

Lionel JOLY - Mikel ZALBIDE

**TOWARDS A METHODOLOGICAL
MODEL FOR A SOCIAL
HISTORY OF LANGUAGES:
A BASQUE CONTRIBUTION**

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A BASQUE
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1. HISTORICAL SOCIOLINGUISTICS IN INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH

Examining the social history of languages is a new field of research¹ in the disciplines of both sociolinguistics and history.² Although Afendras (1969) had already mentioned historical sociolinguistics in the title of one of his articles, it is usually claimed that the first formal mention of this field at the international level was by Romaine (1982) with the title *Socio-historical Linguistics: Its Status and Methodology*.³ Many works had been written about the internal history of languages and comparative linguistics before that. But systematic research into the social dimension of languages and their historical development has not been a common field of research until the last twenty years. Nowadays it is well known and, as we will see later on, it is a field which has expanded considerably over the last ten years. The situation of historical sociolinguistics⁴ today is no longer that which Aracil (1983: 31-32) described in the 1980s, although there is still a lot of work to be done at the theoretical-methodological level: “I am not sure if we have to ‘uncover’ the sociolinguistic history of our Civilization. The fact is that this real part of real history has never been *generally recognised* as a well-defined,

¹ Linguistic and historical theories can have a lot in common (Meschonnic 2012): as objects, they both make sense and they both create meaning. In the case of history, Meschonnic quotes Certeau (2012: 23) “(...) As Michel de Certeau wrote: ‘The word *history* wavers between two poles: history which is retold (*Historie*) and that which is done (*Geschichte*)’. One ‘repeats’ and the other ‘establishes’ (p. 310)”.

² However, as Mattheier (1999: 1) mentions and we will see later on, historical sociolinguistics is not a line of research without tradition. In his opinion, this new field of research is directly connected to historical linguistics.

³ After examining the extensive bibliography about historical sociolinguistics (see the international historical sociolinguistics bibliography in this book), Afendras’ article, “Sociolinguistic history, sociolinguistic geography and bilingualism”, was the first one to mention historical sociolinguistics. Reinecke’s PhD thesis, written in the 1930’s and, like Afendras’ article, published in 1969 (Reinecke 1969), also mentions historical sociolinguistics in its title: *Language and Dialect in Hawaii, A Sociolinguistic History to 1935*.

⁴ Following the general tendency we have used *social history of language*, *sociolinguistic history* and *historical sociolinguistics* as umbrella terms as needed.

productive field worthy of systematic research. This is a subject which certainly exists, but which has not been institutionally blessed and is not very popular. Researching and analysing the bibliography about this subject (a miscellaneous mass) is an adventure which seems to attract few researchers”.⁵

For Basque, in his book *Sobre el pasado de la lengua vasca* (*About the past of the Basque language*), K. Mitxelena mentioned the well-known dichotomy between the internal and external history of a language (Mitxelena 1964: 71): “When the term *history* is used in some connection with the language, an essential distinction must be borne in mind: the one which separates the internal history of the language, which is based on the data linguistic documents provide us with, from its external history, which is none other than that of the people which have used the language as their main or only vehicle of communication, and of the territory in which the language has been in use”.⁶ When referring to this dichotomy, Mitxelena (1964: 71) also stated: “This distinction is based not only on knowledge, it is also based on reality. On the one hand, it is possible to piece together the history of a language without paying more than marginal attention to external historical events, as, in the same way, it is possible to know quite a lot about a particular period of a country’s history without having more than fragmentary information about its linguistic situation.” However, several authors underline the risk of drawing mistaken conclusions about language evolution if social history is not taken into account. Millar (2012: 58) explains this problem: “Language use must be analysed in its social context. This is never more the case than when dealing with language from the past. Without the connection between the two, it is very difficult not to commit errors in analysis, either historically or linguistically.”

Before historical sociolinguistics began to flourish, several interesting pieces which throw light on the social history of languages were written, although the main focus of most of them was linguistic. Among others, we should mention Brunot (1966-72), Bruneau (1913), Cohen (1971, 1987) and Lapesa (1984). For the Basque Country, see Mitxelena (1964, 1985). However, as we can see in the international bibliography on historical sociolinguistics in this book, works

⁵ Aracil examines the reason for this in that article and outlines a basic European sociolinguistic history. On the social history of European languages, also see Aracil 2004.

⁶ In linguistics the internal and external history of a language are habitually distinguished. We will examine debate about this distinction later on, in the section where we deal with historical linguistics. The original quotation was in Spanish and the translation is ours. The aim of this book is to present a methodology for the Historical Sociology of Language, in our case applied to Basque. Many authors are quoted in different languages other than English in our original book in Basque (Spanish, Basque, English, French, German...); in this book we decided to translate all the quotes to facilitate understanding by the reader. Where the original is in English we quote the original.

focused primarily on sociolinguistics began to be published after the 1980s, and became more common after the beginning of the 21st century. A number of substantial tomes have been published about the social history of language in recent years, but there is no systematic model or theory that bridges the different works. Usually, authors give their points of view about the period or linguistic parameter they are analysing, but each offers an individual analysis, there being no unity of methodology. As far as we know, there is no social history of a language available yet: not, that is, in a general and systematic form. However, the historical sociolinguistics field of research has broadened considerably and, thanks to this, there are many different branches of it at present. The social history of languages is growing internationally: the field is flourishing in many different places, under one name or another (Conde 2007, Cotelli 2009, Hernandez & Conde 2012, Russi 2016, Säily et al. 2017). Research has started to take noticeable steps forward, both in Europe and elsewhere. This is true for Basque, too. Interest has been shown in different places, and the Academy of the Basque Language has seen fit to make it one of its main lines of research.

The methodology of the Social History of Basque (SHB) has been designed to be used for researching the social history of the languages present in the Basque area in a general and unified way. Because of that, we believe it is essential to explain the lines of research and main schools in the field of the social history of languages before presenting our own methodological proposal. As Cros (2006: 2) says: “A theory which does not make any movement is a dead theory but, in order to find out what still has to be done, it is necessary to examine what has already been done in order to keep on course as it were”.

We have divided this chapter into eight main sections. Firstly, we will explain the origins of the social history of languages and historical sociolinguistics. Secondly, we will explain the various lines of work in historical sociolinguistics. Finally, we will try to situate SHB and our proposal for the methodological model in the international context.

1.1. Historical sociolinguistics and synchronic sociolinguistics

Giving a single, precise definition of historical sociolinguistics is no easy task. It is difficult because there are many schools of thought, lines of work and types of methodology in synchronic sociolinguistics; those different lines of research cut synchronic sociolinguistics up differently. In diachronic sociolinguistics, we can find these different lines of work linked to synchronic sociolinguistics and

others that are only present in diachronic research.⁷ Coletes (1993: 13) stressed several years ago that establishing the limits of sociolinguistics, as a scientific object, is not always easy, and the same is true of historical sociolinguistics.⁸

Sociolinguistics is such a young science that its own status and scope are still in the process of being defined (see López Morales' 1989 criticism of certain aspects of 'sociolinguistics' which, in his opinion, do not deserve to be considered as such). One only has to look at the best-known works in order to see that the approaches put forward are so varied that, on occasion, they seem to be about different sciences, however much the word 'sociolinguistics' always crops up in the titles: this can be checked by even a cursory look at texts by Bell, Fasold, Fishman, Hudson, Pride-Holmes, Schlieben-Lange, Svejcer, Trudgill and others (see Coletes 1991). Furthermore, the internal distinctions between sociolinguistics in the strict sense and sociology of language, social psycholinguistics, linguistic anthropology, ethnography of communication, etc. only make things more complicated.

In these circumstances, it seems appropriate to give a short explanation of all of the lines of research used in the social history of language. Burke (1993: 1-2) defined the reasons for, and purposes of, the social history of language:

(...) there still remains a gap between the disciplines of history, linguistics and sociology (including social anthropology). The gap can and should be filled by a social history of language.

⁷ As is well-known, the distinction between synchrony and diachrony comes from the work of Saussure' (1977 [1916]). For him there are two types of linguistics and this is how he defines them (Saussure 1977 [1916]: 81): "But to indicate more clearly the opposition and crossing of two orders of phenomena that relate to the same object, I prefer to speak of *synchronic* and *diachronic* linguistics. Everything that relates to the static side of our science is synchronic; everything that has to do with evolution is diachronic. Similarly, *synchrony* and *diachrony* designate respectively a language-state and an evolutionary phase.". While the distinction Saussure made was appropriate at the methodological level, when it comes to carrying out research and drawing conclusions these two facets cannot be completely separated, as we will see later on. See Gimeno (1995: 23) and Conde (2007: 21-22) and, in particular, the third chapter of Saussure's work, "Static and Evolutionary Linguistics") (Saussure 1916: 79-100).

⁸ Some authors underline the fact that they are working in different sociolinguistic "traditions". Coupland and Jaworski (2009: 1), for instance, in their substantial volume of articles on sociolinguistics, mention "different traditions of sociolinguistics". The multiple branches of sociolinguistics, related to the interdisciplinary nature of the discipline, are mentioned in nearly all the explanations of it.

Burke sees a considerable gap there which must be filled seriously, with substance and precision.⁹ How can we start to do that? For want of any better alternative, let us begin by explaining what the “social history of a language” is not. As we said at the beginning, social history is not the internal history of a language. Explaining the internal structure of a language, its vocabulary, its morphology and so on is not social history (or at least, not on its own), although, to an extent, social developments are the reason behind no small number of changes and, hence, the reasons presented by linguists also have their own sociohistorical background. Similarly, examining the number of speakers of a language throughout history – as Broudic (1995) has done so skilfully for Breton – is not in itself social history: it is a part of social history known as historical demolinguistics. But social history is not limited to that. The reasons behind that development or evolution, too, must be studied, in order to write a language’s social history.

After presenting what this field is not, let us try to give the other, positive side of the coin. Without looking any further afield, let us recall Mitxelena’s words, quoted above, to define historical sociolinguistics: the basis for historical sociolinguistics is research into the evolution of the sociolinguistic situation, relating the language’s internal and external history. Later on we will examine in detail the ways in which authors have defined historical sociolinguistics and/or the social history of languages. Before starting on that, however, it seems worth clarifying what Coletes meant by confusion. To do so, we are going to present the most important synchronic sociolinguistics schools of thought, because we are going to come across these schools (or similar ones) in the field of historical sociolinguistics too (along with others).

1.1.1. Strands of work in synchronic sociolinguistics

Starting with the first modern round-table discussions about sociolinguistics, held in 1964, one of its main characteristics is its interdisciplinary nature (Bright

⁹ Kremnitz (2004: 12) is of the same opinion from the point of view of linguistics and sociolinguistics, although he believes that some exceptions have appeared over recent years: “It must be said that there has been considerable progress in recent decades, at least for some languages. Several social histories of languages, of the type I have just outlined, have been published over roughly the last quarter of a century, if I am not mistaken; however, they are still exceptions. A greater number of them would be desirable”.

This author believes that one of the reasons for this gap is linguistic nationalism. Most histories only take a single language into account, and he believes that to be a serious shortcoming in that the other languages which have had a relationship with the language being researched should also be taken into account: “Almost all histories of languages are of a single language, as if languages worked in isolation”. (Kremnitz 2004: 12).

Erize (1997: 92-93), too, believes that the two prime features of historical sociolinguistics are its scarcity and its heterogeneity. His theoretical and applied contribution to historical sociolinguistic research into Basque has been considerable.

1966).¹⁰ Boyer (1991: 8-10) summarises the interdisciplinary nature of sociolinguistics in these words: “the terrain of sociolinguistics at the heart of language sciences is permeable (as is that of other language sciences) to connected disciplines: psychology, psychoanalysis, philosophy, anthropology, ethnology, sociology, history... It is permeable, clearly, within the sciences of language, to the other types of linguistics: semiotics and text linguistics (which are concerned with the structure, cohesion and coherence of discourse), linguistic pragmatics and conversation analysis (concerned with the sequential structure of exchanges and the interactions which take place there), psycholinguistics (which specifically studies psychological mechanisms related to language acquisition and usage), ethnolinguistics (concerned with describing language structures usually considered “exotic”) and dialectology (which has the task of cataloguing geo-linguistic variation in terms of ways of speech still in use or of substrates of the current language), without forgetting the sociology of language, in the strict sense of the term. This last discipline, furthermore, sits firmly astride one of the two extremes of this field, *macro-sociolinguistics*. This could be defined as the sociolinguistics of institutions, of social structure, series of variations, group language practices, discourse types. The other pole, *micro-sociolinguistics*, on the other hand, is concerned with “grass-roots” practices, with issues limited to specific communicative practices or to the detailed use by particular subjects of their linguistic capital”. All these disciplines have in common the social organization of language behaviour and its analysis. Due to this interdisciplinary feature, many different currents have sprung up in the social analysis of language. Those currents also flow through historical sociolinguistics.

1.1.1.1. *Sociolinguistics and the sociology of language*

The distinction between sociolinguistics and the sociology of language is fundamental.¹¹ Indeed, some authors go further: Trudgill (1978: 2) put forward a three-fold distinction of sociolinguistics:

It is possible to divide studies of language and society into three groups: those where the objectives are purely sociological or social-scientific; those where they

¹⁰ When we mention the “first round-table discussion” we are, of course, referring to the 1964 Bloomington conference (Paulston and Tucker 1997). That, clearly, does not mean ignoring previous events: neither those held before the Second World War (particularly in central Europe), nor (casting our glance further around the world) to those which took place after the war.

¹¹ At the time when the field of research was being created, some authors understood the two concepts, *sociolinguistics* and the *sociology of language*, to be synonyms. That is what Bright did in the publication resulting from the famous 1964 *UCLA Sociolinguistic Conference* (Bright 1966: 11). Authors in the sociology of language field, including ourselves in the present text, use the terms sociology of language and sociolinguistics interchangeably in their work.

are partly sociological and partly linguistic; and those where the objectives are wholly linguistic.

The first line of research in Trudgill's characterization is equivalent to the sociology of language and the third, to sociolinguistics. Hudson (1982: 4-5), on the other hand, defines sociolinguistics as "the study of language in relation to society" and the sociology of language as "the study of society in relation to language". This definition of the distinction has appeared in many publications since then, for instance Wardhaugh (1986: 12) and Garcia et al. (2006: 8-10). He summarizes the difference between these two lines of research as follows:

The difference between sociolinguistics and the sociology of language is very much one of emphasis, according to whether the investigator is more interested in language or society, and also according to whether he has more skill in analysing linguistic or social structures. (Hudson 1982: 5).

In summary, one line of work is more linguacentric and the other is more sociocentric. Labov, with his variationist research, is one of the best-known sociolinguistics authors. The prime sociology of language author, on the other hand, is Fishman. They, too, have clarified the objectives of the two lines of research. Labov positions himself in the field of linguistics. In fact, he believes that the objective of research in linguistics should be researching the real, live usage of a language, and not working at the hypothetical level on the details of this or that language, or even language in general.¹² The main basis for a language, and which must necessarily be taken into account, is society. As he puts it himself, "I have resisted the term sociolinguistics for many years, since it implies that there can be a successful linguistic theory or practice which is not social" (Labov 1972: xiii). Fishman, on the other hand, wanted to stress the sociological side of the discipline by referring to the sociology of language. In the following two passages Fishman's thinking with regard to the distinction between sociolinguistics and the sociology of language is clear:

There are three reasons why I consciously refer to 'The sociology of language' (although I do use the adjectival form 'sociolinguistic'), rather than to 'sociolinguistics', as I have at times in the past: (a) to draw to it greater attention from sociologists, (b) to make linguists realize that they should beware of their ignorance of the science of social behavior, and (c) to stress that the total enterprise is not for the purpose of enriching or reforming or revolutionizing linguistics, but for the purpose of understanding and influencing language in society as such. (Fishman 1972: 154-155).

¹² In the words of Labov (1972: xiii): during the 1960s "The great majority of linguists had resolutely turned to the contemplation of their own idiolects".

The designation ‘sociology of language’ is often used in conscious distinction to the designation ‘sociolinguistics’. The intent of this distinction is commonly relevant both to personal disciplinary orientation as well as to the level of data-aggregation preferred by the researcher. From a disciplinary point of view, the designation ‘sociology of language’, rather than ‘sociolinguistics’, implies a greater concern with sociology than with linguistics, on the one hand; and a greater preference for higher levels of behavioral data collection (‘higher’ in the sense of more abstract, i.e., further removed from directly observed phenomena) and for higher levels of data-aggregation on the other hand. (Fishman 2008: 3).

Both lines of work are very visible in present-day diachronic research. On the one hand, we have historical sociolinguistics; on the other, historical sociology of language. Not everything, however, is black and white: even though these lines of work may quite clearly be distinguished in theory, in practical terms such a division is not always easy. There are many reasons for this. Firstly, as Trudgill (1978: 2) clearly states, “different workers may use the same data and the same methodology but with different objectives.” In addition, and as far as terminology is concerned, in many pieces of research carried out from a sociology of language perspective, the term “sociolinguistics” is used. As if that were not enough, there is also a third reason which complicates matters further: in works to popularise sociolinguistics – and even when the sociology of language is presented as a branch of sociolinguistics – the contributions of the two lines of research are often confused. Fishman expressed his regret about that confusion. He has tried, again and again (Fishman 1971a: 8-11), to throw light on the two being thrown into the same bag (Fishman 1968: 6):

The term “sociolinguistics” is often used interchangeably with “the sociology of language”. The latter usage seems to me to be preferable for the purposes of this volume and for some general purposes that may be briefly mentioned here. The primary purpose for which these *Readings* have been brought together is to interest students of social behavior in the language determinants, concomitants or consequences of that behavior. Although particular studies in this field of inquiry may more appropriately view either language behavior *or* social behavior as the independent or the dependent variable for their immediate purposes it is my fundamental bias to view society as being broader than language and, therefore, as providing the context in which all language behavior must ultimately be viewed. It seems to me that the concept “sociology of language” more fully implies this bias than does the term “sociolinguistics”, which implies quite the opposite bias.

1.1.1.2. Micro-sociolinguistics and macro-sociolinguistics

Although the distinction between sociolinguistics and the sociology of language is basic in synchronic sociolinguistics, that is not the only distinction of

importance: experts have also differentiated macro- and micro-sociolinguistics. In Fishman's work, to a large extent, micro-sociolinguistics is linked to sociolinguistics while macro-sociolinguistics is linked to the sociology of language (Fishman 2008: 4). Hernandez and Almeida (2005: 3) have explained this distinction concisely and clearly:

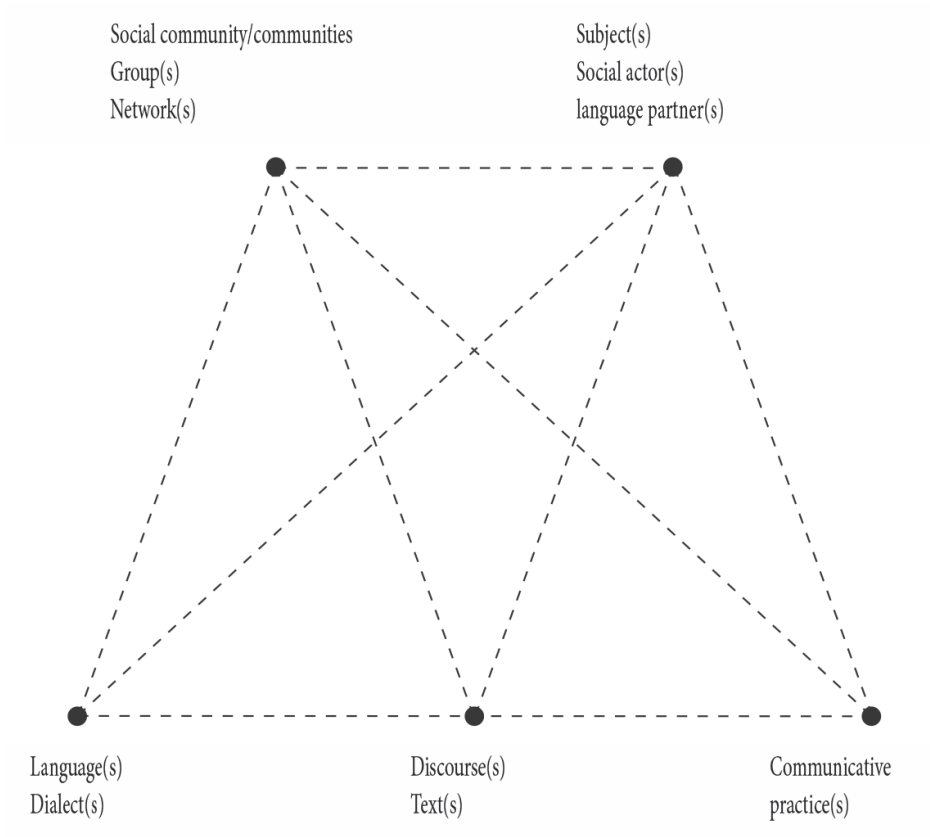
(...) if macro-sociolinguistics concentrates on the study of the social organization of language behaviour, micro-sociolinguistics, on the other hand, analyses the linguistic organization of social behaviour. However, certain types of sociolinguistic work (code switching, language contact, bilingualism, acts of identity, etc.) are difficult to classify using this dichotomous typology, and the distinction becomes something like two sides of the same coin (Swann, Deumert, Lillis and Mesthrie 2004: 205).

As Hernandez and Almeida clearly state, micro and macro-sociolinguistics are closely linked to each other, although nobody seriously questions the taxonomy in itself. Erize (1997: 24-25), for instance, gives a very clear example in order to underline the connection between these two dimensions: "a conversation between two friends may be said to belong to the field of micro-sociolinguistics, but if one of them is a Basque speaker and the other is not, the general relationship between two language communities may also be reflected in their conversation and, so, we come across macro-sociolinguistics too".

1.1.1.3. Main lines of work

Bearing in mind the two dichotomies mentioned in the paragraphs above, we can affirm without doubt that the field of sociolinguistics research is broad, including far-reaching research into the connection between language and society. Chambers (1995: 2-10) specified five research objectives: "personal characteristics", "linguistic styles", "social characteristics", "sociocultural factors" and "sociological factors". Boyer (1991: 7), too, specified five areas.

Table 1: main parameters of sociolinguistics



Furthermore, Boyer has tried to summarise the connections between language sciences more than once. His two best-known summaries appear in tables 2 (Boyer 1991: 9) and 3 (Boyer 2001:17):

Table 2: main areas of sociolinguistics

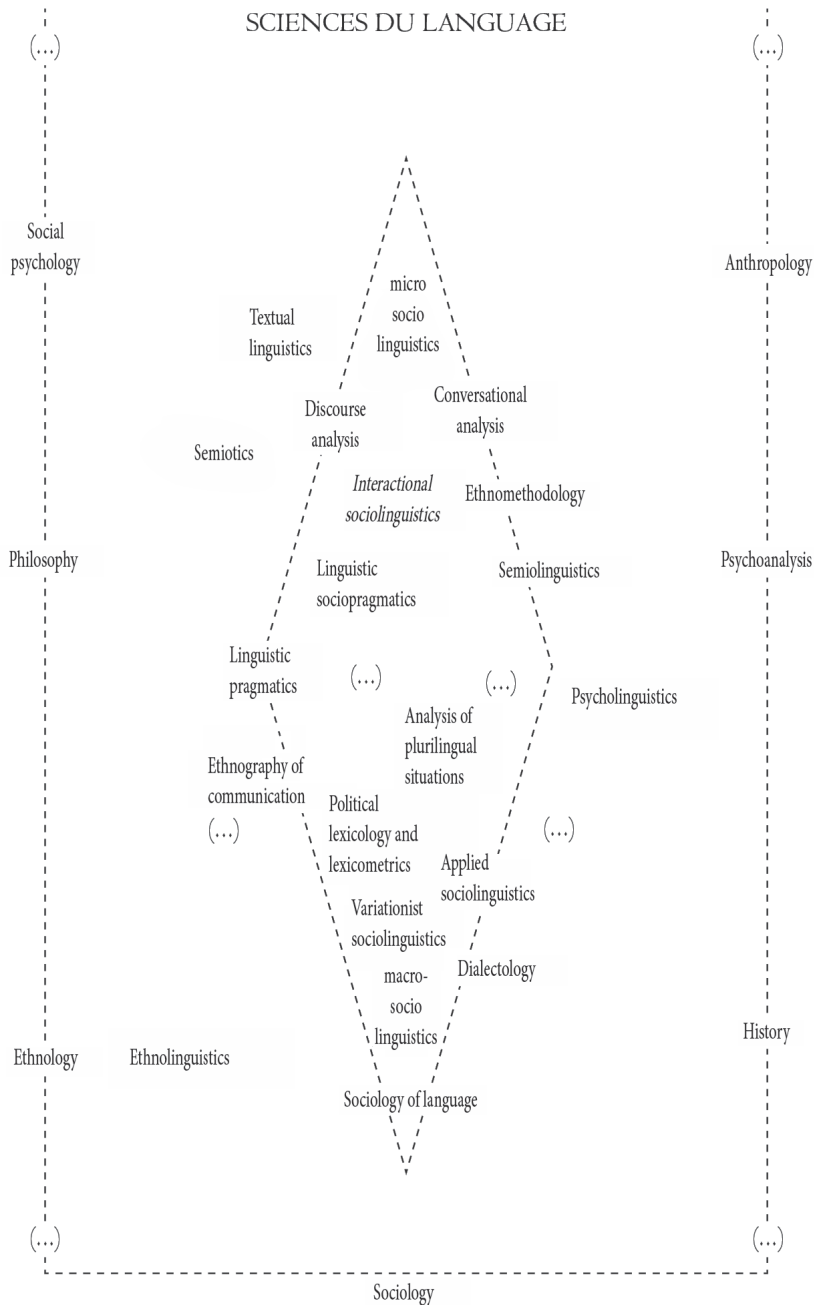


Table 3: **fields in sociolinguistics: from macro-sociolinguistics to micro-sociolinguistics (Boyer 2001: 17)**

MACROSOCIOLINGUISTIC POLE		MICROSOCIOLINGUISTIC POLE	
The sociolinguistic/sociology of language dimension is uppermost: at the community or intercommunity level		The sociolinguistic/sociology of language dimension is uppermost: at the group or individual level	
Ethnology	Ethnolinguistics	Sociolinguistics applied to language management – Language policies	Dialectology
History	Semiotics	Analysis of sociolinguistic variation in a language community or group	Psychology
Philosophy	Linguistic pragmatics	Lexicological and/or lexicometrical treatment of social (political, trade union or media) discourse	Psychoanalysis
	Psycholinguistics	Analysis of cases related to language contact in migration (behaviours, representations)	
	<i>Language sciences</i> (sociolinguistic dimension secondary or absent)	Sociolinguistic analysis of verbal interaction	<i>Related disciplinary fields</i> (linguistic matter not the primary object)
			<i>Language sciences</i> (sociolinguistic dimension secondary or absent)

Without being as comprehensive as Boyer, we suggest that the following five fields of research may be viewed as the main lines of research in sociolinguistics:

1. The linguistic variation strand
2. The representations and attitudes strand
3. The sociolinguistics of language contact situations
4. Language planning, language policy and applied sociolinguistics
5. Sociopolitical discourse and lexicometric analysis

1.1.2. Lines of enquiry in synchronic sociolinguistics and in diachronic sociolinguistics.

As we have just seen, synchronic sociolinguistics has many lines of work and, in general, its interdisciplinary nature is clear. As was to be expected, those same lines of work also flourish in diachronic sociolinguistics. This is particularly evident in the two main areas of sociolinguistics: the sociology of language and variationist sociolinguistics. Diachronic sociolinguistics also has its very own fields of research: for instance, those taken directly from history. We will now try to present the main schools of thought in diachronic sociolinguistics. Giving this presentation is not as straightforward as we might wish, because there are often no precise boundaries between them. Furthermore, authors do not usually ascribe their work to any one particular school: it is up to their readers to deduce which school each author's contribution is closest to after examining the research.

The SHB project has specified and taken into account the following fields of research for the study of the social history of languages:

1. The branch of variationist historical sociolinguistics, which is often called *historical sociolinguistics* or *socio-historical linguistics*.
2. The historical sociology of language branch. Works from this branch are often named on the lines *sociolinguistic history of X language*. To give a well-known title, take *Authority and Identity: A Sociolinguistic History of Europe before the modern age* (Millar 2010).¹³

¹³ Millar (2010: 10-18) positions his work in the sociology of language area, as he makes very clear in the first chapter of the publication. Book titles create problems for readers and, in most cases, it is very hard to know from that alone which sociolinguistic school of thought it comes from. So, for example, while Millar situates his *Sociolinguistic History of Europe* in the sociology of language, Lodge (2004) places his *A Sociolinguistic History of Parisian French* in the variationist context. It would seem that when it comes down to specific books, the differences and boundaries between the two schools of thought are somewhat blurred.

3. The Social History of Language. The work of Burke and Porter, for instance, belongs to this branch. As does the book titled *Une politique de la langue. La Révolution française et les patois: l'enquête de Grégoire* ('A Language Policy. The French Revolutions and the Patois: Grégoire's Survey') (Certeau et al. 1975).
4. The next branch is linguistics. This field of research is sometimes connected with variationist sociolinguistics. For our purposes, the distinction in historical linguistics between internal and external history is of particular interest: we will give a more detailed explanation of this topic later on.
5. Historical pragmatics and, in particular, historical sociopragmatics. Within this area, the work of Jucker and Culpeper is particularly worthy of mention.¹⁴
6. So far we have distinguished five groups. They are not the only ones, however: in addition, there are contributions which are wholly within our field but which cannot be placed in specific branches. Classifying such work is difficult because they make indiscriminate use of the methodologies of the different branches mentioned and/or because they have no connection whatsoever with them.

As we have seen, there are at least five main lines of work in historical sociolinguistics. This is not the end to it. As Willemys and Vandebussche (2006: 154) have clearly explained:

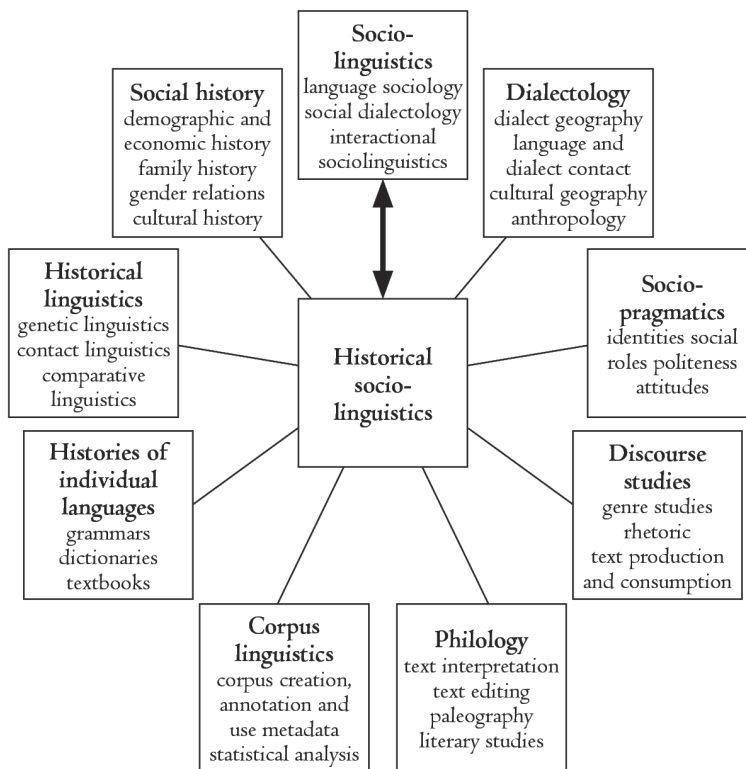
The fact that even as of today historical-sociolinguistic papers at linguistic conferences almost always start with an overview of all the methodological problems the researchers experienced is a clear indication that the field is still in full expansion.

There is no doubt that historical sociolinguistics takes many forms and is multi-faceted. Porter has stressed this fact in a well-known collection of articles about this field of research: "As this volume of essays suggests, there can be no single social history of language" (Porter in Burke and Porter 1991: 13).

¹⁴ Jucker drew up a bibliography of historical pragmatics in 2009 and uploaded it to the internet. It has more than 700 entries: <http://es-jucker.uzh.ch/HistPrag.htm>

While we have defined five main areas of research, some authors believe there are more. Some others, however, say that there are fewer.¹⁵ As historical sociolinguistics, too, includes several lines of work and paradigms— just like synchronic sociolinguistics – Aquino-Weber, Cotelli and Kristol (2009: IX) define three main areas in historical sociolinguistics: that of the variationist paradigm; Fishman’s multilingual situation model; and the socio-discursive perspective. Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg (2012: 27) made a very precise proposal with regard to defining the main branches of historical sociolinguistics (see table 4).

Table 4: lines of work and interdisciplinary nature of historical sociolinguistics



¹⁵ Burke and Porter (1987: 210-213) provide a bibliography for this research topic drawn from three sources: history of language, sociolinguistics and social history of language. Coletes (1993: 17), too, believes that historical sociolinguistics must be based on three sciences: “So we are faced with an applied interdisciplinary proposal. Three different language sciences are called on to combine: the history of language, sociolinguistics and historical linguistics”.

As the table shows, these authors include sociology of language in the sociolinguistics branch.¹⁶ After clarifying the connection between the field of research of historical sociolinguistics and its neighbouring disciplines, the two authors (2012: 30) state that, as in synchronic sociolinguistics, macro and micro-sociolinguistics aspects must be distinguished. They mention four main paradigms to this end (2012: 30): “Four sociolinguistic paradigms are commonly distinguished, based on their objects of study, and form a continuum between the macro- and micro-perspectives: the sociology of language, social dialectology, interactional sociolinguistics, and the ethnography of communication.” Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg (2012: 31) have set out their view of these paradigms (see table 5).

Table 5: the four paradigms of sociolinguistics

Paradigm/ Dimension	Sociology of language	Social dialectology/ Variationist sociolinguistics	Interactional sociolinguistics	Ethnography of communication
Informed by	Sociology	Dialectology, Historical linguistics	Discourse studies	Anthropology
Object of study	Status and function of languages and language varieties in language communities	Variation in grammar and phonology; linguistic variation in discourse; speaker attitudes	Interactive construction and organization of discourse	Patterned ways of speaking, sociolinguistic styles/registers
Describing	Norm and patterns of language use in domain-specific conditions	The linguistic system in relation to external factors	Organization of discourse as social interaction	Situated uses of verbal, para- and nonverbal means of communication
Explaining	Differences of and changes in status and function of languages and language varieties	Social dynamics of language varieties in speech communities, language change	Communicative competence; verbal and nonverbal input in goal-oriented interaction	Functional appropriateness of communicative behaviour in various social contexts

¹⁶ Rather than use the term “sociology of language”, they refer to “language sociology”. However, it seems that these terms are taken as equivalent: otherwise, the sociology of language would have no place in their typological proposal.

Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2012: 32) make the following comments on the differential applicability of the four paradigms in historical sociolinguistics, bearing in mind methodological issues and availability of sources:

While research into multilingualism, language policy and standardization can readily include a diachronic dimension, studies within the other research paradigms shown in Table 2.1 are more constrained by the available data sources. Lack of linguistic materials from the more distant past and the mode of preservation of extant sources severely limit the historical socio-linguist's research agenda: the spoken language and para- and nonverbal information central to much of interactional and ethnographic research is simply not available.

The four sociolinguistic paradigms shown in Table 2.1 are hence all in principle applicable to historical research within the limitations imposed on the enterprise by our historical knowledge and the varying quantity and quality of data available.

Although these two authors mention just four main paradigms, they recognise (Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2012: 24) in the following quotation that since 2000 the consolidation of historical sociolinguistics has broadened research opportunities:

In the 2000s, many lines of enquiry in historical sociolinguistics were consolidated. Variationist sociolinguistic work, both quantitative and qualitative, continued across languages (e.g. Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003, Ayres-Bennett 2004, Lodge 2004, Nobels and Van der Wal 2009); extensive social network studies were carried out (Bergs 2005, Sairio 2009); and code-switching research gained ground (Nurmi and Pahta 2004, Schendl and Wright 2011). Drawing on social and demographic history and the sociology of language, macro-level work on a variety of languages flourished, ranging from Penny's (2000) discussion of Castilian and Latin American Spanish from the Middle Ages onwards to McColl Millar's (2010) overview of the linguistic map of Europe before 1500. In recent years, sociopragmatic and interactional phenomena, such as social roles and identity projection, have come to inform research on the micro-level (Nurmi, Nevala and Palander-Collin 2009, Culpeper and Kytö 2010). Many sociolinguistic approaches have been brought together under the umbrella of 'language history from below' (Elspaß et al. 2007), contributing to 'alternative histories' of languages, that is, their non-standard, regional and social varieties (Watts and Trudgill 2002).

By way of contrast, in 1987 there were only three fields of research from a social history perspective in the basic bibliography prepared by Burke (Burke & Porter 1987: 210-213): history of language, sociolinguistics and social history of language. In the same vein, the number of books available at the time was somewhat limited. Clearly, the historical sociolinguistics field has expanded considerably in just a few years.

1.1.3. Debate about the field's name

As with synchronic sociolinguistics, a number of different schools may be defined within historical sociolinguistics. In both cases, even the name to be given to the field is under discussion. In the diachronic case, the debate is complicated. We mentioned this problem when presenting the five main lines of enquiry in historical sociolinguistics. We will now look at the debate about the name ‘diachronic sociolinguistics’ in greater depth. Each diachronic sociolinguistics school is generally linked with a particular name. But, as we will see in this section, the semantic boundaries set up via those names are not always respected in practice.¹⁷

Firstly, let us observe each name we have come across while listing the bibliography of historical sociolinguistics and decide which school each is generally linked with.¹⁸

1. *Historical sociolinguistics* or *socio-historical linguistics*. Variationist school works are often published under these names, particularly as socio-historical linguistics. While the name ‘historical sociolinguistics’ is mostly used for work from the variationist school, it is not unusual to also find it in the title of work from the sociology of language or some other branch. All the publications with the name “sociohistorical linguistics” we have examined, on the other hand, were connected to the variationist school.

It seems that Romaine was one of the first to use the term *historical sociolinguistics*. That is the term she used in the second part of the 1988 *Handbook of the Science of Language and Society*¹⁹. She had previously used *socio-historical linguistics* in her 1982 book. That book seems to have been the first specialised publication in variationist historical sociolinguistics. These two expressions – *historical sociolinguistics* and *socio-historical linguistics* – are synonyms for many authors, for instance, Willemyns and Vandenbussche (2006: 160).²⁰ In the

¹⁷ Gimeno’s definition of historical sociolinguistics and synchronic variationism is clear enough, however, his intention is to go beyond variationism: “Historical sociolinguistics tries to understand and explain the process of linguistic change on the basis of the three main sociolinguistic lines of enquiry (ethnographic analysis of communication; studies in language variation; and *research on multilingualism*) and, at the same time, within the latter, in the direction of empirical studies on multiple lects (*language contact, diglossia and language conflict* and *variationism*). Those are, indeed, three different orientations, but within historical sociolinguistics it would be better not to overlook their contributions and to make use of their possible mutually complementary or supplementary nature, without this prejudicing one’s own line in theory and methodology. One thing is indisputable: multilingual, historical research requires a general or interdisciplinary sociolinguistic treatment.” (Gimeno 1995: 53).

¹⁸ We add “generally” because it is not unusual for a work to be published under one title even though it uses another school’s methodology.

¹⁹ Richter also used this term in 1985: “Towards a Methodology of Historical Sociolinguistics”.

²⁰ For the second term the hyphen-less form is also used: *sociohistorical linguistics*.

historical sociolinguistics *e-journal* published on the internet they are used as synonyms in the journal's very name: "Historical sociolinguistics and Sociohistorical Linguistics".²¹ According to Fanego (2012: xxvii), the original name of the field was *socio-historical linguistics*: "the first workshop on historical sociolinguistics (or 'socio-historical linguistics', as it was styled at the time)". For examples of the name *Socio-historical linguistics*, now used less than it used to be, see the titles of the publications of Romaine (1982) for an early example, and Tieken-Boon (2000b), Meurman-Solin (2001), Ayres-Bennett (2001), Trudgill (2010) for more recent ones; for *historical sociolinguistics*, see the titles of publications by Richter (1985), Romaine (1988, 2005), Conde (2007), a work with a broad perspective and numerous examples, Jahr (1999), Nevalainen (2003, 2006, 2011), Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2003, 2012), etc.

2. *Sociolinguistic history of language*. This is the name which is normally used to publish works connected with the branch of the sociology of language. If the synchronic sociology of language field were to have a mirror-image in diachronic sociology of language, publications with titles such as *Historical sociology of x language* might be expected. But that does not usually happen.²² As far as dates are concerned, we have seen that the first variationist historical sociolinguistics publication came out in 1982, although, from a historical point of view, Labov mentioned that historical perspective from 1969 onwards.²³ Afendras (1969) used the term 'sociolinguistic history' in the title of his article. However, the article is mostly concerned with variationist linguistics and linguistic geography.²⁴ In the same year –1969– Reinecke's 1935 PhD thesis was published, and

²¹ http://www.hum2.leidenuniv.nl/hsl_shl/index.html (retrieved on 20-09-2012).

²² Even so, Millar (2010: 16) mentions the "historical sociology of language".

²³ In fact, he used the term from 1968 onwards, if we take into account a joint article from that year (Weinreich, Labov and Herzog 1968).

²⁴ Afendras's article title mentions sociolinguistic history: "Sociolinguistic History, Sociolinguistic Geography and Bilingualism". Afendras (1969: 1) explains the purpose of the article: "What I will attempt to do in this paper, is a synthesis of the sociolinguistic and linguistic notions of bilingualism and their interaction in time and space, which precipitates language change." On the limits of sociolinguistic research projects of the sixties, Afendras (1969: 6) points out: "Most of the studies that have been done so far along the sociolinguistic vein investigate language change as reflected in synchronic sociolinguistic processes. Few of them have really been diachronic over large increments of time and none has been along the lines of linguistic geography."

he gave the publication a name connected with this topic: *Language and Dialect in Hawaii. A Sociolinguistic History to 1935*. In his conclusions, Reinecke (1969: 192) situated his work in the history and sociology of language context: “The present writer is conscious of having touched upon a number of topics falling under the general head of history and sociology of language in Hawaii (...)”.²⁵

Let us examine more recent sources. For instance, Broudic’s PhD thesis is connected with this name. At the start of the publication there is a whole chapter with the title: “Pour une sociolinguistique historique” (“For a sociolinguistic history”) (Broudic 1995: 15-31). Broudic’s assertion is reminiscent of the title of the last chapter in Milroy (1992: 220): “Conclusion: Towards a Historical Sociolinguistics”. There is also “A sociolinguistic history of Catalan” (Vallverdú 1984), *Nafarroako euskararen historia soziolinguistikoa (1863-1936)* (*The sociolinguistic history of Basque in Navarre*) (Erize 1997) and *Authority and identity: a sociolinguistic history of Europe before the modern age* (Millar 2010).

3. *Social history of language*. With social history as their starting point, historians who study language normally publish under this title. The contribution of Certeau, Julia and Revel (2002 [1975]) heralded this line of enquiry: *Une politique de la langue. La Révolution française et les patois: l’enquête de Grégoire* (‘A Language Policy. The French Revolution and the Patois: Grégoire’s Survey’). Burke and Porter are amongst the most important authors in the social history field (1987, 1991, 1995). While we have related the social history of language to social history in general, authors examining the “external history” of a language from a linguistics perspective have also often used this type of name. One of the earliest mentions of the social history of language in a linguistic publication is to be found in *A Social History of English* (Leith 1997 [1983]). Several other publications have names in a similar vein: *The History of English in a social context* (Kastovsky & Mettinger 2000), *English in its social contexts* (Machan & Scott 1992), *Words in Time: The Social History of English Vocabulary* (Hughes 1989), *Toward a social history of American English* (Dillard 1985), and, on the Iberian peninsula, *Historia social da lingua Galega* (‘Social History of the Galician Language’) (Monteagudo 1999) and *Historia social de las lenguas de España* (‘Social History of the Languages of Spain’) (Moreno 2005). It is hence clear that not all publications with this sort of name come from the social history perspective.

²⁵ In his foreword, the editor (S. M. Tsuzaki) positions the work in the historical sociolinguistics field. In particular, in the sociology of language field: “(...) it is unquestionably the best sociolinguistic history (i.e., sociology of language) of Hawaii ever written.” (Reinecke 1969: xii).

These three types of titles are, we believe, the main ones in historical sociolinguistics.²⁶ However, there is a further one specifically related to historical pragmatics. Finally, there is another fairly heterogeneous type of naming, randomly related to one school or another or, quite simply, to no school at all. There, to start with, is work on the concepts of *retrospective sociolinguistics* and *diachronic sociolinguistics* by a precursor in the field (Banniard 1992, 1993, 2001, 2002) as well as the books *Language in History* (Crowley 1996), *Images of English: A Cultural History of the Language* (Bailey 1991), *Language histories from below* (Elspaß et al. 2007), *Alternative histories of English* (Watts & Trudgill 2002), etc. From a geo-linguistic perspective see Withers (1982, 1984). On the pragmatics side, Culpeper (2010: 79) mentions pragmatic historical sociolinguistics: “sociolinguistic-pragmatic”. Finally, there are also many works of interest with generic names: for instance, Baldinger (1971 [1958]) and Marfany (2001). The latter has subsequently criticised some concepts in sociolinguistics from a historian’s perspective (Marfany 2010). Finally, for Basque, Intxausti (2007, 2011) has clearly defined the potentially important bibliographical sources for writing SHB, first in an article and, subsequently, in far greater depth and detail, in a book.

While in many academic publications, both in the Basque Country and also internationally, the social history of language, historical sociolinguistics, external history or sociolinguistic history of language have been taken to have a similar meaning, it is clear that different lines of enquiry can be distinguished, normally following the distinctions made in synchronic sociolinguistics. Social history derived from history can be regarded as an exception.

Having presented the discussion around the naming of the various branches and lines of enquiry within diachronic sociolinguistics, we will now try to give a precise definition of the scope of historical sociolinguistics. To do so, we will try to gather together the definitions of historical sociolinguistics given by various authors. In general, these authors are related to different branches of sociolinguistics by training and profession. We will also give our classification based on this, branch by branch. So, in the following lines, historical sociolinguistics will be presented in terms of each of the lines of enquiry already mentioned.

²⁶ As we have emphasised, schools and the titles related to them do not have precise boundaries. In general, it is difficult to foresee what the contents of a work will be just on the basis of its title. A good example of this obscurity is the book by Kastovsky and Mettinger (2000): its title, *The History of English in a Social Context: A Contribution to Historical Sociolinguistics*, mentions language history, social history and historical sociolinguistics whereas it is, in fact, an almost linguacentric book. While historical sociolinguistics has grown considerably in recent years, it is still clearly seen as a new field of research: for one thing, because of the discussions about its name; for another, because it does not yet have a stable, clearly delimited and accepted methodology. Clear proof of this is the attempt to define historical sociolinguistics in the first chapter of almost every specialized work in this field.

Let us recall those six lines of enquiry:

- Socio-historical linguistics, variationist historical sociolinguistics
- Diachronic sociology of language
- Social history and languages
- Historical linguistics and society
- Historical (socio-)pragmatics
- Other work

Let us stress once again that the boundaries between lines of enquiry, between schools, are not hard and fast. It is no easy task to distinguish authors and contributions of import. While we have tried hard, the attempt seems somewhat artificial on occasion. Many researchers have published in more than one branch, and many of those contributions can be connected with more than one field. For example, in Langer, Davies and Vandebussche's (2012: 11) book the following topics are discussed: "*Language History from Below (...), Political Language (...), Language Contact (...), Historical Semantics (...), Attitudes to Language (...), Historiography (...)*". Evidently, the book cannot be ascribed to a single branch.

This presentation of each line of enquiry will be structured as follows in an attempt to answer the following questions:

- a) The branch's origin and history
 - a-1) Which discipline is it derived from?
 - a-2) Which synchronic sociolinguistics is it derived from?
 - a-3) Who were the first authors and who are the most important authors?
- b) Definition and objectives
- c) Methodological model and boundaries

1.2. Sociohistorical linguistics, variationist historical sociolinguistics

1.2.1. Origin and history

As we saw clearly in the earlier sections of this chapter, sociohistorical linguistics is directly connected with variationist linguistics. So it is directly connected with linguistics. The creator of variationist sociolinguistics, at the synchronic level, was William Labov. At the diachronic level, on the other hand, Suzanne

Romaine was the precursor. She wrote the first specialist publication on historical sociolinguistics in 1982: *Socio-historical linguistics*. As can be seen from the title itself, Romaine positions her work completely in the linguistics context (Labov did the same thing with variationist sociolinguistics): “I argued that historical linguistics and sociolinguistics have a close relationship, and that in some respects the descriptive tasks and explanatory goals of one coincide with those of the other” (Romaine 1988: 1452). Going even further, Romaine (1988: 1453) argued that historical linguistics had to make space for society, becoming a sociolinguistic explanation: “if language is essentially a human social product situated in a social context, its history should reflect this fact; and historical linguistics must be a social discipline”.

1.2.2. Definition and objectives

Variationist historical sociolinguistics is, in fact, the branch with the clearest definition. Many authors have tried to define it. Let us start with Romaine’s precise definition. She states (Romaine 1982: x) that the objective of historical sociolinguistics is: “to investigate and provide an account of the forms/uses in which variation may manifest itself in a given community over time, and of how particular functions, uses and kinds of variation develop within particular languages, speech communities, social groups, networks and individuals”. Clearly, Romaine’s point of view is completely guided by Labov’s variationist sociolinguistic line: “It will become apparent that I am using the term ‘sociolinguistic’ primarily in a narrow sense, i.e. to refer to the work which has derived from Labov (1966)” (Romaine 1982: ix). As Romaine (2005: 1696) says, “a basic premise of historical sociolinguistics is that language is both a historical and social product, and must therefore be explained with reference to the historical and social forces which have shaped its use”.²⁷

And there is more to it than that: if sociolinguistic history is sociolinguistic, then, in Romaine’s opinion (2005: 1696), sociolinguistics must also be historical to some extent; researching a language’s various historical situations must be useful for understanding the current situation and evolutionary processes. As we will see later on, Fishman (1972), too, is of this opinion. Romaine (1998: 1452) earlier expressed it as follows: “If synchronic sociolinguistics is concerned with the relationships between social and linguistic structure and the kinds of languages and the uses of them which exist in particular communities at specific times, then

²⁷ For Lodge (2011: 1), too, the presence of both linguistic and sociological aspects is clear: “The primary objective of historical sociolinguistics is to create a multi-dimensional image of the past states of a language by exploring linguistic variation. It tries to correlate this variation with the diversity existing in the societies in question and to determine the social value of the varieties found there”.

it has to do with the description and explanation of particular historically-situated symbolic systems". Martinez (2010: 17) also believes that sociolinguistics is inevitably connected with historical sociolinguistics: "Historical sociolinguistics is a field of inquiry that had been latent even in the pioneering work of the American sociolinguist William Labov".

Labov's interest in historical (socio)linguistics was also 'latent' and even 'patent' in his initial publications. In a book edited by Lehmann and Malkiel, Labov with others (Weinreich et al. 1968) published an important article in this vein: "Empirical foundations for a theory of language change". In addition to this, Labov (1972: 274ff.) stressed the historical facet of sociolinguistics when explaining the historical changes to a sound and, particularly, when defining the *uniformitarian principle*.

Hernandez and Conde (2012: 1) believe Romaine's definition has turned out to be too narrow: "(...) the scope of the discipline has widened beyond the study of variation and change to cater for other macrosociolinguistic facets, such as multilingualism, language contact, attitudes to language, and standardization, so that a broader definition of historical sociolinguistics as 'the reconstruction of the history of a given language in its socio-cultural context' is, in its simplicity, far more inclusive".

Several other authors connected with variationist sociolinguistics have tried to define historical sociolinguistics; we will mention a few of them in the following lines.

Like Romaine and Labov, Gimeno (1983: 184-185) situated historical sociolinguistics in the context of research into language change: "(...) the main objective of a certain type of historical sociolinguistics goes from the search for regularities, in the shape of *variable rules*, to the specific explanation of the sociolinguistic process of change, based on the recognition of the empirical problems of the linguistic change under way. In other words, historical sociolinguistics deals with the general and historical basis for linguistic change: understanding and explaining the specific process of linguistic change, based on correlations between linguistic and social factors, given that many questions relevant to historical linguistics are more quantitative than qualitative (that is to say, more a case of covariation and gradual substitution in frequency of use than sudden arrival of the innovation)". Twelve years later, Gimeno (1995: 7) stressed the benefits of historical sociolinguistics: "historical sociolinguistics has opened up new possibilities for knowledge of the social and contextual dynamics of the historical processes of linguistic change". In the same work, Gimeno (1995: 9) also stressed the breadth of the field when it comes to the complexity of language evolution: "Linguistic heterogeneity is crucial in the study of linguistic change as it involves

both variability and synchronic heterogeneity within the speech community. The history of any particular language is not, then, the history of a literary variety, but, rather, a multidimensional history of all the varieties (temporal, geographical, social and situational). From this point of view, our proposal is to follow a general strategy of researching ordered, dynamic heterogeneity through time, space, society and situation, based on the complementarity between historical linguistics, dialectology, sociolinguistics and pragmatics”.

Let us examine another piece of testimony. Machan and Scott (1992: 16-17) describe the interest of historical sociolinguistics in this way:

(...) the sociolinguistic perspective assures us that at any given period in the history of a language, there are many varieties of that language, differing more or less from one another according to the social groups using the language – groups defined by age, sex, occupation, ethnicity, socioeconomic class, and so on. Thus, the relevant and interesting questions are (1) whether linguistic changes are introduced by any or all of these social groups, and (2) what their motivations are for doing so (Guy, 1988).

As we can see, Machan and Scott believe that the specific interest of historical sociolinguistics lies in the reason behind change and the direction in which change spreads. On the basis of that distinction some authors have distinguished historical linguistics and historical sociolinguistics. In their opinion, historical linguistics examines changes in language, while historical sociolinguistics examines how that change spreads in society (starting at its lower levels and rising to the upper levels or the other way around, etc.) from one social class to another, from urban to rural areas or along any other parameter.

Barbato (2011: 77), when examining the history of Romance languages, has investigated what the contribution of sociolinguistics might be. He offers a definition of external linguistics:

The need for a sociolinguistic contribution to the history of Romance varieties seems obvious when one takes into account the double nature of historical linguistics and its objectives, which are, most notably (see, for example, Greub and Chambon 2009: 2500):

a) reconstructing the evolution of a linguistic system, normally that of a sub-system (phonological, morphological, etc.), often a particular facet of it (e.g. tonic vowels, consonant groups, etc.)

b) reconstructing the history of the system in its entirety in relation to other existing systems and with social and cultural dynamics (e.g. in our case, studying how Tuscan imposed itself on neighbouring varieties and encroached on the space occupied by Latin, and what the historical reasons for this process are).

For the first approach, one uses the labels of historical or diachronic grammar, or internal linguistic history; for the second, the labels of external linguistic history, the history of a language, the history of linguistic usages or of linguistic architecture, of dialectology or historical sociolinguistics.

Barbato (2011: 78) believes such a history must be multilingual: “External history is intrinsically multilingual because it studies the interaction of different varieties; and it is intrinsically sociolinguistic because its object is the language in its social context”.

As we can see, there are several sources for clarifying the nature of variationist historical sociolinguistics. In order to define historical sociolinguistics and give a more precise description of the field of study, we must also examine the *Historical Sociolinguistics Network (HiSoN)* website and mention the definitions given there. Here is a question and answer from the website:

What is Historical Sociolinguistics?

We are interested in any part of the relation of language and people in the past, in particular as regards the function and use of language in individuals and societies. Some of the topics we discuss are

- language use and ‘extra-linguistic’ factors in the histories of languages
- ‘oral histories’ vs ‘written histories’
- the history of writing and schooling
- motivations and pragmatics of historical writers
- people and ideologies in language historiography
- language and social identity in historical contexts
- historical language contacts
- the emergence of standard languages and the specific impact of language codification
- the role of gender in historical language communities

- testing linguistic theories and linguistic methodologies on historical data
- etc.

(<http://www.philhist.uni-augsburg.de/hison/> retrieved on 24-09-2012)

Following on from that website, in 2015 the publishers de Gruyter began to bring out the *Journal of Historical Sociolinguistics*. In the first issue there is a short history of so-called *Historical Sociolinguistics*, offering its own definition and detailing the field of research (Auer et al. 2015: 1-12). Although the article is short, it is highly illuminating. While the linguistic objective is underlined in it (being a direct continuation of Weinreich, Labov and Herzog's 1968 article), it does also include the more sociological facets of the discipline.²⁸ The authors (Auer et al 2015: 8) stress that in some cases "historical sociolinguistics ties in with the well-established tradition of the sociology of language, aiming at a 'historical sociolinguistics of society' (cf. Fasold 1984, as well as the discussion in Tuten and Tejedo Herrero 2011) as opposed to a historical sociolinguistics of language".²⁹ Auer et al. (2015: 9) summarise the objective of historical sociolinguistics in this way: "historical sociolinguistics par excellence aims to study language use, as produced by individual language users, embedded in the social context in which these language users operate, and understood not only from a communicative angle but also as conscious or unconscious acts of identity and social distinction".

Willemyns and Vandenbussche's 2006 article is also of considerable interest. Among other things, they mention the definition which Mattheier gave in his time: "Historical sociolinguistics should be determined as the science of the inter-

²⁸ Auer et al. (2015: 4) summarize the objectives of historical sociolinguistics in this way: "The important role of Weinreich et al.'s (1968) seminal paper has already been pointed out. Interested in a more profound understanding of language change, the paper is centered around five central problems to be solved: (i) identifying the (crosslinguistic) constraints on linguistic change; (ii) studying the transition of features from one speaker to another; (iii) uncovering the embedding of changes, both in the linguistic and in the social structure; (iv) taking into account speakers' evaluations of linguistic forms; and (v) delving into the actuation of language change, with causes for change originating from 'stimuli and constraints both from society and from the structure of the language'" (Weinreich et al. 1968: 186). As the interrelation of linguistic and social factors in language change is central in each of these areas, finding answers to these five questions is often seen as a key task for historical sociolinguists".

²⁹ These authors connect the topic of the sociology of language with the macrolinguistic perspective on historical sociolinguistics in particular (Auer et al 2015: 7-8): "From a macrolinguistic perspective, historical sociolinguistics also comprises themes that touch upon how language(s) and varieties are embedded in complex societies, such as multilingualism and code-switching; migration, language contact and their consequences; the institutionalization of language as expressed in language policy and planning, or standardization and the relation between language norms and usage (cf. e.g. Deumert and Vandenbussche 2003; Rutten et al. 2014). Here, the interplay between the history of society and the history of language, from a plethora of perspectives, is the primary object of investigation".

dependency of language change and social change, not only in ancient times but in general and also nowadays” (Mattheier 1988: 1430 in Willemyns & Vandebussche 2006: 146). In addition, in this article the two authors present the projects on historical sociolinguistics being carried out at Brussels’ Vrije University (in particular, the Brugge (‘Bruges’) Project). All of which offers us the chance to give an example at the level of applied historical sociolinguistics. These, in the authors’ words, are the project’s objectives and main subdivisions (Willemyns & Vandebussche 2006: 149):

Two major project lines are to be discerned. “Brugge-project” is mainly aimed at illustrating social variation, whereas the other one is a more general project on language planning, language policy and the influence of linguistic legislation on official language usage in The Netherlands, *casu quo* Belgium at large:

a) Starting project

- Language Standardization Mechanisms in 19th century Dutch (Willemyns)

b) Brugge-project

- Language use of the Lower Classes in 19th Century Brugge (Vandebussche)
- Culture and Language Policy as Elements of Language Planning: West-Flemish Particularism (Willemyns)
- Social Differentiation of Standardization and Writing Traditions in Brugge from 1750 to 1830 (Vandebussche)
- Language Variation in 19th Century Newspapers in Brugge (Vandebussche)

c) General Project

- Language Planning in Belgium in the 19th Century: a Linguistic Analysis of Corpus and Status Planning (De Groof)
- Language Use of City Administrations in 19th Century Flanders (Vanhecke)
- Language Planning and Language Policy in the Judiciary and in Education in the United Kingdom of the Netherlands (1814-1830) (Willemyns).

To conclude, we have already underlined the connection between the synchronic and diachronic facets of variationist sociolinguistics; Conde (2007: 38), too, has compared the two fields: the differences and similarities between synchronic and diachronic research are shown in table 6.

Table 6: synchronic and diachronic research: similarities and differences

	Synchronic sociolinguistics	Diachronic sociolinguistics
Materials	Data based on oral discourse Authentic materials (the observer's paradox) Data on register, style and all members of speech community	Data based on written material Incomplete material, which has survived by chance Data on literate members of speech communities (normally, males of mid to high status); certain styles and registers only
Research objectives	Analysis of phonological variation and change	Analysis of grammatical variation and change
Social context	Direct knowledge, considerable volume of data	Unknown, needing completion via historical research
Connected discipline	Sociology	Social history
Influence of the standard	Very significant	Variable, depending on the period being investigated
Extent and result of linguistic change	Unknown	Known

Richter (1985: 41-42), too, has carefully compared historical sociolinguistics and synchronic sociolinguistics:

The investigation of language in relation to society from times before the human voice is recorded is called here historical sociolinguistics. The fieldwork that can be done in this area differs from the fieldwork in synchronic sociolinguistics both in degree and in kind. The difference in degree is that as one goes back in time the written material becomes less plentiful and less varied. The difference in kind is that the extra-verbal information available from recorded speech, and especially from tape-recorded speech, is exceptional – only available in its barest outlines through description, but not normally available at all. From these preconditions it follows that the results that can be obtained in historical sociolinguistics are less rich than those obtainable in synchronic sociolinguistics. Yet it appears that historical sociolinguistics is of great potential value because it will help to deepen our understanding of societies in the past.

Culpeper (2010: 79) too describes this branch of historical sociolinguistics: “Studies in this area typically focus on a specific linguistic feature, usually gram-

matical, and track it over time and across social categories such as region, gender and social status”.

As far as variationist sociolinguistics’ objectives are concerned, and basing themselves on Weinreich, Labov and Herzog’s long 1968 article, Tuten and Tejedodo (2011: 286) mention the following five aims:³⁰

The tasks of the historical sociolinguist were specified in the ground-breaking work of Weinreich, Labov, and Herzog (1968). These scholars proposed five overlapping problems that must be addressed in the description and explanation of linguistic change. A brief discussion is presented here.

1. Constraints on change: what changes can and cannot occur across different languages? Traditional historical linguistics made great advances in this area (e.g. the impact of articulatory tendencies on phonological change). The definition of universal constraints is now often viewed primarily as a cognitive and physiological issue (see Croft 2000; Deutscher 2005).

2. Transition: when and where do particular forms or structures get replaced by other, newer forms or structures? Transition has been a key problem addressed by traditional historical linguists. In the traditional view, language form X at stage A is replaced by language form Y at stage B (e.g. Latin / f- / > Old Spanish /h-/ > Modern Spanish /Ø/). However, as Penny (2000: 4) points out, changes do not occur in sudden across-the-board replacements as this type of representation implies: rather they depend on constant, overlapping variability, which must itself be studied in intervening stages. Resolution of the transition problem is thus dependent on the other problems discussed below.

3. Embedding: how do changes progress through the speech community and the linguistic system? Who adopts or promotes particular changes? What is the social status of such persons? Quantitative sociolinguistic research has shown in fine-grained detail how changes progress through different social groups and speech styles, as well as through the linguistic system. Resolution of this problem requires data taken from representative samples of speech of particular groups, a requirement which is extremely difficult to satisfy in research on past speech communities.

4. Evaluation: how does evaluation by speakers of particular usages, both old and new, change over time? Any forms affected by change in progress are likely to be the subject of evaluation by speakers. The evaluation problem attends to changing notions of prestige (overt and covert), attitudes to language, as well as linguistic

³⁰ In Tuten and Tejedodo’s opinion, those objectives are not exclusive to variationist historical sociolinguistics: they are valid for all branches of historical sociolinguistics in general. It is our belief, however, that they are more closely connected to variationist historical sociolinguistics than to the other branches.

stereotyping and notions of correctness. Ultimately, changing attitudes to specific features of language are likely to affect their use. Consequently, the evaluation problem is also related to the actuation problem.

5. Actuation: “Why do changes in a structural feature take place in a particular language at a given time, but not in other languages with the same feature, or in the same language at other times” (Weinreich, Labov, and Herzog 1968: 102)? Here the central concern is explanation of the very origins of linguistic change. It has often been considered impossible to solve (Milroy 1992: 164), but in recent years some progress has been made.

In Weinreich et al. (1968) (and, later on, Labov in his research on Martha’s Vineyard), sociolinguistics takes a certain type of historical depth into account. However, as Mattheier (1999: 2) notes: “Normally ‘historical sociolinguistics’ uses historical linguistic data. For example, one can only embark upon a discussion about the existence of a Middle High German poetic language towards 1200 if one takes into account the objective and subjective data from the period about the language and its usage”.

To conclude with regard to variationist historical sociolinguistics, let us mention that publications in this area are usually based on diachronic historical research. The evolution of a linguistic feature is studied over a period of years, or centuries. In other branches of research, however, the basis is both diachronic and synchronic, as ‘snapshots’ of particular historical periods are also provided.

1.2.3. Methodological models and boundaries

In Romaine’s opinion, as we have seen above, the main purpose of historical sociolinguistics is to examine the language in its social and historical context. If that task is to be carried out at both micro and macro levels (Romaine 1988: 1492), the right methodology to do so must be developed. As can be seen in Conde’s table, the authentic (direct) oral material used by synchronic sociolinguistics is not available in historical sociolinguistics. Because of this, and to deal with this lack, it has been necessary to create an appropriate methodology. Authors put forward methodologies for the topic and period they are examining. Romaine 1982, for instance, contains a methodological proposal for researching historical syntax. Milroy 1992, on the other hand, includes a lengthy section on the influence of networks and how to research them. Bergs 2005, too, offers a detailed methodology for researching social networks.

1.2.3.1. Research material

Research in variationist sociolinguistics normally makes use of oral corpora so as to obtain the most natural samples of language possible.³¹ In the case of historical sociolinguistics, however, oral recordings are not normally available. As a result, researchers in the field of historical sociolinguistics suggest using written sources.³² This leads them to constitute and exploit gigantic corpus databases. For instance, a well-known example is *The Helsinki Corpus of English Texts*, for the study of English.³³ Similarly, there are the *Corpus MCVF* and *Corpus de lettres privées, d'Amérique française et de France, du XVIIe siècle au XXe siècle* for Quebec French (Martineau 2004)³⁴ and many others (Säily et al. 2017, Fitzmaurice et al. 2017, Baker et al. 2017 etc.). Conde (2007: 47) has summarised the interest of these databases: “The compilation of extensive databases and the breathtaking development of this area are closely connected with linguists’ inte-

³¹ The pursuit of this “naturalness” has stimulated considerable debate. In some authors’ opinion, following the principle of naturalness has led to idealising the oral. In their view, sociolinguistics must not blindly pursue that “natural” language. In fact, it can never be one hundred percent natural: that natural language does not exist. External factors always have some form of influence, to some extent or other. Discourses, or monologues, always take place in particular contexts. According to these authors, different styles and registers must be properly defined. When that work has been done, and we are aware of those registers and styles, sociolinguistics will have the opportunity to work on the register and style it chooses.

³² Martinez (2010: 19) has summarised the problem. These, in his words, are the main solutions proposed for these problems: “Milroy (1992) notes that the field is unfortunately circumscribed to the analysis of written texts and that the texts the researcher has access to are accidentally preserved. Consequently, historical sociolinguists are unable to elaborate a comprehensively formulated research design. The data available severely constrain the number and type of variables that the researcher is able to investigate. Because of these limitations, the social factors explored in historical sociolinguistics often differ greatly from those studied in classic variationist analyses. Romaine (1982) uses textual differences as a social variable roughly equivalent to Labov’s stylistic variables. Raumolin-Brunberg (1996) uses author differences in order to establish variation along social class and gender lines. Other variables that are accessible to the historical sociolinguist are levels of literacy and education, demographic variables, and degree of language standardization. The bulk of this information comes to the historical sociolinguist by way of social history. In areas such as England, where the literature on social history is plentiful, it becomes possible for the historical sociolinguist to identify periods of greater or lesser degrees of literacy, immigration, and the like. These periods may then be used as social variables themselves. Although social variables are extremely reduced within the framework of historical sociolinguistics, recent studies have demonstrated that even such limited social variables reveal meaningful and compelling patterns of variation and change”.

³³ As well as *the Helsinki Corpus of Early English Correspondence*. This corpus collects letters from between 1420 and 1680. For information on corpora of this type and the problems which arise from data collection of this sort see Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (1994). Berkeley’s *Cibola project*, which is trying to collect material about the presence of Spanish in the USA from the 16th to the 18th century by collecting documents from far and wide (Martinez 2010: 21) is another example.

