

# The Challenge of a Bilingual Society in the Basque Country

EDITED BY  
Pello Salaburu  
and Xabier Alberdi

Center for Basque Studies  
University of Nevada, Reno

UPV/EHU



Center for Basque Studies  
Current Research Series, No. 9

# The Challenge of a Bilingual Society in the Basque Country

Edited by

**Pello Salaburu and Xabier Alberdi**

**Current Research Series No. 9**

Center for Basque Studies  
University of Nevada, Reno

Published in conjunction with the University of the Basque Country  
UPV/EHU



Unit I I Herr  
del Pais Vasco i i

## Current Research

Selections of the ongoing work done by the faculty of the University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHU), [www.ehu.es](http://www.ehu.es)

## Editorial Committee

Amaia Maseda (Chair, University of the Basque Country, UPV/EHU), Arantza Azpiroz (University of the Basque Country, UPV/EHU), Javier Echeverría (University of the Basque Country, UPV/EHU, and Ikerbasque), Jon Landeta (University of the Basque Country, UPV/EHU), Sandra Ott (UNR), Joseba Zulaika (UNR), Santos Zunzunegui (University of the Basque Country, UPV/EHU)

Current Research Series No. 9  
Center for Basque Studies  
University of Nevada, Reno  
Reno, Nevada 89557  
<http://basque.unr.edu>

Copyright © 2012 by the Center for Basque Studies.  
All rights reserved. Printed in the United States of America.  
Cover and series design © 2011 by Jose Luis Agote.  
Cover design based on engravings by Eduardo Chillida and Jorge Oteiza.  
Translations by: introduction, Cameron J. Watson; chapter 1, Julie Waddington; chapter 2, Laura Bunt MacRury; chapters 3, 7, and 9, Jennifer R. Ottman; chapters 4, 5 and 6, Jennifer Martin

## Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

The challenge of a bilingual society in the Basque country / edited by Pello Salaburu and Xabier Alberdi.

p. cm. -- (Current research series ; no. 9)

“Published in conjunction with the University of the Basque Country UPV/EHU.”

Summary: “Collection of articles by Basque academics on Basque language and its relations to bilingual society” -- Provided by publisher.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-935709-30-5 (pbk. : alk. paper) 1. Basque language--Social aspects. 2. Bilingualism--Spain. 3. Bilingualism--France. I. Salaburu Etxeberria, Pello. II. Alberdi, Xabier.

PH5024.75C48 2012  
499:92--dc23

2012035033

# Contents

Introduction .....	7
1. A Nation in Search of a Name: Cultural Realities, Political Projects, and Terminological Struggles in the Basque Country .....	11
LUDGER MEES, the University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHU)	
2. The Legal System of a Bilingual Society.....	33
ALBERTO LÓPEZ BASAGUREN, the University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHU)	
3. Basque and Romance Languages: Languages with Different Structures .....	51
IGONE ZABALA and ITZIAR SAN MARTIN, the University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHU)	
4. A Small Country, a Small Language, Many Dialects and Accents ..	73
JESUS MARI MAKAZAGA, the University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHU)	
5. The Search for a Common Code .....	93
PELLO SALABURU and XABIER ALBERDI, the University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHU)	
6. The Current Situation of the Basque Language: Speakers .....	113
MIREN AZKARATE VILLAR, the University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHU)	
7. Linguistic School Models in the Basque Country.....	137
JULIAN MAIA, the University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHU)	
8. The Basque Language in the Minds of Native and Nonnative Bilinguals .....	157
ITZIAR LAKA, MIKEL SANTESTEBAN, KEPA ERDOCIA, and ADAM ZAWISZEWSKI, the University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHU)	
9. Current Basque Literature.....	173
JON KORTAZAR, the University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHU)	

<i>References</i> .....	191
<i>Index</i> .....	209
<i>List of Contributors</i> .....	223

# The Basque Language in the Minds of Native and Nonnative Bilinguals

ITZIAR LAKA, MIKEL SANTESTEBAN, KEPA ERDOCIA, AND ADAM ZAWISZEWSKI, University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHU)

## An Overview of the Bilingual Mind

Bilinguals outnumber monolinguals: according to some recent estimates, between 60 and 75 percent of the world's population is bilingual. It has been argued that the capacity to learn more than one language is an adaptive trait in human evolution (Hirschfeld 2008), and given what we know of interactions between human groups, is not unlikely that people throughout history have more often than not known more than one language. Language research initially tended to restrict itself to the study of monolinguals, and there was not much interest in the study of bilingualism, because it was generally (though tacitly) assumed that the representation and processing of a given language was not affected by another one, whether acquired simultaneously or later in life. Recent findings have completely overturned this assumption, and suggest instead that research beyond monolingualism holds a great potential for generating knowledge about the psychological nature of the human language faculty and the way in which language is organized in our minds.

François Grosjean, a pioneer researcher on bilingualism, warns in his foundational paper (1989) that the bilingual is not two monolinguals in one person. Current work on the cognition of bilingualism shows the extent to which this statement is true because mental differences that relate to being bilingual or monolingual are being discovered. Some of these differences involve cognitive abilities that lie outside linguistic systems, such as the

---

\* Our research is supported by the Spanish Ministry of Education and Science (BRAINGLOT CSD2007-00012/CONSOLIDER-INGENIO 2010, FFI2009 09695/FILO, FFI2008-00240/FILO, FFI2010-20472/FILO), and the Basque government (IT414-10).



capacity to ignore irrelevant information when changing tasks, or a certain degree of resilience toward symptoms of neurodegeneration. Other differences between monolinguals and bilinguals involve the interplay of the two linguistic systems they use: we now know that bilinguals are simultaneously activate both languages, and must select or inhibit one at a time; we also know that the cost involved in having two lexicons instead of one are experimentally detectable. The developmental patterns of preverbal bilingual babies—who can very early on detect that more than one language is spoken in their environment—are also different from those of their monolingual counterparts. Ultimately, the main differences between monolingual and bilingual minds eventually emanate from the intensive cognitive training undergone by bilinguals in their lifetimes, given the frequency and speed at which they switch from one language to another.

From a more narrowly linguistic point of view, people with more than one language in their brains provide crucial evidence regarding the neurocognitive nature of the human language faculty. Thus, for instance, aspects of grammar are sensitive to *when* in life they are acquired, and also to *what* was known before, so that native speakers and nonnative speakers do not process certain aspects of the same grammar in the same way, even at high levels of language proficiency and given frequent use of the language. In contrast, vocabulary appears insensitive to when it is learned and what the words of a previously acquired language look like: given high proficiency in the language, nonnative speakers are native-like with respect to vocabulary processing (see Laka 2012a for a review).

Broadly speaking, neurocognitive studies of language and bilingualism reveal that the patterns of activation related to language processing are consistent across languages and native speakers; research shows that the processing of different languages occurs in much of the same brain tissue (Kim et al. 1997, Perani et al. 1998), and in recent work we have also found that the processing of Basque by native speakers generates electrophysiological signals that are equivalent to those generated by the processing of other languages (Erdozia et al. 2009; Díaz et al. 2011). When differences between languages are found, they obtain in bilinguals and they correlate with differences in proficiency levels attained in each language, and differences in age of acquisition for each language. This strongly suggests that age of acquisition and language proficiency are determinant factors in the neural underpinnings of language and bilingualism, so that early and proficient bilinguals do not “separate” languages in the brain, but as age of acquisition of the nonnative language increases and proficiency decreases, the nonnative language tends to be located in more extended and individually variable areas.

Given these findings, neurobilingualism has tended to focus research on the impact of language proficiency and of the age at which a language is acquired. Less attention has been devoted to the impact of the degree of similarity of the grammars located in one brain and the differences among different types of grammatical phenomena. As our knowledge advances, language diversity emerges as a likely relevant factor to be kept into account, and as the volume and level of detail of the studies carried out increases, it also becomes increasingly clear that, although all these factors have often been studied separately, there are strong connections between them: proficiency in the language, age of acquisition, and grammatical similarity are likely to be intertwined rather than separate factors. These are the topics that our research focuses on, as we strive to contribute to the general knowledge on bilingualism by exploring in detail Basque-Spanish bilinguals in our community.

### **Activation and Control of the Two Languages in the Bilingual Brain**

The brain activates all the languages it knows when it has to use language. In particular, bilinguals activate both of their languages when they have to use one (Desmet and Duyck 2007). The simple hypothesis that bilinguals have two separate lexicons—one for each language, so that when they use one language only its lexicon is activated—has been proved wrong by many studies: both lexicons are active whenever the bilingual speaks, either in one or the other language. In a pioneering study, Walter Van Heuven, Ton Dijkstra, and Jonathan Grainger (1998) find that the lexical items from a bilingual's native language are active while the bilingual is engaged in recognizing words from a nonnative language. Further studies have shown that this activation of the lexical items occurs irrespectively of the language for different types of bilinguals and language-pairs. Further evidence that the native language is activated when using the nonnative one had been uncovered by a large number of studies (including Costa, Caramazza, and Sebastián-Gallés 2000; Colomé 2001; Duyck 2005; Duyck et al., 2004; and Schwartz et al. 2007), by means of many different phenomena. It has also been repeatedly shown that the nonnative language is active when the native one is used (see for instance Duyck 2005, and Van Hell and Dijkstra 2002, among others). Similar results have been obtained in studies in which participants, instead of reading, heard the words they had to recognize (for instance Marian, Blumenfeld, and Boukrina 2008; Marian, Spivey, and Hirsch 2003), and in studies in which participants had to actually say the words (Costa, Santesteban, and Caño 2005; Kroll, Bobb, and Wodniecka 2006; Costa, Albareda, and Santesteban 2008; and Santesteban and Costa 2006).

The most important evidence supporting the parallel activation assumption comes from the so called cognate facilitation effects reported in both comprehension and production modalities. Cognates are those words that are formally (orthographically and phonologically) similar across languages (for example, the words *botella* and *botila* meaning “bottle” are cognate words of Spanish and Basque, respectively). In studies of lexical access during comprehension and production, cognate words have been reported to be faster to learn and more resistant to forgetting (for example, De Groot and Keijzer 2000), less likely to fall into tip-of-the-tongue states (Gollan and Acenas 2004), faster to produce (Costa, Caramazza, and Sebastián-Gallés 2000), and more sensitive to cross-linguistic priming (Van Hell and De Groot 1998).

According to some researchers, the cognate effect arises because retrieving phonemes belonging to cognate words is facilitated by concurrently activating the corresponding translations (Costa, Caramazza, and Sebastián-Gallés 2000; Costa, Santesteban, and Caño 2005). For instance, in production, the phonological content of a cognate word would be activated by its corresponding lexical representation and, given the phonological overlap, also by its translation. In contrast, the phonological representation of a non-cognate word would be activated only by the corresponding lexical representation. In other words, when a Spanish-Basque bilingual aims to produce a cognate word like *botila*, the parallel activation of its Spanish translation *botella* would facilitate retrieval of the phonemes shared by both words, because these phonemes will be activated by both the target word and its cognate. In contrast, when the word to be produced is a non-cognate like *labana* (“knife,” in Basque), its Spanish translation *cuchillo* would also be activated, but would not be able to facilitate retrieving the phonemes of the target word *labana*. This is because the target word and its translation do not share any phoneme, so that retrieving the phonemes of the target word *labana* would not receive extra activation from its translation word *cuchillo* (Costa, Caramazza, and Sebastián-Gallés 2000; Costa, Santesteban, and Caño 2005; Gollan and Acenas 2004).

This discovery naturally leads us to the question of how bilinguals manage to produce the words of the target language and prevent words from the non-target language from being uttered. If all the languages of the bilingual are active when language is processed, then there must be some further cognitive operation that controls what language is used at a given time.

Proposals as to how bilinguals control their languages in order to produce the one they want to use generally agree that bilingual lexical access must involve some kind of attention control mechanism (Costa 2005; Costa, Miozzo, and Caramazza 1999; Finkbeiner, Gollan, and Caramazza 2006; Green 1998; Kroll, Bobb, and Wodniekca 2006; La Heij 2005). Some research-

ers argue that, in order to avoid competition between the simultaneously activated lexical items of the target and non-target languages, language control in bilinguals entails the active inhibition of the linguistic representations of the non-target language; this is known as the inhibitory control model proposed by David Green (1998). However, others argue that bilingual speakers do not need to actively inhibit the linguistic representations of the non-target language. Instead, Albert Costa, Michele Miozzo, and Alfonso Caramazza (1999) suggest that the lexical nodes of the non-target language are activated but do not act as competitors during lexical access. In other words, according to the so-called language specific selection model, the bilinguals' language control mechanism allows them to ignore the activation of the non-target languages' lexical items by not considering them for selection.

The most important evidence in favor of the language specific selection model and the absence of cross-linguistic competition during bilingual lexical access comes from the picture-word interference paradigm. In this paradigm, participants are asked to name pictures while ignoring printed words. Here, it has been repeatedly demonstrated that speakers need more time to name a picture (such as a table) presented with a semantically related distractor word as *chair* than a semantically unrelated word such as *dog*. This "semantic interference effect" has been taken as evidence for the existence of lexical competition during lexical access in monolinguals. Hence, Costa, Miozzo, and Caramazza (1999) suggest that, if a semantically related word in the target language interferes in the lexical access process, the target's translation would be the strongest possible distractor. However, highly proficient Catalan-Spanish bilingual speakers were shown to be faster to name a picture of a table (*taula*, in Catalan) when the printed distractor word was its Spanish translation *mesa* than with an unrelated word like *perro* ("dog," in Spanish). Hence, Costa, Miozzo, and Caramazza (1999) interpret these "translation facilitation effects" as evidence of the absence of competition of the non-target language during bilingual lexical access.

The most revealing evidence for inhibitory mechanisms in bilinguals has been provided by Renata F. I. Meuter and Allan Allport (1999) in an experiment on language-switching, in which participants were asked to name a picture in one language or another, depending on the color of the picture. In their experiment, Meuter and Allport (1999) asked low proficient bilinguals to name digits in their L1 (French, Spanish, German, Italian, and Portuguese), and in their L2 (English) in switch and non-switch trials. This study shows that low-proficient bilinguals take longer to switch from their less dominant nonnative language to their native one than the other way around; an effect that has been termed the "asymmetrical switching cost." At first glance, this result may appear counterintuitive because it implies that it is "harder" to change from the language you do not know so well to the

language you know better than it is to change from the language you know better to the language you do not know so well. However, this is the pattern of results predicted by the inhibitory control model. This is because, as Green (1998) suggests, the amount of inhibition applied to one language depends on the proficiency level with which that language is spoken: the more proficient one is in a language, the more inhibition has to be applied over it in order to favor the other language. Moreover, the more inhibition is applied to a given lexicon, the longer and the harder it will take to overcome it in a subsequent trial. Hence, when low proficient bilinguals have to speak in their weaker, nonnative language, the native language is activated and therefore it has to be very strongly inhibited. As a consequence of the strong inhibition applied to it, if later these low proficient bilinguals want to speak in the dominant native language, they need to undo the strong inhibition applied to words in their native language. In contrast to this, changing from the strong native language to the weaker nonnative language does not require undoing such a strong inhibition, because words in the weaker language need not be so strongly inhibited.

Albert Costa and Mikel Santesteban (2004) further test the language switching performance of low- and high-proficient bilingual speakers, and suggest that bilingual speakers might make use of both language selection mechanisms. More specifically, these authors replicated the asymmetrical language switching cost patterns in a group of low proficient Spanish-Catalan bilinguals (who had more difficulty in switching from L2 to L1 than vice versa). Additionally, as would be predicted by the inhibitory control model, high proficient Spanish-Catalan bilinguals showed a symmetrical language switching cost pattern while switching between their two strong languages. However, in contrast to the predictions of the inhibitory control model, these high proficient bilinguals *also* showed a symmetrical language switching pattern while switching between their strong L1-Spanish or L2-Catalan and their weak L3-English (Costa and Santesteban 2004; Costa, Santesteban, and Ivanova 2006). Based on these results, these authors suggest that, although low proficient bilingual speakers rely on inhibitory processes to select words in the intended language, a shift from inhibitory to language specific selection mechanisms occurs in the case of high proficient bilinguals. Additionally, Costa, Santesteban, and Ivanova (2006) show that a symmetrical language switching was obtained in a group of high-proficient Spanish-English translators that acquired their L2 at a late age (after ten years old), and by a group of high-proficient Spanish-Basque bilinguals who acquired Basque at an early age, suggesting that neither L2 age of acquisition (AoA) or linguistic distance (how different the two languages of the bilingual are) play a role in the shift from inhibitory to language specific selection mechanisms.

Thus, while the switching performance of low-proficient bilinguals leads to an asymmetrical pattern, depending on language dominance, in proficient bilinguals it yields a symmetric pattern. This does not only apply to the dominant languages, but also to non-dominant, languages that one might learn later in life.

### **Why Study Basque-Spanish Bilingual Syntactic Processing?**

In recent decades, a rapidly growing body of studies using experimental methods and neuroimaging techniques has explored syntactic processing, and as a result, findings from linguistics and the neurosciences are progressively converging and finding common ground (Moro 2008; Pullvermüller 2002). However, the vast majority of language processing and neuroimaging studies focus on rather similar languages (English, Spanish, Italian, French, German, or Dutch, for instance). In other words, with the exception of a few recently emerging studies on Japanese, Chinese, and Korean, the languages most intensively studied share many central design properties.

In linguistic theory, a significant expansion of the language pool investigated and systematic cross-linguistic inquiry were crucial to uncovering the interplay between universal and variable aspects of the language faculty (Greenberg 1963; Chomsky 1981). Research on language representation and processing in the brain must similarly also engage in cross-linguistic studies so that we can differentiate language-particular effects from universal invariant properties of language processing by the brain, and thus properly understand the interplay between the two. In order to achieve this goal, it is necessary to conduct studies and gather evidence from a wide array of languages pertaining to different typological groups, and it is particularly important to study bilinguals whose languages have opposite parametric specifications; in other words, bilinguals who speak typologically very different grammars, like Basque-Spanish bilinguals.

