	Response Count
Castilian	**94.1% (32)**	2.9% (1)	2.9% (1)	0.0% (0)	3.91	34
Euskera	**67.6% (23**)	8.8% (3)	20.6% (7)	2.9% (1)	3.41	34
English	15.6% (5)	34.4% (11)	**46.9%** (15)	3.1% (1)	2.63	32

A fourth set of survey question asked participants to indicate their attitudes toward learning Euskera (27 respondents) and English (28 respondents) in their secondary schools. While the rating average (again, on a 4-point Likert scale) for English (3.3 rating average) is slightly lower than that of Euskera (3.5 rating average), they both rate highly, with the majority of respondents indicating that they strongly agree (see Table 10).

Table 10

Survey Participant Agreement with the Following Statement:
I enjoyed studying Euskera/English in secondary school.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	N/A	Rating Average	Response Count
Euskera	**66.7% (18)**	14.8% (4)	11.1% (3)	3.7% (1)	3.7% (1)	3.5	27
English	**46.4% (13)**	35.7% (10)	10.7% (3)	3.6% (1)	3.6% (1)	3.3	28

Seven participants (Euskera) and six participants (English) chose to comment further on their responses to these two questions regarding attitude. A sample of these replies follows:

Euskera

Comment 3 (of 7): *"The system of learning this language, and all languages in general, was very bad."*
Comment 4 (of 7): *"I loved it, but grammatically it's a difficult language, even for those who begin learning it from a young age."*
Comment 5 (of 7): *"I liked it above all because by studying it I was able to learn more about my language and our culture."*

English

Comment 3 (of 6): *"I liked it a lot, and found it easy to learn."*
Comment 4 (of 6): *"It's good to know other languages."*
Comment 6 (of 6): *"I have British family."*

A fifth set of survey questions asked participants to indicate whether they agreed that their secondary school helped them develop advanced proficiencies in Euskera (28 respondents) and in English (29 respondents). Results (see Table 11) show that the rating average for Euskera proficiency was 2.75 while for English the average was 2.41. While participants' attitudes were spread out among all four rated replies for Euskera proficiency, a slight majority of respondents

selected 'strongly agree' or 'agree' (16) while the remaining 12 respondents chose either 'disagree' or 'strongly disagree." For English proficiency, the majority of responses (16) are more heavily pooled in the 'disagree' category.

Table 11

Survey Participant Agreement with the Following Statement:
My secondary school helped me develop an advanced proficiency in Euskera/English.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Rating Average	Response Count
Euskera	**39.3% (11)**	17.9% (5)	21.4% (6)	21.4% (6)	2.72	28
English	10.3% (3)	27.6% (8)	**55.2% (16)**	6.9% (2)	2.31	29

As a follow-up to their replies, eight participants commented further on the question concerning their secondary school's role in helping develop proficiency in Euskera, and six participants commented on the question concerning their school's role in developing English proficiency. A sample of these responses is shown below, separated by language:

Euskera

Comment 3 (of 8): "*I already had an advanced ability in both written and spoken Euskera, but thanks to my secondary school I was able to reach a level sufficient to obtain the EGA*[3]*."*

Comment 4 (of 8): "*They could have placed more resources in our reach, and not have obliged all the students to follow in the steps of the 'newbies;' divide the students in groups is the best option, although clearly that's not always possible."*

Comment 6 (of 8): *"It helped me to learn more about my language, but I already had the ability since I was little."*

English

Comment 2 (of 6): *"It helped me improve my level, but not to acquire an advanced level. Extra effort is necessary in addition to what secondary education can provide."*

Comment 3 (of 6): "*It helped me, but if I hadn't taken on other activities of my own accord outside of the school curriculum, my level would be quite low."*

Comment 4 (of 6): *"In general, they teach according to the person with the lowest proficiency level, and those of us with an aptitude for language were put to the side, in a certain way. Although I must say that one teacher or another did try to solve that problem."*

Comment 6 (of 6): *"I went to an academy starting at 3 years of age. That explains my level of English."*

[3] EGA is a certification that signifies that the bearer has sufficient proficiency in Euskera to fulfill requirements by most occupations that may demand such proficiency.

The final question set for survey participants related to their opinions regarding whether they feel that multilingual schools are necessary for the teaching of both Euskera (29 respondents) and English (28 respondents). Results indicate that study participants generally agree that such schools are nearly equally necessary for the instruction of both languages (Euskera with a rating average of 3.0 and English with a rating average of 3.18). Table 12 illustrates the responses to this question set:

Table 12

Survey Participant Agreement with the Following Statement:
Multilingual schools are necessary for the teaching of Euskera/English.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Rating Average	Response Count
Euskera	31.0% (9)	**44.8% (13)**	17.2% (5)	6.9% (2)	3.0	29
English	35.7% (10)	**50.0% (14)**	10.7% (3)	3.6% (1)	3.18	28

Eight participants provided written comments to support their question replies for the importance of multilingual schools in the teaching of Euskera, and three provided comments regarding the importance of such schools in the teaching of English. These comments suggest that while participants support multilingual schools, they believe they still need to be fine-tuned. A sample of the comments follow, separated by language:

Euskera

Comment 1 (of 8): *"To learn Euskera, if you're not from a Basque family, having Basque friends is enough."*

Comment 4 (of 8): *"Well, they don't have to be multilingual. My school was 'unilingual' in Euskera, with mandatory classes in Castilian and English."*

Comment 5 (of 8): "*Yes, but only if they are truly multilingual, with emphasis on the Basque language, since that's the language that needs to be rescued and normalized."*

Comment 8 (of 8): *"As it's a minority language, I think that the teaching should be in Euskera."*

English

Comment 1 (of 3): *"English is a necessary language nowadays, and where better to begin speaking it than at school?"*

Comment 2 (of 3): *"Yes, but not necessarily multilingual. It's doable to have just Euskera and English."*

Comment 3 (of 3): *"I don't believe that the trilingual model is implanting itself well; the way it is now, if a student isn't good at English, they suspend that subject and also any others that they teach in English. The level that the schools are instilling in students is too low."*

As some participants expressed that they had already attained a proficient level in Euskera before entering the secondary schools, it is worthwhile to examine data from the question set concerning the degree to which participants' families helped them to develop advanced proficiencies in both Euskera and English (28 respondents for Euskera, and 29 for English). Results show (see Table 13) that families indeed played a role in developing linguistic proficiency in Euskera (rating average of 3.21), but played a considerably less significant role in the development of English proficiency (rating average of 2.24). Family help did not take the form of linguistic fluency in some cases, rather it also evidenced itself in the form of encouragement and support for their children to acquire these languages.