³⁴ Both corpora can be visited online:
 – *Corpus MCVF (Modéliser le changement: les voies du français)* (‘Modelling change: the paths of French’): www.voies.uottawa.ca
 – *Corpus de lettres privées, d'Amérique française et de France, du XVIIe siècle au XXe siècle* (‘Corpus of Private Letters from French America and France, from the 17th century to the 20th century’): <http://www.polyphonie.uottawa.ca/index.html>

rest in analysing real usage rather than theoretical introspection based on abstract systems. In this interest in the use of language, corpus linguistics coincides with sociolinguistics and the creation of these corpuses has a lot to offer, not only because the use of computers makes it possible to deal with a very large quantity of data at the same time, in this way overcoming the limitations of work based exclusively on intuition, but also because – and especially because – it makes its findings highly reliable, offers the research community all the data, in this way guaranteeing the possibility of replicating the work, even making it possible to find uses which had not previously been clearly proved or which were unknown”.

With regard to the written sources which historical sociolinguistics can make use of³⁵, Burke (1993: 21-22), in origin a historian, suggests the following list: court records, sermons of distinguished preachers, speeches in assemblies (such as the English House of Commons, for example), conversation of distinguished individuals, plays and novels.³⁶ Most authors mention, in one way or another, the sources listed by Burke, and they often stress the pros and cons of each.³⁷ They sometimes add some further sources to that list: letters, notaries’ protocols, educational inspectorate reports, surveys, etc.³⁸ Schneider (2002: 71-73) examined how to deduce information about oral language from written material. He distinguished five types of manuscripts which may be reliable. Conde (2007: 45-46) summarised as follows:

³⁵ Other fields of historical research also have this problem with sources. As we will see later on, one also comes across this problem in historical pragmatics; the solution chosen is similar to that applied in historical sociolinguistics. For this subject, see, for example, Jucker and Taavitsainen (2010: 7-11). They make many interesting observations about the problems arising from sources.

³⁶ For court registers see example 5. All the examples are at the end of the book in chapter 12. For more information about SHB sources see chapter 11 and chapter 1.

³⁷ For example, Broudic (1995: 19-20), Conde (2007: 35-37). Lodge (2004: 18), following Ernst, defines the following six categories to help piece together the oral history of French:

- “1) Historical transcriptions of the spoken language
- 2) Model dialogues of fictitious speech in didactic texts
- 3) Fictitious direct speech in plays
- 4) Fictitious direct speech in narrative texts
- 5) Metalinguistic texts
- 6) Developments of spoken French in geographical areas outside France”.

In another article Lodge (2011: 3) provides some interesting examples. To give an example for Basque, Reguero (2012: 67-73) mentions the following sources for writing the external and internal history of the language: proper names; Basque words, sentences and short texts embedded in texts in other languages; marginal comments; glossaries. Many authors have dealt with this issue: see, for instance, Madariaga (2014).

³⁸ For notarial documents see examples 66, 67 in our original book in Basque (Zalbide, Joly, Gardner 2015: 561-562). In both examples, Basque words are included in an inventory written in Spanish. This is a common occurrence. Most of such words are technical ones which the scribes did not know in Spanish. In the case of ironwork vocabulary, Spanish equivalents may not even have existed: there were several foundries in the Basque country during the 16th-17th centuries but there was no such ironwork in Castille (Azkune 2015).

- a) Direct records of acts of oral communication, especially those transcribed at the moment when the communication exchange took place, such as legal documents including declarations by those taking part in the process (judges, lawyers, witnesses, defendants, etc).
- b) Written records of oral communication which are remembered and made at some time after the event, such as the tales of former slaves used to reconstruct varieties of African American Vernacular English.
- c) Written records whose connection with oral vernacular varieties from the past can be sensed, such as particular expressions used in private letters or personal diaries, especially when their authors are semi-literate speakers, where the influence of the standard language is weaker.
- d) Observation of the linguistic behaviour of other speakers, although there is no transcription of an actual communicative act, such as prescriptive pronouncements about particular uses considered vulgar, observations made by people not members of the historical community being researched (travellers, foreign observers), etc.
- e) Finally, Schneider recognises the existence of imaginary and made-up transcriptions, such as the dialogues of characters in literary works or the clichéd recreation of dialects and sociolects in literature which are, in his opinion, far-removed from the oral reality which they purport to represent, as can be seen from the artificially exaggerated structures they use.

Several authors have mentioned other types of sources. Simon (2006), for instance, proposes using didactic material for foreign languages, particularly the dialogues, to find out about historical orality and Voeste (2016) stressed the relationship between literacy and the spoken word.

Many authors remind us that manuscripts which have come down to the present day have usually reached us by chance. Many other manuscripts, on the other hand, have been lost on the way. When discussing this problem Schneider (2002: 81-87) mentioned the reliability and acceptability of material. It should also be taken into account that some documents were forbidden at one time or another and some – not a few – were burned or destroyed. Furthermore, it was at times forbidden to publish any texts in languages not protected by the state. In this regard, most of the sources which have reached us today have done so by chance. Whereas others have not come down to us because somebody or some institution did not want them to.

Conde (2007: 35) explained this problem with sources in historical sociolinguistics: “historical sociolinguistics depends on the possibility of recovering linguistic facts from the past using texts which have survived until the present day. (...) the information which people attempting to carry out historical linguistic or sociolinguistic research [have] is fragmentary, scarce and difficult to link with speakers’ authentic production. These problems led Labov to describe the difficult task of historical (socio)linguistic researchers as ‘[making] the best use of bad data’ (1972a: 100)”. As we described in a previous footnote (31) “bad data”, however, is not all that bad; not, at least, unless we idealise informal spoken style too much.³⁹

In sociolinguistic research, there is an additional difficulty to that of finding significant sources: they have to be used appropriately, and to do so they must be placed in context. Often there are real problems with defining the exact contemporary context for “written materials from the past which have very often survived by mere chance and are isolated from their immediate communicative background, so that their original social and stylistic contexts of production and reception cannot really be reconstructed” (Hernandez & Conde 2012: 2; also see Conde 2007: 51; 53-54).

In some way or other, most authors mention the range of difficulties involved with the materials under study. Bergs (2005: 14-21), following Smith, tried to define the relationship between written and oral language precisely and, at the same time, described the continuum between formal and informal language. Fennel (2001: 7-9), too, after mentioning the problem of sources, emphasised that manuscripts are often translations from other languages (with reference to English). The fact that they are translations sometimes creates problems, via interferences. There is often a risk of interpreting those interferences wrongly (Fennel 2001: 9):

³⁹ Lodge (2011: 2-3) has compared historical sociolinguistic research to archaeology and palaeontology: “Our situation, in fact, is analogous to archaeology and palaeontology: the job forces us to make hypotheses, but they are based on almost nothing. The paucity of data restricts us to considerable modesty even in terms of the very possibility of carrying out historical sociolinguistics. Having said that, and bearing in mind the importance of the social dimension in the evolution of a language, when usable data has survived in sufficient quantity, it is essential we do something with it. So our watchword must be: ‘Let us do what we can with what we have’, but no more than that”. For information about different corpus and written communicative continuum of oral and written work. Martineau (2012: 128) questions the concept of “bad data”. She believes that “in themselves, old written documents are not ‘bad data’, they become so if they are strictly compared with contemporary oral corpora, gathered using methodology which emphasises certain types of registers”.

Far from always being helped by the existence of written documents, however, we are also often misled by written texts in the earlier periods of English because they were frequently translated from other languages, particularly Latin and French, and contained interference from the source language, thus giving us a false impression of the idiomatic English of the period. This seems to have been particularly the case with vocabulary (for example, using borrowed words that resembled the source word very closely, where a word from the native word stock was more usual) and with syntax (slavishly following the word order of Latin instead of using English word order, for example). Even morphology was sometimes influenced by the source language in translations.

With reference to Basque, as in other diglossic situations, the problem of sources is even greater because the oral language was usually not set down on paper. The historian Lacarra (1957: 11) clearly stated in his day how serious this additional problem is: “This makes us consider the issue of how a language can subsist in this latent state, that is to say, being spoken but not written, and how we, by using different types of evidence, can state that at a certain period a language which was not being written down was, however, spoken and even, on occasion, that a language which was written down was not spoken”.

1.2.3.2. Uniformitarian principle

Leaving to one side the problems which research materials give rise to, let us return to the methodological area. Most authors from variationist historical research suggest extending synchronic sociolinguistics techniques to the diachronic level.⁴⁰ According to Lodge (2004: 9), historical sociolinguistics “applies the concepts and techniques of sociolinguistics to past states of the language, with the idea that the observed properties of contemporary speech communities, such as variation, the social significance of variants, and social stratification, must also have been typical of earlier speech communities”. Using synchronic methodological constructs at the diachronic level was specifically supported by Labov on the basis of the uniformitarian principle formulated by the 18th century geologist

⁴⁰ Auer believes that the so-called *uniformitarian principle* is one of the basic principles of historical sociolinguistics. See, also, with regard to the *bad data* issue (Auer et al 2015: 4-5).

James Hutton.⁴¹ This principle assumes that the forces which influence change in contemporary languages, and their intensity, must be similar to those of the past. “We posit that the forces operating to produce linguistic change today are of the same kind and order of magnitude as those which operated in the past five or ten thousand years” (Labov 1972: 275).⁴²

Conde (2007) shows a clear application of this principle. He presents many of the main concepts of synchronic sociolinguistics and applies them on a diachronic level. Many pieces of research have used this methodology, as Barbato (2011: 79) says:

Since the forces active in change are always the same (uniformitarian principle), the historical linguist has the possibility, and the task, of clarifying the past by using the present. (...) While studying past situations, therefore, we have tried to reconstruct scenarios as complex as modern situations. There are now numerous pieces of research in historical sociolinguistics based on creating text corpora which represent one or more dimensions of each variation and which are quantitatively analysed, particularly with regard to morphosyntactic phenomena.

However, there are limitations to this principle too. As Labov (1972: 275) himself clearly stated, new forces can spring up in different places at one time or another and today’s techniques cannot be automatically applied to the past. Not always successfully, at any rate. As Conde (2007: 40) says: “everybody who has carried out research into diachronic sociolinguistics is aware that the direct projection onto the past of models and results obtained in current surroundings may lead to anachronism (Romaine 1988a: 1457; Nevalainen 1999: 502), and, for obvious reasons, the principles obtained from contemporary situations are only guidelines for historical study, in which modifications in the relationship between a language variety and the social variables relevant to each case must be taken into account”.

⁴¹ Labov (1972: 275) mentioned: “(...) the concept introduced into geological theory by James Hutton at the turn of the 18th century. Hutton showed that the mountains, volcanoes, beaches, and chasms we now have are the result of observable processes still taking place around us, rather than violent convulsions at some remote time in the past (“catastrophism”)”. Several other authors have made similar reflections about human physical and intellectual activity. Here, for instance, is what Gimeno (1995: 24) has to say: “P. Kiparsky («El cambio fonológico», in F. Newmeyer (ed.), *Panorama de la lingüística moderna de la Universidad de Cambridge*, 1, Madrid: Visor, 1990, p. 420 and following) makes reference to W. Scherer’s key idea being based on this same [uniformitarian] principle. Indeed, he had suggested that human physical and mental activity must have been essentially the same in all periods. This principle had two important consequences: a) the properties of linguistic change can and must be investigated on the basis of known languages and specific historical changes, never on the basis of hypothetical reconstructions, and b) reconstructed proto-languages are restricted by the same principles which are valid for real languages”.

⁴² Hernandez and Conde (2012: 2) believe that “[h]istorical sociolinguistics has revealed that advances at the synchronic level –tracing variation and change in progress, for instance– may lead to a better understanding of diachrony –the actuation of historically attested changes– and vice versa: ‘the use of the present to explain the past’ in Labov’s words (...)”.

Romaine also suggests using synchronic techniques, but says that this should be done with care. Some authors, on the other hand, have argued against this. To some, examining past situations from a present day perspective seems inappropriate: Baggioni (1997: 9-10), for instance, underlines the risk of anachronism. He believes that when researching the creation of national languages it is impossible to compare the situations which arise today and those which arose some centuries ago. Compared with some contemporary situations, some situations which existed over the centuries may, indeed, be similar. However, even in those cases all the conclusions which may be drawn by analogy cannot be simply accepted as valid. As Baggioni (1997: 11) puts it: "(...) we have reached the conclusion that the processes of forming national languages are linked with nation-building processes, even if this close link is not uniform and, above all, is not a question of mechanical influence in one direction or another".

Baggioni sees the risk of anachronism on two levels: when two situations are compared, the temporal and geographical differences between them have to be considered. Both of these types of information have to be situated in their own context: "(...) bearing in mind that, when it comes down to essentials, history never repeats itself, it is anachronistic to compare national language emergence processes (...) taking place centuries and thousands of kilometres apart: the Russian revolution of 1917 was not a repetition of the French revolution of 1789, nor was the process of creating Bahasa Indonesia in independent Indonesia similar to that of Dutch" (Baggioni 1997: 10). Most authors emphasize that context needs careful definition: Certeau, Julia and Revel (1975: 9), for instance, carried out research together in order to define context and make use of appropriate research techniques. Courouau (2008), too, when examining France's collection of minority languages devotes a lot of time to trying to specify the context in both literary and historical terms.

In an interesting article, Verleyen (2008) sharply criticised applying current models to the past. He also examined whether applying synchronic models in diachrony is appropriate. In particular, he tried to answer the following question: "Is it legitimate to take a (synchronic) theoretical model as the guiding thread to set up a theory about change?". Following Bailey's point of view, using synchronic models is not appropriate in diachronic linguistics: Verleyen reminds us that static models, by definition, are incapable of explaining dynamic linguistic change processes (Bailey 1982). In Verleyen's article it is very clear that using synchronic models causes problems in diachrony. It is particularly mistaken when defining individual and collective influences. In his opinion, an integral theory of linguistic change has yet to be drawn up. He asks this question: instead of using synchrony to explain history, is there not a need to come up with a model which goes the other way? Should the synchronic system not be seen as a result of the

historical process? In his words (Verleyen 2008: 475): “Perhaps – as Hale suggests (2007) – the opposite perspective should be used and the synchronic system should be considered the residue of historical processes rather than examining linguistic change in terms of universal synchronic categories”.

When reading these claims, it should be taken into account, however, that Verleyen is examining linguistics in his article, and not sociolinguistics. Furthermore, the last sentence we have quoted in the previous paragraph does not necessarily seem to contradict the methods of historical sociolinguistics. Most historical sociolinguistics authors stress that synchrony is the result of a historical process when explaining the uniformitarian principle (see, for instance, Gimeno 1995: 20-27).⁴³ In addition to this, as we have seen in the previous quotations, Labov examined many methodological avenues in the 1970s. He also looked at those forms of research in three major books, finally putting together his own model:

– *Principles of linguistic change. Internal factors* (1994). A large part of the book is an attempt to clarify how today’s situation can explain the past (see, for instance, the first chapter: *The use of the Present to Explain the Past*: 9-28).

– *Principles of linguistic change. Social factors* (2001).

– *Principles of linguistic change. Cognitive and Cultural factors* (2010).

These three books are essential for getting acquainted with the methodology of variationist sociolinguistics. It would take a long time to summarise their contribution. However, we will mention several methodological points from the three books when explaining the model we have developed for working on the social history of Basque. These books are essential points of reference for the SHB model. For instance, when examining the two times in sociolinguistic research

⁴³ Gimeno (1995: 21) emphasises the connection between diachrony and synchrony: “Variability and linguistic change are intimately connected, to the extent of being two sides (synchrony and diachrony) of the very fact of the language”. The dynamic nature of language – and, so, the clear link between synchrony and diachrony – is made very clear in the following passage (Gimeno 1995: 23):

Diachronic functionalism has had to take a step further and point out that language is not dynamic because it changes but, rather, it changes because it is dynamic in nature. (...) speaking itself, which constitutes language, is the beginning of change (and of language). The problem of the rationality of linguistic change is to be regarded as an essential and necessary characteristic of language: language changes precisely because it is not fixed; it is, rather, continually being forged by linguistic activity, within a framework of permanence and historical continuity, at the same time as its functionality is ensured and, as a ‘system which makes itself’, its dynamic nature can only be seen when we examine synchrony and diachrony in terms of the language’s history. A diachronic fact is, in fact, the production of a synchronic fact; change and reorganization in the system are not two different phenomena, but a single one. System and movement must be understood as ‘systems in movement’, and the historical linguistics of a particular language as ‘perpetual systemization’. Linguistic change is no other than the historical objectivation of language’s creativity, in other words, the ‘making and re-making’ of linguistic traditions (E. Coseriu, 1958, p. 270 and following; 1992, p. 30).

(apparent time vs. real time) in SHB, we will refer to chapters 3 and 4 of Labov's 1994 book and we will explain both concepts in detail.⁴⁴ In the same way, when examining the importance of gender, in the SHB model we will refer to chapter 8 in the 2001 book.⁴⁵

1.2.3.3. *Observer's paradox*

With regard to sociolinguistic methodology, Labov (1972: 209) also stressed the importance of the observer's paradox: "(...) the aim of linguistic research in the community must be to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed; yet we can only obtain this data by systematic observation". He put forward a number of possible solutions for dealing with this problem. Clearly, the observer's paradox occurs particularly in connection with the oral corpus. When the sources which are now used by historical sociolinguistics were written down, however, there may not have been observers. So it might be thought that historical sociolinguistics is not subject to observer's paradox. That would be a great advantage. In fact, as Milroy (1992: 67) says: "in both social and historical linguistics the position of the observer is crucial". However, the matter is not so clear: Tieken Boon van Ostade (2000b) made a specific study of the place of the observer's paradox in historical sociolinguistics and made a number of observations about it. When looking at letters, for instance, she believes that two characteristics may affect the writer's language. For one thing, the writer will normally be aware that some people other than the recipient of the letter may read it (or that the letter may be read aloud). For another, strict norms for letter-writing are often followed. Although it might be thought that there is no observer's paradox when it comes to personal diaries, here, too, Tieken Boon van Ostade observed that authors of such diaries often create a false reader and, so, to an extent, observer's paradox is applicable to this type of document too.

Bergs, too, has specifically examined the problem of the observer's paradox.⁴⁶ He has summarised Tieken Boon van Ostade's point of view as follows (Bergs 2005: 19):

At first sight, it seems as if the observer's paradox does not apply to historical data. As the linguist does not «observe» speakers directly, the speakers cannot be influenced by this observation (...). But this is not entirely correct, as Tieken-Boon

⁴⁴ The titles of the two chapters are:

3. *The Study of Change in Progress: Observations in Apparent Time* (Labov 1994: 43-72).

4. *The Study of Change in Progress: Observation in Real Time* (Labov 1994: 73-112).

⁴⁵ *The Gender Paradox* (Labov 2001: 261-293).

⁴⁶ So too has Conde (2007: 36).

van Ostade argues (2000). She starts her exposition with three basic “tenets”: a) the objective of the historical sociolinguist should be the same as that of the present-day sociolinguist, namely the description and analysis of the vernacular language; (b) there must be a spoken as well as a written form of the vernacular (if the definition of vernacular as the «least conscious variety» is accepted); (c) it is possible, on the basis of the written vernacular, to reconstruct, hypothetically, the spoken vernacular of past language states (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2000: 442-443).

However, as Bergs specifically states in his book, *vernacular language* should probably not be excessively idealised. Tieken Boon van Ostade identifies observer’s paradox with the recipient of the message and we believe that they are two different things. One thing is being aware of observer’s paradox, and another knowing that all messages are created in particular contexts.⁴⁷ Knowing, in other words, that there are different styles and registers everywhere and at all times. In any case, Bergs (2005: 20) makes the same point in his work: “(...) It is *register consciousness*, and not so much the vernacular or the observer’s paradox that plays an important role in the nature and collection of historical data. Speakers and writers of all ages must have felt a certain linguistic consciousness in the production of their utterances, be they spoken or written”.

Labov himself (1994: 20-25) linked observer’s paradox, the uniformitarian principle and problems with sources. He believes that groups of speakers from the 16th century and those of today are different, but it is impossible to know how different they are. Furthermore, the material we have is, necessarily, incomplete. According to Labov (1994: 20-21), paradox is clearly to be found in historical sociolinguistics:

These considerations lead to an appreciation of a paradox of historical linguistics that is as fundamental and profound as the Observer’s Paradox in synchronic linguistics. It begins with the fact noted earlier that the records of the past are inevitably incomplete and defective. The task of historical linguistics is to complete that record by inferring the missing forms: reconstructing unattested stages, ex-

⁴⁷ Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2000b: 455), when researching 18th century English, states: “In this article I have tried to show that the observer’s paradox exists for eighteenth-century English as much as it does for the language of today. Both for the spoken and for the written language it exists in essentially two forms, in the literal sense in that an observer is actually present, for instance when acknowledged reporters of social gatherings and conversations are present, as well as when there is the fear, principally among letter writers but also among writers of Journals, that the text may be read by others than the addressee, either because the text in question is read aloud in company or because it is printed.” She thus defines another type of observer’s paradox for the 18th century, but that type, we believe, is linked with style and a particular social environment and is not, strictly speaking, observer’s paradox: “The identification of the second form of the observer’s paradox rests on what I have called the metaphorical interpretation of the role of the observer: because conversation as well as letter-writing constituted an art in the eighteenth century, the language that is used never comes as it were straight from the heart but is filtered through a set of well-defined rules to give it a seemingly spontaneous, but at the same time polished form”.

trapolating to complete the missing forms for attested stages, and reconstructing the intervening states between them. All this activity implies that the nature of the differences between past and present is known in advance. The Historical Paradox can be stated more briefly.

The task of historical Linguistics is to explain the differences between the past and the present; but to the extent that the past was different from the present, there is no way of knowing how different it was.⁴⁸

So, in order to deal with the paradox, Labov suggests making use of the uniformitarian principle. He nevertheless believes that principle, too, to have its limitations and, inevitably, it is no more than a partial solution to dealing with the paradox of historical sociolinguistics. When examining our subject of research, we must use different types of methodology and different points of view in countering the paradox (Labov 1994: 24-25).⁴⁹

[The uniformitarian principle] is a necessary precondition for historical reconstruction as well as for the use of the present to explain the past. But we have also seen that it is in fact a necessary *consequence* of the fundamental paradox of historical linguistics, not a solution to that paradox. If the uniformitarian principle is applied as if it were such a solution, rather than a working assumption, it can actually conceal the extent of the errors that are the result of real differences between past and present.

Solutions to the Historical Paradox must be analogous to solutions to the Observer's Paradox. Particular problems must be approached from several different directions, by different methods with complementary sources of error. The solution to the problem can then be located somewhere between the answers given by the different methods. In this way, we can know the limits of the errors introduced by the Historical Paradox, even if we cannot eliminate them entirely.⁵⁰

1.2.3.4. Methodological limitations

In addition to the main methodological limitations of the three methodologies mentioned, several others can be added, depending on the particular case under study. The historical sociolinguist Medina wrote an entire article about them (Medina 2005), with an illuminating title: “Problemas metodológicos de la

⁴⁸ In bold in the original.

⁴⁹ As we have said more than once, research work in the historical sociolinguistics area uses different methodologies and, in general, most authors are in favour of an interdisciplinary approach. See, for instance, Gimeno's statements below.

⁵⁰ The italics are the author's.

sociolingüística histórica” [‘Methodological problems in historical sociolinguistics’]. Medina puts forward a basic methodology for historical sociolinguistics in her article. In it, she lists the problems which historical sociolinguistics may be confronted with at each phase of research. After presenting the object of historical sociolinguistics (2005: 116-119), she examines social variables (gender, age, class, etc.) (2005: 119-124), as well as data collection (2005: 126-132) and data exploitation (2005: 132-135). In general, topics similar to those appearing in other authors’ works are also mentioned by Medina. Therefore, we will not repeat them one by one: we have already mentioned most of them.⁵¹ However, what Medina has to say about register is of particular interest.

Many other authors have also mentioned the methodologies and limitations of variationist historical sociolinguistics.⁵² Amongst the best-known are Romaine’s valuable contributions (Romaine 1982, 1988 etc.) For instance, Romaine (1982: 14-21) states that sociolinguistics is of greater use in the interpretation of language (oral, written, gestures, etc.) than in the interpretation of words. At the end of the book, she addresses the problem of sources, in the chapter titled *The problem of sampling* (Romaine 1982: 105). Gimeno (1995: 8-9), too, mentions the problem of sources and criticises the priority given to oral language, defending heterogeneity. He furthermore underlines two challenges for historical sociolinguistics (Gimeno 1995: 52-53): “a) how to study covariation between linguistic variables and linguistic and social factors given that covariation is a statistical concept and cannot easily be applied to linguistic situations in the past and b) how to understand the workings of a diasystem with variables, which always implies reproducing the language in its social context”. To quote one last author, let us recall the well-known article about research into the Middle Ages by Lloyd (1992) where he examines the influence which language contact situations may have on language change, giving some examples from the Spanish *Reconquista*.

1.3. Diachronic sociology of language

1.3.1. Origin and history

Diachronic sociology of language is derived from synchronic sociology of language. As is well known, the sociology of language research area was opened up by Fishman’s work in particular. As we saw in a previous section, sociology

⁵¹ For limitations to historical sociolinguistics, see also Tuten and Tejedo 2011: 287-290.

⁵² As we have already mentioned, almost all publications on historical sociolinguistics provide initial methodological explanations. This is not the place to summarise them. In the preceding paragraphs, however, we have mentioned the points made in the best-known publications.

of language tries to take a particular interest in the societal component. Taking an interest here means understanding and explaining.⁵³ While there is a whole sociolinguistic school and line of work in synchronic research, it is hard to say the same of the diachronic sociology of language.⁵⁴ Some authors (Millar, Tsuzaki, Reinecke, Broudic, Erize, Moreno etc.) situate their diachronic work in the sociology of language field.⁵⁵ Furthermore, another branch which many pieces of work are linked with has a direct connection with the sociology of language: research on language from a social history perspective is very close to the diachronic sociology of language, although in most cases such pieces do not use the theoretical and methodological parameters of the sociology of language. Some linguists' work is also very interesting from the diachronic sociology of language perspective. For instance, Brunot and Bruneau's contributions, Rey, Duval and Siouffi's work (2007), and, in general, work which linguists have published about the external history of language. The first work which can be formally included in this field is Reinecke (1969).⁵⁶

1.3.2. Definition and objectives

Diachronic sociology of language being more heterogenous than other lines of research, specifying its boundaries and defining it is a slippery task. Reflecting the synchronic side, our definition would be: while variationist diachronic sociolinguistics looks at language, observing how, why and to what extent internal language structure has changed, historical sociology of language takes a special interest in the society which uses that language, looking into the evolutionary

⁵³ Fishman (2008: 3) believes that sociology of language has two main groups of objectives: "(...) those that focus on *verstehende* (understanding) and those whose primary goal is *erklärende* (explanatory)".

⁵⁴ Fishman (2008: 4) even casts doubt on the existence of a school in the strict sense on the synchronic level:

(...) although the sociology of language began (and has largely remained) as a recognizable perspective of individual scholars, it never became a well-defined theoretical school nor developed a distinctive research methodology. It has remained a minority position within the total sociolinguistic enterprise, particularly in the U.S. Like sociology itself, the sociology of language has neither well-defined limits nor methods distinctly its own (see Fishman, 1965, 1968, 1970, 1972). As a result, whereas sociolinguistics has gravitated toward microanalyses of snippets of 'talle' and pre-selected conversations (Gumperz, 1982) or toward particular genres of pre-selected texts (Hymes, 1981), and therefore has no problem incorporating samples of actual speech or recitation in its presentations, the sociology of language has largely been 'social problems' oriented (e.g. bilingual education, language maintenance and language shift, reversing language shift, the spread of English, language death, etc.), often utilizing contrasted polities, population groupings and even the world at large as its universe of study and generalization for inquiries into one macro-topic or another. As a result, the data of actual speech is no longer evident in its reports, such data being replaced by language or variety names or categories.

⁵⁵ Although, in most titles, "sociolinguistics" rather than "sociology of language" is mentioned.

⁵⁶ Reinecke finished his doctoral thesis in 1935. So his work was historical sociology of language *avant la lettre*. In his book there are references to the sociology of language, but those mentions seem to have been added on publication in 1969: they appear in the foreword and the conclusions.

processes of covariation between society and language. Historical sociology of language examines the evolution over time of the social configuration of language behaviour and the linguistic and social factors which are (more exactly, seem to be) the antecedents, accompanying factors or consequences of that path. Fishman states (1972d: 145) that the sociology of language contains an intrinsically historical level. When dealing with research into language, he links the historical level and social features closely: "(...) if societal dimensions are needed – as I believe they are – to productively understand the sociolinguistic facts-of-life, then surely historical dimensions are needed to productively understand the sociolinguistic facts-of-life".

Fishman is not the only author to make this connection: as we saw when we introduced the branches of variationist sociolinguistics, Romaine and Martinez are of the same opinion (Romaine 2005: 1696; Martinez 2010: 17). The famous historian Braudel (1968: 115) went even further: "Time, duration, history are essential – or should be – in all human sciences". The reason is clear: the present is a consequence of the past and, to understand the present, we have to know about the past. Furthermore, Braudel (1969: 106) adds the *individual/group* dichotomy to that of *present/past*: "The collective must be properly separated from the individual, or be rediscovered within the individual: the dichotomy is always there to be taken up. There is no innovation except that which is connected with the old and which does not wish to die in the flames of the present where everything burns up, new wood and old wood, one no faster than the other". As Landes and Tully (1971: 2 in Fishman 1972d: 146) mention, historical perspective is particularly important when attempting to plan something: "never is the perspective of history so valuable as when men try to shape their destiny, that is, try to change history. Then, if ever, man has to know how he came to this pass; otherwise he is condemned to repeat his [own] errors, or, at best, to blunder through one difficulty only to arrive at another".

To return to Fishman's article, the details he gives about the diachronic level are of the greatest interest for SHB and SHL in general. Fishman (1972d) links sociology of language with three different historical dimensions:

1) *Historical depth per se* in sociolinguistics research. "Sensitivity to the dimension of historical depth. The first of these, clearly enough, is the dimension of historical depth per se, i.e. the time perspective that deepens our understanding of and appreciation for any particular sociolinguistic topic. Our discipline has produced many excellent examples of studies that have profited from the addition of historical depth to their synchronic emphases" (Fishman 1972d: 146).

So, according to Fishman (1972d: 147), historical depth also has to be taken into account by pieces of work which are not historical. In fact, the influence of the past is always there, in both objective and subjective terms: “Our current protagonists live with history, or think they do or want to, or object to doing so (and thereby merely reveal all the more the true grip of history upon their emotions and rationalizations and behavior)”.

Culpeper (2009: 182), in the socio-pragmatics field, is of a similar belief to Fishman. The historical dimension itself is present in many pieces of synchronic work (and that, he believes, is as it should be): “Many pragmaphilological studies mention diachronic issues, typically by citing other studies of the same linguistic phenomena for other periods (rather than undertaking the research themselves)”. Culpeper believes that that tendency should help in the preparation of diachronic research: using the historical depth of synchronic work, he believes, diachronic pieces of work do not start from zero.

Just as sociolinguistic work needs historical perspective, historical perspective must also take into account factors from social research. Sociology of language research cannot be limited to history. And still less so to what Braudel calls *histoire événementielle*.

If my above stricture boils down to the view that real social behavior is frequently informed by historical perspective and, therefore, social research must also be similarly informed, then my second stricture, to which I now turn, boils down to the view that historical perspective in the sociology of language must itself be informed by social research considerations. Social research (and here I am thinking primarily of empirical and, if possible, replicable and, if possible, quantitative social research) on participants in the social here-and-now must have its own dimensions, its own parameters, its own hypotheses, and its own methodological alternatives. The sociology of language cannot afford being reduced to history and to history alone (not even to social history). Certainly, it cannot afford being reduced to any single historical dimension such as chronology pure and simple. (Fishman 1972d: 148).

Fishman believes, in particular, that historical perspective cannot be left to one side. That perspective must be understood and explained in order to be used appropriately and not make mistakes: “while I agree that ‘life is history and history is life’ I also insist that history itself must be interpreted and understood, and that the current social behavioral validity of our interpretations and understanding must not merely use history (...) but it must test its use of history, it must revise its own views of the extent and nature of the ‘live hand of the past’, it must dimensionalize chronology and operationalize, empiricize and quantify the historically embedded dimensions tentatively favored at any particular stage of its ongoing explorations.” (Fishman 1972d: 148-149).

Fishman (1972d: 149) is highly specific in this passage too: “All in all, therefore, I conclude that the sociology of language cannot and should not escape from history, but, rather, that it can and should improve on whatever it is that history purportedly teaches us, by testing it, refining, precisising and contextualizing it. In order to do so the sociology of language must go ‘on beyond chronology’, into the empirical data of current social behavior, and must do so via a variety of methods not all of which are historical by any means”.

2) “Sensitivity to the dimension of historical breadth” (Fishman 1972d: 149) is the second historical dimension. This is an indispensable tool in making comparisons: “History is not merely diachronic, that is comparative across instances of time, but it is also often comparative across instances of place, of culture, of population, etc. Indeed, the comparative method as such is the basic device of historical research and theory, and the greatest historians from Herodotus to Toynbee have been frankly and eagerly comparative. I certainly consider comparativeness to be a further historically relevant dimension of considerable sociolinguistic interest and importance” (Fishman 1972d: 150).

In Fishman’s opinion, comparisons are indispensable. While Labov brought the famous *uniformitarian principle* to linguistics, Fishman, too, makes use of it, but the other way around. In terms of Labov’s principle, a theoretical-methodological construct is put together as a result of studying today’s situation. The concepts which are derived from that work are applied to history. Fishman believes that the opposite can be done: a past historical situation (and/or a different, but sociolinguistically similar, geographical situation) is examined and from it some ways of functioning are derived. In order to be sure whether those events/transformations were possible or not (and, so, be sure whether the conclusions which we have drawn are appropriate or not for the historical situation in question), a similar current situation is looked for and studied using those principles in order to check whether those hypotheses are appropriate or not. In Fishman’s words (Fishman 1972d: 152):

From my readings about this period I developed hypotheses concerning the time when Loaz was still far more widespread in Loter (and, therefore, probably revested both demographic and contextual variation) while the newly acquired Loter-taytsh was still fairly restricted (and, therefore, revested primarily demographic variation). I tested these hypotheses concerning societal ‘bilingualization’ on a Puerto Rican population in New York (Fishman and Herasimchuk 1969) and was much gratified by their confirmation, both substantively and procedurally.

3) The third historical dimension is “[i]ntra-disciplinary sensitivity to history” (Fishman 1972: 153). “Disciplines are not merely ‘establishments’ (i.e. protected ways of viewing, doing, and interpreting) but, as a result of being establi-

shments, they also have their decided blind spots (i.e. favorite ways of not doing, not viewing, etc.) and hangups as well. For us, in the sociology of language, there are special problems concerning doing or using history” (Fishman 1972: 153). He believes that the parameters of history and the need to take them into account tend to cause problems and concern in sociology. For one thing, history is not taken to be an objective science: it is generally seen as a subjective object or subject of examination. For another, history is considered to be too complex. To counter the first objection, Fishman says that all social sciences contain a degree of subjectivity. That is the way they are and the way they should be. With regard to the second objection, he thinks that his main objective is not to write history but, rather, to derive comparative and explanatory parameters from it (Fishman 1972: 153).

So, since 1972 Fishman has maintained that historical parameters are indispensable in sociolinguistics. It is difficult, however, to find an established, accepted methodological model which links sociology of language with the historical level. We can recall his 2008 book: “Like sociology itself, the sociology of language has neither well defined limits nor methods distinctly its own” (Fishman 2008: 4). The debates which sprung up at the Sorbonne on this topic in connection with the *Histoire sociale des langues de France* project are a clear example of this difficulty.

The *Histoire sociale des langues de France* project can be positioned firmly in the sociology of language field.⁵⁷ This project was started in 2004 and its objective, writing the social history of the languages of France, is summarised by its title. A number of respected sociolinguists took part in the project: G. Kremnitz, H. Boyer, F. Broudic, M.C Alen Garabato...⁵⁸ They debated the project’s characteristics at the round-table talks held at this Paris university in 2004. There they discussed the issues we have just mentioned: What name should such a research topic be given? What are the objectives of the sociology of language in the context of France’s sociolinguistic history? And so on. From that point of view, it

⁵⁷ We have obtained information on this project from: <http://www.langues-de-france.org/index.html>. The information was collected and collated in a single document on 27/06/2012; from here on, page references will be given for the document we drew up. We have also made substantial use of the book edited by Kremnitz (2013). As the participants in the project are close to the sociology of language, and their definition too is close to this branch of sociolinguistics, we have considered it appropriate to situate it in the historical sociology of language.

⁵⁸ In 2001 Boyer and Gardy edited an in-depth historical sociolinguistics publication on the Occitan language: *Dix siècles d’usages et d’images de l’occitan. Des Troubadours à l’Internet*. The book’s point of view is wholly positioned in the sociology of language field, specifically in the area which, following Lafont (1997), they call *peripheral sociolinguistics*.

seems useful to summarise these experts' discussions and, in particular, to specify how they help define our research field.

As far as the name is concerned, Kremnitz emphasizes that the name which has become known internationally is *social history of language*; he also believes that sociolinguistic history has become limited. Because of that, he prefers to talk about *social history of language*.⁵⁹

I am well aware that the term social history is not to everybody's liking. However, I believe, on the one hand, that this term is used internationally. The recent histories of several languages – I am just thinking of English and Welsh – have been called “social histories”. On the other hand, it is some thing other than merely recalling the sociolinguistic data of languages throughout history: it is a matter of showing – as far as is possible – a very complex architecture of communication as it evolves (or should one say ‘communications’?). And this involves not just the forms of use and work on the languages, but also the discourses and evaluations, speakers' linguistic awareness, etc. However, all the social histories which I am aware of are social histories of specific languages. Naturally, authors do mention relevant cases of language contact. What we must try to obtain here is the description of multiple communications, under changing historical conditions and a gradually increasing complexity of relationships, starting from a specific situation, in order to have a manageable framework. So it is not a matter of putting together an ensemble of monographies about the social histories of specific languages but, rather, of clarifying the terms of a more complex communication: of showing the ensemble of communication networks operating in a particular territory. I think that in this sense we will be able to go beyond what has been done so far. I propose giving this task the provisional name of “social history”, for want of a term which might subsequently prove more appropriate. (Kremnitz 2004: 27-28; see also Kremnitz (ed.) 2013: 27.)

In addition to the discussion about the name, those who took part in the project also had a lively debate about the research field itself. Boyer (Kremnitz 2004: 51) had few doubts about the topic of research of a social history of language: “when one says social history, that is of course to be contrasted with internal history”. Jean-Michel Eloy underlined the centrality of speakers: “when we talk about the social history of the language (...) that also involves the idea of a historical sociology of its speakers. I am not sure that the history of the language is quite the same thing” (Kremnitz 2004: 51). Klaus Bochmann added a territorial criterion to this point of view: “I am not sure whether, to a large extent, as far as the regional languages of France are concerned, the history of the language is not, in a way, the history of the territory, the history of the Breton-speaking area,

⁵⁹ The name “social history of language” is fairly common and can be connected with several disciplines: *social history*, *historical sociology of language* and, in some cases, the *external history of language* from linguistics. Sometimes language history of this sort is linked with a particular geographical area, for instance, the *Historia sociolingüística de México* (Barriga & Martín 2010).

of the Occitan area..., because it is often in that way that we can relate French and the other languages. That is to say, the relationship between the different languages can be dealt with, above all, through the history of the area. There are, of course, other factors, other situations: for example, yesterday I spoke about Paris. It is an area, a territory, where a large number of languages are in contact with each other” (Kremnitz 2004: 51). Gabriel Bergounioux, on the other hand, specified four levels of analysis when looking at the connection between today’s language and social history. “four levels based on observation (speakers, linguists, scientific field, administrative institutions)” (Kremnitz 2004: 32-34).

Kremnitz (2004: 1) tried to bring together the different points of view and present a common opinion. Firstly, he offered a general definition: “writing a social history, in other words, a history of their use [of the languages of France] – taking this term in a broad sense – by their respective speakers”.⁶⁰ In the context of France he distinguished three particular cases: “1) autochthonous minority languages (‘regional languages’), 2) languages in overseas territories, 3) immigrant languages, recent and less recent. In general, these languages are not ‘territorialised’”.

With regard to historical delimitations, his starting point was when local, popular speech came into contact with French and, in particular, he suggested studying the last two centuries. Furthermore, he believes that there are two key moments: “the emancipation of spoken languages from Latin in the 15th century” and “the arrival of nationalism from the French revolution onwards”.

The project’s objective was to publish a book of articles on each language or geographical area. The project started in 2004 and the book was published in 2013. Dozens of researchers took part in the project (over 80, in fact). Kremnitz believed that the following outline should be followed by each article, and we believe that in this structure several points of interest for the definition of the social history of languages are reflected:

1. Geographical area and historical modifications, with divergent points of view being mentioned
2. Names for the language
3. Estimates of the number of speakers and the historical evolution of that number

⁶⁰ Kremnitz (2004: 15) also mentioned the ‘historical evolution of communication’, specifying: “this is a history of communication within a group, but also of its relations with the outside world, whether within the same State or in a cross-border situation”.

4. History of communication / of use in general, from the beginnings to our own time (it may be wise to take several synchronic samples)
 - 4.1. Oral use and its evolution
 - 4.2. Written use and its evolution
 - 4.3. Historical evolution of oral and written prestige, forms of collective awareness; view of the language from outside
 - 4.4. The evolution of forms of communication inside different social groups, with a look at social transformations
 - 4.5. The role of printing and books
 - 4.6. The historical sequences of coexistence with and partial substitution by French, the social introduction of French in different spaces and different domains of communication
 - 4.7. Social relations with languages other than French and mutual influences
 - 4.8. Linguistic and cultural renewal movements, political movements relying on language data
 - 4.9. The evolution of the language's prestige among its speakers (internal prestige) and elsewhere (external prestige)
 - 4.10. Creating forms of reference and their relative success
 - 4.11. Social composition of the speech community and its transformation, particularly the role of women
 - 4.12. Current forms of 'semi-official' recognition for the language
 - 4.13. The evolution of communication under the influence of the new media and the new technologies
5. Migration within France and its consequences
6. Internal evolution, the influence of French, and also the influence on French
7. The language's current situation: backward steps, progress and perspectives
8. Other remarks.

With regard to the last two centuries, specifically, Kremnitz suggests working on these points:

- the social introduction of French
- reaction leading to renewal movements
- contradictions between different models of society
- relations between the centre and the periphery
- but also the beginning of relationships between the peripheries.

Kremnitz's definition and description of areas are the most wide-ranging and precise we have come across. With regard to the social history of languages, bearing in mind the situation outside France, we could summarise the scope of research in the social history of languages as follows:⁶¹

1. Geographical area of the language, where it is spoken; its evolution throughout history;
2. Evolution of the language's name;
3. Number of speakers and its evolution;
4. History of communication:⁶²
 - Oral language and its evolution
 - Written language and its evolution
 - Opinions about oral and written languages
 - Evolution of communication within social groups and changes in society
 - Importance of printed language and books
 - Spread of dominant language
 - Social consequences of contact between languages in contact

⁶¹ With regard to our methodological objective, the initial discussions (Kremnitz 2004) were the most interesting. On the other hand, the descriptions published in the later book (Kremnitz (ed) 2013) were extremely useful, but limited with regard to methodology. The pertinent sections have been mentioned in the appropriate sections in our model.

⁶² As we will see below, Burke, too, believes that social history of language should be situated in a social history of communication.

- Internal and external prestige of the language
- Movements for and against the language
- Examination of speaker characteristics: gender, age, etc.

5. Consequences of emigration and immigration

6. Linguistic consequences of language contact.

As we have seen in this summary and in the discussions, the *Histoire sociale des langues de France* project is primarily related to the sociology of language. However, as is to be expected, various other points of view are also considered indispensable: those derived from variationism and also others derived from a linguist's viewpoint. As we have mentioned, no precise definition of the field is shared by researchers. Millar, for example, has situated his work within the sociology of language and, focusing on the historical perspective, he has specified the following areas of research (Millar 2010: 10-18): 1) use of the language by individuals and by society; 2) history of the creation of norms; 3) individual and societal multilingualism; 4) continuity and change in the language. Broudic, to give another example, is in favour of historical sociolinguistics in his doctoral thesis, examining Breton's demolingistic decline in that historical perspective (Broudic 1995). Returning to the Basque case, the Academy of the Basque Language's *Euskararen Liburu Zuria* ['The White Book of Basque'] (Euskaltzaindia 1978) is worthy of mention. This extensive contribution, published nearly 40 years ago, can be situated in the sociology of language line, to a large extent. Historians, linguists and sociolinguists took part in the book (K. Mitxelena, K. Larrañaga, M-J. Azurmendi, J. Intxausti, etc.). Among others, *Una historia de la lengua y los nacionalismos* ['A history of the language and nationalisms'] (Zabaltza 2006) should also be mentioned, as should *Euskara euskaldunon hizkuntza*⁶³ ['The language of the Basques'] (Intxausti 1990). In these works, no methodological approach is specified. On the other hand, Erize (1997: 92-161) presents a whole methodological analysis, recording the opinions of a number of international authors, in his book *Nafarroako euskararen historia soziolinguistiko* ['The sociolinguistic history of Basque in Navarre']. According to this author (Erize 1997: 121), there are four main areas in sociolinguistic histories of languages: 1) language survival and loss, 2) the ethno-cultural dimension of survival and loss, 3) language and nationalism, 4) movements in favour of languages. At

⁶³ Our objective here is not to list all the publications which may be useful for the historical sociology of language. We will address that topic further on. In order to have a fuller perspective on bibliographical resources for the Basque Country, see Intxausti 2007 and Intxausti et al. 2011.

the end of his doctoral thesis, he puts forward a model for studying the speech community, distinguishing four levels (Erize 1997: 525):

First level: symbolic apparatus, values etc.

Second level: structure of the speech community

Third level: system of language behaviours (social activity of the speech community):

- Knowledge of the language or language competence
- Attitudes towards the language
- Language selection
- Language use
- Actions to change the language's situation (movements for and against, scientific research etc.).

Fourth level: community reproduction.

1.3.3. Methodological models and boundaries

According to Reinecke (1969: xvii), the first problem worthy of mention is that researchers in the social history of languages require wide-ranging training: linguistics, sociology, history, sociolinguistics and, above all, a thorough knowledge of the language under study. It is not usually easy to find such researchers and, sometimes, it is not even possible. Researchers, therefore, have to take their shortcomings into account and accept them. As we have seen above, Fishman has stressed the complexity of history. These seem to be the clearest methodological limitations from the sociology of language point of view: as there is no strong, general, established methodological model in our field, its boundaries and methodological problems are to an extent hard to define.

In addition to these limitations, the same difficulties which arise in history and other branches of historical sociolinguistics stand out here too. As we have already mentioned them in detail in the section on variationist sociolinguistics, we will not repeat them here. We should nevertheless stress the problem of lack of sources: in the western Middle Ages, in particular, this gap is noticeable. Braudel (1968: 122) describes this limitation as follows: “the western Middle Ages where the written document is missing. In the 15th century, and even more in the 16th, a thousand voices which had not previously been heard are raised. The

great conversations of the contemporary age begin". It should also be noted that variationist historical sociolinguistics tries to examine oral language in particular and often makes its choice of sources in consequence. With the social history of languages, on the other hand, a broader stance is possible: corpuses of more formal registers and sources which give indirect information may also be taken into account. *Administrazio Zibileko testu historikoak* ['Civil Administration historical texts'] (Trebiño et al. 2002), for instance, may be an indispensable source for researching Basque's social history; but not so much for reconstructing the oral language of a particular period.

To summarise the information which we have gathered on the methodology of the historical sociology of language we can say that there is some agreement about the definition of the field of research. At present, however, precise delimitations or broadly accepted methodological frameworks do not exist: heterogeneity prevails. Clear proof of this is given by the debate between experts when setting the limits of the *Histoire sociale des langues de France* project between 2004 and 2008. Historical sociology of language is, nevertheless, one of the topics which those of us who have researched the language/society area in recent decades find of greatest interest: "The social history of languages is today, evidently, one of the areas of sociolinguistics which is of greatest interest to researchers".⁶⁴

1.4. Social history and languages

1.4.1. Origin and history

The following field of research in historical sociolinguistics comes from history itself: from the social history field, to be precise.⁶⁵ History's interest in language first appeared on the heels of cultural history and social history during the 1980s. Certeau et al.'s work on the French revolution and languages was published in 1975; *History Workshop Journal's* 1980 editorial was about the topic; nor should Roger Chartier's work be forgotten: for example, *L'Éducation en France du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle* ['Education in France from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries'] on education (Chartier et al. 1976) and *Histoire de la lecture dans le monde occidental* [*History of Reading in the Western world*] about the history of reading (Chartier et al. 2001); Scott's 1987 article "On Language, Gender, and Working-Class History" is particularly worthy of mention, etc. Among

⁶⁴ <http://languebretonne.canalblog.com/archives/2012/09/22/25157494.html>

⁶⁵ For some time now a number of authors have been stressing the connection between the history of languages and social history. Garat (1869: 210), for instance, wrote: "The history of a language is always connected with the history of the people who speak it".

the leading trailblazers in social history related to language are the authors Peter Burke and Roy Porter: their highly successful *The social history of language* was published in 1987; in 1991, *Language, Self and Society. A social History of Language*; and in 1993 Burke's *The art of conversation*. That line of research, derived from history, is closely linked to another field of research which, clearly, must also be mentioned: that of cultural history. Peter Burke was involved in that too (2004), along with L. Hunt, who published an interesting collection of articles in 1989. It includes an article of interest for the social history of languages: "Introduction: History, Culture, and Text" (Hunt 1989: 1-22). Even if this line of research is derived from history, Burke (1987: 210-213) closely links three points of view: history of language, sociolinguistics and social history of language. His objective, in brief, is to build bridges between the three. In terms of its sociolinguistic aspects, the line of work opened up by Burke and Porter (1987: 3) is on the whole close to the sociology of language, language ethnography and language anthropology. The variationist school is hardly mentioned.

1.4.2. Definition and objectives

Burke (1993: 26) believes that languages are of particular importance for understanding society. Madariaga (2017: 27) also states that "If there is one social feature that is completely transversal, it is language. Everything goes through it, either orally or in writing, language covers everything and affects everything: the economy, social groups, culture... So writing a history of language is at the same time writing a history of the society which holds it to be its own and uses it". All languages provide a wealth of information on society: they reflect power struggles to some extent; languages also clearly mirror social structures: "My last thesis (echoing sociolinguistics once more) is that speaking is a form of doing, that language is an active force in society, a means for individuals and groups to control others or to resist such control, for changing society or for blocking change, for affirming or suppressing cultural identities" (Burke 1993: 26). In that context, struggles for power, the relationships between language and power have become indispensable matters of study in the social history of languages: "(...) the social history of language, like other forms of social history, cannot be divorced from questions of power" (Burke 1993: 26).

From that point of view, society, too, has to be taken into account when researching languages. So the autonomy of a language is necessarily limited: "although languages are partially autonomous they cannot be understood without reference to the society in which they are spoken, and that 'society' includes not only the different social groups and their ways of life but the basic political,

economic and technological structures as well.” (Burke & Porter 1987: 15).⁶⁶ In this sense, the historian’s function is to be active in bringing to light the power struggles behind the use of language and developing societal awareness: “social historians have a role to play in making people conscious of these ‘hidden persuaders’, thus bringing them into the open.” (Burke & Porter 1987: 15). Burke recognises the proactive role of the historian, changing society or making people aware of unconscious phenomena. In the sociolinguistics field Cichon (1992: 270) is of the same belief: “sociolinguistics (...) should reflect back (to the speaking subject) the image of his own linguistic behaviour, unveil the determining factors and explain the repercussions of that linguistic behaviour on the people around him. Subsequently, it should also make him reflect on the social function he gives Occitan in his life and help him find (...) appropriate means for its use”. For Bourdieu (1994: 213), on the other hand, insight, making the unconscious conscious, is not enough. In fact: “the rupture between mental structures (categories of perception and appreciation, preference system) and objective structures (...) cannot come from simply becoming aware; the transformation of attitudes cannot happen without there being a previous or concomitant transformation of the objective structures of which they are products and which they may outlive”.

Whether historians accept that task or not, the role of language in societal structure and change cannot be denied: “Whether or not they regard themselves as ‘consciousness raisers’, it is clear that social historians need to think seriously about the role of language in creating and changing the social reality they study” (Burke & Porter: 1987: 15). For them, examining that relationship between language and society from the perspective of power struggles is indispensable: “the social-historical study of language – [the] analysis of the power of speech, by its presence or absence, to define, to coerce, or to empower, to victimize and scapegoat, to exercise hegemony and organize consensus, to make, unmake, and remake lived worlds” (Burke & Porter 1991: 2).⁶⁷ The alienation of women which is kept alive and transmitted from generation to generation through language is, according to those authors (Burke & Porter 1987: 2), one of the clearest examples of the need for that research. “Feminist linguists have pointed out that ordinary language, male dominated as it is, not only expresses the subordinate place of women but keeps them in a subordinate position.” (Burke 1993: 29).

⁶⁶ Burke (1993: 27) stresses the mutual influence of language and society time and again: “At a more general level, it is frequently argued by linguists, sociolinguists and historians alike that language plays a central part in the ‘social construction of reality’, that it creates or ‘constitutes’ society as well as being created by society”.

⁶⁷ Burke and Porter (1987: 2) stress time and again how language can be used to strengthen power: “language may be an instrument in the hands of the powerful, employed to mystify and control as well as to communicate”.

The importance of language in social structure being obvious, historians should take languages and those languages' social history into account. Even so, normally historians have shown little interest in the situation of languages:⁶⁸

A number of historians have recently come to recognise the need to study language as a social institution, as a part of culture, as well as to develop a sensitivity to linguistic conventions so as to avoid misinterpreting the sources for more traditional kinds of history. (Burke in Burke & Porter 1987: 1)⁶⁹

In this sense, Burke and Porter (1987: 1) see a clear role for their social history of languages: "there remains a gap between linguistics, sociology (including social anthropology) and history, a gap which can and should be filled by the social history of language"; in particular it is: "the attempt to add a social dimension to the history of language and a historical dimension to the work of sociolinguists and ethnographers of speaking" (Burke 1993: 7). Specifically, the social history of language has the social history of communication as its object: "social history of language, a social history of speech, a social history of communication" (Burke & Porter 1987: 1).

Having studied the relationship between language and society in the work of a number of sociolinguists, Burke has drawn four conclusions. They are, he believes, the points which the social history of language must particularly work on and develop:

(...) it may be suggested that sociolinguists have used this idea of a variety of language to make four main points about the relations between languages and societies in which they are spoken or written. (...) They are as follows:

1. Different social groups use different varieties of language.
2. The same individuals employ different varieties of language in different situations.
3. Language reflects the society or culture in which it is used.
4. Language shapes the society in which it is used. (Burke 1993: 8-9; Burke in Burke & Porter 1987: 3-4).

⁶⁸ Porter has underlined historians' scant interest in language: "Some evidence of the continuing neglect by historians of the social history of language is the omission of language" (Porter in Burke & Porter 1991: 14).

⁶⁹ The last point in this reasoning needs stressing: to interpret historical sources properly, researching the languages seems indispensable.

These four conclusions are far-reaching. Any researchers wishing to research the topic in depth will have to keep their attention fixed on them.

1.4.3. Methodological models and boundaries

In general, authors do not give much information about their methodological model. Burke (1993) offers a long essay to describe the social history of language. As far as methodological tools are concerned, he uses tools taken from history, sociology, ethnology and sociolinguistics to study the four areas of interest mentioned above. Burke believes that knowledge about how languages and registers work is essential for historians. Otherwise they run the risk of misinterpreting the texts they have to deal with: “Without this kind of knowledge of linguistic rules, explicit or implicit, historians run a serious risk of misinterpreting many of their documents, which are not as transparent or unproblematic as they are frequently assumed to be. Form communicates. (...) the medium, code, variety or register employed is a crucial part of the message, which a historian cannot afford to neglect” (Burke 1993: 19).

Burke mentions the same main obstacle which we have found in all the other branches of the social history of languages: the scarcity of sources. For one thing, he believes that there are few secondary sources because most historians do not consider the study of language to be particularly important. For another, there is little information about oral language in primary sources: “Much of popular culture failed to be recorded in writing, not only because many ordinary people could not write, but also because the literate were either uninterested in popular culture, or ashamed of that interest, or simply unable to transcribe an oral culture into the written form of the language” (Burke 1993: 21). “Since there are so many lacunae, readers may well wonder whether a social history of speaking is a viable enterprise (...)” (Burke 1993: 21). Even so, Burke (1993: 21-22) claims that there are a number of sources available dating from the end of the Middle Ages onwards, particularly: court records, sermons, records made of speeches in assemblies, transcriptions of famous people’s speeches, plays and novels.

As Dell Hymes (1991: 345), the well-known sociolinguist and anthropologist, points out:

Linguists study the history of languages mostly as ‘internal history’, as regards what happens to linguistic elements and relations among them. Social context is brought into view only in connection with internal change. And what counts as the history of linguistics is the history of such research. The ‘external history’ of languages is often taken as rather obvious – migration, invasion, immigration, conversion, and the like.

A ‘general history’, if I may use the term, would study more than linguists study. It would be anthropological, sociological, in a word, ‘social history’. Its scope would be all that a society over time had taken into account about language. Whatever the features, whoever the concerned, that would be part of the history of attention to language in that society. These essays show how much is still to be learned about such a history, how much is still to be learned about the study of language by people whose names may not be known to linguists, how such scope may shed light on the use and fate of languages themselves.

In that contribution, Hymes (1991: 332) also emphasises the links between language and society, underlining the limitations of linguists and anthropologists.

A linguist in anthropology, however, could feel faced with a struggle on two fronts. To many anthropologists, linguistics seemed abstract and difficult (too much like algebra), or irrelevant to social life, or both; to many linguists, social life seemed irrelevant to the structures of language, or too multifarious and messy to be dealt with – a circumstance not without precedent. There are indeed two genres, two intermittent traditions of writing, which an historian might someday trace – writing addressed to anthropologists (and other social scientists and scholars), arguing the relevance of language, as analysed linguistically, and writing addressed to linguists, arguing the relevance of social life. The two genres resolved into a pair of questions:

1. You work with what people say and write; they do so by means that have elements and structures, which may condition what is done, what you take as your material; should you not attend to the elements and structures, not take them for granted?
2. You analyse what people say and write; they do so in various contexts, to various purposes, with various abilities, and in various ways, all of which may condition the elements and structures that occur, what you take as your material; should you not attend to persons, contexts, and styles, not take them for granted?

1.5. Historical linguistics and society

1.5.1. Origin and history

Linguists have long been interested in the history of languages. Interest in the origin of language, in particular, can be followed back to the moment when humans started wondering about language. To give just two simple examples of this, let us take what Plato said about the nature of language in *Cratylus*, and, more recently, Rousseau’s reflections on the origin of language in his *Essai sur l’origine des langues*. Those philosophers’ works, however, are one-of-a-kind pieces. Linguistics brought with it a remarkable degree of systemization and of reflection. During the 19th century, considerable comparative work was carried out on the possible connections between languages, language trees, etc.

(Lehmann 1981; Conde 2007: 20-21; Gimeno 1995: 10-15; Tuten & Tejedo 2011: 283). The creation of modern linguistics has generally been connected with the scientific efforts of those 19th century linguists. In those efforts, as is well-known, the historical point of view was central. Conde (2007: 20), following Foucault's lead, described it in this way:

The birth of modern linguistics is usually linked with the efforts of the comparativists to extend the analytical methods of natural science to linguistic objects in an attempt to give their studies scientific status. From the start of the 19th century authors such as August Wilhelm von Schlegel (1767-1845), Friedrich von Schlegel (1772-1829), Jacob Grimm (1785-1863), Rasmus Rask (1787-1832) and Franz Bopp (1791-1867), among others, adopted the classification models developed by Darwin and Linnaeus for zoology and botany, concentrating their efforts on understanding the texts of extinct civilizations in order to define the essence of language in that way. This project, as Friedrich Schlegel pointed out in *Über die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier* (On the Language and Wisdom of the Indians) (1808; in Lehmann 1967: 21-28), was based on systematic research into each language's internal architecture, facilitating the description of each language on its own terms and, at the same time, relating it to others by subsequent comparison and classification (Foucault 1966: 228-232). This effort leads, according to Foucault, to an attempt to regain language within its historical dimension...

In that context linguists' endeavours were situated within a historicist perspective. In the 19th century authors were fully conscious of that, and particularly defended the historical nature of their work. This is how Hermann Paul puts it in his *Principien der Sprachgeschichte*: "The study of language, as of any other cultural product, is part of the general study of history" (1880: xxi, quoted in Conde 2007: 21). Saussure's revolution arrived in this epistemological context, bringing with it a sharp separation between synchrony and diachrony.

The objective of historical linguistics, then, is to clarify the evolution of languages (and the reasons behind this evolution/change) using comparative methods. Gimeno (1995: 11), following Lehmann, summarised the objective of historical linguistics in this way:

Historical linguistics examines the transformation of diverse languages over time, that is to say, it elaborates on the comprehension and explanation of the nature of linguistic change over time. To do so, it compares the various states of the same language or related languages in order to discover the transformations they have undergone and reconstruct (if possible) the earlier, undocumented stages. It also analyses the various factors which make up and explain the linguistic changes and variations caused by multilingual and multilectal contact.

Historical linguistics is not limited, then, to studying the history of one or several related languages; it looks, rather, at the nature (process and result) of linguistic change. In this way a model to represent and explain linguistic change in a universal way is sought. The development of general and historical processes of linguistic change must be determined through the possibility (or not) of change and -within a series of possible changes- going from the most to the least probable. Therefore, the ultimate aim of this type of linguistics is the description and explanation of universal linguistic principles of change.

Until sociolinguistics was created, and, in particular, until research work in variationist sociolinguistics spread, historical linguistics addressed the internal analysis of a language: that internal structure shed light on transformation and change. Those, in other words, were its main research topics. Later on in this chapter we will look in greater depth at the issue of internal and external language analysis. One thing, however, is clear: society as a factor remained in the background until the middle of the 20th century as far as historical linguistics was concerned. In spite of being in the background, there is a lot of interesting information for historical sociolinguistics in those pieces of research, both in terms of volume and of possible uses. In other words, in those pieces of language research a wealth of information on historical sociolinguistics was often collected. As Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2012: 22-23) have stated, “the social nature of human language was recognized by dialectologists and historical and anthropological linguists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries” and, due to that, “unlike the academic specialization of historical sociolinguistics, what might be called ‘applied historical sociolinguistics’ has a long history: discussions of the social contexts of language use are typically included in language history textbooks”.

1.5.2. Definition and objectives. Two types of socio-historical research connected with linguistics: variationist historical linguistics (sociolinguistics) and external language history

1.5.2.1. Historical linguistics versus variationist historical sociolinguistics

As we mentioned above (see the section on variationist historical sociolinguistics), variationist sociolinguistics demonstrated that the influence of society is an indispensable variable in historical research into language. In this sense, variationist sociolinguistics, and that paradigm’s historical approach, are a logical continuation of the paradigm of linguistics.⁷⁰ Gimeno (1995: 11-27), Con-

⁷⁰ For further information, see Joseph 2012.

de (2007: 19-40), Tuten and Tejedo (2011: 283-302) and Lehmann (1981) have masterfully explained what the epistemological development between historical linguistics and variationist sociolinguistics was: we are not going to repeat their explanations here. As we have seen above, variationist sociolinguists position their own work in the context of linguistics (see Labov, Romaine, etc); they believe that linguists must necessarily be their ‘partners’.⁷¹

The opposite is also true: a number of authors have taken historical sociolinguistics to be a branch of historical linguistics, for instance, by Wieslaw Awedyk (Awedyk in Jahr 1999: 37-44) and Ernst Hakon Jahr: “*historical sociolinguistics* has been established as an important subfield of historical linguistics.” (Jahr 1999: V).⁷²

Historical linguistics has become historical (socio)linguistics by taking the social variable into account. We saw above the definition which Gimeno, following Lehmann, gives of historical linguistics. It is also relevant to see the definition which Gimeno himself gives of the new historical sociolinguistics. In short, we know what the difference between the two paradigms is: whether the social variable is taken into account. This differentiation is clear when the two definitions are compared:

(...) the main objective of a certain type of historical sociolinguistics goes from the search for regularities, in the shape of *variable rules*, to the comprehension and specific explanation of the sociolinguistic process of change, starting from the recognition of the empirical basis of linguistic change. In other words, historical sociolinguistics deals with the general and historical basis for linguistic change: understanding and explaining the exact process of change using correlations between linguistic and social factors, given that many questions relevant to historical linguistics are more quantitative than qualitative (that is to say, there is more gradual covariation and substitution in frequency of use than there is sudden innovation) (Gimeno 1995: 17).⁷³

⁷¹ Variationist sociolinguistics emphasised its linguistic facet more at first, calling itself sociohistorical linguistics (Romaine 1982). With regard to the name issue, although we have connected works which mention the “social history of language” in their titles to social history, both “external” language history authors and socio-variationist linguistics authors have often used that denomination. To give a few examples, see Leith (1997 [1983]) (*A Social History of English*), Machan and Scott (1992) (*English in its Social Contexts*) and Kastovsky and Mettinger (2000) (*The History of English in a Social Context*).

⁷² The italics are the author’s.

⁷³ The italics are the author’s.

Gimeno (1995: 11) is convinced of the connection between historical linguistics and historical sociolinguistics: the objective of historical linguistics is to study and explain linguistic change; historical sociolinguistics' aim, on the other hand, is to offer some new tools to make the objective attainable. Gimeno (1995: 16) stresses the importance of the contribution of historical dialectology to historical research in linguistics: that contribution has been undervalued, in his opinion.⁷⁴ Historical sociolinguistics adds research into covariation between events in society and language-internal events to historical research into language.

Gimeno also points out in his book that historical sociolinguistics is a continuation of historical linguistics. He explains (Gimeno 1995: 18) that nowadays linguistics has to take the social component into account and stresses the interdisciplinary nature of historical linguistics: "Nowadays, historical linguistics must include not just the methodological simplification of the synchronic and the diachronic, but also get further into the fabric: syntopic/diatopic; synstratic/diastratic; and symphasic/diaphasic" and, further on (Gimeno 1995: 21): "The complementarity between historical linguistics, dialectology, sociolinguistics and pragmatics is directed, then, towards creating a model to balance synchronic and historical descriptions and explanations".⁷⁵

The connection between variationist historical sociolinguistics and historical linguistics is made clear in several publications, for example *Social Networks and Historical Sociolinguistics* (Bergs 2005). Bergs studies Late Middle English morphosyntactic variation in the Paston Letters. The author often mentions the

⁷⁴ Gimeno is not alone in that belief. Lehmann (1981: 3-4) and several other authors, for instance, specifically emphasise the contribution of dialectology.

⁷⁵ Gimeno considers interdisciplinarity to be indispensable. He states that historical linguistics, dialectology, sociolinguistics and pragmatics are components in researching language changes (Gimeno 1995: 18). He underlines the importance of interdisciplinarity in his book time and again:

- "our proposal attempts to follow a general strategy of researching ordered, dynamic heterogeneity through time, space, society and situation, based on the complementarity between historical linguistics, dialectology, sociolinguistics and pragmatics". (Gimeno 1995: 9)

-the different branches of historical sociolinguistics must work together (Gimeno 1995: 53). See also Romaine 1982: 5.

However, as Cros (2010: 2) has explained, interdisciplinarity gives rise to undeniable problems: "[a discipline] consists of three elements: a) the specificity of the data observed (certain classes of data), b) the objective existence of laws which organise that data, c) coherent presentation of the observations. As a result I am aware of the importance of the difficulties arising from the use of interdisciplinarity.

- 1. If each of the disciplines is concerned with a specific category of data, defined by its own laws, which category of data will interdisciplinarity be concerned with? If each of them has its own defined object, the disciplines considered can only define a new object.

- 2. The analysis of any object of scientific knowledge requires handling a set of tools for that purpose. So using interdisciplinarity means (or should mean) that the following are defined:

- some new objects, in other words, objects which are not dealt with by any of the 'traditional' disciplines
- appropriate analytical tools".

connection with linguistics, although he places his work in the context of historical sociolinguistics. For Bergs and, as we have seen above, for several variationist sociolinguists, the logical consequence of linguistics is sociolinguistics, its continuation. When Bergs uses the term *sociolinguistics*, he often puts brackets around *socio*, for instance, “(...) recent (socio-)linguistic theory and methodology” (Bergs 2005: 1).

In the methodological explanation of his work, like many other authors (see Labov and others), Bergs emphasises the need to take internal and external factors into account when examining language change and evolution. In fact, change is not random: “linguistic variation is not random, but mostly influenced by a number of definable factors, and (...) these factors fall both inside and outside the boundaries of “linguistics proper”” (Bergs 2005: 3). In his research into English, he tries to take internal and external factors into account: “(...) both intra- and extralinguistic variables” (Bergs 2005: 4). As we have seen, while linguistics did not normally study intra- and extra-linguistic factors together, variationist sociolinguistics emphasises the need to examine them together. In this sense, they help to complete the linguistic paradigm.