One main goal of our research strategy is to contribute to uncovering the impact of variable versus universal design properties of language in its representation and processing by the brain. In particular, we seek to understand whether (and how) different typological/parametric properties of language impact on the neural representation of a speaker's knowledge of language; in other words, how opposite grammatical properties are represented and put to use in the bilingual mind. To address this central research question, we selectively target instances in which grammatical specifications are opposed in value for the two languages of the bilingual population we study (Spanish/Basque), and compare them to instances in which the specifications of the two grammars converge.

Here, we will review a series of experiments we have designed and conducted targeting three central domains of linguistic variation across languages: word order (the head-parameter: head-final/head-initial languages), the argument marking system (ergativity versus accusativity), and verb agreement types (subject agreement versus object agreement). These three domains have either hardly been studied from a neurocognitive perspective, or in some cases have never been considered at all before. Thus, we are in a position to inquire into phenomena that have not been previously addressed, working at the frontiers of our knowledge.

There are 6,912 languages in the world today (according to Ethnologue's last count, at [www.ethnologue.com](http://www.ethnologue.com)), showing both great diversity and significant similarities. In the second half of the twentieth century, with the birth of generative grammar and the cognitive sciences, significant advances were made regarding the invariant universal design aspects of human language. But language variability is still not sufficiently well understood from a theoretical (explicative) perspective, despite the wealth of valuable descriptions of linguistic types provided by modern linguistic typology (Newmeyer 2005). Noam Chomsky's (1981) principles and parameters model (henceforth P&P) constitutes a promising attempt to provide a principled account for the interplay and nature of the variant and invariant aspects of grammar (Baker 2001, 2003). Though there are still deep gaps in our understanding, and despite the fact that the model has been challenged and is far from verified, P&P still provides the only verifiable model for language variation (Yang 2003; Moro 2008). This makes parametric theory a particularly suitable model for experimental research; and the model can thus serve as empirical test for neurocognitive models of language (see Friederici 2002; Bornkessel and Schleewsky 2006, among others). For instance, the declarative/procedural (DP) model (Ullman 2001, 2004), claims that the computational component (grammar) belongs to the procedural system. Since the DP model argues that procedural cognitive processes have limited neuronal plasticity, it predicts that syntactic parameters in particular should show age-related effects.

Ever since Eric Lenneberg (1967) suggested that there is a critical period for language acquisition, the impact of age of early linguistic experience on adult neural representation and processing has been a much debated issue, particularly regarding bilingualism. Whether adult knowledge of a non-native language is represented and processed as the native language has been intensely debated for almost two decades (White 2003), and we hope that our research will be able to contribute significantly to understanding this issue, both given the type of bilingualism we can study in the Basque Country, and also given the type of experimental techniques we employ. As we will see, these can give us very fine-grained measures that are not otherwise detectable regarding neural processing of language.

In our research, one aspect we explore is precisely the representation and processing of the syntactic component in adult Basque-Spanish bilinguals. In recent years we have undertaken a systematic study of adult Spanish/Basque bilinguals, exploiting the fact that Spanish and Basque have opposite values for several parameters (see Bosque and Demonte 1999 for a thorough description of Spanish grammar; and Hualde and Ortiz de Urbina 2003, and de Rijk 2008 for a description of Basque). We investigate whether the specific grammatical phenomena targeted in our experimental work give rise to differences in the neural representation and processing of bilinguals of various types. Since nothing is known about how Basque grammar is processed in the brain, we first determine how the phenomena under study are processed by natives of Basque (and also Spanish, as regards cases in which there are no previous studies on the particular topic we address), and once we obtain those results from native speakers, we explore how nonnative speakers who learned Basque at different ages represent and process these same phenomena. In order to proceed systematically, we start by studying nonnatives with high proficiency levels and early ages of acquisition of Basque. Basque-Spanish and Spanish-Basque bilinguals are particularly suited to contributing to our understanding of bilingual language processing, because bilingualism is pervasive in all realms of Basque society and because the two languages have the same or opposite values for different syntactic properties.

**Table 8.1. Parametric settings of Basque and Spanish. “Plus” values represent a positive value of that choice in the linguistic parameter and “minus” values a negative value**

	Verb agreement	Argument alignment	Word Order			
	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Nominative</i>	<i>Ergative</i>	<i>Initial</i>	<i>Final</i>
Spanish	+	–	+	–	+	–
Basque	+	–	–	+	–	+

### **The Impact of Age and Proficiency in the Bilingual Brain**

Studies on bilingual language processing currently provide a somewhat confusing picture: while some studies report that if a second language is not acquired early, it is not processed native-like, others report that age does not have an effect on bilingualism, so that proficient bilinguals are like natives regarding language processing.

Regarding the first group of results, we should refer to the pioneering work of Christine M. Weber-Fox and Helen J. Neville (1996): this uses the event-related potentials’ technique to test various groups of Chinese-speakers



who had acquired English at different ages. Regarding syntax, participants who were exposed to English after the age of eleven showed a different processing pattern (different electrophysiological activity of the brain) from that found in native speakers. However, vocabulary-related phenomena elicited the same brain signature in all participants, whether natives or nonnatives who had arrived in the United States at different ages. The study concludes that syntax shows maturational effects related to the age of language learning, whereas vocabulary-related tasks do not. A significant impact of early exposure to the language is also reported by Anja Hahne and Angela D. Friederici (2001) for native Japanese who learned German at a mean age of twenty-seven. Their brain signatures did not look like the native speakers' when they were processing German grammar, but they did when they were engaged in vocabulary-related tasks. Subsequently, many studies have reported similar findings (such as Hahne 2001; Chen et al. 2007). All these studies conclude that certain aspects of syntax are sensitive to early experience.

Regarding the second group of results, there is also a wide sample of studies that find that very proficient nonnative speakers show the same electrophysiological brain signatures as native speakers, independently of the age at which they learned their second language. For example, Angela D. Friederici, Karsten Steinhauer, and Erdmut Pfeifer (2002) show that native German-speakers of a mean age of twenty-four, who were taught an artificial language named Brocanto, displayed the same brain signatures elicited by their native language when they processed the newly learned one. Rossi and colleagues (2006) investigated Italian-speakers who had learned German at around eighteen years of age and had either high or low proficiency in German. High-proficient speakers responded similarly to natives, but low proficient speakers did not. Sonja A. Kotz, Phillip J. Holcomb, and Lee Osterhout (2008) similarly report that Spanish natives who are high-proficient speakers of English (learned at about five years of age) process English sentences like natives. These results strongly suggest that high proficiency leads to equivalent neurophysiological activity in syntactic processing despite a delay in exposure to the nonnative language.

How can these apparently contradictory results be reconciled? Our hypothesis is that high proficiency allows for native-like processing only when there are no new parametric values involved in the acquisition of the nonnative language. A detailed and linguistically informed review of reported age-induced differences reveals that they always involve a grammatical feature in the nonnative language that is not present in the native one (for a detailed discussion of the literature in this respect see Zawiszewski et al. 2011). We hypothesize that when the native language lacks a specific syntactic trait, nonnatives do not become native-like even if they achieve high proficiency. Thus, if we review the studies that have investigated the impact of age and

proficiency in language processing in light of the P&P model, we observe that early exposure effects are found only when the first and second language had opposite parametric values, and we also discover that proficiency results in native-like processing when the two languages share the same value for that specific parameter.

### **How do Spanish-Basque Bilinguals Process Two Very Different Grammars?**

There are fewer studies on syntactic processing in non-monolinguals in comparison to studies on lexical processing, but in recent years this area of research has experienced enormous growth. While evidence on nonnative syntactic processing is still sparse, “even so existing data clearly indicate that syntax is a phenomenon that deserves full consideration” (Kotz 2009, 68).

If the studies that have examined the role of age versus proficiency in language processing are reviewed focusing on the syntactic phenomena they explore, differences in processing attributed to AoA tend to be found when the native grammar of the participant diverges significantly regarding the phenomenon tested in the nonnative grammar, and high proficiency tends to yield native-like processing when the syntactic phenomenon tested in L2 has an equivalent correlate in the L1 of the participants.

If we consider Weber-Fox and Neville (1996), Mueller et al. (2005), Shiro Ojima, Hiroki Nakata, and Ryusuke Kakigi (2005), Chen et al. (2007), we observe that age effects were obtained whenever very proficient nonnatives were processing a syntactic phenomenon that had no equivalent correlate in their native language: in the case of Weber-Fox and Neville (1996), they were obtained when testing native Chinese-speakers processing subadjacency effects in English Wh-questions; Chinese lacks overt Wh-movement (it is a Wh in-situ grammar), while English is an overt Wh-movement language, so that the syntactic phenomenon tested involved a parametric property absent in the native language of the participants (see Cheng 1997); in Mueller et al. (2005), the phenomenon tested was classifier morphology, which German lacks completely. In Ojima, Nakata, and Kakigi (2005) and Chen et al. (2007), the phenomenon tested was verb agreement, in natives of grammars that lack verb-agreement relations.

In light of this, the results from ERP studies suggest that it is diverging grammatical phenomena that might be sensitive to age of exposure, rather than superficial morphosyntactic differences. Both age and proficiency have been hypothesized and scrutinized as relevant factors conditioning L2 processing, but perhaps less attention has been paid so far to the issue of what syntactic phenomena are tested, and why. In linguistics, one view of cross-linguistic variation holds that specific grammars result from combinations of

a set of linguistic parameters. Thus, syntactic variation would result from differences in the values of this combination of parameters (see Chomsky 1981 and Baker 2001, 2003 for overviews), and the acquisition of syntax would consist in determining the values of these syntactic parameters for the input language.

We thus investigated to what extent the linguistic distance between L1 and L2 can influence nonnative language processing, and in order to do so, we tested Basque native speakers and very proficient L2 Basque speakers whose native language is Spanish. We focused particularly on three conditions that involve syntactic parameters: (i) sentence word order (the head parameter), (ii) case morphology, and (iii) verb agreement. (i) Basque and Spanish diverge with respect to the value assigned to the head parameter. Whereas Spanish is head-initial, so that heads of phrases precede their complements, Basque is head-final: heads of phrases follow their complements, as in Turkish or Japanese:

- | (1) | Basque   | Spanish  |
|-----|--|--|
| a.  | $[_{PP} [_{DP} [_{NP} \text{liburu}] a] \text{rekin}]$<br>book-the-with    | b. $[_{PP} \text{con} [_{DP} \text{el} [_{NP} \text{libro}]]]$<br>with the book  |
| c.  | $[_{VP} [_{DP} [_{NP} \text{liburu}] a] \text{irakurri}]$<br>book-the read | d. $[_{VP} \text{leer} [_{DP} \text{el} [_{NP} \text{libro}]]]$<br>read the book |

(ii) These two languages also diverge with respect to argument alignment: Spanish is a nominative-accusative language, like English, while Basque is an ergative-absolutive language. Thus, in Basque, intransitive subjects (2a) look like transitive objects (2b) while transitive subjects have a different case-marker and agreement morphology (2b). In Spanish, subjects have the same form and agreement regardless of whether they are transitive or intransitive, and objects are different (2c,d):

- (2) a. gizon-a etorri da  
man-the arrived is  
“the man has arrived”
- b. emakume-a-k gizon-a ikusi du  
woman-the-erg man-the seen it-has-her  
“the woman has seen the man”
- c. el hombre ha venido  
the man has arrived  
“the man has arrived”
- d. la mujer ha visto al hombre  
the woman has seen acc-the man  
“the woman has seen the man”

In fact, the very characterization of notions like “subject” and “object” is built upon nominative-accusative grammars, as the description of ergativity above in terms of “subject/object” makes apparent. There is no morphologically consistent class of “subjects” in ergative languages, at least not one that matches that class in nominative languages.

The head parameter and the nominative/ergative alignment are two fundamental syntactic parameters in which Spanish and Basque diverge. However, Spanish and Basque converge in having (iii) verb agreement. Both languages have subject agreement, and Basque also has object agreement, as shown in (2b and 3).

- (3) zu-k ni ikusi na-u-zu  
you-erg me seen me-root-you  
“you have seen me”

To our knowledge, the impact of argument-alignment on L2 processing has not been systematically investigated so far. Previous ERP studies on case morphology, all of them carried out on nominative-accusative languages, showed that case violations elicit a centro-parietal positivity (P600) in 500-800 ms time window, usually preceded either by a left anterior negativity (LAN) or by an N400 component in 300-500 ms time window. Basque provides us with the opportunity to test whether these effects hold also in ergative case-systems; some previous results reported by Díaz et al. (2011) suggest that the electrophysiological signatures elicited by ergative case violations do not differ from those found in nominative languages, eliciting a comparable P600 component. (See Laka 2012b and Laka and Erdozia 2012 for a review of results on native processing of Basque word order and ergativity.)

Regarding verb-agreement, nonnatives performed the behavioral task with similar accuracy levels and displayed an equivalent biphasic N400-P600 pattern as a response to the ungrammatical stimuli, like natives had in previous experiments (Zawiszewski and Friederici 2009; Díaz et al. 2011). Regarding ergative case morphology, specific to Basque and absent in Spanish, behavioral and ERP measures revealed significant differences between native and nonnative speakers. In the grammaticality judgment task performed along with the ERP session, nonnatives made significantly more errors than natives, despite their overall high language proficiency and early AoA. As for the ERP results, ungrammaticality elicited a broad negativity in both groups, but only the native group showed a P600 effect between 600-800 ms at the critical word position. Zawiszewski et al. (2011) offer two possible interpretations of these results: (i) the lack of P600 in the nonnatives could reflect transfer from their native grammar (Spanish) so that participants interpreted the absolutive case as an equivalent of Spanish nominative case, and as a con-

sequence did not process the sentence as containing a grammatical violation; (ii) nonnative speakers could have neglected case information and relied on other extragrammatical factors such as animacy to infer the thematic role of the ungrammatical noun phrase.

Regarding the third syntactic property, the head-directionality parameter that governs the order of words in phrases, Spanish and Basque differ fundamentally in the same way as English and Japanese: Spanish and English are head-initial languages, while Japanese and Basque are head-final languages. We found a different brain signature (by means of ERP signal) for native and nonnative speakers who had an early AoA (three years) and high levels of language proficiency. Previously, Erdocia et al. (2009) demonstrated that processing canonical SOV (subject-object-verb) word order is faster and easier than processing the non-canonical OSV (object-subject-verb) word order for native speakers, and regarding brain electrophysiology, OSV sentences showed increasing negativities at both subject and object positions and a P600 effect at verb position. These results demonstrate that OSV sentences are costlier to process than canonical SOV for native speakers of Basque (Laka 2012b; Laka and Erdozia 2012). Early and proficient Spanish-Basque bilinguals also employ more processing effort to process OSV sentences as compared to SOV ones. Spanish-Basque bilinguals performed indistinguishably from natives in the behavioral experiment, but ERP signatures departed from those observed in natives, suggesting on the one hand that behavioral measures are not accurate enough to detect this type of subtle differences in neural language processing that ERPs can detect; and on the other, that natives and nonnatives employ different neural resources to process sentence word order in Basque.

### **Concluding Remarks**

All told, our findings indicate that divergent parameters have a significant impact in nonnative syntactic processing even at high proficiency and low AoA. Natives and nonnatives behave alike in tasks that involve equivalent linguistic phenomena for Basque and Spanish such as verb agreement condition and semantic condition, but differ in tasks that involve diverging syntactic parameters such as the head parameter and argument alignment (nominative/ergative). The results indicate that, in particular, not all linguistic differences have the same impact in nonnative language processing, and they suggest that divergent parameters have a deeper impact in nonnative syntactic processing than other seemingly variable but superficially different aspects of language variability.

Our data lend support to the hypothesis that linguistic distance is one fundamental source behind native/nonnative contrasts in the neural syntactic

computation of proficient bilinguals. We obtained indications that linguistic properties that systematically diverge between the native and the nonnative language of the bilingual yield a distinct processing signature different to that of natives, even in the case of early and very proficient bilinguals. Whether this distinct signature is due to an effect of transferring the parametric setting from the native language onto the nonnative one (transfer), or whether it is due to difficulty in setting two opposite values for one linguistic parameter in the bilingual, and the extent to which these two possibilities are mutually exclusive or necessarily concurrent, cannot be determined given the available evidence, and future work is required to further unravel the ultimate nature of the language-distance effect.