Table 13

Survey Participant Agreement with the Following Statement:
My family helped me develop an advanced proficiency in Euskera/English.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Rating Average	Response Count
Euskera	**42.9% (12)**	**42.9% (12)**	7.1% (2)	7.1% (2)	3.21	28
English	10.3% (3)	27.6% (8)	**37.9% (11)**	24.1% (7)	2.24	29

Eight participants commented on their replies to family help with Euskera proficiency, while six commented on the issue of family help for English proficiency. Following are a sample of these written comments, separated by language:

Euskera

Comment 3 (of 8): *"My parents don't speak Basque but they always wanted their children to speak it perfectly."*

Comment 4 (of 8): *"I would consider that having two Euskaldun parents – despite being new speakers, 'Euskaldunberris' – has contributed in an important way to my advanced level in Euskera, although I don't consider it necessary."*

Comment 8 (of 8): *"It's my maternal language – at home we only speak Euskera."*

English

Comment 2 (of 6): *"My parents tried to help me – they brought me to extracurricular classes."*
Comment 5 (of 6): *"For the grinding insistence of my parents. But, a lot of times, insisting too much can cause the opposite effect."*
Comment 6 (of 6): *"My family doesn't know English. I had to take special classes."*

3) Participant current or expected use of English and Euskera

According to a study conducted by the Basque Government, only 22% of Basque residents speak Euskera correctly, at high proficiency. Of this number, 42% express that they speak more fluidly in Castilian than in Euskera, 33% indicate that they speak as well in Euskera and they do in Castilian, and 24% indicate that they speak more fluently in Euskera than in Castilian (Basque Government, 1998). Though Euskera is clearly making a significant comeback from its rigidly repressed, rather recent history, it is evident that there is still reasonable need for on-going linguistic support for Euskera, and in addition for English. One of the ways that language is kept alive is by continued and regular use. One of the aims of this study is to begin to look at how Euskera and English are being used by Basque Country residents, to gauge how successful both the secondary schools are in producing competent, multilingual adults, and how successful the surrounding community is in providing opportunities for the use of these languages. Without consistent use, both Euskera and English will deteriorate, despite the best efforts of the secondary school system.

This section examines linguistic proficiency levels of participants, as well as how each person is utilizing now, or plans to utilize (particularly in the case of university students), Euskera and English. First, interviewee responses to questions related to use and proficiency will be detailed, and then data from survey participants will be illustrated and discussed.

Interview Data

Following her secondary school career, Clara completed two university programs, one in Spanish Literature, and a second in English Literature. She also studied German for seven years, but laments that she has lost much of her German proficiency for lack of use. Clara considers herself to be bilingual in Castilian and English, and explains that she has some proficiency in Euskera, Italian and French, in addition to German, but that she is far from fluent. Clara considers Castilian to be her mother tongue, although she feels very attached to English, as she began to study it regularly from the age of seven. While she considers herself to be Basque and Spanish, she does not study to improve her proficiency – rather she listens to news programs in Euskera approximately 30 minutes weekly in order to attempt to maintain what proficiency she has. As a professor in the Modern Languages department at a Basque Country university, Clara uses English and Castilian every day, and describes the division between language use to be 60% Castilian, 40% English. She is very proud of her English proficiency, thought is somewhat ashamed to admit that having focused so profoundly on English study has cost her the tie to Euskera. Clara explains that she uses English regularly, both for work and for travel, and that she has friends in England that she frequently visits. Despite a low proficiency in Euskera, she believes adamantly that it must be preserved along with other facets of Basque culture.

José describes himself as multilingual, and, as mentioned in the previous section, is fluent in Castilian, English and Euskera, with proficiencies in French, German and Chinese. His first language is Castilian, and José explains that he used that language most frequently in his day-to-day life because it is the dominant language of most of the people he interacts with on a regular basis. Overall he breaks down his weekly language usage this way: 20% Euskera, 30% English, 50% Castilian. He currently teaches English philology in the Department of Modern Languages

at a Basque Country University, and earned his PhD at a university in the U.S. Midwest. Aside from his profession, José uses all of the languages in which he is proficient at varying times for travel.

Federico considers himself to be multilingual, although he is fluent in two languages (Castilian and Euskera), and somewhat proficient in English – abilities he developed as a student in a Model D secondary school. Despite these multiple proficiencies Federico explains that he uses Castilian most often, because the people he interacts with usually don't speak Euskera, or in other circumstances he finds that Castilian offers a broader range of technical information. While he uses Castilian most often in personal interactions, Federico manages to use Euskera daily as well, and he utilizes his English language skills primarily to access information on the World Wide Web, and at times for his job.

Isabel, a student in the Modern Languages department of a Basque Country university, describes herself as multilingual, with fluency in Castilian, English and Euskera, and somewhat lower proficiencies in German, which she studied for four years. Her first language is Castilian, and as her family comes from not only the Basque Country, but other regions of Spain, she considers herself to be Basque as well as Spanish. As her family is of varied heritages within Spain, Isabel speaks Castilian with them most often, as well as with most other people she works with, though at times she speaks Euskera with friends and some family. She says that multiple language proficiencies are helpful when travelling, and that at times it provides a support to her at work. Her career plan is to teach English language; she first expects to spend a year in Germany to improve her ability in that language, and then plans to move to another region of Spain, such as Andalusia, to develop her career.

Finally, Jaime, like all of the other interview participants, considers his first language to be Castilian, although he says he his bilingual, with fluency in Euskera. He has a basic proficiency in Catalan, and an intermediate proficiency in English, but is studying with the plan to eventually become fluent in English language, and therefore become multilingual. A current university student, Jaime uses Castilian 90% of the time, with Euskera filling the remaining 10% of regular language use. When asked why he chooses Castilian above other language he is able to speak, he replied, "I don't choose. This is the Basque Country, there is diglossia. You can almost never choose" (personal communication, July 25, 2010). Jaime feels that English is very useful for travel, and also for access to academic information, which is particularly important for him as a university student. He estimates that he reads information on the World Wide Web in English 3-5 days per week, and that he uses Euskera nearly every day at his university, and in informal conversation.