While in Bergs’ book there is some sort of integration of internal and external factors, this has not always been so: some authors have criticised the separation of internal and external linguistic factors. Boyer and Gardy (2001: 9), for instance, explain why they chose to use the sociolinguistic perspective:

Why sociolinguistic? It is not our intention to produce a more or less up-to-date argument for this here with regard to the inappropriateness of a methodological divide between the internal and external history of languages: our perspective clearly suggests the need, when it comes to analysing linguistic items, not only not to artificially contrast synchrony and diachrony, but also not to dissociate *langue* and *parole*; in other words, the system from the practice on the one hand, and, on the other, the practice from the representations operating in the heart of the same historical community.

As can be seen from the quotation, these authors have criticised not only the separation between external and internal linguistics but also that between synchrony and diachrony. Nor are they alone in their criticisms: many authors have emphasised the connection between synchrony and diachrony; synchrony is a consequence of diachrony, they believe, and diachrony, in turn, is the evolution of synchrony.⁷⁶ While being aware of the somewhat artificial nature of that dichotomy, many authors even so consider it legitimate to separate diachrony and synchrony for methodological reasons (Weinreich et al. 1968: 144; Gimeno

⁷⁶ See, for instance, Fishman’s historical point of view mentioned above.

1995: 18, 21-27; Conde 2007: 22, 29-31). Conde, for instance, believes that the dynamic nature of language must be very much taken into account and, because of that, synchrony and diachrony must be placed in historical perspective. He says (Conde 2007: 29) that “these considerations dissolve the confusion between synchrony and diachrony in the development of languages and reinforce their function as labels with exclusively methodological contents”. Gimeno (1995: 18) has a similar point of view, stating that the distinction between synchrony and diachrony is a methodological simplification.

Variationists consider that the perspective of linguistics on language evolution is rather mechanistic in nature. While external history has been given a place there, it has not been given the relevance it should have: that, in general, is the criticism which variationist sociolinguists make. When doing research into English, for instance, Machan and Scott (1992: 11) give quite a clear summary of that mechanistic point of view:

The notion of a coherent internal history of English (or of any language), which has been presumed to be an appropriate goal of historical linguistics, presupposes a view of any language as a homogeneous structure that can be described independently of external, social influences. In this view, a language is a system of systems (phonology, inflectional and derivational morphology, syntax, semantics) that can undergo change as a result of a number of different systemic pressures. Such pressures include an apparently inherent tendency toward simplification of linguistic patterns by increasing symmetry of patterning or by leveling irregularities of patterning while still maintaining communicatively important oppositions within the system. (It is not at all clear that this tendency toward simplification is an inherent property of a linguistic system, or why this should be the case if it is.) This mechanistically oriented perspective on linguistic change was encouraged by an intensive focus on those aspects of any language system that lend themselves easily to such analysis, specifically the phonological system and the inflectional system.

According to Machan and Scott (1992: 16), the perspective of historical sociolinguistics changes the linguistics point of view in this way:

When we look for the social motivation for a particular sound change, for a change brought about by analogical reformation, or for the adoption of some feature from another language or dialect, we introduce the sociolinguistic perspective into our history of English. Of two or more variant features competing for acceptance and adoption, typically one is favored and enters the standard language as the feature to be passed on to later generations of speakers. But the sociolinguistic perspective assures us that at any given period in the history of a language, there are many varieties of that language, differing more or less from one another according to the social groups using the language – groups defined by age, sex, occupation, ethnicity, socioeconomic class, and so on. Thus the relevant and interesting questions are (1) whether linguistic changes are introduced by any or all of these social groups, and (2) what their motivations are for doing so (Guy 1988).

In spite of all the details, there is a strong link between variationist sociolinguistics and (historical) linguistics. With regard to the method of working, Fennell's *A History of English. A Sociolinguistic Approach* (2001) is highly significant. This publication builds bridges between methods. Fennell divides the history of English up into several periods (Pre-history of English, Old English, Middle English, etc.) and there is a chapter about each period. In each chapter's structure, more than one methodology is used. The discussion of each period begins with a summary of its social and political history, following the habitual external history model of linguists. Then the language's internal evolution is examined, following variationist sociolinguistics; finally, to finish each chapter, a "sociolinguistic focus" is offered.

In one of his books, Tuten takes a similar approach to Fennell. When examining the evolution of Spanish in his 2003 book *Koineization in Medieval Spanish* (particularly the koineization process), Tuten makes a particular study of social history, i.e. the language's external history. He divides the koineization process into three phases (the Burgos phase, the Toledo phase and the Seville phase) and there is a section on social history for each one.

1.5.2.2. *External history of language*

With regard to the attention which historical linguistics has paid to societal variables, two main attitudes can be distinguished. On the one hand, there is the variationist branch of historical sociolinguistics: in other words, the continuation of the internal history paradigm of linguistics, which we have just looked at. As well as internal phonological factors and internal evolution in itself, societal variables are added to this branch when change in language is examined. On the other hand, there is external linguistics, which is more closely connected with the historical sociology of language. Kremnitz, for instance, sometimes takes the social history of language and the external history of language to be synonyms (Kirsch et al. 2002: 14).⁷⁷ This second way of examining the external history of language, in any case, has little connection with variationist linguistics. However, it can be considered to be its precursor, in a sense. Mattheier (1999: 1), in spite of the differences, basically defends this point of view:⁷⁸

⁷⁷ See also Kremnitz (ed.) 2013: 27.

⁷⁸ However, Mattheier (1999: 2) distinguishes two fields of study: "Only the external history of language – in other words, the study of the insertion of the language in a speech community – could compete with "historical sociolinguistics". However, a fundamental difference between the two subjects must be taken into account. The external (and internal) history of language has, until now, almost always dealt exclusively with the history of the language within the framework of national linguistics. (...) 'historical sociolinguistics' usually lacks this close relationship with a linguistic nation. It gives priority to the general analysis of the structures of the processes of sociolinguistic change".

(...) ‘historical sociolinguistics’ is not one of those new sciences without any tradition which nowadays pop up like mushrooms in the domain of social sciences. In fact, ‘historical sociolinguistics’ has been practised for as long as the history of language has been written. The first histories of language dealt not only with the ‘internal’ regularities of the history of grammar, but also with interactions between grammar and speech communities; they throw into relief, for instance, the importance of language in the creation and existence of historical-political communities. This field has been given the name of ‘external’ history of language (...).

The external history of language often makes a chronological study of the external factors (political, economic, waves of migration, colonization, conquests, etc.) which have affected the language. Sometimes, topics such as how a particular kingdom came into being, how colonists’ languages (in particular, French, Spanish, English, German and Portuguese) developed, etc. In a number of cases, external history is also connected with linguistic geography and demolinguistic evolution. As Duval (Rey et al. 2007: 11) clearly states, “the history of a language is always that of the people who have occupied the territory where it has developed”. In such cases the language is linked to a human group and a territory and, in this sense, taking socio-political events into account helps to clarify many of the areas of interest and questions linguists have. It offers fundamental information about the creation of the language and its evolution through the study of the language’s substratum, superstratum and adstratum.

Both creating and spreading a norm and clarifying the external factors which have influenced that norm (particularly a written norm) in its origin is, on occasion, a particular topic of research for external linguistics. With regard to methodology, normally one method of chronology or another is put forward bearing in mind the particular features of the case being studied by each author.⁷⁹ No general, fixed, widely accepted methodology seems to have been used to write those external linguistic histories. Monteagudo (1999: 6) severely criticised the lack of unity in the methodologies used: the external history of language “(...) does not belong to any particular discipline and (...) normally is little more than the unsystematic collection of data and observations of various types about its ‘historical fortunes’”.⁸⁰

Amongst the variables to be taken into consideration when writing the external history of linguistics, Teyssier (1994: 1) mentions political, social, cultural,

⁷⁹ For the Basque case see, for instance, Reguero 2012, Ulibarri 2013 or Zuazo 1995. Ulibarri’s historical periodization and analysis is quite linguacentric.

⁸⁰ Simply comparing the tables of contents of some external histories of language is enough to realise that very different approaches have been used. This confirms Monteagudo’s point of view. See, for example, the three articles mentioned in the previous footnote.

economic, technical and other reasons. He also occasionally mentions factors derived from international relationships. His is clearly a broad perspective on the subject. The objective of external history, in his opinion, is to study “(...) the various non-linguistic conditionings which have influenced the evolution of the language (...)” (Teyssier 1994: 1). Chronology must be specified with care: there must be considerable knowledge about the history of the kingdom being studied (Portugal, for instance, in Teyssier’s case), but the basis for the presentation cannot be political or literary history, even though they may often be closely connected. Many authors believe that in general the external history of language has its own chronological divisions, for instance, Teyssier (1994: 1) and Machan and Scott (1992: 19-20). These last two authors clearly distinguish the chronologies used by historians, linguists and sociolinguists when carrying out historical sociolinguistic research into English: “Thus, if the conclusion of the Anglo-Saxon epoch for historians is the Battle of Hastings, and if for linguists it is the loss of inflections and grammatical gender, for sociolinguists it is a fundamental shift in language attitudes and the function of language that initiates Middle English”. So the periodization used in history, linguistics and sociolinguistics does not have to be the same. In fact, sociolinguistic periodization must be defined in the light of research into each language. It may or may not coincide occasionally with that of other disciplines, but not necessarily for the same reasons.

Joseba Intxausti (2007: 242-244) has made it clear that many linguists have contributed to the social history of languages, giving helpful examples: R. Lapesa’s *Historia de la lengua española* (1942), J. M. Nadal and M. Prats’ *Història de la Llengua Catalana* (1982), Brunot and Bruneau’s *Précis de grammaire historique de la langue française* (1933), Brun’s work about the spread of French: *Recherches historiques sur l’introduction du français dans les provinces du Midi* (1973 [1923]), Rey, Duval and Siouffi’s *Mille ans de langue française* (2007), etc. Some further books may be added to the list which Intxausti offers: from the methodological point of view, in particular, Hall’s *External History of the Romance Languages* (1974); Bershin, Felixberger and Goebel’s substantial contributions on the external history of the language to *Französische Sprachgeschichte* (2008 [1978]). So there are many publications on the external history of language of great interest for historical sociolinguistics.

1.5.2.3. Internal and external history of language

We have often mentioned the distinction between the internal and external history of language. We believe it is worth looking at this dichotomy in greater depth in this section on linguistics.

In the field of linguistics the distinction is habitual and well-known. In our field (the social history of language) too, this is common terminology; to give just

a few examples, Burke uses this terminology when writing about 19th century linguists: “They studied the internal history of languages, the history of their structure, but neglected what has been called their ‘external history’, in other words the story of their use” (Burke 1993: 2-3). Hymes (1991: 345) makes the same point. In *The Handbook of Historical Sociolinguistics* Hickey (2012: 387) published an article under the title: “Internally and externally motivated language change”. Jones and Esch make a clear distinction between the sociology of language and the external history of language in their “Contributions to the Sociology of language” collection (2002). The book’s title in itself is significant: *Language Change: The Interplay of Internal, External, and Extra-Linguistic Factors*. Boyer (Kremnitz 2004: 51) contrasts social history and internal history as if they were two sides of a coin: “when you say social history, that is naturally to be contrasted with internal history”. In the context of Basque, Zuazo (1995: 5-30) adopts a similar standpoint.

While it is habitual terminology, Monteagudo (1999: 6) did not place his social history of Spanish Galician in the context of history but, rather, that of “the external history of the language”; furthermore, he preferred not to use the expression “external history” in view of his criticisms given above. It is this author’s belief that the terms ‘internal history’ and ‘external history’ are not appropriate. His reasons for this are, on the one hand, that external history is not connected with any specific discipline and, on the other, that internal history actually means something else: “In fact, the most exact term for what is known as the internal history of the language would, we believe, be diachronic grammar, a study which is what some authors call genetic linguistics (Joly 1988)” (Monteagudo 1999: 6).

With regard to the definitions of the internal and external histories of language, we have already mentioned some clarifying information: here we are only going to review Barbato, Hymes and Mitxelena’s contributions.

Barbato (2011), when examining the history of Romance languages, investigated what the specific contribution of sociolinguistics might be. He gives a definition of external linguistics there.⁸¹

We have already mentioned both Hymes’ and Mitxelena’s distinction between external and internal history.

In general, the contrasting definitions of internal and external linguistics are similar from one author to another. The following example is from Tuten and Tejedro (2011: 284): “[...] separate the internal history of languages, which focused primarily on change in phonological and grammatical structure, from external

⁸¹ We presented Barbato’s definition in this book: see 1.2.2.

or social history of languages, which focused on political, social, and attitudinal contexts”. It is interesting to note that these authors hold “external history” and “social history” to be the same thing; as we have already seen in the section on naming this research, researchers use both those terms.

Calvet (1999 [1987]: 8) stressed the social aspect of the life of languages, contrasting the ‘natural’ evolution of languages with their social evolution:

[changes in a language] are the linguistic counterpart of deeper social movements. For instance, the spread of Latin in Europe or of Arabic in the Maghreb: they can of course be examined purely in terms of internal linguistics, but at the price of missing out on important information. Phonetic laws, for example, explain why an open, accented o in Latin regularly becomes the diphthong uo in Italian and ue in Spanish and gives us eu in French (for the sake of simplicity, I am using the classical alphabetical notation): foco in Latin, fuoco in Italian, fuego in Spanish and feu in French ... And, by finding another thousand such examples, we can get some idea of the phonetic transformations in these languages. But, in this way, we remain on the surface, we see only the form of change and not its deep social roots.

Calvet (1999: 10) further believes that “If there is a history of languages, it is, then, a chapter in the history of societies or, rather, *the linguistic facet of the history of societies*. And if we take into account that violence is the great midwife of history, which is hardly an original thought, then violence also affects the history of languages”.⁸²

1.6. Historical (socio)pragmatics

1.6.1. The link between pragmatics/sociopragmatics and sociolinguistics

The link between historical sociolinguistics, and pragmatics and historical sociopragmatics is often mentioned by researchers from both fields.⁸³ When defining the scope of historical sociolinguistics, Cotelli and Aquino-Weber (2009: VI), for instance, refer to “historical pragmatics, an extremely vast field of study centering on the communicative qualities of language in history”. From the perspective of pragmatics, Jucker (1997, 2010), Culpeper (2009, 2010) and Traugott (2004) all stress the links between the two lines of research.

⁸² The italics are Calvet’s.

⁸³ In the documentation we have examined, sociolinguistics is mentioned more often in pragmatics research than the other way around. See, for example, Culpeper 2010: 74-76.

Jucker (Jucker & Taavitsainen (eds) 2010: 4-5) believes that there has been a change of paradigm in linguistics and that change, closely connected with sociolinguistics, has occasioned the spread of pragmatics:

The ultimate decades of the twentieth century saw several important and fundamental paradigm shifts in linguistics. In the words of Traugott (2008: 207), “what was marginal in the 1970s has come to be of central interest, above all pragmatics”. As a result, phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics are no longer privileged fields of linguistics; the study of language use is considered to be just as important, or perhaps even more important in the sense that a proper study of language structures must take into consideration how these structures are actually used and interpreted. Further shifts concern the move from homogeneity to heterogeneity. Variationist studies have become a major trend. Language is seen as diachronic, social and dynamic and not as just a synchronic and static system. (Jucker 2010: 3-4)

With regard to research at the synchronic level, Cano (1995: 704) maintains that the spread of pragmatics has taken place because of epistemological developments: “As is well known, the pragmatic direction of linguistic analysis has been arrived at along various routes: Peirce and Morris’ semiotics, Austin and Searle’s philosophy of language; Benveniste, Todorov and Ducrot’s theory of enunciation, as well as the insufficiencies and contradictions which a particular type of generative grammar was faced with in explaining sentence meaning (there is a lot of evidence that this tendency in linguistics has always had difficulties in distinguishing between message ‘meaning’, ‘reference’ and ‘sense’)”.

The connection between historical sociopragmatics and sociolinguistics is clear, although they constitute different lines of research and Gimeno (1995: 18) believes that historical sociolinguistics and pragmatics are mutually complementary. In 1994 the first historical pragmatics conference was organized, with both pragmatics and sociolinguistics researchers taking part, and the proceedings were published as a special issue of *Multilingua* magazine in 1997 (Jucker 1997: 139): “It was the aim of this conference to bring together sociolinguists and relevance theorists in order to explore the potential for cross-fertilization in the two fields”. Researchers in historical pragmatics and sociolinguistics share publications as well as meetings: for instance, Raumolin-Brunberg and Nevalainen have had their work published in both fields.⁸⁴ Furthermore, some publications fundamental for pragmatics have been published in a sociolinguistic context. For example, *Politeness. Some universals in language usage* (Brown & Levinson 1994), a work widely used in pragmatics, was published in a sociolinguistics collection edited by Gumperz (*Studies in Interactional Sociolinguistics*). The sources, too, are the

⁸⁴ For example, Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 1995, Culpeper & Kytö 2000. See also Culpeper 2010: 74.

same in many cases: see, for instance, Nevala and Palander-Collin (Culpeper 2009: 184). Several of the definitions and objectives of historical pragmatics are similar to those of historical work in the variationist sociolinguistics field created by Labov, for instance, in Traugott's definition (Traugott 2004: 538): "Historical pragmatics is a usage-based approach to language change". However, the interest of pragmatics in language change and its perspective on it is not the same as that of sociolinguistics. In one case, mostly changes in meaning (*signifié*) and their evolution are analysed; in the other, significant (*signifiant*) and their evolution. Jucker and Taavitsainen, for instance, explain language change from the historical pragmatics perspective as follows:

Linguistic expressions change their meaning over time because speakers use them to communicate and negotiate meanings in their interactions with each other. Meanings are conventionalised within speech communities but they are also constantly negotiated and re-negotiated in each interaction. (Jucker & Taavitsainen (eds) 2010: 14)

[L]anguage changes as a result of the changing communicative needs of speakers, but these communicative needs change as a result of the wider cultural and social developments of the language community. Thus both internal and external motivations count. (Jucker & Taavitsainen (eds) 2010: 15)

As we will see in greater detail in the next section (1.6.2.), Culpeper divides historical pragmatics into three branches; he mentions some sociolinguists' work in the third one (Raumolin-Brunberg and Nevalainen's work, for instance). He believes that a direct connection between historical sociolinguistics and pragmatics occurs in so-called *interactional sociolinguistics*: "It is work in interactional sociolinguistics, with its medial level contextual concerns, that overlaps with work in sociopragmatics" (Culpeper 2010: 75). Furthermore, Culpeper (2010: 79) believes that when certain particular topics are dealt with, historical sociolinguistics and historical pragmatics overlap: "When scholars begin to explore the role of genres, they are moving towards sociopragmatics. Further to this, many of the linguistic features studied by historical sociolinguists play a role within the interactions represented in historical texts – they perform pragmatic functions".

Other authors have sought to stress the differences between sociolinguistics and pragmatics. Thomas (1995: 185 in Culpeper 2010: 75), for example, states that the features sociolinguistics examines are more long-lasting than those pragmatics examines:

[...] we could say that sociolinguistics is mainly concerned with the systematic linguistic correlates of relatively fixed and stable social variables (such as region of origin, social class, ethnicity, sex, age, etc.) on the way an individual speaks. Pragmatics, on the other hand, is mainly concerned with describing the linguistic correlates of relatively changeable features of that same individual (such as relative status, social role) and the way in which the speaker exploits his/her (socio)linguistic repertoire in order to achieve a particular goal.

Sociolinguistics is static, offering a ‘snapshot’ of the language of a particular community at a particular moment in time. Pragmatics is dynamic, describing what a speaker from that community does with those resources, how he or she uses them to change the way things are or in order to maintain the status quo. Pragmatics is parasitic upon sociolinguistics, taking the sociolinguistic description of an individual’s repertoire as a point of departure: sociolinguistics tells us what linguistic resources the individual has, pragmatics tells us what he or she does with it.

1.6.2. Historical (socio)pragmatics: definition and objectives

1.6.2.1. Subdivisions of pragmatics

Like historical sociolinguistics, historical pragmatics, too, is quite a new line of research. There are very few publications in this field from before the 1990s. During the 21st century, on the other hand, there have been more and more publications from this perspective. The sociopragmatics branch of pragmatics is the one with the greatest connection with sociolinguistics. In order to define this branch, it is worth presenting, however briefly, the subdivisions of pragmatics.

At present there are two main definitions of pragmatics. On the one hand, there is a narrow definition of pragmatics, linked with Anglo-American schools. There is also a broader one, usually linked with European pragmatics (Jucker 1995, Jucker & Taavitsainen (eds) 2010, Culpeper 2009, 2010, Traugott 2004): “The field of pragmatics in general has always been split into two more or less distinct approaches. On the one hand, there is a fairly narrow conception of pragmatics that deals with information structure, implicit meanings and cognitive aspects of utterance interpretation, and, on the other hand, there is a wider conception of pragmatics that also includes the social context of language use” (Jucker & Taavitsainen (eds) 2010: 4-5). In this context, sociopragmatics is associated with the Anglo-American school; Culpeper (2009: 179; 2010: 70) clearly states that as the European school offers more space to the social aspect, it would be a tautology to use the term.

Taking into account Leech's classification (Leech 1983), Culpeper (2009: 180) offers a triple division of pragmatics: general pragmatics, sociopragmatics (connected with sociology) and pragmalinguistics (connected with grammar). Leech defines these three branches as follows (Culpeper 2010: 71):

- General pragmatics: “the general conditions of the communicative use of language” (Leech 1983: 10);
- Sociopragmatics: “more specific ‘local’ conditions on language use” (Leech 1983:10);
- Pragmalinguistics: “the particular resources which a given language provides for conveying particular illocutions” (Leech 1983: 11).

Culpeper gives two parallel explanations about this division. On the one hand, he links it with the micro-macro divide. He places general pragmatics on the macro level, socio-pragmatics in the middle and pragmalinguistics on the micro level as shown in table 7 (Culpeper, Crawshaw and Harrison 2008: 320 in Culpeper 2010: 74):

Table 7: macro and micro levels in pragmatics

Macro	Cultural description (e.g. nationalities, genders, ages)
	Social situational description (e.g. activity types, genres)
Micro	Pragmatic description (e.g. indirect, vague, X speech act)
	Linguistic description (e.g. modal verb, interrogative structure)

Culpeper (2009: 180) establishes a second parallel with the divisions of sociolinguistics. Following the approach developed by Nevalainen and Rau-molin-Brunberg, he defines three areas in sociolinguistics in line with those in pragmatics: “social dialectology (i.e. variationist sociolinguistics), interactional sociolinguistics and the sociology of language”. In this case, too, he believes that a parallel can be drawn from the micro to the macro and from the linguacentric to the sociocentric.⁸⁵ Sociopragmatics and sociolinguistics, in Culpeper's opinion, sometimes coincide at an intermediate level in the guise of sociopragmatics and interactional sociolinguistics respectively, even though their perspectives differ fairly substantially.

Culpeper (2010: 76) situates sociopragmatics on an intermediate level: on the micro level in linguistics terms, and on the macro level in sociological terms:

⁸⁵ We have mentioned these divisions in sociolinguistics at the start of this section.

(...) sociopragmatics should primarily, though not exclusively, concern itself with the medial level of context (or aspects that comprise it). It links more micro, linguistically oriented considerations (the typical focus of pragmalinguistics) and more macro, sociologically oriented considerations (the typical focus of critical discourse analysis).

He then defines socio-pragmatics (Culpeper 2010: 76):

Sociopragmatics concerns itself with any interaction between specific aspects of social context and particular language use that leads to pragmatic meanings. Its central focus is on language use in its situational context, and how those situational contexts engender norms, which participants engage or exploit for pragmatic purposes.

1.6.2.2. The subdivisions of historical pragmatics

The same subdivisions which we mentioned in the synchronic pragmatics field also appear in historical pragmatics. On the one hand, Traugott (2004: 538) explains the definition of the Anglo-American school clearly: historical pragmatics is a “usage-based approach to language change” and its subject is “non-literal meaning that arises in language use” (Traugott 2004: 539). On the other hand, the European tradition is broader: it concedes a greater role to social variables. In the opinion of Jucker and Taavitsainen (eds) (2010: 5), this second branch is very closely related to sociolinguistics:

The wider European tradition, on the other hand, takes a sociologically-based approach and wants to understand the patterns of human interaction within their social conditions of earlier periods. (...) and there is a considerable overlap with sociolinguistics.

It is clear that the definition of historical pragmatics varies depending on the school. Taavitsainen and Fitzmaurice (2007: 13 quoted in Jucker & Taavitsainen (eds) 2010: 6), for instance, give the following definition from the perspective of the European school: “Historical pragmatics focuses on language use in past contexts and examines how meaning is made. It is an empirical branch of linguistic study, with focus on authentic language use of the past”. Jucker (2008: 895) gave this definition: “In a broader sense adopting the more European conceptualization of pragmatics, historical pragmatics can be defined as a field of study that wants to understand the patterns of intentional human interaction (as determined by the conditions of society) of earlier periods, the historical developments of these patterns, and the general principles underlying such developments”.

1.6.2.3. *Historical sociopragmatics*

With regard to historical sociopragmatics, Culpeper believes that the objective of this line of research is to study the interaction between known social features and the historical use of language when this use has a pragmatic sense:

In sum, historical sociopragmatics concerns itself with any interaction between specific aspects of social context and particular historical language use that leads to pragmatic meanings. Its central focus is on language use in its situational context, and how those situational contexts engender norms which speakers engage or exploit for pragmatic purposes. It can be either synchronic, describing and tracing how language use shapes and is shaped by context at a particular point of time in the past, or diachronic, describing and tracing how over time shifts in language use shape context, shifts in context shape language use, and/or shifts occur in the relationship between language use and context. An important issue for *historical sociopragmatics* concerns the (re)construction of contexts on the basis of written records. This is the *sine qua non* of the field. Whilst researchers do have recourse to research conducted by social historians, it must be remembered that much of that research is (a) itself underpinned by written documents, and (b) often insufficiently detailed to assist in understanding the rich dynamics of particular situations. (Culpeper 2009: 182)

Culpeper makes an interesting distinction between synchronic and diachronic historical sociopragmatics (see also Culpeper 2009: 181; 2010: 76-77 –definition at end of p. 77–). The object of synchronic historical sociopragmatics is “(...) discourse at a particular point in time (i.e. it is synchronic in nature)” (Culpeper 2010: 76-77). On the other hand, for Culpeper (2010: 77), “Diachronic pragmatics involves studying change in pragmatic phenomena, focusing on “the linguistic inventory and its communicative use across different historical stages of the same language” (Jacobs & Jucker 1995: 11)”. As we have already seen, these two ways of studying history have already frequently appeared in sociolinguistic research, depending on each school of historical sociolinguistics. For variationism, for instance, synchronic historical research consists of examining a feature of the language at a particular historical moment while taking the structure and influence of society into account; diachronic research, on the other hand, examines the evolution of a particular feature while taking the structure and influence of society into account. From the sociology of language perspective, the synchronic level consists of examining the language behaviour or attitudes of speech groups or speech communities at a particular historical moment. Examining the evolution of those behaviours and attitudes, on the other hand, would constitute diachronic historical sociology of language.

The pragmatic examination of language use throughout history has been called “pragmaphilology” by Jacobs and Jucker (1995: 11); Jucker and Taavitsainen

(Jucker 2010: 12-13), on the other hand, define diachronic historical pragmatics research as follows: “it combines synchronic descriptions of language use into a diachronic view, ultimately studying language as a process of continuous development”.

Traugott (2004: 539) mentions another interesting divide in connection with the diachronic / synchronic historical research dichotomy, distinguishing *form-to-function* and *function-to-form* research:

One involves “form-to-function mapping” and is “semasiological.” The dominant question is: What are the constraints on ways in which a meaning can change while form remains constant (*modulo* independent phonological changes)? For example, what are the constraints on the ways in which *may* developed polysemies over time? The other approach involves “function-to-form mapping” and is onomasiological.” The dominant question is: What constraints are there on recruitment of extant terms to express a semantic category? For example, what constraints are there on development of lexical resources for expressing epistemic possibility?

1.6.3. Methodological models and boundaries

Historical pragmatics uses its own methodology, in line with the epistemological division mentioned in the previous paragraphs. Variationist sociolinguistic paradigms have also been adapted to pragmatics (Jucker & Taavitsainen (eds) 2010: 15) using, among others, the conclusions of Weinreich et al. (1968) to that end. In variationist historical sociolinguistics, research is mostly quantitative; in historical pragmatics, on the other hand, it is generally more qualitative.

With regard to the limitations of this line of research, Jucker and Taavitsainen mention six main problems (2010: 15-21):⁸⁶ (1) *Pathways-of-change problems* (2010: 16): little work has been carried out on diachronic evolution. So pragmatics has to start from scratch to clarify several basic points: specifying the probable meaning of pragmatic units, their distribution and context, etc. (2) *Meaning problems* (2010: 16): right from the very start, there are usually problems with interpreting the oldest texts and, because of that, there are (3) *identification problems* (2010: 17): it is usually difficult to identify pragmatic functions. As that identification work is undeniably difficult, there are also (4) *categorisation problems* (2010: 17) and (5) *inventory problems* (2010: 19). (6) *Contextualisation problems* (2010: 20): this last concerns specifying the context⁸⁷. The problems have arisen

⁸⁶ On the problems arising from research in historical pragmatics, see also Bertuccelli (2000).

⁸⁷ Culpeper (2009: 182), too, has stressed the difficulty of defining context. See quotation in section 1.6.2.3.

on all levels, from the macro level (cultural and socio-historical context) to the micro level (in other words, to the context of a specific situation of use).⁸⁸

Historical sociolinguistics shares many of these problems with pragmatics. Like historical sociolinguistics, historical pragmatics has few sources and a problem in terms of the quality of those sources: “Historical pragmatics and, in a wider sense, historical sociolinguistics need access to spoken texts, preferably items of spontaneously spoken language of earlier periods; these are, however, no longer available. This plight has recently been referred to as the problem of ‘bad data’” (Fries 1998: 85 quoted in Jucker & Taavitsainen (eds) 2010: 7). Pragmatics has provided two main solutions for this problem: “Two approaches can be discerned: first, the search for material that is as authentic as possible; and second, the contention that even written language has a communicative purpose and therefore deserves to be studied from a pragmatic perspective.” (Jucker & Taavitsainen (eds) 2010: 7).

In order to deal with this problem of sources, as in historical variationist sociolinguistics, one of the first tasks carried out by historical pragmatics was the creation of giant *corpus* databases. For example, Culpeper and Kytö’s *Corpus of English dialogues* (Culpeper & Kytö in Jucker & Taavitsainen (eds) 2010: 8). In the field of historical semantics those databases offer new methodological perspectives, for example on research about lexical semantic relationships within conceptual structures (Fitzmaurice et al. 2017) and meaning fluctuation analyses (Baker et al. 2017).

1.7. Other work

1.7.1. Cultural history

As we have already mentioned, the distinctions between the lines of research we have specified above are, to some extent, artificial. In fact, some works can be placed in more than one school. Being mostly multidisciplinary works, it is not easy to create a taxonomy. In addition, as Auer (Auer et al. 2015: 2) mentions: “it should be acknowledged that many scholars had already published contributions that would nowadays be classified under the heading of historical sociolinguistics, without using that specific term”. So outside the schools already specified, or with some sort of connection to them, can be found several other types of research related to historical sociolinguistics or of interest for it. Firstly, there is research related to linguistics: we have already mentioned dialectology, lexi-

⁸⁸ Text genre, for instance, could be considered an intermediate level.

cogenesis, “language history from below” which criticizes traditional language histories because they are focused on a limited range of texts linked to privileged social groups socially, regionally and in term of registers (Rutten 2016: 198), literary history of languages (for instance Fox 2000) or cultural histories of languages and cultural history. Clearly, some of these branches have direct links with the fields of knowledge already mentioned. Peter Burke, one of the founders of social history, for instance, is also one of the most important authors on cultural history: in 2004, for example, he published his book *What is Cultural History?* To give a few examples of work about language, history and culture, one can mention Bailey’s *Images of English: A Cultural History of the Language* (1991); the first chapter in Hunt’s *The New Cultural History: Essays* (1989): “Introduction: History, Culture, and Text”; Stock’s “Language and Cultural History” (1987); Knowles’ *A Cultural History of the English Language* (1997); Endo’s *A Cultural history of Japanese women’s language* (2006). Work connecting language and history in some way or another may also be of interest. For example, Haas’ *Language, Culture and History* (1978), although this is quite far removed from sociolinguistics.

1.7.2. Geographical history

An interesting branch we have not yet mentioned derives from geography. Some geographers have seen the opportunity to create a geography of languages. They are not directly linked with dialectology and their geolinguistics may be of use for writing the social history of languages. For instance, Withers’s historical geolinguistics publication on *Gaelic in Scotland 1698 to 1891: the geographical history of a language* (1984) and Williams’ *Language contact and language change in Wales, 1901-1971: a study in historical geolinguistics* (1980). However, most of the people who have worked on geolinguistics have not been geographers: it is mostly linguists, and particularly dialectologists, who have developed this topic. In the historical sociolinguistics field, Conde Silvestre and Hernandez Campoy have worked on this subject and published two relevant articles: “Sociolinguistic and geolinguistic approaches to the historical diffusion of linguistic innovations: incipient standardisation in Late Middle English” (2005) and “La Geolingüística: consideraciones sobre la dimensión espacial del lenguaje” (1999). With Basque, too, most of the work on language geography has been carried out by linguists rather than geographers: a number of experts in the Basque language have worked in this field, attempting to establish the language’s boundaries throughout history or at particular moments in time. For a good synthesis-summary,

see Arejita et al. (2007).⁸⁹ Historical sociolinguistic research connected with geography, too, has more often been carried out by linguists and sociolinguists than by geographers. Two types of geographical work can be distinguished: on the one hand, work about the geographical extension of languages (for instance, the work by Arejita et al. just mentioned); on the other, research into geographical regions and specific countries (for instance, the publication edited by Barriga and Martín (2010)).

Instead of situating the topic to be examined within the boundaries of a state, as ordinary historiography often does, those boundaries often disappear in historical geolinguistics. In such cases, the wider, more shifting space occupied by speech communities, past or present, is often examined. Sánchez Carrión (1992; 1991) expresses the view that the focus of language historiography should be the language rather than the state, suggesting that state borders should be ignored in historical research on languages; developing an unusual argument he proposes a number of analytical parameters.

1.7.3. Archaeology

Some archaeologists have used the contributions made by historical linguistics in relation with distant historical periods. On a number of occasions there has been a sort of cooperation between linguistics and archaeology. When writing the social history of languages, those mutual contributions can be of interest. In this field the subjects which have drawn most attention are the geographical extension and geographical movement of languages (Renfrew 1987; Blench 2004; Blench & Spriggs 1997, 1998, 1999a and 1999b). In that research, in addition to archaeology and linguistics, genetics has also been of great use in recent years (Blench 2004: 65-66). According to Blench, linguists find it easier to formulate hypotheses than archaeologists do. Archaeology, meanwhile, can be used to validate these hypotheses (Blench 2004: 55-56). A recent example of cooperation between the two fields can be found in the Basque Country (2014-04-20): Archaeologists have found remains of a fortress from 2500 years ago at Gaztelu, near Tolosa. The archaeologists' starting point for searching for the fortress was the place name, Gaztelu (castle). According to Shnirelman (1997: 160-161), the objectives of linguistic archaeology are the following and, clearly, this information can be very helpful in historical sociology of language:

⁸⁹ That is the most recent work, but it is short. More in-depth work has been carried out: see, for instance, *Geografía histórica de la Lengua Vasca (siglos XVI al XIX)* (1960) and articles written by Mitxelena on the topic in the edition by J. A. Lakarra and I. Ruiz Arzalluz of Mitxelena's "Obras completas", vol. 5: *Historia y geografía de la lengua vasca* (2010). On the province of Gipuzkoa, see Valle Lersundi (1926).

- 1 to localize a homeland of a given linguistic entity in time and space;
- 2 to describe various cultural aspects as fully as possible (including technologies, social and political structure, warfare, ideology etc.);
- 3 to study external cultural relations (which helps to localize adjacent linguistic entities);
- 4 to discuss the problem of such entities' disintegration (cause and effect, time and space, migration routes, etc.).

In general, archaeologists find language evolution interesting because it provides information about social transformation. As Ross (1998: 145) explains: "The term 'linguistic event' as used here refers to a change in the language itself. This may be a sound change (a change in the way the language is pronounced), a lexical change (for example, the borrowing of a word from another language), or any one of a number of different kinds of systemic changes. Linguistic events quite often reflect changes in the life of the speech community, changes which are therefore inferrable from linguistic events. I refer to these changes as 'speech community events', or 'community events' for short. It is these changes which can be related to archeological events".

1.7.4. Discourse analysis

Cotelli (2009: 11-15) has provided a list of precursors in historical sociolinguistics with regard to Romance languages. Amongst the most interesting publications, she mentions several sociological ones on the French revolution (Balibar & Laporte 1974, Schlieben-Lange 1996) and, in particular, contributions from discourse analysis, where there is a whole corpus of great interest for the social history of languages. Branca-Rosoff (2007: 174) draws the following conclusions in connection with French: "The contrast between oral and written sources has long been the basis for distinguishing between sociolinguistics and French discourse analysis. This distinction vanishes when one is examining ancient material and hence the way in which peoples acquired writing is treated by taking into account the language's social dimension and by making more and more room for the genres and for reflection on the discursive construction of social roles". The English school, as well as the French one, can also be considered close to the social history of language. Take, for example, the *Discourse-Historical Approach*. One of its founders, Ruth Wodak, has a direct link with sociolinguistics. Wodak (2000: 7) explains the objective of *DHA*: "In investigating historical, organizational and political topics and texts, the discourse-historical approach attempts to integrate much available knowledge about the historical sources and the background of the

social and political fields in which discursive “events” are embedded. Further, it analyzes the historical dimension of discursive actions by exploring the ways in which particular genres of discourse are subject to diachronic change (Wodak et al., 1990; Wodak et al., 1994; Wodak 1996). Lastly, and most importantly, this is not only viewed as “information”: at this point we integrate social theories to be able to explain the so-called context”. The *DHA* researchers have created their own methodology in order to carry out their work properly. These are the *DHA* research field’s main foundations (Wodak 2000: 8), comparable, to some extent, with the SHB project and partly applicable to it:

- 1) The approach is interdisciplinary.⁹⁰
- 2) Interdisciplinarity is located on several levels: in theory, in the work itself, in the research teams, and in practice, applying results.
- 3) The approach is problem-oriented, not focused on specific linguistic items.
- 4) The theory as well as the methodology is eclectic; i.e., theories and methods which are adequate in understanding and explaining the object under investigation are integrated (...).
- 5) The study always incorporates fieldwork and ethnography to explore the object under investigation (study from the inside) as a precondition for any further analysis and theorizing. Large data corpora are gathered (...).
- 6) The approach is abductive: a constant back and forth between theory and empirical data is necessary.
- 7) Multiple genres and multiple public spaces are studied and intertextual and interdiscursive relationships are investigated. Recontextualization is the most important process in connecting social practices and their representation in these genres as well as topics and arguments (topoi).
- 8) The historical context is always analyzed, theorized and integrated into the interpretation of discourses and texts.

⁹⁰ Intxausti (2007: 244) has underlined SHB’s interdisciplinary nature: “There are clearly border areas between the different language sciences but, in fact, hardly any real hard borders, and we all have to work together as part of a respectful interdisciplinary approach”.

- 9) The categories and tools for the analysis are defined according to all these steps and procedures as well as to the specific problem under investigation (...).
- 10) Our Research is conducted on four levels of theorizing, from a micro level to a more global level; not in a uni-directional way, but in a dialectic manner.
- 11) Practical application of the results is aimed at.

1.7.5. Further considerations

In this chapter we have tried to present the main lines of work in international historical sociolinguistics. In addition to the schools we have presented, there are other authors who have made valuable contributions to the field. To take the case of Romance languages, these authors include Kristol (2005, 2007) and Lüdi (1986, 1995, 2006, etc.), including, for example, a text on Roman multilingualism: “Éléments pour une histoire du plurilinguisme. Polyglossie et pratiques plurilingues chez les Romains” (1995). Anipa (2012) is another such author of interest: in his latest publication, he bases his work on Fishman’s theories as well as using Garvin and Mathiot’s (Garvin & Mathiot 1953) and Haugen’s (Haugen 1966) macrolinguistic point of view, to construct an innovative perspective on language standardisation.⁹¹ He examines centripetal and centrifugal forces in the Iberian Peninsula, in an attempt to offer a neutral scientific perspective on the topic. There are also interesting contributions which address other facets of historical sociolinguistics. For language planning, for instance, see Valle’s *Glottopolitical history* (2013). José del Valle has gathered several articles about Spanish political history in that collection. Some of them are more linguacentric and others, in contrast, are more oriented towards politics. Clearly, part of the social history of languages could be the political history of languages. Valle (2013: 14) defends the value of historical glottopolitics or, more precisely, glottopolitical history. He believes (Valle 2013: 15) that the objective of that line of research is the study of meta-language: “The glottopolitical history project that we are presenting in this volume places metalanguage at the center of its pursuit and, in so doing, recognizes its debt to recent efforts to theoretically construct a “meta zone” where the dialectical relation between language and context is built and from which language studies can develop in productive new directions”. He presents Jaworski, Coupland and Galasiński’s 2004 book on language ideologies as the source of his methodology. With regard to Spanish, Valle (2013: 18) summarises his ob-

⁹¹ The creation, spread and evolution of the standard language has been a common research topic in historical sociolinguistics. See, for instance, Hüning, Vogl and Moliner (2012).

jectives as follows: “(...) in this project, Spanish is approached as a discursively constructed political artifact that, as such, contains traces of the society in which it is produced and of the discursive traditions that are involved – and often even invoked – in its creation. However, it is not only for its representational value that we look at it as an artifact, but for its performative function in the field in which it is produced”.

There would be no point in trying to quote all the specialised work of interest to historical sociolinguistics. However, we have tried to define some of the main schools in order to present the best-known branches of historical sociolinguistics. In any case, there are many authors who are not specialised in historical sociolinguistics who have made one-off contributions to the field. We have mentioned some of them in this book (in the international bibliography: see, for instance, Baldinger 1971, etc.). As historical sociolinguistics is multidisciplinary, these authors come from different disciplines. From history, for example, one can cite Chartier.

In this chapter we only mention works that have a direct link with historical sociolinguistics, but other publications must also be added, such as those which have been useful to us in terms of reflecting on theoretical issues in spite of not having a direct connection with historical sociolinguistics. In fact, when we developed our taxonomy for historical sociolinguistics, many theoretical concepts were found in general research on synchronic sociolinguistics, sociology of language, history, sociology and so on. Of course, we would have to draw up a long list if we were to include all the theoretical-methodological work which has come from sociology, history, etc. For example, on a general level, Bourdieu, Morin and Febvre or Genet’s 2012 “Langue et Histoire” and so on. On a more specific level, Fishman’s works on sociology of language and RLS, Labov’s on sociolinguistics.

1.8. The social history of Basque: SHB in the international context

As we have seen, there are many ways of doing historical sociolinguistics and some approaches are very different from others. Having different objectives, the theoretical and methodological bases used are also different, to a large extent, in spite of occasionally complementing each other in some specific cases. In this section, we are going to place the SHB project in that international epistemological context.

First, we must mention a fundamental point: SHB’s perspective is not exclusionary: an attempt has been made to include all perspectives. Nevertheless, it must be said that at the same time SHB is noticeably closer to the sociology

of language than to variationism.⁹² As SHB gives substantial space to defining context, it is also close to social history and, finally, as it offers a whole line of research to language it also takes external language history and variationist sociolinguistics into account. SHB has used the contributions of various branches of historical and synchronic sociolinguistics to establish its own model, not only in respect of its goals but also in terms of the methodology used. Contributions from the sociology of language have often been used as, to a lesser extent, those of variationism. Occasional contributions from other branches have also been used, as will be seen in detail in the following chapters.

SHB's methodology has tried to make use of these scientific bases but this methodology, taken as a whole, is completely new. SHB has considered the creation of its own methodology to be indispensable. As we have seen in this chapter, there is no generally accepted methodology for research in historical sociolinguistics, except in historical variationism. Usually, each author adapts and uses theoretical-methodological bases appropriate for their own partial objective. SHB's objective goes beyond that, as it aims to reflect and present its methodology in the most complete way possible. For the moment, this book is a first step: we are well aware that any model, however sophisticated, must be completed and adapted over time.

The model which will be presented in the following chapters is not completely universal. We have taken our starting point from international experiences and research in order to create a general methodology, but the resultant construct is particularly adapted to Basque: researching the social history of Basque is the main objective. We are really convinced, though, that this model is valid for researching many other historical contexts involving language contact situations, once the necessary adaptations have been carried out.

The project's objective being to clarify the social history of Basque, two main tasks were contemplated from the beginning. On the one hand, creating a database on the lines of the giant databases which have been becoming common internationally in recent years, with the aim of appropriately classifying data which may be of use in clarifying the social history of Basque. Secondly, putting forward a

⁹² Of course, the object to be described is not change in the language's internal configuration but, rather, the nature, evolution and, if possible, reasons for the evolution of the sociolinguistic situation. By sociolinguistic situation, we mean the explanation of parameters which the sociology of language habitually examines: language use, language competence, opinions/attitudes, planning, etc. See chapters 2-9 in this book.

grille de lecture in order to use and examine that data, in order to ensure a homogeneous perspective in the monographs to be published within its framework.⁹³

1.8.1. SHB: the database

More and more giant databases are being set up and used in linguistics. The latest technological innovations have strengthened this tendency considerably. These databases have brought enormous advantages to the fields of linguistics and historical sociolinguistics: they guarantee reliability and offer new ways of carrying out research. Conde (2007: 47) has underlined the importance of the contribution of these databases (see here 1.2.3.).

These databases also provide the opportunity to work with all the texts available for a given period. Thanks to this, new research parameters can be taken into account.⁹⁴ However, the contribution of these databases to historical sociolinguistics is limited because they do not make the external variables affecting language use and behaviour explicit in a wholly reliable way (Conde 2007: 51).

There is, however, a substantial difference between the database SHB has set up in comparison with databases deriving from linguistics. In addition to collecting texts, SHB also collects and classifies pertinent sociolinguistic information in particular passages (“quotations” in our technollect). The SHB database has been designed specifically and directly for the analysis of the social history of language.⁹⁵ The aim, therefore, is to classify all the sociolinguistic information about a particular period in the database using a taxonomy that includes the diffe-

⁹³ We are aware that care must be taken with such matters. It is not our objective to condition researchers' points of view but, rather, to help make ways of examining the object of study (*angle d'approche de l'objet de recherche*) compatible with each other. Each researcher will always draw the conclusions which he/she thinks appropriate, but will approach the data from the perspective of the social history of languages.

⁹⁴ See Conde (2007: 48) for the example about the English *corpus* created in Helsinki: “One of the first efforts to compile an appropriate corpus for historical linguistic research was carried out by a group of linguists at the University of Helsinki which, during the 1980s, under the direction of Matti Rissanen and Ossi Ihalainen, collected texts from all periods of the history of the English language (from the 8th to the 18th century), to a total of 1,572,800 words. This material can be analysed using IT according to various factors, from the dialect in which each text is written to the discursive genre it belongs to, including specific information on the age, gender and social status of the authors or their relationships with their recipients, whenever those parameters are known”.

⁹⁵ The basic database design is complete whereas the information stored on it is still limited, but in accordance with the project work-plan, the data will be continually added to as the years go by. There are particular difficulties in terms of classifying information (the meaning of the texts): normally, more time is required to interpret the information and to classify it according to the parameters of SHB's methodological model than for merely keying in the texts. Further, the socio-historical context of each piece of information must be recorded (the model contains specific parameter sets to this end). The people carrying out those mark-up tasks need specific training in historical sociolinguistics.

rent parameters raised by the sociology of language. In order to establish categories, as we will see in the following chapters, we have tried to take into account the most important variables and parameters commonly used in the sociology of language and sociolinguistics. Thanks to this, the SHB database is a fairly structured collection of information in conceptual terms: on the one hand, the aim is to guarantee the reliability of the data due to its abundance; on the other, a *grille de lecture* is provided in order to facilitate sociolinguistic analysis and, to an extent, to permit the systematic correlation of external variables and sociolinguistic events. Thanks to this, and to the quotations collected, the SHB database will be of use in a number of fields, primarily in the sociolinguistic history of languages, but also for historians, linguists, geographers, for people working in the sociology of language and, in particular, in language planning, sociologists, anthropologists, social psychologists, text book writers and so on.

1.8.2. SHB: Taxonomy proposal for the Social History of Basque and minority languages

The aim is to collect and organize information in the SHB database on the sociolinguistic situation of Basque in particular epochs, periods or moments. SHB has developed a methodological model for organizing information, a *grille de lecture*, which in fact constitutes a taxonomy for historical sociolinguistics, specially from the point of view of the sociology of language. No such tool was previously available. When putting together the *Histoire Sociale des Langues de France* collection, for instance, this same shortcoming was encountered. There was a need for a template to define the book: temporal and spatial limits had to be designated, topics of research delineated (treatment of other languages in the area where the language is spoken, emigration and immigration – see Kremnitz 2004–) and a methodological framework developed. But there were no frameworks available worldwide for the sociolinguistic history of languages. In the proceedings of the conference held by the authors in Paris to prepare the publication one can detect two types of concern: the authors point to the need to determine the object of the research with precision and, they stressed that even if that were done, the research methodology was lacking.

In order to create that methodology, we have examined methodological findings since the foundation of sociolinguistics or, more exactly, sociology of language, and the tools it has developed, and its main theoretical concepts and, bearing our task in mind, we have tried to put together a wide-ranging, flexible and detailed methodology. SHB's objective has been to put forward a methodological framework for the Basque case. As we will see later on, the construct is flexible and, at the same time, precise. It is flexible enough to be applicable to other lan-

guages after making some adjustments. It is also precise in the sense that it fully reflects the methodological contributions of the sociology of language in order to facilitate systematic description of the social history of languages.

So we did not start from scratch when creating this taxonomy or *grille de lecture*. Even though sociology of language is a fairly new discipline, a number of its main authors have defined solid theoretical bases and concepts that we have tried to put together in our model. In addition, there has also been in-depth work in the historical sociolinguistics field, as has been seen in this chapter. It would have been a serious mistake to have gone ahead as if there were no precedents. They have learnt that lesson thoroughly in the natural sciences: when an unknown species is found, a new classification is not created; firstly, already existing categories are used and, if the species does not fit the model, the latter is modified and improved. So SHB's model is a taxonomic proposal for the social history of languages (in this case, that of Basque): a structured listing of all the most important sociolinguistic concepts that leads to a taxonomy in which new findings in information and sociolinguistic theory can be accumulated in a scientific way. Starting from the extensive heritage of concepts and terms, we have tried to draw up an appropriate methodological framework for our task.

We have created a model for Basque in Basque. We will have to continue to keep in touch with other researchers in the field of historical sociolinguistics, however, in order to exchange ideas and improve the model itself, this book in English is another step down this path.⁹⁶ As Willemys and Vandebussche (2006: 158) have already mentioned, communication between researchers has been promoted less than it should be in our field: "As such, even as of today, European historical sociolinguistics still overwhelmingly tends to concentrate on one language at a time. Certain scholars, however, have repeatedly claimed that >true< historical sociolinguistics needs intense international and cross-linguistic collaboration." Further on, Willemys and Vandebussche state (2006: 159): "Also, although there is an extensive and very successful historical-sociolinguistic tradition in German linguistics, its findings are hardly ever mentioned in English language sociolinguistics, mainly because there [sic] are always published exclusively in German. One practical example: between 1987 and 2004 there have been seven conferences on "Historische Soziolinguistik des Deutschen" (Historical Sociolinguistics of German) in Rostock".

⁹⁶ Several international experts (B. Jernudd, B. Spolsky and C. H. Williams) took part in the first seminar organized by SHB.

2. SOCIO-HISTORICAL SETTING

The first question in dealing with the sources of information and different quotes of interest to historical sociology of language is to determine the socio-historical setting of the information. This is a basic requirement with regard to defining a taxonomy useful for the social history of languages. SHB makes use of sociolinguistic information from different periods of time in its database. In order for SHB to be scientifically robust, this data must be as trustworthy as possible. For the material in the database to be properly organized, information in a specific quotation which is of interest to SHB has to be marked up in a number of different ways, including:

- 1) bibliographical information about its source;
- 2) the socio-historical setting of the quotation;
- 3) its sociolinguistic features, according to the historical sociolinguistics taxonomy we have created;
- 4) the degree of reliability of the quotation.⁹⁷

We will discuss only the last three of these points in this publication as we believe that the system which SHB (Zalbide, M.; Joly, L.; Gardner, N. 2015: 173-181) has developed to provide bibliographical information about sources does not offer any added value for international research.

In this chapter, we will explain how we present and mark up socio-historical settings: how we mark up geographical, historical, social settings and so on.

⁹⁷ In order for the information in the database to be properly classified and to be able to facilitate access to it, each piece of text containing sociolinguistic information must be linked with several other pieces of information. Each such piece of additional information, drawn from a standardised collection of “labels” and related to a specific quotation, is a “mark”, and giving such marks is what we call “marking up”.

Clearly, defining the socio-historical context is fundamental when researching historical sociolinguistics. SHB groups the labels used for those functions under the superordinate term *location*.⁹⁸

When did it happen? and where did it happen? are the most common initial questions to define socio-historical context.⁹⁹ However, the geographical or historical setting of a social or language event is not something purely objective: the systems which we use to describe place and time are social, socially created in particular social matrices. To the extent to which we accept that society itself has created the systems we use for defining place and time, it is more appropriate for us to talk of social time and social space. For further information about this concept in the sociolinguistics field, see Bock 1968: 215-217; Zentner has carried out a similar analysis in the social sciences (Zentner 1966), examining physical time, physical space, social time and social space;¹⁰⁰ Guy (2009), too, has analysed anthropology and physics, with regard to the social nature of space-time. Clearly, in addition to physical space and time, social space and time must also be taken into account.

Bearing the above in mind, a wide-ranging series of questions about time and space opens up before us. In the first case, as well as establishing historical coordinates of specific events according to a given calendar, historians usually divide

⁹⁸ This book is organized according to the entries (in other words, the labels) in the database and to the sociolinguistic taxonomy we have created. We manage the database information by applying the labels we have created. Thus, in this book a concept is not described and subsequently given a name, but the other way around. In other words, after a period of theoretical-methodological reflection we created our taxonomy, specifying the necessary labels. Our explanations follow the order of our taxonomy: firstly, we mention the name of the label, and then we provide the explanation. There is a list of all the labels used in this book in the appendix.

⁹⁹ We discuss the question What happened? (what sociolinguistic occurrence, linked to Fishman's "who speaks what language to whom and when and to what end" (1972a: 3), but as we will see, our question goes beyond Fishman's definition) when describing sociolinguistic taxonomy in the next chapter and, in greater detail, in subsequent chapters.

¹⁰⁰ Zentner's analysis is of great interest for our work. As is clearly demonstrated in his 1966 article, treatment of time and space depends on societal development (Zentner 1966: 76-77): "(...) temporal-spatial phenomena are diversely apprehended and structured in human society at differing stages of sociocultural development. (...) Neither time nor space are objectively "there" in some psychologically given sense. On the contrary, these phenomena are socially invested with meaning and value according to the experiences of members of society. Zentner (1966: 65) links these changing views of place and time with technological advances: "With sociocultural development from less to greater technological competence, there have been correlated changes both in the social complexity of physical time-space norms and in the degree to which the physical exercised a determining effect upon the social". In this author's opinion, for humans who live by hunting, time is cyclical; for farmers, on the other hand, there is a view to the future. In his words (Zentner 1966: 70): "In hunting and gathering societies the close dependence upon physical and biological rhythms both in nature and in man himself appears to have given rise to a concept of time which emphasized the repetitive and the cyclical. (...) In agrarian societies, however, nature has largely been tamed and brought to heel with the consequent result of liberating men's minds from primary concern with the past and his abject dependence upon nature to a concern with the future and its dependence upon man and his ingenuity. The nature of the agrarian economy with its enhanced understanding and control over nature appears to have given rise to a conception of time in which planning and the coordination of economic activity had perforce to be projected into the future. (...) All this has had the effect of shifting the emphasis of men's time perspective from one in which the present is perceived in a manner which links it primarily to the past to one in which the present is linked ever more closely to the future".

history itself up into periods. In the second case, we have to decide which system we are going to use to name physical space: ‘natural’ space as determined by geographical features, one of the spatial systems created by organizations (the church, civil authorities etc.) or some other type of operational classification. Taking the social nature of coordinates into account, there is no need to limit questions of location to socially accepted systems. Neither is there any need to limit them to descriptions of physical and social space and time. Here, for instance, are some other questions we could ask: what is the strength of the societal phenomenon which we are registering? How widespread is it throughout society? How many people does it affect? Where can we place it socially (by age, gender, social stratification etc.)? If it occurred in a traditional society more rigidly structured than today’s, where exactly? Where is it in socio-functional terms? So there are many questions which can be asked about the location of any sociolinguistic event. All these questions have been structured in five main groups in our taxonomy as can be seen in table 8. Of these, the first label in the list, *When*, corresponds to social time; all the others, in contrast, are connected with social place or space.

Table 8: socio-historical location parameters

<i>Location: first-level labels</i>	Notes on content
When	Locational data defined by time. Locations can be known dates or a period. Basically, this parameter responds to the question: ‘Which period is discussed in the quotation?’, ‘Which period does the quotation give us sociolinguistic information?’
Type and quantity of speakers	Group of terms concerned with social attributes and the number of people affected by them. On the one hand, data formulated in terms of the most common sociological variables (age, gender, social stratification etc.) are included here; on the other, data which reflect the reach of the phenomenon (how many people, what proportion of the population etc.)
Geographical position	Data depending on physical and spatial location, according to different social positioning systems.
Ecological demarcation	Types of work cyclically connected with the seasons of particular natural surroundings (mostly ways of production and the associated ways of life). Mostly used for traditional ways of life: classification by people’s type of mobility.
Socio-functional position	The socio-cultural context connected with the event. In general (but not always), socio-functional distribution according to the main societal domains.

These five parameters, of course, are not the only possible ones: other classification systems have been formulated in the past. Sociolinguistics focused on the synchronic perspective, for instance, has often put forward a more interactive approach, paying particular attention to face-to-face encounters. Hymes (1968: 110), for instance, following Jakobson’s lead, defined seven parameters to describe speech events: “Every speech event involves 1. a Sender (Addresser); 2. a Receiver (Addressee); 3. a Message Form; 4. a Channel; 5. a Code; 6. a Topic;

7. Setting (Scene, Situation)”. The SHB model also tries to include this information as far as possible in other parts of the methodology.

In the following sections, SHB’s five main socio-historical parameters of location are discussed.

2.1. When

With regard to the historical location of quotations, in our model a number of variables are taken into account in connection with each document or individual quotation from it. The fields of our methodological proposal *when published*, *when published for the first time* and *when created* are linked to each document. In connection with quotations and, more precisely, with the event described by the quotation, we have created the label *period discussed*. There are two more precise terms under this: *period discussed: date of commencement* and *period discussed: date of termination*. It is worth analysing in greater detail the treatment of time because of the importance that time and the chronological aspects of language behaviour and related events have in the entire project.

Although there is a fairly unified date system for naming time in Western culture, the way to give form to social time was an important point of debate when establishing our methodological framework.¹⁰¹

¹⁰¹ How to treat time has been a source of discussion among historians, as is well known, although we will not examine those theoretical-methodological debates at length here. For further information, see Riot-Sarcey 2002, Rostenne 1994a, 1994b, Noiriel 2002 and Covo (ed) 1994. Riot-Sarcey describes Benveniste’s three types of time: physical time, chronicle time and linguistic time. On the need to make distinctions, Rostenne (1994a: 7) mentions: “the fairly common confusion of meaning between time and historicity, or the reduction of historicity to being a kind of time”. Braudel’s three types of time are also worth mentioning. We should also remember the words of Caron (2002: 199): “Object time must necessarily be distinguished by discipline: for each has constructed its own relationship with time and is even constructed in relation to time. Mathematicians’ or biologists’ time is not the time of historians. Given that, sharing the concept of time is difficult: is it not, in fact, the most formidable obstacle to communication between disciplines – being, as it is, the least perceptible? Even the disciplines closest to history – such as philosophy and sociology – do not see time as historians do, and vice versa. Historians, essentially, produce and make two uses of time: they may be called distance and discontinuity. For historians, time is firstly taking into account the distance which separates the historian himself – a subject living in a time which could be called current rather than present – from the time of the object. But historians must also take into account the fact that there are temporal discontinuities between figures in history”. In a recently published article, Guy (2009: 5) examines the concepts of time-space in anthropology and physics. He agrees partly with Caron: in his opinion, a specific way of examining and defining space and time must be created for each discipline: “neither space nor time pre-exist; neither is simply there to be discovered. Numerous disciplines of thought are capable of constructing them, each one using its own tools”. That statement leads to a clear paradox: “On the one hand, time is multiple in the same way that relationships between entities in the world are; on the other hand, however, we must choose a single ‘synchronised’ time as the basis for our communication” (Guy 2009: 3).

When we ask when a given piece of data occurring in a quotation happened that question can be interpreted in more than one way (as the vast majority come from written documents). That is why SHB has established four distinct times as shown in table 9:

Table 9: **different types of time**

Code	Concept	Which question is being answered?
<i>When1</i>	Year of publication	When was the document which we are considering, which we have in our hands, published on paper or (in the case of a digital copy) on the internet?
<i>When2</i>	Date of first publication	When was the document we are considering published for the first time?
<i>When3</i>	When written	When was the document we are considering written?
<i>When4</i>	Period discussed	Which period does the quotation from the document tell us about?

As no great explanations are needed in order to understand the first three cases (Zalvide, M., Joly, L., Gardner, N., 2015: 177-180), let us examine the way in which SHB has chosen to mark and define the historical period of the sociolinguistic information provided by the quotations (*When4*).

2.1.1. Characteristics of the documents which have to be dated

SHB examines a wide-ranging collection of documents, most of which are hand-written or printed texts. Table 10 shows how each document is treated.

Table 10: **treatment of *when4*, by document type**

Source of quotation to be dated	Examples	Question used to assign <i>When4</i>
Published text	Books (or chapters of books), magazines, articles, newspapers, Internet publications, printed documents in general (verse-sheets etc.).	Which period does the quotation tell us about?

Source of quotation to be dated	Examples	<i>Question used to assign When?</i>
Unpublished text	Collections of letters, archives, inscriptions and other manuscripts if not available in a book, other printed form or as an internet document. In general, all unpublished sources fit into this group.	Which period does the quotation tell us about?
Passage with surface and deep parts ¹⁰²	Texts containing this sort of embedded quotations or data can be published or unpublished.	Which period is discussed in the surface and deep parts of the piece of text?
Objects which are not written texts	Maps, images, recordings, photographs and so on.	Which period does the object tell us about?

2.1.2. Measurement patterns chosen by SHB

SHB has had to develop very different measurement patterns for social time depending on the sources of knowledge available and the area it wishes to shed light on at each moment. The following four categories have been differentiated due to this complexity: specific date, short period, long (historical or sociolinguistic) period and comparison between two periods. Each one is treated as follows:

- a) For a start, specific moments within a broader period can be taken into account. For instance, the language situation in the town of Donostia in 1761. Although there are exceptions, the unit used is generally the natural year.
- b) Periods of years, on the other hand, can be of very varied duration: they may be longer or shorter. So we can talk of the period of the French Revolution and the following ten to twenty years, thus specifying a period of relatively brief duration. Examples of such short periods have been included in the following paragraph.
- c) Longer periods of years are a different matter. For the moment, before putting all of our historical data on our computer application, it is too soon to work on specifying the longer periods which will be used to obtain final results. As a first approximation, in order to be able to mark up quotations which refer to long periods in some way, we have followed, to a large extent, the line taken by our organization's Azkue Library

¹⁰² In order to explain these two concepts, let us mention the most common case: one writer mentions another. The words of the first author make up the *surface part* of the quotation while the information provided by the latter constitutes the *deep part*.

(Euskaltzaindia 2006: 1194). Shorter periods have also been included in that scheme:

- Until 476: Pre-history and Roman period
- 476-1512: Middle Ages
 - 476-824: Age of Invasions
 - 824-1200: High Middle Ages
 - 1200-1512: Late Middle Ages
- 1512-1789: Modern Age
- 1789-1876: Charter-regime crisis
 - 1789-1815: Revolution and empire
 - 1815-1876: Carlist Wars
 - 1833-1839: First Carlist War
 - 1872-1876: Second Carlist War
- 1876-1979: Contemporary Age
 - 1876-1936: Age of Basque Economic Agreements
 - 1914-1918: First World War
 - 1931-1936: Spanish Second Republic
 - 1936-1979: Franco's Regime and the Spanish Transition
 - 1939-1945: Second World War

That is just one option. It is by no means the only one¹⁰³. Furthermore, a different periodization can be provided for each language or speech community. For

¹⁰³ In internal proposals for SHB, Joseba Intxausti has given us an example from bibliographical sources, something of a guiding path for what we will have to do at some stage. Specifically, Intxausti offers the categorization of the main periods to be found in Unesco's History of Mankind. Cultural and Scientific development (1977-1981). The book distinguishes five main periods with regard to languages' past:

- 1) 1200 BC - 500 BC
- 2) 500 BC - 0
- 3) Christian Period - 500 AD
- 4) Middle Ages (500-1300)
- 5) Modern Period (1300-1775)
- 6) From 1775 onwards this classification does not specify any periods.

For his part, Zuazo (1995) classified the external history of Basque as follows: 1) The long prehistory of Basque; 2) The 16th and 17th centuries; 3) The 18th and 19th centuries; 4) 1876-1936; 5) The post-war period. Ulibarri (2013: 89-118), when presenting the external history of Basque, establishes the following historical distribution: 1) The Roman period. Aquitanian or archaic Basque and linguistic contact; 2) Medieval Basque, Centuries of lights and shadows; 3) The Modern Era. Texts in Basque, 3.1) 15th century-1600. Archaic Basque, 3.2) 1600-1745. Old Classical Basque, 3.3) 1745-1887. Early Modern Basque, 3.4) 1887-1968. Late Modern Basque, 3.5) 1968-Today. The unified Basque language (*euskara batua*); 4) Basque dialectology; 5) Toponymy. Clearly, the distinctions which Ulibarri makes are linguacentric. Lastly, others writing on the Basque case have given other periodizations from a socio-cultural point of view. See, for instance, the categorization framework based on the criteria of Caro Baroja (1974a, 1974b, 1978). This framework aims to take into account several local sociocultural processes, and divides time up as follows:

- 1) Prehistory until year 0
- 2) 0-400
- 3) 400-900
- 4) 900-1500
- 5) 1500-1792
- 6) 1792-1876
- 7) 1876-1936
- 8) 1936-1980

Of course, there are also possibilities outside the Basque case. The historian Braudel, for instance, distinguishes three types of time in history: geographical time (long-term); social time (medium-term) and event time (short-term). The three types of time are clearly differentiated in the foreword to his doctoral thesis (Braudel 1995: 20-21): "This book is divided into three parts, each of which is in itself a general explanation.

The first part is devoted to a history whose passage is almost imperceptible, that of man in his relationship to the environment; a history in which all change is slow, a history of constant repetition, ever-recurring cycles. I could not neglect this almost timeless history, the story of man's contact with the inanimate; neither could I be satisfied with the traditional geographical introduction to history that often figures to little purpose at the beginning of so many books, with its descriptions of the mineral deposits, types of agriculture, and typical flora, briefly listed and never mentioned again, as if the flowers did not come back every spring, the flocks of sheep migrate every year, or the ships sail on a real sea that changes with the seasons.

On a different level from the first there can be distinguished another history, this time with slow but perceptible rhythms. [...] social history, the history of groups and groupings. How did these swelling currents affect Mediterranean life in general – this was the question I asked myself in the second part of the book, studying in turn economic systems, states, societies, civilizations, and finally, in order to convey more clearly my conception of history, attempting to show how all these deep-seated forces were at work in the complex arena of war. For war, as we know, is not an arena governed purely by individual responsibilities.