## References

- Abney, Steven Paul. 1987. "The English Noun Phrase in its Sentential Aspects." Ph.D. diss. Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Académie Bordeaux. 2010. *L'enseignement du Basque dans l'Académie de Bordeaux. Année Scolaire 2010/2011*. Document provided by Mixel Esteban, official representative of the Euskararen Erakunde Publikoa-Office public de la langue Basque (EEP-OPLB), June 2011.
- Aginako, Julen, et al. 1999. *Herri Batasuna: 20 años de lucha por la libertad 1978-1998*. N.p.: Herri Batasuna, 1999.
- Aizpurua, Xabier. 2002. "Euskara: bizirik irautetik biziberritzera." In *Hizkuntza Biziberritzeko Saiok. Experiencias de inversión del cambio lingüístico. Récupération de la Perte Linguistique. Reversing Language Shift*. Eremu urriko Hizkuntzei buruzko VII. Nazioarteko Biltzarra. VII Conferencia Internacional de Lenguas Minoritarias. VII Conférence Internationale des Langues Minoritaires. 7th International Conference on Minority Languages 1999. Vitoria-Gasteiz: Servicio Central de Publicaciones del Gobierno Vasco. At [www.kultura.ejgv.euskadi.net/r46-17894/es/contenidos/informacion/argitalpenak/es\\_6092/adjuntos/EREMU.PDF](http://www.kultura.ejgv.euskadi.net/r46-17894/es/contenidos/informacion/argitalpenak/es_6092/adjuntos/EREMU.PDF).
- Aldasoro, Eduardo. 2001. "La evolución de la enseñanza en euskera en Navarra. Una perspectiva pedagógica." *Revista Internacional de Estudios Vascos (RIEV)* 46, no. 2: 593-624. At [www.euskomedia.org/PDFAnlt/riev/46/4605930624.pdf](http://www.euskomedia.org/PDFAnlt/riev/46/4605930624.pdf).
- Altube, Seber. 1929. *Erderismos*. Bermeo: Euskaltzaindia.
- . 1949. "La Unificación del Euskera Literario." *E-J* 3, 2-3 zb: 183.
- Amorrortu, Esti, Ane Ortega, Itziar Idiazabal, and Andoni Barreña. 2009. *Actitudes y Prejuicios de los castellano hablantes hacia el euskera*. Vitoria-Gasteiz: Servicio Central de Publicaciones del Gobierno Vasco. At [www.kultura.ejgv.euskadi.net/r46-17894/es/contenidos/informacion/argitalpenak/es\\_6092/adjuntos/Actitudes%20y%20prejuicios.pdf](http://www.kultura.ejgv.euskadi.net/r46-17894/es/contenidos/informacion/argitalpenak/es_6092/adjuntos/Actitudes%20y%20prejuicios.pdf).
- Apalategi, Ur. 2000. *La naissance de l'écrivain basque. Evolution de la problématique littéraire de Bernardo Atxaga*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Apalauza, Amaia. 2010. "Nafarroako Ipar-mendebaleko hizkeren egitura geolinguistikoa." Ph.D. diss. University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHU).
- Arana, Sabino de. 1965. *Obras Completas*. Bayonne and Buenos Aires: Sabindiar-Batza.
- Aranzadi Zientzi Elkarte. 1983. *Euskalerriko Atlas Etnolinguistikoa*. Donostia-San Sebastián: Aranzadi Zientzi Elkarte.
- Artiagoitia, Xabier. 2002. "The Functional Structure of the Basque Noun Phrase." In

- Erramu Boneta: A Festschrift for Rudolf P. G. de Rijk*, edited by Xabier Artiagoitia, Patxi Goenaga, and Joseba A. Lakarra. Bilbao: Anejos de ASJU.
- Arzoz Santisteban, Xabier. 2006. "Estatuto jurídico del euskera en Navarra." In *Estudios sobre el estatuto jurídico de las lenguas en España*, edited by José Manuel Pérez Fernández. Barcelona: Atelier.
- Atxuri [pseudonym]. 1949. "Euzkaid, nombre consagrado." *Alderdi* 33 (December).
- Aurrekoetxea, Gotzon. 1986. "Euskal Herriko Hizkuntza Atlas (EHHA): Inkesta metodologia eta ezezko datuak." *Euskera* 31, no. 2: 413–24.
- . 1995. *Bizkaieraren egituraketa geolinguistikoa*. Bilbao: UPV/EHU.
- Aurrekoetxea, Gotzon, and Xarles Videgain, eds. 1992. *Nazioarteko Dialektologia Biltzarra. Agiriak*. IKER 7. Bilbao: Euskaltzaindia.
- Axular, Pedro. 1643; 1954. *Gero, bi partetan zatitua eta berezia*. Edited by Manuel Lekuona. Zarauz: Itxaropena.
- Azkue, Resurrección Ma. 1969. *Diccionario Vasco-Español-Francés*. Bilbao: La Gran Enciclopedia Vasca.
- Baker, Mark C. 2001. *The Atoms of Language*. New York: Basic Books..
- . 2003. "Language Differences and Language Design." *Trends in Cognitive Sciences* 7, no. 8: 349–53.
- Barbancho, Iñigo. 2008. "Galtzerdi suizida (2001)." *Euskal Literaturaren Hiztegia, Idazlanak*. At [ehu.es/ehg/literatura/?p=435](http://ehu.es/ehg/literatura/?p=435).
- Baztarrika, Patxi. 2010. *Babel o barbarie. Una política lingüística legítima y eficaz para la convivencia*. Irun: Alberdania.
- Bluntschli, Johann, and Karl Brater, eds. 1857. *Deutsches Staats-Wörterbuch*. Volume 1. Stuttgart and Leipzig: Expedition des Staats-Wörterbuchs.
- Bonaparte, Louis Lucien. *Carte des sept provinces basques, montrant la délimitation actuelle de l'euscara*. London: Stanford's Geographical Establishment, 1863.
- . 1883. *Carta lingüística del Príncipe Louis-Lucien Bonaparte, publicada en el número 116 (tomo IX) de la revista bascongada 'Euskal-Erria'*. San Sebastián: J. R. Baroja.
- . 1991. *Opera Omnia*. 4 volumes. Bilbao: Euskaltzaindia. At [www.euskaltzaindia.net/dok/iker\\_jagon\\_tegiak/6934.pdf](http://www.euskaltzaindia.net/dok/iker_jagon_tegiak/6934.pdf).
- Bornkessel, Ina, and Matthias Schlesewsky. 2006. "The Extended Argument Dependency Model: A Neurocognitive Approach to Sentence Comprehension Across Languages." *Psychological Review* 113, no.4: 787–821.
- Bosque, Ignacio, and Violeta Demonte. 1999. *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española*. Madrid: Real Academia Española; Espasa Calpe.
- Burzio, Luigi. 1986. *Italian Syntax: A Government-Binding Approach*. Dordrecht: Reidel.
- Camino, Iñaki. 1997. *Aezkoako euskararen azterketa dialektologikoa*. Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra.
- . 2003. "Hego-nafarreraren egituraz." *Fontes Linguae Vasconum* 94: 427–68.
- . 2004. "Irizpide metodologikoak egungo Euskal Dialektologian." *Euskera* 49, no. 1: 67–102.
- . 2009. *Dialektologiatik euskalkietara tradizioan gaindi*. Donostia: Elkar.



- Cardaberaz, Agustín. 1761. *Eusqueraren berro onac: eta ondo escribitceco, ondo iracurtceco, ta ondo itzeguiteco Erreglac*. Iruñea: Libruguille Antonio Castillaren Echean.
- Caro Baroja, Julio. 1943. *Los pueblos del norte de la Península Ibérica*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Patronato "Menéndez y Pelayo."
- Castells, José Manuel. 1976. *El Estatuto Vasco*. San Sebastián: Haranburu.
- Chen, Lang. 1997. *On the Typology of Wh-questions*. New York and London: Garland.
- Chen, Lang, Hua Shu, Youyi Liu, Jingjing Zhao, and Ping Li. 2007. "ERP Signatures of Subject-Verb Agreement in L2 Learning." *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition* 10, no. 2: 161-74.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1981. *Lectures on Government and Binding*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Clark, Robert P. 1984. *The Basque Insurgents. ETA, 1952-1980*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Cobrerros Mendazona, Edorta. 1989. *El régimen jurídico de la oficialidad del euskera*. Oñati: IVAP.
- Colomé, Àngels. 2001. "Lexical Activation in Bilinguals' Speech Production: Language-specific or Language-independent?" *Journal of Memory and Language* 45, no. 4: 721-36.
- Comrie, Bernard. 2008. "Basque, Romance, and Areal Typology: What do We Learn from the World Atlas of Language Structures?" In *Lenguas en diálogo: El ibero-romance y su diversidad lingüística y literaria, ensayos en homenaje a Georg Bossong*, edited by Hans-Jörg Döhla, Raquel Montero Muñoz, and Francisco Báez de Aguilar González. Madrid: Iberoamericana; Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert.
- Corcuera Atienza, Javier. 2006. *The Origins, Ideology, and Organization of Basque Nationalism, 1876-1903*. Reno: Center for Basque Studies, University of Nevada, Reno.
- Costa, Albert. 2005. "Lexical Access in Bilingual Production." In *Handbook of Bilingualism: Psycholinguistic Approaches*, edited by Judith F. Kroll and Annette M.B. De Groot. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Costa, Albert, Bárbara Albareda, and Mikel Santesteban. 2008. "Assessing the Presence of Lexical Competition Across Languages: Evidence from the Stroop Task." *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition* 11: 121-31.
- Costa, Albert, Michele Miozzo, and Alfonso Caramazza. 1999. "Lexical Selection in Bilinguals: Do Words in the Bilingual's Two Lexicons Compete for Selection?" *Journal of Memory and Language* 41: 365-97.
- Costa, Albert, Alfonso Caramazza, and Nuria Sebastian-Galles. 2000. "The Cognate Facilitation Effect: Implications for Models of Lexical Access." *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning Memory, and Cognition* 26, no. 5: 1283-96.
- Costa, Albert, and Mikel Santesteban. 2004. "Lexical Access in Bilingual Speech Production: Evidence from Language Switching in Highly Proficient Bilinguals and L2 Learners." *Journal of Memory and Language* 50, no. 4: 491-511.
- Costa, Albert, Mikel Santesteban, and Agnès Caño. 2005. "On the Facilitatory Effects

- of Cognate Words in Bilingual Speech Production.” *Brain and Language* 94: 94–103.
- Costa, Albert, Mikel Santesteban, and Iva Ivanova. 2006. “How do Highly Proficient Bilinguals Control their Lexicalization Process? Inhibitory and Language-Specific Selection Mechanisms are both Functional.” *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory, and Cognition* 32, no. 5: 1057–74.
- Council of Europe. 2001. *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.
- . 1992. *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages*, Strasbourg, 5.XI.1992. On the Internet at: <http://conventions.coe.int/treaty/en/Treaties/Html/148.htm> (last accessed June 21, 2011).
- Daranatz, Jean Baptiste. 1931. “Correspondance du Capitaine Duvoisin.” *Revista Internacional de Estudios Vascos* (RIEV) 22: 310–37.
- De Groot, Annette M. B., and Rineke Keijzer. 2000. “What is Hard to Learn is Easy to Forget: The Roles of Word Concreteness, Cognate Status, and Word Frequency in Foreign-language Vocabulary Learning and Forgetting.” *Language Learning* 50, no. 1: 1–56.
- De Rijk, Rudolf P. G. 2008. *Standard Basque: A Progressive Grammar*. Cambridge MA: MIT Press.
- Desmet, Timothy, and Wouter Duyck. 2007. “Bilingual Language Processing.” *Linguistics and Language Compass* 1, no. 3: 444–58.
- Díaz, Begoña, Nuria Sebastián-Gallés, Kepa Erdocia, Jutta Mueller, and Itziar Laka. 2011. “On the Cross-linguistic Validity of Electrophysiological Correlates of Morphosyntactic Processing: A Study of Case and Agreement Violations in Basque.” *Journal of Neurolinguistics* 24, no. 3: 357–73.
- Documentos Y*. 1979. Volume 2. San Sebastián: Lur.
- Dressler, Wolfgang U. 2005. “Word-formation in Natural Morphology.” In *Handbook of Word-Formation*, edited by Pavol Štekauer and Rochelle Lieber. Dordrecht: Studies in Natural Language and Linguistic Theory.
- Duyck, Wouter. 2005. “Translation and Associative Priming with Cross-lingual Pseudohomophones: Evidence for Nonselective Phonological Activation in Bilinguals.” *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory, and Cognition* 31, no. 6: 1340–59.
- Duyck, Wouter, Kevin Diependaele, Denis Drieghe, and Marc Brysbaert. 2004. “The Size of the Cross-lingual Masked Phonological Priming Effect Does Not Depend on Second Language Proficiency.” *Experimental Psychology* 51, no. 2: 1–9.
- Echaide, Ana M<sup>a</sup>. 1984. *Erizkizundi Irukoitza, IKER-3*. Bilbo: Euskaltzaindia.
- Elías de Tejada, Francisco. 1948. *Las Españas. Formación histórica. Tradiciones regionales*. Madrid: Ambos Mundos.
- Elorza, Antonio, et al. 2006. *La historia de ETA*. Madrid: Temas de Hoy.
- Erdocia, Kepa, Anna Mestres-Missé, Itziar Laka, and Antoni Rodríguez-Fornells. 2009. “Syntactic Complexity and Ambiguity Resolution in a Free Word Order Language: Behavioural and Electrophysiological Evidence from Basque.” *Brain and Language* 108, no. 1: 1–17.

- Escudero, Manu, and Javier Villanueva. 1976. *La autonomía del País Vasco desde el pasado al futuro*. San Sebastián: Txertoa.
- Etcheverry, Joannes. (1712) 1976. *Obras vascongadas del doctor labortano Joannes d'Etcheberri (1712)*. Edited by Jukio de Urquijo. Bilbao: La Gran Enciclopedia Vasca.
- . ["Sarakoa"]. *Escuararen hatsapenac*, 1712.
- Etxepare, Bernat. 1545; 1995. *Linguae Vasconum Primitiae*. Bordeaux; reprint, Bilbao: Euskaltzaindia, in collaboration with the Government of Navarre, the University of the Basque Country, the University of Deusto, and the Public University of Navarre.
- Euskal Herriko Ikastolak and Euskaltzaindia. 2010. *Ikastola mugimendua: Dabilen herria; Ikastola ereduua 1960–2010*. Bilbao: Euskal Herriko Ikastolak; Euskaltzaindia.
- Euskal Herriko Ikastolen konfederazioa/Confederación de Ikastolas. 2009. *Ikastolen Hizkuntz Proiektua*. Bilbao: EHIK.
- Euskaltzaindia. 1977. *El libro blanco del Euskera*. Bilbao: Euskaltzaindia-Caja Laboral Popular.
- . 2004. "Euskal Herria' izena." Regulation 139. Published in *Euskera* 49: 473–77. Available at [www.euskaltzaindia.net/dok/eaeb/arauak/Araua\\_0139.pdf](http://www.euskaltzaindia.net/dok/eaeb/arauak/Araua_0139.pdf). Last accessed June 15, 2012.
- . 2008–2011. *Euskararen Herri Hizkeren Atlas*. 3 Volumes. Bilbao: Caja Laboral and Euskaltzaindia.
- Euskararen Erakunde Publikoa-Office Public De La Langue Basque (EEP-OPLB). 2004. *Statut juridique*. At [www.mintzaira.fr/fr/oplb/statut-juridique.html](http://www.mintzaira.fr/fr/oplb/statut-juridique.html).
- . 2005. *Diagnostic Quantitatif de l'Offre d'enseignement du Basque et en Basque. Année Scholaire 2004/2005*. At [www.mintzaira.fr/fileadmin/documents/Enseignement/F\\_diagnostic\\_2004\\_2005.pdf](http://www.mintzaira.fr/fileadmin/documents/Enseignement/F_diagnostic_2004_2005.pdf). Last accessed June 18, 2012.
- . 2010. *Irakaskuntza sailean eraman lanen bilana 2005–2010*. Document supplied by Mixel Esteban, official representative of the Euskararen Erakunde Publikoa-Office public de la langue Basque (EEP-OPLB), June 2011.
- Euskera*. Volume 1, no. 1 (1920): 61–65
- . Volume 1, no. 2, (1920): 14–19.
- Eustat (Basque Statistics Institute). 2010. *Sociolinguistic Survey of Euskal Herria 2006*. At [en.eustat.es/estadisticas/tema\\_99/opt\\_0/tipo\\_3/ti\\_Sociolinguistic\\_Survey\\_of\\_Euskal\\_Herria/temas.html#axzz1Q7ZIYifO](http://en.eustat.es/estadisticas/tema_99/opt_0/tipo_3/ti_Sociolinguistic_Survey_of_Euskal_Herria/temas.html#axzz1Q7ZIYifO).
- Finkbeiner, Matthew, Tamar H. Gollan, and Alfonso Caramazza. 2006. "Bilingual Lexical Access: What's the (Hard) Problem?" *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition* 9, no. 2: 153–66.
- Fishman, Joshua A. 1976. *Bilingual Education: An International Sociological Perspective*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- . 1991. *Reversing Language Shift: Theoretical and Empirical Foundations of Assistance to Threatened Languages*. Clevedon, Philadelphia, and Adelaide: Multilingual Matters.
- . 2001. "Why Is It So Hard to Save a Threatened Language?" In *Can Threatened*