Survey Data

Survey participants were asked to indicate their current proficiency levels in English, Euskera and Castilian, and a total of up to 34 responses were collected. The results indicate that participants overwhelmingly consider themselves to be fluent in both Castilian (3.94 rating average) and Euskera (3.44 rating average), while English proficiency (3.0 rating average) is spread out among all possibly answer selections, but peaks at the Intermediate level (see Table 14). This data indicates a 0.37 rise in rating average for participant English proficiency level since graduating from secondary school.

Table 14

Indicated current proficiency of survey participants

	Fluent-Advanced	Intermediate	Basic	No proficiency	Rating Average	Response Count
Castilian	**94.1% (32)**	5.9% (2)	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)	3.94	34
Euskera	**70.6% (24)**	8.8% (3)	14.7% (5)	5.9% (2)	3.44	34
English	31.3% (10)	**40.6% (13)**	25.0% (8)	3.1 (1)	3.0	32

Second, survey participants were asked to indicate if they plan to use, or currently use, Euskera and English in their careers. Of 26 respondents to the question regarding Euskera use, the majority (15) strongly agreed that they would use the language in their career (3.23 rating average). The 28 responses to the question regarding use of English (2.75 rating average) were evenly spread among question response choices, however a slight majority (16) marked either 'strongly agree' or 'agree,', while 12 marked either 'disagree' or 'strongly disagree' (see Table 15).

Table 15

Survey Participant Agreement with the Following Statement:
I plan to use, or currently use, Euskera/English in my career.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Rating Average	Response Count
Euskera	**57.7% (15)**	19.2% (5)	11.5% (3)	11.5% (3)	3.23	26
English	**28.6% (8)**	**28.6% (8)**	**32.1% (9)**	10.7% (3)	2.75	28

Of these respondents, eight chose to provide written commentary to supplement their answer regarding Euskera use. Of these eight, three have chosen to take university courses with Euskera as the language of instruction, three use Euskera regularly in the workplace, one expressed a desire to have the opportunity to use it, but felt it was not called for, and the last respondent explained that he or she had no career. Of the three that chose to provide commentary on their answers regarding English use, one had no career at all, one uses English regularly to lecture, stating that English is essential for his or her occupation, and the third indicated that there was no opportunity to use English professionally.

4) Participant opinions/feelings regarding the future of Euskera and English

The final section will present the beliefs and concerns held by study participants regarding the linguistic future of the Basque Country. This will provide an inside look at how

Basque Country residents see the linguistic diversity of their region and how they make sense of the intense and relatively recent focus centered on developing multilingual capacities. Additionally, considering the data previously presented, research findings will participant attitudes and concerns regarding the possible loss or degradation of their heritage language. First, the data collected from the five interviews will be presented, and finally, the section will close with data provided by the survey participants.

Interview Data

Interviewee answers to questions relating to the future of Euskera and English varied somewhat, and while some participants provided short, concise answers, others shared lengthier commentary. José simply states that, according to his perspective, the future of both Euskera and English rely on the development and refinement of "functional trilingualism." Given the support for Castilian in the dominant culture, he feels that academic programs should use Euskera as a language of instruction in the majority of instances, rather than be shared equally by two other languages.

Federico is ambivalent about the future, and expresses only that the linguistic environment in the Basque Country is very politicized. Isabel's comments reflect Federico's in that she is very aware that language is as much a political construct as a social or cultural construct. However Isabel feels that Euskera will ultimately survive, and that it ought to survive as any other language should – she does not separate Euskera into a class of its own, rather she sees the language as equally as precious as any other language, and therefore equally deserving of preservation and maintenance. She adds, "You're not going to destroy a language just because you don't agree with it politically" (personal communication, June 9, 2010).

Jaime offered the most abundant commentary on the issue of the future of Euskera and English in the Basque Country. He expects that English will, and ought to, become the second (or third) language of a large percentage of the Basque population, as it is becoming the lingua franca throughout the world. In terms of Euskera, Jaime is adamant that the language will not be lost, as it has survived a long and difficult history of marginalization that has oftentimes relegated Euskera to primarily rural, non-legislative contexts, without written tradition, and with an increasingly smaller geographical area that features it as a principal language. He feels that as the Basque people have managed to keep Euskera alive throughout all of this, have incorporated it into the schools, granted it a higher standard of prestige, and integrated it into parliament, it is extremely unlikely that it will be entirely lost in the future. However he foresees only a slight growth in the percentage of people with general knowledge of, and competence in, Euskera, and feels that the percentage of the population that is able to effectively communicate in the language will remain stable, or slightly decrease over time. In particular Jaime expressed concern for the regions of Zuberoa and Baxenabarre, where he sees a growing loss of Euskera.

Finally, Clara was notably positive about the future of Euskera, which was interesting as she was the only one of the five interview participants who lacked a high proficiency in the language. She admits that, for those who leave the Basque Country, Euskera will be difficult to maintain, but for those who stay it will not be a challenge. While there exists a certain threat that Euskera will be eventually lost, Clara holds a deep conviction that it will ultimately survive – that if it survived Franco's regime, there should be little doubt concerning its preservation. She adds that many bascophones never leave the Basque Country at all, for the affinity they feel for their homeland. Many speakers are rural farmers with strong ties to the land, and even the younger generation seems to be deeply drawn to their Basque identity, and many will ultimately

stay in the region. Furthermore, Clara explains that there is a significant amount of money available that is earmarked especially for Basque language programs, and having that economic support is essential to passing the language along to newer generations of Basques as well as non-Basque immigrants.

Survey Data

Survey participants were first asked to indicate the likelihood that they would eventually live outside of the Basque Country region, or to indicate if they already resided outside of this region, and were then asked to indicate whether they feared future loss of Euskera. Finally, participants were allowed to openly comment on any issues of their choosing.

Twenty two out of 28 question respondents indicated that they would not live outside of the Basque Country, marking either "disagree" (8 participants), or "strongly disagree" (14 participants), and the rating average for the question overall was a very low 1.82. A majority of 19 out of 29 question respondents indicated a fear that Euskera may be lost in the future, with a rating average of 3.0 (see Tables 16 and 17).