Lastly, the third part gives a hearing to traditional history - the history, one might say, not of man, but of individual men, what Paul Lacombe and François Simiand called 'l'histoire événementielle', that is the history of

instance, when writing the sociolinguistic history of Catalan, Vallverdú (1984) used the following historical periodization:

- The first years of independence (900-1137)
- Catalan-Aragonese Confederation: Peninsular era (1137-1276)
- The Mediterranean empire (1276-1410)
- The Golden Age of literature and political decline (1410-1516)
- The ‘personal’ union with Castile (1516-1714)
- From political and cultural oppression to economic development (1714-1854)
- The *Renaixença* and the struggle for national liberty (1854-1939)
- The Franco regime (1939-1975)
- The constitutional monarchy and the restoration of the *Generalitat* (1975 to the Present Day)

This is not the place to look for a “good” periodization. Whatever scheme is chosen, there will always be obstacles, among other reasons, because such long time periods can seldom be used to give precise descriptions of the social dimensions of languages. Shorter periods often have to be used, at least initially.

events: surface disturbances, crests of foam that the tides of history carry on their strong backs. A history of brief, rapid, nervous fluctuations, by definition ultra-sensitive; the least tremor sets all its antennae quivering. But as such, it is the most exciting of all, the richest in human interest, and also the most dangerous. We must learn to distrust this history with its still burning passions, as it was felt, described, and lived by contemporaries whose lives were as short and as short-sighted as ours. It has the dimensions of their anger, dreams, or illusions. [...]

The final effect, then, is to dissect history in various planes, or, to put it another way, to divide historical time into geographical time, social time, and individual time”.

Baggioni (1997), on the other hand, lists a number of ecolinguistic revolutions in the history of languages, and divides historical time up accordingly. Those revolutions are the most important moments, he believes, for explaining the creation and adaptation of languages and nations. They are, in a sense, landmarks or turning points. According to Baggioni, the first ecolinguistic revolution took place in Western Europe during the 15th and 16th centuries; the second, between 1800 and 1918; and the third is taking place right now.

In a lecture given in 1971 Aracil (1982) divides European sociolinguistic history into eight periods: 0) Carolingian Period (c. 800 – c. 1060); 1) Occitan Miracle (c. 1060 - c. 1250); 2) The Language Question, Act I (c. 1250 - c. 1450); 3) The Language Question, Act II (c. 1450 - c. 1625); 4) The Universal Language (c. 1625 - c. 1808); 5) On Germany (c. 1808 - c. 1868); 6) The Belle Époque (c. 1868 - c. 1918); 7) The Disparity (c. 1918 - c. 1953). It would take too long to give further details about Aracil’s periodization. It should be taken into account, in any case, that up until the fifth period Aracil describes the general sociolinguistic situation in Europe; thereafter he concentrates on the epistemological development of linguistics.

Lastly, on the subject of historical flux, it is worth reading “La dys-synchronie historique et l’incorporation de l’histoire” by Cros (2006: 2-3).

Nevertheless, when drawing final conclusions, for instance, they can be useful. To explain from when and until when *diglossia without bilingualism* existed in a particular Basque region, or from when on first *bilingualism with diglossia*, and, subsequently, *no bilingualism and no diglossia* occurred in a particular place, such a system of periodization can be useful.¹⁰⁴ However, we cannot know that in advance. In the meantime, we will use the system described below so as to be able to record the periods which appear in the quotations appropriately.

- d) At the same time, this large-scale division of time provides the means by which to compare two broad periods. For example, in the Basque case, Urkixo (1919) firstly, and Mitxelena (1985) later, have specifically compared two periods (the second and the seventh) taken from Caro Baroja's temporal framework. See, for instance, Urkixo's explanation (1919: 13ff.): "Basque, the only surviving pre-Romance language in our peninsula, is in a situation today which, while not identical, is reminiscent of the one it must have been in when the Romans invaded and came to dominate ancient Iberia". Comparisons of this sort are fairly general: a social history of the language should take them into account as broad evaluations, but they are unlikely to be very illuminating unless they are backed up by strong documental evidence.

In order to define when a sociolinguistic event happened, then, dates and date-intervals must be specified. Table 11 shows the formulas used by SHB:

Table 11: **date formats**

Formula choice	Meaning	Example ¹⁰⁵
[year]	In which year did the event occur?	1842
[year1] - [year2]	From which year to which year	1842-1844, 1842-4
≥ [year1]	At the earliest in that year	≥ 1842
≤ [year2]	At the latest in that year	≤ 1842
≈ [year]	Approximately in that year	≈ 1842
≈ [year1] - [year2]	Approximately in those years	≈ 1842-1844

¹⁰⁴ For more on the concepts in italics, see Fishman (ed) 1976: 286-299.

¹⁰⁵ For When4 time there is a further option: undated statement, applicable when we are unable to specify the period under discussion. This option is particularly useful for opinions: in general, it is not easy to specify the time-limits when a given opinion can be considered current.

Formula choice	Meaning	Example
[year1]-HH-EE	The day, month and year of the writing or publication of a newspaper, letter or archive document.	1842-11-17
Unspecified	We are not sure, but we use one period or another as a first approach	?1842-?1844 ?(1842-1844) ¹⁰⁶
Long ago	Far back in the past, without being exactly specified	Long ago
year [year]	Year of surface part [Year of deep part] ¹⁰⁷	1844 [1742]

2.2. Type and quantity of speakers

This second group of terms of location from our methodological model includes two quite different areas: some basic sociological variables (*social attributes*) are taken into account while the number of participants in the interaction is also reflected in one way or another (*proportion and number of speakers*). Both will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

2.2.1. Social attributes

Variables which are fairly common and useful in sociology, linked to the attributes of the speakers taking part in a speech act, have been included in this section: *age*, *gender* and *social stratification*, plus – as usual – a catch-all category named *other*. Let us examine them one by one.¹⁰⁸

The importance of age in changes in the social organization of speech behaviour everywhere is obvious (Eckert 1997; Barbieri 2008).¹⁰⁹ In synchronic analysis, for instance, the language behaviour of the young and the old of a particular period (in language use, acquisition, linguistic forms used, opinions, attitudes and

¹⁰⁶ In the first case, there are two dates (published in 1842 or in 1844) and, in the second, a period (published between 1842 and 1844).

¹⁰⁷ These two concepts (surface part and deep part) are only used with *When*.

¹⁰⁸ We include three main variables here, the most significant in the Basque socio-historical context, whereas some other authors specify more. Our choice is thus no more than one of a number of options. The list could be lengthened considerably. Afendras (1969: 4), for instance, includes the following: “social class, age, sex, occupation, religion, political affiliation, education and place of origin”. Some further variables which could also be added to Afendras’ list have been used in SHB’s methodology in the ecological demarcation section. Labov (2001: 145-322), for his part, mentions social class, gender, neighbourhood and ethnicity, with age as a transversal.

¹⁰⁹ See examples 11, 47, 48, 49, 69, 74, 101, 115, 124, 131. Those examples are in chapter 12. As a quotation can be linked to several sociolinguistic concepts and to improve the flow of the text we have put the examples in a single chapter to avoid repetition and to shorten the book.

conduct) can be quite different¹¹⁰. In the same way, from a diachronic perspective, types of comparison themselves can involve age (see below, for example, the explanation of cell 2A). We have created a label in order to reflect the influence which age has in all of these areas. That label, however, does not enable us to state exact ages. It only enables us to state that the variable of age features in the quotation. We have chosen a half-way compromise because, as elsewhere in our model, offering more detailed options would lead to too many complications.¹¹¹ So if, when a quotation is stored, the age label is marked, it means that the quotation includes mention of generational differences. For instance, if a quotation says that “old people in the town speak in Basque, but young people talk in Spanish”, the age label must be marked. Information about single-age groups must also be collected, of course: for instance, in a sentence such as “young people in the town speak in Basque”. These two cases are generalisations. In individual cases, too, when information about age is collected, the age label has to be marked in some cases. For instance, “the young person at the door told us in Basque to go in”. In such quotations, the age label must be marked.¹¹²

¹¹⁰ See, for instance, the results of research into the occurrence of Basque and other languages and into interactions between Basque and Spanish speakers: for example, Euskararen Jarraipena (Kultura Saila 2003; Kultura Saila et al. 1995, 1997, 2013); Euskal Herriko Kale Neurketak (several articles in the journal *Bat* soziolinguistika aldizkaria 1991, 3/4; 2002, 43; 2007, 64; 2012, 84); and the various sociolinguistic maps of the Basque country (for instance, Kultura Saila 2009).

¹¹¹ Readers may think that adding categories such as “child, young person, adult, old person” would not create many difficulties. That is partly true, but not wholly. The number of segments in the methodology of SHB which already have to be marked is quite large. A detailed grading of all the parameters would make the model unusable. In addition to this, in real texts information to be classed according to such a gradation is seldom to be found. An author may mention the age variable, but only superficially: in other words, without specifying a single one of the four categories. The problem which we have often had with historical relativism appears here too: age bands and reference groups have changed over time: today we can talk about a 28-year-old young; in the Middle Ages, however, it would have been very difficult to regard a 28-year-old as young.

¹¹² That was the decision taken at the time: to mark up both generalisations and specific information as well. However, care must be taken: that way everything (or nearly everything) may end up being marked up and, of course, if (almost) everything were marked up the marks themselves would cease to be useful for classifying and discriminating and, ultimately, become useless. Because of this, for characteristics such as age more discriminating gradations may have to be developed in the future; for instance, by taking different age groups into account. The need for that sort of additional discrimination will be decided on a case by case basis, depending on each research topic, in part because of the historical relativism described in the previous footnote.

The influence of gender in language matters is a well-known variable (Meyerhoff & Schleeff 2010: 461-531).¹¹³ Labov (2001: 261-293), for instance, has underlined the importance which it has (or may have) in language change, developing what he called the “gender paradox”.¹¹⁴ If there is any difference, who has a greater influence on intergenerational language transmission: the mother or the father? Who is more faithful to their parents’ way of speaking? Who is the first to learn a foreign or neighbouring language? Are there distinguishing features in terms of use? Has Basque ‘hitanoa’ (in addition to standard T verb forms, Basque can optionally include an allocutive T marker in other verb forms to indicate the gender of the person addressed even though that person does not participate in the verbal action as subject or direct or indirect object) been kept up more by men in recent decades, or do men and women use it in similar proportions? With regard to languages and their speakers, are opinions, attitudes and behaviour evenly spread by gender, or is there a noticeable difference? When we ask this question, we are not suggesting that behaviour by gender is always different. But for cases where there is a difference, we need a label for it and a sociolinguistic taxonomy should include such a variable.¹¹⁵ As with age, and for similar reasons, the gender mark does not allow further specification such as male or female; similarly, here too, individual cases as well as generalisations have to be taken into account.¹¹⁶

In addition to age and gender, social stratification is also an indispensable variable in a sociolinguistic taxonomy as it is one of the most important varia-

¹¹³ Normally in research one refers to sociological gender and not the biological sex variable. As Labov (2001: 263) has written “Everyone agrees that gender is a social factor – language is not differentiated by the biological aspects of sex differences”. For the debate about gender influence see, for instance: Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1999; Labov 1991, Trudgill 1972. For historical sociolinguistics, also see Conde Silvestre 2007, in particular 113-129 and 156-164, Santos Dominguez 1986: 286-287, Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 110-132, Fernandez 2011, Gowing 1993, Endo 2006 and, from the social history school, Scott 1987. In the Basque Country see, for instance, Hernández 2002. In the data collected in Bilbao in 1920 there is a noticeable difference in language behaviour between the genders (Aizpuru & Zarraga 2011: 131). That sort of difference has sometimes been related to educational level. However, this is not always the case: in Bilbao, while there was a difference in literacy rates between men (92.5%) and women (84%), the difference was relatively small (Aizpuru & Zarraga 2011: 132). For earlier periods, see also Madariaga 2014. Some of the examples to be found there are very similar to those which Gowing (1993) mentions for England.

¹¹⁴ When examining language change, Labov specifies a number of principles with regard to the gender variable:

- “For stable sociolinguistic variables, women show a lower rate of stigmatized variants and a higher rate of prestige variants than men.” (Labov 2001: 266);
- “In linguistic change from above, women adopt prestige forms at a higher rate than men” (Labov 2001: 274);
- “In linguistic change from below, women use higher frequencies of innovative forms than men do” (Labov 2001: 292).

Labov derives the gender paradox from those principles: “Women conform more closely than men to sociolinguistic norms that are overtly prescribed, but conform less than men when they are not” (Labov 2001: 293).

¹¹⁵ In the 17th century, for instance, there were more female monolingual Basque speakers than male (Madariaga 2014).

¹¹⁶ With regard to gender see examples 17, 33, 50, 99, 115.

bles (Nevala & Sairio 2017, Meyerhoff & Schlee 2010: 389-459).¹¹⁷ In historical sociolinguistics gender and social stratification are usually linked and can make a major contribution towards understanding the sociolinguistic situation. During the Middle Ages in England, for instance, literacy was inextricably linked to social position which was linked to gender “since women’s subordination by patriarchal hierarchy meant a serious barrier to their access to education and literacy” (Hernandez 2016: 112). The term social stratification was very deliberately chosen over the probably more widely-known and popularly used ‘social class’. There are at least two arguments in favour of this choice: for one thing, there are objective difficulties in defining social classes (Mallinson 2007); for another, SHB has to be able to account for all the stratification systems mentioned in the sources, and the term social stratification has a wider meaning than social class (Mallinson 2011, Labov 1966). In consequence, we chose an overarching term which can reflect all options. Sources sometimes differentiate language matters by the social class of participants without going into detail (“upper class”, “lower class”, “people of means” etc.). In other cases, these references are more precise, differentiating by income, job, other socio-professional categories or by level of formal education. For example, who was bilingual (in terms of face-to-face, spontaneous, everyday activity) in villages and hamlets that were largely monolingual Basque? Can they be differentiated using one of those categories? Where such distinctions have been made, this is the term normally used to classify this information in SHB’s methodological model. This variable is always important: because of that, social stratification (in many cases, social class) has been more or less the most exploited variable in sociolinguistics.¹¹⁸ Nevertheless, as in the previous two cases, the specific details of social stratification cannot be indicated in the model we have developed.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁷ See examples 10, 13, 14, 15, 16, 33, 62, 65, 69, 93, 115, 147. For examples of lack of stratification see 20, 26, 28.

¹¹⁸ For instance: Labov 1991 [1966]; Milroy & Milroy 1992; Bernstein & Henderson, 1972. In the case of historical sociolinguistics, see Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 133-156.

¹¹⁹ In spite of the differences and difficulties, social stratification has often been closely linked to speakers’ professions. Stratification based on profession has been highly variable, however, over time, which is why we cannot draw up an unambiguous table which would be valid for all periods. When studying the sociolinguistic situation in Bilbao in 1920, Aizpuru and Zarraga (2011: 129-130) mention the following jobs: artisans, manual workers/day labourers, housewives, farm workers, liberal professions, services/traders, maids, students, school children, seamstresses, pensioners and the elite.

The last option in this section is *other*. Although social stratification, gender and age are the most frequent and most important sociolinguistic variables, there are others which should also be taken into account. Unfortunately, most quotations do not give straightforward information about these variables and such information has to be inferred. These variables include: social network (Milroy & Milroy 1992, 2010; Milroy 2001), ethnic identity (Fishman (ed) 1978, Giles et al. 1977), religious identity (Santos Domínguez 1986, Conde 2007: 343-344, Samarin 1987, Spolsky & Cooper 1991, Fishman 1965b, Weinreich 1953), the geographical variable, profession (Labov 2009: 103-105, Holmqvist & Andersen 2001) etc.¹²⁰

In this book, we are attempting two things. On the one hand, to present a taxonomy useful for sociolinguistics which includes all the different parameters raised by sociolinguistic studies; this taxonomy should be as exhaustive as possible. On the other, we present the model used by our project, which has to be useful and adequate for the materials we are able to obtain¹²¹ and the sources that are available¹²²; this practical model is not as exhaustive as the global sociolinguistic taxonomy. For example, in the case of age, an exhaustive taxonomy should take into account different age groups, for gender, different genders would be specified, in the case of social class, different classes should be present, and the different variables mentioned in the last paragraph (social network, ethnic identity, religious identity and so on) should also be listed. For practical reasons, some of which are mentioned in this book, we cannot mark the quotations of our project so exhaustively, but we try to mention in the book all the variables that should be included in an exhaustive sociolinguistic taxonomy. In short, our model is a resume of a more global sociolinguistic taxonomy where most of the parameters are included and presented in this book even if they are not included in the model SHB is working with. Maybe this is the biggest difference between a taxonomy for synchronic sociolinguistics and a taxonomy for diachronic sociolinguistics: details in the parameters and subfields are much easier to determine and use in synchronic research than in diachronic research. This is true for most of the concepts presented in this book and the taxonomy presented at the end of the book is what is used in our project; a more exhaustive one can easily be created using

¹²⁰ On social networks see, in the case of historical sociolinguistics: Fitzmaurice 2000; Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2000a; Bergs 2005; Nevalainen 2006: 567-570. SHB takes several concepts linked with social networks into account in the ecological demarcation set of labels (the diaspora, for instance). For its part, the geographical variable has its own entry in the methodological model of SHB: see location/geographical position (2.3).

¹²¹ Marking a quotation is not as easy as it could appear: quotations are often more abstract, contextually embedded and the text can have more than one interpretation. The marking-workers should have a high degree of knowledge in sociolinguistics and a big capacity for abstraction.

¹²² We have seen once and again the problem of sources in the first chapter of this book.

this book: for instance, in the table above we can see the difference between our model and a possible synchronic model, more exhaustive, in the case of the social attributes parameter.

Table 12: example of the difference between an exhaustive sociolinguistic taxonomy and the model used by SHB

Labels used in SHB			Labels that can be added to a more exhaustive sociolinguistic taxonomy
First level label	Second level label	Third level label	Fourth level label
Type and quantity of speakers	Social attributes	Age	Children
			Young people
			Adults
			Old people
		Gender	Female
			Male
			Intersex
		Social stratification	Upper class
			Middle class
			Lower class
		Other	Social network ¹²³
			Ethnic identity
			Religious identity
Profession			
Other			

¹²³ More than fourth level labels, those parameters (social network, ethnic identity, religious identity and profession) can be included as third level labels and fourth level labels added for each of those parameters. In the case of profession, for instance, the division presented by Aizpuru and Zarraga (2011: 129-130) for Bilbao during the 1920's already mentioned: artisans, manual workers/day labourers, housewives, farm workers, liberal professions, services/traders, maids, students, school children, seamstresses, pensioners and the elite.

2.2.2. Proportion and number of speakers

The second branch of the type and quantity of speakers group of terms is connected with quantity. According to Fishman (1968), five cases can be distinguished in connection with the number of speakers. Sources mentioning the social organization of language behaviour, or behaviour related to languages or speakers of those languages fit into one of the following five categories: a) a single speaker (or writer); b) two speakers communicating with each other (by speech or in writing), in so-called dyadic encounters; c) a limited group of speakers from specific places (or groups of writers/readers); d) broad groups of speakers (or readers/writers); e) the whole speech-community.¹²⁴ SHB has decided to use a simpler set of categories, for convenience among other motives. Three main facets have been defined in what follows, as well as including the usual *other* category.

- What is the information given about a speech community’s absolute number of members (Fishman 1991: 45-55)?¹²⁵ How many speakers of a particular language are there, in a given place and at a given time? How many of them can write; how many know how to speak or write? This concept includes in summary form Fishman’s five categories cited above. Other scales can also be taken into account. As with the whole previous set of terms, in this case, too, greater precision is not allowed. However, this term suffices (as do the following three) to indicate that the number of people involved appears in the quotation; exact numbers can be taken, in fact, from the quotations themselves.
- What is the *Basque / non Basque-speaker proportion* in a given speech community?¹²⁶ In the universe under consideration, what percentage or part use one language, what use the other, and what use both? What percentage knows one language and what knows the other?
- In ordinary, daily life (at home, in the neighbourhood, with friends, in one’s habitual relationship networks), to what degree are speakers demographically concentrated (*Basque demographic concentration*)? To put it another way, in the geographical area under examination (in a region, a village, etc.), do the Basque speakers live scattered about, or

¹²⁴ In this sense, the following explanation by Fishman (1968: 5) may be useful: “Under ‘society’ one may be concerned with dyadic encounters, small group interaction, large group functioning, the articulation of social class and sectors, contacts and contrasts between entire nations, etc. Each of these social groupings may be examined with respect to heterogeneity of composition, permeability of group barriers, status-role patterns, contexts of interaction, norm restrictiveness and stability, etc.”.

¹²⁵ See examples 18, 29, 30, 42, 111.

¹²⁶ See examples 12, 42.

in separate groups, in their families, hamlets, villages or throughout the whole district? To what extent are the speakers of the minority language concentrated together, to what extent do they make up a compact speech community protected by a robust relationship network?¹²⁷ This information is important (Fishman 1991: 58, 67; Giles et al. 1977; Sánchez Carrión 1991: 397: ‘compacting of the speech community’).

- Lastly, as usual, the fourth term (*other*) can be used to mark any matter which may be of interest in answer to the question ‘how many?’ so that no fundamental information is lost due to the lack of more explicit terms.¹²⁸

2.2.3. Summary of terms

Table 13 provides a summary of the terms presented in this section:

Table 13: **structure of the term *type and quantity of speakers***

First level label	Second level label	Third level label
Type and quantity of speakers	Social attributes	Age
		Gender
		Social stratification
		Other
	Proportion and number of speakers	Absolute number of speakers
		Basque / non Basque-speaker proportion
		Basque demographic concentration
		Other

2.3. Geographical position

The determination of the geographical position where a speech event took place is a major issue in any sociolinguistic research and is an important field in our sociolinguistic taxonomy. When it comes to specifying place, as usual, the further back you go in time, the harder it is to determine where the event mentioned in the quotation took place, its specific “place of happening”, with

¹²⁷ To avoid falling into an anachronism it is important not to lose historical perspective: what is today a minority language may not have been so minor in the past; indeed, it may have been the main language.

¹²⁸ As the label *other* has the same role throughout this taxonomy, we will give no further details about it.

the present-day level of precision.¹²⁹ To deal with this, we offer two geographical positioning systems here (or, in the second case, a range of systems): one is *geo-linguistic position*, and the other is *administrative demarcation*. The first is more appropriate when data are not so exact and, above all, for the periods in which Basque speaking and non-Basque speaking areas could be clearly differentiated. In order to geographically position societal features of the present day and, in general, of recent centuries, the second set provides the opportunity to place events with great accuracy. If there is sufficient information, marking both of them is best.

2.3.1. Geo-linguistic position

One of the clearest examples of this particular positioning system, in the Basque case, is language maps: in other words, maps from different periods which show the boundaries between Basque and other languages (more precisely, the areas in which Basque is spoken). These maps split the Basque Country and the surrounding areas into two types of areas: *Basque speaking areas* and *non-Basque-speaking areas*.¹³⁰ At one time, the boundaries between the two were very precisely staked out in many regions. Over the last 250 years, however, they have become blurred. Be that as it may, in spite of the difficulties, these are the two main terms in this system.

2.3.2. Administrative demarcation

This second set of systems is more complex but it is also the most appropriate one to use in more modern circumstances. While at one time it was possible to draw clear border lines between languages (in other words, a language -quite often, only that language- was dominant in everyday life), this is no longer the case. Administrative classifications – amongst other things because they provide many other types of information – have advantages which cannot be ignored, alongside certain disadvantages. As well as providing the chance to specify broad districts,

¹²⁹ It seems that in the case of Basque, issues relating to geographical boundaries in the past have been a particular source of inspiration. In addition to Irigaray's very valuable work (Irigaray 1935, 1974), there is excellent work on Navarre (Yoldi 1996; Jimeno Jurío 1997, 1998; Urmeneta 1996; Erize 1997; Sainz 2000; Jimeno Aranguren 2000), without overlooking the enormous effort put into mapping place names. For the province of Araba, to start with, one can consult Knörr & Zuazo (1998) and Zuazo (2012). Orpustan, Goihenetxe and Oyharçabal's work, amongst others, are also valuable steps forward with regard to the northern (French) Basque Country.

¹³⁰ For *Basque speaking areas* see examples 8, 45, 46. For *non-Basque speaking areas* see example 27.

these modern hierarchical criteria for territorial division make it possible to establish much more precise distinctions.

Within this group of administrative demarcations, three sets of options are provided, in our opinion the most relevant to the Basque case. These three options are different in terms of data-strength, usefulness and degree of precision. They have to be given names and these are the ones we have chosen: *civil demarcation*, *religious demarcation* and *other* to encompass other possible systems. By far the most important of them, from a long-term perspective, is *civil demarcation*. *Religious demarcation*, too, has been important, particularly up until the 20th century. In many areas, the diocesan system has been extremely important over the centuries, for example, in its influence on surnames (and the wealth of sociolinguistic conclusions which can be drawn from them). In the last option, *other*, three cases are differentiated: the first, *Judicial demarcation*, in general, is more specialised and, nowadays, is of less use. In the second, *other demarcation*, we consider different societal institutions that have organized territories in different ways, of course, but, at first glance, they do not seem so important for positioning sociolinguistic events: they include, for instance, territorial organization in wartime, that of private companies or the organizational models different public bodies create in order to fulfil their various purposes (river basins for water management, territorial divisions for land management, policing, health services and education etc.). The last option, *unlocated statement*, is included for general statements or for cases in which no place is specified.

2.3.2.1. Civil demarcation

SHB uses an adapted model of today's administrative territorial structure in order to give sociolinguistic events their correct geographical positions when marking quotations. We have taken the social nature of place naming and the project's historical side into account when drawing up this adapted list. Beyond pointing out the difficulties which arise from a socially created system where both names and the territories they refer to change with surprising frequency in history, we are not going to offer any more details about it here: we have already explained the possibilities which this system offers and its inevitable limitations in another publication (Zalbide, M., Joly, L., Gardner, N., 2015: 193-203).

2.3.2.2. Religious demarcation

As with many other societal institutions, the church has developed its own territorial organization; as a result, many levels of religious authority (parish, diocese, deanery etc.) have held power in Basque speaking areas. The system

developed by the church, in general, has problems similar to those faced by modern administrations: this long-lasting institution has changed the boundaries of its territorial units time and again; the very names have also been changed on occasion. So although there have only been three or four dioceses at the same time, there have been 18 different bishoprics altogether, each with its territory and some type of authority in the seven Basque provinces (Goñi 2004). In addition to this, many of those bishoprics have also held authority over areas outside those seven provinces. Furthermore, in addition to the church's main territorial organization system, religious orders and congregations have also had their own provinces, convent districts and so on. These, too, have changed in varying measure over time.¹³¹

Because of the importance the church has had in the Basque world, its boundary systems must be taken into account.¹³² Nor should it be forgotten that for many centuries the church had a role in delivering justice and administration in addition to its present-day religious function. In this respect, we come across a problem central to this entire sociolinguistic taxonomy: to what extent must we specify and develop this classification, to what extent summarise it? When positioning events – and to the extent to which we have taken the current administrative structure to be the main system – it is clear that we have to give ecclesiastical administration a lesser role. Within that institution, however, the organization of the dioceses has been particularly influential. Because of that, we have deliberately included the names given to the eighteen dioceses which have existed in the seven Basque provinces at different periods. In addition, we have also added the term *district of religious order*, so as to be able to mark up quotations reflecting the positioning systems of religious orders appropriately.

¹³¹ See, for instance, Jimeno Aranguren 2006.

¹³² When it comes to understanding local history and sociolinguistic evolution, religion has been an important variable throughout Europe, not just in the Basque Country. As Aracil (1983: 35) clearly states, for a long time the church was the only strong, long-lasting institution with a mandate over a broad area. So it was a major force conditioning sociolinguistic reality at the time: "The initial scheme was very clear. National vernaculars were used in ordinary life at a more or less local level. And, for centuries, Latin has fulfilled an absolutely vital integrative function at the level of supra-local communication – at a time, that is, when the church was the only robust and efficient supra-local institution".

2.3.2.3. Other

This last term (*other*) is a superordinate term for three further terms. As usual, it has been added so as to be able to include other minor systems. In this case, it includes *judicial demarcation*, *other demarcation* and *unlocated statement*.

Judicial demarcation positioning system: this system, too, is of civil origin (quotations mentioning the church's justice system are marked using labels from Religious demarcation). No subordinate terms have yet been defined.

The term *other demarcation*, as elsewhere in this Thesaurus, has been added in a catch-all fashion to include options not explicitly mentioned elsewhere. It serves in particular to reflect the positioning systems of other societal institutions.

Finally, the *unlocated statement* label has a special function: marking quotations which cannot easily be linked to a specific place. As with the term *undated statement*, this term is particularly useful in dimension E when examining the opinions of individuals or whole groups. In itself, it does not provide significant information: however, as a place must always be marked, this option has been added in order to help with mark-up work. It must be taken into account that an *unlocated statement* is made in a specific place or by a specific person (that person being from a specific place). If a quotation goes undated, where its content was expressed and by whom should also be marked, if the information is available.

2.3.3. Summary of terms

Table 14 provides a summary of the terms which have been presented here.

Table 14: structure of *geographical position*

First level label	Second level label	Third level label	Fourth level label	
Geographical position	Geo-linguistic position	Basque speaking area		
		Non-Basque speaking area		
		Other		
	Administrative demarcation	Civil demarcation		<i>Place code</i> ¹³³
			Religious demarcation	General, undetermined
		Akize diocese		
		Armentia diocese		
		Auch diocese		
		Bayonne diocese		
		Bilbao diocese		
		Burgos diocese		
		Calahorra diocese		
		Donostia diocese		
		Gasteiz diocese		
		Pamplona diocese		
		Naiara diocese		
		Oka diocese		
		Oloroe diocese		
		Santander diocese		
		Tarazona diocese		
		Tutera diocese		
		Valpueda diocese		
		Zaragoza diocese		
		District of religious order		
		Other		
		Other	Judicial demarcation	
			Other demarcation	
Unlocated statement				

¹³³ The Thesaurus of SHB's IT application must be consulted in order to find specific place codes. The complete list, over 4,000 codes organized in hierarchical fashion, is too long and too Basque-studies specific to be given here.

2.4. Ecological demarcation

What we have called the *ecological demarcation* can be taken as an intermediate term-set: these terms have a geographical side to them, but their contents are by no means exclusively geographical; nor are they connected with established places: they refer, above all, to traditional life-styles, habitual ways of life. So they are principally concepts to be applied to traditional society, although there are some surviving modern equivalents. They do not fit into *geographical position*, nor into *socio-functional position*. The concepts under this heading are divided into four main groups (plus the usual catch-all *other* term). As we will see, these variables are also common in international sociolinguistic research and that is why we include them in our taxonomy proposal.

The first two terms (*sedentary life-style* and *mobile life-style*) constitute a subset in their own right. The speakers who take part in the events we are trying to classify can have one of two types of lifestyle: living lifelong in the same place with no major breaks; they can spend a large part of their lives away from their place of origin without returning as in the case of diaspora; or moving away from (and returning to) their usual place of residence for various reasons and in a fairly cyclical manner. In short, the differentiating criteria between the two are: a) how long they spend away from their place of origin: hardly any time, longer or shorter periods (during each yearly cycle) or (almost) forever; b) whether that move away is cyclical or random.

2.4.1. Sedentary life-style

Two main set of situations that are relevant for HSL (Historical Sociology of Language) can be linked to sedentary life-style. On the one hand, sedentary life-style can be without noticeable migration movement, it is probably the most common; on the other hand, it can be linked with a migratory movement. In this last case, immigration movements and emigration / diaspora movements are long term migrations. We included the following concepts in our taxonomy in order to take these differences into account:

2.4.1.1. *Sedentary life-style without noticeable migratory movement*

In the traditional way of life, most people did not move far from their place of origin. They might at most move from their birthplace to the nearest central place or to one of the surrounding villages, primarily for work, getting married or attending festivities. Until fifty years ago in the Basque country (perhaps, in the case of men, with the sole exception of military service since it came into existence) it

was not at all unusual to find people who had never gone 30, 50 or 100 km from their place of birth in their entire life: they had what we are calling a *sedentary life-style without noticeable migratory movement*. The use of this concept means that the people involved in the linguistic interaction that we are analysing are sedentary and are not linked to any migratory movement; it does not mean that there is no migratory movement in the society they are living in.

2.4.1.2. *Sedentary life-style with migratory movement*

In some cases, which are usually of particular interest for SHL, sedentary life-style can be linked to or can be the result of a migratory movement. Two migration types are to be taken into account: emigration/diaspora and immigration. As in many other geographical contexts, diaspora is of particular interest: the term is used to refer to people (and their descendants) who, although being part of a society by birth or upbringing, spend most of their life, at least their adult life, away from that homeland. This is the case of many Basques who went to North or South America, or, additionally in the northern Basque Country, of those who moved to Paris, Bordeaux or Pau in search of work. Research on diasporas is a much-loved topic in sociolinguistics internationally (Haugen 1953, Fishman et al. 1976 and Fishman (ed) 1978). In both cases, emigration/diaspora and immigration, there can be a retention of the language of origin or a more or less substantial ethnolinguistic assimilation and transethnization into the new socio-cultural environment. The different possible cases are summarized in table 15.

Table 15: migration types and their consequence in the ethnolinguistic realm

Migration type	Consequence in the ethnolinguistic realm
Emigration / Diaspora	A) Basque retention without learning/using the host language
	B) Basque retention plus learning/using the host language
	C) Full ethnolinguistic assimilation, full debasquisition
Immigration	A) Language retention without learning/using Basque
	B) Language retention plus Basque learning/using
	C) Full ethnolinguistic assimilation, full Basquisition

It should be noted that migrations have occurred through the Basque Country between Basque-speaking areas to non-Basque-speaking areas or in the other direction, from non-Basque-speaking areas to Basque-speaking areas. In the case of immigration, in Basque history, many times during at least the last two hundred years, the immigrant has arrived in a bilingual area where Basque and Spanish or French are present, and s/he is usually a speaker of one of the two languages spoken there (Spanish in the south of the Basque country and French in the north). In the case of emigration of Basque speakers, a full maintenance of language without any kind of learning/ using of the language of the new area is impossible in the long term if there is contact with people of the new area, but it is completely possible in the case of immigration. In this case, for instance, the Spanish immigrant arriving in a bilingual Basque/Spanish setting is fully able to retain only their own language without any kind of learning/using Basque.

2.4.2. Mobile life-style

While the sedentary life-style was the most common in traditional societies for centuries, for different reasons there have always been people who have temporarily left their original 'sedentary' communities, some of them time and again. With regard to the Basque world, we have taken five typical motivations into account:¹³⁴ *transhumance* or, perhaps more often, *transtermitance* or intermittent, more local transhumance (above all working as shepherds); *long-distance trading* (for instance, Basque speakers who settled temporarily in Seville to take part in trade there); *sea and land transport*; moving somewhere for *higher education* (for Basques, Salamanca was particularly important in this sense); and *temporarily working away* (for instance, as stonemasons in Castile or fishermen in New-

¹³⁴ As in the Basque Country, in other places, too, there have been many substantial sociolinguistic events generated by temporary human movements back and forth motivated by the requirements of one's job. Those comings and goings have often been particularly important in terms of their influence on the development or survival of languages (i.e. of the groups of speakers constituting the human base of those languages). There are some other cases which, without being so widespread in the Basque Country, are fundamental in other contexts: movements connected with grape and wheat harvests, and so on (there have been some such cases in the Basque Country, too: for instance, the Biscayan *gaztela-mutilak* ('Castile Lads'), Bustintza 1980). See, for instance, Blanchet 1992: 16, 113. Tabouret-Keller (1968: 107-118) analyses many of the variables we mention here when comparing situations in Europe and Africa. This author addresses two dichotomies also picked up by SHB: *sedentary lifestyle vs migration* (in the article, Tabouret-Keller mentions daily and once-and-for-all migration), and also the *urban vs rural* dichotomy.

foundland or elsewhere).¹³⁵ In addition to these five motivations, the category *other* has been added as a catch-all label for other cases which occasionally occur.

2.4.3. Urban/rural dichotomy

This term and the following one (*ager/saltus*) can be viewed as special cases of sedentary life-style. In both cases, there is a sociocultural relationship in addition to the geographical one. This variable has been relevant in sociolinguistic research.

A fundamental distinction must be made, in the first case, between the street (urban residence and ways of life) and the isolated farmstead.¹³⁶ And, in specific cases, between the (capital) city, the village and the farmstead: the domains and, above all, the opportunities for specific role relationships are different for each residential zone.¹³⁷ Behaviour can be quite different from one zone to another during the same period. All this is reflected in the language behaviour of individuals and groups. Nowadays, this distinction has largely disappeared from the Basque Country. Lifestyles in town, village and isolated farmhouse are increasingly alike: ease of movement and new communication technologies are levelling the playing-field. The distinctions, however, have not been completely erased.

Furthermore, these distinctions do not only apply to speakers of Basque. Under one name or another, such a geo-cultural classification has been found useful in many parts of Europe when describing the urban/rural divide in the past (rather less so, today).

2.4.4. Ager/saltus dichotomy

In Europe, in Atlantic Europe at least, there is a much older distinction, that of *ager* and *saltus*. It is a distinction which dates from when Rome controlled most of Europe: many historians have made use of the dichotomy, adapting it

¹³⁵ On the international importance of transhumance and transtermitance as sociolinguistic variables, see Trudgill (2002: 134), for instance: “In historical times, they [the *vlaachs*] have traditionally been transhumant shepherds in relatively remote areas, which would explain their resistance to Slavification, with the largest concentration in Greece today lying in the Pindus mountains, focusing on Metsovo, today the major town which is Vlach speaking”. On transhumance, see also Blanchet 1992: 16, 113. On transtermitance, see Corbera 2013. On temporary migration for trade see, for instance, Thamin 2011: nowadays the phenomenon has a more complex structure. On higher education, see example 48, 69. On temporarily working away, see Knörr 2007; Bakker et al. 1991. See examples 25, 33. The wheat and grape harvests mentioned above are connected to this category.

¹³⁶ See examples 17, 95, 115, 116.

¹³⁷ We should also point out that this is a distinction habitually made in sociolinguistics internationally. See, for instance, Hamilton (2001) or Tabouret-Keller (1968).

to their needs and giving it varying degrees of prominence. Simplifying it somewhat, for these historians *ager* is the area where land cleared for farming predominates.¹³⁸ In general, the *ager* was highly Romanized, both in the Basque region and elsewhere. *Saltus*, on the other hand, is land predominantly used for pasture: wooded and mountainous areas whose territorial organization was very different from that of the European-Mediterranean model on the rise at the time (and from the urban life it brought with it), and where Romanization was relatively scarce or non-existent. Some authors have interpreted this division in almost black and white terms. Others, however, see the two as being complementary. A third group would like to avoid the terms altogether, viewing them as unfit for analytical purposes. However, if one does without the two it is not clear how the differences which did exist between the two spheres should be conceptualised (Larrañaga 1999; 2008). Montanari, for instance, states that “Roman culture, like Greek culture, did not have a high regard for the uncultivated nature. (...) It was rather the true antithesis of civilisation (...). An antithesis also to an artificially created order. (...) The Latins called the totality of the cultivated land *ager*, which they strictly distinguished from *saltus*, the virgin, uncultivated soil.” (Montanari 1997a: 35). Later, but without specifically naming *ager* and *saltus*, Montanari gives more information about this question (1997b: 169): “the contrast between these poles of the natural and the cultivated, when it does appear, is the fruit of an ideological decision rather than a real contrast. Moreover, the line between the use of cultivated and uncultivated land, between “wild” and the “tamed” economic system, is much less sharply drawn than one might think.” Whatever the precise border line may be, the distinction between *ager* and *saltus* seems to be one that SHB must take into account.

2.4.5. Summary of terms

Table 16 provides a summary of the terms presented in this section.

¹³⁸ See example 27.

Table 16: structure of ecological demarcation

First level label	Second level label	Third level label	Fourth level label	Fifth level label		
Ecological demarcation	Sedentary life-style	Without migratory movement				
		With migratory movement	Emigration/ diaspora	Basque retention without learning/using the host language		
				Basque retention plus learning/using the host language		
				Full ethnolinguistic assimilation, full debasquisition		
			Immigration	Language retention without learning/using Basque		
				Language retention plus Basque learning/using		
				Full ethnolinguistic assimilation, full Basquisition		
			Mobile life-style	Transhumance-transmeritance		
				Long-distance trading		
				Sea and land transport		
	Higher studies					
	Temporarily working away					
	Other					
	Diaspora					
	Urban/rural	Urban				
		Rural				
	Ager/saltus	Ager				
		Saltus				
	Other					

2.5. Socio-functional position

In this section, one of the most critical for sociolinguistics, we are primarily going to examine socio-functional space, a term which reflects what a language is used for in specific domains or spheres of use within relationship networks, groups of speakers or entire speech communities.¹³⁹ Here are a couple of examples of socio-functional space: a) written use of language in public administration; b) the dominant informal, spontaneous language behaviour at village festivities, local pilgrimages and similar festive events in the province of Gipuzkoa in the 19th century.

After positioning an event of obvious sociolinguistic interest in terms of time and place, we also need to define it in terms of its socio-functional position. To define socio-functional space (*socio-functional position* in SHB's terminology), we develop three concepts in the following subsections: domain, role relationship and language status.

2.5.1. Domain

What is the sociocultural context where the use of the language takes place? More precise or more general answers can be given: the *role relationship* discussed in the following section offers a more detailed response, whereas the concept of *domain* provides a more general answer. As far as we are aware, Joshua A. Fishman is the author who has used this term most profusely and profoundly in the field of sociology of language. Summarising his contribution (Fishman 1991: 44), we can say that the concept includes exchanges or relationships which are clearly embedded in one major societal institution or another; it includes both topic and situation.

Fishman (1965b: 73) had years before offered a broader definition of domains: “[domains] are defined, (...) in terms of *institutional contexts or socio-ecological co-occurrences*. They attempt to designate the *major clusters of interaction situations that occur in particular multilingual settings*”.¹⁴⁰ Fishman (1972c: 82) also offered the following definition: “a domain is a socio-cultural construct abstracted from topics of communication, relationships and interactions between

¹³⁹ As far as we know Fishman is the author who has made the most frequent and profound use of this term, presenting a whole theoretical development of this topic in Fishman 1965b.

¹⁴⁰ Fishman has published the article more than once; the versions are not identical. We have mentioned the 1965 version above; later he specified that (1972c: 248): “Domains [of language use] are defined (...) in terms of *institutional contexts and their congruent behavioral co-occurrences*. They attempt to summarize the *major clusters of interaction that occur in clusters of multilingual settings and involving clusters of interlocutors*”. See also García et al. 2006: 18-19.

communicators and locales of communication in accord with the institutions of a society and the spheres of activity of a culture in such a way that individual behaviour and social patterns can be distinguished from each other and yet related to each other”.

When defining domain, importance is normally conceded to societal institutions: family, religion and so on. However, we should not forget physical space itself (*locales of communication*, in the previous quotation). Specific domains often have their own physical spaces: for instance, most activities connected with the church appear in places connected with religion. These are mostly churches, shrines, cathedrals, seminaries and convents, although not exclusively so (for instance private homes, when grace is said before lunch or supper).

It should be stressed that domains have no intrinsic, permanent structure: the domain set to be applied may change considerably from one place to another and, particularly, from one century to another. Fishman has also stated on occasion that the number and classification of domains need not be unique. On the contrary, each socio-cultural context must be given a bespoke classification (Fishman 1965b: 73): “We can safely reject the implication encountered in certain discussions of domains that there must be an invariant set of domains applicable to all multilingual settings. If language behaviour is related to socio-cultural organization, as is now widely accepted, then different kinds of multilingual settings should benefit from analyses in terms of different domains of language use, whether defined intuitively, theoretically, or empirically”.¹⁴¹ For this reason, we have tried to establish a set of domains which will be useful over a fairly long period. Finally, as domains are primarily to be applied to material from the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries, the following set seems appropriate for the work we are undertaking: nine wide-ranging domains have been chosen, along with the usual catch-all *other*, although we are well aware that the weighting and contents of each domain vary according to the lifestyle of the time.¹⁴² The contents of the *religion* domain, for instance, have changed noticeably over the centuries depending on the varying degree of power wielded by the institution, having less influence

¹⁴¹ For further information, see Fishman 1972a: 81.

¹⁴² Judging by what we know at present, documents from earlier centuries provide insufficient detail to allow domain classification. For the ultimate source of the domain set proposed, see Fishman 1991: 55. Schmidt-Rohr (quoted in Fishman 1965b: 73) put together a very similar classification to define the main domains, specifying the following: “the family, the playground and street, the school (subdivided into language of instruction, subject of instruction, and language of recess and entertainment), the church, literature, the press, the military, the courts, and the governmental administration”. As Fishman (1965b: 73) points out, there is no need for these lists to be fixed; some other authors have defined more domains (Mak 1935) or fewer (Frey 1945). Fishman normally uses less than nine in his research work: see, for instance, Fishman 1991: 55. At the other extreme, L. A. Timm specifies 16 (see how they are applied in Broudic 1995: 341).

on the lives of most contemporary Basques now than it had on those of a century or two ago. The list of the nine main domains appears in table 17.¹⁴³

Table 17: SHB domains

Name	Notes on contents
Authorities and administration ¹⁴⁴	Domain related to public authority and administration. Includes all levels of authority and administration: both territorially-specific (village councils, provincial councils, parliament) and general (security forces, health services etc.).
Leisure and sport	Domain related to free time. Present day: all types of sport (participants and spectators), travel and other leisure activities (cultural trips, NGOs etc.); contexts more important in the past than now: religious celebrations, village festivities.
Religion ¹⁴⁵	Domain related to religion. ¹⁴⁶ For example, church ceremonies, seminary training and, in general, the church's relationships with people and between people in a religious context.
Home and family	Domain related to language behaviour at home and in the family. This domain has shrunk considerably over the last century: there are now fewer people in a household and their relationships are not so intensive.

¹⁴³ In any case, “functions of language behaviour” and “domains of language behaviour” should not be treated as mere equivalents. As Fishman (1965b: 75) says, “‘Functions’ stand closer to socio-psychological analysis, for they abstract their constituents in terms of individual motivation rather than in terms of group purpose”. Fishman (1972c: 116-117) has provided more detail in another article: “The proposed functions have been advanced to help answer the questions ‘why did he speak and say it the way he did when he did?’. The proposed domains are oriented more toward macro-societal normative regularities than toward individual purposes, although these two levels should be commensurable with each other. The list of ‘functions’ varies widely from one author to another. For example, Karl Bühler (9): Auslösung, Kundgabe, Darstellung; Roman Jakobson (48): referential, emotive, conative, poetic, phatic, metalingual; Dell Hymes (47): expressive, directive, poetic, contact, metalingual, referential, contextual; Edward Sapir (70): communication, socialization, cultural transmittal and accumulation, individualization; George Barker (4): group-defining functions (coordinating group activity, symbolizing group membership, transmitting patterns of thought and behaviour), group-relating functions (relating the individual to the group, relating one group to another). Additional functional categories particularly related to utterances have most recently been reviewed by Ervin-Tripp (16b). Other lists of functions have been proposed by Kenneth Burke, J. R. Firth, C. K. Ogden and I. A. Richards, Bruno Snell, and a host of others interested in language, literature or life. While a mere enumeration cannot pretend to do justice to the historical relationships between the several systems of functions listed here, it should be noted that all of the lists have in common ‘an interpretation of the factors of the speech event in terms of motive or purpose’ (47, p. 30)”. Domains of language behaviour have been included in this section whereas the functions of language behaviour will be included in the section on language behaviour.

¹⁴⁴ See examples 10, 15, 43.

¹⁴⁵ See examples 1, 3, 4, 72, 82, 93, 103, 112, 117, 121, 140, 154, 155.

¹⁴⁶ The religion domain becomes particularly important when carrying out historical research into the social situation of Basque, because it was central to many daily activities and, on occasion, because it had a major role in promoting Basque literacy. See, for instance, Tautzia 1973 or Euskaltzaindia 2004. For further relevant bibliography on the Basque case, see Intxausti et al. 2011. For international information, on the other hand, see for example Hartweg and Kremnitz 2013: 159-168 or David Crystal’s works on religion and language.

Name	Notes on contents
Neighbourhood: friends and acquaintances	Domain related to the network of intimate interlocutors, the neighbourhood or friendships. Apart from the family and, in some cases, work, the group of people with whom face to face relationships are most intensive.
Mass media	Domain related to the media, both in terms of information distribution and people's habits and ways of consuming information. For instance, the activities of the town crier in the past or present-day television and newspapers.
Education ¹⁴⁷	Domain related to education, independently of educational level or institutional ownership. For instance, primary school, secondary education and university. Over recent decades, evening schools, Basque language schools for adults and so on have to be included here.
Work sphere	Domain related to the world of work, both in terms of its contents and relationships between workmates and owners or other decision-makers.
Trading	Buying and selling in themselves and, at the same time, the transport of the goods involved. Also, more recently, financial institutions.
Other	To be used when it is not possible to assign a quotation to any of the above categories either because the text does not specify the domain or mentions one not included above.

These sweeping categories cannot always be applied without overlapping. Let us suppose, for instance, that we have to classify a 17th century church court case: the quotation can be classified as part of the *religion* domain and as part of the *authorities and administration* domain and, so, must be marked as both. In the same way, relationships between customers and workers in any company belong to the domains of both *trading* and the *work sphere*, depending on the perspective adopted. To give a further example, if a language interchange takes place on a daily basis at a local shop or at the market, the information must be classified not only as *trading* but also as *neighbourhood: friends and acquaintances*.

2.5.2. Role relationships

While macro-analysis of socio-cultural context is carried out by domain, role relationship is a tool for micro-analysis. In an article first published in 1964, Fishman (1972c: 82-83) describes the ins and outs of role relationships.¹⁴⁸ He chose a specific domain as an example: "Home and family". Obviously, this domain is constituted by people and a list of them can be drawn up for examination; subsequently, in each case, those people's language habits can be defined. For instance, in the family domain the following people are likely to be participants:

¹⁴⁷ See examples 48, 118, 131, 143, 144, 146, 147, 151, 156.

¹⁴⁸ See also Afendras (1969: 4) on domains and (1969: 5-6) on role relationships.

father, mother, sons and daughters, etc. Some authors consider (Gross 1951) such a list to be insufficient and that pairs must be established: father and mother, mother and son, son and mother, etc. In this case, a) there is a distinction between speakers and listeners, in other words, the first person in each pair is a source of production and the second person a recipient; b) the role relationship is taken into account, as Fishman (1972c: 82) says: “[family participants’] language behavior may be more than merely a matter of individual preference or facility but also a matter of role-relations”.

The role relationship variable is to be found in all domains. Let us now connect the two levels of social context – domains and role relationships – by the examples provided in table 18.

Table 18: domains and role relationships related

Domain	Some significant role relationships
Authorities and administration	Institutional members with each other Institutional member with individual citizens, face-to-face Institutional members in public announcements
Leisure and sport	Sports players with each other Sports players with other interlocutors Sports players with trainers Leisure activity participants with each other (playing cards etc.) Leisure activity participants with other interlocutors
Religion	Religious and clergy with each other Religious and clergy with churchgoers in liturgical activities Religious and clergy with churchgoers, outdoors or in other non-church settings (for example, sports)
Home and family	Husband and wife with each other Parent(s) with child(ren) Siblings with each other Relatives with each other
Neighbourhood: friends and acquaintances	Young people with their friends Young people with adults, adults with young people Adults with adults In the street with strangers
Mass media	Reading: the press, magazines, novels etc. Listening: the radio, CDs Watching: television, cinema
Education	Teachers with each other Teachers with pupils/students Pupils/students with each other

Domain	Some significant role relationships
Work	Workmates between themselves Workers with managers Workers with customers
Trading	Buyers and sellers at a market Sellers with distributors and transport agents
Other	Role relationships lacking an appropriate place in the above domains

In some of the examples in table 18, in addition to the role relationship the domain too is defined. For instance, “Religious and clergy with churchgoers, in liturgical activities” and “Religious and clergy with churchgoers, outdoors”. So three variables have to be distinguished: domain, role relationship and topic of conversation. This obviously takes us into a realm of considerable complexity, familiar enough in the field of sociolinguistics: in the work domain for instance, a particular way of speaking may be used when the boss and the workers talk about work, and another when they engage informally.

Clearly, the examples just given do not cover all role relationship possibilities: depending on the period, the documentary source and the research topic itself, there may be a need to specify relationships further. Because fixed groups of role relationships valid for all historical periods cannot be established, SHB has decided to create a single *role relationship* label.¹⁴⁹ This term is used to mark up quotations with information about role relationships, but the label does not tell us exactly which role relationship is involved.¹⁵⁰

2.5.3. Language status

Information about the relative statuses of languages in contact in diglossic situations is of particular interest to sociolinguistic research (Ferguson 1959). This term has a direct relationship with social stratification and research on overt and covert prestige. The full name given to this term in the SHB model is: *status: H/L*.¹⁵¹ A process of change may be described as resulting from a change from above or from below; when not linked to a planning process, this kind of infor-

¹⁴⁹ See example 15.

¹⁵⁰ Obviously, the fact that it is not possible to specify role relationships with this label does not mean that they cannot be specified at all: see the *Dominance configuration table* in cell 1A and, in general, other tables with similar formats (in cells 1B, 2A, 2B, 4A, 4B, 5A and 5B). There is, clearly, in all of these, sufficient opportunity to specify the role relationships under discussion. In addition, if distinctions have to be made between roles in a particular piece of research, the software application can be adapted to do so.

¹⁵¹ See examples 10, 13, 14, 16, 32 (in this case the author uses U (*Up*) instead of H), 43, 93, 115, 116.

mation can be marked here¹⁵². If such information is linked to a planning process, it should be marked in dimension 6.

2.5.4. Summary of terms

Table 19 provides a summary of the terms presented.

Table 19: structure of socio-functional position

1st level label	2nd level label	3rd level label
Socio-functional position	Domain	Authorities and administration
		Leisure and sport
		Religion
		Home and family
		Neighbourhood: friends and acquaintances
		Mass media
		Education
		Work
		Trading
		Other
	Role relationship	
	Status: H/L	

¹⁵² See example 72.

3. GENERAL STRUCTURE OF SOCIOLINGUISTIC CLASSIFICATION

The model developed by SHB to classify the sociolinguistic aspects of quotations will be explained in this chapter and the following ones. In order to set up this classification model, we took the theoretical constructs which are habitual in the sociolinguistic field into account and have aimed at creating the most compact and robust methodology and classification possible. In addition to taking international sociolinguistic categorizations and theories into account, we have also tested and trialled the resultant classification on practical cases to confirm its significance and applicability. These tests and trials led us to adjust a number of points in the initial structure. What we are going to present in these chapters has thus been shaped by both this theoretical reflection on methodology and its practical application. The result is a classification model useful for SHB which in fact is able to provide a taxonomy for the historical sociology of language.

The objective of SHB is not to make a mere collection of books or articles but, rather, to examine and present the social history of Basque in a systematic way, on the basis of a unified methodological backbone.¹⁵³ The discipline closest to the project is sociolinguistics, more precisely, sociology of language. It is from there that SHB has taken most of the theoretical basis for defining the project's methodological model.

The principal contribution is that derived from the work of one of the founding fathers of sociolinguistics, J. Fishman. The following authors have also been very much taken into account: M. and U. Weinreich, C. A. Ferguson, M. Halliday, E. Haugen, H. Kloss, D. Hymes, J. Rubin, C. H. Williams, R. L. Cooper, W. E. Lambert, L. Milroy, A. Tabouret-Keller, B. Jernudd, R. B. Kaplan & B. Baldauf, B. Spolsky, H. Giles etc. In addition to taking classic works of sociolinguistics

¹⁵³ As Burke (1993: 4) has put it, "(...) there is an enormous difference between the vague awareness of a problem and systematic research into it". Systematic research requires a firm theoretical-methodological basis.

into account, the increasing contributions from historical sociolinguistics over recent years have also been borne in mind. The following publications are especially worthy of mention: Aquino-Weber et al. 2009, Gimeno 1995, Conde 2007, Willemyns & Vandenbussche 2006, Burke 1993, Jahr 1999, Hernandez & Conde 2012 and Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2003. For a more complete list, see the appended historical sociolinguistics bibliography. Furthermore, classic contributions to the social history of given languages have also been examined: for instance, Spolsky (1983), Weinreich (1953), Jenkins (ed) (2001) and Kloss (1952). Naturally, works about Basque have also been examined and taken into account: Prince Bonaparte and Ramón Menéndez Pidal, Julio Caro Baroja and José María Lacarra, Aingeru Irigarai and Anselmo de Legarda, Koldo Mitxelena and Fernando González Ollé, Jose Maria Jimeno Jurio and Ricardo Ciérvide, Alfonso Irigoyen and M^a Teresa Echenique, Joseba Intxausti and Patxi Salaberri, Joaquín Gorrochategui and (most recently) David Peterson, among others.

In this chapter on SHB's sociolinguistic labels, the basic matrix will be explained: 'the forest of all the trees', to use a simile. In the next chapter, on the other hand, the nature ('trunks') and internal structures ('branches') of each of the cells of the matrix – there are 30 of them altogether – will be presented.¹⁵⁴ Thus, we will explain the basic structure of this sociolinguistic classification step by step in this chapter until we complete the whole matrix. To start, the columns or, to use our terminology, dimensions, of this matrix will be defined and, after that, its rows or analytical parameters. Finally, combining these dimensions and analytical parameters, we will be able to explain the general structure of the whole of the matrix. As we are examining sociolinguistic data from a historical point of view, we must not forget that in addition to the classification explained below, the labels reflecting the historical and geographical setting, i.e. where and when each piece of data is from, physically and socially, must also be applied to the quotations, as explained in the previous chapter.

¹⁵⁴ We have created the taxonomy for working with historical sociolinguistics (sociology of language) in parallel with defining the subsections of the matrix.

3.1. The dimensions of SHB: an overall perspective

We will present five *dimensions* in the following paragraphs.¹⁵⁵ SHB's dimensions bring together a number of different topics habitually discussed in sociolinguistics and, in particular, the sociology of language. We have coded these five dimensions A to E: *language use* (= Dimension A); *language competence* (this concept includes both knowledge of languages and speakers' levels of competence) (= Dimension B); *language structure* (sociolinguistic data provided by, or which could be extracted from, the structure of linguistic information -or its evolution- on vocabularies, morphosyntax, pronunciation and, on occasion, semantic make-up) (= Dimension C); *societal features* (any social characteristics other than language which nevertheless may be related to it: in particular, demographic, econotechnical, sociocultural and political-operative processes which sustain society and are sources of innovation) (= Dimension D); people's *opinions-attitudes-behaviours* towards languages, speakers and the use of one language or another (= Dimension E). Each dimension can be examined along six different analytical parameters. The intersection between each dimension and analytical parameter is called a *cell*; hence the matrix contains 30 cells in all.

3.1.1. Dimension A: language use

The social use of language is the fundamental dimension of SHB and of any taxonomy of sociology of language. That is precisely the function of Dimension A: to examine language use in the most systematic way possible.¹⁵⁶ In other words, to describe speakers' language behaviour at a particular time and place. So it is to that column (to one of the six cells in that column) that quotations containing information about use are assigned. So all documentation, above all face-to-face information, about language use is the prime raw material of SHB. The line of research Fishman (1965b) mentioned, to wit the classical "who speaks

¹⁵⁵ Bright (1966: 12-14), from another point of view, distinguished the following seven sociolinguistic dimensions.

1. The social identity of the SENDER or speaker (...)
2. The social identity of the RECEIVER or person spoken to (...)
3. The third conditioning dimension, that of SETTING, (...)
4. (...) sociolinguistic research can be SYNCHRONIC or DIACHRONIC. (...)
5. (...) the difference between how people USE languages and what they BELIEVE about the linguistic behaviour of themselves and others (...)
6. (...) Another dimension is that of the EXTENT of diversity. (multidialectal, multilingual, multisocietal)
7. (...) Dimension of Application. In this case too, the author makes a triple subdivision: a) SOCIOLOGIST > social structure; b) HISTORICAL LINGUIST > language change; c) LANGUAGE PLANNER > official policies regarding language use.

¹⁵⁶ 'Language use' must be understood from a sociology of language perspective, ie whether language A or B (or some variety) is being used, not from a sociolinguistic one focused on corpus change.

what language to whom and when?" is SHB's central concern too. That perspective is the core of Dimension A. SHB records mentions of use of languages in society, in order to facilitate explanation within a structured framework and to be able to draw conclusions topic by topic.

In this dimension, language use data is more fundamental than in the others: in each quotation reflecting the use of one or other language, we wish to register a number of features. More precisely, when we are examining what language behaviour happens/happened at particular places and at particular times, we wish to distinguish the following features, among others: *media*, *overtness*, *style*, *dominant language* and *language variety*.¹⁵⁷ As Ayres-Bennett (2004: ix) has mentioned with respect to French: "It is [...] clearly fallacious to assume homogeneity of usage, whatever the nature of the speaker, register, location or context, for any period in the history of French"; usage varies in terms of those five variables.¹⁵⁸ We must define those five features a little further: the examples we give below refer to the description of language use, the first analytical parameter. When we say *media* we are asking which language skill has been realised (Zalbide & Muñoa 2006: 231): was use spoken or written, or was the text read? When we mention *overtness*, what we want to find out in each case of language use is to what extent it was public. Are we dealing with inner speech, reading in silence or the involvement of a group of people? With regard to *style*, we must deal with a continuum which goes from considerable formality to intimacy. Authors have divided that continuum up in many different ways. Ervin-Tripp (1969: 38-43) distinguishes two main levels (*formal* and *informal*); Hymes (1964) three (*formal or polite*, *colloquial* and *slang or vulgar*); and Joos (1968: 188) five (*intimate*, *casual*, *con-*

¹⁵⁷ On *media* see, for instance, Fishman 1965b: 78; 1971b: 304 and 1991: 43-44. On *overtness* see, for instance, Fishman 1971b: 304 and 1991: 44. On *style*, see Fishman 1965b: 70-71; in another publication, he uses *situation* which may be a slightly broader idea: see Fishman 1966: 427. On *dominant language* see, for instance, Fishman 1966: 434-438. On *language variety*, finally, see, for instance, Fishman 1971b: 226-228.

¹⁵⁸ Those features have often gone hand in hand and need to be carefully separated out, although they are confused in some pieces of research. Nevalainen (2006: 565), for instance, writes that: "A number of studies have appeared cross-tabulating linguistic variables and register either diachronically or in a given time period. In these studies, register has often been used synonymously with genre or text type, all three usually defined in terms of situational rather than of linguistic criteria".

sultative, formal and frozen).¹⁵⁹ SHB has selected three: *formal, informal and intimate*. When we ask for the *dominant language*, normally what we want to know is the relative weight of languages which are used face-to-face (or side-by-side), in the situations defined by the features mentioned above. Next, *language variety* defines which language or dialect is being used. Finally, the five parameters listed above must be crossed with a further two: *domain* and *role relationship*.¹⁶⁰ We have already presented these two parameters, when discussing the socio-functional setting of a piece of data in the context of its socio-historical setting. For all these features, pieces of data can be coded individually or, for specific places and moments, individually coded data can be grouped and tabulated. The resultant tables will be dealt with in greater detail in the discussion of the cell corresponding to each of them: see, in chapters 4, 5, 7 and 8 respectively, 1A (*language use related dominance configuration table* [Fishman 1965b: 79-81]), 2A, 4A and 5A.

3.1.2. Dimension B: language competence

The second dimension (dimension B) examines speakers' *language competence*. In this case, what we are interested in is not who uses or has used each language but, rather, which language they know (or do not know) and, if they do, how far their knowledge of the language extends (in speech or in writing), according to the data gathered or inferred. In this dimension too, as in the previous, the precision of data available is highly variable: at one extreme, above all in the distant past, at best we can determine that a speaker or group of speakers

¹⁵⁹ Depending on the materials available for each monograph, of course, distinctions of style or text types can be made with greater precision. Mas i Miralles (2003: 5) gives several examples: "Right at the beginnings of this branch of sociolinguistics, Romaine (1982) already distinguished verse and prose text types, and within the latter she further distinguished national legal prose, local legal prose, literary prose and letter writing. Subsequently, Gimeno (1985), working with medieval documents from an epistolary in Alacant and one in Oriola, distinguished two types of legal documents, the originals and the transferred texts, as well as two types of contextual styles: chancery and municipal. In Catalan, Miralles (1980) defined the following styles in a study of the municipal archives of Montuiri and the legal proceedings: the legal-chancery style, epistolary-chancery style, narrative style, and colloquial style. Similarly working with legal proceedings but this time in Oriola and Elda in the Modern period, Montoya (1986) distinguishes four styles: style A is found in texts which contain the written declarations of the participants, style B relates to these same declarations collected by scribes, style C relates to judges' summing up and, lastly, style D relates to the stylised parts of the document. The separating out of registers in this way is also found in Mas (1994), a study of ecclesiastic documents from Elx which are then compared with the text of the Elx Mystery play, with the Council's administrative documents and with the colloquial style recorded in court proceedings. Lastly, there is Mas (2002), a study on stylistic variation in the different versions of the *consueta* of the *Festa d'Elx* / The Elx Mystery play. These styles are: firstly, the words in verse sung during the Assumption; secondly, the text of the scenographic details and, thirdly, the text in spontaneous style that we find in the historical appendices included in certain copies of the *consueta*". As seen in the previous footnote text types and style are mixed.

¹⁶⁰ On *domain* see, for instance, Fishman (ed) 1976: 304-305 and Fishman 1991: 44. On *role relationship* see, for instance, Fishman (ed) 1976: 242-244 and Fishman 1991: 44-45.

knew one language or another (or not). In modern times, however, other details, expressed in terms of the four-way division of skills -listening, speaking, reading and writing- habitual in language psychology and language pedagogy, can also be obtained on occasion. That group of four, furthermore, is usually subdivided into two sets of contrasting pairs: on the one hand, 'active' (or, better perhaps, productive) skills and 'passive' (or receptive) skills and, on the other, oral and written skills. Work over the last fifty years, however, has added further segments to this classic formulation of skills: cultural skills, pragmatic competence, communicative competence, and so on.¹⁶¹ Unfortunately, it is not possible for SHB to take everything pedagogues have defined into account in detail: to achieve the objectives of sociolinguistic analysis, it often suffices to use simpler categories, even though the sciences of language learning have gone much further. In addition, as Fishman (1991: 43-44) clearly states, we are dealing with an implicational series here: if skills are listed as listening, speaking, reading and writing, each element on that list implies knowledge of its antecedent(s), but not the other way around. For instance, somebody who writes also knows how to read, speak and understand spoken language, at least in their mother tongue.¹⁶² On occasion, this implication table can help us deduce more information from the data available.

Furthermore, knowing what language competence people have at a particular moment in time is no more than a part of what SHB is interested in: often, it is just as important to examine how that competence has evolved throughout life as a new language is acquired or, equally, when a language once known is lost.

As far as acquiring language competence is concerned, a number of analyses have been developed with the aim, among others, of guaranteeing more effective learning processes: changes by age in learning ability have been examined, there has been in-depth research into the influence of the order of languages learned (mother tongue and one learned later), work has been done to establish the phases of language learning, motivations have been categorized (distinguishing, for example, between integrative and instrumental motivation¹⁶³), routes to lear-

¹⁶¹ The so-called Common European Framework, for instance, defines three communication skills (Goullier 2007: 15-17; CEFRL 13-14; CEFR: 7-12): "1) Linguistic competences (a. lexical competence; b. grammatical competence; c. semantic competence; d. phonological competence; e. orthographic competence; f. orthoepic competence); 2) Sociolinguistic competences (a. Linguistic markers of social relations; b. politeness conventions; c. expressions of folk wisdom; d. register differences; e. dialect and accents); 3) Pragmatic competences (a. discourse competence; b. functional competence)". In addition to those European references, see also Canale 1980, Hymes 1972, Ek & Trim 2000, etc.

¹⁶² With regard to L2, and above all when the second language has been learned at school, writing and reading skills do not necessarily imply oral skills. In any case, within each pair of skills (in other words, oral and written skills), the implicational rules established by Fishman are fully valid.

¹⁶³ Internal and external motivation can also be distinguished (Amorrortu et al. 2009: 35-37; Joly & Uranga 2010: 183-228).

ning have also been clearly differentiated (was the language learned at home and in the neighbourhood, or in a place of learning specifically established for that purpose?). SHB cannot take all these aspects into account. For its objectives linked to the sociology of language, in general, distinguishing between ways of learning is sufficient: have people acquired the language in question informally in their daily life or through formal education? With reference to Basque, its being taught (or not) at school has often been linked with its survival and decline. Distinguishing routes to language acquisition is indispensable if one wishes to evaluate the validity of that link.

The last of the three subsets, marking loss of language competence, is not usually of interest to pedagogues. SHB, on the other hand, is particularly interested in this third branch: did speakers lose their communication skill at a particular moment? In which language did they lose it? When somebody who learned Basque at home loses it and also when someone loses a language learned later (whether Basque or some other), knowing how this happened is a fundamental piece of information, as important as data on acquiring language competence.

In the Basque case, it is clear that data on language use must often be collected indirectly (in our terminology, by *inference*) because in many cases there are no documents with direct information available.¹⁶⁴ When an old document states that in a village or district most speakers were monolingual (in a language other than Basque or, especially, in Basque), in addition to telling us about the language competence of those speakers the text is also casting light on language use there: if all or the vast majority of speakers at a particular place were monolingual Basques, it is clear that only Basque (to be exact: almost only Basque) was used in that district at that time.¹⁶⁵ To put it another way, the language *competence* of speakers (individuals or particular groups) is also fundamental data for SHB when it comes to clarifying the nature of the *use* of Basque or other languages (and, hence, of Basque) at a particular time and in a particular place.