- Languages Be Saved?* Edited by Josjua A. Fishman. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Friederici, Angela D. 2002. "Towards a Neural Basis of Auditory Sentence Processing." *Trends in Cognitive Sciences* 6, no. 2: 78–84.
- Friederici, Angela D., Karsten Steinhauer, and Erdmut Pfeifer. 2002. "Brain Signatures of Artificial Language Processing: Evidence Challenging the Critical Period Hypothesis." *Proceedings of National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* (PNAS) 99, no. 1: 529–34.
- Gaminde, Iñaki. 1999. *Euskaldunen azentuak*. Bilbao: Labayru.
- . 2007. *Bizkaian zehar. Euskararen ikuspegi orokorra*. Bilbao: Mendebalde; Diputación Foral de Vizcaya.
- García-Sanz, Ángel, Iñaki Iriarte, and Fernando Mikelarena. 2002. *Historia del navarismo (1841–1936). Sus relaciones con el vasquismo*. Pamplona: UPNA.
- Gobierno de España. Instituto Nacional de Estadística (2011): *Censo de 2010*. Internet: <http://www.ine.es/> (last accessed June 15, 2011).
- Gobierno de Navarra. 1986. Ley Foral 18/1986, de 15 de diciembre del Vasconce. Text published in the *Boletín Oficial de Navarra* (BON), no. 154, December 17.
- . 1988. Decreto Foral 159/1988, de 19 de mayo, por el que se regula la incorporación y uso del vasconce en la enseñanza no universitaria de Navarra. Text published in the *Boletín Oficial de Navarra* (BON), no. 67, June 1.
- . *Estadística de Datos básicos*. At [www.educacion.navarra.es/portal/Informacion+de+Interes/Estadisticas/Estadistica+de+Datos+Basicos](http://www.educacion.navarra.es/portal/Informacion+de+Interes/Estadisticas/Estadistica+de+Datos+Basicos).
- . *Guía de estudios*. At [www.educacion.navarra.es/portal/Guia+de+Estudios/SistemaEducativo](http://www.educacion.navarra.es/portal/Guia+de+Estudios/SistemaEducativo).
- Gobierno Vasco. 1983. Decreto 138/1983, de 11 de julio, del Departamento de Educación y Cultura, por el que se regula el uso de las lenguas oficiales en la enseñanza no universitaria en el País Vasco. *Boletín Oficial del País Vasco* (BOPV) de 19/07/1983, 2471–2475. At [www.euskadi.net/cgi-bin\\_k54/bopv\\_20?c&f=19830719&s=1983108](http://www.euskadi.net/cgi-bin_k54/bopv_20?c&f=19830719&s=1983108).
- . 1993. *Criterios básicos para la política del euskera*. Vitoria-Gasteiz: Servicio Central de Publicaciones del Gobierno Vasco.
- . 1997–1999. *II mapa sociolingüístico*. 3 Volumes. Vitoria-Gasteiz: Servicio Central de Publicaciones del Gobierno Vasco.
- . 1999. *Plan General de Promoción del Uso del Euskera*. Vitoria-Gasteiz: Servicio Central de Publicaciones del Gobierno Vasco. At [www.euskara.euskadi.net/r59-euhadm2/es/contenidos/informacion/941/es\\_2383/adjuntos/ebpn14gazt.pdf](http://www.euskara.euskadi.net/r59-euhadm2/es/contenidos/informacion/941/es_2383/adjuntos/ebpn14gazt.pdf).
- . 2003. *The Continuity of Basque III, 2001: Sociolinguistic Survey of the Basque Country*. Vitoria-Gasteiz: Servicio Central de Publicaciones del Gobierno Vasco.
- . 2004. *Confluencia de los planes para fortalecer el uso del euskera en los centros escolares y de los modelos municipales del Plan General de Promoción del Uso del Euskera*. Vitoria-Gasteiz: Servicio Central de Publicaciones del Gobierno

- Vasco. At [www.euskara.euskadi.net/r59-738/es/contenidos/informacion/7041/es\\_2447/adjuntos/confluencia%20de%20los%20planes.pdf](http://www.euskara.euskadi.net/r59-738/es/contenidos/informacion/7041/es_2447/adjuntos/confluencia%20de%20los%20planes.pdf).
- . 2005a. *Level B2 in Basque at the End of Obligatory Education: Summary of the Spanish Version*. Bilbao: Instituto Vasco de Evaluación e Investigación Educativa. At: [www.isei-ivei.net/eng/pubeng/b2\\_english1.pdf](http://www.isei-ivei.net/eng/pubeng/b2_english1.pdf).
- . 2005b. *Futuro de la Política Lingüística. Proyecto 2005-2009 de la Viceconsejería de Política Lingüística*. Vitoria-Gasteiz: Servicio Central de Publicaciones del Gobierno Vasco. At [www.kultura.ejgv.euskadi.net/r46-17894/es/contenidos/informacion/hizk\\_politika\\_etorkizuna/es\\_fut\\_0509/adjuntos/hp\\_aurrera\\_es.pdf](http://www.kultura.ejgv.euskadi.net/r46-17894/es/contenidos/informacion/hizk_politika_etorkizuna/es_fut_0509/adjuntos/hp_aurrera_es.pdf).
- . 2005c. *III mapa sociolingüístico*. Vitoria-Gasteiz: Servicio Central de Publicaciones del Gobierno Vasco.
- . 2007. *Nivel B1 de Euskara en Educación Primaria. Informe General*. Bilbao: Instituto Vasco de Evaluación e Investigación Educativa. At [www.isei-ivei.net/cast/pub/b1\\_castellano.pdf](http://www.isei-ivei.net/cast/pub/b1_castellano.pdf).
- . 2008a. *Fourth Sociolinguistic Survey 2006*. Vitoria-Gasteiz: Servicio Central de Publicaciones del Gobierno Vasco. At [www.euskara.euskadi.net/r59-738/en/contenidos/informacion/inkesta\\_soziolinguistikoa2006/en\\_survey/adjuntos/IV\\_incuesta\\_en.pdf](http://www.euskara.euskadi.net/r59-738/en/contenidos/informacion/inkesta_soziolinguistikoa2006/en_survey/adjuntos/IV_incuesta_en.pdf).
- . 2008b. *Euskararen belaunetz belauneko transmisioa EAEn. Transmisión intergeneracional en la CAV*. Vitoria-Gasteiz: Servicio Central de Publicaciones del Gobierno Vasco.
- . 2008c. *Criterios de uso de las lenguas oficiales en el Gobierno Vasco. IV período de Planificación (2008–2012)*. Vitoria-Gasteiz: Servicio Central de Publicaciones del Gobierno Vasco. At [www6.euskadi.net/r59-738/es/contenidos/informacion/argitalpenak/es\\_6092/adjuntos/Irizpideakgatz.pdf](http://www6.euskadi.net/r59-738/es/contenidos/informacion/argitalpenak/es_6092/adjuntos/Irizpideakgatz.pdf).
- . 2009a. *IV Mapa Sociolingüístico 2006*. Vitoria-Gasteiz: Servicio Central de Publicaciones del Gobierno Vasco. At [www.kultura.ejgv.euskadi.net/r46-17894/es/contenidos/informacion/argitalpenak/es\\_6092/adjuntos/MAPAcast.pdf](http://www.kultura.ejgv.euskadi.net/r46-17894/es/contenidos/informacion/argitalpenak/es_6092/adjuntos/MAPAcast.pdf).
- . 2009b. *Basis for a Language Policy for the Early 21st century: Towards a New Agreement*. Vitoria-Gasteiz: Basque Government Central Publication Service. At [www.euskara.euskadi.net/r59-738/es/contenidos/informacion/eusk\\_aholku\\_batzordea\\_nabarmen/es\\_2009/adjuntos/Maketa-Pacto\\_Baja-1eng%202.pdf](http://www.euskara.euskadi.net/r59-738/es/contenidos/informacion/eusk_aholku_batzordea_nabarmen/es_2009/adjuntos/Maketa-Pacto_Baja-1eng%202.pdf) (last accessed June 25, 2012).
- . 2010a. *Evaluación Diagnóstica 2009. 2º ESO. Informe General de Resultados*. Bilbao: Instituto Vasco de Evaluación e Investigación Educativa. At [www.isei-ivei.net/cast/pub/ED09\\_inf\\_gnal\\_rdos/ED09\\_2ESO\\_inf\\_gnal\\_rdos.pdf](http://www.isei-ivei.net/cast/pub/ED09_inf_gnal_rdos/ED09_2ESO_inf_gnal_rdos.pdf) (last accessed June 25, 2012).
- . 2010b. *Decreto de curriculum de la Educación Básica de la CAPV*. At: [www.euskadi.net/cgi-bin\\_k54/ver\\_c?CMD=VERDOC&BASE=B03V&DOCN=000000460&CONF=/config/k54/bopv\\_c.cnf](http://www.euskadi.net/cgi-bin_k54/ver_c?CMD=VERDOC&BASE=B03V&DOCN=000000460&CONF=/config/k54/bopv_c.cnf) (last accessed June 25, 2012).
- . 2011a. *Evaluación Diagnóstica 2010. 2º ESO. Informe General de Resultados y Análisis de Variables*. Bilbao: Instituto Vasco de Evaluación e Investigación Educativa. At: [www.isei-ivei.net/cast/pub/ED10\\_rdosYvariables/ED10\\_2ESO\\_resultadosYvariables.pdf](http://www.isei-ivei.net/cast/pub/ED10_rdosYvariables/ED10_2ESO_resultadosYvariables.pdf) (last accessed June 25, 2012).

- . 2011b. *PISA 2009 Euskadi Informe de Evaluación. Proyecto para la Evaluación Internacional de Estudiantes de 15 años en Lectura, Matemáticas y Ciencias*. Vitoria-Gasteiz: Gobierno Vasco-OECD-PISA.
- Goenaga, Patxi. 2000. "Euskaltzaindia eta euskararen arautzea." *Revista Internacional de Estudios Vascos* (RIEV) 45, no. 1: 11–42.
- Gollan, Tamar H., and Lori-Ann R. Acenas. 2004. "What is a TOT? Cognate and Translation Effects on Tip-of-the-tongue States in Spanish–English and Tagalog–English Bilinguals." *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory, and Cognition* 30, no. 1: 246–69.
- Gracia, Jordi, and Domingo Rodenas de Moya, eds. 2009. *Más es más. Sociedad y cultura en la España democrática, 1986–2008*. Madrid-Frankfurt: Verveurt-Iberoamericana.
- Gràcia, Llüisa, and Miren Azkarate. 2000. "Prefixation and Head-complement Parametre." In *Morphological Analysis in Comparison*, edited by Wolfgang U. Dressler. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Granja, José Luis de la. 2008. *Nacionalismo y II República. Estatutos de autonomía, partidos y elecciones. Historia de Acción Nacionalista Vasca: 1930–1936*. Madrid: Siglo XXI.
- Green, David W. 1998. "Mental Control of the Bilingual Lexico-semantic System." *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition* 1: 67–81.
- Greenberg, Joseph H. 1963. *Universals of Language*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Gros i Lladós, Miquel. 2007. *Recuperación del Euskera en Navarra*. Bilbao: Euskaltzaindia.
- Grosjean, François. 1989. "Neurolinguists, Beware! The Bilingual is Not Two Monolinguals in One Person." *Brain and Language* 36, no. 1: 3–15.
- Hahne, Anja. 2001. "What's Different in Second-Language Processing? Evidence from Event-Related Brain Potentials." *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research* 30, no. 3: 251–66.
- Hahne, Anja, and Angela D. Friederici. 2001. "Processing a Second Language: Late Learners' Comprehension Mechanisms as Revealed by Event-related Brain Potentials." *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition* 4, no. 2: 123–41.
- Hawkins, John A. 1994. *A Performance Theory of Order and Constituency*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hawkins, John A., and Gary Gilligan. 1988. "Prefixing and Suffixing Universals in Relation to Basic Word Order." In "Papers in Universal Grammar: Generative and Typological Approaches," edited by John A. Hawkins and Heather K. Holmback, special issue, *Lingua* 74, nos. 2/3: 219–59.
- Hernández Abaitua, Mikel. 2008. *Ramon Saizarbitoriaren lehen eleberrigintza*. Leioa: UPV/EHUko Argitalpen Zerbitzua.
- Hidalgo, Bittor. 1994. "Hitzen ordena euskaraz." Ph.D. diss. University of the Basque Country.
- Hirschfeld, Lawrence A. "The Bilingual Brain Revisited: A Comment on Hagen." *Evolutionary Psychology* 6, no. 1: 182–85.
- Hualde, José Ignacio. 1997. *Euskararen azentuerak*. Anejos ASJU, 42. Donostia-San Sebastián: Gipuzkoako Foru Aldundia; Bilbo: UPV/EHU.

- . 2002. “On the Loss of Ergative Displacement in Basque and the Role of Analogy in the Development of Morphological Paradigms.” In *The Linguist’s Linguist: A Collection of Papers in Honour of Alexis Manaster Ramer*, edited by Fabrice Cavoto. Munich: Lincom Europa.
- Hualde, José Ignacio, and Jon Ortiz de Urbina, eds. 2003. *A Grammar of Basque*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Humboldt, Wilhelm von. 1904. *Gesammelte Schriften*. Volume 3. Berlin: Behr.
- Hurtado, Irene. 2001. *Goierriko eta Tolosalde hegoaldeko hizkerak*. Lazkao: Goierriko Euskal Eskola Kultur Elkarte, Maizpide Euskaltegia, and Lazkaoko Udala.
- Ibarra, Orreaga. 1995. *Ultzamako hizkera. Inguruko euskalkiekiko harremanak*. Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra.
- Irizar, Pedro. 1981. *Contribución a la dialectología de la lengua vasca*. 2 Volumes. San Sebastián: Caja de Ahorros Provincial de Guipúzcoa.
- . 1991a. *Morfología del verbo auxiliar roncalés*. Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra; Bilbao: Euskaltzaindia.
- . 1991b. *Morfología del verbo auxiliar guipuzcoano*. Bilbao: Euskaltzaindia.
- . 1992a. *Morfología del verbo auxiliar alto navarro septentrional*. Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra; Bilbao: Euskaltzaindia.
- . 1992b. *Morfología del verbo auxiliar alto navarro meridional*. Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra; Bilbao: Euskaltzaindia.
- . 1992c. *Morfología del verbo auxiliar vizcaíno*. Bilbao: BBK and Euskaltzaindia.
- . 1997. *Morfología del verbo auxiliar labortano*. Bilbao: UPV/EHU and Euskaltzaindia.
- . 1999a. *Morfología del verbo auxiliar bajo navarro occidental*. Bilbao: UPV/EHU and Euskaltzaindia.
- . 1999b, 2002b, 2002c. *Morfología del verbo auxiliar bajo navarro oriental*. 3 volumes. UPV/EHU and Euskaltzaindia.
- . 2002a. *Morfología del verbo auxiliar suletino*. Bilbao: UPV/EHU and Euskaltzaindia.
- . 2008. *Morfología del verbo auxiliar vasco*. Bilbao: Euskaltzaindia.
- Ithurry, Jean. 1920; 1979. *Grammaire basque: Dialecte labourdin*. Donostia: Hor-dago.
- Jáuregui, Gurutz. 1985. *Ideología y estrategia política de ETA. Análisis de su evolución entre 1959 y 1968*. 2nd ed. Madrid: Siglo XXI.
- Jefatura del Estado Español. 1979. Ley Orgánica 3/1979, de 18 de diciembre, de Estatuto de Autonomía para el País Vasco, *Boletín Oficial del Estado (BOE)* no. 306, December 22, 1979: 29357-29363. At [www.boe.es/boe/dias/1979/12/22/pdfs/A29357-29363.pdf](http://www.boe.es/boe/dias/1979/12/22/pdfs/A29357-29363.pdf).
- . 1982. Ley Orgánica 13/1982, de 10 de agosto, de Reintegración y Amejoramiento del Régimen Foral de Navarra. Text published in the *Boletín Oficial de Navarra (BON)*, September 3, 1982; corr. err., *Boletín Oficial del Estado (BOE)*, August 26, 1982. At [www.boe.es/aeboe/consultas/bases\\_datos/act.php?id=BOE-A-1982-20824](http://www.boe.es/aeboe/consultas/bases_datos/act.php?id=BOE-A-1982-20824).
- Kim, Karl H.S., Norman R. Relkin, Kyoung-Min Lee, and Joy Hirsch. 1997. “Dis-

- tinct Cortical Areas Associated with Native and Second Languages.” *Nature* 388 (6638): 171–74.
- Kortazar, Jon. 2005. *Bernardo Atxaga: Basque Literature from the End of the Franco Era to the Present*. Reno: Center for Basque Studies, University of Nevada.
- Kotz, Sonja A. 2009. “A Critical Review of ERP and fMRI Evidence on L2 Syntactic Processing.” *Brain and Language* 109, nos. 2–3: 68–74.
- Kotz, Sonja A., Phillip J. Holcomb, and Lee Osterhout. 2008. “ERPs Reveal Comparable Syntactic Sentence Processing in Native and Non-native Readers of English.” *Acta Psychologica* 128: 514–27.
- Kroll, Judith F., Susan C. Bobb, and Zofia Wodniekca. 2006. “Language selectivity is the exception, not the rule: Arguments against a fixed locus of language selection in bilingual speech.” *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition* 9: 119–35.
- La Heij, Wido. 2005. “Monolingual and Bilingual Lexical Access in Speech Production: Issues and Models.” In *Handbook of Bilingualism: Psycholinguistic Approaches*, edited by Judith F. Kroll, and Annette M.B. de Groot. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Lafitte, Pierre. 1944; 1979. *Grammaire basque (navarro-labourdin littéraire)*. San Sebastián: Elkar.
- Laka, Itziar. 1996. *A Brief Grammar of Euskara, the Basque Language*. At [www.ei.ehu.es/p289-content/eu/contenidos/informacion/grammar\\_euskara/en\\_doc/index.html](http://www.ei.ehu.es/p289-content/eu/contenidos/informacion/grammar_euskara/en_doc/index.html).
- . 1993a. “Unergatives that Assign Ergative, Unaccusatives that Assign Accusative.” In *Papers on Case and Agreement*, vol. 1, edited by Jonathan David and Colin Phillips. Cambridge: MITWPL 18.
- . 1993b. “The Structure of Inflection: A Case Study in X0 Syntax.” In *Generative Studies in Basque Linguistics*, edited by José Ignacio Hualde and Jon Ortiz de Urbina. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Co.
- Laka, Itziar. 2012a. “More than One Language in the Brain. In *Language, from a Biological Point of View: Current Issues in Biolinguistics*, edited by C. Boeckx, M. C. Horno, and J. L. Mendivil, 184–207. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Laka, Itziar, 2012b. “Merging from the Temporal Input: On Subject-Object Asymmetries and an Ergative Language.” In *Rich Grammars from Poor Inputs*, edited by R. Berwick and M. Piattelli-Palmarini. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Laka, Itziar, and Erdocia, K. 2012. “Linearization Preferences Given ‘Free Word Order’; Subject Preferences Given Ergativity: A Look at Basque.” In *Of Grammar, Words, and Verses*, edited by E. Torrego, 115–42. Language Faculty and Beyond Series, Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co.
- Larramendi, Manuel. 1745. *Diccionario trilingüe del castellano, bascuence, y latín*. San Sebastián: Bartholomè Riesgo y Montero.
- . 1729. *El imposible vencido. Arte de la Lengua Vascongada*. Salamanca: Antonio Joseph Villargordo Alcaráz.
- . 1729; 1979. *El imposible vencido. Arte de la lengua vascongada*. San Sebastián: Hordago.
- . 1756; 1969. *Corografía de la muy noble y muy leal provincia de Guipúzcoa*.