Table 16

Survey Participant Agreement with the Following Statement:
I plan to live, or currently live, outside of the Basque Country.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Rating Average	Response Count
10.7% (3)	10.7% (3)	28.6% (8)	**50.0% (14)**	1.82	28

Table 17

Survey Participant Agreement with the Following Statement:
I fear that use of Euskera may be lost in the future generations.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Rating Average	Response Count
41.4% (12)	24.1% (7)	27.6% (8)	6.9% (2)	3.0	29

Five participants commented briefly on their replies to the question regarding living outside of the Basque Country. Two mentioned that they currently live in other regions of Spain, and three mentioned that they would never live outside of the Basque Country for any length of time. Seven participants chose to explain their concerns for future loss of Euskera, and a sample of their comments follows:

Comment 4 (of 7): *"The communicative empire of Castilian and French drown out the normalized development of Euskera."*

Comment 5 (of 7): *"I fear it because the people that know Euskera don't use it, above all the youth, and that makes me very afraid."*

Comment 7 (of 7): *"Above all I attribute my concern to the oppression that we sufferat the hands of the Spanish and French States, and the ignorance of the people that go along with whatever they're told."*

Finally, below is a sample of the five open comments made by survey participants, who were able to speak of anything they felt important to mention:

Comment 1 (of 5): *"People believe that you can't oblige children to study a language that only a million people speak, because they see that it isn't practical. I see Euskera as the arrow on the tip of the spear – Euskera is what makes one Basque. And if that is lost, the Basque identity is lost. That's why language learning in the Basque Country is so politicized."*

Comment 2 (of 5): *"Most monolinguals don't care at all about Euskera, and I'd say it even bothers them. The easiest and most normal language is Castilian. We will do what we can so our language doesn't rot, we won't ask favors of anyone, but we also won't permit them to subjugate us. Providing the population with knowledge of Euskera is the obligation of the autonomous governments. It is the native language of this land and knowledge has to be near 100% in order to assure that whoever wants to use it is able to. Who doesn't want to can speak in French or Castilian, we don't care, we understand it perfectly."*

Comment 4 (of 6): *"Despite the efforts being made daily to foment Euskera and its use, there is still a lot of work left to do, and our generation should take the responsibility of ensuring that the language and culture don't end up disappearing. All the same, English language study is very important, but in my opinion it shouldn't be a detriment to Euskera and Castilian. I also don't believe that the methodology to being used currently to teach English is very pedagogical or effective. As much as one may try, anyone whose first language isn't English needs to learn basic*

grammar simply to be able to construct a simple sentence. In the end, you can't build a house starting with the roof."

Summary

Study participants overwhelmingly support the acquisition of both Euskera and English, though for different reasons. Strong attachment to culture, stemming in part from a long history of linguistic and cultural repression, only fuels the motivation to retain Euskera as a vibrant, functional and prestigious language. Furthermore, participants indicated a desire to preserve Euskera as not only the indigenous language of their region, but because of its unique status as a language unrelated to any other linguistic family in the world. English, on the other hand, is values for its position as a power lingua franca, whereby English proficiency means access to all kinds of information, people, and resources.

Multilingual schools, designed to increase the competency levels in English and Euskera, have in many important ways succeeded; three out of five interview participants acquired high levels of proficiency in Euskera, in particular, by attending such schools. However results of this study show that instruction time in English, as well as extracurricular use of English, is markedly lower than for Castilian and Euskera. This corresponds with a lower overall proficiency in English at the time of graduation from secondary school, when compared with Castilian and Euskera. While participants believe that multilingual schools are beneficial to the preservation of Euskera and acquisition of English, there is some dissatisfaction with the general quality of the curriculum as it relates specifically to pedagogy, and some participants felt that the most effective way to preserve Euskera is to favor it as a primary language of instruction in most schools and educational programs in the Basque Country. Many participants mentioned that in order to acquire a reasonable proficiency in English, extracurricular lessons were necessary.

Current language use by participants appears to reflect current linguistic trends in the Basque Country. Although most participants have at least a working proficiency in Euskera, Castilian tends to be the language most often used due to its status as the language of the majority. Furthermore, Euskera relies on a common, high proficiency on the part of two (or more) interlocutors in order to be effective for communication, and this is often challenging to achieve. Some participants come from Euskera-speaking families, but for those who achieved proficiency either through extracurricular study or in the secondary school system, there is an increased dependence on environmental support for regular language use. In some cases participants found that Euskera proficiency places them at an advantage in the work place, which some university students opted to take classes taught via Euskera, rather than Castilian.

English is used less often than either Castilian or Euskera, as can be expected, however some participants indicate that English is essential to their professional work, and others mentioned that, even despite a basic-intermediate proficiency in English, they access written information weekly in the English language. While all interview participants indicated regular use of English, only approximately half of survey participants indicated that they currently used, or planned to use, English in their career. However some participants mentioned that they did not expect to use English because they felt that few jobs in their area demanded it, or because they had no career – not necessarily because they did not desire to utilize it.

Despite overall high linguistic proficiencies in Euskera, participants all shared a profound conviction that normalization of the language – its inclusion in the political infrastructure, a higher expectation for its use in the social and educational spheres, sharing equal prestige with Castilian, etcetera – is necessary for it to survive robust and intact in the long-term. Most participants indicate that they plan to stay in the Basque Country rather than relocate to other

regions of Spain, or to other countries, which will aid not only in their own language maintenance, but will furthermore help to stabilize the bascophone population. Until normalization occurs, many Basques fear the future deterioration of Euskera. In Chapter 5, the conclusions that may be drawn from these results, combined with recommendations based on this study, will be discussed.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

Summary of the Study

Despite a wide breadth of research that has been conducted to date in order to better understand the linguistic complexity of the Basque Country, Spain, little focus has been placed on the examination of the long-term efficacy of multilingual schools to produce alumni with strong cultural and linguistic foundations in Euskera, and high proficiencies in English as a lingua franca. If multilingual schools are successful in preparing alumni in this way and if, after leaving the structured environments of multilingual schools, alumni are able to maintain proficiency in both of these languages, then such schools may serve as exemplary models for other world regions where minority languages battle with both dominant and global languages for prestige and instruction time.