¹⁶⁴ On the use of the concept of inference, see the beginning of chapter 4. The lack of documentation about the Basque Country and Basque speakers from a sociology of language perspective is particularly noticeable in the earliest historical periods; useful documents about their language behaviour are even rarer. In such cases, it is absolutely essential to take indirect information into account.

¹⁶⁵ Here is a 17th century example taken from a report about the social suitability of a candidate for a military order: "Having sought information from the local Abbot, who was the only person we found who knew Spanish, as all the neighbours living in that place are monolingual Basques..." (*Geografía histórica* etc. 1960: 119-122). If the priest was the only bilingual person in a village, there can be little doubt that daily life was carried out in Basque. We know that such information is not always reliable. Calvet (1999: 104) and Lafont (1997: 72-73) give several examples to prove that sometimes people say they do not know a language when they do in fact know it and that they even make some use of it. The reasons for this behaviour may be of many different kinds, usually due to such people's attitudes to the language and their self-hatred. But it is not that alone: cognitive dissonance may also be relevant in such cases. See also July 2004a. In the example we give here about military order it is clear that there is no such distortion.

3.1.3. Dimension C: language structure

Among the data involving the language itself, a third dimension must also be taken into account: that provided by intra-linguistic testimony. In theory, any branch of linguistics is potentially informative in sociolinguistic terms. However, some specialist areas (including disciplines closer to sociolinguistics and the social history of language) may be particularly fruitful for the social history of languages. So SHB must also take these disciplines into consideration, in order to clarify the current sociohistorical situation and, above all, to be able to throw more light upon and further define situations from the past, especially the distant past.

What types of parameters must be distinguished in this dimension? Initially, we believed that there were three areas which could not be ignored: onomastics, dialectology and the linguistics of language contact. However, as we worked on the classification of specific examples we had collected, we came to a broader formulation, distancing ourselves on occasion from the conceptualisations habitual in linguistics. It must be stressed that SHB's objective is not to check linguists' contributions. Nor, in general, is it to examine objects from linguists' perspectives (or to use their tools). Rather, SHB aims to make use of descriptions and research from linguistics to the extent those contributions can provide information which will help to clarify the social history of Basque. Here, then, are the five areas which we now differentiate: *global descriptions* and special contributions from synchronic and diachronic linguistics; the *results of language contact*; *internal uniformity of language* or lack of it (dialects, etc.); *power and solidarity indices*; and, lastly, *other significant sources*. We will now explain what we classify in each case and why we are distancing ourselves from linguists' usual categories. In the next chapters detailed examples will be provided when presenting individual cells.

- When examining *global descriptions* and special contributions, the first group includes sociolinguistic data derived from drawing up a general synchronic language description and/or the historical evolution of its components.
- In the case of the *results of language contact*, we have avoided the term “contact linguistics” because our work is not usually linguistic: interferences, loans and code switching are all things we are interested in, of course, but not in themselves, only to the extent to which they throw light on the sociolinguistic situation. When a word is accepted into one language from another, a new cultural concept, too, is often accepted. In the Basque case, we ask where words and the concepts linked with them come from, where do they go to and when did they arrive? Who

(from which part of society, in which activity?) introduced the word, and how widely was it later used? These questions provide another (if roundabout) way of obtaining sociolinguistic information.¹⁶⁶ In short, on this parameter sociolinguistic information is obtained from the consequences of relationships between languages.

- We have called the third parameter *internal uniformity of language* because it is not exactly dialectology that we are dealing with. The data field we are interested in is broader than dialectology and, in the final analysis, we are interested in it for reasons which have nothing to do with dialectology: the information which dialectology can provide us, along with that given by efforts to create a standard language, informs us about a language's degree of dispersion or unity. The dispersion or unity of that internal structure accompanies, or is a consequence of, the degree of dispersion or unity of the social forces accompanying those features. In this sense, SHB takes particular interest in the degree of internal cohesion.
- Fourthly, particular attention has been given to *power and solidarity indices* (cf. Brown & Gilman, 1960): it is well-known that the social configuration reflected in a language's pronoun systems may be highly significant. In this respect, the use of Basque '*hitanoa*' verb forms (see 2.2.1) should also be taken into account: it is a clear example of evolution in what is (has been) socially meaningful.
- Lastly, the *significant source* group, too, is broader than the traditional onomastics which forms its basis. In addition to place-names and personal ones, names of social groups, of languages and objects may also be of use to us. There is no doubt, however, that toponyms and anthroponyms are central for SHB, indeed extremely important when no other documentary source or data for making inferences is available.

3.1.4. Dimension D: societal features

Fourthly, we must mention a very different type of dimension which, unlike the previous three, (and therein lies its distinguishing feature) does not have

¹⁶⁶ To give a simple example, two words for naming paper have reached the Basque world, 'paper' and 'papel', the former, seemingly, from the North and the latter from the South. Could the same be said of other concepts expressed by words of identical meaning (karrika/kale/kalle ('street'), gerezi/kerexa ('cherry'), baratze/ortu ('kitchen garden'))? If so, what does that tell us about cultural influences? There is a whole field there awaiting research. In this case, dialectologists can provide considerable help by clarifying the boundaries of the areas of use of each term.

a specifically linguistic aspect: *societal features* or social matrix.¹⁶⁷ This fourth dimension, however, is absolutely fundamental for the SHB project.¹⁶⁸ The connections which *the social organization of language behaviour and language use* usually has with sociocultural processes makes it essential to study their mutual influence or, at least, their covariation.¹⁶⁹ This dimension is analysed many times in works on sociolinguistics (see for example Raumolin-Brunberg 1996: 21-24).

¹⁶⁷ Labov distinguishes between four processes when examining language change variables in the field of variationist sociolinguistics: language-internal factors (Labov 1994), social factors (Labov 2001), cognitive and cultural factors (Labov 2010). SHB takes social and cultural motivations into account, especially, because its objective is more social history than variationist. Labov (2010: 4) distinguishes between social and cultural variables as follows: “*Social factors* will designate the effects of linguistic interaction among members of specific social groups, including the recognition of these effects by members and nonmembers. *Cultural factors* will designate the association of linguistic change with broader social patterns that are partly, if not entirely, independent of face-to-face interaction”.

As Martineau clearly underlines, historical sociolinguistics has given priority to research into the internal variable. As is habitual in synchronic sociolinguistics, SHB has tried to focus especially on the sociological aspect, on the “external” factor, in this case by inserting dimension D in its model. This is how Martineau (2012: 131) describes the situation of historical sociolinguistics in a long, yet precise passage which throws a lot of light on current historical sociolinguistics: “An interdisciplinary approach is indispensable in order to take into account the complexity of the uses of language. Sociolinguistics seems to be well-placed to develop such an approach, on the boundary between sociology and linguistics. The relationship between internal/external factors is often dealt with in a hierarchical way in variationist sociolinguistics: for a particular community, social factors usually take precedence over factors of a more internal nature in the linguistic system. By contrast, historical sociolinguistics, which houses three disciplines, tends to favour the internal factors which come to the fore through texts and can be reconstructed over a long period, while the external factors require the patient reconstruction of community networks. A better methodological approach to the analysis of internal/external factors would be desirable, especially as the impact of social changes on the structures which form the kernel of a language still needs to be documented. Furthermore, contributions from other disciplines would make it easier to grasp movements which owe less to structuring principles such as social or linguistic categorizations, but which also depend on the study of the individual as a social, cognitive being”.

¹⁶⁸ Let us give a simple example: if we record that at Donostia town’s Bretxa market Basque was the main language spoken in the past, we will note it on dimension A, as a matter of usage is involved; this situation has a cause partly linked to D dimension: a rule bye-law from 1752 limited the authorization to make retail sales to the inhabitants of the city, who were predominantly Basque speakers; a change of rule, allowing foreigners to do this type of trade could have had significant consequences in the evolution of the sociolinguistic situation of the area (Joly, Zalvide (eds), in preparation). In the case of this example, the fact that more outsiders (or local non-Basque speakers) could have come to Bretxa market as a result of a change in the rules would have been significant and even if per se the rule has no sociolinguistic aim, the consequences of this rule and a change in this political-operative feature would have had profound consequences in the sociolinguistic situation of the area.

¹⁶⁹ To understand the importance of taking into account the social matrix let us mention, for instance, social time and social space having been profoundly transformed as a result of evolutions in the social matrix, particularly as a result of technological evolution: “temporal-spatial phenomena are diversely apprehended and structured in human society at differing stages of sociocultural development” (Zentner 1966: 76). Clearly, the influence which the social matrix has had in the social history of language is even greater. Auer (Auer et al. 2015: 8) has explained how interesting it could be for historical sociolinguistics to examine various changes in the social matrix, “historical sociolinguistics is also concerned with the roles that the architecture of modern society and the institutional modern (nation) state have played in the historical development of languages and varieties. Especially the linguistic consequences of urbanization, industrialization and the verticalization of society have been of particular interest, as they help us to understand the development of the varietal spectrum of modern speech communities (e.g. Salmons 2005a, Salmons 2005b)”.

We have thus established this fourth dimension so as to be able to reflect those processes linked with the social situation of languages.¹⁷⁰ Fishman (1972a: 152) stresses that connection: he believes that we should very much take into account “[the] psychological, social, and cultural processes that are associated with ascertained changes in habitual language use”. To put it another way, language and society are not completely dissociated from each other, as each person and social group moves within a particular social matrix: individuals and speech communities develop and adapt their use of language, skills, habits and opinions according to that social atmosphere.¹⁷¹ Therefore, when the social matrix changes to any extent, changes of different degrees can take place in the social organization of language behaviour, in speakers’ language competence, in a language’s structure and also in opinions about languages and their speakers. The same is true even in cases of language decline.¹⁷² As a result, changes in societal features must be appropriately recorded: in order to understand the situation of a language, knowledge of the relevant social norms is essential. When wishing to write the social history of a language the “human/societal” component cannot be overlooked. This component, furthermore, has given sociolinguistics its meaning and *raison d’être* (Calvet 1999). So SHB inevitably needs to reflect this component in the project’s methodological framework. By way of example, in the field of history, too, when underlining the importance of the social organization of space, García de Cortazar (2004: 292-295) has pointed out the changes and innovations occurring in the language.¹⁷³

The field covered by the social matrix, in itself, is broad, much broader than that of language: potentially, we could include the whole of history in dimension D. Boundaries, then, must be established if we are not to be swamped by the

¹⁷⁰ Although we observed a clear connection between language and what we are calling the social matrix from the start, we hesitated at first about how to reflect that area of information in our model. Initially, the matrix of dimensions and analytical parameters did not have a column for the social matrix or societal features. The intention was to store, analyse and apply data about such features separately from the table. However, later on, as we will see when explaining the third analytical parameter (chapter 6), it became clear that this dimension is absolutely necessary if we want to define mutual relationships with precision.

¹⁷¹ Mitxelena (1982: 72-73), for instance, has clearly linked change in societal features (in this case, the decline of traditional society) with the decline of Basque: “The desire to renovate, the impulse which, without exaggerating, could be called revolutionary, is explained by the breakdown of the traditional bases of life in the Basque-speaking community, and even of a large part of the Basque community without taking language into account. For the sake of simplicity, we can say that farmsteads and, in general, the rural world underwent a crisis which, as far as can be seen, is irreversible. So when the language’s places of shelter disappeared, it had to look for them elsewhere”.

¹⁷² On research on societal features and language decline see, for instance, in the book edited by Dorian (1989), Kuter writing on “Breton vs French: Language and the opposition of political, economic, social, and cultural values” and Woolard on “Language convergences and language death as social processes”.

¹⁷³ On those pages by García de Cortazar, furthermore, one can see clearly that linguistic innovation offers historians clues for the history of the period they are researching.

broad scope of the task. Let us stress, therefore, what is of most interest to us: it is not just any type of social event, nor any type of transformation in the structure of society, but, rather, the facets of the social matrix which may be related to sociolinguistic events in some way (by cause, effect or covariation). Data on the societal features we are interested in is completely situational, depending on the population, the period, the place and, when appropriate, the domain under study (take, for instance, language changes in the Basque Church from 1960 to 1980: there is no need for us to provide information about the substantial technological changes which took place in the iron and automotive industries at the same time and, so, there is no need to take them into account. Not, at least, in the same way as if we were researching how language behaviour evolved in the small town of Lesaka between 1960 and 1980 on account of its large sheet metal factory. The celebration of the Second Vatican Council in Rome at that time, on the other hand, is extremely relevant to language use in the Basque religious domain).

In the light of the previous approaches to this topic, societal features have been divided up into four components (plus, of course, the catch-all *general, undetermined*): the demographic, the econotechnical, the political-operative and the psychosocial and sociocultural.¹⁷⁴

3.1.5. Dimension E: language opinions, attitudes and behaviours

People usually have their opinions, attitudes and behaviours with regard to the dimensions mentioned above. They may also have opinions about other people's opinions, attitudes and behaviours: with what type of mentality or perspective do people who have experienced (from within, alongside or from the outside) that language evolution regard it? What type of discourse or narrative do they create? When drawing up SHB's analytical scheme, the need for this dimension was never questioned: as Lasagabaster (2006: 1) stresses, attitudes are studied in many scientific disciplines. Agheyisi and Fishman (1970: 137) also underline the importance of this topic for sociolinguistics: "Though attitude studies have not yet attained such prominence in the relatively young field of sociolinguistics, the relevance of attitude studies to such sociolinguistic topics as language choice in multilingual societies, differential allocation of codes, dialect differences and mutual intelligibility – to name a few – is obvious". Fishman always pays parti-

¹⁷⁴ Mackey (1968: 563-565), for instance, lists the following for describing bilingualism: economic, administrative, cultural, political, military, historical, religious and demographic variables. Raumolin-Brunberg (1996: 21-24) describes the following variables: demography, political life, economy, social order, family and kinship, culture. See also Fishman 1972c, Mackey 1973, 1976, 1979 and Cooper 1989.

cular attention to the issue of attitude (Garcia et al. 2006: 29-37).¹⁷⁵ Auer (Auer et al. 2015: 8) has underlined that in historical sociolinguistics, too, it is an indispensable topic of research: “any language history remains incomplete unless we take into account not only the social variation of language but also the (conscious or unconscious) ascription of values to linguistic forms and registers by society or parts of it”. This dimension of attitudes and representations should not be undervalued, as it exercises considerable influence on everyday sociolinguistic reality. Hunt (1989: 7) while plumbing the epistemological depths of the topic, reminds us of the importance of representation by quoting Chartier (1982: 30): “The representations of the social world themselves are the constituents of social reality”, it is not the reality of the behaviour that is of the most importance to understand social reality and social behaviour, but the way that people appropriate this reality, its representation.

This dimension’s name in itself indicates which three parameters must be differentiated. Let us try, then, to explain the difference between language opinions, attitudes and behaviours, making use of some examples given by Baxok when putting together a questionnaire.

- If I express agreement with the sentence *Nowadays all children should study Basque*, I am giving my opinion.
- If I answer the question *If you had children at school, would you like them to study in Basque or in two languages?* I am expressing my attitude.
- Finally, if I answer the question *In which language did you receive your first year of education?*, I am giving information about my behaviour or, perhaps, that of my parents.

Those opinions, attitudes and behaviours may be recognised and explicit, or unnoticed and unconscious: the latter are often the most significant for understanding language use.

¹⁷⁵ We are not going to explain the differences between the behaviourist and mentalist perspectives here in detail. The contrast between them is sufficiently explained by Agheyisi and Fishman (1970) (see also Fasold 1984 and Zarraga et al. 2010: 204). Let us just recall, as Agheyisi and Fishman (1970: 138) have mentioned, that the “mentalist definition suggests that attitudes are a ‘mental and neural state of readiness’ (Allport: 1935). This implies that they are not directly observable but have to be inferred from the subject’s introspection”, whereas the “behaviourist definition locates attitude in actual overt behaviour or responses (Bain: 1928). (...) the only way to determine attitudes is by observation and statistical treatment of behaviour in social situations’ (ibid, p. 957). The main criticism that has been levelled against this approach relates to its theoretical implications which make attitude a dependent variable. According to a strong critic of this approach, ‘attitude has no independence of the specific stimulus situations in which the responses are observed’ and so ‘it cannot be used to explain other behaviours by the same organism’ (Alexander Jr.:1967)”.

The third parameter, behaviour, is directly connected with the first dimension (language use), which is, when it comes down to it, the description of an action. This dimension E, on the other hand, serves to examine whether attitude and action are coherent. From the sociolinguistic point of view, it is a highly significant piece of data when somebody (an individual or a broader social group) says one thing and does another: when studying sociolinguistic situations of language conflict, one inevitably enters a world of cognitive dissonances. In addition, there is a need to distinguish theoretical attitudes and the attitudes and reasons really influencing action (Joly 2004a: 297-301). Finally, another issue is that of defining the connection between attitudes and language competence. It is often stated that people with a more favourable attitude learn Basque better, but one could also ask: is their attitude not better, in fact, because they learn the language better? All of the above issues, then, are relevant to this dimension.

With regard to this dimension, another important topic must be examined: what is an opinion, and what is not? In order to make this dimension operative, the boundaries of opinion must be defined. "Opinion" cannot be understood in an excessively broad sense because, otherwise, anything could be seen as opinion: the Trinity is an absolute truth for Catholics, as reincarnation is for traditional Buddhists; but both are no more than personal opinions in the view of atheists. Clearly, it is not easy to define where opinion starts and finishes. Taking the project's sociolinguistic perspective into account, it is worth clarifying the question from the perspective of sociolinguistics and scientific laws. Not all authors' evaluations and statements are necessarily opinions.

When writing the social history of a language, the following five points are of interest with regard to opinions. Readers will immediately observe the connection between these points and SHB's five dimensions. Quotations providing data about these five points must be classified in dimension E:¹⁷⁶

1. Opinions about usage: for instance, in the case of cell 1E, in given places and at given times, (in 1940 in Biscay and Gipuzkoa and in the Spanish "Siglo de Oro", for instance) saying that using language A or B is good, bad, ugly, desirable, and so on.

¹⁷⁶ Clearly, the main lines of research on attitudes habitually mentioned in sociolinguistics dovetail with our categories. Aghyisi and Fishman (1970: 141) recorded three: "1. those dealing with language-oriented or language-directed attitudes; 2. those dealing with community-wide stereotyped impressions toward particular languages or language varieties (and, in some cases, their speakers, functions, etc.); 3. those concerned with the implementation of different types of language attitudes." In order to flesh out the explanation we have given about Fishman's theoretical approach to attitudes, the article he co-authored with Cooper (Cooper & Fishman 1974) is of particular interest, especially on the topic of measuring language attitudes.

2. Opinions about language speakers or their skills: for instance, again in the case of cell 1E, in given places and at given times, saying that Basque speakers (or speakers of other languages) were good, ugly, evil, admirable, lazy and so on. Being in favour of or opposed to learning Basque is also to be situated here. Thus, the two aspects directly connected with dimension B (being competent and acquiring competence) are covered here: for instance, “Basque speakers are stubborn/simpletons”, or “people learning Basque are nice/real fools”.
3. Opinions about languages: saying that in given places and at given times Basque (or another language) is beautiful, ugly, new, old, local, foreign, capable or incapable (of expressing something or fulfilling a particular function), traditional, derived from another language and so on.
4. Opinions about ethnicity: in given places and at given times, saying that speaking in Basque (or another language), not speaking it, knowing it, not knowing it and so on is a necessary condition in order to be Basque (or a member of another ethnic group).¹⁷⁷
5. Opinions about language attitudes: saying that in given places and at given times, people having a certain attitude to language (for instance, having linguistic consciousness or not) is good or bad and so on.

Even having defined these five areas of interest, we need to clarify the boundaries between reality or action and opinion. The project has taken a clear decision in that respect: it pursues neutrality, taking what is said to be a fact. To stop people classifying the data from becoming judgemental, and to avoid disagreement between researchers, in SHB we have tried to classify information in a dispassionate manner. In this way, neutrality is guaranteed. Subsequently, each researcher will extract from each piece of information the conclusion they see fit. For instance, if an author were to write that “The Spanish monarchy has done a lot of work to make Basque more widely known and protect its everyday usage”, that statement would not be classified as an opinion: we would treat it as if it were objective information even if we well know that it is not the case. Furthermore, in the methodological field, what some of us may take for a fact other authors may see as opinion. In the latter case, too, it has been decided to classify it as fact. In short, opinions reflecting a fact are taken to be fact. Indeed, the objective of the

¹⁷⁷ This fourth point also has a collective dimension, which can be divided into three categories, in terms of the following questions: 1) Which language does the speech community use?; 2) What are its ethnocultural characteristics (ethnicity)?; 3) Where are the people from (territorial definition)?

database is not to judge the information but, rather, to collect it, give it structure and classify it.¹⁷⁸

To continue with the previous example, if author X were to make such a claim about the Spanish monarchy, we would include the quotation in cell 6A on status planning. At the same time, if another author were to say that “the statement made by author X is not correct: it is no more than an opinion without basis in fact”, that statement too would be included in cell 6A and not in column E. In short, we have taken the original information (from author X) to be a fact; so what the second author takes to be “opinion” is “fact” as far as we are concerned. Actually, although confirmations and denials of fact are not themselves fact, they do strengthen or weaken the fact.

3.1.6. Summary of the dimensions

SHB uses the five dimensions listed in table 20.

Table 20: *dimensions*

Code	Name	Contents
A	Language use	Social use of language (or, when appropriate, languages) at given times, in given places.
B	Language competence	Speakers' language competence (in Basque and, when appropriate, in languages other than Basque) at given times, in given places.
C	Language structure	Testimony which the language itself provides us with through its internal structure and gives information about the sociolinguistic situation.
D	Societal features	Features of the social matrix and/or, to put it another way, societal features lacking direct language-related content.
E	Language opinions-attitudes-behaviours	Opinions, attitudes and behaviour relating to Basque and languages other than Basque, at given times, in given places. Their subject matter can be data from any dimension.

¹⁷⁸ See example 173 in Zalbide, Joly, Gardner 2015: 588.

3.2. SHB's analytical parameters: overview

Taking the usual branches of sociolinguistics research into account, we have included six analytical parameters: the *descriptive*, *kinetic*, *dynamic*, *prospective*, *contrastive* and *prescriptive* parameters.¹⁷⁹

3.2.1. The descriptive (or first) analytical parameter

The descriptive parameter examines primarily how the language situation stands.¹⁸⁰ In other words, how things stand at a given time and in a given place with regard to language: how things stand with respect to language use; how things stand in terms of the language competence of individuals and (by derivation or perspective, of groups of speakers); how language itself stands at a given time as a result of its historical development (what matters are commonly dealt with in that language and, so, what it is capable of expressing, what it is not so fit to express; whether a standard language is available or not etc.);¹⁸¹ in what type of social matrix all that takes place; and, lastly, the opinions, attitudes and behaviours the different actors display in relation to the languages or speakers in question, as well as topics such as the use of language A in relationship-network X. The descriptive parameter takes all of this into account. Fishman (1972a: 3) divides sociology of language into two main areas, and one of those is the descriptive, summarising its objective as follows: “descriptive sociology of languages seeks to answer the question ‘who speaks (or writes) what language (or what language variety) to whom and when and to what end’. Descriptive sociology of language tries to disclose the norms of language usage –that is to say, the generally accepted social patterns of language usage and of behaviour and attitude toward language– for particular social networks and communities, both large and small”. The second main section of the sociology of language in Fishman’s opinion (1972a: 3) includes the kinetic and dynamic sociology of language (discussed below).

¹⁷⁹ On the reasons for naming the branches in this way, see Zalvide, M., Joly, L., Gardner, N., 2015: 243-244.

¹⁸⁰ The descriptive parameter includes historical synchronic research, the description of the sociolinguistic situation of a particular historical period. Historical diachronic research (examining the historical evolution of a feature) is included in the second analytical parameter.

¹⁸¹ In addition, to the extent to which the language is in contact with another one, whether there is any sign of that contact within it (in the form of loans or interference), what type of sign it is (lexical, phonetic, morphosyntactic, semantic) and its extent, or whether speakers often resort to code-switching in daily life, and in what way, are all questions to be analysed under this heading.

3.2.2. The kinetic (or second) analytical parameter

The kinetic parameter analyses primarily how things are changing.¹⁸² Whether the languages used are changing or not, to start with. And if, as often happens, they are changing, what is the nature and extent of that change. Change, in general, is a normal occurrence in society, open as society and its structures are. In fact, change is usually a way of facilitating the survival of social structures and of adapting to the conditions of a new environment. In line with Ibañez, Malaina (2008: 15) summarizes the normality of change in this way: “In turn, Ibañez defines society as an open system, ‘open to change’, which ‘reproduces itself by changing’”.¹⁸³ The point or place where change is occurring is of particular importance for the kinetic parameter: where in physical-geographical space, where in functional space and where in social space? Which social groups, which elites and exactly which type of common people have set that behavioural change in motion? Changes in the principal patterns of language use clearly do not occur in all places and domains or functions simultaneously, nor to the same degree.

The kinetic parameter takes into account the various possible evolutions at the sociolinguistic level; it is important to underline that language maintenance and shift are included within that evolution. In fact, maintenance is a kind of evolution, especially in some particular situations: when there is a change in

¹⁸² More precisely, the scope of the kinetic parameter includes how things change at a particular moment or, obviously, how they changed in the past, at one particular time or another. Historical diachronic research examining the historical evolution of a feature falls within the scope of the kinetic parameter. Describing a static sociolinguistic situation at a particular historical moment (historical synchronic research) was included in the first analytical parameter. The objective of historical diachronic research can be one of two: 1) the social evolution and development of a linguistic feature (the objective of historical variationist sociolinguistics); 2) the evolution of society and the influence of that evolution on language (third parameter). That distinction could be parallel to the one between *form-to-function* and *function-to-form* in historical pragmatics. The term “kinetic sociology” itself is a fairly old one: it was coined, perhaps in imitation of physics, when sociology was being established. Later, too, in the 20th century, it has been used in this way on occasion: see, for instance, Leclercq (1955: 92; 105). So it is reasonable for us to make room for it in the discipline of sociology of language rather than start inventing new names. Nevertheless, Leclercq’s classification and that of several other authors differs somewhat. Leclercq (1955: 105) divides the discipline into static and kinetic sociology, and, apparently, the latter was at first known as ‘dynamic sociology’. However, one thing is reporting evolution and another studying what motivates it. A number of experts (including Fishman) call the latter dynamic sociology of language, and our classification, too, has been organized the same way.

¹⁸³ In the same vein, Malaina (2008: 20) affirms: “The anthropo-social system is a dynamic system which evolves and becomes more complex over time. (...) Morin has also constructed the *genos/phenonu* pair; social self-organization would be an auto-(geno-pheno)-eco-re-organization: it implies a code, but also the updating of that code in an environment, by means of an individual being and individual existence. Morin and Ibañez conceived of the anthropo-social system as a dynamic, non-lineal, unpredictable system. It has a history (which implies that it is not only the environment of the system which changes, but the system itself; and this requires a systemic, non-classical approach capable of studying concurrently both external perturbations –*outputs*– and internal fluctuations – internal changes in state, code or structure)”.

society or in the societal matrix but there is a maintenance in the sociolinguistic configuration of the society.

3.2.3. The dynamic (or third) analytical parameter

The dynamic (or causal) parameter analyses primarily why things have changed or why they are changing.¹⁸⁴ This, we believe, is the field of research where the founding fathers of sociology of language have dedicated greatest effort to conceptual elaboration and, even so, it is still where most work is required.¹⁸⁵ The use of a language is neither strengthened nor weakened by chance. It happens for a reason. A similar thing happens to individuals: there is always a reason why speakers lose their mother tongue and learn another; why some monolinguals become bilingual; and why some bilinguals become monolingual. This dynamic parameter can be applied to all the dimensions which historical sociolinguistics addresses. It is probably, along with language planning, the sociolinguistics parameter which has attracted most attention from researchers. In any case, one of the main areas of interest of this social science has been to try to clarify why sociolinguistic changes and innovations of one sort or another happen. The motivation for this interest is evident: by knowing the reason, it is possible to understand more clearly where that reality has come from, to predict the future to some degree and, also, to try to change it through planning. It is precisely those reasons which are the object of research in the dynamic sociology of language. What we have just stated in unadorned form has also been affirmed with more elaborate terminology in a number of the main texts of the sociology of language: according to these texts, the fundamental task of the dynamic field of research is to examine the degree and manner of covariation of the social organization of language behaviour (and attitudes and behaviours with regard to languages and speakers) with earlier, simultaneous, subsequent or exceptional socio-cultural processes.

¹⁸⁴ Fishman (1972c: 2-3; 7; Fishman 1972a: 3) has made use of this term from 19th century sociology (and, ultimately as in the previous case, from physics) and we are following in his footsteps.

¹⁸⁵ Fishman himself (1972a: 122) has mentioned that weakness time and again: “[...] a determination of the circumstances under which language and nonlanguage behaviors change concurrently, consecutively, or independently constitutes one of the major intellectual challenges currently facing this field of inquiry”.

To conclude, we should mention that for Fishman the dynamic parameter was the second main section of the sociology of language. Fishman (1972a) divides sociology of language into two main areas: *descriptive sociology of languages*, mentioned above, and *dynamic sociology of language*. Fishman (1972a: 3) summarises the objective of the dynamic parameter as follows: “-*dynamic sociology of language*- seeks to answer the question ‘what accounts for different rates of change in the social organization of language use and behaviour toward language?’ *Dynamic sociology of language* tries to explain why and how the social organization of language use and behaviour toward language can be selectively different in the *same* social networks or communities on two different occasions. Dynamic sociology of language also seeks to explain why and how once similar social networks or communities can arrive at quite different social organizations of language use and behaviour toward language”.

3.2.4. The prospective (or fourth) analytical parameter

The prospective parameter tries to answer the question if things remain/ evolution continues the way they are, where will we end up? There is not, as far as we know, a specific section in the international technical bibliography dedicated to this analytical parameter, even if it is latent in much language planning. With regard to Basque, however, substantial attention has been paid to it from the 17th century onwards.¹⁸⁶ The prospective parameter takes a particular interest in calculating where the waters of language change are likely to ferry us. Between the present moment and some point in the future (for instance, in the next generation, in fifty years’ time etc.), should one expect use of the language to have extended (language spread) or become more restricted (language decline, shift, loss, death)?¹⁸⁷ In which places, functions and to what degree? This is the main topic of research in the prospective sociology of language. Additionally, this field includes a number of other topics: to what extent a speaker, over their lifetime, might be expected to master language A or language B increasingly well or increasingly poorly; what breadth is to be expected in terms of the set of varieties of the language in the future: whether the language is heading towards a unified standard or not and, finally, in terms of interference and code-switching, what the main results may be in given relationship networks and domains; what speakers’ opinions about, and attitudes towards, their own language and that of others may be in the future.

¹⁸⁶ Take, for instance, Fermin Ulzurrun’s 1662 document (Irigaray 1960: 336-337), Wilhelm von Humboldt’s modest estimate (Humboldt 1821) and Reclus’ prognosis (Reclus 1867). Since then, this line of research has continued to gather strength rather than decline.

¹⁸⁷ Nancy Dorian (1981; 1989) was a pioneer in research of this type. See also Wurm (1951).

3.2.5. The contrastive (or fifth) analytical parameter

The contrastive parameter, among other topics, examines the following question: is the current situation of a language or languages (or their projection into the future) to the taste or not of their speakers? Do they agree or disagree with the situation? As the name itself clearly indicates, this fifth field of research usually compares and contrasts two elements, normally explicitly, occasionally implicitly: on the one hand, the current situation of a language or languages (or a projection with regard to their future) of interest to a speaker or group of speakers. On the other, the situation which they would like that language or set of languages to have at present or in the future. To put it another way, this fifth field of research asks: where are we headed and where should we be headed? Where should we be and where are we now? In this respect, it is not important whether this reality has already happened or is just foreseen. What is important is that we contrast this apparently objective present or future reality with our wishes. So in this field of research there are always two aspects at play: on the one hand, current or foreseen reality, on the other, a desired or affective aspect.

That contrast has a familiar source, of course, let us start from the definition which Weinstein (1980: 56) gave of language planning and its objectives: “Language planning is a government authorized, long-term, sustained and conscious effort to alter a language’s function in a society for the purpose of solving communication problems”. The objective, he believed, was to solve communication problems. Let us compare that definition with the definitions of language planning given in two further formulations. Jernudd and Das Gupta (1971: 211) define language planning as follows: “political and administrative activity for solving language problems in society”. Fishman (Fishman (ed) 1974: 79), on the other hand, believes that language planning can be defined as: “the organized pursuit of solutions to language problems”. In these two definitions, the objective of planning is to solve “language problems in society”, a broader objective, therefore, than Weinstein’s. Communication problems may be the object of language planning, but not necessarily so, as the other two definitions make clear.¹⁸⁸

Whether this is a social problem or not, and whether one is aware of that problem or not, is closely connected with each individual’s ideological make-up.¹⁸⁹ When one studies the contrast that is central to this parameter, it usually turns out that the ideal or affective prong of that contrast proves to have an ideological basis. A given problem will arise (or not) depending on the dominant ideologies

¹⁸⁸ On definitions of language planning, see Karam 1974.

¹⁸⁹ Let us recall two or three concepts of considerable ideological weight in sociolinguistics: the concept of linguistic alienation, that of linguistic awareness, and that of language normalisation. Alienation, sometimes, is a sign of a lack of cohesion between conscious reality and factual reality.

in society and, as far as we are concerned, on the ideologies of the authors who provide testimony on the language. If an author does not agree with a particular linguistic situation, in the belief that the situation should be otherwise, that author has made an evaluation grounded in a particular sociolinguistic ideology, which sometimes has its origins in a more general ideology.

Effecting that evaluation or contrast has a specific result or consequence. The person making the contrast may see a substantial difference between the two elements, a small difference, or think that there is none at all. After making that contrast, if the members of a speech community are roughly in agreement with the current or foreseeable situation, it is quite possible they will do nothing about it: they have measured the situation and are in agreement with the results obtained from the contrast. There is nothing arising from the contrast which might lead to new initiatives. On the other hand, if they observe a lack of fit between the desirable situation and the current (or foreseeable) one, they may see a “problem” of lack of coherence needing to be resolved. In such cases, making use of language planning has been the typical solution. To put it another way, if a lack of cohesion or fit is detected between the two aspects in this fifth parameter, it becomes a bridge or trampoline towards the sixth, a source of motivation for solving the “problem” which has arisen.

3.2.6. The prescriptive (or sixth) analytical parameter

If it is believed that some facet of the current linguistic situation is inappropriate, and, as a consequence, one wants to achieve a different configuration, what should be done to that end? Basically, the prescriptive parameter analyses what could be done and what has been done to achieve that objective or end in a particular situation at a particular historical moment. This sixth field of research has been called applied sociology of language.¹⁹⁰ As an academic discipline it follows on from the applied linguistics of old, but it has grown considerably over the last forty years in particular and has also developed its own conceptual schemes. The famous distinction of Heinz Kloss (1969), between language *status* and *corpus* planning, has won new heirs since then. Among more recent developments, *language acquisition planning* (Cooper 1989) has been the most widely used. These three types of planning correspond to the first three of the dimensions mentioned above: status planning dovetails with the plane of language use; *language acquisition* planning with the plane of individual speaker competence; and the third, *corpus* planning, with the internal structure of the language itself (vocabulary, in particular) and graphization concerns. To the extent to which the social matrix is

¹⁹⁰ See, for instance, Fishman (1991).

planned, almost any type of planning could be included in the fourth dimension: family planning, industrial planning, health planning etc. However, they are not all of equal interest for SHB. We are nevertheless particularly interested in identity planning, since this type of sociocultural and political operative planning tends to be closely connected with language matters. Finally, with regard to the fifth dimension, efforts to influence language opinions, attitudes and behaviours are of particular interest.¹⁹¹ All these types of planning are not necessarily from the present day: many initiatives from the past can also be included in this field, even though the denomination of language planning was neither known nor used.¹⁹²

3.2.7. Summary of the analytical parameters

The data which the SHB project is gathering are classified in five dimensions and six main parameters. In summary, the first line of research, the descriptive parameter, examines things as they are; the second, the kinetic parameter, looks at how things are changing; the third, the dynamic or causal parameter, analyses why things have changed (or why they are changing); the fourth, the prospective parameter, aims at gathering explanations which try to foresee where we will end up if we carry on the way things are going; the fifth, the contrastive parameter, examines whether we are comfortable with the situation we are in or are likely to find ourselves in, and the language opinions and attitudes we develop as a result; and, lastly, the sixth, the prescriptive parameter, looks at what can be done, when, how and using what means to improve the current situation and get as close as possible to achieving our desired objective. Table 21 provides a summary.

Table 21: analytical parameters

Code	Name	Contents
1	Descriptive	How things stand
2	Kinetic	How things are changing
3	Dynamic	Why things are changing
4	Prospective	Headed the way we are, where will we end up?

¹⁹¹ An example is provided by the efforts of Basque public authorities, in their campaigns for the promotion of the Basque language, to present a more “modern” collective representation of Basque speakers.

¹⁹² For instance, when abbot Justo Barbagero (cited in Lizundia 2004: 808) mentioned in the 19th century the language planning promoted by the Spanish monarchy in the past, the information provided should be classified in the prescriptive parameter: “...our monarchs have tried to limit the use of the Basque language, ordering teaching in all schools to be carried out using books in Spanish and using other means to spread the use of the latter language...”.

Code	Name	Contents
5	Contrastive	Whether we are at ease with the situation we are in, or with the future we believe we face
6	Prescriptive	What can be done, when and how, using what resources, to improve the current situation and achieve our desired objective. What has been done in the language planning field.

3.3. SHB's matrix or explanatory scheme

As we have seen in the previous two sections of this chapter, after much experimentation we decided to make use of six research parameters (the descriptive, kinetic, dynamic, prospective, contrastive and prescriptive fields of research, referred to in abbreviated form using the numbers 1 to 6), and to distinguish five dimensions along each of those parameters (language use, language competence, internal language structure, social matrix and language opinion-attitude-behaviours, referred to in abbreviated form by using the letters A to E). In total, then, a 30 cell matrix has been created, combining the six analytical parameters and the five dimensions. In the interests of clear, easy reference, each cell has an alphanumeric code. The alphanumeric cell-codes take the parameter into account first, and then the dimension: for instance, 1B, 3A or 5E. The following tables present a summary of the thirty cells of the matrix, explanatory table or framework and show them in graphic form.

Table 22 shows the standardised names for dimensions, analytical parameters and cells. These terms have usually been formulated in a fairly compact manner, although the underlying conceptualisation is often complex. To facilitate interpretation, we also present a second table, table 23, which clarifies which question each analytical parameter and even each cell tries to answer.

Table 22: names and codes of dimensions, analytical parameters and cells

			Dimensions				
			A: Language use	B: Language competence	C: Language structure	D: Societal features	E: Language opinions-attitudes-behaviours
ANALYTICAL PARAMETERS	1	Descriptive	1A - Describing language use	1B - Describing language competence	1C - Describing language structure	1D - Describing societal features	1E - Describing language attitudes
	2	Kinetic	2A - Change in language use	2B - Change in language competence	2C - Change in language structure	2D - Change in societal features	2E - Change in language attitudes
	3	Dynamic	3A - Dynamics of change in language use	3B - Dynamics of change in language competence	3C - Dynamics of change in language structure	3D - Dynamics of change in societal features	3E - Dynamics of change in language attitudes
	4	Prospective	4A - Expected future language use	4B - Expected future language competence	4C - Expected future language structure	4D - Expected future societal features	4E - Expected future language attitudes
	5	Contrastive	5A - Language use contrasted with ideal	5B - Language competence contrasted with ideal	5C - Language structure contrasted with ideal	5D - Societal features contrasted with ideal	5E - Language attitudes contrasted with ideal
	6	Prospective	6A - Language status planning	6B - Language acquisition planning	6C - Language corpus planning	6D - Planning for societal features	6E - Planning for language attitudes

Table 23: fundamental questions answered by analytical parameters and cells

		Dimensions					
		A: Language use	B: Language competence	C: Language structure	D: Societal features	E: Language opinions-attitudes-behaviours	
ANALYTICAL PARAMETERS	1	What is the situation at a certain place, at a certain time?	With regard to language use	With regard to language competence	With regard to language structure	With regard to societal features	With regard to language opinions-attitudes-behaviours
	2	How have things evolved?	With regard to language use	With regard to language competence	With regard to language structure	With regard to societal features	With regard to language opinions-attitudes-behaviours
	3	Cause: Why is it happening, why has it happened? Effect: What is the consequence of each evolution on the second parameter in the other four dimensions? Covariation: Covariation, co-occurrences and other covariation phenomena	With regard to the evolution in language use	With regard to the evolution in language competence	With regard to the evolution in language structure	With regard to the evolution in societal features	With regard to the evolution in language opinions-attitudes-behaviours
	4	What type of future do we expect?	With regard to language use	With regard to language competence	With regard to language structure	With regard to societal features	With regard to language opinions-attitudes-behaviours
	5	Where are we headed (4) and where would we like to be headed? (Where would we like to be and where are we (1)?): <i>(dis)agreement between the two</i>	With regard to language use	With regard to language competence	With regard to language structure	With regard to societal features	With regard to language opinions-attitudes-behaviours
	6	What must be done, to protect what is right or correct what is wrong? What has been done?	With regard to language use	With regard to language competence	With regard to language structure	With regard to societal features	With regard to language opinions-attitudes-behaviours

3.3.1. The limits of the matrix

The objective of the SHB project is to clarify the social history of Basque, as its name clearly indicates. To that end, it makes use of the tools provided by the sociology of language. So it is wholly immersed in the functioning and complexity of society. In fact, reflecting that complexity conceptually and making it operative in an appropriate way is a defining characteristic of the project. More than one reason leads us to this complexity: the complexity naturally involved in examining reality, the complexity involved in analysing time and the complexity added by the project being a trail blazer in this discipline. Of course, we are not the first in the field of sociolinguistics to stress this complexity. Wodak (2000: 4), on presenting her *Discourse-Historical Approach*, specifically described this characteristic and underlined the need for a robust methodological basis in order to achieve the aim she had set herself: “In investigating complex social problems, we need a theoretical framework, which labels, systematizes and explains our ethnographic experiences which first form a kind of “symptomology”. Our task as critical scholars is, *inter alia*, to relate relevant “symptoms” and “phenomena” with each other and to offer theoretical explanations for such relationships”. Wodak (2000: 4-5) also believes that the gap between understanding and explaining must be bridged: “The difference between “*verstehen*” (understand) and “*erklären*” (explain) is important. In my opinion, we cannot aim at any kind of mono-causal explanation in the sense of the Natural Sciences. Social phenomena are much too complex and historically embedded to be explained in such uni-directional ways”.¹⁹³

3.3.1.1. Systemic complexity

The complexity paradigm has become indispensable in the second half of the 20th century in order to capture and study reality. Until then in Western research only the object was taken into account; now the subject too has become part of research, a change formulated in the observer’s paradox. According to this paradox, the subject (observer) must be taken into account as part of the research. That being so, it is stressed that the way to apprehend reality is through representations: the only reality we can perceive is a represented one. As Schrödinger (1992 [1958]: 122) wrote, “Every man’s world picture is and always remains a construct of his mind and cannot be proved to have any other existence”. Researchers are subject to this rule, like all humans, although, as Jaspers (cited in Watzlawick 1978: 44) said, “To be sure, when doing scientific research there is in

¹⁹³ Wodak (eg 2000: 7) stresses more than once the need to contemplate multiple causes when understanding events: “Thus, I assume, that the complexities of modern societies can only be grasped by a model of multicausal, mutual influences between different groups of persons within a specific society.”

us the constant impulse of looking at the world as if I, the recognizing agent, were not in it and with it; we would like to explore the world by excluding the fact that it is we who take cognizance of it". To put it another way, there is no objective reality (or, at least, humans cannot access or get close to that first degree reality). So the world is something represented: as Abric (1994: 12) says "in principle, there is no *a priori* objective reality, (...) all reality is represented, in other words, appropriated by the individual or the group, reconstructed in their cognitive system, integrated in their value system depending on their history and the social and ideological context surrounding them".

After object and subject have become part of research, and the importance of representation been stressed, the research field of sociology (in our case, of sociology of language) is wholly integrated into the complexity paradigm. We will not specifically deal with that complexity, as it is not, in fact, a specific feature of our project, being rather an indispensable component in any research into reality. Representations are fundamental when researching the configuration of society, its evolution and what are assumed to be the underlying reasons. As Guimelli (1994: 106) writes, "It is not the objective reality of the situation which allows us (...) to understand (social facts), but, rather, the way in which groups appropriate it". Moscovici, too, has underlined the importance of complexity in research methodology: he contrasts two research methods in his introduction. His objective is to open up a new phase in social psychology, breaking with the previous, out-of-date approaches (Moscovici 1976: 5). He recommends sidelining the uniform social psychology which examines society from the perspective of the majority, of those who dominate, and moving towards a bolder, more critical form of psychology. In other words, changing to a perspective and a paradigm which recognises the dynamic, changeable nature of reality (Moscovici 1976: 6). Here is how Moscovici (1976: 6) distinguishes these models (the first, traditional, model he calls "functionalist", and the second, the one he wants to promote, "genetic"):

In order to highlight the differences between the functionalist and the genetic models, we could say that one views the social system and the environment as *givens*, while the other views them as *products*; one stresses the *dependence* of individuals on the group and their social *reaction* to it, while the other stresses the *interdependence* between individuals and the group and the social *interaction* in the group. Finally, for the one, the people and the group seek and tend to *adapt*, whereas for the other, their endeavour is to *grow*, that is, they seek and tend to develop the capacity to assimilate selectively and to create new ways of thinking and doing, to redefine and reconstitute their boundaries by combining old and new, internal and external, to modify the environment and expand the network of social relations, and to participate in the creation of new groups and subgroups.

Research has typically been an initiative which attempts to explain reality by means of words. To an extent this attempt, however, seems to be in vain, in that reality is not unique or lineal while language, on the other hand, is and, therefore, cannot reflect reality in its entirety. To quote Glasersfeld (1984: 37), “Language inexorably forces us to present everything as a sequence. The three sections of this essay, thus, will have to be read one after the other, but inevitable succession should not be understood as a logically necessary order”.

3.3.1.2. The complexity paradigm and the SHB matrix

A desire to analyse and describe sociolinguistic and historical reality involves plunging into the complexity paradigm. In order to approach the object we are examining in the most appropriate manner, reality has to be grasped in all its complexity. Morin (2005: 21), for instance, has compared the complexity with a piece of tapestry: “What is complexity? Firstly, complexity is a tissue (complexus: that which is woven together) of heterogeneous elements which are inseparably associated: it is paradoxically one and multiple at the same time”. To make a comparison, Morin (2005:113) gives contemporary tapestry as an example: it is made up of threads of many different types and colours. In order to get to know that tapestry entirely and in depth, it is not enough for us to study the distinguishing features of each thread. Being familiar with each thread is not enough to become acquainted with the tissue which makes up the new reality nor does it give us information about the shape of the tapestry or about its entire composition. So the simplification inevitably implicit in each methodology must be taken into account: they are tools for approaching reality, but not reality in itself. Even if each thread is thoroughly examined, attention must be paid to the form of the entire tapestry, too. As Morin (1973: 229) says, “No theory, even a scientific one, can get to the bottom of reality and enclose its object in its paradigms”.

In the social history of Basque, too, each analytical parameter and dimension can be examined separately in order to obtain a superficial analysis of each thread of the sociolinguistic situation. However, an all-encompassing perspective has to be pieced together subsequently, taking all the dimensions and analytical parameters together into account. Normally, something of greater depth and breadth than the sum of the dimensions and analytical parameters will be brought into being via this second phase. After presenting *descriptive sociology of language* and *dynamic sociology of language*, Fishman (1972a: 3) remarked on something similar: “These two subdivisions taken together, i.e., descriptive sociology of language plus dynamic sociology of language constitute the sociology of language, a whole which is greater than the mere sum of its parts”. This kind of phenomenon is common in science, it is called emergence and is also linked to complexity. In

recent years, research about language has been using statistical techniques that give rise to these kinds of parameters (Solé, Corominas, Fortuny, 2013).

SHB's methodological model and the combination table, or matrix, attempts to take all of these paradigms into account. The objective of the combination table is to serve as a tool for deconstructing the historical reality of society. In order to analyse reality, it seems essential to start by simplifying (analysing each thread in itself). The combination table offers an excellent opportunity to do just that by defining five dimensions and six analytical parameters. Furthermore, the matrix and the computer database created to work with it are useful for classifying and saving the deconstructed material. When all the threads have been examined, the analysis of complexity and the whole begins. In other words, after deconstructing, reconstruction work is required in order to establish the whole once more. And that, in fact, is the researcher's task. So there are four main phases: 1) gathering information about a situation (reality); 2) differentiating and classifying that information (deconstructing); 3) analysing the information classified in terms of the sociology of language (reconstruction of each thread/part); 4) recreating the whole (reconstruction by the researcher).

So the matrix has a double function: for one thing, it is a tool for classifying information provided by witnesses and reporters for each period; for another, it serves to classify all that information in terms of present-day scientific parameters and, carrying on from there, to carry out basic analysis. Let us see how what we say can be applied, with the help of an example. Jimeno Jurio (2004: 89), in his publication on the historical decline of Basque in Navarre, quotes the following passage found in the Pamplona/Iruñea diocesan archive (c/262, nº 2, f. 23):

... the parish congregation, or most of it, is made up of livestock farmers and herders and they usually and habitually take their animals down to the Ribera [outside the traditional Basque speaking area, in the very south of Navarre] and other parts, and do not return to their homes until the end of June, and because all or most of them only speak Basque, they cease to make their confessions and take communion until they go back home, and then they fulfil the Church's precept in their parishes.

The passage reflects answers given by some parish priests to the diocesan prosecutor. Leaving aside the question of whether the information is reliable, it contains very valuable information for the SHB project: the shepherds taking part in the transhumance were monolingual Basque speakers. That information has to be classified in SHB's matrix. It must be included in the language competence dimension: 1B (descriptive parameter + language competence) and in the language use section: 1A (descriptive parameter + language use). In the same way, an initial classification can be carried out thanks to the matrix (and, in particular,

its subsections). Classifying the information in cells 1A and 1B is the first step in analytical classification, then: when describing any sociolinguistic situation, one basic set of distinctions is that of knowledge, use and attitude. In addition, the influence of transhumance and mobility in the survival of minority languages has often appeared in sociolinguistic research.¹⁹⁴ Hence, the topic of transhumance has been included in its own right in one of the cells of the matrix within the terminology-chain ‘location/ecological demarcation/mobile life-style/transhumance’ discussed in 2.4.2. So when researchers attempt to describe and analyse reality, they will be able to use the conceptual framework to find the data and will receive the data once it has passed through the initial methodological filter.

¹⁹⁴ See, for instance, the title of the seminar organized in Laval university by M. Daveluy in 2011: “the linguistic stakes of mobility”.

4. DESCRIPTIVE PARAMETER

In chapters 4 to 9, the nature and internal structure of each cell of the combination table which constitutes the general historical-sociolinguistic structure of the taxonomy we propose will be explained. These explanations will be given cell by cell, going from top to bottom, and, within each analytical parameter, examining the dimensions from left to right: in other words, from 1A to 6E. To follow this explanation concept by concept and cell by cell with greater ease, we recommend the reader takes a look at the full taxonomy listed at the end of the book. At the end of each cell description a summary table will also be included.

Table 24 provides a summary of the five dimensions for the first analytical parameter.

Table 24: *cells on the descriptive parameter*

Code	Standardised term
1A	1A - Describing language use
1B	1B - Describing language competence
1C	1C - Describing language structure
1D	1D - Describing societal features
1E	1E - Describing language attitudes

4.1. 1A - Describing language use

What is the social use of language(s), at given times and in given places, or in general? To put it another way, the labels in cell 1A respond to this question: what are things like at a given place and at a given moment in time with regard to the use of language(s)? Before specifying how SHB has organized this cell, let us examine how others have.

There is a wealth of bibliography on this topic worldwide. One of the main concerns of the sociology of language is to describe language use at specific moments; as we have already mentioned, Fishman (1972a: 3) states that one of the objectives of the sociology of language “is concerned with describing the generally accepted social organization of language usage within a speech community (...). This part of the sociology of language – *descriptive sociology of language* – seeks to answer the question ‘*who speaks (or writes) what language (or what language variety) to whom and when and to what end*’”.¹⁹⁵ This is precisely the question which this dimension wants to answer.

Rubin, for her part, mentions a number of variables in order to understand choice of language. Therefore, when describing language use, these are variables which we may need to take into account. We have already mentioned most of them in the second chapter. Rubin (1968: 514-515) states:

The literature discussed above has suggested several variables which are operable in linguistic choice. These may be grouped as follows:

1. The relationship between two or more persons involved in conversation. This would be considered from the speaker’s point of view and his estimate of the relationship. In this group, one could include Brown and Ford’s intimacy and status variables. I would add that sex might be a separate variable. Regardless of intimacy or status, members of the opposite sex might with each other use forms different from those used with members of the same sex.
2. The attributes of either the speaker or the addressee. Here one might list class level and origin. (“Origin” specifies the area a person comes from – specifically, rural, town or urban.) Even though great intimacy exists, certain classes might prefer different reciprocal forms.
3. The aspects of the situation. Here one could include Stewart’s formality-informality and public-private variables. Another variable might be the location of the situation,

¹⁹⁵ Bock (1968: 215-220) deals with the topic in a similar way.

i.e. rural, town or urban. A final variable might be the degree of seriousness of the situation. Many informal situations may obviously be quite serious.

To a large extent, Rubin's distinguishing characteristics concord with the variables defined by Fishman (1965b), when explaining how multilingual sociolinguistic situations should be described.¹⁹⁶ After confirming that choice of language in multilingual situations follows specific norms, Fishman describes the factors which influence it.¹⁹⁷ Such factors are, indeed, what must be studied in order to describe specific linguistic situations where more than one language is involved. Fishman specifies the following specific variables:¹⁹⁸

- a) Group membership (Fishman 1965b: 68) includes both objective physiological membership (age, gender, race, religion¹⁹⁹ and so on) and/or subjective membership. Of subjective membership Fishman (1965b: 69) says that: "(...) the very existence of certain reference groups (e.g. club member) seems to depend largely on location, setting or other environmental factors (...), rather than on group-consciousness or group-experience as such".
- b) Situation has five main components (Fishman 1965b: 69): "Ervin (7) observes that various situations (settings) may be restricted with respect to the *participants* who may be present, the *physical setting*, the *topics* and *functions* of discourse and the *style* employed".

In order to give a description of multilingual sociolinguistic situations, Fishman drew up dominance configuration tables. These tables will be explained in section 4.1.4.

This cell, then, is concerned with measuring the social use of language (and, when appropriate, languages) in specific places and at specific times. When one turns to the social history of Basque, and using data from this cell, the first aim is to answer the question: at given times, in given places, what has the use of

¹⁹⁶ Fishman (1971c) made considerable additions to the article: "The relationship between micro- and macro-sociolinguistics in the study of who speaks what language to whom and when". Fishman has discussed how to give descriptions in many articles and books from 1965 onwards: Fishman 1971a: 308; 1965b: 92; (ed) 1978: 437; 1972a.

¹⁹⁷ Fishman (1965b: 67-68) writes: "(...) habitual language choice is far from being a random matter of momentary inclination (...) only *one* of the theoretically co-available languages *will* be chosen by particular classes of *interlocutors* on particular *occasions*".

¹⁹⁸ These variables have been explained in detail in chapter 2. Clearly, the social variables described there are closely linked with cell 1A, and serve to define the social setting of language use.

¹⁹⁹ Crystal (1964, 1966, 1969) has carried out extensive work on religious language from a sociolinguistic perspective.

Basque and languages other than Basque been like in the principal domains and in the (oral and written) production of local communities, in their relationship networks?

In short, all such information needs to be recorded in cell 1A in a structured manner. This, in our opinion, makes it necessary to take at least the following facets of the data into account: a) level of data precision (to what extent have we gathered data corresponding to all the parameters identified by sociolinguists); b) data generalisation strength (in other words, to what extent does the case we are examining concern a unique individual or reflect the usage of a whole collectivity); c) the details which must be provided on the degree of reliability of the data; d) the degree of stability of the situation being described, when recording general data about a group; e) the reasons given to explain each situation; and, lastly, f) as with all other dimensions, the degree to which data is explicit.

a) Data precision

Depending on the quantity and wealth of data provided by the sources we need to distinguish between three possible approaches:²⁰⁰

1. In the simplest cases, dichotomies such as *yes/no* (in other words, *Basque / non-Basque*) have to be used: for example, according to a number of documents, during the second half of the 18th century farmers in Donostia living outside the city walls spoke only Basque.²⁰¹ These dichotomic formulations are simple, and they do not provide the options for precision the approach we examine next does. However, they should not be written off. As Fishman (1991: 53-54) puts it, “Minimal solution to the problem of estimation [of language use:] to rate whether Xish or Yish ‘is the most frequently used language’. [...] [A] grid [...] provides a structured and uniform approach for collecting such opinion from various specialists and for comparing such opinion from one specialist to the other and from one time to the next”.
2. In the most sophisticated cases, tables (in the terminology of SHB, for cell 1A: *language use related dominance configuration tables*) combining sociology of language concepts such as media, overtness, domain (of language use) and role relation can be used, depending on the degree of precision of information about language use both from explicit sources and from inferences teased out from more implicit content.

²⁰⁰ Other types of analysis taking other factors into account are also possible. See, for instance, the ‘determinants of usage’ (Rubin 1968), mentioned above.

²⁰¹ For this particular case, the *urban / rural* label may also be useful. See 2.4.3.

In other words, language use at a given place and time can be specified by media (listening, speaking, reading or writing), by overtness (depending on whether communication is for oneself, a known person or a group of unknown people etc.), by domain (at home, in the neighbourhood or village friendship group, at work, in religious contexts etc.) and, in each domain, by role relationships (in the family, for instance, between husband and wife, or parents with children, or siblings amongst themselves, etc.).

Domains have no lasting “intrinsic” structure: the structural model to be applied may change considerably from one place to another and, particularly, from one century to another. Because of that, the structural model chosen needs to be valid for fairly long periods of time. Table 25 provides an initial example.²⁰²

Table 25: example of a language use related dominance configuration table

Media	Domain	Role relationships	Most used language
Speaking	Family	Husband-wife Parent-child Grandparent-grandchild Siblings (at home) Others (parents' generation) Others (children's generation)	
	Neighbourhood	Friends Acquaintances	

²⁰² For the source, see Fishman 1991: 55 (religion and village life are not recorded in the original).

Media	Domain	Role relationships	Most used language
Speaking	Sports / leisure	Others in attendance	
	Education	Pupil-teacher Pupil-pupil	
	Work	Employer-employee	
	Government	Officer (Civil Servant)-citizen	
	Religion	Praying (at home, in church etc.) Hearing Mass Preaching and listening to sermons Promoting Christian teaching [Sunday school classes]	
	Village life	Public activities Market-day buying and selling	
	Others		

3. Lastly, when sophisticated models cannot be applied, compromise descriptive tools have to be used. Fishman (1991: 49-52) makes the following recommendation: “Language use is somewhat easier to evaluate than attitude and language competence; (...) [M]uch of it is overt and available for others to see and hear. However, its accurate depiction is beset by various difficulties (...). The greatest of these difficulties is finding the proper unit of performance that is to be counted. (...) The usual escape hatch in the rating of observable behaviours, particularly for large-scale studies (...) is undertaken in terms of ratings of ‘relative frequency clusters’. Such ratings are technically known as ‘Likert-type’ ratings’ and utilize such designations as ‘always’, ‘frequently’, ‘sometimes’, ‘rarely’ and ‘never’. (...) [W]here greater rating or self-rating accuracy is either unattainable or attainable only at prohibitive costs (...), the response categories used in language surveys are most commonly left undefined, i.e. they are presented as intuitively understandable and interpretable ‘relative frequency clusters’. (...) [T]he responses on self-report Likert-type instruments are significantly related to independently obtained daily behavioural records of a more precise type”.

SHB uses all three systems mentioned above. To reflect the situation of the use of Basque and, in general, of other local languages the labels *in general*, *in an undetermined manner* and *language use related dominance configuration table* and other sets of labels (those grouped under *socio-functional position*, *language behaviour*) must be used.

b) Data generalisation strength

Does the information about use which we have taken from a document concern a single person, or does it describe many people's behaviour? If the data relates to a single person, to what extent is that individual description helpful when defining the behaviour of others? Has the author not cited it as atypical behaviour? Clearly, depending on the answer to these questions, data collected from different sources does not necessarily have the same validity in terms of making generalisations. As a result, we must make a fundamental distinction between the three models just mentioned: the *language use related dominance configuration table* is of use for defining language use in a network of relationships or in the whole speech community. If such a table is based on a single person's experiences or explanations, we will be assuming that that individual experience reflects that of a whole group of people in some way. Generalisations of that sort have often proved to be correct.

c) Data reliability

Of course, not all data about usage has the same degree of reliability: there is a long *continuum* stretching from a simple "apparently" to a richly documented piece of research. Data from different sources cannot be taken to have the same value.

d) Degree of stability of situation

If the situation of use the quotation describes refers to a group, is that situation stable? Or is it conflicted and unlikely to endure? When we are provided with such information, we have the option of two second-level labels to store it appropriately: *situation stable (language maintenance prevails)* and *situation unstable (some sort of language shift appears)*. As the appropriate use of these two concepts may prove problematic, an explanation of each with detailed justification will be offered in 4.1.2. and 4.1.3.

e) Reasons given to explain a situation

When describing a situation of language use, authors of quotations themselves often explain why the situation is as it is. Such explanations may or may not provide the true cause, but at the very least they need to be recorded; to that end, the label *reason for IA* must be used, as explained in 4.1.5.

f) Degree of data explicitness

As we stated clearly at the start of this chapter and in the 10th chapter, there is considerable variation between one piece of data and another: some quotes are

explicit, while others are not. When we see that useful information can be derived from a quotation even though it is not stated word for word, we use the *inference* label.

To summarise the information in this section about description of language use (1A), then, we make use of six second-level labels under the heading *1A – Describing language use: general, undetermined; language use without language contact; language use with some kind of language contact; language use related dominance configuration table; reason for 1A and inference*, some with corresponding third level labels. To give a rounded picture, two other groups of labels should also be used: those expressing *socio-functional position* and *language behaviour*. Let us, then, examine one-by-one the basis for, and use of, the labels chosen by SHB.

4.1.1. General, undetermined (along with language behaviour)

The term *general, undetermined* is fundamental in this cell.²⁰³ It is used when none of the more specific labels in this cell are appropriate to the language use in the quotation. As with all other quotes, after using the label *General, undetermined, socio-functional position* and *language behaviour* also have to be defined if at all possible, so the social coordinates of these speech acts can also be obtained.

The use of the first group of labels, that of *socio-functional position*, we have already explained: see section 2.5. Terms from the *domain* set as well as the label *role relationship* may also prove to be useful.

The second group of labels, *language behaviour*, however, requires specific explanation. It involves six different parameters, each embedded in the previous one with its own set of labels (see table 26).²⁰⁴ The *language behaviour* label can be used in any cell of our taxonomy; it has the same status as *socio-functional position*: it stands outside the cells of our dimensions and analytical parameters so it can be used in conjunction with any of the cells of our model, but it is particularly useful for cell 1A.

²⁰³ See examples 2, 4, 5, 7, 9, 14, 24, 130, 134.

²⁰⁴ In the international bibliography, of course, the seminal work of Fishman (1965b: 79-81) should be consulted (media, role, situation, domain). When discussing the dominance configuration table below, Fishman's explanations will be presented in greater detail. Detailed theoretical explanations of the terms can also be found in Fishman 1972c: 88-93 (media, overtress, domains, role-relations, dominance configuration), Zalvide & Muñoa 2006: 231, Zalvide 2009: 10-12.

Table 26: basic organization of *language behaviour*

Label level	Parameter name	Meaning
1	Language behaviour	Group of terms which includes media, overtness, style, dominant language and language variety for each speech act.
2	Media	What is the speaker's activity: listening, speaking, writing or reading?
3	Overtness	To whom is the communication addressed: to oneself, to a known person, to a group of unknown people?
4	Style	What is the style of communication? Depending on the degree of personal closeness or distance suggested by the expression considered, where is the style situated on the <i>continuum</i> between the intimate and the formal?
5	Dominant language	What is the dominant language of communication in the physical and socio-functional space under study? Which language is most used, objectively?
6	Language variety	In the specific communication we are labelling, which language or dialect has been used? Obviously, it does not necessarily have to coincide with the (main) language(-variety) used in the act of communication under consideration.

The next step is to examine in each level of labelling mentioned the specific labels which can be used.

The first parameter, *language behaviour*, is the root of the five parameters which appear on the following levels.

In the second parameter, *media*, there are seven terms: *general*, *undetermined*; *listening*; *speaking*; *reading*; *writing*; *translation* and *cryptolanguage*.²⁰⁵ The last two terms, *translation* and *cryptolanguage*, have been included because they were once (and, to an extent, still are) helpful for describing language behaviour in Basque society, even though they are normally not mentioned specifically in academic formulations of *language behaviour*. In the first case, the term is necessary because of the close contact Basque has had with a number of other languages over the centuries, contact which has created the need for simultaneous, consecutive and whispered interpreting in oral situations and, in written language, for translations in separate or parallel texts. Leizarraga's work (Leizarraga 1990 [1571]), for instance, which has been exceptionally important in the social history of Basque, largely consists of translations. Bible translations have held similarly important roles in a number of European languages. With regard

²⁰⁵ For *speaking*, see examples 40, 68, 72. For *writing* see examples 7, 9, 10, 11, 40, 68, 70, 72. For *translation* see examples 2, 140, 150. Translations are of particular importance for examining the social history of languages. On translations in the religious domain, for instance, see Kortazar (2003). For *crypto-language* see example 77.

to cryptolanguage, Basque has sometimes been used by two people in front of a third, non-Basque speaker, in order to hide what was being communicated from that third party: there are, for example, hand-written communications between Basques in commercial and official settings. They are mostly written in Spanish, but - perhaps because of fear of being reported - some parts are also written in Basque: see also, for instance, the Basque words, expressions and passages which Larramendi included in his Spanish texts, as well as the letters written by Friar Domingo de Lardizabal in 1655 from Palestine (Arce 1967).

Leaving aside the special cases of *translation* and *cryptolanguage*, the media parameter has four main subsections (Fishman 1991: 43): *listening*, *speaking*, *reading* and *writing*.²⁰⁶ A fifth has also been added for cases where there is a lack of precision: *general, undetermined*.²⁰⁷

In the third parameter, *overtness*, the question being answered is who produces the message and for whom. The following distinctions may be needed: listening *to known sender* and *to unknown sender* under the heading of *listening*; speaking *for known receiver*; *for unknown receiver* and *inner speech* under *speaking*; reading *for oneself* and reading *aloud* under *reading*; and, lastly, writing *for oneself*, *for known receiver* and *for unknown receiver* under *writing*.²⁰⁸

In the fourth parameter, *style*, the degree of formality of use is clarified: we have already seen (3.1.1.) how various writers have split up the *continuum* which goes between formality and intimacy. SHB, as we have said above, has specified three styles: *formal*, *informal* and *intimate*.²⁰⁹ Style, register and genre are three important concepts that we may deal with in historical sociolinguistics; they are linked to situational characteristics that Conrad and Biber (2009) studied using seven components: (a) participants, (b) relations among participants, (c) channel, (d) production circumstances; real time/planned/scripted/revised and edited, (e) setting, (f) communicative purposes, and (g) topic. Authors frequently use the

²⁰⁶ On the need to distinguish between reading and writing, this is what Fishman (1965b: 78) says: "Writing and reading are differentiated as separate media not only because they may be pursued in different languages but because each is capable of independent productive and receptive use. In general, the formal dimensions presented here make use of more distinctions than may be necessary in all multilingual settings. Both empirical and theoretical considerations must ultimately be involved in selecting the dimensions appropriate for the analysis of particular settings". The final claim is also true for the SHB methodological proposal.

²⁰⁷ In descriptions of language behaviour (and, in general, in many other places in SHB's *thesaurus*) this term appears frequently. It always has the same role: when there is not enough information to fully complete an otherwise detailed description, this term provides an opportunity to include a parameter lacking in detail. For a substantial period of history, and for when there are very different quantities and qualities of information, this is how SHB has decided to guarantee flexibility between the different schemes it uses.

²⁰⁸ For writing *for a known receiver* see example 15.