- Edited by Tellechea Idígoras. Bilbao: Amigos del libro Vasco; Bueno Aires: Ekin.
- Larronde, Jean-Claude. 1977. *El nacionalismo vasco. Su origen y su ideología en la obra de Sabino Arana-Goiri*. San Sebastián: Txertoa.
- Legarra, Jose M<sup>a</sup>, and Erramun Baxok. 2005. "Language Policy and Planning of the Status of Basque, II: Navarre and the Northern Basque Country." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 174, no. 1: 25–38.
- Leizarraga, Joanes. 1571; 1979. *Jesus Christ gure iaunaren Testamentu berria*. San Sebastián: Hordago.
- Lenneberg, Eric H. 1967. *Biological Foundations of Language*. New York: Wiley.
- Levin, Beth. 1983. "On the Nature of Ergativity." Ph.D. diss. Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- López Basaguren, Alberto. 1988. "El pluralismo lingüístico en el Estado autonómico." *Autonomies. Revista Catalana de Derecho Público* 9: 47–84.
- . 2007. "Las lenguas oficiales entre Constitución y Comunidades Autónomas: ¿Desarrollo o transformación del modelo constitucional?" *Revista Española de Derecho Constitucional* 79: 83–112.
- . 2010. "The Spanish Constitution: Problems in Applying the Charter." In *Minority Language Protection in Europe: Into a New Decade*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.
- . 2011. "Nación y lengua en el Estatuto de Cataluña. Consideraciones sobre la STC 31/2010." *Revista General de Derecho Constitucional* 13: 1–25.
- Marian, Viorica, Henrike K. Blumenfeld, and Olga V. Boukrina. 2008. "Sensitivity to Phonological Similarity Within and Across Languages: A Native/Non-native Asymmetry in Bilinguals." *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research* 37, no. 3: 141–170.
- Marian, Viorica, Michael Spivey, and Joy Hirsch. 2003. "Shared and Separate Systems in Bilingual Language Processing: Converging Evidence from Eyetracking and Brain Imaging." *Brain and Language* 86: 70–82.
- Mateo, Miren. 2005. "Language Policy and Planning of the Status of Basque, I: The Basque Autonomous Community (BAC)." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 174: 9–23.
- Mees, Ludger. 2003. *Nationalism, Violence and Democracy: The Basque Clash of Identities*. Houndmills, UK and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- . 2006. *El profeta pragmático. Aguirre, el primer lehendakari (1939–1960)*. Irún: Alberdania.
- . 2009. "Visión y gestión. El nacionalismo vasco democrático 1998–2009." In *¿Crisis? ¿Qué crisis? España en busca de su camino*, edited by Walther L. Bernecker, Diego Íñiguez Hernández, and Günther Maihold. Frankfurt a.M. / Madrid: Vervuert.
- Mees, Ludger, ed. (2012, forthcoming): *La celebración de la nación: Símbolos, mitos y lugares de memoria*. Granada: Comares.
- Meuter, Renata F. I., and Allan Allport. 1999. "Bilingual Language Switching in Naming: Asymmetrical Costs of Language Selection." *Journal of Memory and Language* 40, no. 1: 25–40.

- Mitxelena, Koldo. 1978a. "Arantzazutik Bergarara." In *Sobre historia de la Lengua Vasca*. Anejos del Seminario de Filología Vasca "Julio de Urquijo" (ASJU) 10. 1988. Edited by Joseba Andoni Lakarra, with the collaboration of María Teresa Echenique and Blanka Urgell. Donostia: Seminario de Filología Vasca "Julio de Urquijo".
- . 1978b. "Euskararen bide luze bezain malkarrak." In *Sobre historia de la Lengua Vasca*. Anejos del Seminario de Filología Vasca "Julio de Urquijo" (ASJU) 10. 1988. Edited by Joseba Andoni Lakarra, with the collaboration of María Teresa Echenique and Blanka Urgell. Donostia: Seminario de Filología Vasca "Julio de Urquijo".
- . 1981. "Euskal literaturaren bereizgarri orokorrak." In Antonio Tovar, Koldo Mitxelena, et al. *Euskal linguistika eta literatura: Bide berriak*. Bilbo: Deustuko Unibertsitateko Argitarazioak.
- . 1985a. "Las lenguas y la política." In *Lengua e historia*. Madrid: Paraninfo.
- . 1985b. "Sobre bilingüismo." In *Lengua e historia*, 191–212. Madrid: Paraninfo.
- . 1987. "Lengua común y dialectos vascos." In *Palabras y textos*. Leioa: UPV/EHU.
- . 2008. *Koldo Mitxelena: Selected Writings of a Basque Scholar*. Compiled and with an introduction by Pello Salaburu. Reno: Center for Basque Studies, University of Nevada, Reno.
- Moreno Cabrera, Juan Carlos. 2007–2008. "Sobre la complejidad y dificultad de las lenguas. El caso del euskera." *Revista de Lenguas y Literaturas Catalana, Gallega y Vasca* 13: 199–216.
- Moro, Andrea. 2008. *The Boundaries of Babel: The Brain and the Enigma of Impossible Languages*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Mueller, Jutta L., Anja Hahne, Yugo Fujii, and Angela D. Friederici. 2005. "Native and Nonnative Speakers' Processing of a Miniature Version of Japanese as Revealed by ERPs." *Journal of Cognitive Neuroscience* 17, no. 8: 1229–1244.
- Newmeyer, Frederick J. J. 2005. *Possible and Probable Languages: A Generative Perspective on Linguistic Typology*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Núñez, Luis C. 1977. *Opresión y defensa del euskera*. San Sebastián: Txertoa.
- Oihenart, Arnaud. 1657. *Les proverbes basques recuillis par le S. d'Oihenart, plus les poesies basques du mesme Auteur*. Paris.
- Ojima, Shiro, Hiroki Nakata, and Ryusuke Kakigi. 2005. "An ERP Study of Second Language Learning after Childhood: Effects of Proficiency." *Journal of Cognitive Neuroscience* 17, no. 8: 1212–28.
- Ortiz de Urbina, Jon. 1989. *Parameters in the Grammar of Basque*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- . 1988. "Axularren ezen konpletiboa eta hizkuntza prozesamendua." In *Studia Philologica In Honorem Alfonso Irigoien*, edited by Itziar Turrez, Adolfo Arejita, and Carmen Isasi. Bilbao: Universidad de Deusto.
- Oyharçabal, Beñat. 1993. "Verb Agreement with Non-arguments: On Allocutive Agreement." In *Generative Studies in Basque Linguistics*, edited by José Ignacio Hualde and Jon Ortiz de Urbina. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: Benjamins.

- Pablo, Santiago de, José Luis de la Granja, and Ludger Mees, eds. 1998. *Documentos para la historia del nacionalismo vasco. De los Fueros a nuestros días*. Barcelona: Ariel.
- Pablo, Santiago de, Ludger Mees, and José Antonio Rodríguez Ranz. 1999. *El péndulo patriótico. Historia del Partido Nacionalista Vasco, I: 1895–1936*. Barcelona: Crítica.
- Pablo, Santiago de, Ludger Mees, and José Antonio Rodríguez Ranz. 2001. *El péndulo patriótico. Historia del Partido Nacionalista Vasco, 2: 1936–1979*. Barcelona: Crítica.
- Pablo, Santiago de, and Coro Rubio. 2006. *Eman ta zabal zazu. Historia de la UPV/EHU 1980–2005*. Bilbao: Universidad del País Vasco.
- Pablo, Santiago de, José Luis de la Granja, Ludger Mees, and Jesús Casquete, eds. 2012. *Diccionario Ilustrado de Símbolos del Nacionalismo Vasco*. Madrid: Tecnos.
- Pagola, Inés. 2005. *Neologismos en la obra de Sabino Arana Goiri*. Bilbao: Euskaltzaindia.
- Pagola, Rosa Miren. 1991. *Dialektologiaren atarian*. Bilbao: Gero.
- Parlamento Vasco. 1982. Ley 10/1982, de 24 de Noviembre, Básica de Normalización del Uso del Euskera, Boletín Oficial del País Vasco (BOPV), December 16: 3138–3146. At [www.euskadi.net/cgi-bin\\_k54/bopv\\_20?c&f=19821216&a=198201955](http://www.euskadi.net/cgi-bin_k54/bopv_20?c&f=19821216&a=198201955).
- Perani, D., E. Paulesu, N. Sebastian-Galles, E. Dupoux, S. Dehaene, V. Bettinardi, S. F. Cappa, F. Fazio, and J. Mehler. 1998. “The Bilingual Brain: Proficiency and Age of Acquisition of the Second Language.” *Brain* 121: 1841–52.
- Prieto de Pedro, Jesús. 1996. “Artículo tercero: las lenguas de España.” In *Comentarios a la Constitución española de 1978*. Volume 1, edited by Oscar Alzaga. Madrid: Edersa.
- Pullvermüller, Friedemann. 2002. *The Neuroscience of Language: On Brain Circuits of Words and Serial Order*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rijk, Rudolf de. 1969. “Is Basque an S.O.V. Language?” *Fontes Linguae Vasconum I*, no. 3: 319–51.
- Rodríguez Ochoa, Jose Ma. 2001. “Aplicación y desarrollo normativo de la Ley Foral del Vascuence en el ámbito de la Administración Foral de Navarra” in “15 años de la Ley del Euskera en Navarra.” Special issue, *RIEV* 46, no.2: 545–92.
- Rossi, Sonja, Manfred F. Gugler, Angela D. Friederici, and Anja Hahne. 2006. “The Impact of Proficiency on Second-language Processing of German and Italian: Evidence from Event-related Potentials.” *Journal of Cognitive Neuroscience* 18, no. 12: 2030–48.
- Rubio Pobes, Coro. 2003. *La identidad vasca en el siglo XIX. Discurso y agentes sociales*. Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva.
- Ruiz Bikandi, Uri, ed. 2000. *Didáctica de la segunda lengua en educación infantil y primaria*. Madrid: Síntesis.
- Salaburu, Pello. 1984. *Hizkuntza teoria eta Baztango euskalkia*. 2 Volumes. Leioa: UPV/EHU.
- . 2005. *Baztango mintzoa: gramatika eta hiztegia*. Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra; Bilbao: Euskaltzaindia.

- , ed. 2008. *Koldo Mitxelena: Selected Writings of a Basque Scholar*. Reno: Center for Basque Studies, University of Nevada, Reno.
- Santesteban, Mikel, and Albert Costa. 2006. "Does L1 Syntax Affect L2 Processing? A Study with Highly Proficient Early Bilinguals." In *Andolin gogoan. Essays in honour of Professor Eguzkitza*, edited by Beatriz Fernández and Itziar Laka. Bilbao: EHUko argitalpen zerbitzua.
- Schwartz, Ana I., Judith F. Kroll, and Michele Diaz. 2007. "Reading Words in Spanish and English: Mapping Orthography to Phonology in Two Languages." *Language and Cognitive Processes* 22: 106–29.
- Serra, Josep M<sup>a</sup>, and Ignasi Vila. 2000. "Las segundas lenguas y la escuela." In *Didáctica de la segunda lengua en educación infantil y primaria*, edited by U. Ruiz Bikandi. Madrid: Síntesis.
- Sierra, Josu. 2008. "Assessment of Bilingual Education in the Basque Country." *Language, Culture and Curriculum* 21, no. 1: 39–47.
- Siguàn, Miguel, and William F. F. Mackey. 1987. *Education and Bilingualism*. London: K. Page, in association with UNESCO, Paris, France.
- Smith, Anthony D. 2009. *Ethno-Symbolism and Nationalism: A Cultural Approach*. New York: Routledge.
- Solozabal Echavarria, Juan J. 1999. "El régimen constitucional del bilingüismo. La cooficialidad lingüística como garantía institucional." *Revista Española de Derecho Constitucional* 55: 11–41.
- Stuijt, Mark, updated by Daniel Sánchez. 2008. *The Basque language in Education in France*. 2nd edition. Ljouwert/Leeuwarden: Mercator European Research Centre on Multilingualism and Language Learning.
- Torrealdai, Joan Mari. 1999. *La censura de Franco y el tema vasco*. San Sebastián: Fundación Kutxa.
- Tortosa, Virgilio, ed. 2009. *Mercado y consumo de ideas: De industria a negocio cultural*. Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva; Universidad de Alicante, Instituto alicantino de Cultura Juan Gil Albert.
- Trask, R. Larry. 1998. "The Typological Position of Basque: Then and Now." *Language Sciences* 20, no. 3: 313–24.
- Txillardegui [pseud. Jose Luis Alvarez Enparantza]. 1978. *Euskal herritik erdal herrietara*. Bilbao: Gráficas Bilbao.
- . 1984. *Euskal azentuaz*. Donostia: Elkar.
- . 1997. *Euskal Herria en el horizonte*. Tafalla: Txalaparta.
- Ullman, Michael T. 2001. "A Neurocognitive Perspective on Language: The Declarative/Procedural Model." *Nature Reviews: Neuroscience* 2: 717–26.
- . 2004. "Contributions of Memory Circuits to Language: The Declarative/Procedural Model." *Cognition* 92: 231–70.
- Universidad Pública de Navarra (UPNA). 2007. *Plan estratégico del euskera 2007–2009*. At [www1.unavarra.es/digitalAssets/124/124306\\_Euskararen-Plan-estrategikoa.pdf](http://www1.unavarra.es/digitalAssets/124/124306_Euskararen-Plan-estrategikoa.pdf).
- Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea (UPV/EHU). 2007. *Plan director del euskara en la UPV/EHU (2007/2008–2011/2012)*. Leioa: Servicio Editorial de la Universidad del País Vasco. At [www.euskara-errektoreorde-](http://www.euskara-errektoreorde-)

- tza.ehu.es/p267-content/es/contenidos/informacion/plan\_informa/es\_plan/adjuntos/plan\_director.pdf.
- . 2010. *La Universidad en cifras 2009–2010*. At: [www.ehu.es/p200-shstatct/es/contenidos/estadistica/universidad\\_cifras\\_2009\\_2010/es\\_cif\\_2010/universidad\\_cifras.html](http://www.ehu.es/p200-shstatct/es/contenidos/estadistica/universidad_cifras_2009_2010/es_cif_2010/universidad_cifras.html).
- Van Hell, Janet G., and Annette M. B. De Groot. 1998. "Conceptual Representation in Bilingual Memory: Effects of Concreteness and Cognate Status in Word Association." *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition* 1, no. 3: 193–211.
- Van Hell, Janet G., and Ton Dijkstra. 2002. "Foreign Language Knowledge Can Influence Native Language Performance in Exclusively Native Contexts." *Psychonomic Bulletin & Review* 9, no. 4: 780–89.
- Van Heuven, Walter, Ton Dijkstra, and Jonathan Grainger. 1998. "Orthographic Neighbourhood Effects in Bilingual Word Recognition." *Journal of Memory and Language* 39: 458–83.
- Velasco y Fernández de la Fuente, Ladislao. 1983. *Los Euskaros en Álava, Guipúzcoa y Vizcaya. Sus orígenes, historia, lengua, leyes, costumbres y tradiciones*. Bilbao: Amigos del Libro Vasco. First edition, Barcelona: Imprenta de Oliveres, 1879.
- Videgain, Xarles. 1991. "Lexiaren inguruen Euskal Herriko atlas linguistikoaren inkestagintzan." In *Memoriae L. Mitxelena magistri sacrum*, volume 2, edited by Joseba Andoni Lakarra. Anejos de ASJU no. 14. Donostia-San Sebastián: Gipuzkoako Foru Aldundia.
- Weber-Fox, Christine M., and Helen J. Neville. 1996. "Maturational Constraints on Functional Specializations for Language Processing: ERP and Behavioural Evidence in Bilingual Speakers." *Journal of Cognitive Neuroscience* 8, no. 3: 231–56.
- White, Lydia. 2003. *Second Language Acquisition and Universal Grammar*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Yang, Charles D. 2003. *Knowledge and Learning in Natural Language*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Zabala, Igone. 1996. "La traducción al vasco de los sintagmas nominales complejos del lenguaje técnico." In *III Congrés Internacional sobre traducció*, edited by Pilar Orero. Barcelona: Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona.
- Zabala, Juan Mateo. 1848. *El verbo regular vascongado del dialecto vizcaíno*. San Sebastián: Imprenta de Ignacio Ramón Baroja.
- Zabaltza Pérez-Nievas, Xabier. 1997. "El significado oculto de la palabra 'Euzkadi'." *Fontes Linguae Vasconum* 29, no. 74: 77–83.
- Zalbide, Mikel. 1998. "Normalización lingüística y escolaridad: un informe desde la sala de máquinas." In "15 años de la Ley del Euskera en la Educación, Administración y Medios de Comunicación," special issue, *Revista Internacional de Estudios Vascos (RIEV)* 43, no. 2: 355–424.
- . 2000. "Irakas-sistemaren Hizkuntz Normalkuntza: Nondik norakoaren ebaluazio-saio bat." *Eleria* 5: 45–61.
- . 2010. *Euskararen legeak hogeita bost urte. Eskola alorreko bilakaera: Balioespen saioa*. Bilbo: Euskaltzaindia.
- Zawiszewski, Adam, Eva Gutierrez, Beatriz Fernández, and Itziar Laka. 2011. "Lan-

- guage Distance and Non-native Syntactic Processing: Evidence from Event-related Potentials.” *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition* 14, no. 3: 400–411.
- Zawiszewski, Adam, and Friederici, A. 2009. “Processing Object-Verb Agreement in Canonical and Non-canonical Word Orders in Basque: Evidence from Event-related Brain Potentials.” *Brain Research* 1284: 161–79.
- Zelaieta, Edu. 2008. *Baztan-Bidasoako hizkeren azterketa dialektologikoa*. Pamplona and Bilbao: Gobierno de Navarra and Euskaltzaindia.
- Zuazo, Koldo. 1988. *Euskararen batasuna*. Bilbao: Euskaltzaindia.
- . 2003. *Euskalkiak herriaren lekukoak*. Donostia: Elkar.
- . 2006. *Deba ibarreko euskara. Dialektologia eta tokiko batua*. Eibar: Badihardugu Euskara Elkarte.
- . 2007. “Análisis sobre el origen de los dialectos del euskara.” *Gara* (online edition), December 9. At [www.gara.net/paperezkoa/20071209/52380/es/Los-euskalkis-actuales-tienen-su-origen-Edad-Media](http://www.gara.net/paperezkoa/20071209/52380/es/Los-euskalkis-actuales-tienen-su-origen-Edad-Media). Last accessed June 18, 2011.
- . 2008. *Euskalkiak, euskararen dialektok*. Donostia: Elkar.
- . 2010. *El euskera y sus dialectos*. Irun: Alberdania.
- Zubimendi, Jose Ramon, and Pello Esnal. 1993. *Idazkera-liburua*. Vitoria-Gasteiz: Eusko-Jaurlaritza.