A multi-methods qualitative study was conducted to investigate this issue, including an electronic survey completed by 36 individuals, interviews conducted with five participants, and triangulated with language and identity data provided by the Basque Government. All participants are of Basque origin and completed secondary schooling in the Basque Country.

Findings from this study show that Euskera and English languages are both highly valued – Euskera as a strong cultural identifier, and English as a language of global communication. While secondary schools provided an overall strong education in Euskera and Castilian, English lagged behind in frequency of instruction, frequency of extracurricular use, and overall proficiency upon graduation from secondary school. A majority of participants agree that multilingual curriculums are valuable for the maintenance of Euskera, and the instruction of English, although not all participants were satisfied with the current structure of such curriculums. A majority of participants plan to live and work in the Basque Country, and

slightly more than half plan to use English in their careers, while the majority expect to use Euskera to some degree. English was particularly important for those who travel and those involved in academia. Despite high proficiencies in Euskera, most participants expressed concerns that Euskera may deteriorate and/or be eventually lost if it is not normalized in Basque society.

Conclusions

Three principal conclusions can be drawn from the results of this study, and are delineated below:

1) English instruction must become more effective at the higher academic levels, and should begin in primary school in most cases, allowing students to take advantage of the benefits of multiple language instruction from an early age.
2) Extracurricular networks must be developed in the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC) in order to provide an environment for students to utilize and develop language skills – opportunities to use English are extremely limited, and even those who are proficient in Euskera tend to favor Castilian in most cases due to issues of diglossia.
3) Euskera must eventually be normalized, and held in equal esteem with Castilian, however normalization depends in part upon increased and widespread language proficiencies among the Basque population, and the demand for its use in all spheres of society. If Euskera becomes a required language in commerce, politics, education and social environments in the Basque Country, then there will be more than simply a somewhat tenuous, cultural desire to retain it – it will be a practical language to know.

Discussion

Results of this study show positive attitudes toward English and Euskera acquisition, reflected in research by Cenoz and Jessner (2000) and Ibarraran, Lasagabaster and Sierra (2005). While this is encouraging, data regarding quantity and quality of instruction indicate that students need more emphasis on English language study in the school environment as well as extracurricular contexts in which to practice their language skills. As presented by Montrul (2009) and Cenoz and Valencia (1994), bilingual students have a heightened ability to acquire a third language, as opposed to their monolingual peers. In this way, Euskera and English can be mutually supportive in the language learning process for students whose first language is the dominant Castilian. Cenoz's 2005 study also suggests that when introduced at a young age, students experience higher motivation to learn additional languages, and that this motivation decreases as students age and head into secondary school. While the present study asks participants only about the secondary school experience, it cannot be determined if their primary schooling had an effect on their ultimate language proficiencies at the time of graduation from secondary school. However, particularly in terms of English instruction, it was widely reported that students with high proficiencies in English often sought outside tutoring to improve language skills, which suggests that there may be room for improvement in terms of secondary school pedagogy.

Participants also commented on the diglossic environment in the Basque Country, and expressed that even those who are proficient in Euskera often speak Castilian to a much greater degree due to its powerful dominance as a State language. According to proficiency data provided by the Basque Government (1998) only 22% of the Basque population speaks Euskera proficiently, and of this number 42% indicate that they are stronger in Castilian overall, while

only 24% claim to be equally proficient in both languages. This is a staggering number, and illustrates the difficulty that many Basque Country residents encounter when it comes to incorporating their heritage language into the daily fold of their lives. In order to use the language effectively, an individual proficient in Euskera must regularly encounter others with a similar level of proficiency in Euskera, who are willing to engage one another in Euskera rather than their potentially dominant language, Castilian. This is not always easily accomplished, and ultimately leads even fully bilingual Castilian-Euskera speakers to use Castilian with more frequency. In fact, of the participants who commented on their language use, all mentioned that they use Castilian because that is the dominant language of the majority of the people with whom they interact. This is reflected in Echeverria's study (2005) of students in Model D schools in Gipuzkoa, where it was found that even in such Euskera-centered schools, Castilian was the often the language of choice in students' down time, and outside the classroom.

The majority of all study participants felt strongly that Basque culture and language must be preserved, and most expressed fear that Euskera may eventually deteriorate and be lost, despite overall high Euskera proficiencies reported among both survey and interview participants. Euskera, above all, is seen as a deeply important marker of cultural identity. Indeed, most study participants identified as Basque or Euskaldun, while statistical data on the cultural identity of Basque youth, aged 15-29, provided by the Basque Government, shows that 36% identify solely as Basque, 29% identify as equally Basque and Spanish, and only 4% identify solely as Spanish (Basque Government, 2004). While this may indicate a bias toward Basque culture-centered population, it is precisely from this population that a move toward expansion and growth of Euskera will derive.

This growth will rely on more than the tenuous and culture-specific draw toward ethnic identity, but will have to stem from a move toward increased linguistic practicality. Many participants commented that it is necessary for Euskera to be normalized in Basque society, and that the best way for the language to survive is for it to be integrated into political, economic, social and economic spheres. In order for normalization to occur, Euskera must be viewed as a prestigious language – at least as prestigious as Castilian – within the Basque Country. Normalization is difficult to achieve when overall proficiency levels in the BAC are relatively low for Euskera, and its speakers are often limited in the contexts in which they are able to utilize the language.

Finally, according to many study participants, English suffers not only from lack of overall instructional quality, but also in the lack of extracurricular spaces in which developing English skills may be practiced. English is a language viewed by most Basques as important for access to people, places and resources (reflected by the studies by Ibarraran, Lasagabaster and Sierra (2005), Lasagabaster (2003, 2005 and 2008), and yet there are few structures that support the development of the language. While the majority of study participants support English language instruction, only slightly over half of the participants indicated that they either currently used, or planned to use, English in their careers. Of those, some commented that English was essential for access to academic information, or for communication in their jobs, while several other participants explained that their basic-intermediate English proficiency acquired in multilingual secondary school programs helped them access online news in English, but felt they needed a considerate amount of further study to become advanced in the language. In order to maintain and/or develop the English proficiencies attained, English must be available in more environments within the BAC. Balerdi (1997), Huguet (2007), Cenoz (2005), Lasagabaster,

(2008), and Zalbide and Cenoz (2008) all echo this need for the creation of social and cultural spaces for expanded use of both English and Euskera, lest proficiencies deteriorate over time from lack of active use.