²⁰⁹ For *formal* style see example 15.

terms style and register indiscriminately; in our taxonomy we use the term *style* which is more usual in Fishman's writings, but it could be interesting in the future to include in this sociolinguistic taxonomy a distinction between these three concepts that could be included in the hyperonym, *text-type: register* is a language variety viewed with respect to its context of use (Biber & Finegan 1994: 3), *genre* is linked to the purpose of the text and its content²¹⁰ (narrative and so on) and *style* to the specific way an author, a social group and so on express themselves; Coupland defines it as "how speakers draw on their social beliefs and understandings of language differences in order to make social meaning in their talk; an active process of meaning-making (Coupland 2014: 292). Seriousness can also be added (see here p 177). The distinction between these different concepts is not easy to make as they are not used in the same way by different authors in sociolinguistics (Ferguson 1994: 15, Lee 2001, Atkinson & Biber 1994: 351); this is just a proposal among other possible options for future developments of our taxonomy. Lee (2001) tried to clarify the concepts and much information can also be found in Biber and Finegan's book *Sociolinguistic Perspectives on Register* (1994) and Biber & Conrad (2009) *Register, Genre and Style*. For Lee (2001: 38), following Biber (1988), *genre* is linked to external criteria and *text type* is linked to internal (linguistic) criteria²¹¹. *Style* is essentially linked to the individual's use of language²¹², and for him, *register* and *genre* "are in essence two different ways of looking at the same object" (2001: 46)²¹³. In Biber and Finegan (1994: 4) the definition of *register* is much looser: "broadly conceived, a register is a language variety viewed with respect to its context of use" and for them the terms *register*, *genre*, *text type*, and *style* have been used to refer to language varieties associated with situational uses of language. For these authors, Hymes's *verbal repertoire* would also be a synonym of *register variation* (1994: 7). In Biber and Conrad (2009: 31) the definition of *register* would be "a language variety associated with both a particular situation of use and with pervasive linguistic features that serve

²¹⁰ For Ferguson "the analysis of different kinds of literary texts, including their structures and uses, goes back to Aristotle's *Poetics*, and the study of genres, as these 'kinds' came to be called, has been active from ancient times to the present" (Ferguson 1994: 17). For Biber and Conrad (2009: 17-19) genre deals with a classification linked to different textual and rhetorical conventions.

²¹¹ "A *genre*, in this view, is defined as a category assigned on the basis of external criteria such as intended audience, purpose, and activity type, that is, it refers to a conventional, culturally recognised grouping of texts based on properties other than lexical or grammatical (co-)occurrence features, which are, instead, the internal (linguistic) criteria forming the basis of *text type* categories" (Lee 2001: 38).

²¹² "We should use the term *style* to characterise the internal properties of individual texts or the language use by individual authors, with 'formality' being perhaps the most important and fundamental one" (Lee 2001: 45).

²¹³ "*Register* is used when we view a text as language: as the instantiation of a conventionalised, functional configuration of language tied to certain broad societal situations, that is, variety according to use. (...) *Genre* is used when we view the text as a member of a category: a culturally recognised artifact, a grouping of texts according to some conventionally recognised criteria, a grouping according to purposive goals, culturally defined" (Lee 2001: 46).

important functions within that situation of use". These terms are to be distinguished from the term *dialect* which deals with language varieties associated with groups of users (as determined by geographic region, education, social class, sex, and so on) (Biber & Finegan 1994: 7, Ferguson 1994: 16, for definitions of dialect, register and genre see Ferguson 1994: 18-19, 20 and 21, Biber & Conrad 2009: 11).

The second parameter (media) and the fourth (style) may be connected. With regard to media, there is a continuum between the written and spoken codes. Martineau (2012) examined precisely this topic by comparing the corpuses used by historical sociolinguistics and present-day corpuses, examining the connections between the written and the oral. Following the perspective of Koch and Oesterreicher, Martineau (2012: 112) believes there is a real dichotomy between the phonic and written codes, at the same time as a communicative *continuum* between oral and written language. Moreover, orality is clearly present in certain types of written text, for instance in plays and family letters. In her article, she compares corpuses based on plays, tales and letters, drawing the conclusion that standard language and literary rules exert greater influence on the corpus based on plays than on the other two. Hemphill (2011: 70-82) stresses this question while giving it a different focus. When examining orality and literacy in sociolinguistics, she points out that genres can differ markedly from each other along many dimensions of analysis, and written genres may share key features with genres of oral discourse.

The fifth parameter is for signalling the *dominant language*: this can also be called the *dominance configuration*. Both Weinreich and Fishman have used this term, although in somewhat different ways. Weinreich defines dominance configuration as a personal attribute of bilingual speakers, whereas Fishman sees it as a characteristic of groups of speakers or speech communities. The two points of view have this in common: where there are two languages present in an individual speaker's or a speech community's language behaviour, this concept signals which of the two is the dominant one, defining certain parameters to that end.

In order to classify the different uses of languages, SHB has anticipated five basic possibilities: *always or almost always in Basque, more frequently in Basque, equally in both, more frequently in language other than Basque and always or almost always in language other than Basque*.²¹⁴

²¹⁴ Clearly, the same analyses can be applied to speakers' levels of knowledge if we ask what their main language is. In the latter case, however, we are examining language competence rather than use. We will examine this in cell 1B (4.2).

In the sixth parameter, finally, the *language variety* used must be determined. SHB has created a broad set of terms for this purpose, opening up many different levels of possibilities in terms of precision. With regard to Basque, the following language varieties or levels of precision are taken into account: *Basque in general*; *det-Basque*; *dot-Basque*; *dut-Basque* (the three terms refer to the major dialect distinctions); *standard Basque*; with regard to languages other than Basque: *language other than Basque in general*; *Spanish*; *French*; *Latin*; *Gascon*; *Navarre-Aragonese* and *other non-Basque language*.²¹⁵

4.1.2. Describing language use without language contact

If we analyse language use from the point of view of the sociology of language, we can highlight two main situations. On the one hand, one in which only one language is present in the community, that is to say that there is no language contact. In this case, tensions or changes obviously only occur within the only language used by the speakers. This case is taken into account under the label “LU without language contact”. A priori this type of situation is stable until contact with another language is initiated, extralinguistic factors causes internal tensions in the speech community, or intragroup intercomprehension is in decline following different dialectological evolutions. On the other hand, we can draw attention to more complex situations in which there is a certain type of language contact. In the case of SHB, contact between Basque and another language. This second case is dealt with in the following cell.

4.1.3. Describing language use with some kind of language contact

This cell is used to describe situations in which there is language contact. This sort of social situation is usually more complex to describe; it can be stable or unstable, with or without patent or operative conflict. Diglossia is also a concept usually linked to stable situations of language contact, following Ferguson (1959), but as in some sociolinguistic literature and for some authors, diglossia can also be unstable, particularly in the case of extended diglossia, we have not included the concept *diglossia* as a sublabel of the cell linked to stable situations. With these considerations in mind, we have created four subcells for the cell about description of language use with some kind of language contact: *general*,

²¹⁵ On the importance of Latin, see examples 2, 30, 40, 43, 91, 131.

Even though the meanings of the other terms is fairly clear, the last term, *other non-Basque language*, does call for explanation: it is reserved for languages not mentioned in the preceding list: for example, other minor Romance languages, Arabic, languages of the Jews, of Roma and so on, whose presence in the Basque Country has been limited in comparison to the languages mentioned by name.

undetermined; situation stable (language maintenance prevails); situation unstable (some sort of language shift appears); diglossia. Each of the main three situations has been developed as shown in table 27.

Table 27: describing language use with some kind of language contact

Describing language use with some kind of language contact	General, undetermined ²¹⁶	
	Situation stable (language maintenance prevails)	Without (patent or operative) conflict ²¹⁷
		With (patent or operative) conflict ²¹⁸
	Situation unstable (some sort of language shift appears)	With (patent or operative) conflict ²¹⁹
		Without (patent or operative) conflict
	Diglossia	Present ²²⁰
Absent		

Most of the situations cited in the table above are well known in the field of the sociology of language and do not need further explanation, but the terms linked to the extent of stability, *diglossia* and *language conflict* may do so.

4.1.3.1. Extent of stability of language contact situation

Situations of language contact, both from a language-internal point of view, or as a language dominance configuration in terms of societal use, can remain stable during decades and generations or can be unstable or evolve towards instability, with some sort of language shift and changes in the language dominance configuration or in the language structure appearing (Braunmüller, Höder, Kühl: 2014). Stable situations, historically in the Basque country and in many other geo-linguistic areas, are usually linked to diglossic situations in the context of a dichotomic use of language, by using one language for everyday life and another for reading and writing.

The 1A cell is about use of language at a particular historical moment, but it is to be noted that even from a synchronic point of view, the situation can be defined as stable or unstable without comparing one historical moment to another. Furthermore, even if stability and instability can be linked to the comparison of two different historical moments, the contrast is not limited to the time parameter.

²¹⁶ See examples 1, 8, 10, 13, 15, 118, 147.

²¹⁷ See example 132.

²¹⁸ See examples 3, 141, 144

²¹⁹ See examples 41, 125, 131.

²²⁰ See examples 1, 6, 131, 147.

Societal variables such as social stratification, social network, gender and the different domains of language use, among others, are also to be taken into account when determining whether a given sociolinguistic situation is stable or unstable across all those variables. In fact, the sociolinguistic situation can be analysed between two points of view: it can be stable or unstable, homogeneous or not homogeneous, over time or over societal parameters. There can be homogeneity in language uses across all those societal parameters, or there can be differences between those variables; those differences can remain stable or be unstable, as well. Normally the differences and the stability and instability are not random, and if they are, they create insecurity for the speaker.

4.1.3.2. *Diglossia*

Diglossia is one of the principal concepts of the sociology of language. When two or more languages (or varieties of the same language) are present in a society or speech community, when each language has its own domain(s) within that speech community, and when that bi- or multilingual configuration is inter-generationally stable (for at least three generations), the speech community in question is said to exhibit diglossia, which in the words of Fishman (1987: 252) is “widespread and stable within-group bilingualism, such that the languages utilized are, on the one hand, consensually functionally differentiated and, on the other hand, consensually accepted as culturally legitimate”. We are not going to give any further explanations with regard to the classic model of diglossia, as the topic is sufficiently covered in the international bibliography.²²¹

SHB specifies the presence or absence of diglossia at given times and places for Basque and other local languages according to Fishman’s definition, (Fishman et al. 1976: 286-288; Fishman 1972a: 91-106), using the *diglossia* label²²². When the quote clarifies whether diglossia existed or not in a given situation, the labels *present* or *absent* can be used. The historian Lacarra (1957: 9) gave a clear example of functional separation of languages in the Basque Country: “But when studying the Middle Ages I have had to use numerous documents from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries which are full of Basquisms and which, in some cases, were written by people who spoke and thought in Basque even though they were writing in another language. On writing the history of the medieval period in the Basque Country, we are continually aware that we are reconstructing the past of a people which writes in a language which is not the one it speaks, and

²²¹ For a panoramic view of debate on the topic in Basque, see, for example, “Diglosiaren inguruan” (2011).

²²² See examples 1, 6, 131, 141.

whose language leaks out into the documents”. This is not a situation specific to Basque; such situations are common in international sociolinguistic history and languages like Basque have been called *invisible languages* in the field of historical sociolinguistics (Havinga & Langer 2015a). Havinga and Langer (2015b: 1) for instance “applies the terms *invisible languages* to refer to languages not used in writing or formal discourse and *invisibilisation* to refer to processes aimed at excluding particular languages from written or formal discourse”.

It is to be noted that in the Basque case, however, there is a substantial interlinguistic distance between Basque and the languages it has been in contact with. Concepts such as *diaglossia*, that are being used successfully in historical sociolinguistics, with great debates about whether this kind of situation precedes or follows a situation of diglossia (Rutten 2019: 34; 48-50), would have a central place in a general taxonomy of historical sociolinguistics. *Diaglossia* is a situation more complex than diglossia which is characterised by a ubiquity of intermediate variants between the base dialect and the standard in the sociolinguistic space (Rutten 2019: 34). Because of the scarcity of sources in Basque, such a degree of precision is difficult to put into practice in the Basque area; even so, this kind of information, which we consider more linguocentric in nature, can be included in the linguistic dimension (dimension C in our taxonomy).

4.1.3.3. *Language conflict*

Where more than one language is present in a single area, the relationship between those languages can be seen as a conflict rather than *diglossia* or contact. For many authors, there is a close link between language contact and language conflict, as Darquennes quotes (2015: 9): “Given the close connection between (research on) language contact and (research on) language conflict (cf. Nelde 1997), it is hardly surprising that the main areas of focus of research on language conflict closely resemble those of research on language contact”. The term ‘language conflict’ or ‘linguistic strife’ has been a familiar one in Basque society for the last forty years thanks to Catalan sociolinguistics. Applying this perspective to a quotation, does it examine the situation of use of the two languages present from a language conflict perspective? As in the previous case, as well as mentioning conflict, perhaps the precise situation is described: conflict is judged to be *present* or *absent* in the quotation itself in a situation that can be stable or unstable. To propose a model as inclusive as possible and without judgement or a priori we did not want to enter in the debate to determine whether language contact automatically means conflict (see for example Nelde 1987 with the suggestive article “Language contact means language conflict” or the state of the art on questions of language conflict by Darquennes -2015-), so we have included several

options (with or without conflict) to describe a sociolinguistic situation as shown in table 27. Let us examine, then, the conceptualisation behind these terms.²²³

The concept of language conflict is closely connected with past attempts in the so-called Catalan countries at systematizing the concept of diglossia. Catalan sociolinguists have explicitly linked the two concepts. In SHB, on the other hand, we have preferred to keep to the original conceptualisation, believing that diglossia and language conflict should not be seen as synonymous (Zalbide 2011a: 66), even though they may be connected in some cases (Zalbide 2011a: 60-61):

We believe it would be hard to say that Catalan sociolinguistics is wrong about that. From a long-term point of view, not everything is a calm, peaceful atmosphere. Catalan sociolinguists have been quite clear in describing and clarifying the final result of the dynamic parameter. Coexistence is not always peaceful, and disputes and fights, conflict and struggle are not infrequently predominant. In order to know when the situation is peaceful and when conflicted, the kinetic and dynamic parameters must be taken into account. Without that, the concept of *diglossia* seems weak to them. Many have considered that to be one of the prime contributions of Catalan sociolinguistics. Kremnitz (1981: 65) puts it this way: “by abandoning the purely descriptive and static terminology offered by North American sociolinguistics,²²⁴ by taking into account the internal tensions which hide behind the words, the analysis becomes both more profound and more committed”. Similarly, Boyer (1986: 23) writes: “It is beyond question that the introduction of the concept of diglossia in new contexts, its use and integration in a metalinguistic whole forged in contact with the “ground” has considerably affected its theoretical status. In the face of a static functional representation (Ferguson, Fishman,...), of an idea of a more or less complementary distribution of the functions of two varieties of the same language or of two different languages within a community, of a stable distribution (even if it may be asymmetrical), CSL [Catalan sociolinguistics] and subsequently OSL [Occitan sociolinguistics] are going to contribute a much more dynamic representation: from a neutral sociolinguistic polarity one shifts to a problematic polarity between a *dominant language* and a *dominated language*. There is instability, dissymmetry. There is *conflict* (..)”.

²²³ It should be taken into account that the mention will often also be linked to the fifth dimension: when authors state that “diglossia is unfair”, they are often implying that the situation dominant in the social sphere (or in the process of becoming so) is not to their liking.

So there are four types of quotation about diglossia and language conflict:

1. Quotations about true diglossia (whether mentioning the word *diglossia* or not).
2. Quotations about conflict (which do not mention the word *diglossia*).
3. Quotations which mention *diglossia* but which are about conflict.
4. Quotations which mention *diglossia*, but where it is not clear whether they are about diglossia or conflict.

²²⁴ “That is not true, as we will see later on. However, the practical consequences come to the same thing: whether true or false, the fact is that Catalan sociolinguistics has often viewed North American sociolinguistics as being like that.” Footnote to original text.

According to this Catalan model, “language conflict has only two possible outcomes: the contextually weaker language is either substituted, or normalized.²²⁵ Hence, the widespread individual bilingualism resulting from language conflict is transitional, as is diglossia or societal bilingualism” (Zalbide 2011a: 62-63).

That conflict may be patent, explicit, conscious or latent, concealed, unconscious according to the Catalan model. Ruiz i San Pascual et al. (2001: 76-77) summarise language conflict as follows: “[Language conflict is] the struggle between two **speech communities** whose objective is to occupy **domains of use**. From the conflictual point of view, discussion of language contact and struggle is much the same because two languages cannot live together in harmony. Phenomena of coercion whereby one language dominates another always appear, as a result of the power exercised by the social groups which maintain or reject those languages and which use language behaviour as a **symbol** of a specific political project or **ideology** (Calsamiglia, 1980). **Ninyoles** (1975) used and popularised the term *language conflict* -previously used by **Aracil** (1965)- when researching the evolution of Valencian sociolinguistics. Conflict, according to Ninyoles, is almost continual where there is language contact. In the same way, this author distinguishes hidden conflict (which can create social unease even though there is no awareness of it) and visible conflict (when there is awareness of it and speakers name it as such)”.

SHB’s objective, in these matters, is neither to confirm nor to deny the conflict model. It does not intend even to enter that theoretical discussion: our only objective is to put forward a methodology for examining and classifying data. That is why one label has been created in the SHB model for diglossia, taking diglossia in its original academic meaning, while language conflict is included in the description of language use in a situation of language contact, both stable and unstable. As a result, some quotations may be included under both headings. We foresee using the language conflict label in two main cases: firstly, for marking up quotations which describe conflicted sociolinguistic situations, in other words, where quotations mention sociolinguistic situations which turn out to be problematic in some way.²²⁶ Secondly, for marking cases where authors analyse the situation in the Basque Country as conflicted (or not). In the latter case, those

²²⁵ “In some people’s opinion, language conflicts are not just *language shift* or broad changes in choice of language. In the case of *language shift*, the consequence is in a single direction, when it could go either way. Forgive me, but that is nonsensical, if we are trying to clarify things: so-called *normalisation* is as much a case of *substitution* as of *shift*, but in the opposite direction. Contemporary Catalan sociolinguistics has little difficulty in accepting that obvious possibility. See Conill 2007: 40.” Footnote to original text.

²²⁶ Self-hate, for instance, is an indicator of a conflicted situation. See example 115. In this sort of case there is an overlap with the fifth dimension: one is embedded in the other.

authors will often mention diglossia, as there has been a considerable tendency in the Basque Country to treat diglossia and language conflict as synonyms. However, one should bear in mind that this type of quotation is only to be found in the last quarter of the 20th century and, so, those descriptions will only appear towards the end of the period under examination. The debates about diglossia and conflict recall the debates about language contact and language conflict. To a large extent, the difference seems to be a difference of point of view. In the Basque Country, even if conflict was the main point of view about the situations of social bilingualism in recent years, discourses about contact are common nowadays (Juaristi 2018).

4.1.4. Language use related dominance configuration table

One-off examples of use of a language in a particular physical and socio-functional space, and even in specific domains and relationship-networks, can help to clarify which is the dominant language. We have seen this already when describing *language behaviour*.²²⁷ In any case, when many individual language events are codified together in terms of media, overtness, style, domain or role relationship, we obtain a dominance configuration table; in this way, instead of individuals' language use, what we can obtain is group language usage at a given place and time, at least in some cases. It is precisely these cases that the label serves to identify.

The source for these tables is to be found in American sociolinguistics.²²⁸ From time to time, Fishman has chosen a specific case in order to give kinetic and dynamic descriptions of sociolinguistic situations. Take, for instance, the situation he found in his own Yiddish speech community (Fishman 1972a: 92) (see table 28): ‘Intra-group Yiddish-English maintenance and shift in the United States: 1940-1970 summary comparisons for immigrant generation “secularists” arriving prior to World War I’.

²²⁷ The authors Iannàccaro and Dell’Aquila (2011: 33) have proposed using a criterion based on the dominance configuration to classify historical language minorities on the Italian peninsula.

²²⁸ In the same way, Afendras (1969: 26) drew up his own dominance configuration table for the Ottoman Empire, listing the local languages and the most salient domains. Afendras’s example is very clear: in cases of relationships with the state, he draws up subsections in terms of formality, for instance, and in cases of household usage, he uses role relationships as the basis (father-mother; father-children; mother-children, etc.) (Afendras 1969: 27-28).

Table 28: Fishman's dominance configuration table

Media	Overtness	Family role-rels.	Neighb. role-rels.	Work role-rels.	Jew Rel. / Cult role-rels.
		1 2 3	1 2	1 2 3	1 2
Speaking	Production Comprehension Inner				
Reading	Production Comprehension				
Writing	Production Comprehension				

Elsewhere Fishman (1965b: 81) had used a more detailed categorisation, as can be seen in table 29.

Table 29: Fishman's more precise table

Sources of variance			Domains of language behaviour					
Media	Role ²²⁹	Situational	Family	Friends	Acquaintances	Mass media	Jewish organizations	Occupations
Speaking	Inner ²³⁰	Formal	X	X	X	X	X	X
		Informal	Y, E	Y, E	Y, E	E, E	Y, E	E, E
		Intimate	Y, E	Y, E	Y, E	Y, E	E, E	Y, E
	Comp.	Formal	X	X	E, E	E, E	Y, E	E, E
		Informal	E, E	E, E	E, E	E, E	Y, E	E, E
		Intimate	Y, E	Y, E	X	X	X	X
	Prod.	Formal	X	X	E, E	X	Y, E	E, E
		Informal	E, E	E, E	E, E	X	Y, E	E, E
		Intimate	Y, E	Y, E	E, E	X	X	X

²²⁹ Although this section is called "role" in the 1965 article Fishman calls it "overtness" in his subsequent articles (Fishman (ed) 1976: 308; Fishman 1972c: 92; Fishman (ed) 1978: 437; 1972a).

²³⁰ "For "speaking-inner" combinations the domains imply topics as well as contexts. In all other instances they imply contexts alone." (Footnote to original text.)

Media	Role	Situational	Family	Friends	Acquaintances	Mass media	Jewish organizations	Occupations
Reading	Comp.	Formal Informal Intimate	Y, E Y, E E, E	X X X	X X X	X X X	Y, E Y, E X	X X X
	Prod. ²³¹	Formal Informal Intimate	Y, E Y, E E, E	X X X	X X X	Y, E Y, E E, E	Y, E Y, E X	X X X
Writing	Prod.	Formal Informal Intimate	X E, E E, E	X E, E E, E	X X X	X X X	Y, E Y, E X	X X X

In order to describe intergenerational language maintenance and shift, Fishman (1972a: 92) developed a different table (see table 30). He gives a more detailed explanation of *role-relations* there.

Table 30: Fishman's table for describing language maintenance and shift

Media	Overtness	Domains	Role-relations	Summary Ratings	
				1940	1970
Speaking	Production	Family	Husband-wife	Y	Y
			Parent-child	Y	E
		Grandparent-grandchild	-	E	
		Other: same generation	Y	Y	
			Other: younger generation	E	E
		Neighbourhood	Friends	Y	E
			Acquaintances	Y	E
		Work	Employer- employer	E	E
			Employer- employee	E	E
			Employee- employee	E	E
		Jewish Rel. / Cult.	Supporter-writer, teacher, etc.	Y	Y
			Supporter-supporter	Y	Y

²³¹ "For 'reading-production' combinations, the distinction between 'family' and 'mass media' domains is also a distinction between reading to others and reading to oneself." (Footnote to original text.)

Even if there is no need to mark up tables such as this separately in our methodological framework, the possibility of doing so has been made available. Adding this possibility gives the system considerable flexibility: the person establishing such a table does not necessarily have to follow the outline described in point 4.1.1. Parameters which are irrelevant for their research or are not available can be left unmentioned. On the other hand, other parameters, for instance that of role relationships, can be developed in greater depth. Lastly, someone else could create another scale or set of terms. In fact, as can be clearly seen in the tables by Fishman presented above, dominance configuration tables do not have to be all exactly the same. They can examine different domains and role relationships, and so on.

Let us stress just how powerful a tool such a table can be when it comes to describing language use: dominance configuration tables provide an exceptional opportunity for casting light on particular periods and places, gathering loose pieces of data from point 4.1.1. in a single place and, thanks to that, offering a much more general panorama. For an example relating to Breton of an applied use of dominance configuration tables, see Broudic (1995: 341-342), for the Basque situation see Joly, L. & Zalbide, M., (eds) (in preparation).

4.1.5. Reason for 1A

Sometimes, as well as presenting a speech act, or instead of doing so, a quotation explains what the (true or supposed) reason behind it is (or might be). This label, then, points to the existence of the reason for using a particular language, which is a key point for SHL.²³²

This label (and, in general, the similar labels appearing along this first parameter: see the other four cells) for showing that the reason has been stated must be clearly differentiated from quotations which appear in the dynamic parameter. When applying our classification scheme to a text, we may have a tendency to think that all motives and reasons should be marked for the third analytical parameter. That is not so: the third parameter is for annotating the reasons behind changes and evolutions recorded along the second analytical parameter, nothing else. In this case, the (true or supposed) reason for language use at a particular moment is being discussed.

²³² See example 15, 149.

4.1.6. Summary of terms

We now present a summary of the terms used in this section, organized in two tables. The first (table 31) shows the labels used in cell 1A – *Describing language use*; the second (table 32) shows labels for *language behaviour*.²³³

Table 31: structure of cell 1A

First level label	Second level label	Third level label	Fourth level label	
1A - Describing language use	General, undetermined			
	Without language contact			
	With some kind of language contact	General, undetermined ²³⁴		
			Situation stable (language maintenance prevails)	Without (patent or operative) conflict
		Situation unstable (some sort of language shift appears)		With (patent or operative) conflict
				Without (patent or operative) conflict
		Diglossia		Present
				Absent
	Language use related dominance configuration table			
	Reason for 1A			
	Inference			

²³³ The reader may be surprised to see the set of *language behaviour* terms, which is fundamental for describing speech acts, being placed outside cell 1A. The reason for this is simple: as we will see later on (at least in cell 2A), this set is extremely useful there too (as it is, on occasion, in other cells as well). Rather than repeat the whole outline of *language behaviour* in each cell (there are 2,569 terms altogether), it was decided to give them once, outside the cells. The same occurs with the socio-historical setting, as we have seen in the second chapter of this book: many of the congruent variables that influence language behaviour like social attributes (gender, age etc.) or socio-functional position (domain, role relationship and status) are at the beginning of our taxonomy and outside the *dimensions, analytical parameters* matrix because they are useful in most of the cells of the matrix.

²³⁴ See example 8.

Table 32: structure of language behaviour

First level label	Second level label Media	Third level label Overtness	Fourth level label Style	Fifth level label Dominant language	Sixth level label Language variety				
Language behaviour	General, undetermined	-	-	General, undetermined	Basque in general				
					Det-Basque				
					Dot-Basque				
					Dut-Basque				
					Standard Basque				
					Non-Basque in general				
					Spanish				
					French				
					Latin				
					Gascon				
	Navarre-Aragonese								
	Other non-Basque languages								
	Always or almost always in Basque	Above 12 options							
	More frequently in Basque	Above 12 options							
	Equally in both	Above 12 options							
	More frequently in language other than Basque	Above 12 options							
	Always or almost always in language other than Basque	Above 12 options							
Listening	General, undetermined ²³⁵	-	-	Above 6 options	Above 12 options				
					To known sender	General, undetermined	Above 6 options	Above 12 options	
							Formal	Above 6 options	Above 12 options
							Informal	Above 6 options	Above 12 options
							Intimate	Above 6 options	Above 12 options
					To unknown sender	Above 4 options	Above 6 options	Above 12 options	

²³⁵ See example 16.

First level label	Second level label Media	Third level label Overtness	Fourth level label Style	Fifth level label Dominant language	Sixth level label Language variety
Language behaviour	Speaking	General, undetermined ²³⁶	-	Above 6 options	Above 12 options
		Inner speech	General, undetermined	Above 6 options	Above 12 options
			Informal	Above 6 options	Above 12 options
			Intimate	Above 6 options	Above 12 options
		For known receiver	General, undetermined	Above 6 options	Above 12 options
			Formal	Above 6 options	Above 12 options
			Informal	Above 6 options	Above 12 options
			Intimate	Above 6 options	Above 12 options
		For unknown receiver	Above 4 options	Above 6 options	Above 12 options
		Reading	General, undetermined ²³⁷	-	Above 6 options
	For oneself		General, undetermined	Above 6 options	Above 12 options
			Formal	Above 6 options	Above 12 options
			Informal	Above 6 options	Above 12 options
			Intimate	Above 6 options	Above 12 options
	Aloud		Above 4 options	Above 6 options	Above 12 options
	Writing	General, undetermined ²³⁸	-	Above 6 options	Above 12 options
		For oneself	General, undetermined	Above 6 options	Above 12 options
			Formal	Above 6 options	Above 12 options
			Informal	Above 6 options	Above 12 options
			Intimate	Above 6 options	Above 12 options
		For known receiver	Above 4 options	Above 6 options	Above 12 options
		For unknown receiver	Above 4 options	Above 6 options	Above 12 options
	Translation				
	Crypto-language				

²³⁶ See example 16.

²³⁷ See example 16.

²³⁸ See example 16.

4.2. 1B - Describing language competence

The topic under discussion in the first cell (1A) was language use. In this second cell (1B), we analyse speakers' language competence.²³⁹ The cell is divided into three specific subsections: *level of language competence*, *language competence acquisition mode* and *language competence loss mode*. In addition to these three main branches, we have included four further second level terms: speaker's *linguistic repertoire*, *language competence related dominance configuration table*, *reason for 1B* and, as usual, *inference*.

The subsections of cell 1B must not be confused with *change in language competence* (cell 2B). The focus of 1B is synchronic, describing the language competence of a person at a given time, the sort and extent of language competence acquired and, perhaps, if such data is available, how he acquired that competence (at school, through ordinary daily use, after losing his mother tongue, etc). In 2B (*changes in language competence*), on the other hand, we are concerned with an evolution: the evolution in the number of Basque and non-Basque speakers between different dates, for instance. For further discussion of this distinction, see also cell 2B.

4.2.1. Speaker's linguistic repertoire

We are dealing here with people's or individual's linguistic repertoires, their ways of speaking, the repertoire of varieties they use (Fishman 1965b: 71). Those varieties may be from different languages. They may also be made up of dialects, sociolects, technolects, ethnolects or any other type of variety, including standard language, taken from a single language. We use this label when we record information about collections of varieties or ways of talking.

4.2.2. Level of language competence in Basque and other languages

There are a number of possible ways of describing people's language competence. In any case, the basic question for SHB is: what degree of language

²³⁹ While it is sociology of language that has focused most on language use and attitudes to language, in this second cell the contribution of psycholinguistics (and, on occasion, psychosociolinguistics) is fundamental. Information recorded in 1A has implications for 1B and vice versa. Thus, we should bear in mind that sometimes data obtained from historical records is explicitly presented and, at other times, more frequently, it has to be derived from implicit information. Use (1A), for instance, calls for a certain minimum standard of skill. The opposite is also true: a certain level of skill necessarily implies a given use: in general, practical skills do not exist without activity. For example, when an inhabitant of a particular place, at a particular historical moment, is said to be a monolingual Basque-speaker, this means that he only uses Basque in ordinary, everyday activities in that place, although in some special activities (for instance, before a court), he may use only Spanish if he knows it, but almost certainly in those cases there will be a translation thanks to the mediation of an interpreter.

competence has been achieved in Basque and in the other language or languages by the individuals or broader groups of speakers we are examining at any given moment?

In principle, there are three main sets of questions here we must try to address:

- Are the speakers monolingual or bilingual?
- What linguistic skills (listening comprehension, speaking, reading, writing) have they attained?
- What level have the speakers achieved in each skill? We will explain those questions in the following lines.

a) Are the speakers monolingual or bilingual?

The first point to clarify is whether speakers are monolingual, bilingual (or multi-lingual). Although this appears to be a simple issue, it is not, in fact, quite so clear, particularly in descriptions from certain periods. What, in fact, does being a Basque speaker, ‘*euskaldun*’, mean?²⁴⁰

- A person who knows Basque (too)?
- A person who uses Basque (too)?
- A person who only knows Basque and, so, only uses Basque?

When answering these points, three levels of precision may be taken into account, depending on the type of historical data available:

- In many cases, sources from the distant past mention *euskaldun* meaning a monolingual Basque speaker or, at the very least, hint that this is the case. In many documents, it is clear that the Spanish word *vascongado* or *bascongado* is being used to mean *monolingual Basque*.²⁴¹ It does not mean “knows Basque” but, rather, “knows only Basque”. In such cases, and with regard to language competence, it may often be appropriate to divide speakers into two broad categories: *euskaldunak* (in other words,

²⁴⁰ Throughout history the word *euskaldun* has had different meanings. We mention three of the most commonly used historically. New formulations which have appeared in recent years, unrelated to language competence, have been left out of this cell (although they do appear elsewhere). They include formulations connected with the workplace (people who work in the Basque Country being considered *euskaldun*), or with wish and desire (people who feel themselves to be *euskaldun* are *euskaldun*, independently of where they were born and whether they know Basque or not). These two cases are still a minority today and much depends on whether the question is posed in Spanish or Basque.

²⁴¹ See example 22 and examples 36, 45, 54 in Zalbide, Joly, Gardner 2015.

monolingual Basque speakers) and *all others* (monolingual speakers of languages other than Basque, speakers of a mother-tongue other than Basque who also know Basque and speakers of Basque who also know another language).

- This dichotomy may be enough for dealing with cases from the distant past, but it is likely to be inadequate for reflecting the situation over the last two hundred years. In such cases, using *dominance configuration* tables, often used in sociolinguistics (at least since Uriel Weinreich's time), is the best approach bearing in mind SHB's objectives and its sources of information. For our purposes (for instance, in order to explain speakers' language competence 150 years ago in the province of Gipuzkoa) attempts have already been carried out at applying the *dominance configuration* scheme.²⁴² We believe that the resultant table has a positive side: it can help us obtain an accurate picture of a situation at a particular moment and in a particular place. However, it also has a serious limitation: in many cases it turns out to be impossible to fill in such a table, either because of a lack of information, because the categorization it provides is too detailed, or because it may be cumbersome when it comes to reflecting the situation in another place and time. But where there is enough information available, the resultant table is called a *language competence related dominance configuration table* (see 4.2.3.).
- Between these two extremes, a graded scale such as the following can often be used for speakers: *monolingual Basque*, *Basque bilingual* (a person who speaks Basque with greater ease, in a more natural, spontaneous, flexible way than languages other than Basque), *balanced bilingual*, *non-Basque dominant bilingual* (a person who speaks a language other than Basque with greater ease, in a more natural, spontaneous, flexible way than Basque), *monolingual non-Basque speaker*, *multilingual Basque speaker* and *multilingual non-Basque speaker*.²⁴³ As we are concerned with sociohistorical research, and not just sociolinguistics, this half-way scale will often be useful, as long as one bears in mind that it serves primarily for listening comprehension and speaking. In other words, reading and writing should be dealt with separately in parallel: in historical do-

²⁴² See, for instance, Zalbide & Muñoa 2006: 177-184; Joly, L., Zalbide, M., (eds) (in preparation).

²⁴³ This scale thus provides an option for recording the balanced, functional bilingual. Although such individuals are mentioned in many Basque documents from 1980 onwards, in practice it is not clear whether such a type really appears in earlier documents. For *unspecified Basque speaker*, see examples 5, 18; For *monolingual Basque speaker*, see examples 3, 10, 12, 111, 117, 133, 134, 141. For *bilingual Basque speaker*, see examples 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 111. For *non-Basque dominant bilingual speaker*, see example 111. For *multilingual non-Basque speaker*, see examples 16, 33.

cuments Basque bilingual speakers will appear as literate only in another language, or it is clearly apparent that they find it easier to write and read a language other than Basque. In just a few cases, however, there is evidence, apparently, of literacy only (or primarily) in Basque.²⁴⁴ Clearly, in such cases a double classification must be used: one for oral skills and one for written skills. In addition to the seven terms mentioned at the start of this paragraph, there are four more *unspecified* terms, to be used where sufficient information is lacking. Within each term, a fourfold distinction can potentially be made with regard to language skills: *listening*, *speaking*, *reading* and *writing*.

b) How many active skills do speakers have in each language?

This section attempts to clarify whether speakers know how to use each language orally and in writing: whether they only have receptive skills for each (listening comprehension / understanding, reading) or whether, in addition, productive skills too (speaking, writing). Altogether, the following skill configurations may be taken into account:

Language competence in Basque:

- Oral (understanding what has been said; speaking);
- Written (reading; writing).

Language competence in language or languages other than Basque:

- Oral (understanding what has been said; speaking);
- Written (reading; writing).

Finally, when it comes to differentiating between skills, as stated above, SHB has chosen a fourfold distinction – *listening*, *speaking*, *reading* and *writing* – with the aim of seeking a balance between precision, and practicality and ease for

²⁴⁴ See, for instance, Materre's note for his readers, couched in sociolinguistic terms (cited in Oihartzabal 1996: 39): "As many people in the Basque Country know how to read, but do not understand any language other than Basque, I have prepared some devotional prayers and phrases for them". So Materre drew up a third part, consisting of prayers written for people who knew how to read only in Basque, as did Axular twenty years later: "making a book in Basque for people who know only Basque (To the reader)" (Axular 1643 in Villasante 1977: 50).

working purposes. Using these headings, we can know the degree of literacy of a speaker.²⁴⁵

c) Level achieved in each type of skill

What level of skill do speakers have in Basque at a given time and place, with regard to listening and speaking? And with regard to reading, or writing, how competent are they? What level of skill do they have in the language (languages, if they know more than one) other than Basque? What level of skill do they have in listening, speaking, reading and writing?

All this makes it possible, as we have said, to present the language competence of a group of speakers at a particular historical moment and at a particular place. In summary, the terms which SHB has chosen for this purpose are the following: *general, undetermined; unspecified Basque speaker; unspecified non-Basque speaker; unspecified bilingual speaker; monolingual Basque; bilingual Basque speaker; balanced bilingual speaker; non-Basque dominant bilingual speaker; monolingual non-Basque speaker; multilingual Basque speaker and multilingual non-Basque speaker*. Within each term, of course, the four skills listed above may be taken into account.

4.2.3. Language competence related dominance configuration table

The language competence related dominance configuration table can be used to define the language competence of a single person or a language community. As with the language use related dominance configuration table (4.1.4), there is no need to use only the options and categories listed in the previous paragraph: researchers can design each table according to the data available or the needs of their research.

That being so, let us now give a simple example of this, obtained by using specific conceptualisation options. It seems, according to this, that most Basque speakers in the 17th century had the skill sets shown in table 33.²⁴⁶

²⁴⁵ See examples 17, 50.

²⁴⁶ This was an early attempt, of course, and of no great value until SHB validates it. See, for instance, Joly, L., Zalbide, M., (eds) (in preparation).

Table 33: language competence related dominance configuration table (example 1)

Skill	Monolingual Basque speakers, 17th century	
	Basque	Language other than Basque
Listening	Yes	No
Speaking	Yes	No
Reading	No	No
Writing	No	No

As has been mentioned above, there were other types of Basque speakers, a minority, in that century: see table 34.

Table 34: language competence related dominance configuration table (example 2)

Skill	Monolingual Basque speakers, 17th century	
	Basque	Non-Basque
Listening	Yes	No
Speaking	Yes	No
Reading	Yes	No
Writing	?	No

4.2.4. Language competence acquisition mode in Basque and other languages

Following the usual patterns used in language acquisition and learning, four questions may be answered in this section:

- When and how were L1 and, where applicable, L2 acquired?
- Of the languages known, which is L1 and which L2?
- Through which media have L1 and, where applicable, L2 been acquired?
- To what extent have L1 and, where applicable, L2 been mastered?

a) When and how were L1 and, where applicable, L2 acquired?

At least three main language competence acquisition modes must be taken into account:

- The usual, natural language acquisition mode: as children, at home and locally, in the neighbourhood and on the street, in local acquaintances and in the habitual friendship group.
- The secondary language acquisition mode: as children, young people or adults, as a result of interacting with L2 relationship networks. For instance, to give an example familiar to Basques, sending Basque-speaking children to Castile for them to learn Spanish.
- Acquiring L2 at school: as children or, more often, as young people, in a second language class, or as a result of studying in one or more languages other than Basque in secondary or tertiary education, learning one or more L2.

In SHB's terminology, the first two modes are called *acquisition via ordinary daily use*; the third, on the other hand, is defined as *learning via education*.²⁴⁷

b) Of the languages recorded, which is L1 and which L2?

In order to draw up the social history of language in depth, both for the individual and for a group of speakers, one must never forget which language is L1 and which L2: did the speaker start out from a language other than Basque and subsequently learn Basque? Or was the journey the other way around? Or did he learn both languages at home? To answer these questions appropriately, four terms have been created: *speaker of indeterminate L1*, *L1 speaker of Basque*, *L1 speaker of language other than Basque* and *L1 speaker of Basque and a language other than Basque*. In this way, we define the linguistic starting point of a speaker or group of speakers, clarifying what their mother tongue or tongues are.

c) Through which media was L1 acquired and, where applicable, L2?

The four skills must be taken into account:

- Oral (listening comprehension; speaking);
- Written (reading; writing).

²⁴⁷ For *learning via education* see example 11.

SHB uses these five terms to answer the above question: *learning language competence in general* (when there is little precise information), *learning listening competence*, *learning speaking competence*, *learning reading competence* and *learning writing competence*. We also include some variants according to the speakers' L1 linked to the linguistic registers. For instance, *learning speaking (or listening) competence in an everyday, informal register*, when the speakers acquired the language at home; and *learning listening (or speaking) competence as L2*, when speakers learned the language at a school and not at home or in the street. Speakers who have Basque as L1 can learn speaking (or writing) competence in formal registers at school if they are schooled in a Basque medium education model.

d) To what extent have L1 and, where applicable, L2 been mastered?

When considering the degree of acquisition of L2, at least four levels of achievement must be taken into account:

- Zero level in L2;
- Masters L2, but less than L1;
- Masters L1 at the same level as L2;
- Masters L2 better than L1.

SHB has not attempted to delve into the level of acquisition of L2: in most cases, that would be asking too much of the texts available and it would complicate this cell too much.

4.2.5. Language competence loss mode in Basque or other languages

SHB has organized the labelling of loss of language competence in the same way as its acquisition²⁴⁸. So this area, too, is divided into four fields:

- When and how were L1 and, where applicable, L2 lost?
- Of the languages recorded, which is L1 and which L2?
- Through which media have L1 and, where applicable, L2 been lost?
- To what extent have L1 and, where applicable, L2 been lost?

In general, the organization of this section is similar to that of 4.2.4 but, in this case, speakers have lost rather than acquired the language. We are not going

²⁴⁸ See example 147.

to repeat previously given explanations here (for details, see Zalbide, M., Joly, L., Gardner, N., 2015: 316-317).

4.2.6. Reason for 1B

In some cases, as well as presenting information on language competence, the quotation also explains what the (true or supposed) reason behind it is. This label, then, points to the existence of that reason. The information may be about the reason for having a given level of language (in)competence or about why that competence was achieved or lost.²⁴⁹

4.2.7. Summary of terms

A summary of terms presented is provided in table 35.

²⁴⁹ See examples 13, 33.

Table 35: structure of cell 1B				
1B – Describing language competence	Speaker's linguistic repertoire			
	Level of language competence	General, undetermined	Listening	
			Speaking	
			Reading	
			Writing	
		Unspecified Basque speaker	The four options above	
		Unspecified non-Basque speaker	The four options above	
		Unspecified bilingual speaker	The four options above	
		Monolingual Basque speaker	The four options above	
		Bilingual Basque speaker	The four options above	
		Balanced bilingual speaker	The four options above	
		Non-Basque dominant bilingual speaker	The four options above	
		Monolingual non-Basque speaker	The four options above	
		Multilingual Basque speaker	The four options above	
	Multilingual non-Basque speaker	The four options above		
Language competence related dominance configuration table				
Language competence acquisition mode	General, undetermined	Basque	Language competence in general	
			Listening competence	
	Speaking competence			
	Reading competence			
	Writing competence			
		Language other than Basque	The five options above	

IB - Describing language competence	Language competence acquisition mode	Acquisition via ordinary daily use	Speaker of indeterminate L1	Basque	Language competence in general
					Listening competence
					Speaking competence
					Reading competence
					Writing competence
				Language other than Basque	The five options above
			L1 speaker of Basque	Basque	Language competence in general
					Listening competence in formal register
					Speaking competence in formal registers
					Reading competence
					Writing competence
				Language other than Basque	Language competence in general
					Listening competence as L2
					Speaking competence as L2
					Reading competence
					Writing competence
			L1 speaker of language other than Basque	Basque	Language competence in general
					Listening competence as L2
					Speaking competence as L2
					Reading competence
Writing competence					
Language other than Basque	Language competence in general				
	Listening competence in formal register				
	Speaking competence in formal registers				
	Reading competence				
	Writing competence				

1B - Describing language competence	Language competence acquisition mode	Acquisition via ordinary daily use	L1 speaker of Basque and a language other than Basque/	Basque	The five options above
				Language other than Basque	The five options above
		Learning via education	Speaker of indeterminate L1	Basque	Language competence in general
					Listening competence
					Speaking competence
					Reading competence
				Writing competence	
				Language other than Basque	The five options above
		L1 speaker of Basque	Basque	Language competence in general	
				Listening competence in formal register	
				Speaking competence in formal register	
				Reading competence	
				Writing competence	
			Language other than Basque	Language competence in general	
				Listening competence as L2	
				Speaking competence as L2	
				Reading competence	
				Writing competence	
		L1 speaker of language other than Basque	Basque	The five options above	

1B - Describing language competence	Language competence acquisition mode	Learning via education	L1 speaker of language other than Basque	Language other than Basque	Language competence in general	
					Listening competence in formal register	
					Speaking competence in formal register	
					Reading competence	
					Writing competence	
			L1 speaker of Basque and a language other than Basque	Basque	The five options above	
		Language other than Basque	The five options above			
	Language competence loss mode	Speaker of indeterminate L1	Basque	Language competence in general		
				Listening competence		
				Speaking competence		
				Reading competence		
				Writing competence		
			Language other than Basque	The five options above		
			L1 speaker of Basque	Basque	The five options above	
				Language other than Basque	The five options above	
			L1 speaker of language other than Basque	Basque	The five options above	
				Language other than Basque	The five options above	
		L1 speaker of Basque and language other than Basque	Basque	The five options above		
			Language other than Basque	The five options above		
		Reason for 1B				
		Inference				

In this table, the language acquisition mode is described in an exhaustive way, on the following table 36, a more simple table is proposed. It is easier to use when marking real pieces of historical texts but more simplistic from a theoretical point of view.

Table 36: 1B- describing language competence simplified

1B - Describing language competence	Language competence acquisition mode	Mother tongue	Basque
			Language other than Basque
		Acquisition via ordinary daily use	Basque
			Language other than Basque
		Learning via education	Basque
			Language other than Basque
	Literacy	No	Basque
			Language other than Basque
		Yes	Basque
			Language other than Basque
Style	Formal		
	Informal		
	Intimate		

4.3. 1C - Describing language structure

Several branches of linguistics may be used as sources of information to define the social dimension of relationships between Basque and other languages and, in this way, throw light on the social history of Basque. As with the other parameters of our taxonomic proposal, the same can be said for other languages and geographical areas, for the social history of language in general. A focused study of the covariation of the social organization of language behaviour and language use with the linguistic production of particular moments can yield rich results. One of the consequences - not the only one, but certainly a fundamental one – is the possibility of researching into how features of that linguistic production presuppose a given type of societal organization. Many authors and schools of thought have explained the connection between those two aspects. See, for instance, Siguán (1998: 738): “In Uriel Weinreich’s work *Languages in Contact* it is made clear that linguistic phenomena arising from language contact cannot be explained without taking into account the social situation in which these contacts take place”. Fishman made the same point time and again. Closer to the Basque country in geographical terms, finally, Bidart (1980: 95) is even clearer about the issue: “The state of the language provides information about the state of the whole social system”. That connection has been even more broadly established

historically in theses about the connections between language and culture (or language and thought).²⁵⁰

Consequences which can be derived from toponymy and anthroponomy, dialectology and language contact (above all, from the realms of interference and code-switching) are of use when drawing up the social history of Basque. So SHB must also take these areas into consideration. Many examples could be given of the raw materials which anthroponomy, toponymy and dialectology can provide SHB with.²⁵¹

Although we have paid special attention to interference, code-switching, proper names and loan words so far in this cell, there is no reason why we should limit our perspective to these particular fields of linguistics when pursuing socio-historical conclusions. The linguistic system itself is a topic of research here, the internal configuration of the language(-variety) which particular speakers or in general the language community have instanced at particular times and in particular places.

This cell's second-level organization is threefold. Ordinary descriptive data derived from linguistic sources are collected under the heading *data derived from language structure* and this, in fact, is the very heart of this cell. In addition to that main section, there are two further labels of a sort regularly used along this first analytical parameter: *reason for IC* and *inference*.

4.3.1. Data derived from language structure

Six language areas are distinguished in this main section: *global description*, *result of language contact*, *internal uniformity of language*, *power and solidarity indices*, *significant source (onomastics, paremiology and etymology)* and *other*. Each term's meaning and use will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

4.3.1.1. Global description

This section has two main parts: a set of labels for *basic linguistic features* and *interlinguistic distance*.

²⁵⁰ See, once more, Siguán (1998: 738) on Humboldt's idea about the close relationship between each language and the culture which is expressed through it. There are many, many observations beyond that, with their strengths and failings, stretching as far as the reflections of Sapir-Whorf and others.

²⁵¹ In addition to the various contributions of uneven value by Basque apologists from Poza's time onwards, recall, for instance, Luchaire (1881), Menendez Pidal (1968), Caro Baroja (1977) and Irigoyen (1986a; 1994).

The *basic linguistic features* set has been based on linguists' habitual categories: *phonetics*, *morphosyntax*, *lexicon* and *semantics*.²⁵² Our aim is to collect data under these headings as long as it serves some sociolinguistic purpose.

At the same time, when describing a language, sociolinguistic data can sometimes be derived from its proximity or distance from some other language (on all levels of analysis: phonology, morphosyntax, vocabulary, semantics etc.) In fact, referring to the *interlinguistic distance* between Basque and its neighbouring languages is commonplace: on many occasions, rightly or wrongly, consequences have been drawn that are of interest to SHB.²⁵³ To be included under this heading, for instance, are the not infrequent affirmations on the survival of Basque and about the difficulty of learning it, when based on arguments of linguistic distance.

4.3.1.2. *Result of language contact*

In this section, there are also two main parts: *interference and loanwords* and *code-switching*. Data from the language contact field is of use for throwing light on sociohistorical situations at particular moments in time, above all with regard to interference and code switching in the speech of local bilinguals. This kind of data may give important information to enlighten the sociolinguistic situation of a particular place in a particular time and its evolution (Schendl 2012). The nature of the interference can be defined following the typology established by Uriel Weinreich (1953).²⁵⁴ The intensity of code switching can serve as a measure (on a scale such as continually/often/occasionally/very seldom) and also as an approach to the topic of who uses what language, with whom and to what purpose. It is difficult, of course, to find much historical documentation about interference or code switching in the Basque case. However, what has already been collected is by no means insignificant. See, for instance, Legarda (1953). There are reasons for believing that there will be opportunities to gather further testimony, particularly from the 18th century until the present day.

We believe it is worth taking into account in this section the scale proposed by Thomasson and Kaufman (1988). Their scale seems to be appropriate for researchers working in the field of social history of languages. The basis for the distinctions made by these two authors is the results of language contact, and serves to measure the degree of its impact. The way in which a language changes

²⁵² See examples 19, 22, 54, 79, 100, 119, 120, 122, 123.

²⁵³ See examples 37, 153.

²⁵⁴ See Zalbide & Muñoa (2006: 190-199), for instance, for an attempt at analysis adapted to a Basque historical situation though without achieving the same degree of precision.

is defined according to the intensity of contact. Fennell (2001: 86-88) summarises Thomason and Kaufman's scale as follows:²⁵⁵

1) Casual contact: lexical borrowing only.

Lexicon: Content words. For cultural and functional (rather than typological) reasons, non-basic vocabulary will be borrowed before basic vocabulary.

2) Slightly more intense contact: slight structural borrowing

Lexicon: Function words, conjunctions and various adverbial particles.

Structure: Minor phonological, syntactic and lexical semantic features. Phonological borrowing here is likely to be confined to the appearance of new phonemes with new phones, but only in loan words. Syntactic features borrowed at this stage will probably be restricted to new functions (or functional restrictions) and new orderings that cause little or no typological disruption.

3) More intense contact: slightly more structural borrowing.

Lexicon: Function words: adpositions (prepositions and postpositions). At this stage, derivational affixes may be abstracted from borrowed words and added to native vocabulary; inflectional affixes may enter the borrowing language attached to, and will remain confined to, borrowed vocabulary items. Personal and demonstrative pronouns and low numerals, which belong to the basic vocabulary, are more likely to be borrowed at this stage than in more casual contact situations.

Structure: Slightly less minor structural features than in category (2). In phonology, borrowing will probably include the phonemicization, even in native vocabulary, of previously allophonic alternations. This is especially true of those that exploit distinctive features already present in the borrowing language, and also easily borrowed prosodic and syllable-structure features, such as stress rules and the addition of syllable-final consonants (in loan words only). In syntax, a complete change from, say, SOV to SVO syntax will not occur here, but a few aspects of such a switch may be found, as,

²⁵⁵ We give Fennell's summary here. However, Thomason and Kaufmann (1988: 65-146) distinguish two cases in their book: the first corresponds to a *language maintenance* context (the case Fennell discusses), and the second to a *language shift* context.

for example, borrowed postpositions in an otherwise prepositional language (or vice versa).

4) Strong cultural pressure: moderate structural borrowing.

Structure: Major structural features that cause relatively little typological change. Phonological borrowing at this stage includes: introduction of new distinctive features in contrastive sets that are represented in native vocabulary, and perhaps loss of some contrasts; new syllable structure constraints, also in native vocabulary; and a few natural allophonic or automatic morphophonemic rules, such as palatalization of final obstruent devoicing. Fairly extensive word-order changes will occur at this stage, as will other syntactic changes that cause little categorial alteration. In morphology, borrowed inflectional affixes and categories (e.g. new cases) will be added to native words, especially if there is a good typological fit in both category and ordering.

5) Very strong cultural pressure: heavy structural borrowing.

Structure: Major structural features that cause significant typological disruption: added morphophonemic rules; phonetic changes (i.e. subphonemic changes in habits of articulation, including allophonic alternations); loss of phonemic contrasts and of morphophonemic rules; changes in word-structure rules (e.g. adding prefixes in a language that was exclusively suffixing or a change from flexional toward agglutinative morphology); categorial as well as more extensive ordering changes in morphosyntax (e.g. development of ergative morphosyntax); and added concord rules, including bound pronominal elements.

This otherwise robust explanation omits (unfortunately, in our opinion) semantic interference: the contact of Basque with Celtic languages, for instance, resulted in the word *otsail* (February), counting in twenties and the ordering of loan words for months; contact with Latin resulted in the loans *txorta(n egin)* and *larrutan egin* ('have sex'), and, from the word *integritas*, the similar concept of *osasun* ('health' and, literally, like the Latin term, 'wholeness').

We have divided the *interference and loanwords* section up into the usual four linguistic categories: *phonetics*, *morphosyntax*, *lexicon* and *semantics*.²⁵⁶

²⁵⁶ See examples 22, 24, 54, 79, 121.

4.3.1.3. *Internal uniformity of language*

In this section, among other things, we collect data which can be derived from dialectology. Our perspective, however, is somewhat different as we tend to ask: to what extent is there a unified language? This question can be interpreted in more than one way: with regard to the *degree of fragmentation* ‘how far is that language fragmented, normally without any specific planning, in a geographical sense (data about dialectology can be included in *geographic fragmentation*) or a social one (*social fragmentation*)?’ and, with regard to the *degree of standardisation*, ‘how far has that language been standardised, normally as the result of specific planning?’²⁵⁷. Information linked to what is called in historical sociolinguistics *sociolinguistic space* is to be included here. Rutten defines *sociolinguistic space* as “the complete varietal spectrum from base dialects to standard or hyper-standard that language users have at their disposal at a given place and time” (Rutten 2019: 33). In the same way, information about *diaglossia* is also to be included in this cell (see here 4.1.3.2. and Rutten 2019). Axular claims the lack of standardisation in this example: “If as many books had been written in Euskara (Basque) as in Latin, French, or other foreign languages, Euskara would also be as rich and perfect as they are, and if this has not happened, it is the Basques themselves who are to blame, not Euskara.” (Pedro de Axular 1643: 224).

One can also observe that different *degrees of standardisation* and *types of standardisation* are possible²⁵⁸; Briggs brings us a valuable example of two different types of standardisation in the sociolinguistic history of language: “England, unlike France, did not have an Academy, so that ‘codification’ in France was more authoritarian, formal and centralised than in England” (Briggs 1986: 182).

4.3.1.4. *Power and solidarity indices*

“The Pronouns of Power and Solidarity” of Brown and Gilman (1960) is extremely productive when applied to highlighting certain features of Basque historical social behaviour. Their work explains how and for what the T/V distinction (in Basque ‘hi/zu(ek)’ along with the third person ‘berori’) has been used.²⁵⁹ Giving detailed answers to these questions, several pieces of sociological data have been obtained (see, in particular, Alberdi 1993, 1994, 1996).

²⁵⁷ For *geographic fragmentation*, see examples 12, 21; for an example of lack of geographical fragmentation, see 20. For an example of lack of social fragmentation, see 20.

²⁵⁸ For *degree of standardization*, see examples 119, 120, 122; for *type of standardization*, see example 102.

²⁵⁹ See example 101.

4.3.1.5. Significant source (onomastics, paremiology and etymology)

In order to denominate several other relevant meaningful areas of language, we have used the label *significant source (onomastics, paremiology and etymology)*, distinguishing these three elements: *naming, paremiology and etymological explanations*.

The term *naming* includes the onomastics field of linguistics in its entirety: *place names* (toponomastics) and *personal names* (anthroponomastics). The linguistic data from these fields is of use for defining and enriching knowledge about situations in the past (particularly in the distant past). From what we know at present, and taking into account the historical reality of the Basque Country, the field of onomastics cannot be ignored, even though its original objective was different²⁶⁰. We stress once again that we are not interested in onomastics *per se*: that is a field for linguists. The results they obtain, however, are of considerable interest because of the opportunity they give us to draw sociolinguistic conclusions²⁶¹.

Data for sociolinguistics, however, can proceed from at least five areas of naming: in addition to the two we have already mentioned (place names and personal names), other potentially appropriate sources of information include *ethnonyms, glottonyms* (including names of language varieties) and *names of things* (for instance, names of particular tools or technologies). In short, several other categories must be added to the two categories commonly used by linguists. In all of them, and in addition to linguists' habitual analyses, two further approaches can be of particular interest: examining word formation and comparing the evolution of specific sets of names (particularly of place names) over time.²⁶²

Secondly, *paremiology*, too, must be taken into account. As Intxausti (2007: 241) has clearly stated, paremiology is one of the topics examined by the social history of language: see, for instance, Obelkevich (1987: 43-72). It is thanks to Urkixo (1920: 18), for instance, that we have a specific mention of bilingual code switching between the principal Basque nobles (*ahaide nagusiak*) from Biscay in

²⁶⁰ Place names have long been accepted and recognised as an important field of interest for other disciplines. For its importance for linguistics, see, for instance, Urkixo (1918: 32): "a field of inquiry which is of great importance for Basque studies is that of our toponymy (...). It yields data of great interest". When it comes to writing the social history of language and being able to discuss sociology of language issues appropriately, both toponymy and anthroponomy can be of great assistance. Toponyms can be of particular help, and often are, for defining what the geographical boundaries of a language have been (for instance, Gorrotxategi 2012).

²⁶¹ See example 23.

²⁶² Considerable work has been carried out on word formation while researching the linguistic situation during the Arab period (c. 720-1150) in Basque history. The results are due to be published in book form and will provide the clearest example of what we are saying (Zalbide in preparation b).

the Middle Ages, based on a local saying. As for sources, furthermore, the first Basque paremiologists should not be overlooked: Garibay, Oihenart, Voltaire and Sauguis.

We have named the last branch in this set *etymological explanations*. As in the other cases, we are interested in it to the extent etymologies (whether real or imagined) yield up sociolinguistic data.

4.3.1.6. Other

As usual, this catch-all term is for cases not covered by any of the previous terms on the list or which are too general to be more precisely labelled.

4.3.2. Reason for 1C

As in the other cells of the first analytical parameters, in 1C, too, we include a label for recording the reason given for it²⁶³. As we have already mentioned the purpose of this term (see 4.2.6, for instance), we will not repeat the explanation here.

4.3.3. Summary of terms

A summary of terms presented is available in table 37.

²⁶³ See example 20.

Table 37: structure of cell 1C

First level label	Second level label	Third level label	Fourth level label	Fifth level label
1C - Describing language structure	Data derived from language structure	Global description	Basic linguistic features	Phonetics
				Morphosyntax
				Lexicon
				Semantics
			Interlinguistic distance	
		Result of language contact	Interference and loanwords	The four options above
			Code-switching	
		Internal uniformity of language	Degree of fragmentation	Geographic fragmentation
				Social fragmentation
			Degree of standardisation	
		Type of standardisation		
		Power and solidarity indices		
		Significant source (onomastics, paremiology and etymology)	Naming	Place-names
				Personal names
				Ethnonyms
				Glottonyms
				Names of things
		Paremiology		
		Etymological explanations		
		Other		
		Reason for 1C		
		Inference		

4.4. 1D - Describing societal features

Strictly speaking, Column D does not directly record any linguistic content. It is essential, however, for relating data about the language and, above all, the changes in the data (or lack of them) occurring over the years, generations and centuries to the phenomena of societal evolution and development. See section 3.1.4. for further details. The nature, direction and extent of these links have given rise to many different types of reflection: for specific moments and places see, for instance, Hartig (1981).

Cell 1D, specifically, takes into account the elements required to provide basic descriptions of the social matrix. This cell offers an opportunity to introduce in a structured way what the various fields of study which also embrace language often refer to as external factors.²⁶⁴ The organization of the cell's second level is threefold: ordinary descriptive data are grouped under the heading *data relating to societal features*. In addition to that main section, a further two labels have been included: *reason for 1D* and *inference*.

4.4.1. *Data relating to societal features*

Five basic labels have been created for the explanation and description of the social matrix: *general, undetermined; demographic features; econotechnical features; political-operative features; psychosocial and sociocultural features*.

In both this analytical parameter and in the following ones, we must examine what is the main question each label addresses, in order to distinguish between those terms and facilitate the use of this terminology.

Bear in mind that these questions are completely contextual. The population, period, place and, when appropriate, domain under examination must be carefully considered.

4.4.1.1. *General, undetermined*

As usual, the *general, undetermined* label must be used when a piece of data, in this case, one related to societal features, cannot (for whatever reason) be assigned any other label or, if appropriate, labels, or when it is too vague.

²⁶⁴ On this issue, as an initial approach, Pagola's *Nafarroako hizkerak* (1994) is illustrative. As she clearly states in the introduction to the article: "When examining the use of Basque in Navarre, external problems affecting the language can in no way be forgotten or left unstudied".

4.4.1.2. Demographic features

Demographic features are one of the most important variables in order to understand the sociolinguistic evolution of a speech-community. Any change in this field can bring about dramatic effects in a sociolinguistic situation. This is why the demographic features of a given geographical area must be recorded. In this field, for instance, demographic information about the presence of foreigners in the Basque region of Gipuzkoa during the 16th and 17th centuries, as stressed by Irixoa (2012) is of great practical interest to clarify the sociolinguistic situation of the area at that time. To the general and habitual information about immigration, emigration, birth rate, death rate etc., other more particular details can be added as an answer, for example, to the following questions linked to the *proportion and number of speakers* concept of our taxonomy²⁶⁵ (see 2.2.2.):

- How many people live, or how many people are we considering, in the geographical area covered by our work?
- What is the degree of concentration of that group of people, considered internally? (Internal group analysis: to what extent does the set of people we are examining live side-by-side in a particular place, with opportunities for face-to-face interaction? To give a fictional but illustrative example, it is not the same thing to say 100,000 Basque speakers lived in Argentina around 1900, packed into a single district the size of Gipuzkoa province, or that they were very widely dispersed throughout the whole of Argentina).
- What is the density of that set of people considered externally? (External group analysis: what is the size of the set of people we are examining, in comparison with an external group or in the context of a broader universe including speakers of other languages?)

For the task of categorizing data for demolinguistic purposes, a substantially more detailed filter can be added to these three questions in some cases (Veltman 1983).

4.4.1.3. Econotechnical features

Econotechnical features (economical and technological features) are also an important variable to understand changes in particular sociolinguistic situations. As is well known, new organization of rail or road networks can bring new lan-

²⁶⁵ See examples 29, 30, 31.

guages to remote geographical areas. An endless list of questions can be linked to econotechnical features, for instance:

- How do people earn their living? From livestock or arable farming, mining, fishing, the sea, trade (wholesale, retail, bargaining etc.), industry (iron work, shipbuilding, building houses, carpentry and tool making, crafts etc.), service sector employees or overseers, municipal employees (forester, municipal secretary, teacher, soldier etc.)?²⁶⁶
- How many people work in each sector?
- Where is each set of people situated in the social hierarchy? What economic rights and obligations do they have?
- What technological procedures does that set of people possess? What for? Who leads the work process?
- What type of property rights are in force: communal exploitation (village lands, grazing and woods) or private property?
- What is the main type of production: subsistence and saving, or the promotion of extensive production and consumption?
- What is the work perspective: workmates, owner, communal neighbourhood work?
- What technological innovations are there (for instance, the invention of the printing press)?

4.4.1.4. *Political-operative features*

Like other external factors, political-operative set-up and its evolution can seriously impact the sociolinguistic situation of a given community. Changes in status, laws etc., which have no direct link with language can bring deep changes in society and in its sociolinguistic panorama. As in the previous case, an endless list of questions can be linked to the *political-operative features* label, among others:²⁶⁷

- What type of basic authorities are there: lineage-based; neighbourhood, village or valley-based? What more formal political organizations are

²⁶⁶ See example 25.

²⁶⁷ See examples 27, 28, 30, 31, 117.

above them? What internal and external ecclesiastical authorities? Are those authorities geographically close or far away?

- External and internal points of tension: what are they like, why do they exist, what are they for?
- What sort of participation is there: by right or obligation?
- How is decision-making organized: in broadly based groups, by representatives, individually?
- What are the means of coercion: what are they like, how many are there, who controls them?

4.4.1.5. Psychosocial and sociocultural features

Finally, the last variable linked to societal features which can influence sociolinguistic reality includes the psychosocial and sociocultural features of the society. ‘Psychosocial features’ means data on or relating to processes or factors that are both social and psychological in origin. Sociocultural features can be difficult to define but are ultimately linked to the traditions of a society and the way of life of people who are part of that society. Even if in scientific research both psychosocial and sociocultural aspects can be clearly identified, when treating sociolinguistic data both are commonly linked. For example,²⁶⁸ when Febvre (1947) in his *Le problème de l’incroyance au XVIème siècle* claims that it was almost impossible to be an unbeliever in the French society of the 16th century, the link between psychosocial and sociocultural levels is clear: one perpetuates the other, and it is hard to determine which came first: it is probably the phenomenon Morin has called *recursion* (2005). Frequently there is an interaction between both levels that makes it hard to assign the data to just one of the two levels of analysis: this is why we decided to include both parameters under the same heading.

In the case of psychosocial features, our interest will depend on the topic of our research, but the following topics can be considered of special interest in the case of Basque:²⁶⁹

- Politeness, courtesy, ethical code. Take for example this rough translation of a traditional Basque observation: “How could a Christian do such a thing!”

²⁶⁸ See example 19.

²⁶⁹ See examples 26, 28, 117.

- Demonstrations of faith and belief: in general, not private. Living belief and faith vs. daily religious practices (prayer, fasting etc.) vs. respecting public demonstrations of faith.
- Mechanisms connected with the urban/rural dichotomy (including *Gemeinschaft/Gesellschaft*).²⁷⁰
- The value of giving one's word / decisiveness of written documents.
- Dimensions of "we": by lineage, by local district, by *dot/det/dut* dialect distinction, by province (*uskaldun/manex* etc.), Basque1 (by speech)/ Basque2 (by descent)/ Basque3 (by territorial unity), subjects or servants of a monarchy / citizens of a nation-state etc.

In the case of sociocultural features, here are some examples of questions of interest:

- Features of ordinary everyday life: how people dress, clean themselves, brush their hair, adorn themselves; what and how they eat and drink; daily work activity: working hours and leisure time.
- Occasional large-scale events and other types of celebration: betting on sports; dancing, singing, theatre, improvised sung poetry, 'modern' sporting events.
- Special days at particular times of the year: village festivities, minor religious celebrations, local fair days, festivities and holidays of the 'more modern' world; what to do and how to behave.
- Once in a lifetime events: birth, marriage, having children, breaking up or being widowed and death.
- Paths to socialisation: home, friends, school, work.
- Status and role in the home, in the neighbourhood, in the village and in broader areas of life.
- Family-internal organization: type of family (extended / nuclear etc.); what corresponds to who; how family wealth is divided up amongst heirs.