### Further Information Online

- Ahotsak, Euskal Herriko hizkerak eta ahozko ondarea (Programme for the Collection and Diffusion of Basque Oral Heritage and Basque Dialects), [www.ahotsak.com/english/](http://www.ahotsak.com/english/). Last accessed June 18, 2012.
- Eustat (Basque Statistics Institute), “Euskera, cultura y juventud” (Basque, culture, and youth), [www.eustat.es/estadisticas/opt\\_0/id\\_5/ti\\_Euskera\\_Cultura\\_y\\_Juventud/subarbol.html#axzz1ZS1bFgFI](http://www.eustat.es/estadisticas/opt_0/id_5/ti_Euskera_Cultura_y_Juventud/subarbol.html#axzz1ZS1bFgFI). In Spanish, last accessed June 18, 2012.
- Euskadi.net, “Basque government data on publications regarding the sociolinguistic dimension of Euskara,” [www.euskara.euskadi.net/r59-738/es/contenidos/informacion/argitalpenak/es\\_6092/ikuspegi\\_sozio\\_linguis.html](http://www.euskara.euskadi.net/r59-738/es/contenidos/informacion/argitalpenak/es_6092/ikuspegi_sozio_linguis.html). In Spanish, last accessed June 18, 2012.
- Euskaltzaindia (Academy of the Basque Language), [www.euskaltzaindia.net](http://www.euskaltzaindia.net). In Basque, also available in Spanish and French, last accessed on June 18, 2012.
- Eustat (Basque Statistics Institute), [en.eustat.es/ci\\_ci/indice.html#axzz1 yAFWtKgY](http://en.eustat.es/ci_ci/indice.html#axzz1 yAFWtKgY). In English, last accessed June 18, 2012.
- University of the Basque Country, Basque language Institute, [www.ei.ehu.es/p289-content/en/contenidos/informacion/euskara\\_inst\\_sarrera/en\\_sarrera/sarrera.html](http://www.ei.ehu.es/p289-content/en/contenidos/informacion/euskara_inst_sarrera/en_sarrera/sarrera.html). In English, last accessed June 18, 2012.
- University of the Basque Country, “Euskalkiak” (Basque dialects), [www.ehu.es/seg/doku.php?id=gizt:2](http://www.ehu.es/seg/doku.php?id=gizt:2). In Basque, last accessed June 18, 2012.
- Seaska: Iparraldeko ikastolen konfederazioa (Confederation of Ikastolas in Iparralde), [www.seaska.net/web/default.php](http://www.seaska.net/web/default.php). Available in Basque, French, Spanish, and English, last accessed June 18, 2012.

# Index

- Abadiño, 91  
Aberri Eguna (Day of the Basque Country), 24  
aboriginal languages, 54  
accents, 106  
Acción Nacionalista Vasca (Basque Nationalist Action, EAE-ANV), 19  
accusative languages, 52, 169  
adjectives, 61  
adnominals, 62, 62n  
adult education schools, 120  
Aezkoa Valley, 85, 91  
age, 28, 30, 92, 116–19, 124, 130–33, 158–59, 162, 164–67  
Aguirre, José Antonio, 19–20  
AHOTSAK (Euskal Herriko hizkerak eta ahozko ondarea, Basque Country Dialects and Oral Heritage), 92  
*Aise eman zenidan eskua* (You easily gave me your hand) Lertxundi, 184  
Ajuria Enea Agreement, 25  
Alberdi, Uxue, 175, 179  
Albisu, Mikel, 25  
Alfaguara, 185  
Alto Bidasoa, 85  
Altube, Seber, 67–70, 102–3  
Amikuze, 86–87  
ancient tribes, 75, 89  
Añibarro, Pedro Antonio, 82  
Antza, Mikel, 25  
Antzuola, 91  
Anue, 85  
AP/PP, 32f  
Aquitaine Regional Council, 132  
Aquitanians, 75, 89  
Araba, 14, 16, 18, 22, 29, 75–76, 77n, 89, 137  
Arabic, 64, 181  
Aramaio, 77n, 81, 91  
Arana, Sabino, 15–19, 22–24, 101  
Arantzazu Congress, 103–5, 111–12  
Aranzadi Society, 79  
Arberoa (Arberoue), 86  
Ardanza, José Antonio, 31  
Areso-Leitza, 91  
Aresti, Gabriel, 104, 181  
*Argizariaren egunak/Los días de la cera* (The days of wax) (Lertxundi), 185  
Arrasate-Mondragón, 82, 91  
Arretxe, Jon, 175  
*arte* (Art of the Basque Language) (Larramendi), 56, 76, 100  
Asociación Euskara de Navarra (Euskara Association of Navarre), 14  
Astigarrabía, Juan, 19  
Atetz (Atez), 85  
Atxaga, Bernardo, 11, 175–76, 178, 181–82, 186–87  
Auritz (Burguete), 85  
Aurrekoetxea, Gotzon, 79, 92  
*auskera*, 73  
Australian aboriginal languages, 54  
authors, 8, 25, 64, 69, 76, 86, 93, 96, 100–01, 103n, 105, 112, 128, 133, 162, 174–77, 179–80 182–83, 186  
autonomous communities, 33–34, 38, 74, 114n, 128n, 137–38, 141, 143, 151, 181. *see also specific communities*  
awareness instruction, 141–42  
Axular, Pedro de, 13, 28, 75, 86, 99, 103  
*Azkenaz beste/Un final para Nora* (An end for Nora) (Lertxundi), 185  
Azkoitia, 91

- Azkue, Resurrección María de, 18–19, 68, 77–78, 101
- Bakio, 91
- Bar Puerto. Bazterreko ahotsak/Bar Puerto. Voces desde el margen/Bar Puerto: Voices from the Edge* (Uribe), 187–88
- Basaburua (Upper Soule or Soule Subiran or Haute-Soule), 87
- Bascophiles (*euskaltzales*), 102, 104
- Basis for a Language Policy for the Early 21st Century: Towards a Renewed Agreement* (Gobierno Vasco), 126, 134
- Basque civil service, 40
- Basque conflict, 178
- Basque Council of Public Office-Holders, 132
- Basque Country, 7, 11–32; Autonomous Community of the Basque Country (*see* Comunidad Autónoma del País Vasco-Euskal Autonomia Erkidegoa (CAPV-EAE)); bilingual educational system, 139–41; bilingual speakers, 118–19, 119t; definition of, 8; dialects, subdialects, and local forms of speech, 73–92, 80f; geography, 94; legal system, 39–42; names, 11–12, 28; official languages, 34; population, 73; population of, 28; sociolinguistic diversity, 40–42
- Basque cultural societies, 102
- Basque flag, 20
- Basque-French education, 139
- Basque government of Paris, 22
- Basque Institute for Research and Evaluation in Education, 148–49
- Basque language (Euskera or Euskara), 7; in bilingual educational system, 139–41; center-embedded clauses, 70n; common code for, 93–112; communicative proficiencies, 149, 149t, 150, 150t; compound words, 57–58; as co-official language, 28–29; credits offered in, 152; declension, 58–59, 103, 103n; dialects of, 71, 73–92, 80f; diversity of, 73–74; education in, 49n; ergativity, 52–54; as family language, 134; in French Basque Country, 48–50, 49n; future challenges, 133–35; interferences from Romance languages, 69–71; as intimate language, 134; legal status of, 39–42; lexical morphology, 55–58; Mitxelena's proposal for, 105–11; names for, 73, 96; in Navarre, 45–48; as official language, 28–29, 40–42, 146; ownership of, 137; parametric settings, 165, 165t; parasynthetic derivatives or derived words, 56; *Plan Director de Euskara* (Master Plan for Basque), 30; postpositions, 58–59, 103n; prefixes, 55–56; promoting, 44–45, 124–25, 125f; right to use, 46n; and Romance languages, 51–72; as second language, 134; standard or unified (Euskara Batua), 71, 74, 74n, 84, 99–105; structure of, 51–72; studies of, 91–92, 152; suffixes, 55–56; syntactic characteristics, 63–72, 100; syntactic processing, 170; tasks that cannot be postponed, 134; teaching in, 140–41, 140t, 141–42, 144; teaching of, 140–41, 140t, 141; as territorial language, 34; twenty-first century, 28–32; in university system, 151–52; use of, 120–24, 123f; verbal agreement, 63–65; verb phrases, 65–66; verbs, 52–53, 52n, 62–63, 77, 79, 82, 98n; as visible language, 7; Western dialects, 72; word order, 61n, 65–72
- Basque Language Advisory Board, 34
- Basque Language Institute, 112
- Basque-language speakers, 28–30; current situation, 113–35, 114n; fluent speakers, 73n; persecution of, 102; population of, 73; rights of, 8–9. *see also* bilingual speakers



- Basque literature, 8, 86, 93–94, 99;  
current, 173–89; references to dialects  
in, 75–76
- Basque nationalism, 11, 15–17, 22, 24,  
31, 101–102
- Basque Nationalist Action, 19
- Basque Nationalist Party (EAJ-PNV),  
16, 18–20, 23, 25–26, 31, 32f, 101
- Basque politics, 28–32
- Basque population, 133
- Basque question, 176
- Basque socialism, 31
- Basque-Spanish bilingual syntactic  
processing, 163–65
- Basque-Spanish education, 139, 143–51
- Basque-speaking zone, 45–47, 122, 130,  
135, 143–44
- Basquisition, 30
- Batasuna, 23–24, 26, 32n
- Baztan (Navarre), 76
- Baztan Valley, 85, 91
- Beasain, 91
- Behe-Nafarroa, 137–38
- Behi euskaldun baten memoriak/  
Memorias de una vaca* (Memoirs of a  
Basque cow) (Atxaga), 186–87
- Beintza-Labaien (Beintza Labayen), 85
- Belgium, 35n
- beneficiaries, 65n
- Bergara, 91
- Bergara-Arrasate Congress, 112
- Bermeo, 91
- Berriz, 91
- Bertizarana (Bértiz-Arana), 85
- Bertsozale Elkarte/Asociación de  
Amigos del Bersolarismo (Association  
of Friends of *Bertsolaritza*—  
improvised oral Basque poetry), 173
- Beterrri subvariety, 83
- Bianai/Dos hermanos/Two Brothers*  
(Atxaga), 186
- Bible, 104
- Bihotz bi. Gerrako kronikak/Amor y  
guerra* (Two hearts: War stories)  
(Saizarbitoria), 184
- Bilbao-New York-Bilbao* (Uribe), 178,  
180–82, 188
- bilingual education, 139n; Basque  
Country system, 139–41; Basque-  
French education, 139; Basque-  
Spanish instruction, 139, 143–51;  
demand for, 139; equal-time method,  
49–50, 141–42, 142n; Euskara-French  
education, 141; “Ikas bi” model,  
132–33; immersion method, 49–50,  
132, 141–42, 142t; in Iparralde,  
141–43, 142t; schools imparting,  
142–43, 142t
- bilingualism, 30; activation and control  
of, 159–63; cognition of, 157–59;  
history of, 94; neurobilingualism,  
159; official, 35n, 36–37, 39; syntactic  
processing, 163
- bilingual speakers, 157–71; Basque-  
Spanish syntactic processing, 163–65;  
current situation, 114–16, 115f–116f,  
118–19, 122–23, 123f, 128, 130, 132;  
impact of age and proficiency in,  
165–67; linguistic competence of, 30,  
30t; new speakers, 120; parents, 120,  
121f; passive bilinguals, 30, 114–15,  
115f–116f; population, 29, 29t, 30,  
30t, 145n, 157; syntactic processing,  
167–70; young people, 120
- Bitartean heldu eskutik/Mientras tanto  
dame la mano/Meanwhile Take My  
Hand* (Uribe), 180, 182, 188
- Bizia lo/Letargo* (Lethargy) (Muñoz),  
178
- Bizkaia, 76, 77n, 89, 137; Basque  
speakers in, 29
- Bizkaia (name), 11
- Bizkaian, 14, 75–77, 79–83, 91, 100–103,  
109, 111
- Bizkaiera (Bizkaian), 80
- Bizkaitarras*, 19n
- Bizkaitarrismo*, 15–16
- Bonaparte, (Luis or Louis) Lucien, 77,  
87, 89, 91, 98–99, 98n, 101; *Carte des  
Sept Provinces Basques* (Map of the  
seven Basque provinces), 77, 78f

- Bortziriak, 85  
 Bourciez, Jean, 77  
 brain signatures, 170  
 Brisson, Max, 133  
 Broussain, Pierre, 77  
 Brussels, Belgium, 35n  
 Buesa, Fernando, 31  
 Burunda Valley, 85
- Californiako Eskual Herria*, 14  
 Calvinism, 99  
 Camino, Iñaki, 79, 92  
 Campión, Arturo, 17, 77, 101  
 Canada, 35n  
 Cano, Harkaitz, 176  
 CAPV-EAE. *see* Comunidad Autónoma del País Vasco-Euskal Autonomia Erkidegoa (CAPV-EAE, Autonomous Community of the Basque Country)  
 Cardaberaz, Agustín, 101  
 Caristii, 75, 89  
 Carla (Lertxundi), 185  
 Carlism, 15, 21  
 Carlist Wars, 14  
*Carte des Sept Provinces Basques* (Map of the seven Basque provinces) (Bonaparte), 77, 78f  
 Catalan, 34, 37n  
 Catalonia, 33–34, 37, 39, 43  
 Caucasian languages, 52, 54  
 Celáa, Isabel, 27  
 Central Euskara (Erdialdeko euskara), 81–84  
 Central Navarrese, 79  
 Centro Democrático Social (CDS), 32f  
 CFN-NFK (Comunidad Foral de Navarra-Nafarroako Foru Komunitatea, Foral Community of Navarre). *see* Navarre  
 children's literature, 181  
 Chinese speakers, 165, 167  
 Cinco Villas, the Five Towns, 85  
 clitics, 63–64  
 cognate effect, 160  
 colloquial speech (“lagunarteko hizkera”) program, 130–31  
 Communist Party (PCE), 18  
 Communist Party of Euskadi, 18  
 Communist Party of Euzkadi, 18  
 compound words, 54–56, 108–109  
 Comunidad Autónoma del País Vasco-Euskal Autonomia Erkidegoa (CAPV-EAE, Autonomous Community of the Basque Country), 7, 24–25, 74; attitudes toward promoting Basque, 124–25, 125f; Basque nationalism, 31; Basque population, 133; Basque/Spanish instruction, 146–51; Basque speakers, 117; bilingual population, 29t; bilingual speakers, 29–30, 115f, 116–19, 119t, 120, 121f, 122, 124, 128; Department of Culture, 34, 116–17; Department of Education, 34; Department of Education and Culture, 127; educational system, 127–28, 139–41, 140t, 147, 147t, 148, 148t; language policy, 126–29, 139; linguistic competence, 30, 30t, 114–15, 115f, 116, 116f, 120, 121f; linguistic proficiencies, 149, 149t, 150, 150t; linguistic school models, 137–38, 140, 143; mandatory education, 148, 148t; nonuniversity education, 147, 147t; official languages, 28, 39–42, 44, 146; population, 28, 119t; rights of Basque speakers, 8–9; Secretary General for Language Policy, 116–17; Statute of Autonomy, 18, 146; Vice-Ministry for Language Policy, 116–17  
 Comunidad Foral de Navarra-Nafarroako Foru Komunitatea (Foral Community of Navarre, CFN-NFK). *see* Navarre  
 conceptual change, 25  
 Conde, Alfredo, 180  
 Constitutionnalists, 31, 32f  
 constitutional law (1982), 143  
 content and language integrated learning (CLIL), 154  
 Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, 48