Recommendations

One route toward developing higher overall proficiencies in Euskera across the BAC is to offer more educational programs with Euskera as the primary language of instruction. Currently, Model D schools only represent a fraction of secondary school types in the Basque Country, and it may prove fruitful to expand the number of these schools across the region, in addition to adult education and technical programs. English pedagogy must be made more effective for students, and specialists in the TESOL field, with a sensitivity to the unique linguistic environment of the Basque Country, may be able to fill a role in the creation of English language curriculums that more successfully produce competent English speakers. In the case of both languages, it may be ideal to start more BAC children in balanced, effective multilingual programs from primary school, where motivation to acquire language is higher.

Augmenting this, it is essential that schools, the community and the government work together to expand the multilingual environment of the Basque Country so that linguistic support does not rely largely on the school system but is woven through the fabric of society, on all levels. Beyond this general recommendation it is up to the members of Basque society to determine how this integration might best materialize.

Basques feel strongly about the preservation of Euskera as a cultural marker of identity, something that over the years of the BAC's volatile history has become quite a politicized issue. Many study participants mentioned that Euskea simply is not a practical language, and therefore

to stimulate a move toward normalization there must be a gross expansion of spheres – political, social, educational and economic – in which proficiency in Euskera is required, thereby making it a practical language to be studied and mastered.

Further research may be done in this same genre, but with a larger sample of the population, and in addition it would be extremely worthwhile for work to be done to determine the most effective ways to increase demand for Euskera and English proficiencies, as well as provide increasing numbers of social and cultural environments in which they may be used and sustained. It would be helpful to see research that attempts to determine proficiency and attitude differences between students who begin multilingual study in primary school, and those who begin such curriculums in secondary school or beyond.

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Appendix A

Electronic Survey

SURVEY: Attitudes and use of Spanish, Euskera and English in the Basque Country

BACKGROUND QUESTIONS

1) Student age (select one category): 18-24 25-30 31-36 37-42 43+

2) Gender (select one): Female Male Other

3) Indicate the language(s) you consider to be your first language(s)? Select all that apply:

___ Spanish
___ Euskera
___ English
___ Other

4) How would you describe your cultural/ethnic identity? Briefly explain:

5) What is your current course of study at your university (if applicable)? Please be as specific as possible.

OVERALL ASSESSMENT

6) Rate how often you used the following languages in your secondary school:

	Every day	2-4 days/week	One day/week	Never
Spanish				
Euskera				
English				

7) Rate how often you used the following languages outside of your secondary school:

	Every day	2-4 days/week	One day/week	Never
Spanish				
Euskera				
English				

8) How would you rate your overall proficiency level in the following languages upon graduation
from secondary school?

	Fluent-Advanced	Intermediate	Beginner	No proficiency
Spanish				
Euskera				
English				

9) How would you rate your current overall proficiency in the following languages?

	Fluent-Advanced	Intermediate	Beginner	No proficiency
Spanish				
Euskera				
English				

Indicate the extent to which you agree with each of the following statements listed below:

Select the one response that best reflects your opinion:

10) It is important to be proficient in Spanish.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

11) It is important to be proficient in Euskera.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

12) It is important to be proficient in English.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

13) It is important to preserve Basque culture.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

14) I enjoyed studying Euskera in school.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree N/A

15) I enjoyed studying English in school.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree N/A

16) My secondary school helped me become proficient in Euskera.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree N/A

17) My secondary school helped me become proficient in English.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree N/A

18) Multilingual schools are necessary for teaching Euskera.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

19) Multilingual schools are necessary for teaching English.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

20) My family helped me become proficient in Euskera.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

21) My family helped me become proficient in English.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

22) I currently use, or plan to use, Euskera in my future career.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

23) I currently use, or plan to use, English in my future career.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

24) I currently live, or plan to live, outside of the Basque Country.

Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

25) Please take a moment to comment on anything else that you feel is important to mention:

Thank you for your participation! If you are finished answering the questions, please click the "submit" button below.

[There will be a "submit link" button in electronic version.]

Appendix B

Interview questions

1) Record age, gender and year of graduation.

2) What language do you consider to be your first language (natal language)?

3) How many languages do you currently speak with relative fluency?

4) Are there any other languages that you speak at a lower level of proficiency?

5) Do you consider yourself to be monolingual, bilingual, or multilingual?

6) What language would you say that you use most frequently (home, work, social settings)?

7) Why do you choose this language over others you may know?

8) How would you describe your cultural background?

9) Do you feel it is important to preserve Basque culture and language?

10) Do you enjoy learning new languages?

11) Do you use English for any specific purposes, such as travel or work?

12) How would you describe your academic and career path since graduating from secondary school?

13) Are you proud of your Euskera/English proficiency?

14) Describe how languages were used and taught at your secondary school.

15) How do you feel about learning English?

16) Do you feel that learning and maintaining Euskera is important? Why?

17) How often would you say you use English/Euskera each week?

18) Do you feel that your school curriculum facilitated the learning of languages?

19) What thoughts do you have regarding the future of English and Euskera in the Basque Country?

20) Please take a moment to mention anything else you feel is important to say.

Appendix C

Complete List of Survey Comments

It is important to be proficient in Castilian.

1) "Castilian is a very useful language on a cultural level, practically all external references that come to us in Euskadi are in Castilian. With this I want to say that it would be very costly to translate everything into Basque – you have to dominate other languages in order to be able to learn without limitations."
2) "It's necessary as long as the diglossic situation in Euskal Herria maintains a situation of exclusivity regarding the use of Castilian in a multitude of environments."
3) "It's the majority language of this area."
4) "It's convenient since it's imposed by the state of Spain. And a server lives, for the moment, within its regime."
5) "If I want to speak with people who aren't Euskaldun, I need to speak Castilian, right?"
6) "It's important, since the majority of information, or documents, etc., that we are obliged to receive from the Spanish government is in Castilian. I don't like being tricked without finding out about it first."
7) "Spain is a neighbor country, and in Euskal Herria it isn't possible to communicate everything in Euskera."
8) "In Euskal Herria one should be able to speak in Euskera."