²⁷⁰ We are reminded of the *urban/rural* label set which falls under the *ecological demarcation* label, used to label other aspects of the urban/rural dichotomy which have no direct connection with psychological features. See 2.4.3.

- Neighbourhood life: overtness of relationship networks and strength of neighbourhood ties.

4.4.2. Reason for 1D

As in the other cells of this first analytical parameter, in 1D, too, we include a label explaining the reason for it²⁷¹.

4.4.3. Summary of terms

A summary of terms presented is available in table 38.

Table 38: structure of cell 1D

1st level label	2nd level label	3rd level label
1D - Describing societal features	Data relating to societal features	General, undetermined
		Demographic features
		Econotechnical features
		Political-operative features
		Psychosocial and sociocultural features
	Reason for 1D	
	Inference	

4.5. 1E - Describing language attitudes

Cell 1E is for recording opinions, attitudes and ways of behaving with regard to Basque and other languages, to their speakers, and to using those languages at given times and places. Research about language attitudes and opinions is a pretty large and complex field of inquiry. In fact the link between what peoples think in reality, what they think and claim to think in a theoretical situation and what they do in fact is a challenging field of research (LaPiere 1934 in Joly, Uranga: 2010) linked to cognition and psychosocial research; and many paradoxes and contradictory pieces of information occur, sometimes linked to cognitive dissonance and adaptation (Festinger 1957), but providing a wealth of substantial information about the sociolinguistic situation of a language (Joly 2004a). This book tries to present a taxonomy for research in historical sociolinguistics, but

²⁷¹ See example 19.

we cannot present all the theoretical debates and theories linked to each concept included in our taxonomy and in this field of research. It would have been interesting to present here the numerous debates about linguistic ideologies (Beacco 2001), speech community (Bloomfield 1933, Fishman 1971a, Gumperz 1971, Labov 1972, Mackey 1972, Hudson 1982), linguistic identity (Tabouret-Keller 1997), dichotomies such as mentalist vs behaviourist point of view about attitudes (Agheysi and Fishman 1970, Cooper and Fishman 1974, Fasold 1984), internal motivation versus external motivation and integrative attitude / motivation versus instrumental attitude / motivation (Lambert and Gardner 1972), covert versus overt language attitudes, etc. Most of these questions are very interesting and offer great perspective and fruitful avenues in research, both internationally and in the Basque area (see, for instance, all the books already mentioned in this paragraph and Baker 1992, Lasagabaster 2003, Sanchez Carrion 1991, Amorrortu 2009, Joly 2017, Joly and Uranga 2010, etc.), but in historical sociolinguistics there is a clear lack of sources to answer all these questions, many of which are very theoretical, such as establishing the components of attitudes, how to influence attitudes etc. (see Ajzen 1988, Agheysi and Fishman 1970, Cooper and Fishman 1974). These questions are interesting for language planning, but are hard to answer in the field of historical sociolinguistics because of the lack of congruent sources. All in all, even if establishing the link between opinions, attitudes and behaviour from a theoretical point of view is not central in our historical research, gathering information about attitudes, opinions and behaviour is essential for determining the sociolinguistic situation of a language. Particularly, contradictions between opinions, attitudes and behaviour provide valuable information about the reality of a situation. In the field of historical sociolinguistics, questions about language ideologies, language prestige, linguistic purism and so on are linked to this cell (Hernandez & Conde 2012: 571-654).

4.5.1. Attitude about what?

This is the main part of cell 1E. Here we can state the subject of the opinion, attitude or behaviour that opinion-givers have expressed. From a sociolinguistic point of view, six fields of interest have been determined. The opinion can be about: 1) *language use*: A, 2) *speakers and their language competence*: B, 3) *languages*: C, 4) *ethnicity*: D, 5) *language attitudes*: E and 6) *other*. The letters included in the first five labels (A, B... E) are to link them with the dimensions SHB uses.

4.5.1.1. Language use: A

This label, then, is for classifying all information on opinions about, attitudes towards and behaviours relative to language use.²⁷² Among other things, connections between language use and attitudes can be marked in this section (Zalbide, M., Joly, L., Gardner, N., 2015: 342-345).

Opinions, attitudes and behaviours involving the use of different languages can be of interest for SHB: to reflect that, the subterms *Basque* and *language other than Basque* have been distinguished.

4.5.1.2. Speakers and their language competence: B

This label is for marking all information on opinions given about speakers and their language competence (both on the level attained and their efforts to strengthen it), that is to say, about dimension B.²⁷³

4.5.1.3. Languages: C

This label is for marking all information on opinions about languages themselves and their intralinguistic features (in other words, about dimension C).²⁷⁴ Amongst other things, this section includes statements about what constitutes good and bad Basque, if Basque is useful or not for modern life and so on. Ideologies linked to the place of language in the national model, the different kinds of representations linked to language in itself, folklorisation of the non-standard-language and so on are central questions in historical sociolinguistics that are linked to this cell. As we can see, in each cell of our taxonomy a whole field of research can be opened up; Rutten, for instance, offers a substantial development of this question when analysing the situation of the Netherlands between 1750 and 1850 (Rutten 2019).

4.5.1.4. Ethnicity: D

This label is for marking all information on opinions about ethnicity (in other words, dimension D).²⁷⁵

²⁷² See examples 15, 35, 48, 149.

²⁷³ See examples 10, 33, 35, 48, 115.

²⁷⁴ See examples 32, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39, 149. Questions of attitude often lie behind the names given to a language. See, for example, the French “patois” (Boyer 2013: 169-177; Courouau 2005).

²⁷⁵ See examples 35, 37.

Clearly, such opinions may be given about all ethnic groups: *Basque ethnicity* and *Non-Basque ethnicity* subterms have been distinguished in order to reflect this diversity. Strong connections have been found, in many cases, between ethnicity, language, representation and identity. The different prejudices and pre-conceived judgements have occasionally been debated by historians. For Basque identity in the Middle Ages see, for instance, Larrea (2002).

4.5.1.5. Language attitudes: E

This label is for marking all information on opinions about attitude to language (in other words, dimension E).²⁷⁶ Opinions about opinions, attitudes and behaviour can be marked in this section. Much information about the linguistic awareness of the population investigated, for example, can be included in this cell.

4.5.1.6. Other

As usual, at the end we have added the usual catch-all category in order to reflect data about opinions, attitudes and behaviour which do not fit into the previous five categories.

4.5.2. Reason for 1E

As in the other cells of this first analytical parameter, in 1E, too, we include a label explaining the reason for it.

4.5.3. Summary of terms

A summary of terms presented is available in table 39.

²⁷⁶ See examples 39, 115.

Table 39: structure of cell 1E

First level label	Second level label	Third level label	Fourth level label
1E – Describing language attitudes	Attitude about what?	Language use: A	Basque
			Language other than Basque
		Speakers and their language competence: B	Basque speakers
			Speakers of language other than Basque
		Languages: C	Basque
			Language other than Basque
		Ethnicity: D	Basque ethnicity
			Non-Basque ethnicity
		Language attitudes: E	Basque
			Language other than Basque
	Other		
	Reason for 1E		
	Inference		

5. KINETIC PARAMETER

The descriptive parameter provides a “snapshot” of a specific place and moment. The kinetic parameter, on the other hand, aims to examine the changes²⁷⁷ which have happened – or which have not happened - from one moment to another in a particular place, more of a “video” than a “still”.²⁷⁸ For example, have there been changes with regard to the use of Basque at point X between moment A and moment B (in other words, over 25 years, 100 years, etc)? Is there a difference between the language competence of the group of speakers at moment A and moment B? Is there a difference between those bilingual speakers’ speaking and writing (above all in oral and written production of Basque) between moment A and moment B, visible in their behaviour in the fields of interference and code-switching? Have there been changes in the features of the social matrix from one moment to the other? And, lastly, has there been a change in language opinions, attitudes and behaviours between moment A and moment B?

Fundamentally, what the kinetic parameter requires is comparison and contrast: directly or indirectly comparing two moments A and B, in a particular dimension (language use, language competence, the language’s internal structure, the social matrix and language opinions-attitudes-behaviours) analysing whether *maintenance* or *change* (sometimes *shift*, other times *death*, on occasion *reversal*) are dominant.

²⁷⁷ In this chapter, we use the commonly used term “change”, but in SHL the description of this kind of diachronic point of view may not always suppose a change: a sociolinguistic situation may remain the same for generations, and this kind of no change/ lack of change is of particular interest for SHL, especially when the societal features change but language use remains the same. Within this context and for the sake of simplification the word “change” must be understood here as “change + no change”. The same can be said for the term “evolution” in this chapter. Our interest is in change or lack of it, evolution or lack of it when meaningful.

²⁷⁸ To give just a few examples, see the following international bibliography: Fishman et al. 1985; Lewis 1971; Leopold 1959; Withers 1984, 1986.

Table 40 provides a summary of the five dimensions for the second analytical parameter.

Table 40: cells on the kinetic parameter

Code	Standardised term
2A	2A - Change in language use
2B	2B - Change in language competence
2C	2C - Change in language structure
2D	2D - Change in societal features
2E	2E - Change in language attitudes

5.1. 2A - Change in language use

There is extensive bibliography on this topic with regard to Basque.²⁷⁹ And even more information will become available from comparing data accumulated in cell 1A. The basic concept in this area is *language shift*. Let us start, then, with the following explanation (Zalbide 2008: 1):

When we say “change of language” we are referring to the phenomenon known as *language shift* since the time of Uriel Weinreich. Its original definition is “the change from the habitual use of one language to that of another” (Weinreich 1953: 68). To put it another way, the *language shift* from language A to language B consists of a group of speakers (or an entire speech community) partially or completely abandoning language A - which they have used until that time in their usual, everyday behaviour - and using language B from then onwards.

“Language Maintenance and Language Shift as a field of inquiry” is what Fishman (1964) called this section around 50 years ago, and, since then, it has become one of the main fields of study in the sociology of language.²⁸⁰ The concepts of *language maintenance* and *language shift*, in particular the latter, are examined in this section. To do this, it seems sensible to define *when* and *where language shift* takes place with the conceptual tools of the sociology of language. Let us take, for instance, the classic explanation from the book *Reversing Language Shift* (Fishman 1991: 55): “the location of shift in the total ‘sociocultural space’ of a speech community is an indication of just where the stresses and strains of cross-cultural contact have eroded the ability of the smaller and weaker to withstand the stronger and larger”. Language shift describes a well recognised phenomenon: that of a shift (and, further down that path, language loss) of

²⁷⁹ See, for instance, Irigaray 1974; Oyharçabal 2001; Reclus 1929 [1867]; Yrizar, 1973b.

²⁸⁰ See in particular, for instance, Fishman (ed) 1978.

speakers (some, many or all of them) of weakened language A to using language B, the dominant language in the context. This is not a sudden overnight change, but, rather, a gradual, step by step one.²⁸¹ The following sequence has been proposed for this downward *continuum*, starting from the slightest weakness and heading to the most calamitous: *language attrition* (which usually presupposes the spread of another language), *shift*, *endangerment*, *contraction*, *obsolescence*, *loss*, *disappearance* and *death*.²⁸² The languages affected by, i.e. resulting from, these processes have been described using specific terms: *declining*, *endangered*, *threatened*, *obsolescent*, *moribund*, *extinct* and *dead languages*.

Language shift must not be confused with a speaker, or a handful of speakers changing from language A to language B in a specific place and for a specific purpose. They are two different things. Language shift is a macro-sociological event which normally takes place over two or more generations; it is not a micro-sociological process of adaptation affecting a few speakers at a particular time.

This point has often been studied in the Basque region too, not just internationally, and the basic objective is to answer the following questions: “over time, what change has happened in the social organization of language behaviour in a particular place?” In general, has an evolution occurred? To what extent? Where, specifically, in physical or socio-functional space?

With regard to the Basque world, we would particularly like to address three points: how to deal with the distant past, how to deal with more modern periods / points of comparison and the direction of evolution of language use (in other words, language shift). Let us examine these three aspects, then, before looking at SHB’s system for labelling within this cell.

A) How to deal with the distant past

In order to answer the questions listed above, in general, one must look for standardised responses and, with regard to the distant past, always or almost always for Basque/non-Basque assessments. This description from the historian Lacarra (1972), for instance, may be seen as such an assessment, matching, as

²⁸¹ The fact that the process is gradual has led to *language shift* being formulated as a process. There is an author, however, who says otherwise (Gal 1979): being a *transitional* process, it begins as heterogeneous behaviour in synchronic language use, firstly as *quantitative alteration*, and, finally, becomes *categorical change*, in diachronic perspective.

²⁸² Some authors do not accept the sequence as explained above. They believe that two things are being mixed up: for one, a decline in use, and, for another, a loss in language competence: they hold that the concepts of *language loss* and *language attrition* should be dealt with elsewhere. Whatever the details may be, the sequence is illuminating to an extent. There is still some conceptual confusion on this point.

it does, several historical sources, although not fully agreeing with some other experts' conceptualisations (for instance, Caro Baroja's):

There is no doubt that by that date there were no traces left of Roman authority in the territories of ancient Vasconia; urban ways of life which the Romans had brought had died out; once many rural property owners had fled or died, the villas and structures created around them had disappeared. We can deduce that the rural Basque world had imposed itself on the Latin superstructure.

Of course, it is difficult to draw precise conclusions about *language maintenance* and (*reversing*) *language shift* from that explanation. The average corollary is clear, however, and matches well with what the scant documentary sources have to say some centuries later. There may be a type of RLS there, with immigration and emigration playing their part in that shift.²⁸³ However, it is not possible to draw out any great detail about the social dimension of Basque from those few facts. Was only Basque spoken in that new situation? Did Basque and other languages remain compartmentalised in socio-functional terms, and was a new sociocultural and econotechnical basis for intergenerational transmission of traditional diglossic patterns developed in the Basque region? If that were the case, what position did Basque hold in the new social order, what place did Latin have (above all, in writing), and what was the place of Navarrese Romance (orally)? In which domains was Basque completely dominant, and in which domains were languages other than Basque dominant (particularly, in relationship networks and role relationships connected with political and religious power structures)? In the same way, from around 1250 onwards, when the local Romance languages began to take over from Latin, in the H diglossic function, what was the new shape of the socio-functional compartmentalisation of the H level between Latin and local Romance languages which Mitxelena (2010) mentions? And what type of relationship and division of roles – both in physical and geographical space as well as in the socio-functional space of oral activity – did Basque and the numerous local Romance languages have?²⁸⁴ These are fundamental questions which have yet to be properly addressed and which the SHB project will be able to clear up (or help to do so) in the future, by collecting data on a large scale and systematically exploiting it.

The Basque speech community provides many examples of bilingual diglossia. In many local areas and relationship networks, in particular, this formulation has lasted for long periods. Testimony about it has sometimes been collected and

²⁸³ RLS: reversing language shift. The terminology is from Fishman (eg 1991).

²⁸⁴ On this last point see, for instance, Ciérvide 1989 (mentioned in Pagola 1995: 260).

conclusions have been derived from specific data on other occasions. Martin Haase's essay (1992: 687-698), for instance, should be included in the latter group.

B) How to deal with more modern periods / points of comparison

Clearly, information which can be obtained about the coexistence of Basque and other languages over the last two or three centuries is very different in nature. In cases for which there is ample data (for instance, for the last 200 years), the best approach to research is to take the situations at different moments and compare them. This type of research is known as *study in real time* in the English-language sociolinguistic bibliography (Labov 1972, 1994: 43-112, 2001: 75-78; Conde 2007: 86; Hernandez & Conde 2012: 262, 485-486; Mas i Miralles 2003: 3; Turell 2003). Comparison tables such as table 41 could be the right way to approach this.

Table 41: classification of domains to show evolution over time

Media	Domain	Role relationships	Moment A	Moment B
Speaking	Family	Between husband and wife Between parents and children Between grandparents and grandchildren Between siblings (at home) Others (parents' generation) Others (children's generation)		
	Neighbourhood	Between friends Between acquaintances		
	Sports / leisure	Between sports players Between dancers		
	Education	Between pupils and teachers Between pupils Between teachers		
	Work	Between workmates With customers and suppliers With boss		
Speaking	Authority	Between council departments With people in council area In chartered institutions In jurisdiction of kingdom At trials		
	Religion	Praying (at home, in church etc.) Hearing Mass Preaching and listening to sermons Promoting Christian teaching		
	Village life	Public activities Market-day selling and buying		
	Others			

In many cases, this way may turn out less productive than expected: for one thing, lack of data is a serious obstacle. However, we are going to have more and more data available, and that is not the main handicap of this approach.²⁸⁵ Unless we are mistaken, the main weakness of this approach will turn out to be that comparable situations or sources cannot be documented, or only with great difficulty.

Another approach, one which, seemingly, may be easier to apply to data from the last fifty years, is the following: examining at a particular place and time the language behaviour of young or very young people and comparing it to that of adults or old people, as there are noticeable differences between the two. This approach, with all its limitations, is by no means to be scorned and such testimonies are sometime available in historical documentation. This type of research is known as *study in apparent time* in the English-language sociolinguistic bibliography (Labov 1972, 1994: 43-112, 2001: 75-78; Conde 2007: 86; Hernandez & Conde 2012: 262, 485-486; Mas i Miralles 2003: 3; Turell 2003, Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 53-100). This approach has provided notable results in the sphere of linguistics, and could well prove appropriate in the sphere of sociolinguistic information for social history. For evolution in a district of Bilbao see, for instance, Gaminde 1994. However, this approach does have its limitations: the age variable may be meaningful in the socio-functional compartmentalisation of languages: age-based contrasts may be stable in some situations. In such cases, the age-based differences do not indicate a historical evolution. In some pieces of research work, researchers have first used *apparent time* and, some years later, *real time*. Sankoff, for instance, took research projects in *apparent time* and compared them with *real time*. According to Sankoff (2006: 9), four different types of development can be seen: “Since 1995, we have seen an increasing number of real-time studies (most frequently, re-studies of sociolinguistic or dialectological research of the 1960s and 1970s). Many of the original studies made apparent time inferences, and for researchers carrying out restudies, it has been tempting to treat these inferences as predictions. However, we should note that there are, in the historical sense, not two but four possible further developments to be observed in the subsequent studies. First, if the original age distribution is repeated at the same level, we interpret the outcome as static age grading. Second, when we note a repeated age gradient at a higher level of the change, we interpret the result as a real time change. The third possibility is that all age groups display the same high level of the variable, which we interpret as the last phase of change going to completion. In this case, the trend study should show no further increase on the part of a new generation of young speakers. Since eventually all changes are completed, it may be unreasonable to think that the absence of continuing change

²⁸⁵ *The handicaps are clearly pointed out in Fishman 1991: 52-54.*

constitutes a “failed prediction”. The fourth possibility is that change is reversed, usually as the effect of stigmatization from above”. Table 42 attempts to reflect this approach.

Table 42: classification of domains to show evolution between generations

Media	Domain	Role relationships	Children (and young people)	Adults (and old people)
Speaking	Family	Between husband and wife Between parents and children Between grandparents and grandchildren Between siblings (at home) Others (parents' generation) Others (children's generation)		
	Neighbourhood	Between friends Between acquaintances		
	Sports / leisure	With other people present Between participants in traditional sports Between dancers		
	Education	Between pupils and teachers Between pupils Between teachers		
	Work	Between workmates With customers and suppliers With boss		
	Authority	Between council departments With people in council area In chartered institutions In jurisdiction of kingdom At trials.		
Speaking	Religion	Praying (at home, in church etc.) Hearing Mass Preaching and listening to sermons Promoting Christian teaching		
	Village life	Public activities Market-day selling and buying		
	Others			

The points of comparison used in the previous two tables to detect evolution are, clearly, comparing one moment in time with another and comparing the language behaviour of two or more generations at the same moment. As Labov mentions, it must be borne in mind that a change may be a *generational change* or a *communal change*.²⁸⁶ Other types of points of comparison can also be established, of course: for instance, what a single generation tells us about its childhood gives us a point of comparison if we compare that with its current practice, in order to distinguish between use then and now within a single lifetime and as a result to become aware of the change (its direction, breadth and depth) that has occurred from childhood or youth to adulthood. In a similar way, what is happening in one place (a valley, a village etc.) can be compared with what is happening in another. We will probably be able to establish other types of points of comparison too, although they may be less frequently used.

C) Direction and extent of changes in language use

Finally, in addition to the features already mentioned in this overview of changes in language use, we must also give some definition of the **direction of change**. Simplifying, if we exclude stable situations where there is no language shift, there are only two possibilities at a particular moment: use is increasing or decreasing. In terms of defining those movements, data can be classified using three factors or criteria (Hornberger 2010):

- a) *Starting point*: we are starting from a position of strength, a medium position, a position of weakness etc.
- b) *Final conclusion*: in processes of language spread, languages end up in a healthier position than before, but without achieving natural intergene-

²⁸⁶ For generational changes with regard to grammar, see Weinreich et al 1968: 144-146. Labov clearly states the relationship between apparent time and real time, and also defines generational change and communal change within that context. It is worth looking at what Labov has to say about this. The reader should take into account that Labov's specific objective is to examine the evolution of the internal structure of the language, as explained in the first chapter of this book: "(1) If the behavior of individuals is stable throughout their lifetimes, and the community remains at the same level, there is no variation to analyse, and we have stability: the stable, invariant, homogeneous situation that was once considered optimal (...). (2) If individuals change their linguistic behaviour throughout their lifetimes, but the community as a whole does not change, the pattern can be characterized as one of age-grading. (...) 3) Generational change is the normal type of linguistic change that we have been considering so far – most typical of sound change and morphological change. Individual speakers enter the community with a characteristic frequency for a particular variable, maintained throughout their lifetimes; but regular increases in the values adopted by individuals, often incremented by generations, lead to linguistic change for the community. (4) The converse of this pattern is communal change, where all members of the community alter their frequencies together, or acquire new forms simultaneously. This is a common pattern of lexical change, as Payne (1976) found in her study of speakers entering the Philadelphia community. It appears to be a basic pattern for syntactic change as well, as Sankoff and Brown (1976) found in the development of Tok Pisin relatives and as Aroaud (1980) found in the development of the English progressive." (Labov 1994: 83-84)

rational transmission; or, again, they go beyond that. During processes of decline, languages become weaker than before, but maintain inter-generational transmission; or natural, intergenerational transmission breaks down along with the decline in language use.

- c) *Procedure*: how factors have influenced evolution: in processes of spread, by increases in demographic concentration, by broadening and strengthening socio-functional compartmentalisation, via authoritative *top-down* planning, by RLS-style initiatives. In processes of decline, on the other hand, by physical, demographic or social dislocation etc.

All this, of course, can give rise to extraordinary diversity. Even if we consider only *final conclusion*, the number of potential alternative situations is vast. For the sociolinguistic processes of spread and decline in general, see Fishman 1991 and 2001; for a summary of their application to the situation of Basque, see Zalbide, M., Joly, L., Gardner, N., 2015: 357-358.

As we have briefly examined these three aspects of direction of change, we will now analyse SHB's approach to structuring the resulting information. Cell 2A contains five second-level labels: basic evolutionary data are labelled *evolution of language use*. In addition to that main section, a further four have also been included: the *type of comparison* can be specified; as can diglossic evolution (*diglossia: yes/no*); *evolution of language use related dominance configuration tables* also have their place, as does the habitual final label along these analytical parameters, *inference*.

5.1.1. Type of comparison

What are we comparing with what? In point 5.1. we defined several options and gave each of them a label. Thus, if the comparison is between one moment in time and another, we use the *from moment A to moment B* label.²⁸⁷ However, if the comparison is between two age groups at the same moment in time, the *between generations* label is appropriate.²⁸⁸ In some cases, the evolution of language use can be clearly observed by examining a single generation: for such cases, the *older people speaking of their childhood* label is used.²⁸⁹ Fourthly, evolution occurring in two geographical places can be compared, usually at similar historical

²⁸⁷ See examples 40, 42, 43, 48, 50, 62.

²⁸⁸ This type of comparison has been widely applied. For examples for Breton, see Broudic 1995: 355-356. See examples 47, 69.

²⁸⁹ See example 74.

moments: *between places*.²⁹⁰ Finally, there is also a fifth option, *other*, in order to label data which does not fit into any of the previously mentioned types of comparison.²⁹¹

5.1.2. Evolution of language use

The *evolution of language use* label can be used to define the type of change: if language shift has occurred, for instance, which language's degree of use has increased and which decreased? Or has the language been maintained from one place or moment to another, surviving without undergoing substantial change? Seven options have been foreseen in order to reflect different tendencies occurring in the Basque world, but they can easily be adapted to fit other international situations: *death of language other than Basque*, *increase in the use of Basque*, *maintenance of the (non) use of Basque*, *decline in the use of Basque*, *death of Basque*, *evolution of language use among languages other than Basque* and *general, undetermined*.

In addition, when the text gives us the chance to do so (and, if it does not, we can use the *general, undetermined* label), we will be able to distinguish between the following:

- *Functions*: in which of the language's functions do the losses and gains take place? (cf. the gains which Basque has had in H function over the last 30 years);²⁹²
- *Speakers*: what type of gains and losses have there been in the number of speakers? (cf. the gains which the number of Basque speakers has had over the last 30 years);²⁹³
- *Place*: in which geographical area did the gains and losses take place? (cf. Basque's retreat in the eighteenth century in Trebiñu, from the south-west to the north-east, or, over the last 30 years, Basque's spread in areas outside its 19th century borders).

²⁹⁰ See example 51.

²⁹¹ An event may be the factor behind this "other": a revolt or a meeting, for instance, the Second Vatican Council, crucial for the religious domain. In such cases, there is one situation before the revolt or council, and another one afterwards.

²⁹² See examples 43, 49, 72.

²⁹³ See example 46, 56, 68, 72.

Other variables such as domains, role-relations, age, gender etc. and media, overtness, style etc. can also be marked and underlined for each quotation by using the socio-historical setting parameters and the language behaviour parameters of our socio-linguistical taxonomy (see chapter 2 and 4.1).

So, leaving aside *general, undetermined*, let us examine the other six options, taking these three parameters into account.

5.1.2.1. *Death of language other than Basque*

Let us suppose that the information collected tells us that a language other than Basque has died out in a particular place, which means that in a geographical area linked to the Basque language a language that was used has disappeared and nobody knows it anymore (Dorian: 1989). In such cases, we use this label. Language death takes into account the disappearance of the language along three different parameters: (*functions*) for instance, the disappearance of Latin from many administrative texts in Castille and the Basque region around 1250; (*speakers*) the last speaker dying (for instance, the last speaker of Gascon in Pasaia village died in the 1920s); (*place*) disappearing from a particular place (Gascon disappearing from the southern Basque Country).²⁹⁴

5.1.2.2. *Increase in the use of Basque*

In the second case, Basque is used more and more. In this case, three things can happen: a) Basque spreads as an additional language (*spread of Basque*: for instance, over the last 40 years or so speakers of other languages learning Basque without abandoning their mother tongue); b) Basque substitutes another language in terms of use, i.e. language shift to Basque occurs from another language (*shift to Basque*); c) the use of a language other than Basque disappears (*disappearance of the use of language other than Basque*). As in all the other cases here, change can take place among functions, speakers or/and places.²⁹⁵

5.1.2.3. *Maintenance of the (non) use of Basque*

In this case, when comparing two moments or two places, the level of use of Basque has not changed.²⁹⁶ So this is a long-lasting situation. The label for it is *maintenance of the (non) use of Basque*.

²⁹⁴ See Gavel 1918. See example 40, 44.

²⁹⁵ See examples 43, 49, 56, 68, 72.

²⁹⁶ See examples 75, 125.

5.1.2.4. Decline in the use of Basque

This label is the mirror opposite of the label signalling increased use: in this case, the use of Basque has decreased rather than increased.²⁹⁷ As with its opposite, it contains a triple distinction: a) the spread of a language other than Basque in a Basque-speaking area (*spread of language other than Basque*), b) another language replaces Basque (*shift from Basque*), c) the use of Basque disappears but it is not dead because some people still know it (*disappearance of Basque*). When there is not sufficient data to choose one of these options, the *general, undetermined* label may be used.

5.1.2.5. Death of Basque

In the same way, this label is the mirror opposite of the first label in this set: instead of the death of languages other than Basque, our topic here is the death of Basque. Intergenerational language transmission has broken down, the continuity of the language from generation to generation has come to an end, Basque has completely disappeared from a place (district, valley etc.): there are no longer any speakers there, nobody even knows the language.²⁹⁸

5.1.2.6. Evolution of language use among languages other than Basque

Basque has always been amongst the two or more languages involved in the five cases mentioned above. In this last case, however, although there are two languages involved, neither is Basque. In this case, language maintenance, spread, shift or death are to be taken into account but between languages other than Basque. French substituting Gascon in part of the Basque region situated in France – firstly in certain domains and role relationships, later (almost) entirely – is to be included in this section.

5.1.3. Diglossia

In line with the structure of cell 1A, those changes in language use can sometimes be seen most clearly from the conceptual perspective of diglossia. The two options under this heading must be correctly interpreted. The *present* label refers

²⁹⁷ See examples 41, 42, 45, 46, 48, 69, 110, 115, 125.

²⁹⁸ See example 44.

to diglossia flourishing during the period of comparison. On the other hand, the *absent* label states the opposite.

5.1.4. Evolution of language use related dominance configuration table

Two dominance configuration tables have been given in sub-section 5.1.²⁹⁹ This label facilitates the location of any such table. These dominance configuration tables are kinetic versions of the dominance configuration table in sub-section 4.1.4. The explanations of the categories used to make the tables up can be found there. The only novelty in these dominance configuration tables is that of comparison. Instead of taking the situation at a single moment or place into account, two ‘snapshots’ are examined, as shown in table 30 and 41.

5.1.5. Summary of terms

A summary of terms presented is available in table 43.

Table 43: structure of cell 2A

First level label	Second level label	Third level label	Fourth level label	Fifth level label
2A - Change in language use	Type of comparison	From moment A to moment B		
		Between generations		
		Older people speaking of their childhood		
		Between places		
		Other		

²⁹⁹ See example 42.

2A - Change in language use	Evolution of language use	General, undetermined			
		Death of language other than Basque	General, undetermined		
			Functions		
			Speakers		
			Place		
		Increase in the use of Basque	General, undetermined	General, undetermined	
				Functions	
				Speakers	
				Place	
			Spread of Basque	The four options above	
			Shift to Basque	The four options above	
		Maintenance of the (non) use of Basque	The four options above (See <i>death of language other than Basque</i>)		
		Decline in the use of Basque	General, undetermined	The four options above	
	Spread of language other than Basque		The four options above		
	Shift from Basque to language other than Basque		The four options above		
	Disappearance of the use of Basque ³⁰⁰		The four options above		
	Death of Basque	The four options above (See <i>death of language other than Basque</i>)			
					Evolution of language use among languages other than Basque
	Diglossia	Present			
Absent					
Evolution of language use related dominance configuration table					
Inference					

³⁰⁰ See example 110.

5.2. 2B - Change in language competence

Cell 2B, created in order to store and classify changes in language competence appropriately, has seven second level labels. Data about evolution are basically pigeonholed in one of the following four categories, as already explained when dimension B was introduced (3.1.2): *evolution in speaker's linguistic repertoire*; *evolution of language competence*, *evolution of route to acquiring language competence* and *evolution of route to loss of language competence*. In addition to these main sections, there are a further three: as throughout almost the entire second analytical parameter, one which allows us to define the *type of comparison*, another permitting us to signal an *evolution of language competence related dominance configuration table* and the habitual *inference* label.

5.2.1. Type of comparison

The comparison options used by SHB were discussed in point 5.1.1 above, so they will not be repeated here.

5.2.2. Evolution in speaker's linguistic repertoire

We are dealing here with the evolution of people's or an individual's linguistic repertoires, their ways of speaking, the repertoire of varieties they use. For further explanation see 4.2.1.

5.2.3. Evolution of language competence

This label responds to the question: in what respect has language competence changed? What has changed in the forms of language acquisition and loss? How has the knowledge of speakers changed in each case? To provide the answer, we usually have to make do with generalizing quotations about language competence if the situation we are examining is way back in the past: in many cases, there is little more than a quotation mentioning that they are no longer '*vascongados*' (monolingual Basques). In modern periods, however, we can find more precise information: what level of qualification (even in which language skills) schools and public bodies have given the new generations (sometimes distinguished by gender) at particular times and places.

Five options are foreseen in this evolution of language competence sphere, with the aim of reflecting the various changes in language competence individuals (and, even more so, groups) can experience. We have kept one of these options, *general, undetermined*, for quotations which are too general and do not

fit into other options, as usual. With the other four options, we take into account the final outcome and direction of the change, just as in cell 2A. We will look at these four options in the following paragraphs. There is also an option in all cases to state in which language the change has taken place (*in Basque* or *in a language other than Basque*).

5.2.3.1. Improving language competence

Individuals or groups demonstrate greater ability at the second moment a language was measured than at the starting point or moment we use for comparison.³⁰¹

5.2.3.2. Maintaining language competence

There has been no change between the two points of comparison. As with use, this can occur with competence, too; in fact, this is what usually happens in most independent healthy speech communities. In general, the situation we are describing is a stable one. Both the quality of the language competence and the quantity of speakers are included.

5.2.3.3. Decrease in language competence

This essential label is a mirror image of an improvement in language competence: here we are concerned with a *decrease in language competence*.³⁰² An example of this can be seen in the many Basque speakers in previous centuries who, having learned the language at home, left the Basque Country in order to receive tertiary education, in many cases losing much of their ability in their mother tongue or, at the very least, having it weakened. The number of speakers also has to be contemplated in this cell.

5.2.3.4. Complete loss of language competence

This case follows the same direction as the previous one, but taken to an extreme. Such individuals or speech communities have completely lost their language competence, not just a part of it, both in quality and in number of speakers.

5.2.4. Evolution of route to acquiring language competence

This subsection serves to define whether an individual or a community has altered its route to acquiring language competence. In this case, too, we use the distinction used in cell 1B: we distinguish between *language acquisition via ordinary daily use* and *learning through education*, as well as providing the oppor-

³⁰¹ See examples 46, 49, 50.

³⁰² See examples 46, 47, 48, 73, 74, 75, 147.

tunity to state in which language these natural or formal learning processes have taken place (*Basque* or *language other than Basque*).³⁰³

5.2.5. Evolution of route to loss of language competence

Just as we can examine how a language has been learned, we can also study the opposite process of loss. When we have valid information about how that loss occurred, we use the *evolution of route to loss of language competence* label. As in the previous case, *Basque* and *language other than Basque* can be distinguished.

5.2.6. Evolution of language competence related dominance configuration table

Above, in 5.1, we have given examples of evolution of use related dominance configuration tables. Similar tables can be drawn up with regard to language competence. Here is an example which compares prototypical Basque speakers from three different centuries in macro-perspective. We have to stress, once again, that there are always a few cases which do not fit into these dominant patterns. Likewise, there may be other sets of prototypes in the same period. Be that as it may, the following three cases were the main ones in their time: this makes it very clear what being a Basque speaker meant over different centuries in terms of language knowledge.

Table 44: example of an evolution of language competence related dominance configuration table: Prototypical Basque speakers from three different centuries

Skill	Monolingual Basque speakers, 17th century		Partly bilingual Basque speakers around 1850		Most Basques in 1980	
	Basque	Language other than Basque	Basque	Language other than Basque	Basque	Language other than Basque
Comprehension	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Speaking	Yes	No	Yes	(Yes)	Yes	Yes
Reading	No ³⁰⁴	No	?	(Yes)	(Yes)	Yes
Writing	No	No	?	?	?	(Yes)

³⁰³ See example 49.

³⁰⁴ See, however, the sociolinguistic background to the Sara school of writers, for example, in Materre (see footnote 245).

5.2.7. Summary of terms

A summary of terms presented in cell 2B is available in table 45.

Table 45: structure of cell 2B

First level label	Second level label	Third level label	Fourth level label	
2B - Change in language competence	Type of comparison	From moment A to moment B		
		Between generations		
		Older people speaking of their childhood		
		Between places		
		Other		
	Evolution in speaker's linguistic repertoire			
	Evolution of language competence	General, undetermined		General, undetermined
				Basque
				Language other than Basque
		Improving language competence	The three options above	
		Maintaining language competence	The three options above	
	Decrease in language competence	The three options above		
	Complete loss of language competence	The three options above		
	Evolution of route to acquiring language competence	Language acquisition via ordinary daily use	Basque	
			Language other than Basque	
		Learning via education	Basque	
			Language other than Basque	
Evolution of route to loss of language competence	Basque			
	Language other than Basque			
Evolution of language competence related dominance configuration table				
Inference				

5.3. 2C - Change in language structure

In this section, the main topic to be examined is the evolution over time occurring in internal language structure (including in loanwords, toponymy, anthroponymy etc.) and in the language behaviour of bilingual speakers (above all, in interference, code switching etc.). In other words, the comparison of linguistic data which can be obtained from written documentation about moments A and B. Such information has to be gathered if it provides data on the sociolinguistic situation from the sociology of language point of view, whereas linguistic information without sociolinguistic interest falls beyond the limits of the EHS project. *Change of language structure* means here the changes observable at the phonic, lexical, grammatical or semantic planes of the language system, as well as its ortographic norms. There are three labels in the second level of this cell: a) as in the previous two cells on this analytical parameter, *type of comparison*; b) the highly explicit *Data derived from evolution (occurring) in language structure*, with several sub-categories; and, finally, c) *inference*, as usual. In the following paragraph we will examine the main label (b) above); we have already explained the meaning of the other two labels in section 2A.

5.3.1. Data derived from evolution (occurring) in language structure

This label is the crux of cell 2C.³⁰⁵ We have subdivided it into six parts altogether, following the model of cell 1C (4.3.): *global structure evolution*, *evolution in the result of language contact*, *evolution in internal uniformity of language*, *evolution in power and solidarity indices*, *evolution in significant source (onomastics, paremiology and etymology)* and, finally, *other*. We believe that the label names themselves make the difference from 1C clear: the focus there is on an event at a particular moment, a single *snapshot*; in this case, on the other hand, we are looking at *videos* of changes which have taken place over two or more situations. As the explanations in 1C are quite clear about each of these linguistic concepts, we will not say any more about these subdivisions. For further information, see Zalbide, M., Joly, L., Gardner, N., 2015: 371-374.

We have not included the items in our taxonomy, but in this label, 2C, the *way of diffusion of the change* can be included with the subsequent sublabels: *geographical (site to site)*, *time*, *bottom-up*, *top down*, *word to word*, *other*.

5.3.2. Summary of terms

A summary of terms presented is available in table 46.

³⁰⁵ See example 51.

Table 46: structure of cell 2C

First level label	Second level label	Third level label	Fourth level label	Fifth level label	
2C – Change in language structure	Type of comparison	From moment A to moment B ³⁰⁶			
		Between generations ³⁰⁷			
		Older people speaking of their childhood			
		Between places			
		Other			
	Data derived from evolution (occurring) in language structure	Global structure evolution ³⁰⁸		Basic linguistic features	Phonetics
					Morphosyntax
				Interlinguistic distance	Lexicon ³⁰⁹
					Semantics
		Evolution in the result of language contact ³¹⁰		Interference and loanwords	The four options above
				Code-switching	
		Evolution in internal uniformity of language	Degree of fragmentation		Geographic fragmentation ³¹¹
					Social fragmentation ³¹²
			Degree of standardisation ³¹³		
Type of standardisation ³¹⁴					

³⁰⁶ See example 53, 54.

³⁰⁷ See example 52.

³⁰⁸ See examples 20, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 78, 79, 81.

³⁰⁹ See example 54.

³¹⁰ See examples 20, 54, 80.

³¹¹ See examples 20, 52, 56.

³¹² See example 20.

³¹³ See example 44.

³¹⁴ See example 56.

First level label	Second level label	Third level label	Fourth level label	Fifth level label
		Evolution in power and solidarity indices		
		Evolution in significant source (onomastics, paremiology and etymology)	Onomastics	Place names
				Anthroponyms
				Ethnonyms
				Glottonyms
			Paremiology	Names of things
		Etymological explanations		
		Other		
	Inference			

5.4. 2D - Change in societal features

This section looks at change which has taken place in the social matrix (specific moments and places). The organization of the second level of the cell is two-fold: data on change is collected under the label *Change in societal features*. In addition to that main section, a further label has been included in this fourth cell on the second analytical parameter: *inference*.

5.4.1. Evolution in societal features

Five basic labels have been created to signal explanations or descriptions of changes in the social matrix: *general, undetermined; demographic process*³¹⁵; *econotechnical process; political-operative process*³¹⁶ and *psychosocial and sociocultural process*³¹⁷. As the reader will realise immediately, we are very close to the terms used in cell 1D: we have replaced the static *features* used there with a kinetic *process*. The information explained there about each of the concepts linked to the social matrix is suitable here too, but from a kinetic point of view.

5.4.2. Summary of terms

A summary of terms presented is available in table 47.

³¹⁵ See examples 57, 58, 60, 86.

³¹⁶ See examples 28, 58, 59, 61, 78, 88.

³¹⁷ See example 59, 78.

Table 47: structure of cell 2D

First level label	Second level label	Third level label
2D - Change in societal features	Evolution in societal features	General, undetermined
		Demographic process
		Econotechnical process
		Political-operative process
		Psychosocial and sociocultural process
	Inference	

5.5. 2E - Change in language attitudes

In this cell, we compare two opinions (or more), attitudes or behaviours which are linked in some way in order to define their evolution.

As is to be expected, the basic organization of this cell shares many features with the other cells along this second analytical parameter (for instance, via the *type of comparison* group of labels and the *inference* option) and with the previous cell on the same dimension, 1E (see, for instance, the organization of the *attitude about what?* subsection).

This cell makes three distinctions on its second level: *type of comparison*, *evolution of attitude about what?* and *inference*.

Evolution of attitude about what? is the main label and, as with cell 1E, it has been subdivided into six aspects, each except the last one related to a specific dimension: *language use*: A³¹⁸; *speakers and their language competence*: B³¹⁹; *languages*: C³²⁰; *ethnicity*: D³²¹; *language attitudes*: E³²² and *other*. As we have already explained the nature of these aspects in 1E, we will not repeat what we said there. For further information, see Zalbide, M., Joly, L., Gardner, N., 2015: 379-381. In this field of inquiry, the work done by Lledó-Guillem on the formation of Catalan linguistic identity between the 13th and 17th centuries is inspiring (2018). In that book, the close link between political history, the evolution of language use and the subsequent creation of the linguistic identity is clearly

³¹⁸ See examples 62, 92.

³¹⁹ See examples 62, 65, 115.

³²⁰ See examples 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 90, 91.

³²¹ See example 62, 91, 93.

³²² See example 63.

stated and researched on solid theoretical foundations. Many of the concepts of our taxonomy are stressed in this book.

5.5.1. Summary of terms

A summary of terms presented is available in table 48.

Table 48: structure of cell 2E

First level label	Second level label	Third level label	Fourth level label	
2E - Change in language attitudes	Type of comparison	From moment A to moment B		
		Between generations		
		Older people speaking of their childhood		
		Between places		
		Other		
	Evolution of attitude about what?	Language use: A		Basque
				Language other than Basque
		Speakers and their language competence: B		Speakers of Basque
				Speakers of language other than Basque
		Languages: C		Basque
				Language other than Basque
		Ethnicity: D		Basque ethnicity
				Non-Basque ethnicity
		Language attitudes: E		Basque
				Language other than Basque
			Other	
	Inference			

6. DYNAMIC PARAMETER

There must be few areas of the sociology of language studied in such breadth and depth over the last half century as the dynamic parameter. Examining and trying to determine the sources which influence language maintenance and/or language change (or, to put it more precisely, the social factors which may covary with language maintenance or change to some extent and, due to this, may serve as indicators of the reasons for the maintenance and/or change) has become one of the most debated specialist areas.

In this section, starting from Fishman's explanations, we will first examine the reasons or sources of language shift or change. With that initial panorama in mind, we will look at how we have structured this analytical parameter for SHB. Then we will explain the taxonomy and notation system we have prepared and, lastly, we will define this analytical parameter's five cells one by one.

6.0. Relationships between language and society

In Fishman's well-known explanation already mentioned in the previous chapter, "[l]anguages and societies are both highly varied (*vis-à-vis* others) as well as highly diversified (internally). These variations and diversities reveal many patterns or regularities rather than purely random or idiosyncratic manifestations" (Fishman 1968: 6).³²³ Moreover (Fishman 1991: 55), "[t]he location of shift in the total 'sociocultural space' of a speech community (...) is an indication of just where the stresses and strains of cross-cultural contact have eroded the ability of the smaller and weaker to withstand the stronger and larger". He also stated clearly: "language and society reveal various kinds and degrees of

³²³ Our aim, to use Fishman's words, is: "[to inquire] into the co-variation of diversity and of pattern in these two fields" (Fishman 1968: 6). We are not going to write "the history of Basque" but, rather, examine "the social history of Basque".

patterned co-variation” (Fishman 1968: 5). The causal analysis of this co-variation has usually been what the dynamic parameter examines. This is one of the main sections of SHB; it depends on the previous two analytical parameters (descriptive and kinetic) being correctly defined in conceptual terms and systematically documented. As in all areas of scientific research, it is of course essential not to confuse causality and correlation. This is one of the major elements to guarantee scientific rigor (Wardhaugh 1986:14).

In order to examine motives for the *maintenance* and *shift* of Basque (and, in a wider sense, that of languages other than Basque too), it is worth taking all of the possible reasons for language shift into account and then, as far as possible, looking at all those which have been documented for the Basque case one by one. Let us look, then, at the well-known typology of possible motives for *language shift*.

6.0.1. Types of dislocation

We will use Fishman’s explanations (1991: 57-65) as our basis for developing this point. We will examine physical and demographic dislocation, subsequently, social dislocation and, finally, cultural dislocation.

6.0.1.1. Physical and demographic dislocation

Physical and demographic dislocation is a noticeable reduction in the number, density or concentration of speech community A (or a group A1 within it), above all, the concentration of speakers falling noticeably and, as a consequence of that, speakers of language A having noticeably fewer options or less need to communicate in language A with other speakers of language A in everyday life. There can be many types of such dislocation. Drawing up a list which may be used to categorize events around the world and on all occasions, Fishman (1991: 57) distinguishes between the following possible types:

- a) Whole populations or parts of them moving, or being made to move, from one place to another: *population transfer* (or “relocation of populations”). In the Basque area, see, perhaps, Aiara in the High Middle Ages, Aquitaine in the distant past and the Ezkarai-Oka-Juarros area).³²⁴

³²⁴ There is no shortage of such examples worldwide. See, for instance, and to mention just a few examples, the severe, large-scale migrations after the two World Wars (see, for instance, Goebel et al. 1997, in particular the chapter about central Europe).

- b) Whether of their own volition or not, the emigration of many speakers and, hence, the demographic weakening of the speech community in its traditional territory: *voluntary or involuntary out-migration, demographic diminution*.³²⁵ In the Basque case, for instance, take emigration to America, substantial from both the North and the South of the Basque Country.
- c) Population unable to speak the local language arriving *en masse* (see Fishman 1985: 65-67): the “B>A = B” phenomenon in the Basque case. In fact, two consequences have occurred and been documented in this process: on the one hand, (B>A = A); and, on the other, its precise opposite, from around 1880 to the current day (occurring firstly in Biscay province and then in Gipuzkoa). An example of the second type is, on the whole, the massive immigration which took place between 1955 and 1975 in the Basque and Navarrese Autonomous Communities. Several other cases of contact need to be studied: types of bilingualism and monolingualism during the period of the Roman Empire; the Frankish population in Navarre; Gascons on the coast of Gipuzkoa; see, for a comparison, the *Sprachinseln* and *Sprachinselnforschung* of the sociology of language in Germany from the start of the last century (up to the times of World War II).
- d) “[S]evere and recurring famines ([...] a thousand years of famines in Ireland); [...] natural catastrophes ([...] floods, earthquakes, major temperature changes, droughts and pestilence of man, beasts or crops”. (...) “When this physical basis [of life] is dislocated, the continuity of life itself becomes threatened” (Fishman 1991: 57). Ausonius’ and others’ worries and complaints about not being able to lead a civilized lifestyle (in Latin, in other words) seem to have been of that type in the so-called *saltus* (and even the *ager?*) *vasconum* (Caro Baroja 1945). So it seems that the non-Basque speech community suffered from *physical and demographic dislocation* during the last period of the Empire.

³²⁵ There may be other reasons behind this demographic weakening: considerable reduction in the birth rate (in extreme cases, a complete break). There is a clear example of this in the Basque area: in 1977, 41,000 children were born in the Basque Autonomous Community, including native speakers of both Basque and other languages. That number fell to a mere 16,000 within a few years and, in 2011, the figure had not yet reached 22,000 again. The Basques have had one of the lowest birth rates in Europe since the 80’s. While the reduction is smaller, something similar has happened in the neighbouring Autonomous Community of Navarre where a substantial number of Basque speakers live: in 1977, 8,500 children were born and, in 1992, just over 4,500. In recent years, the annual number of births has only passed 7,000 once. The relevant data is available from EUSTAT, INE and IEN.

- e) Destruction: “[W]arfare, genocide, scorched earth policies of invasion or resistance to invasion, slave-hunting expeditions, population expulsion policies [...], soil exhaustion and mineral or forest depletion, and, most recently, toxic poisoning of air, water, soil, plants, animals or humans” (Fishman 1991: 57).

All sources of language change have similar consequences: the total number of speakers of language A, their density compared with that of speakers of language B and, in particular, the demographic concentration of speakers of language A, is weakened, limited, reduced and, in some cases, wiped out. Hence the best-known consequence of demographic dislocation: if you do not have speakers of your language around you, or if you are part of a minority, you will, of course, need the other language. In Fishman’s words (1991: 57): “[the physical or demographical dislocations] leave the remaining populations demographically, socially and culturally weakened via the direct impact on intergenerational mother tongue transmission within the family and neighbourhood [...], or *vis-à-vis* intergroup cultural influences and contacts (via trade, mass media and even aid efforts)”.

6.0.1.2. Social dislocation:

Even without noticeable physical or demographic dislocation, there is a clear cause for *language shift* affecting small, weaker speech communities or groups: social dislocation. Let us call the members of such communities or groups speakers of language X, and those of large, strong groups speakers of language Y. In short, the mechanism of social dislocation is the following: “Xmen who seek social mobility become dependent on Yish society and are not only co-opted into that society, but try to make sure that their own children gain entry into it at as early an age as possible. Dependency interaction (is) a process in which those Xmen who are most like Ymen are the ones most rewarded by the power structure of Yish. (This) *dependency interaction* continually erodes Xish: its demography, its society, and its culture” (Fishman 1991: 60).

In the Basque country, a dependency relationship pattern has prevailed very often among Basque speakers using their own language and non-Basque speakers using the dominant language. This type of interaction has strengthened and promoted a *social dependency relationship* between Basque and non-Basque speakers. Basque speakers have become aware in such circumstances that if they, or those around them (particularly their children) wanted to get on in society, they had to learn the dominant language well, if possible without any trace of a Basque accent, and they had to use it on many occasions. In short: they needed to use the dominant other language if they did not want to live on the margins of society and wanted to get ahead. There are many direct and indirect Basque testimonies

about the dependency relationship patterns imposed by social dislocation. When recording such important data, its nature has not always been correctly reflected. See, for instance, Villasante (1988: 166-167) on the difficulties encountered.

6.0.1.3. Cultural dislocation

As a consequence of the events described in the previous point, or along with them, certain groups of speakers, or whole speech communities, tend to have increasing difficulty in transmitting their own cultural heritage to the next generation. The capacity for socio-cultural self-regulation is clearly lost, and, as a result of that mass dislocation, what elsewhere is a normal modernisation process leads to mass acculturation and culture shift. In other words, the new generations do not, in the harshest cases of trans-ethnicisation, recognise or feel themselves to be the continuation of their predecessors. That cultural dislocation too has been seen as an explicit cause of language shift around the world (Fishman 1991: 62-65), and it is very easy to gather such explanations (usually, doleful complaints) in the Basque case. In Iztueta's work, and in Campion's "El último tamborilero de Erraondo" ('The Last Drummer in Erraondo') (1918), for instance, it could be easy to find clear statements about, and descriptions of, the sociolinguistic consequences of that cultural dislocation.

6.0.1.4. A phenomenon which involves more than one type of dislocation: urbanization

All sources of language change are important. Many of them, furthermore, are not completely isolated independent phenomena in themselves: one type of process often causes another (or most others). Let us examine a specific example of this: urbanization.

Physical and demographic dislocation is not, in itself, limited to the procedures listed above (emigration, immigration, low birth rates, natural catastrophes and disasters caused by humans). In addition to these procedures, there is another cause of dislocation which must be taken into account: urbanization. This has often had profound demographic consequences worldwide. In the Basque Country, when the population which had until then lived in a farmstead environment has moved to urban areas, that change in living environment has often had a considerable influence on their way of life.³²⁶ From then on, they have had to live among people unlike themselves: often they have lived among people who speak another

³²⁶ As Fishman states "Cultures are dependent on familiar and traditional places and products, as much as they are on familiar coparticipants and on an established consensus among them as to cultural values, norms and processes." (Fishman 1991: 58)

language (and made them do so too). In many cases, this has involved abandoning the customs they had had until then: amongst other things, their custom of speaking in “their own language” all day and every day.

And, of course, this is not the only rupture brought about by urbanisation. Moving from farmsteads to urban areas has also often led to profound social dislocation in addition to demographic dislocation. Socio-cultural dislocation has taken place in numerous areas of ordinary life, to a greater or lesser extent: at work, in the way of dividing up the day and the week, in food and drink, in clothes, in leisure and amusement, in many beliefs and opinions, in knowledge and, in general, in world view and, often, in daily speech. From then on, the farmstead people who have moved to urban areas have had to deal with types of people they had not previously been familiar with: in their new neighbourhood, at work, at school, when shopping, on transport, in new forms of entertainment and at public ceremonies. Along with that, there has often been more intense, frequent communication than previously: there were fewer people to talk with on the farm, almost always the same people, and there was also a more limited number of topics to talk about. All of that, at the end of the day, has led to a specific result: a decrease in, and weakening of, messages reliant on folk knowledge in the language used until then.

In the Basque case, taking into account situations between 1880 and 1980, moving to urban areas has often had the following consequences: speaking Basque less and less, and talking less and less about “intrinsic” subjects, in other words, a decline in ethno-cultural originality. What were already dominant *lingua franca* in provincial cities and larger towns (Spanish in the Southern Basque Country and French in the Northern Basque Country) expanded in these circumstances. As Basque was weakened, languages other than Basque expanded, increased in strength and spread at the former’s expense. Languages other than Basque, the French and Spanish which had been unfamiliar at first to those who had moved to urban areas, made gains not only at school and in the street, but also began to be used increasingly at home, particularly amongst offspring. In parallel, the strong urbanizing movement implied massive demographic movement of population that led to the weakening of traditional rural areas in which Basque was the sole language.

6.0.2. *How SHB deals with the dynamic parameter*

In any case, and while deciding whether to use Fishman’s typology or not, it has been absolutely necessary to take several domestic studies on this topic into account. Fundamentally, and without waiting for the specific, complex questions which will come up later, it has been necessary to identify the manner of giving

direct answers to the following questions, integrating them in this methodological framework:

- Why has Basque survived when many neighbouring (and even distant) languages (apparently, used in wider areas and stronger than Basque) have long ago been lost?
- Why has Basque survived in the context of so many people moving to urban industrialised areas? This question is a subdivision of the previous one. However, as this question has been so central from the perspective of the last 200 years, it deserves specific analysis.
- Why was Basque lost in the places it disappeared from long ago?
- Why has Basque been lost where it has disappeared from over the last 200 years?
- Why have languages other than Basque spread (Latin, Romance languages etc.) in the country?
- Why have some languages other than Basque been lost (for instance, Gascon in Gipuzkoa)?

In summary, why does the social configuration of language behaviour change? It would be difficult to find a single unambiguous reason for this. In other countries, too, when this has been attempted unexpected results not covered by the habitual ‘rules’ (or even contrary to them) have often been found instead of wide-ranging confirmation.³²⁷ There is considerable work to be done in this area if real clarification is to be achieved. Without considering the psychosocial processes, the socio-cultural ones (such as the expansion of Christianity, urbanization), econotechnical processes (industrialisation etc.), the political-operative ones (the consolidation and integrative efforts of the two large kingdoms of Spain and France) and the demographic processes (immigration, emigration etc.) which have occurred before, at the same time as, or after language shift and without examining and verifying the co-variation phenomena involving those processes on the one hand and language maintenance or shift on the other, it will be difficult for us to attain meaningful knowledge.

Bearing all this in mind, and by tabulating these fundamental concepts, we will now explain how we have structured this third analytical parameter.

³²⁷ In the international bibliography, the following are indispensable, among others: Fishman 1966, 1972a, 1991; Fishman (ed) 1985; Kloss 1966; Lewis 1971; Leopold 1959; Milroy and Milroy 1985; Milroy 1987, 2001; Moser 1953; Tabouret-Keller 1968; Veltman 1983; Verdoodt 1971; Weinreich 1953.

6.0.2.1. Basic explanation of cells on the dynamic parameter

Table 49 provides a summary of the five dimensions for the third analytical parameter.

Table 49: cells on the dynamic parameter

Code	Standardised term
3A	3A - Dynamics of change in language use
3B	3B - Dynamics of change in language competence
3C	3C - Dynamics of change in language structure
3D	3D - Dynamics of change in societal features
3E	3E - Dynamics of change in language attitudes

We would like to emphasise the importance of the word change once more: basically, this third parameter is constructed from the changes detected on the second parameter. We must be careful, then, not to include all reasoned or motivated factors in this third parameter because SHB is interested only in factors causing language-related changes, not in others. Other types of reasons, justifications and motivations must be classified elsewhere: this is why the *Reason for...* label, for instance, exists in the first and sixth analytical parameters. So, in the case of the first analytical parameter, when the text before us explains the reason for language use in a given place and time, we use the *Reason for 1A* label because the text does not provide a reason for the dynamics of language change.

The greatest influence, apparently, is the influence of the social matrix on language events. However, the opposite is also true on occasion: we also have to take social adaptation influenced by language-based events into account, although there will probably be far fewer of them.³²⁸ Likewise, the four dimensions directly

³²⁸ We will give a simple example to illustrate this. When Sabino Arana came up with and promoted a new catalogue of Basque first names 120 years ago (in other words, when he made substantial change in personal names in the language), he set in motion a revolution in people's names which has spread throughout society quite recently. Basque speakers have made great use of that catalogue and of other lists which have been drawn up since then (such as that of the Royal Academy of the Basque Language). Often, speakers of other languages, including immigrants from abroad, have done the same when choosing names for their children. As we will now explain, in terms of our annotation this is a C>D change in that an innovation in the language has had a noticeable influence on naming customs in society. Although it is an example from fiction, Orwell's "*newspeak*" in his 1984 novel is a prototypical example of that type of influence (Orwell 2018 [1949]: 421-439), in the real world, we can recall Klemperer's work on the propagandistic use and change of language in the Third Reich (Klemperer 1996, July 2022, Hartmann 2008). In the scientific field of language research, this can be linked to the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis (for an up-to-date overview of the question, see Simpson 2019: 311-351). The evolution of social meaning of relevant labels in order to negotiate conflictive situations, for example, can be another example that can fit the C>D, D>C relationship; this has been studied in the field of historical sociolinguistics (Nevalainen & Tissari 2010, Nevala & Sairio 2017).

connected to language (A, B, C and E) can influence each other mutually, without even needing to refer to the social matrix. The model which we have drawn up is designed to include all these options.

6.0.2.2. Basic structure of cells on the third analytical parameter

The internal structure of this analytical parameter is fairly standardised: there are only slight changes in the organization of these cells from one dimension to another. 3D is the only exception: for reasons we will explain later, this cell is not used. The basic outline is reflected in table 50.³²⁹

Table 50: basic structure of cells of the third analytical parameter

First level label	Second level label	Third level label
3A - Dynamics of change in language use 3B - Dynamics of change in language competence 3C - Dynamics of change in language structure 3E - Dynamics of change in language attitudes	Relationship between dimensions [= main dimension as recorded in table 52]	[= the other dimension in terms of table 52]
	Detailed source of change - D	General, undetermined
		Demographic process
		Econotechnical process
		Political-operative process
		Psychosocial and sociocultural process
Inference		

The way the first label of the cell-internal second and third levels is used is explained in the following subsection, 6.0.2.3: this *relationship between dimensions* set of labels enables us to express the relationships of influence and co-variation involved in change. On the other hand, the second label of the second level, *detailed source of change – D* – enables us to define a) that D dimension acts as agent (not merely as a receptor of influence) or is in a relationship of co-variation; b) within D which parameter or source of change has exercised its influence.

³²⁹ As with all other cells, the criteria which SHB has used for its subdivisions are based on scientific norms. In this case, the sources of change included are sociolinguistic. They reflect the main reasons sociolinguists have stressed when trying to understand sociolinguistic evolution. One should bear in mind that most of the authors who have described the sociolinguistic situations in the Basque Country over the centuries have not been sociolinguists. In addition to that, they were (and are) subject to the beliefs and objectives of their time: their (our) ways of thought were (are) those of that (this) moment and, because of that, they may have given fairly unscientific explanations about evolutions. Take, for example, Kardaberaz's belief that Basque had survived because it was God's will (Kardaberaz 2004 [1761:]: 22). Obviously, SHB's matrix does not include in it such reasoning.

6.0.2.3. *How to assign relationships to cells*

When researching the reasons behind the evolution of sociolinguistic situations, the relationships between cause and effect must be examined. However, in many cases that cause-effect relationship is not clear. Morin, for instance, mentions a recursive process whereby the effect becomes a cause.³³⁰

Because of that, and to ensure the viability and usefulness of our methodological proposal, we have preferred a simpler, practical approach: cause and effect are not distinguished, and we look at each dynamic or relationship only once: $A > C$ and $C > A$, for instance, are labelled $A > C$; in the same way, $B > E$ and $E > B$ relationships are labelled $B > E$. Here is a step-by-step explanation of this approach set out in three tables.

Let us first draw up a list of all the possible types of relationship patterns between two factors or elements, as follows:

- each letter represents one of the five dimensions;
- the symbol $>$ means that the first element influences the second and
- the symbol $//$ means co-variation.

In line with this annotation system, table 51 shows forty different potential types of relationship.

³³⁰ When describing the paradigm of complexity, Morin mentions the recursive principle (“principe de récursion”) which is related to the cause and effect dichotomy and, in particular, co-variance. According to Morin (2005: 99), “A recursive process is one in which the products and effects are, at the same time, the causes and producers of that which produces them”. It is a spiral which goes beyond the principle of lineal causality. The product, furthermore, is indispensable if the process is to take place: the effect influences the cause and the cause has consequences, and so on. Morin (2005: 99-100) gives the following example: “One encounters the example of the individual, the species and reproduction. We individuals are the products of a process of reproduction which took place before us. But once we have been produced, we become the producers of a process which is going to continue. This idea is also valid sociologically. Society is produced by interactions between individuals, but society, once produced, acts in turn on individuals and products. If society and its culture, a language, an acquired knowledge did not exist, then we would not be human beings. In other words, individuals produce the society which produces individuals. We are both products and producers. The recursive idea, then, is an idea which contradicts the linear idea of cause/effect, of product/producer, of structure/super-structure, because everything which is produced influences that which produces it in a cycle which is in itself self-constituting, self-organising and self-producing”.

In a later interview, finally, Morin (2008: 249) summarised this idea as follows: “We owe the concept of *retroaction*, which shatters lineal causality by making us conceive of the paradox of a causal system whose effect echoes back on the cause and modifies it, to cybernetics” .

Table 51: possible relationships between dimensions

Relationship pattern	Possible relationships between dimensions
Cause-effect relationships	A>A, A>B, A>C, A>D, A>E, B>A, B>B, B>C, B>D, B>E, C>A, C>B, C>C, C>D, C>E, D>A, D>B, D>C, D>D, D>E, E>A, E>B, E>C, E>D, E>E
Co-variation relationships	A//A, A//B, A//C, A//D, A//E, B//B, B//C, B//D, B//E, C//C, C//D, C//E, D//D, D//E, E//E ³³¹

How must this notation be read? Firstly, let us take an example of cause and effect. The A>B notation, for instance, must be read as follows: a change in language use (for instance, a speaker (or group of speakers) speaking Basque less than before) has had an impact on the speaker's or speakers' language competence. As a consequence of that weakening or lack of language use, the speaker(s) is (are) less skilful in the language than previously (for example, in childhood). In cases of co-variation – A//B, in other words - this must be read as follows: “changes in language use and language competence co-vary”.

Some notes must be given about the forty potential types of relationship pattern to be found in table 51:

- Several special cases have been found in the two types of relation: in the first, an event in a particular dimension influences another event on that same dimension (for instance, A>A); in the other, two events on that same dimension co-vary (for instance, E//E).
- D>D and D//D combinations are also possible and, consequently, they are included in table 51: one social matrix event influences another, or they co-vary. However, during the following phase we will leave such combinations to one side because they do not have consequences in language: in other words, they are not of any interest (direct, at least) for SHB. So instead of having to take 40 combinations into account, we will be looking at 38.

Let us examine the second table, table 52. We have decided not to take the direction of influence into account and to group relationships by cell in order to simplify the interpretation of the quotations we are working with in SHL.

³³¹ Clearly, these relationships can be written the other way around without their meaning changing: writing A//B or B//A means the same thing as no priority is being expressed. In order to avoid useless repetition, in our formulation we have chosen to put the letters in each pair in alphabetical order.

Table 52: ways of labelling relationships

Cell	Relationships which are taken into account
3A	A>A, A>B, A>C, A>D, A>E, B>A, C>A, D>A, E>A, A//A, A//B, A//C, A//D, A//E
3B	B>B, B>C, B>D, C>B, D>B, B//B, B//C, B//D
3C	C>C, C>D, D>C, C//C, C//D
3D	-
3E	B>E, C>E, D>E, E>B, E>C, E>D, E>E, B//E, C//E, D//E, E//E

This table, too, calls for some notes:

- Cell 3D is empty. The reason for this is clear: Dynamics and relationships involving dimension D must of necessity be placed in another cell.
- The number of cases included in each cell is, inevitably, different. In order to assign relationship patterns to different cells, we have used this order of priority: A, E, B, C. This list allows us to put items in order from the (supposedly) most important (and frequent) to the least.

Finally, in order to make the previous tables easier to read, we can group the information in a different manner: distinguishing the two dimensions in each relationship, table 53 can be drawn up to assign these relationships.

Table 53: simplified way of labelling relationships

Cell	Main dimension	Other dimensions
3A	A	A, B, C, D, E
3B	B	B, C, D
3C	C	C, D
3E	E	B, C, D, E

This table does not specify whether a particular relationship is one of cause and effect or of co-variance; the dimensions involved are simply named in the second and third columns. This table provides sufficient precision for our work, in our opinion.

Before going any further, let us stress that we have expanded the approach which appears in the literature about relationships between dynamics and factors in at least four ways:

- That literature, above all, addresses language shift which has been influenced by breaks and ruptures in the social matrix (in other words, it deals primarily with cell 3A). SHB, on the other hand, stresses that those changes in the social matrix are equally valid influences in the other three dimensions (B, C and E) when it comes to listing the causes behind the outcomes.
- At the same time, the outcome of the influence of the social matrix is not necessarily negative for the language: improving the situation (in the known history of Basque this has seldom happened, but there are, in most experts' opinion, some echoes of this) or of leaving it as it is should also be taken into account. As the prime focus of literature about the sources of change in the social matrix has been languages or minority speech communities whose situation is worsening, dislocation and rupture have been discussed at length. However, we should not forget that the results of those dislocations have been positive on some occasions: people from Castile went to conquer North and, particularly, South America, and the resulting demographic process helped spread their language to a remarkable extent.³³² In the same way, similar demographic processes affecting Basque people in the Middle Ages apparently spread the use of Basque to parts of the Spanish provinces of La Rioja and Burgos. Because of this, from now on we will talk neutrally about processes rather than only about rupture and dislocation.
- Thirdly, SHB also takes into account the cause-effect and co-variance dynamics between the four dimensions with language content in its annotations (A>A, A>B, A>C, A>E, B>A, B>B, B>C, B>E, C>A, C>B, C>C, C>E, E>A, E>B, E>C, E>E, A//A, A//B, A//C, A//E, B//B, B//C, B//E, C//C, C//E, E//E).
- In the same way, even though such cases are exceptional, the influence those language dimensions can have on social phenomena is also taken into account (A>D, B>D, C>D and E>D).

6.0.2.4. Detailed explanation of sources of change in the social matrix

Veltman's theoretical formulations and quantitative research (1983), for instance, must be paid careful attention when examining the sources of change in the social matrix in detail. With regard to languages which are in their terminal

³³² The point of view adopted is highly influential when judging whether events are positive or negative: while the language spread in the Americas was positive for Spanish, it was harmful for Amerindian languages.

phases, we have already mentioned Wurm (1991) and Dorian (1981, 1989).³³³ Fishman (and several others in the same vein) have dealt extensively with the motives, sources and accompaniments of language shift.³³⁴

When dimension D is involved in a particular dynamic (probably in most cases), we have decided to distinguish between five sources of change within it: these five sources of change are the same ones we have already mentioned in dimension D and, so, we will not explain them again here (for more information, see section 4.4 in this book and Zalvide, M., Joly, L., Gardner, N., 2015: 397-400).