- Corografía de Guipúzcoa* (Geography of Gipuzkoa) (Larramendi), 77, 88
- Corsica, 49
- Council of Europe, 48
- CPE, 19
- Criterios básicos para la política del euskera* (Basic criteria for the Basque language policy) (Gobierno Vasco), 126–27
- culture, 11–32
- d'Albret, Jeanne, 99
- Deba, 91
- Debabarrena, 83, 90
- Dechepare, Bernardum, 75n, 93n
- declension, 58–59, 103, 103n
- “The Declension” (Garmendia), 104
- demonstratives, 60–61
- Derio, 91
- Detchepare, Bernard, 75n, 93n
- d'Etcheverry, Joannes, 76, 76n
- determiner phrases, 59–62
- Deutsches Staats-Wörterbuch* (German State Dictionary), 13
- dialects, Basque, 71, 73–92, 100–102, 109; ages of, 90; current, 80–89; divisions, 77, 89–91; modern, 80f; rivalry of, 88; studies of, 76–80, 91–92; subdialects, 73, 76–77, 87; variations in, 97
- Diccionario General Básico* (General Basque dictionary), 112
- Diccionario trilingüe castellano, bascuence y latín* (Trilingual Spanish, Basque, and Latin Dictionary) (Larramendi), 77, 100
- Dijkstra, Ton, 159
- diversity, 40; dialectal, 74–76; linguistic, 35n; sociolinguistic, 40–42
- duty to know Catalan, 37n
- duty to know official languages, 42–44
- duty to know Spanish, 34–37, 37n
- Duvoisin, Jean Pierre, 101
- EA, 27, 32f
- EAE-ANV (Acción Nacionalista Vasca, Basque Nationalist Action), 19
- EAE-CAPV. *see* Comunidad Autónoma del País Vasco-Euskal Autonomia Erkidegoa (CAPV-EAE, Autonomous Community of the Basque Country)
- EAJ-PNV (Basque Nationalist Party), 16, 19, 23, 25–26, 32f
- Eastern dialects, 71, 81–82, 96
- Eastern Low Navarrese, 77–78
- Eastern Navarrese, 79, 88–89
- école élémentaire* (elementary school), 140, 140t
- école maternelle* (nursery school), 140, 140t
- ECRML, 45, 47–48
- educación infantil* (preschool), 140, 140t
- educación post-secundaria obligatoria* (post-secondary education), 140, 140t
- educación primaria* (primary education), 140, 140t
- educación secundaria obligatoria* (secondary education), 140, 140t
- education, 27, 47–48; adult education schools, 120; awareness instruction, 142; Basque language, 49n; bilingual, 139–41, 140t, 153; *école élémentaire* (elementary school), 140, 140t; *école maternelle* (nursery school), 140, 140t; “Ikas bi,” 132–33; linguistic school models, 137–55; post-secondary (*educación post-secundaria obligatoria*), 140, 140t; *prémier degré* (primary level), 140, 140t, 142; preschool (*educación infantil*), 140, 140t; primary, 140, 140t, 142, 144, 148–49; primary (*educación primaria*), 140, 140t; private, 150, 150t; public, 31, 40, 150, 150t; school models, 127–28, 130, 130t; secondary, 44n, 144–45, 148–49; secondary (*educación secundaria obligatoria*), 140, 140t; state-subsidized, 150, 150t; trilingual, 155
- Egibar, Joseba, 25–26

- Egunero hasten delako* (Because it begins every day) (Saizarbitoria), 183
- eguzki*, 19n
- Eibar, 81, 83, 91
- electoral processes, 31, 32f
- Eleizalde, Luis de, 17
- elementary school (*école élémentaire*), 140, 140t
- Elgoibar, 80–81, 91
- El imposible vencido, El arte de la lengua bascongada* (The Impossible Overcome, The Art of the Basque Language) (Larramendi), 76–77
- Elorriaga, Unai, 175–76, 181, 188–89
- English, 170
- Enparantza, José Luis Álvarez (Txillardegui), 22–24
- Enseñanza Secundaria Obligatoria (ESO), 144–45
- Epalza, Aingeru, 176
- equal-time instruction, 49–50, 141–42, 142t
- Erdialdeko euskara (Central Euskara), 81–84
- ergative displacement, 53n
- ergative languages, 52, 54, 54n, 169–70
- ergativity, 52–54, 64, 69
- Erizkizundi Irukoitza*, 78–79
- Ermua, 91
- Erroibar (Erro Valley), 85
- Erronkari Roncal Valley, 76, 88
- eskara*, 73, 96
- Eskarmentuaren paperak/Vida y otras dudas* (Life and other doubts) (Lertxundi), 181, 184–85
- eskera*, 73, 96
- Eskimo-Aleut languages, 54
- Eskiula (Esquiule), 87
- eskoara*, 73, 96
- Eskual-Herria*, 14
- Eskual Herria (name), 11–12
- eskuara*, 73, 96
- Eskuara*, 13
- eskuera*, 73, 96
- ESO (Enseñanza Secundaria Obligatoria), 144–45
- Esquera*, 13
- essays, 185
- Esteban Garibai, 82
- Esteribar, 85
- ETA, 22–26, 31–32, 185, 187
- Etcheverry, Joannes d', 76, 86, 100
- ethnic identity, 14–15
- ethnogenesis, 12–14
- Etiopia* (Ethiopia) (Atxaga), 186
- Etxeberri, Joanes, 76n, 86, 100
- Etzeko hautsa/Trapos sucios* (Dirty rags) (Lertxundi), 185
- Ettxepare, Beñat, 75n, 93n
- Ettxepare, Bernard, 75, 75n, 96
- Ettxepare, Bernart, 75n, 93, 93n
- etymology, 18–19, 19n, 107, 109
- EUDIA (Euskara Dialektalaren Ahozko Corpusa, Corpus of Oral Dialectal Basque), 92
- European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, 141
- Euscal-dunac, 13
- Euskalerria, 13
- Euscara, 13
- Euskadi (name), 11–12, 19, 23–25
- “Euskadi aurrera!” (“Forward Euskadi!”) slogan, 23–24
- Euskadiko Alderdi Popularra, 24. *see also* People’s Party (PP)
- Euskadiko Ezkerra (EE), 32f
- Euskadi Roja* (*Red Euskadi*), 18
- euskala*, 73, 96
- euskaldun* (Basque speakers), 28–29
- Euskalduna, 16–17
- Euskalerria (name), 11, 17–20
- Euskalerriko Atlas Etnolinguistikoa* (Ethnolinguistic atlas of the Basque Country) (Aranzadi Society), 79
- Euskal Etxea, 73n
- Euskal Gramatika. Lehen Urratsak* (Basque grammar: The first steps), 112
- Euskal Herria, 16, 28
- Euskal Herria (name), 11–14, 20–27
- Euskal Herri Hizkeren Atlas* (Atlas of Basque forms of speech), 79

- Euskal Herriko Selekzioa (Team Euskal Herria), 27
- Euskal Herritarrok, 32f
- Euskal Hiria (name), 11
- Euskal Idazleen Elkarte, (Association of Basque Writers, EIE), 173
- Euskal Itzultzaile, Interpretari eta Zuzentzaileen Elkarte/ Asociación de Traductores, Intérpretes y Correctores en Lengua Vasca (Association of Translators, Interpreters, and Copyeditors in Basque, EIZIE), 173
- Euskal literaturaren bereizgarri orokorrak* (Mitzelena), 113, 113n
- Euskal Selekzioa (Team Basque), 27
- euskaltegiak, 120
- Euskaltzaindia (Royal Academy of the Basque Language), 14, 18, 27, 78, 98n, 101–4, 108n; *Euskal Herri Hizkeren Atlas* (Atlas of Basque forms of speech), 79; language planning, 132
- euskaltzales* (Bascophiles), 102, 104
- Euskara (Basque). *see* Basque language (Euskera or Euskara)
- Euskara (name), 7n
- Euskara Batua (standard or unified Basque), 71, 74, 74n, 84, 103
- Euskararen soziolinguistikoko dialektologikoa* (Sociolinguistic dialectologic atlas of the Basque language), 92n
- Euskara XXI, 34
- Euskaria (name), 11
- euskera*, 73, 96
- Euskera (Basque). *see* Basque language (Euskera or Euskara)
- Euskeria (name), 11
- eusk/euzk* root words, 18–19
- euskiera*, 73, 96
- Eusko Ikaskuntza (Basque Studies Society), 102
- Euzkadi, 21–22; as concept, 15–20; as name, 11–12, 17–20, 19n, 20, 25–26
- Euzkadi* (magazine), 16–18
- Euzkadi Buru Batzarra (name), 18
- Euzkadi Roja* (*Red Euskadi*), 18
- Euzkelerrria*, 16
- euzkera*, 73
- Euzko, 16
- family language, 134
- family transmission, 120, 134
- Federation of Ikastolas, 154–55
- flag, 20
- Foral Community of Navarre. *see* Navarre
- foral law, 28
- foral regionalism, 20–21
- fors*, 14
- Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, 48
- France: Basque language in, 28, 49–50, 49n, 74; Constitution, 48; Constitutional Council, 48, 48n, 49; Département des Pyrénées Atlantiques, 132, 138; Department of Education, 49; educational system, 49–50, 49n, 139, 140t, 141–42, 152; language policy, 132; linguistic policy, 138; Public Bureau of the Basque Language, 132–33
- Franco, Francisco, 7, 102, 179
- Francoism, 21
- freedom of language, 42–44
- French, 94, 114n; Basque-French education, 139; grammar, 54–55; influence of, 91; ownership of, 137; structure of, 52–53, 52n, 54–58, 62, 64
- French Basque Country. *see* Northern Basque Country (Iparralde)
- French Polynesia, 49
- fuerismo*, 14
- fueros*, 14–15
- future directions: challenges, 133–35; for linguistic models, 152–55
- Futuro de la política lingüística* (The future of the language policy) (Gobierno Vasco), 126
- Gabiria, Julen, 175
- Galtzerdi suizida/El calcetín suicida* (The suicidal sock) (Landa), 186

- Gaminde, Iñaki, 79, 91  
 Gandiaga, Bitoriano, 175  
 Garazi (Pays de Cize), 75, 86  
 Garisoain, Pilar Roura, 20–21  
 Garmendia, Salbador, 104  
 Gascon, 114n  
 Gatika, 91  
 gender agreement, 60, 65  
 Georgian, 52, 54, 64  
 Gerediaga association, 103  
 German, 166  
 Gernika: Statute of, 23, 25–26  
 Gero (Later) (Axular), 13, 75, 99–100  
 Gesto por la Paz de Euskal Herria  
 (Gesture for peace in Euskal Herria),  
 26  
 Gipuzkera (Gipuzkoan), 83  
 Gipuzkoa, 29, 77n, 89, 137  
 Gipuzkoa (term), 19n  
 Gipuzkoan, 75–77, 83, 91, 100, 102–3  
 Gizona bere bakardeadean/*El hombre  
 solo/The Lone Man* (Atxaga), 187  
 Goenkale (Pausoka), 179  
 Goierri, 83  
 Goi-nafarrera (High Navarrese), 84  
 Goizueta, 85  
 Goizueta-Aramaio, 91  
 Gorde nazazu lurpean (Saizarbitoria),  
 184  
 government administration, 47n  
 Graded Intergenerational Disruption  
 Scale (GIDS), 127  
 graffiti, 94  
 Grainger, Jonathan, 159  
*Grammaire Basque (navarro-labourdin  
 littéraire)* (Basque grammar [Literary  
 Navarrese-Lapurdian]) (Lafitte), 86  
 grammars, 54–55; Basque, 86, 100,  
 112; processing of, 163–65, 167–70;  
 Universal Grammar, 54–55  
*Grand Placen aurkituko gara/Grande  
 Place* (Onaindia), 178  
 grapheme “h,” 107–8  
 Gros i Lladós, Miquel, 117–18  
 Grosjean, François, 157  
 Guardia Civil (Civil Guard), 25  
 HABE (Helduen Alfabetatze eta  
 Berreuskalduntzerako Erakundea,  
 Institute for Literacy and Re-  
 Basquization of Adults), 128  
*Hamaika pauso/Los pasos incontables*  
 (The uncountable steps)  
 (Saizarbitoria), 184  
*Hamaisegarrenan aidanez* (On the  
 sixteenth, they say) (Lertxundi), 178,  
 185  
 HB. *see* Herri Batasuna (Popular Unity)  
 head-final languages, 61, 170  
 head-initial languages, 170  
 head parameter, 54–63  
 Hegoalde, 91, 139–40, 140t  
 Hegoalde (term), 138n  
 Herri Batasuna (Popular Unity, HB),  
 23–25, 32f  
*Heuskara* (Etxepare), 96  
 High Bidasoa, 85  
 High Navarrese (Goi-nafarrera), 84  
 Historical Notes, 99  
*Hiztegi Batua* (Unified dictionary), 112  
 Hondarribia, 80, 83  
 Hondarribia-Irun, 91  
 honorifics, 65n  
 Hualde, Jose Ignacio, 79  
 Humboldt, Wilhelm von, 13–14, 28  
 hyper-Bizkaian, 82  
 Ibarra, Jose Ignacio, 79  
 iconography, 23  
 Idazleen Alkartea (Basque Writers’  
 Association), 103  
 ideology, 40  
 Igerabide, Juan Kruz, 176  
*Iholdi* (Landa), 186  
 “Ikas bi” education, 132–33  
*ikastolas*, 31, 132, 140–141, 154–55  
*ikurriña*, 20  
 immersion method of instruction,  
 49–50, 132, 140–42, 142t  
 Imoz, 91  
 indoctrination, 27  
 infixation, 55n

- information and communication technologies (ICTs), 153
- instruction. *see* bilingual education
- Interpretari eta Zuzentzaileen Elkarte/Asociación de Traductores, Intérpretes y Correctores en Lengua Vasca (Association of Translators, Interpreters, and Copyeditors in Basque, EIZIE), 173
- intimate language, 134
- intonation, rising, 68–69
- intransitive verbs, 52, 52n
- Inza, Dámaso, 77
- Iparragirre, José María, 181
- Iparralde. *see* Northern Basque Country
- Iparralde (term), 138n
- Irigoien, Joan Mari, 175–76
- Irizar, Pedro, 79
- Irukoitza, Erizkizundi, 78
- Irun, 80, 83
- Iruñea-Pamplona, 18, 26, 46, 85, 143
- Iruñea-Veleia fasco, 93–94
- Italian, 52n
- Iturbe, Arantxa, 176
- it xiberotarra or Xiberoko eüskara, 87
- Izagirre, Koldo, 178
- “;” 108
- Jaio, Karmele, 175, 179
- Japanese, 70n, 162, 166, 168, 170, 181–182
- Jiménez, Irati, 179
- Kokodrilo bat ohe azpian/Un cocodrilo bajo la cama* (A crocodile under the bed) (Landa), 181, 186
- Krutwig, Federico, 103
- Lacombe, Georges, 77
- Lafitte, Pierre, 86, 103
- “lagunarteko hizkera” (colloquial speech) program, 130–31
- laisser faire, laisser passer* policy, 126, 131–32
- Landa, Mariasun, 181–82, 185–86
- language(s): freedom of, 42–44; functional diversification of, 121n; native, 38–39; nonnative language processing, 168; regional, 36–37, 49, 115; territorial, 34–35, 38. *see also specific languages*
- language choice, 43
- language competence, 114–16, 115f–116f, 118–20, 121f. *see also* linguistic proficiency
- language loyalty, 135
- language policy, 34, 41–42, 44–45, 114, 117, 126–33
- language rights, 8–9, 35n, 42–44, 46, 46n, 143–44
- language switching, 161–62
- language transmission, 118–20
- Lantz (Lanz), 85
- La Platako Eskual Herria*, 14
- Lapurdi, 25, 75–76, 86, 137–38
- Lapurdian, 66, 75–77, 86–88, 91, 100, 103. *see also* Navarrese-Lapurdian
- Larramendi, Manuel de, 76–77, 100
- Lasarte-Oria, 91
- Las últimas sombras, The last shadows* (Pette), 185
- Latin, 51n, 94
- Latin Codex *Aemilianensis* 60, 93n
- Lazarraga, Juan Pérez de, 13, 82
- “Lecciones de ortografía del euskera bizkaino” (Lessons in orthography of Bizkaian Euskara) (Arana), 16, 101
- legal systems, 39–42
- Legutio (Legutiano), 81
- Leioa, 91
- Leizarraga, Joanes, 13, 75, 86, 99
- Lekuine (Bonloc), 86
- Lekuona, Juan Mari, 175
- Lekuona, Manuel, 104–5
- Lertxundi, Anjel, 175–76, 181–82, 184–85
- Lete, Xabier, 175
- Le Verbe Basque en Tableaux* (The Basque verb in tables) (Bonaparte), 77
- lexical morphology, 55–58
- lexical variants, 82, 84–87, 89

- Ley Orgánica de Reintegración y Amejoramiento del Régimen Foral de Navarra, 143
- Lezama, 91
- Lezo, 91
- liberalism, 14–15
- Linazasoro, Karlos, 176
- Linguae Vasconum Primitiae* (Etxepare), 75, 93
- linguistic distance, 170–71
- linguistic diversity, 35n
- linguistic models, 43, 44n, 102, 137–55
- linguistic normalization, 34
- linguistic policy, 31, 138
- linguistic proficiency: and bilingualism, 165–67; of bilingual speakers, 30, 30t; communicative proficiency, 149, 149t, 150–51. *see also* language competence
- linguistic rights, 8–9, 35n, 42–44, 46n, 143–44
- linguistic separatism, 37
- linguistic zones, 28, 38, 135, 143
- literary unification, 102–3
- Literatura Unibertsala* (World Literature), 177
- literature: Basque literature, 75–76, 86, 93–94, 173–89; massmarket, 175; Spanish National Prize for Literature, 104, 180, 188–89
- Lizarralde, Pello, 176
- loanwords, 86–87, 96, 96n
- local forms of speech, 73, 77
- Londres kartoizkoa da/Londres es de cartón* (London Is made of cardboard) (Elorriaga), 189
- López, Patxi, 31
- Lower Navarre, 75–76, 86
- Luzaide (Valcarlos), 86
- Malerreka, 85
- Mallabia, 91
- manex*, 88
- Manifiesto de San Andrés*, 19–20
- Manterola, José, 101
- massmarket literature, 175
- Mayan language, 54
- me-lui constraint, 64
- Meñaka, Urduliz, 91
- Mendebaleko euskara (Western Euskara), 80–83
- Michelena, Luis, 94n
- Ministry of Culture, 180
- minority language rights, 35n
- Mitxelena, Koldo, 73n, 82, 94, 94n, 112–13, 126; *Euskal literaturaren bereizgarri orokorrak* (Mitxelena), 113, 113n; “Orthography,” 103–4, 108; proposal, 105–12
- mixed zone, 46–47, 47n
- modernization, 55n
- Mogel, Juan Antonio, 82
- Monastery of San Millan de la Cogolla, 93
- Mondragon Unibertsitatea (Mondragon University, MU), 151
- monolingual speakers, 30, 114–15, 157–58
- Montoia, Xabier, 176
- Morillo, Fernando, 175
- morphology, 84, 88–89, 95–96; lexical, 55–58; Mitxelena’s proposal for, 110–11; nominal, 81, 88, 97–99; verbal, 79, 82, 88, 97–99, 110–11
- Mugairi, Oronoz, 85
- Multilingualism, 34–39
- Mungia, 91
- Muñoz, Jokin, 176, 178
- Nafarra (Navarrese), 84–85
- nationalism, 14–15; Basque, 15, 21, 31, 102; Bizkaia-centric, 15–16
- Nationalist Party, 16
- Nationalists, 31, 32f
- nationality, 14
- national name, 19
- National Prize for Essay-Writing, 181, 184
- National Prize for Literature, 104, 180, 188–89
- National Prize for Narrative, 181
- native languages, 38–39, 166