It is important to be proficient in Euskera.

1) "It's very important because it's the only language we speak in my family. Also, it's a minority language, and it must be saved (although some don't see it that way)."
2) "Basque is the language that characterizes us. It shouldn't be a second language. It's clear that it's not a practical language, but it's a great cultural inheritance and it must be conserved."
3) "It's very important because it has to be preserved and revitalized, returning it to, and incorporating it in the largest amount of environments of use possible."
4) "It's my language, I like it and I need it to express myself freely with my family and friends and in my neighborhood when I return home (I live in France currently)."
5) "It's our language, which we use to communicate with each other within our own country, and it depends solely on us."
6) "It's my natural language. And the language of my country."
7) "It's important if you live in Euskal Herria. I understand that it isn't if you don't, that is to say, I don't speak Catalan, nor do I consider it important to learn because I don't live in Cataluña."
8) "I need it to speak with my friends and family, and those of my city. Furthermore it is something that characterizes us."
9) "It's important because we have to manage the perfection of our language."
10) "We live in Euskal Herria, our language is Euskera."
11) "We're Basque and without Euskera our culture would be lost."

12) "It's important if you live in the Basque Country and you want to get along well, because they give you points for that. Almost everywhere they usually use Castilian, and if they use Euskera in some places, they know how to speak Castilian too."

It is important to be proficient in English.

1) "If you want to go abroad it's worth the trouble to know it, so you can fend for yourself a little, and you can save yourself."
2) "If we spoke English as well as we speak Castilian, the doors to the whole world would be open to us."
3) "English is the global language par excellence, and there is a multitude of academic information that is only available in that language."
4) "It's the language for communication outside of the country, and to transmit information."
5) "Well, it's the current lingua franca."
6) "I believe it is important for all occupations, and for those interested in travelling and being able to communicate in other places, because it is the international language par excellence."
7) "In a globalized world like this you have to dominate this language, right?"
8) "As with Castilian, it hurts me to admit that it is important, but in this globalized world, if one wants to move a little and meet people in the world, you have to have a minimum level of English and Castilian."
9) "Euskal Herria isn't the world, and the world works in English."
10) "It's always convenient to know English."

It is important to preserve the Basque culture.

1) "It's our language. We learn to speak Euskera, and through the years we learn to speak Castilian."
2) "It is important as much for its cultural value (isolated, pre-Indo-European language, ancient culture, etc.) as for its value as an element of cohesion for Basque society."
3) "Of course, it's the culture of our country, EUSKAL HERRIA."
4) "It's important to preserve all cultures of the world, and moreso if they are in danger of extinction, like in the case of Basque culture."
5) "It's important because our culture is marvelous and it's something that characterizes us."
6) "If we don't conserve our culture, what do we have left?"
7) "Of course it is."
8) "Currently it is the oldest language and culture in Europe, which has managed to survive after thousands of years of repression at the hand of other peoples and languages

throughout its history (our history) and even today it continues to be repressed and stepped-on by the states of Spain and France."

9) "Because it's ours, and throughout much time they've wanted to take it from us."

I enjoyed studying Euskera in secondary school.

1) "Because it's the language I know, and with which I live."
2) "I studied it on my own time."
3) "The system of learning this language, and all languages in general, was very bad."
4) "I loved it, but grammatically it's a difficult language, even for those who begin learning it from a young age."
5) ""I liked it above all because by studying it I was able to learn more about my language and our culture."
6) "Yes, since I consider myself Basque and not Spanish."
7) "It's my maternal language, I learned Castilian in the street."

I enjoyed studying English in secondary school.

1) "And in primary school, like Castilian. Knowing them is no problem."
2) "It was the last course I studied."
3) "I liked it a lot, and found it easy to learn."
4) "It's good to know other languages."
5) "I like languages."
6) "I have British family."

My secondary school helped me develop an advanced proficiency in Euskera.

1) "Since I was little I knew Euskera, and in primary school I already controlled it well."
2) "In my locality Euskera has been lost for centuries (Vitoria-Gasteiz) and my aptitudes in Euskera have developed almost exclusively en the academic and family environments, not so in the urban environment."
3) "I already had an advanced ability in both written and spoken Euskera, but thanks to my secondary school I was able to reach a level sufficient to obtain the EGA."
4) "They could have placed more resources in our reach, and not have obliged all the students to follow in the steps of the 'newbies;' divide the students in groups is the best option, although clearly that's not always possible."
5) "Where I studied they didn't teach Euskera."
6) "It helped me to learn more about my language, but I already had the ability since I was little."
7) "Grammatically."

8) "All my life I've studied in Euskera."

My secondary school helped me develop an advanced proficiency in Euskera.

1) "Since primary school I studied English. Now they start English instruction with infants."
2) "It helped me improve my level, but not to acquire an advanced level. Extra effort is necessary in addition to what secondary education can provide."
3) "It helped me, but if I hadn't taken on other activities of my own accord outside of the school curriculum, my level would be quite low."
4) "In general, they teach according to the person with the lowest proficiency level, and those of us with an aptitude for language were put to the side, in a certain way. Although I must say that one teacher or another did try to solve that problem."
5) "In school you don't learn English at all – you have to take special classes if you want to learn it."
6) "I went to an academy starting at 3 years of age. That explains my level of English."

Multilingual schools are necessary for the teaching of Euskera.

1) "To learn Euskera, if you're not from a Basque family, having Basque friends is enough."
2) "If it's not taught in school, the language will be lost."
3) "Multilingualism in the Basque Country needs more monolingual programs in Euskara."
4) "Well, they don't have to be multilingual. My school was 'unilingual' in Euskera, with mandatory classes in Castilian and English."
5) "Yes, but only if they are truly multilingual, with emphasis on the Basque language, since that's the language that needs to be rescued and normalized."
6) "For teaching they're not necessary, it's another issue if they it's necessary to study other languages along with Euskera."
7) "Euskera should be something that each person carries inside as the identity of their people. If you don't feel it, you will never speak that language no matter how much you study it."
8) "As it's a minority language, I think that the teaching should be in Euskera."

Multilingual schools are necessary for the teaching of English.

1) "English is a necessary language nowadays, and where better to begin speaking it than at school?"
2) "Yes, but not necessarily multilingual. It's doable to have just Euskera and English."

3) "I don't believe that the trilingual model is implanting itself well; the way it is now, if a student isn't good at English, they suspend that subject and also any others that they teach in English. The level that the schools are instilling in students is too low."

My family helped me develop an advanced proficiency in Euskera.

1) "It was the only language we spoke at home. I can't imagine my parents speaking to each other in Castilian, or I with my wife."
2) "My Castilian family compromised itself with a culture and country that accepted them well. They deserve all my respect."
3) "My parents don't speak Basque but they always wanted their children to speak it perfectly."
4) "I would consider that having two Euskaldun parents – despite being new speakers, 'Euskaldunberris' – has contributed in an important way to my advanced level in Euskera, although I don't consider it necessary."
5) "We speak mostly Euskera, and my parents sometimes speak Castilian with each other."
6) "Thanks to my family I know the language of my country, Euskera."
7) "My family is Euskaldun."
8) "It's my maternal language – at home we only speak Euskera."

My family helped me develop an advanced proficiency in English.

1) "Since I was little I received special classes."
2) "My parents tried to help me – they brought me to extracurricular classes."
3) "They don't have any knowledge of English."
4) "They don't know English."
5) "For the grinding insistence of my parents. But, a lot of times, insisting too much can cause the opposite effect."
6) "My family doesn't know English. I had to take special classes."

I currently use, or plan to use, Euskera in my career.

1) "I'm a primary school teacher, and it's our language."
2) "It helps win me Basque-speaking clients."
3) "I chose to take my university classes in Euskera."
4) "In my work life I use it daily."
5) "I have no career."
6) "I'm studying in Euskera."
7) "Of course I'd like to, it's just that in the 'Spanish state' there are no careers in Euskera."
8) "I study in this language."

I currently use, or plan to use, English in my career.

1) "In consultations and lectures it's essential for my work."
2) "There was no option."
3) "I have no career."

I currently live, or plan to live, outside of the Basque Country.

1) "I don't need to leave here, I have all I could want and more."
2) "In Lyon."
3) "I live in Nafarroa."
4) "I couldn't, save for short periods of time."
5) "It's my 'ama lurra.'"

I fear that use of Euskera may be lost in future generations.

1) "They won't acquire it."
2) "It's an obvious risk. The militant spirit of Euskera has been lost (the new generations aren't aware of the effort assumed to carry Euskera to its present situation)."
3) "The level is lowering a lot, and I believe that with time it's possible that it will be lost."
4) "The communicative empire of Castilian and French drown out the normalized development of Euskera."
5) "I fear it because the people that know Euskera don't use it, above all the youth, and that makes me very afraid."
6) "For now I have no motives to fear it, but the situation isn't what we'd like."
7) "Above all I attribute my concern to the oppression that we sufferat the hands of the Spanish and French States, and the ignorance of the people that go along with whatever they're told."

Please take a moment to comment on anything that you would like to mention.

1) "People believe that you can't oblige children to study a language that only a million people speak, because they see that it isn't practical. I see Euskera as the arrow on the tip of the spear – Euskera is what makes one Basque. And if that is lost, the Basque identity is lost. That's why language learning in the Basque Country is so politicized."
2) "Most monolinguals don't care at all about Euskera, and I'd say it even bothers them. The easiest and most normal language is Castilian. We will do what we can so our language doesn't rot, we won't ask favors of anyone, but we also won't permit them to subjugate us. Providing the population with knowledge of Euskera es the obligation of the autonomous governments. It is the native language of this land and knowledge has to

be near 100% in order to assure that whoever wants to use it is able to. Who doesn't want to can speak in French or Castilian, we don't care, we understand it perfectly."

3) "Despite the efforts being made daily to foment Euskera and its use, there is still a lot of work left to do, and our generation should take the responsibility of ensuring that the language and culture don't end up disappearing. All the same, English language study is very important, but in my opinion it shouldn't be a detriment to Euskera and Castilian. I also don't believe that the methodology to being used currently to teach English is very pedagogical or effective. As much as one may try, anyone whose first language isn't English needs to learn basic grammar simply to be able to construct a simple sentence. In the end, you can't build a house starting with the roof."
4) "I learned Euskera starting at the age of 25 years."
5) "Everyone who lives in Euskal Herria should learn Euskera out of respect toward the land that has taken them in."

Appendix D

Study Participant Information Form

Preserving Euskera in a Globalized World: Long-Term Efficacy of Multilingual Schools in the Basque Country

Study Participant Information Form

The present study is aimed at better understanding the linguistic diversity of the Basque Country, particularly how multilingual education may promote the preservation of heritage languages, such as Euskera, as well as the acquisition of international languages such as English. The focus of this study is on current language use, proficiency and language attitudes of alumni of Basque Country multilingual schools. The study will focus both on current students at the University of Deusto, and on a wider network of community members, in the Basque Country, Spain.

The researcher, Olivia Destrades Mendoza (from Grand Valley State University in the state of Michigan, United States), will be looking at publicly available records on language proficiency and cultural identity for Basque Country resident, provided by the Basque Government. The research will also involve an electronic survey and both in-person and electronic interviews. All participants must be at least 18 years of age. No personal information of participants will be connected to collected data, and the research poses minimal to no risk for those choosing to participate. For those participating in both interview and survey, time constraints will not exceed one hour in total, and will occur either electronically, or on the campus of the University of Deusto.

Pseudonyms will be used in all cases.

Participants may choose to cease participation at any time, and simply need to communicate their desire to the researcher who will promptly cease to gather data on that participant, and will delete all previously gathered data on that participant.

For any questions or concerns regarding this project, or for a copy of the final results of the study, the participant may contact the researcher via email at: destrado@mail.gvsu.edu. Faculty adviser: Ismail Hakim, hakimi@gvsu.edu. For more information about your rights as a participant, you may also contact HRRC: hrrc@gvsu.edu or 1-616-331-3197. To contact a professor from the University of Deusto in relation to this project, write to Jon Ortiz de Urbina at urbina@fil.deusto.es.

This EXEMPT research protocol has been approved by the Human Research Review Committee at Grand Valley State University. File NO. 10-243-H.

Appendix E

Permission to Conduct Research at the University of Deusto

Appendix F

HRRC Protocol Approval Letter

Appendix G

Data Form