- Navarre, 31, 74; attitudes toward promoting Basque, 124–25, 125f; Basque language, 45–48, 77n, 89; Basque/Spanish instruction, 143–45; Basque speakers, 8–9, 29, 117–18; Basque-speaking zone, 46–47; bilingual speakers, 29, 29t, 114–15, 115f, 118–19, 119t, 120, 121f, 122, 130, 130t, 145n; educational system, 47, 137–41, 140t, 143–44, 145t; *foral* system, 45, 143; future challenges, 135; improvement law, 45; language policy, 129–31; linguistic competence, 115f, 120, 121f; linguistic policy, 139; linguistic rights, 8–9, 143–44; linguistic school models, 137–38, 140, 140t, 143; linguistic zones, 28, 38, 143; mixed zone, 46–47, 47n; non-Basque-speaking zone, 46–47; non-university education, 144, 145t; official languages, 28, 38, 45, 47; population, 119t, 130, 133, 145n; school models, 130, 130t
- Navarrese (Nafarra), 75–77, 79, 84–85, 143
- Navarrese-Lapurdian, 79, 86–88, 91, 100, 103
- neo-speakers, 45
- neurobilingualism, 159
- new Basque speakers (*euskaldun berriak*), 120
- New Brunswick, Canada, 35n
- new speakers, 120
- New Testament, 13, 75, 86
- “New Words” (Zatarain), 104
- Nivel B1 de Euskara en Educación Primaria* (Euskara Level B1 in Primary Education) (Gobierno Vasco), 149
- normalization, 31, 146
- Northern Basque Country (Iparralde), 14, 48–50, 89–91, 114n; attitudes toward promoting Basque, 124–25, 125f; Basque language education in, 49n; Basque speakers, 117–18; bilingual instruction, 141–43; bilingual speakers, 29, 30t, 114–15, 115f, 118–19, 119t, 120, 121f, 122, 124, 132–33; educational system, 139–41, 140t, 141–42; future challenges, 135; language policy, 131–33; linguistic competence, 120, 121f; linguistic policy, 139; linguistic school models, 138, 140, 140t, 141; population, 119t, 132–33
- Northern High Navarrese, 77–78
- noun phrases, 59–62, 97
- n-P functions, 119–20, 119n
- nursery school (*école maternelle*), 140, 140t
- Obabakoak* (Atxaga), 181–82, 186
- Occitan, 87, 114n
- Odieta, 85
- official Basque flag, 20
- official bilingualism, 35n, 36–37, 39
- official languages, 33–34, 42, 155; determination of, 35n, 39; duty to know, 42–44; native languages as, 38–39; in Navarre, 45, 47; regulation of, 38–39, 44n; right to use, 42–44
- official state languages, 34–37, 138
- Oiartzun, 91
- Oihenart, Arnaut, 75, 89, 100
- Onaindia, Mario, 178
- 100 metro/Cien metros/100 meters* (Saizarbitoria), 178, 183–84
- Oñederra, Lourdes, 176
- online resources, 208
- Ontario, Canada, 35n
- Ordizia, 91
- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), 151
- origins, 12–15
- Orio, 91
- orthography, 94–96
- “Orthography” (Mitxelena), 103–4, 106–8
- oskara*, 73, 96
- Otsagabia (Ochagavía), 76

- Otto Pette (*Las últimas sombras*, The last shadows) (Lertxundi), 185  
 Otxandio, 91  
 Oztibarre (Ostabarret), 86  
  
 Pagola, Rosa Miren, 79  
 País Vasco (name), 11, 18  
 País Vasco-Navarro (name), 11  
 palatal consonants, 108  
 Pamplona, 12, 93  
 parables, 68  
 parasynthesis, 56  
 parasynthetic derivatives or derived words, 56  
 parents, 120, 121f  
 particles, 108  
 Partido Comunista de España / Izquierda Unida-Ezker Batua (PCE/IU-EB), 32f  
 Partido Comunista de los Territorios Vascos–Euskal Herrialdeetako Alderdi Komunista, 32f  
 partitive suffix (*-ik*), 60  
 passive bilinguals, 30, 114–15, 115f  
 Pausoka, 179  
 Pays Basque (name), 11  
 Pays de Mixe, 86  
 PCE (Communist Party), 18  
 PCE/IU-EB (Partido Comunista de España / Izquierda Unida-Ezker Batua), 32f  
 PCTV-EHAK, 32f  
*Pentsamenduaren Klasikoak euskaraz* (Classic Works of Thought in Basque), 177  
 People's Party (PP), 24  
 Persian, 70n  
 person case constraint, 64  
 Peterri, 83  
 Pettarra (Lower Zuberoa or Barhoue or Basse Soule), 87  
 phonology, 81, 84, 109  
 PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment) report, 151  
  
*Piztiaren izena/La noche de la bestia* (The night of the beast) (Lertxundi), 185  
*Plan Director de Euskara* (Master Plan for Basque), 30  
*Plan General de Promoción del Uso del Euskera* (General Plan for Promoting Basque Use) (*Gobierno Vasco*), 126–27  
 poetry, 173, 175, 178, 180, 182, 188  
 politics, 23–24, 28–32  
 Popular Front, 20  
 Popular Unit. *see* Herri Batasuna (HB)  
 postpositions, 58–59, 103n  
 prefixes, 55, 55n, 56  
*prémier degré* (primary level education), 140, 140t, 142  
 preposed particles, 70–71  
 prepositions, 58–59  
 preschool (*educación infantil*), 140, 140t, 144, 148  
 primary education: *educación primaria*, 140, 140t, 144, 148; *prémier degré*, 140, 140t, 142  
 private education, 150, 150t  
 prodigal son, 68  
 pro-drop parameter, 63–65  
 pro-drop phenomenon, 65, 65n  
 Protestantism, 99  
 PSE (Socialist Party of Euskadi), 24–25, 32f  
 public attitudes, 124–25, 125f  
 Public Bureau of the Basque Language, 132–33  
 public education, 31, 40, 150, 150t  
 public proceedings, 47n  
 Pueblo Vasco (name), 11  
 punctuation marks, 108  
 purism, 96n  
  
 quadrilingualism, 155  
 Quebec, Canada, 35n  
*¿Qué pasa?*, 20–21  
  
 racial connotations, 20  
 realism, 175–76

- “Reconocimiento del ser para decidir. Concreción de la Ponencia Política de EAJ-PNV” (“Recognition of the human being’s right to decide. Specifying Report of the Political Conference of EAJ-PNV”), 26
- Refranes y sentencias del Bascuence* (Basque proverbs and sayings) (Garibai), 82
- regionalism, 20
- regional language(s), 36–37, 49, 115
- regional language schools, 49
- regional language sections, 49
- regulation of official languages, 38–39, 44n
- resources, 208
- “reversing language shift” model, 127, 127n
- rights, linguistic, 8–9, 35n, 42–44, 46n, 143–44
- Rodriguez, Eider, 179
- Rodríguez Zapatero, José Luis, 26
- Romance languages, 51–72, 51n, 61n
- romanticism, 14–15
- Roncalese, 78, 87, 89–91
- Saint-Étienne-de-Baïgorry, 86
- Saizarbitoria, Ramon, 104, 175–76, 178, 183–84
- Sakana Valley, 85, 91
- Salaberry, Etienne, 12
- Salaburu, Pello, 79
- Salazarese, 89–91
- Saldias, 85
- Sancho el Mayor, 12
- San Millán, 93
- Sarasola, Ibon, 112
- Sarrionandia, Joseba, 175–76
- schools: bilingual instruction, 142–43, 142t; linguistic school models, 137–55; Navarre models, 130; regional language schools, 49; regional language sections, 49
- secondary education, 44n; *educación secundaria obligatoria*, 140t; Enseñanza Secundaria Obligatoria (ESO), 144–45; mandatory, 148–49
- second language, 134
- Second Vatican Council, 104
- semantic maneuvers, 25–26
- semantic norms, 22
- semantic offensive, 26–27
- sensibilisation* approach, 141
- separatism, linguistic, 37
- short stories, 176, 184
- slogans, 23–24
- soccer, 27, 187
- social consciousness, 131
- Socialist Central Committee of Euzkadi, 18
- Socialist Party of Euskadi (PSE), 24–25
- Sociedad Euskalerrria (Basque Country Society), 14
- sociolinguistic diversity, 40–42
- sociolinguistic maps, 116–18, 117n
- sociolinguistic surveys, 114, 116, 118
- sociolinguistic zones, 121–22
- Soinujolearen semea/El hijo del acordeonista/The Accordionist’s Son* (Atxaga), 178, 187
- Soraluze, 83
- Southern Basque Country, 139
- Southern High Navarrese, 77–78
- Spain: Basque dialects in, 74; Basque/Spanish instruction, 143–51; 1968 Congress, 102–3; Constitution, 33, 35–36, 42, 143, 180; Constitutional Court (CC), 35–36, 37n; educational system, 139, 140t; Franco’s dictatorship, 138; linguistic policy, 138; Ministry of Culture, 180; multilingualism in, 34–39; National Literature Prizes, 104, 180, 188–89; National Prize for Essay-Writing, 181, 184; National Prize for Literature, 104, 180; National Prize for Narrative, 181
- Spanish, 94, 114; Basque-Spanish bilingual syntactic processing, 163–65, 167–70; Basque-Spanish education, 139, 143–51; communicative proficiencies, 150,

- 150t, 151; duty to know, 34–37, 37n; first words written in, 93n; grammar, 54–55; influence of, 91; as official language, 33–37, 143; ownership of, 137; structure of, 52–62, 64, 66, 71; syntactic parameters, 165, 165t, 170; use index, 124
- Spanish-Basque bilinguals, 162, 167–70
- Spanish-Catalan bilinguals, 162
- spelling, 18–20, 93–112
- SPrako tranbia/Un tranvía a SP* (A streetcar to SP) (Elorriaga), 181, 188–89
- standard or unified Basque (Euskara Batua), 71, 74, 74n, 84, 99–105
- state-subsidized education, 150, 150t
- Statute of Gernika, 23, 25–26
- statutes of autonomy, 38–39
- stories, 184
- students, 142
- subdialects, 73, 76–77, 87
- subvarieties, 83
- suffixes, 55, 55n, 56; partitive (*-ik*), 60
- Switzerland, 35n
- Syndicat Intercommunal, 132
- syntactic processing, 163–65, 167–70
- syntactic variations, 168; Basque and Romance characteristics, 63–72; ergative, 54, 54n; Mitxelena's proposal for, 111
- teaching: in Euskara, 140–41, 140t, 141–42, 144; of Euskara, 140–41, 140t, 141; linguistic models for, 44n; models for, 140–41, 140t; in two languages, 140
- Team Euskadi, 27
- Tejada, Francisco Elías de, 20
- Tejero, Antonio, 25
- Television, 179
- terminological struggles, 11–32; changes, 24–25; *Euskal Herria*, 11–14, 20–27; lexical morphology, 55–58; lexical variants, 82; terms used in Basque dialects, 84
- territorial language, 34–35, 38
- textbooks, 27
- theater, 179
- theoretical studies, 70
- Toubon Law, 48
- translations, 99, 101, 104, 181–82
- tribes, 75, 89
- trilingual education, 155
- trilingualism, 155
- twenty-first century, 28–32
- Txan fantasma/Chan el fantasma/ Karmentxu and the Little Ghost* (Landa), 186
- Txillardegui. *see* Enparantza, José Luis Álvarez
- Ugarte, Pedro, 11–12
- Ultzama (Ulzama), 85, 91
- Umiaren lenengo Aizkidia* (*First children's companion*), 16
- UNED. *see* Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia (National Distance Education University)
- Unidad Alavesa (UA), 32f
- unified or standard Basque (Euskara Batua), 71, 74, 74n, 84, 103
- Unión del Centro Democrático (UCD), 32f
- Universal Grammar, 54–55
- Universidad de Deusto/Deustuko Unibertsitatea (University of Deusto), 151
- Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea (University of the Basque Country, UPV/EHU), 30, 79, 104, 112, 151; language policy, 128; teaching and research staff, 151
- Universidad de Navarra (University of Navarre), 151
- Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia (National Distance Education University, UNED), 151
- Universidad Pública de Navarra/Nafarroako Unibertsitatea Publikoa (The Public University of Navarre, UPNA/NUP), 151

- Université de Pau et des Pays de l'Adour  
 (University of Pau and the Pays de  
 l'Adour, UPPA), 151–52  
 University of Bilbao, 104  
 University of Deusto, 112  
 University System, 151  
 UPNA/NUP, 151  
 UPPA. *see* Université de Pau et des Pays  
 de l'Adour (University of Pau and the  
 Pays de l'Adour)  
 Upper Navarre, 137  
 UPV/EHU. *see* Universidad del País  
 Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea  
 (University of the Basque Country)  
 Urdazubi, 86  
 Urdazubi-Zugarramurdi, 91  
 Urduliz, 91  
 Uribe, Kirmen, 175, 178, 180–82,  
 187–88  
 Urola, 83  
 Urquijo, Carlos, 27  
 Urretabizkaia, Arantxa, 175–76  
*uska*, 73, 96  
*uskaa*, 73, 96  
*uskaltzaindia*, 112  
*uskara*, 73, 96  
*üskara*, 73  
*uskera*, 73, 96  
*uxka*, 96  
  
 Valencia, 38  
 Van Eys, Willem J., 77  
 Van Heuven, Walter, 159  
*Van't Hoffen ilea/El pelo de Van't Hoff*  
*(Van't Hoff's hair)* (Elorriaga), 189  
 Varduli, 75, 89–90  
 Vascones, 75, 89–90  
 Vasconia, 11  
 Vatican Council, 104  
 verbal agreement, 63–65  
 verbal morphology, 79, 82, 97–99,  
 110–11  
*Verbo regular del dialecto vizcaíno* (The  
 regular verb in the Bizkaian dialect),  
 82n  
 verb phrases, 65–66  
 verbs, 52–53, 77, 98n; auxiliary, 79;  
 intransitive, 52, 52n; regular, 82;  
 transitive, 52; unaccusative, 52n;  
 unergative, 52n  
 verb structure, 62–63  
 Videgain, Xarles, 79  
 Villasante, Luis, 78–79, 104  
 Vinson, Julien, 77  
 voting, 31, 32f  
*Vredaman/Plants Don't Drink Coffee*  
 (Elorriaga), 189  
  
 Warlpiri, 64  
 Western dialects, 72, 79, 90–91  
 Western Euskara (Mendebaleko  
 euskara), 80–83  
 Western Low Navarrese, 77–78  
 women: treatment of, 185  
 women writers, 175, 179–80  
 word form, 108–9  
 “Word Form” (Villasante), 104  
 word order: order [Adj.+N], 61n; order  
 [N+Adj.], 61n; in sentences, 65–72  
 words: characteristic, 82, 85; cognate,  
 160; compound, 57–58, 108;  
 derived from *eusk/euzk* root, 18–19;  
 loanwords, 96; Mitxelena's proposal  
 for word form, 108–9; new, 109–10;  
 “New Words” (Zatarain), 104;  
 parasyntetic derivatives or derived  
 words, 56  
 World Cup, 187  
 writing. *see* spelling  
  
 Xiberoko euskara, 87  
 xiberotarra, 87  
  
 Yoldi, Juan Carlos, 23  
  
 Zabala, Juan Mateo, 82n  
 Zaldibar, 91  
 Zaldibia, 91  
 Zaldúa, Iban, 176  
 Zamudio, 91  
 Zapatero, José Luis Rodríguez, 26  
 Zaraitzu-Salazar Valley, 88

- Zarautz, 91
- Zatarain, Ambrosio, 104
- Zazpi etxe Frantzian/Siete casas en Francia/Seven Houses in France (Atxaga), 187
- Zeru horiek/Esos cielos/The Lone Woman (Atxaga), 178, 187
- Zestoa, 91
- Ziutatzeaz (About the city) (Atxaga), 186
- Zoaz infernura, laztana/Vete al infierno, cariño (Go to hell, my dear) (Lertxundi), 185
- zoning, 38
- Zorion perfektua/Felicidad perfecta/ Perfect Happiness (Lertxundi), 185
- Zuazo, Koldo, 79–81, 80f, 83–85, 90–91
- Zuberoa, 137–38
- Zuberoan, 75–77, 79, 82, 87–88, 90–91, 109
- Zugarramurdi, 86
- zuka, 88
- zuketa, 88
- Zumaia, 91

## List of Contributors

*For full biographical information about the contributors, links to their projects, and more, visit [www.basque.unr.edu/currentresearch/contributors](http://www.basque.unr.edu/currentresearch/contributors).*

Xabier Alberdi, the University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHU)  
Miren Azkarate Villar, the University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHU)  
Kepa Erdocia, the University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHU)  
Jon Kortazar, the University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHU)  
Alberto Lopez Basaguren, the University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHU)  
Itziar Laka, the University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHU)  
Julian Maia, the University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHU)  
Jesus Mari Makazaga, the University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHU)  
Ludger Mees, the University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHU)  
Pello Salaburu, the University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHU)  
Itziar San Martin, the University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHU)  
Mikel Santesteban, the University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHU)  
Igone Zabala, the University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHU)  
Adam Zawiszewski, the University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHU)