6.1. 3A - Dynamics of change in language use

The first cell on the third analytical parameter corresponds to the dynamics of change in language use. The second level labels are: *relationship between dimensions, detailed source of change – D* and *inference*. The first two labels will be dealt with in the following sections.

6.1.1. Relationship between dimensions

This group of labels has been explained in section 6.0.2.3., to a large extent. As an example, let us now look at all the types of relationships which involve dimension A: A>A, A>B, A>C, A>D, A>E, B>A, C>A, D>A, E>A, A//A, A//B, A//C, A//D, A//E. A is always one of the parts of these pairs; the other can be any element: the second element is marked using labels *A*, *B*, *C*, *D* and *E*.³³⁵

6.1.2. Detailed source of change – D

When the reason for the change is linked to societal features, this option makes it possible to specify which of the four fields of societal features is invol-

³³³ When researching the reason for languages' disappearance, Wurm (1991) places social matrix reasons at the heart of the death of languages. He states that the following are the main reasons why languages (in other words, groups of speakers and speech communities) get lost and disappear: 1) the speakers themselves disappearing (death of all users); 2) changes in the language's ecology (changes in the social and cultural context); 3) cultural contact and clash.

In the case of Basque, many Basque language enthusiasts have long linked its decline with the social matrix, rightly so in our opinion. Seber Altube (1933: 801), for instance, explained the reason for the decline as follows: "There are various causes for this retreat or withdrawal [of Basque], and they almost all stem from political and social events, whose origins date long back in the history of the Basque Country".

³³⁴ Various other experts take a different, though not very distant, view: see, for instance, the Americans Hornberger and King (1996) and the Israeli Spolsky (1996b).

³³⁵ See examples 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 75, 76.

ved. The functioning of the five labels in this group is explained in detail in section 4.4: *general, undetermined; demographic process; econotechnical process; political-operative process* and *psychosocial and sociocultural process*.³³⁶

6.1.3. Summary of terms

Table 54 summarises the terms which have been presented in this section.

Table 54: structure of cell 3A

First level label	Second level label	Third level label
3A - Dynamics of change in language use	Relationship between dimensions	A
		B
		C
		D
		E
	Detailed source of change - D	General, undetermined
		Demographic process
		Econotechnical process
		Political-operative process
		Psychosocial and sociocultural process
	Inference	

6.2. 3B - Dynamics of change in language competence

This cell is structured in the same way as 3A (there are three second level labels: *relationship between dimensions, detailed sources of change – D* and *inference*) and, so, with the differences to be expected, the explanations given in section 6.1. are also valid for this cell.

6.2.1. Relationship between dimensions

Let us now look at all the types of relationships which are involved in dimension B: $A > B$, $B > A$, $B > B$, $B > C$, $B > D$, $B > E$, $C > B$, $D > B$, $E > B$, $B // A$, $B // B$, $B // C$, $B // D$ and $B // E$.³³⁷ Some of these fourteen pairs, however, have already been taken

³³⁶ For the demographic process, see examples 68, 70, 76. For the political-operative process, see examples 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72. For the psychosocial and sociocultural process, see examples 67, 68, 69, 72.

³³⁷ For $B > B$, see example 74, 183. For $B > E$, see example 75. For $D > B$, see examples 46, 48, 73, 74, 76. For $B > A$, see examples 75, 76. For $B > C$, see example 77.

into account: pairs $A > B$, $B > A$ and $B // A$ have already been explained in cell 3A. In the same way, pairs which include E ($B > E$, $E > B$, $B // E$) will be dealt with in cell 3E and, so, we will not repeat them here.

As a consequence of all this, only eight pairs of dimensions are taken into account in this cell. They are the following: $B > B$, $B > C$, $B > D$, $C > B$, $D > B$, $B // B$, $B // C$ and $B // D$. B is always the first element in the pair. The second may be from any of the three dimensions *B*, *C* or *D*.

6.2.3. *Summary of terms*

Table 55 summarises the terms which have been presented in this section.

Table 55: structure of cell 3B

First level label	Second level label	Third level label
3B - Dynamics of change in language competence	Relationship between dimensions	B
		C
		D
	Detailed source of change - D	General, undetermined
		Demographic process ³³⁸
		Econotechnical process
		Political-operative process ³³⁹
		Psychosocial and sociocultural process
	Inference	

6.3. 3C - Dynamics of change in language structure, 3D – Dynamics of change in societal features, 3E – Dynamics of change in language attitudes

As we have used exactly the same system as for 3A and 3B on the other dimensions (3C and 3E), we will only give a summary of the labels used in those cells here in order to avoid repetition (for further explanations, see Zalvide, M., Joly, L., Gardner, N., 2015: 403-408). For the lack of development of cell 3D³⁴⁰ see 6.0.2.2.

³³⁸ See examples 46, 73, 76.

³³⁹ See examples 48, 74, 147.

³⁴⁰ See examples 86, 87, 88, 89.

Table 56: structure of cell 3C

First level label	Second level label	Third level label
3C - Dynamics of change in language structure	Relationship between dimensions	C ³⁴¹
		D ³⁴²
	Detailed source of change - D	General, undetermined ³⁴³
		Demographic process ³⁴⁴
		Econotechnical process ³⁴⁵
		Political-operative process ³⁴⁶
		Psychosocial and sociocultural process ³⁴⁷
	Inference	

Table 57: structure of cell 3E

First level label	Second level label	Third level label
3E - Dynamics of change in language attitudes	Relationship between dimensions	B ³⁴⁸
		C ³⁴⁹
		D ³⁵⁰
		E ³⁵¹
	Detailed source of change - D	General, undetermined
		Demographic process
		Econotechnical process
		Political-operative process ³⁵²
		Psychosocial and sociocultural process ³⁵³
	Inference	

³⁴¹ See example 80.

³⁴² See examples 54, 78, 79, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85.

³⁴³ See examples 81, 85.

³⁴⁴ See examples 54, 78, 84, 85.

³⁴⁵ See example 85.

³⁴⁶ See examples 54, 79, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85.

³⁴⁷ See example 81, 82, 85.

³⁴⁸ See example 75.

³⁴⁹ See examples 80, 92, 93.

³⁵⁰ See examples 65, 90, 91.

³⁵¹ See example 63.

³⁵² See examples 90, 91.

³⁵³ See examples 65, 91.

7. PROSPECTIVE PARAMETER

The main topic of research in prospective sociology of language is to determine from the moment the documentary sources are examining onwards over a given period of time (for instance, during the following generation, until fifty years from now etc.) whether an expansion of language use (*language spread*) or a reduction (*language decline, shift, loss, death*) is to be expected, in what places, in which functions and to what extent. In the same way, whether a speaker or group of speakers is expected to increase his competence (or not) in language A or B during their lifetime, whether orally or in writing: this is also what this field of knowledge examines. And also what is to be expected in terms of language change: the spread of the set of varieties of the languages in the future, whether they are headed towards a unified, standard variety or not and, finally, in terms of interference and code-switching, what the main outcomes may be in given relationship networks and domains. In the same way, it examines the type of transformation or change expected in societal features in the future and, lastly, the type of evolution expected in future opinions, attitudes and behaviours about language. All of this may be taken into account by the prospective parameter. In practice, most prospective research at the sociological level is carried out on language use. But, of course, it could also be carried out in the other dimensions.

Although quotations connected with language planning often also examine the prospective level (in order to present the outcomes of a proposal or to strengthen it), they are not, in themselves, to be included in the prospective parameter: such quotations are to be labelled on the prescriptive parameter. On the other hand, if authors explain their predictions for the future before making a planning proposal, these predictions will be included in the prospective parameter and probably also in the contrastive parameter as we will see in the next chapter.

Table 58 provides a summary of the five cells on the fourth analytical parameter.

Table 58: cells on the prospective parameter

Code	Standardised term
4A	4A - Expected future language use
4B	4B - Expected future language competence
4C	4C - Expected future language structure
4D	4D - Expected future societal features
4E	4E - Expected future language attitudes

7.1. 4A - Expected future language use

The concern in this cell is with the prognosis for language use: the prediction with regard to such and such future date. With things continuing in the present direction, what type of language use is foreseen or imagined? At some point in the future (for instance, during the following generation, fifty years from now etc.) whether an expansion of language use (*language spread*) or a reduction (*language decline, shift, loss, death*) is to be expected, in what places, in which functions and to what extent: this, as we have said above, is the main topic of research in prospective sociology of language.

Six second-level labels have been created for this cell: *general, undetermined*³⁵⁴; *without language contact, with some kind of language contact*³⁵⁵, *diglossia, prospective language use related dominance configuration table* and *inference*. These labels are not developed in greater detail because these kinds of statements are relatively rare in the historical sources so more distinctions are not necessary or would not be useful. The same can be said for the other dimensions of this parameter. A more exhaustive taxonomy could be prepared by making some developments within these labels using the distinctions made in parameters 1 and 2, even if the result would probably be more theoretical than practical. No extensive explanations are required because we have already seen very similar concepts in cell 1A (for further explanations, see Zalbide, M., Joly, L., Gardner, N., 2015: 410-411).

³⁵⁴ See examples 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 103, 110.

³⁵⁵ See example 98.

Table 59: structure of cell 4A

First level label	Second level label	
4A - Expected future language use	General, undetermined	
	Without language contact	
	With some kind of language contact	
	Diglossia	Present
		Absent
	Prospective language use related dominance configuration table	
	Inference	

7.2. 4B - Expected future language competence

Prognosis about language competence by such and such future date: if things continue evolving as they are doing in the social sphere, what type of speakers are foreseen or imagined? What type of language competence, to what extent and for what purpose, will those speakers have? To put it more precisely, looking forward from one particular moment, could a speaker or group of speakers be expected to increase their competence in language A or B? Orally and/or in writing? Could speakers or groups of them learn the language? This is what this field of knowledge examines.

Five second-level labels have been defined for this cell: *prediction about speaker's linguistic repertoire*, *prediction about competence*³⁵⁶, *prediction about acquiring competence*, *prospective language competence related dominance configuration table* and *inference*. From what has already been explained (see cell 1B in particular), it is easy to infer what type of information each label will be used for, so we will only deal with the overall structure of the cell here (see Zalvide, M., Joly, L., Gardner, N., 2015: 411-413).

³⁵⁶ See examples 98, 99.

Table 60: structure of cell 4B

First level label	Second level label	Third level label	Fourth level label
4B - Expected future language competence	Prediction about speaker's linguistic repertoire		
	Prediction about language competence	General, undetermined	
		Unspecified Basque speaker	
		Unspecified non-Basque speaker	
		Unspecified bilingual speaker	
		Monolingual Basque	
		Basque bilingual	
		Balanced bilingual	
		Non-Basque dominant bilingual	
		Monolingual non-Basque speaker	
		Multilingual Basque speaker	
		Multilingual non-Basque speaker	
	Prediction about acquiring language competence	Language acquisition via ordinary daily use	Basque
			Language other than Basque
		Learning via education	Basque
Language other than Basque			
Prospective language competence related dominance configuration table			
Inference			

7.3. 4C - Expected future language structure

This cell includes the group of labels for prognosis about the language's internal structure: by such and such future date, if things continue as they are, what type of internal language structure is expected? Due to a lack of precedents, it is not easy to say what type of results this cell may contribute to SHB. Its contribution will probably be very limited. As a hypothesis, the following questions may be listed: what would the language-internal features be in the future? What is the expected spread of language varieties? Is the language heading towards a unified standard or not? And, finally, in terms of interference and code-switching, what are the main outcomes likely to be in given relationship networks and domains? Even if these questions are very common nowadays among Basque sociolinguistic researchers, there has been no such interest in historical documents as this type of interference, code-switching and so on has barely existed.

There are only two labels on the second level: *prediction about language structure* and *inference*. The structure of this subcell is a simplified version of cells 1C and 2C.

Table 61: structure of cell 4C

First level label	Second level label	Third level label	Fourth level label
4C - Expected language structure	Prediction about language structure	Global description	Basic linguistic features ³⁵⁷
			Interlinguistic distance
		Result of language contact	Interference and loanwords
			Code-switching
		Internal uniformity of language	Degree of fragmentation
			Degree of standardisation
			Type of standardisation ³⁵⁸
		Power and solidarity indices ³⁵⁹	
		Significant source (onomastics, paremiology and etymology)	
	Other		
Inference			

7.4. 4D - Expected future societal features

Quotations mentioning expected future societal features are included in this cell. There are only two second-level labels: *prediction about societal features* and *inference*. As in other cases on dimension D, only quotations which are or which may be relevant to sociolinguistic situations need be included. This is not always easy: when language is mentioned it must be included in another cell, but there must be some sort of relevance to language in order to be included here. Choice of quotations to illustrate dimension D, in general, is fairly subjective. It is not always possible to foresee whether a social feature will influence a socio-linguistic situation or not. It is usually only possible to know that after carrying out the research. For the sake of prudence, everything should be included here. Practicality, however, requires the opposite: not everything can be. Due to this, a compromise is usually necessary. It is well known, for instance, that changes in econotechnical features such as new communications, roads and railways, can have a substantial impact on the sociolinguistic situation of areas isolated until

³⁵⁷ See examples 100, 101, 102.

³⁵⁸ See example 102.

³⁵⁹ See example 101.

then. These kinds of expected changes in future societal features are the ones to be included here.

Table 62: structure of cell 4D

First level label	Second level label	Third level label
4D - Expected future societal features	Prediction about societal features	General, undetermined
		Demographic features
		Econotechnical features ³⁶⁰
		Political-operative features ³⁶¹
		Psychosocial and sociocultural features ³⁶²
	Inference	

7.5. 4E - Expected future language attitudes

This cell includes labels or terms reflecting expected opinions, attitudes and behaviours. It includes the subsections usually included on dimension E, as can be seen in the following table (see 1E).

Table 63: structure of cell 4E

First level label	Second level label	Third level label
4E - Expected future language attitudes	Prediction about language attitudes about what?	Language use: A
		Speakers and their language competence: B ³⁶³
		Languages: C ³⁶⁴
		Ethnicity: D
		Language attitudes: E
		Other
	Inference	

³⁶⁰ See example 97.

³⁶¹ See examples 103, 105, 106.

³⁶² See example 104.

³⁶³ See example 108.

³⁶⁴ See examples 107, 109.

8. CONTRASTIVE PARAMETER

This fifth analytical parameter addresses the following questions: where are we heading and where in our opinion (in other words, according to our fancy) should we be heading? Where should we be, and where are we or where will we be if we continue along the same path? How far and in what aspects is there agreement or disagreement between reality (or prediction) and what is desired?

8.0. Measuring the contrast

This contrastive parameter thus examines whether different speakers consider the *current situation* of a language (and its future projection) *to be to their taste or not*. This fifth analytical parameter contrasts beliefs or desires with the information included in the first, second and fourth parameters. If a substantial difference is found between situation and desire in this contrast, that difference then leads many groups of people to attempt language planning. Information about those efforts, however, is not included in the fifth analytical parameter, but, rather, in the sixth.

8.0.1. Detailed points of contrast

We are going to look in slightly greater depth at the matter of contrast. As seen in the definition given, there are two main items in the contrastive parameter: A: the current description or the prognosis for the future, supposedly objective; and B: the ideal situation for the present or the future.

Let us look at some examples:

A prediction about the future including an explicit contrast can be seen in this example: “if things do not change considerably, in 100 years’ time Basque will

have disappeared and that is undesirable; so something must be done for that not to happen”. In this case, the contrast between the foreseen real situation and what the author would like is clear, precise and explicit.

There is “zero contrast”, on the other hand, in this example: “If things carry on as they are now, Basque will disappear in 50 years’ time, and that will be for the best: it is no more than an annoyance”.

There is also an undeniable contrast in the evaluation of the current situation in the following example: “At town council meetings only Spanish is used, and that is wrong”. Clearly, the information included in this cell often also provides other information about the sociolinguistic situation. Because of that, the information needs to be included in other cells too. In this example, for instance, the quotation gives information about use (and hence should also be included in cell 1A): Spanish is used in council meetings. For further explanations, see Zalbide, M., Joly, L., Gardner, N., 2015: 420-421.

8.0.2. Cells on the contrastive parameter

Table 64 provides a summary of the five cells on the contrastive parameter.

Table 64: cells on the contrastive parameter

Code	Standardised term
5A	5A - Language use contrasted with ideal
5B	5B - Language competence contrasted with ideal
5C	5C - Language structure contrasted with ideal
5D	5D - Societal features contrasted with ideal
5E	5E - Language attitudes contrasted with ideal

8.1. 5A, 5B, 5C, 5D, 5E. Structure of cells on the contrastive parameter

From what has been explained until now it is easy to infer what information is to be classified in each of the cells (for a more detailed explanation, see Zalbide, M., Joly, L., Gardner, N., 2015: 422-431). With regard to the internal structure of the cells, there are two main subsections: *problematic* and *unproblematic*. The names are self-explanatory.

8.1.1. Summary of cells on the contrastive parameter

Tables 65-69 provide summaries of the cells on the contrastive parameter:

Table 65: structure of cell 5A

First level label	Second level label	Third level label
5A - Language use contrasted with ideal	Contrasting language use	General, undetermined
		Problematic ³⁶⁵
		Unproblematic ³⁶⁶
	Contrastive language use related dominance configuration table	
	Inference	

Table 66: structure of cell 5B

First level label	Second level label	Third level label
5B - Language competence contrasted with ideal	Contrasting speaker's linguistic repertoire	
	Contrasting language competence	General, undetermined
		Problematic ³⁶⁷
		Unproblematic
	Contrasting acquisition of language competence	General, undetermined
		Problematic
		Unproblematic
	Contrastive language competence related dominance configuration table	
	Inference	

³⁶⁵ See examples 110, 111, 113, 114, 125.

³⁶⁶ See examples 112, 115.

³⁶⁷ See examples 116, 117, 118.

Table 67: structure of cell 5C

First level label	Second level label	Third level label
5C - Language structure contrasted with ideal	Contrasting language structure	General, undetermined
		Problematic ³⁶⁸
	Inference	Unproblematic ³⁶⁹

Table 68: structure of cell 5D

First level label	Second level label	Third level label
5D - Societal features contrasted with ideal	Contrasting societal features	General, undetermined
		Problematic ³⁷⁰
	Inference	Unproblematic ³⁷¹

Table 69: structure of cell 5E

First level label	Second level label	Third level label
5E - Language attitudes contrasted with ideal	Contrasting language attitude	General, undetermined ³⁷²
		Problematic ³⁷³
	Inference	Unproblematic ³⁷⁴

³⁶⁸ See examples 119, 120, 121, 122.

³⁶⁹ See example 123.

³⁷⁰ See examples 124, 125, 126.

³⁷¹ See example 127.

³⁷² See example 130.

³⁷³ See example 128.

³⁷⁴ See example 129.

9. PRESCRIPTIVE PARAMETER

The prescriptive parameter serves to classify quotations related to language planning. It is a fundamental concept of the taxonomy for SHL. Initiatives in favour of and against language status, acquisition, corpus and identity planning that allude to Basque are classified in this section.³⁷⁵ We include both the initiatives in themselves and preparations for them, and the structures, institutions and so on for carrying them out: congresses, conferences, meetings, courses, publications (for this classification, see, amongst others, Paulston & Tucker 1997). This parameter is not at all new worldwide in academic terms. The many definitions of language planning which have been given include the following two: “Language planning involves deliberate, although not always overt, future oriented change in systems of language code and/or speaking in a societal context” (Rubin & Jernudd 1971: 216). Fishman (1973: 24-25), on the other hand, defines language planning as “a set of deliberate activities systematically designed to organize and develop the language resources of the community in an ordered schedule of time”.

Table 70 provides a summary of the five dimensions for the sixth analytical parameter.

Table 70: cells on the prescriptive parameter

Code	Standardised term
6A	6A - Language status planning
6B	6B - Language acquisition planning

³⁷⁵ For information about this parameter, see, amongst others: Urquijo 1919, Villasante 1988, Eleizalde 1919, Zalvide 1988 and 2003, Ulzurrun 1662, Unamuno 1968, Kardaberaz 1761, Urmeneta Purroy 1996, Barbagero 1861 and Intxausti 1998. For the international bibliography, theoretical essays and widely used terminology, see, amongst others: Cobarrubias & Fishman (eds.) 1983, Cobarrubias 1983, Cooper 1989, Jernudd & Das Gupta 1971, Jernudd & Neustupný 1987, Kaplan & Baldauf 1997, Neustupný 1970, Rubin & Jernudd (eds.) 1971 and Rubin et al. 1977.

Code	Standardised term
6C	6C - Language corpus planning
6D	6D - Planning for societal features
6E	6E - Planning for language attitudes

- Cell 6A includes what is normally called *status planning* (both top-down planning organized or supported by the authorities, and also bottom-up planning, including RLS);
- Cell 6B includes what has been called *acquisition planning* after Cooper (1989: 33);
- Cell 6C includes what is usually called *corpus planning*;
- Cell 6D includes something which does not have a standard name but which Fishman, either partially or in its entirety, has occasionally called *identity planning*;
- Lastly, cell 6E includes language planning for language attitudes, which is also at least partly connected with identity planning.

Great efforts have been made to keep the same internal structure from one cell to the next. Given that similarity, we will only explain 6A here, including its subsections. For 6B, 6C and 6E, we will offer briefer explanations (for more detailed explanations, see Zalbide, M., Joly, L., Gardner, N., 2015: 434-469).

9.1. 6A - Language status planning

In language status planning are included the set of strategies designed, measures taken and evaluations carried out (whether for specific domains or all of them) to render use of one language or another compulsory, or to strengthen, maintain, limit or prohibit them.³⁷⁶

In order to be able to classify all such material appropriately, ten second-level labels have been created in this SHB cell: *socio-philosophical underpinnings, degree of overtness, goal of language planning, stage of language planning, actor, directionality: top-down/bottom-up, target group, opinion on language status planning, reason for 6A and inference.*

³⁷⁶ A clear example of this is *Metodología para la restauración del euzkera* ('Methodology for the Restoration of Basque') (Eleizalde 1919).

9.1.1. Socio-philosophical underpinnings

The reasoning forming the basis for language status planning is the subject of this label. There are basically three main attitudes with regard to a weakened language: a) letting it get weaker and weaker and, finally, letting it die out; sometimes even encouraging that process; b) while not being in favour of the language's disappearance, avoiding taking any measures for or against it; c) being in favour of measures to reinvigorate the weakened language and trying to carry them out. All three attitudes usually have their basis in ideologies outside the language itself. Where there is a desire to influence language use, whether in favour of the language or against it, the ultimate reason for that is not normally purely linguistic: in most cases, that effort is derived from the beliefs and opinions of the whole or part of society. When the question "What is language planning for?" is addressed, we often hear mention of the social matrix, of definitions of ethnicity and of the will of the people, and, sometimes, of the "objective advantages" of political integration.

Fishman (1991: 451-465) underlines the need to define those socio-philosophical underpinnings explicitly: in his words, *ideological clarification* is needed. He believes that people who want to increase the use of a language should clarify and make explicit the reasons behind their efforts. On the one hand, certain arguments need to be rejected (such as socio-philosophical underpinnings opposed to RLS): for instance, the belief which says everything must be evaluated on purely economic criteria; the belief that it is natural for minority languages to die out; the belief which holds that all RLS efforts are disruptive; the belief that patriotism connected with RLS work is worse than that connected with the neighbouring dominant language; the belief that a single language is sufficient for each state, etc. On the other, he believes that several arguments in favour of RLS should be reinforced: that the members of a speech community can only count on their own strength; with regard to intergenerational language transmission, that a *Gemeinschaft* type of society is of greater help in satisfying people's day-to-day needs than a virtual community; lastly, that the state controlled by speakers of language Y should for many reasons be restyled as 'one state, many cultures'.

9.1.2. Degree of overtness

In connection with the creation of modern sociolinguistics in the 20th century, there are many well-known texts about language planning from the second half of the century (Haugen 1966, Ferguson 1968, Tauli 1968, Neustupný 1970, Jernudd & Das Gupta 1971, Rubin 1971, Garvin 1973, Fishman 1973, (ed) 1974, Eastman 1983, Cooper 1989, Kaplan & Baldauf 1997, etc.). Language planning, which is also called applied sociolinguistics, in general, normally has specific

aims for a specific period, for instance helping in the choice of national language in new states undergoing decolonisation and, in general, carrying out corpus planning for the chosen language, working on status planning for the language in order to leave the colonial language to one side, etc.³⁷⁷ In Eastman's view (1983: 110), from its beginnings in the middle of the 20th century until the 1980s, there were different stages in language planning: "Thus, during LP's twenty-year history the orientation moves from seeing planning chiefly as a tool of standardization (1935-1959), to seeing it as the study of language problems and their solutions (1960s), to the study and practice of managing language change (1970s), to an awareness that is necessary to evaluate language change, given the nature of the context in which it occurs (multi-ethnic, supranational, and the like)". Clearly, there can be many reasons for initiating language planning nowadays too: in order to limit the influence of the English language (or the other way around: policies to promote knowledge of English on account of the language's economic importance), reviving local languages, etc.

All of these types of language planning are connected with the applied sociology of language. *Direct planning*³⁷⁸ includes cases where the promoters of the planning have some specific aims for the language, and the language is their main, specific objective (although there may be some other aims behind them). Four of the five dimensions in the SHB model are connected with the most frequent types of direct language planning: 6A, planning for the language's use or status; 6B, planning for language competence and acquisition; 6C, corpus planning; and 6E, planning for attitudes towards and opinions about the language.

We should bear in mind, however, that the reasons for influencing the language's social configuration may be direct or indirect, Kaplan and Baldauf emphasized this dichotomy by using the terms "Planned vs. Unplanned Language Change" (1997: 297-299). In the case of Basque, one thing is *direct planning for Basque* (the direct efforts of Basque language enthusiasts to keep the language alive, or those of people preferring a language other than Basque to limit or destroy its vitality) and another, even though the initiatives and results are often very similar, *indirect planning for Basque* (for instance, the Church publishing catechisms in Basque - or, often, in bilingual editions - in order to communicate the sacred Gospel to Basque speakers):³⁷⁹ in such cases, language planning is in the service of something else, or is connected with managing the outcome of a

³⁷⁷ In some cases, the colonisers' language was chosen as the official or co-official language of the new states (Fishman et al. 1968; Calvet 1987).

³⁷⁸ See examples 131, 138, 148.

³⁷⁹ See example 132.

pre-existing sociolinguistic situation.³⁸⁰ Taking all the above into account, direct planning is one thing (in other words, planning whose principal aim is to influence the language) and indirect planning is another (although the language itself is not the final objective of the planning, societal initiatives, in one way or another, planning in one field or another, have notable influence on the language).

A further distinction can be made within these two labels on the basis of outcomes. Direct planning may have positive consequences or not. The same is true of indirect planning. This is summarised in table 71.

Table 71: Degree of overtness and outcomes of language planning

Indirect planning	Positive outcome	Basque
		Language other than Basque
	Negative outcome	Basque
		Language other than Basque
Direct planning	Positive outcome	Basque
		Language other than Basque
	Negative outcome	Basque
		Language other than Basque

9.1.3. Goal of language planning

The information which clarifies the objective of that language status planning is the next object of consideration. It is possible to see a whole gradient or cline of objectives there, from working in favour of the chosen language (perhaps all speakers being obliged to use it) to opposing it (perhaps to the extreme of forbidding its use). In order to reflect these choices of aims correctly, SHB has created a total of eight third-level labels: *general, undetermined; requiring use; increasing use; maintaining use; compartmentalizing use; limiting use, prohibiting use and other*.³⁸¹ In each case, it is possible to specify the language or languages involved: *Basque* or *language other than Basque*.

³⁸⁰ For the development of this distinction, see Zalbide 2007b: 877-883.

³⁸¹ For *requiring use*, see examples 41, 131, 133, 135, 138. For *increasing use*, see examples 137, 140. For *prohibiting use*, see examples 131, 135, 136, 138, 139. For *maintaining use*, see example 134.

As with other parameters of our taxonomy, small changes or a more complete version can be made linked to each particular sociolinguistic situation. For example, here, items like *authorising use*, *allowing use*, or *maintaining use* can be included.

9.1.4. Stage of language planning

This section reflects the implementation stages (Haugen 1966b) of the strategies and detailed policies which have been drawn up and put into practice in order to change the level of use of a language or languages.

With regard to the stages or phases of language status planning, we have used Haugen's initial model as our starting point: in other words, *norm selection*, *codification*, *implementation* and *elaboration* (Haugen 1983: 269-289; 1987).³⁸² To that set of four, we have added *evaluation*, as most experts have considered it to be an indispensable component.³⁸³

- a) *Norm selection*: what place was to be given to Basque at a particular time and place? We know that over the centuries there have been different approaches with regard to this point, even amongst Basque language loyalists. The main choice to be made was perhaps expressed in its crudest form about a hundred years ago (see Urquijo 1920: 15). The two extremes among Basque language enthusiasts were clearly distinguished there: should complete demographic and socio-functional spread be assured for Basque, or, alternatively, was it worth maintaining the last remnants of the diglossic situation of times past? As Urkixo (1920: 15) puts it, for instance: "If the Basque people is determined to use all possible resources to prevent the decline and death of its ancient language, should it limit the language to being the exclusive heritage of the lower echelons of society, as it has done until now, neither including it in education nor encouraging its literature? Even leaving aside all senti-

³⁸² In the initial formulation the term *acceptance* was used by Haugen (1966a: 933); this has subsequently been largely replaced by *implementation*.

³⁸³ In a subsequent version, Haugen (1983: 275) mentions in a table the *evaluation* stage as a subsection of *implementation*. Fishman ((ed) 1974: 16), for his part, made similar distinctions, summarising the minimum stages of planning as follows: "For such a code more basic planning actions are initially necessary, viz. to functionally allocate it authoritatively for such purposes (policy decision), to establish its basic *langue* patterns relative to these purposes (codification), to achieve intertranslatability with one or more preferred and previously modernized languages of world wide currency (in accord with the stipulated *langue* patterns) and, finally, to enforce or encourage acceptance of all of the above by specified target or user population (implementation). Cultivation, then, involves the *iteration* of each of the above processes first spelled out by Haugen, but for more specific or additional functions (e.g., popular non-fiction, belles-lettres, bible translation, informal-polite conversation, etc.)."

mental reasons, the need to convert Basque into a language of culture is the logical consequence of the desire to conserve it: all linguists agree that where a language of civilization fights against a language which has been restricted to use by the raw people and which is not cultivated in literary terms, the former ends up overcoming the latter. This is so much so that in our country, while Basque is giving way to the advances of Spanish, a language of civilization, the Basque border with Béarn remains stable because it does not really border on French itself there but, rather, on a patois, which is of the raw people and not literary". It is interesting to compare this statement to those of Mitxelena 1951 and Kloss 1952. We can also see Antonio Tovar's position in favour of positive intervention (Tovar 1980). So it is no surprise that norm selection should open the way to the next step.

- b) *Codification*: sooner or later, an operational definition established by one or other decision-making body in the social sphere is made known, defining what, when and how things are required to be done with regard to the use of one language or another in a precisely defined domain or territory. In modern societies, some legal norm usually reflects such decisions when they have been taken by politicians. The Church, or some other authority with the power to do so, has also taken such decisions throughout history.³⁸⁴

There is, in fact, considerable documentation on this topic in the Basque country, waiting to be collected and structured: among all the sources, the *Euskera* journal provides the most information.

- c) *Implementation*: specific measures to strengthen or limit the use of a particular language are usually examined under this heading.

When it comes to implementation, there is a huge tendency to look to the school, but a language's advances and retreats take place in many different spheres, not particularly in the world of education, and this was the case in the past too.³⁸⁵ Implementation measures from domains other than education, both those in favour of Basque and those in favour of languages other than Basque, must equally be examined under this label.

³⁸⁴ For instance, about whether to teach the catechism in Basque or Spanish in the Southern Basque Country.

³⁸⁵ For the limitations of the school in terms of reviving languages, see the chapter "Limitations on school effectiveness in connection with mother tongue transmission" (Fishman 1991: 368-380).

- d) *Elaboration/cultivation*. The measures imposed usually have to be developed in numerous different ways if the outcomes desired are to be achieved or, at the very least, if the actual situation at a given moment is to be nudged towards those outcomes. That type of elaboration is usually made up of individual micro-planning measures.
- e) *Evaluation*. Language status planning (and, in general, the whole of language planning) is a task which, in itself, is unending, recursive. It is a process which is always being repeated, while the agents involved are at the same time learning from past mistakes. There is usually some type of evaluation which leads us to distinguish between failings and achievements. This is what the evaluation stage consists of. This section aims to provide information about evaluation work, carried out explicitly or implicitly, throughout history on plans for the use of Basque and languages other than Basque. There is considerable evidence on this from the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century providing information about implicit and explicit evaluation work.

Taking all the above into account, SHB has decided to distinguish between five categories altogether in the planning stage: *general, undetermined; planning proposal; norm selection; implementation of status planning* and *evaluation of status planning*.³⁸⁶ *Planning proposal* deserves a special mention: Haugen does not mention it and, in general, it is not mentioned in the international literature. In the Basque Country, however, over the last few centuries there have been many planning proposals, intentions and desires which have not been carried out (or have been so only to a modest extent) and so we have considered it appropriate to create a specific category. In such cases, proposals have gone beyond the contrastive or evaluative perspective (Fifth parameter in our taxonomy). The proponent of the measure has clearly stated the way to solve the problem or contrast observed. But the proposal has not gone beyond being a proposal. *Norm selection* includes two of Haugen's categories: *norm selection* and *codification*. Likewise, *implementation of status planning* includes his *implementation* and *elaboration*. Finally, the *evaluation* category corresponds to the definition given above.

9.1.5. Actor

The actors of language planning can be varied, normally one of four kinds: *authority, individual, organized group* and *other*.³⁸⁷ These concepts, which are

³⁸⁶ For a similar set of distinctions applied to the historical situation of the Iberian Peninsula, see Anipa (2012: 235-236). He defines the following outline for language planning: "(a) selection, (b) codification, (c) elaboration of functions/intellectualization, and (d) promotion/enforcement". For *planning proposal*, see example 41. For *norm selection*, see examples 132, 133, 134, 135, 138.

³⁸⁷ On *authority*, see examples 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 138. On *organized group*, see example 148.

also the labels included under this heading, are closely related to those mentioned in the following paragraph: normally authorities have carried out top-down language planning, and individuals or organized groups bottom-up planning. However, the distinction may be useful in many cases.

9.1.6. Directionality: top-down/bottom-up

Three concepts are included under this heading: *bottom-up planning*, *top-down planning* and *other*. Both these terms were coined by Kaplan and Baldauf (1997). *Top-down* planning is carried out by formal bodies with the authority to mould (to facilitate or compel use of a language, or to restrict or forbid it) the internal structures (and the spelling) of a language, and by whom, when and to what purpose it is used.³⁸⁸ The attempt to transform the internal structure or external life of a language without relying on specific formal authority in the social hierarchy of a particular place constitutes *bottom-up* language planning. This is the sort of planning individuals and more-or-less organized social groups without formal powers carry out. Usually, such individuals and social groups do not have executive or legislative powers to pursue their objectives. But authorities with power may decide to take their will into account as a result of those individual and group efforts and their capacity to attract the support of an ever-increasing mass of people. In research into language variation, the latter is linked with *change from below* and the former is related to *change from above* (Labov 1994: 78). Of course, a change in a language may or may not be the consequence of planning. So the last two terms just introduced may or may not necessarily be connected with planning.

9.1.7. Target group

In all forms of planning the following question, too, is usually important: who is the planning intended for, for which target group(s)? How can we define the audience aimed at? Many different criteria are possible, and that is what the nine options under this heading attempt to reflect: *whole population*; *group defined by profession*; *group defined by ethnic features*; *group defined by language*; *group defined by territory*; *group defined by individual criteria*; *group defined by age*; *group defined by gender* and *other*.³⁸⁹

³⁸⁸ On *top-down planning*, see example 131, 135, 138.

³⁸⁹ On *group defined by language*, see examples 132, 133. On *group defined by territory*, see examples 41, 132, 134, 135, 138.

9.1.8. Opinion on status planning

Opinion about status planning proposals, execution and outcomes. In order to label detailed evaluations of particular policies, use the *evaluation of status planning* term explained in section 9.1.4.

9.1.9. Reason for 6A

The Reason for 6A label is similar to the *Reason for 1A* one: sometimes, as well as presenting a status planning event, a quotation also tells us the reason (supposed or real) for it. This label, then, points to the existence of that reason.³⁹⁰

We want to distinguish the use of this label from that of *socio-philosophical underpinnings* explained in section 9.1.1: when the aim is to explain the underlying causes of an entire status planning programme, that other label should be used.

According to the point of view of the research, all SHB's analytical parameters could potentially be applied to language planning. Mikalayeva (2013), for instance, published an article entitled "Principes de la politique linguistique. Etude comparée de la Révolution Française et de la Révolution d'Octobre" ('Principles of language policy. Comparative study of the French Revolution and the October Revolution'). The article's objective was to examine the continuity and the rupture of the ideological basis for the language policies which were implemented during those two revolutions. In such an article, of course, language policy (sixth analytical parameter), the evolution of that language policy (potentially the second analytical parameter) and its ideological features (potentially the fifth analytical parameter / dimension E) are mentioned. However, this kind of information is fully linked to the sixth parameter in this particular case.

9.1.10. Summary of terms

Table 72 provides a summary of the terms presented.

³⁹⁰ See examples 41, 134, 136, 140.

Table 72: structure of cell 6A

First level label	Second level label	Third level label	Fourth level label	Fifth level label	
6A - Language status planning	Socio-philosophical underpinnings				
	Degree of overtness	Indirect planning	Positive outcome	Basque Language other than Basque	
			Negative outcome	Basque Language other than Basque	
		Direct planning	Positive outcome	Basque Language other than Basque	
			Negative outcome	Basque Language other than Basque	
		Goal of language planning	General, undetermined	Basque	
				Language other than Basque	
	Requiring use ³⁹¹		As above		
	Increasing use		As above		
	Maintaining use		As above		
	Compartmentalizing use		As above		
	Limiting use		As above		
	Prohibiting use	As above			
	Other	As above			

³⁹¹ See example 10.

First level label	Second level label	Third level label	Fourth level label	Fifth level label
6A - Language status planning	Stage of language planning	General, undetermined		
		Planning proposal		
		Norm selection		
		Implementation of status planning		
		Evaluation of status planning		
	Actor	Authority ³⁹²		
		Individual		
		Organized group		
		Other		
	Directionality: top-down/ bottom-up	Bottom-up planning		
		Top-down planning ³⁹³		
		Other		
	Target group	Whole population		
		Group defined by profession		
		Group defined by ethnic features		
		Group defined by language		
		Group defined by territory		
		Group defined by individual criteria		
		Group defined by age		
		Group defined by gender		
		Other		
	Opinion on status planning			
	Reason for 6A			
	Inference			

³⁹² See example 10.

³⁹³ See example 10.

9.2. 6B - Language acquisition planning

Language acquisition planning consists of the strategies, policies and achievements which are designed and implemented in order to strengthen the language competence of an individual, a particular group of speakers or an entire speech community. Cooper (1989) created the term *acquisition planning* in order to be able to give language acquisition its own place among the sorts of language planning. Alongside this can be included making a language or languages a subject of study or teaching medium (or not). Evaluations of and opinions about acquisition planning are also included in this cell, not in 6E. Planning for language use not directly concerned with acquisition, on the other hand, is classified separately in cell 6A. Examples of this topic in the social history of languages include, for instance, “Towards a historical sociolinguistic account of language-in-education policy in the German-speaking community of Belgium” (Boemer & Darquennes 2012) and an article examining the language education of women in the 17th and 18th centuries (Fernandez 2011).

This cell aims to deal with attempts to teach Basque speakers other languages (mostly at school) or vice-versa, or to make Basque speakers literate in their own language.³⁹⁴ In the Basque case, there is very substantial documentation on this topic, hence establishing an appropriate cell structure is essential.³⁹⁵ The perspective developed by the sociology of bilingual education from the 1970s onwards is the basis for this initial approach.

In order to be able to organize all the material on this topic appropriately, taking into account the concepts linked to this topic in the international bibliography, ten second-level labels have been created for this cell: *socio-philosophical underpinnings*, *degree of overtness*, *goal of language planning*, *stage of*

³⁹⁴ Boemer and Darquennes (2012: 224), when examining language policies in education throughout history, mention that the following questions must be addressed:

1. Which language-in-education policy is effective at a given point in time?
2. How does this language-in-education policy address issues related to (a) the precise target population of students receiving language education, (b) the supply of language teachers, (c) the share of languages in the school curriculum, (d) the methodology of language teaching (including the provision of materials), and (e) the identification of available resources to support language education?
3. What actors were involved in the decision making process?
4. Under which societal conditions were the actors involved in the decision making process?
5. What was the agenda of the actors? What were their motivations?
6. Which specific language planning measures were developed to implement the language-in-education policy?
7. How was the language-in-education policy legitimised and institutionalised?
8. What were the actual outcomes of the language-in-education policy?

These two authors also make some interesting suggestions about methodology in the article.

³⁹⁵ The international bibliography is very extensive: we will not list it here. For documentation on the Basque case, particularly historical testimonies, see, for instance, the following: Micoleta 1653, Etxeberri 1712, Harriet 1741, Eguren 1867, Dávila Balsera 1997 and Alberdi & Aragón 2004.

*language planning, actor, directionality: top-down/bottom-up, target group, opinion on acquisition planning, reason for 6B*³⁹⁶ and *inference*. As we have already explained similar concepts in 6A, we will not repeat those explanations here: we will only present the details which vary, relating to the objectives of language acquisition planning.

9.2.1. Goal of language planning

Three kinds of information are taken into account in dimension B: a) data about language planning dealing with the linguistic repertoire of speakers, b) data about language proficiency requirements (for instance, where language profiles or qualifications are compulsory; for instance, the indispensable condition in the past of being able to speak Spanish in order to be a member of the provincial assemblies of Biscay and Gipuzkoa) and, c) data about language acquisition planning per se (at school or from everyday life). In order to reflect this distinction, three sets of labels have been created: *planning of speaker's linguistic repertoire*, *language proficiency requirement* and *language acquisition planning*. Information about language qualifications is included in the second set and information about schools / educational planning (curriculum) in the third.

9.2.1.1. Planning of speaker's linguistic repertoire

As speaker's linguistic repertoire can be the goal of language planning, this cell was created to classify such information.

9.2.1.2. Language proficiency requirement

We can differentiate between three levels of requirements: Basque or another language being *required*, *preferred* or *not considered*.³⁹⁷ These three levels of requirements may be connected with professional life and, if so, we can speak of a compulsory requirement in the first case, of merit in the second and of an absence of requirements in the third. Different types of exams and forms of evaluation for measuring specific language achievements are hence included in this cell. We also include the usual term *other* for those cases that are linked to the subject of this cell, but are not reflected in one of the three possibilities we offer in our taxonomy.

³⁹⁶ See example 141.

³⁹⁷ On *required* languages, see examples 141, 142, 143, 145.

9.2.1.3. *Language acquisition planning*

Language acquisition planning defines the type of speakers the planner wants to produce: on the one hand, the type of speakers of languages other than Basque (marked with the *language other than Basque* label), and, on the other, the type of Basque speakers (marked with the *Basque* label). We understand language acquisition planning as defined by Cooper (1989). Acquisition of the language levels mentioned is to be achieved through formal education or through activities in ordinary daily life. SHB has distinguished eight different objectives in this area, in line with those specified for language status planning: *general, undetermined; requiring acquisition of language competence; increasing language competence; maintaining language competence; compartmentalizing language competence; limiting acquisition of language competence, impeding acquisition of language competence and other*.³⁹⁸ In this section, too, a cline or gradient can be observed in the different aims, all the way from working in favour of the chosen language, perhaps using compulsion, to acting against it, perhaps even forbidding it.³⁹⁹

9.2.2. **Summary of terms**

Table 73 provides a summary of the terms presented.

³⁹⁸ On *requiring acquisition of language competence*, see examples 143. On *increasing language competence*, see example 144, 146.

³⁹⁹ Of course, these two extremes are connected: if the use of one language is forbidden, in practice another is being imposed.

Table 73: structure of cell 6B

First level label	Second level label	Third level label	Fourth level label	Fifth level label	
6B - Language acquisition planning	Socio-philosophical underpinnings				
	Degree of overtness	Indirect planning	Positive outcome	Basque	
				Language other than Basque	
		Negative outcome	Basque		
			Language other than Basque		
		Direct planning	Positive outcome	Basque	
				Language other than Basque	
		Negative outcome	Basque		
			Language other than Basque		
	Goal of language planning	Planning of speaker's linguistic repertoire			
		Language proficiency requirement	Basque	Required	
				Preferred	
			Not considered		
			Other		
		Language other than Basque	As above		
		Language acquisition planning	General, undetermined	Basque	
				Language other than Basque	
			Requiring acquisition of language competence	As above	
			Increasing language competence	As above	
			Maintaining language competence	As above	
Compartmentalizing language competence			As above		
Limiting acquisition of language competence			As above		
Impeding acquisition of language competence			As above		
Other	As above				

First level label	Second level label	Third level label	Fourth level label	Fifth level label
6B - Language acquisition planning	Stage of language planning	General, undetermined		
		Planning proposal		
		Norm selection		
		Implementation of language acquisition planning		
		Evaluation of language acquisition planning		
	Actor	Authority		
		Individual		
		Organized group		
		Other		
	Directionality: top-down/ bottom-up	Bottom-up planning		
		Top-down planning		
		Other		
	Target group	Whole population		
		Group defined by profession		
		Group defined by ethnic features		
		Group defined by language		
		Group defined by territory		
		Group defined by individual criteria		
		Group defined by age		
		Group defined by gender		
		Other		
	Opinion on language acquisition planning			
	Reason for 6B			
	Inference			

9.3. 6C - Language corpus planning

We include strategies and policies designed and implemented to manipulate the language itself in this *language corpus planning* section. Evaluation of corpus planning and opinions about and attitudes towards it are also included in this cell, not in cell 6E. Often, in historical terms, language corpus planning has been related to some political aim. Boyer and Gardy (2001: 12) describe this connection in the case of France (about this point see also Lodge 2014: 216-217):

It is clear that French and its *exclusive legitimate* use have been jointly connected with the State ever since its entry into the modern period. The political-administrative unification of France was unquestionably based on *a single, unified* language and it was not mere coincidence that the Académie Française was founded by Richelieu in 1635; it was, in fact, precisely in the 17th century, the Golden Age of the state of Absolute Monarchy, that the unique phenomenon of the “*locking down*” of *grammatisation* made its appearance: a linguistic ideal (highly restricted from a sociological point of view) tends to fossilize and one sees that *authorised* writers set up the religion of a French language which, it was written at the time, had reached “its highest point of excellence” (Peletier du Mans, 1549). From that point onwards, everything seen as a threat to the language’s perfection will be refused and rejected *on principle*.

This cell includes the whole field of language corpus planning.⁴⁰⁰ It is a cell which is well stocked in the socio-historical evolution of Basque, above all from the 18th century onwards. In order to include the whole of that evolution and structure in a way which is of use to SHB, we have had to choose one of the many formulations given for corpus planning. Our proposal has been to use Einar Haugen’s model (1983) and adapt it to the needs of SHB, as we have done for language status planning. So, as a first approach, we have used the following well-known sequence: *norm selection, codification, implementation and elaboration*.

In the field of codification, special attention has to be paid to the creation of the literary dialects of Basque, emphasising the socio-institutional factors involved in each case (not infrequently, bishoprics or local Church authorities). For instance, the mixed written Navarrese-Lapuradian variety requires specific examination. The same can be said of the search for unity and strengthening of written Biscayan.

In any case, efforts in pursuit of the unity of the whole of Basque will take up most space in this cell.

⁴⁰⁰ There is substantial literature on this topic. See, for instance, Jernudd & Das Gupta 1971.

We should point out that the extensive fields of the *implementation* and *elaboration* sections will have to be examined with particular attention by SHB.⁴⁰¹ We have access to substantial material on them, which has to some degree already been structured.

We are aware, lastly, that this fourfold structure means that some aspects which have been essential in the Basque case (and still are) such as translation and Ferguson's related concept of *intertranslatability*, in particular) would get left out; we have considered it appropriate to include them in this field of *corpus planning* too.

With regard to bibliography, there is an extraordinary series of sources in this area, both in the Basque country and internationally.⁴⁰²

Taking all of the above into account, we have organized this cell as follows: ten labels are distinguished at the second level of labelling, basically following the distribution of cell 6A: *socio-philosophical underpinnings*, *degree of overtness*, *goal of language planning*, *stage of language planning*, *actor*, *directionality: top-down/bottom-up*, *target group*, *opinion on corpus planning*, *reason for 6C* and *inference*. As with cell 6B, only those aspects of the terms which differ substantially from the descriptions given in 6A are discussed in the following paragraphs.

9.3.1. Socio-philosophical underpinnings

Reasoning which provides information about the basis for corpus planning is the subject of this label. Basically, there are two attitudes towards the corpus planning of a minority language: on the one hand, efforts to distance the language's configuration (and its graphization) from that of neighbouring languages, using as a source for new words one's own language (language purism, see, for instance, Langer & Nesse 2012) or sources those other languages do not use (cf. *Sprachausbau*). On the other hand, some corpus planners try to bring the language closer to those surrounding languages, for instance by using Greek and Latin

⁴⁰¹ A separate subsection for the terminological modernisation which social modernisation and the impact of new socio-cultural norms have brought to Basque will probably be needed in the field of *elaboration*. One example of this is the work carried out by UZEI in the 1970s and how its work was evaluated. However, terminological innovation and consolidation from 1980 onwards and pertinent critical thought (one of the most recent examples, we believe, is Txurruka & Barrutia (eds) 2005) both lie outside the temporal scope of SHB.

⁴⁰² In preparing this book, we have taken the following into account to a greater or lesser extent: Aizkibel 1856, Eleizalde 1919, Villasante 1988, Campion & Broussain 1922, Urkixo 1920, Altube 1949, Fishman 1983, Geu et al. 1962, Haugen 1959, 1983, Kloss 1952, Larramendi 1729, 1745, Mitxelena 1968, Spolsky and Boomer 1983, Villasante 1980, Zuazo 1988, 2000.

sources for new scientific words. In the Basque case, both attitudes usually base their justification on factors outside the language itself, related to societal features, and both can be exemplified to a degree from actual practice.

9.3.2. Goal of language planning

As in 6A and 6B, SHB has tried to distinguish the typical objectives of corpus planning too: *general, undetermined; purifying language; naturalising interference; standardising language; language codification, developing intertranslatability; language cultivation; Abstand/Ausbau and other*.⁴⁰³ Ignoring the first and the last of these for the moment, the other seven labels are discussed in the following subsections. We add the *Basque* and *language other than Basque* labels in all cases.

9.3.2.1. Purifying language

This label is used to signal policies and strategies designed and implemented to ‘purify’ the language itself, in other words, to weaken the influence of other languages. This behaviour is often called purism.

9.3.2.2. Naturalising interference

This label marks strategies and policies designed and implemented to strengthen the influence of other languages on a language or, at least, to bring them closer to, and make them fit in better with, the forms of the language being influenced.

9.3.2.3. Standardising language

This label is for strategies and policies designed and implemented to standardise a language. This standardisation can be mononuclear (cf. French) or polynuclear (cf. English: American English, British English, Indian English etc.). With regard to Basque, it can be used to mark efforts to develop and pursue acceptance for Standard Basque (*batua*) during the 20th century.⁴⁰⁴ The final goal of a language standardisation project has not to be linked only to communication needs: it is usually linked to a national project and ethnicity planning. In the Finnish case, for instance, Nordlund & Pallaskallio (2017) claim that “language was seen to

⁴⁰³ On *general, undetermined*, see example 148.

⁴⁰⁴ See examples 150, 151.

be central in the national project that aimed at creating the Finnish nation”. That kind of information is linked to planning underpinnings, reasons for planning and the place of language in the ethnic configuration (for another geographical context in the field of historical sociolinguistics see Hawkey & Langer 2016).

9.3.2.4. *Language codification*

We are referring here to the strategies and policies designed and implemented to influence the internal character of a language. Language codification and normativisation deal with research carried out and decisions taken on the way to define a unified literary language⁴⁰⁵. Standardisation is a broader concept, and implies that the norms have to be known, liked (or at least taken on board), learned and used. The gap between norms and language use has been stressed widely in the field of historical sociolinguistics (for instance Rutten et al. 2014). The degree of standardisation is often different depending on social variables. In the case of Basque, age, geographical area, work and educational level, ideology and maybe gender seems to be the most relevant.

Haugen (1983: 271) divided up evidence about the codification process into three subsections:

- *Graphization*. “Choosing”, developing and defining a writing system which is appropriate to the correct use of the language. Work in pursuit of a Standard Basque spelling reflects a rich socio-historical perspective, as Zuazo (1988) has explained with clarity, and there is further research to be done in gathering documentation relevant to SHB.
- *Grammatication*. “Choosing”, developing and defining grammar which is appropriate to the correct use of the language. This field must be worked on without losing sight of socio-historical perspective. Initiatives in both the Northern and Southern Basque Country from the 18th century onwards need to be taken into account. Within that perspective, works such as *Euskal-izkindea* (Azkue 1891) are of particular importance. The question is not to what extent that proposal was authentic or correct, but, rather, what social objectives was it based on and what were the innovations in societal life his initiative brought about. In this regard, there is an extraordinary wealth of documentation on grammatication initiatives which can contribute to SHB, much broader, in fact, than what is usually taken into account.

⁴⁰⁵ See examples 149, 150, 151.

- Finally, *lexication*, or the selection of an appropriate lexicon, must be examined. In this field, too, there have been numerous initiatives in the Basque Country and, in some cases (in the *Diccionario Trilingüe* (Larra-mendi 1745), for instance), the contribution to social history is extraordinary: a reading of his extensive foreword is sufficient to realise that.

In line with Baldauf (1989), it seems appropriate to add *pronunciation* to the previous trio in the case of Basque too.⁴⁰⁶

So we include five distinctions within this field of codification: *graphization*, *grammatication*, *lexication*, *pronunciation* and *other*.

9.3.2.5 *Developing intertranslatability*

Strategies and policies which are designed and implemented to develop a language, above all, but not only, in lexical terms, so as to make it capable of expressing clearly, in an easily understood manner, and without excessive recourse to periphrasis what is written in another language: this, very briefly, is *intertranslatability* (Fishman (ed) 1974: 10-11). So quotations which address this process are given the *developing intertranslatability* label.

9.3.2.6 *Language cultivation*

This label has been created to signal strategies and policies for designing and implementing the language cultivation of subvarieties of a language, for example, by developing discourse types and dictionaries for specific fields of learning.

9.3.2.7 *Abstand/Ausbau*

With regard to the language corpus, planned distance or proximity between the neighbouring large, strong language and the small, weak language is given this label (Kloss 1952). An *Abstand* language is naturally distant from another language: because of its features, there is no great risk of it being mixed up. An *Ausbau* language, on the other hand, thanks to the way of development it has chosen (for instance, by taking new words from sources which the neighbouring language does not use, constructing a very different writing system etc.), tries to distance itself from that other language. However, things are not always black and white. Although Basque is a prototypical *Abstand* language in genetic terms, some people have carried out *Ausbau* work on it, particularly where drawing

⁴⁰⁶ See example 152.

from the word store of neighbouring languages in various spheres has been considered something negative. When the distance between two languages is intrinsic rather than planned, the *interlinguistic distance* label is to be used (depending on the case: see 1C, 2C or 4C).

9.3.3. Summary of terms

Table 74 provides a summary of the terms presented.

Table 74: structure of cell 6C

First level label	Second level label	Third level label	Fourth level label	Fifth level label
6C - Language corpus planning	Socio-philosophical underpinnings			
	Degree of overtness	Indirect planning	Positive outcome	Basque
				Language other than Basque
		Negative outcome	Basque	
			Language other than Basque	
	Direct planning	Positive outcome	Basque	
			Language other than Basque	
	Negative outcome	Basque		
	Language other than Basque			

First level label	Second level label	Third level label	Fourth level label	Fifth level label
6C - Language corpus planning	Goal of language planning	General, undetermined	Basque	
			Language other than Basque	
		Purifying language	As above	
		Naturalising interference	As above	
		Standardising language	As above	
		Language codification	Graphization	
			Grammatication	
			Lexication	
			Pronunciation	
			Other	
		Developing intertranslatability	Basque	
			Language other than Basque	
		Language cultivation	As above	
		Abstand/Ausbau	As above	
	Other	As above		
	Stage of language planning	General, undetermined		
		Planning proposal		
		Norm selection		
		Implementation of corpus planning		
		Evaluation of corpus planning		

First level label	Second level label	Third level label	Fourth level label	Fifth level label
6C - Language corpus planning	Actor	Authority		
		Individual		
		Organized group		
		Other		
	Directionality: top-down/bottom-up	Bottom-up planning		
		Top-down planning		
		Other		
	Target group	Whole population		
		Group defined by profession		
		Group defined by ethnic features		
		Group defined by language		
		Group defined by territory		
		Group defined by individual criteria		
		Group defined by age		
		Group defined by gender		
		Other		
	Opinion on corpus planning			
	Reason for 6C			
	Inference			

9.4. 6D - Planning for societal features

Strategies and policies designed and implemented to change any aspect of the social matrix, in particular those established with regard to *identity planning* are to be included in this cell. Evaluation of planning for societal features as well as opinions, attitudes and behaviours related to planning for societal features are also included.

In summary, leaving language issues to one side, the questions to be resolved here as part of that social planning process are: in terms of its sociocultural configuration, what type of society is imagined, what type of relations are to be established with entities above (at state or continental level) or below (whether agreement on formulas of integration and mutual guarantees are to be pursued or not)? In the past, ethnicity, and at the present time, ethnicity and nationalism, will probably have to be taken as items for research into this aspect. The main subsections of this cell are the usual ones on this parameter: *demographic features, econotechnical features, political-operative features, psychosocial and sociocultural features*⁴⁰⁷. The remaining subsections are ones which we have already mentioned for the prescriptive parameter (for further explanations, see Zalvide, M., Joly, L., Gardner, N., 2015: 463-465).

9.4.1. Summary of terms

Table 75 provides a summary of the terms presented.

Table 75: structure of cell 6D

First level label	Second level label	Third level label
6D - Planning for societal features	Socio-philosophical underpinnings	
	Point of intervention	General, undetermined
		Demographic features
		Econotechnical features
		Political-operative features
		Psychosocial and sociocultural features
	Opinion on planning for societal features	
	Reason for 6D	
	Inference	

⁴⁰⁷ See examples 153, 154, 155.

9.5. 6E - Planning for language attitudes

Strategies and policies which are designed and implemented to influence opinions and attitudes towards language are included in this set of labels, as well as opinions and attitudes towards those strategies and policies, what Fishman sometimes called *identity planning*. When examining 6D, we have mentioned that *identity planning* must be included there. Clearly, identity planning related to language is included in 6E, and that which is not, in 6D. The identity planning which aims to clarify what a Basque speaker is and is not is a special case: historically, an ‘euskaldun’ seems to have been a person who spoke Basque, so if in defining that term other characteristics are given priority (for instance, race, birthplace, etc.), the role of the language itself is reduced. In this regard, even though the language is not mentioned, quotations on this particular topic often deserve inclusion in 6E. Cell 6E includes the habitual subsections on the prescriptive parameter, as can be seen in table 76 and the goals of language planning are linked to the usual divisions of this dimension⁴⁰⁸.

⁴⁰⁸ See examples 156, 157, 158, 159.

Table 76: structure of cell 6E

First level label	Second level label	Third level label	Fourth level label	Fifth level label	
6E - Planning for language attitudes	Socio-philosophical underpinnings				
	Degree of overtness	Indirect planning	Positive outcome	Basque Language other than Basque	
			Negative outcome	Basque Language other than Basque	
		Direct planning	Positive outcome	Basque Language other than Basque	
			Negative outcome	Basque Language other than Basque	
	Goal of language planning	Influencing attitudes about language use			
		Influencing attitudes about speakers and their language competence			
		Influencing attitudes about language structure			
		Influencing attitudes about ethnicity			
		Influencing attitudes about language attitudes			
		Other			
	Stage of language planning	General, undetermined			
		Planning proposal			
		Norm selection			
		Implementation of planning for language attitudes			
		Evaluation of planning for language attitudes			
	Actor	Authority			
		Individual			
		Organized group			
		Other			
	Directionality: top-down/bottom-up	Bottom-up planning			
		Top-down planning			
		Other			

First level label	Second level label	Third level label	Fourth level label	Fifth level label
6E - Planning for language attitudes	Target group	Whole population		
		Group defined by profession		
		Group defined by ethnic features		
		Group defined by language		
		Group defined by territory		
		Group defined by individual criteria		
		Group defined by age		
		Group defined by gender		
		Other		
	Opinion on planning for language attitudes			
	Reason for 6E			
Inference				

With this parameter linked to language planning, we reach the end of the main presentation of our proposal for a taxonomy of historical sociolinguistics which allows for the classification of quotations along scientific parameters. Mark-up work and research on the social history of languages must take a number of other points into account, as we will see in the following sections.

10. DATA STRENGTH, RELIABILITY AND OTHER FEATURES OF QUOTATIONS

We have included two separate sets of criteria in this short chapter: one concerns data strength and the other deals with other features of the quotations and of the classification of the information among our taxonomy proposal. These two sets are not strictly related to either the historical situation or to sociolinguistic classification. This is why they are being treated separately. However, they can both be used with all types of quotations. All these pieces of information are important concepts to consider when doing scientific work in the field of historical sociolinguistics. As J.M. Hernández-Campoy & N. Schilling (2012: 63) state, “Historical sociolinguistics has often been considered to suffer, perhaps inevitably, from lack of representativeness and validity of its findings. This is because the sociolinguistic study of historical language forms must rely on linguistic records from previous periods – most of which will be incomplete or non-representative in some way – as well as on knowledge and understanding of past sociocultural situations that can only be reconstructed rather than directly observed or experienced by researcher”.

10.1. Data strength

Guaranteeing data strength and reliability is a basic concern in all scientific research. Even using the best theoretical-methodological tools, researchers will have great difficulty reaching correct conclusions if they do not have access to reliable data. At the same time, the reliability of sources and data is a complex issue. There are several concepts connected with these issues in our field of study: reliability, applicability, representativeness, proximity to sources, proximity of testimonies to their authors/recorders and in time, data strength in itself, and so on. In addition to all of the above, quotations must be treated in different ways depending on their sources and historical periods.⁴⁰⁹ In this section, we will try

⁴⁰⁹ For treatment of different materials see, for instance, sections: 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11 of *The Handbook of Historical Sociolinguistics* (Hernandez & Conde 2012: 123-210).

to address this complexity. We will give a short summary of the concepts SHB considers to be of use.⁴¹⁰ Sometimes it is not easy to distinguish between all of these factors. We will consider the following six cases:

- *Explicit data yes/no*: is data explicit in the text, or does it have to be inferred?
- *Broad / narrow field of application*: can the data be applied to a broad or a narrow field?
- *Information reliability / data strength*: is the data conditioned by the writer's interests?
- *Source reliability*: is the source we are using original and properly vouched for?
- *Proximity*: what distance is there between the data and ourselves?
- *Relevance at the monograph level*: has the data been used in specific monographs?

These six cases are very close to the seven problems listed by J.M. Hernández-Campoy & N. Schilling (2012: 63-79) in their article “The Application of the Quantitative Paradigm to Historical Sociolinguistics: Problems with the Generalizability Principle”: 1) representativeness, 2) empirical validity, 3) invariance, 4) authenticity, 5) authorship, 6) social and historical validity, and 7) standard ideology. It must be taken into account that the list made by J.M. Hernández-Campoy & N. Schilling is mainly oriented towards studies of variationist sociolinguistics while ours has a point of view closer to the sociology of language and social history, which may explain some of the differences between the two models.

10.1.0.1. *Explicit data yes/no*

Texts themselves usually provide us with a lot of direct information. In those cases, what the text says verbatim is an interesting piece of information regarding historical sociolinguistics and, so, it is quoted as such. For instance, when an author claims that “In San Sebastian, Basque is the general language of everyday life”. In other cases, however, there is no such textual and direct testimony but some information can be inferred from what is said. In those cases, *what docu-*

⁴¹⁰ In general, distinguishing between terms is not a simple task: we have grouped those concepts together and, sometimes, a single element covers more than one theoretical concept. For instance, reliability and data strength, applicability and representativeness, etc. Data which is not very reliable has limited data strength, etc. In short, we have defined and listed some specific problems with source reliability and data strength.

ments say in general (in some cases, *what they do not say*) can and sometimes needs to be taken into account in order to tease out some consequences. For instance, if there is specific information in a text that the inhabitants of a village do not know (and do not even understand) a language other than Basque (i.e. information about language competence), it can be inferred, without much doubt, that Basque is the usual, everyday language, even though there is no direct, word for word mention of language use in the text.

The term *inference* is available in all the cells of the sociolinguistic matrix for expressing conclusions which SHB has derived indirectly from data.

10.1.0.2. Breadth of applicability

Does the information which the quotation gives us describe a generalisable situation, or an unusual one-off linguistic event at a particular moment (and which, consequently, is irregular and atypical), providing information which is as remarkable as it is marginal? Some pieces of information may be completely true, and, so, highly reliable, but of little practical consequence as far as making inferences about the general sociolinguistic situation is concerned. This characteristic has often been called representativeness in the scientific literature (see, for instance, Schneider 2002: 81-83; J.M. Hernández-Campoy & N. Schilling 2012: 66). For instance, if a law about schooling says something about language use, we may be dealing with a document of great applicability. Above all from the middle of the 18th century onwards, one can assume that pupils have followed the lines laid down by that law in increasing proportion in each new generation. However, we are aware that what legal documents have said about language questions is one thing, and what has actually happened can be quite, even very, different. In such cases, we may be looking at a document which has considerable breadth of application, but whose reliability must be checked in greater detail. On the contrary, if the document we are examining is private (a letter between a seller and a buyer, for instance, explaining when and how the purchase is to be paid for), the data in it may be considerably more reliable, but its applicability will be limited, unless other data can be taken into account. It is also true that it can be the testimony of a broader social situation. In general, it is clear that it is easier to draw general conclusions from general cases than from isolated, individual cases. It is another matter, however, if several individual cases can be aggregated: for instance, if we had many letters on transactions such as the one we have mentioned. See the explanations on the different types of dominance configuration tables in chapter 4.

Finally, it must be mentioned that in some cases, physical features of the source can provide substantial information on the historical importance of a document. As Verweij says “[T]he purely material aspects of a manuscript can supply

us with important data on its history. It is by following up this material and historical analysis of manuscripts that the diffusion of a text, its function, its usage and the different paths it has taken throughout history can be worked out. In this way, we can approach the historical reality the text has lived through” (Verweij 2006: 377 in Esteban 2012: 141).

10.1.0.3. Is data conditioned to the writer’s interests?

As we have explained elsewhere in this methodological model, if the person giving the information has a particular interest in expressing what is expressed (an ideological, symbolic or pragmatic interest), then that very interest reduces the testimony’s reliability. That loss of reliability cannot be marked directly with the terms or labels we use, but the writer’s interest may be mentioned in notes on specific quotations. Writers turn out to have special interests more often than expected when sociolinguistic data is being provided. Many examples of this can be given: priests who did not know Basque (well) described particular villages as being non-Basque speaking or bilingual so they could get work in them (see, for instance, Madariaga 2014: 185-213, Jimeno Jurio 2004).

10.1.0.4. Is the source original?

Often, we do not obtain data of the same degree of reliability from an academic book or from an article in the press. We expect the former to prove what it states point by point, quoting sources literally. In the latter, on the other hand, it is often enough to give the reader a text without a precise reference. The possibility of checking the validity of affirmations made in the two sources is different. In the same way, getting information from an original source is different to obtaining it through an indirect one, for instance, when one author quotes another.

10.1.0.5. To what extent can data be checked?

This option of our taxonomy is useful for reflecting what guarantee the data we are including has, for knowing if it has been checked directly by our project’s members or not. See subsection 10.1.2 for further details.

10.1.0.6. Has the data been useful?

This information is purely informative and internal to our project. We carry out different partial research projects about a number of specific moments in the history of Basque, but we put all the information in a general database, so this

option allows us to know which of the monographs the quotation has been used in. It also allows us to update old monographs with quotes recently included in the database. Finally, it lets us know how relevant a quotation has been. See subsection 10.1.3 for further details.

10.1.0.7. Option adopted by SHB

The first of those six options has already been included in the terminology system under the *inference* label; the second (applicability in broad terms) has not been included; the third (the writer's interest) can be included in the notes attached to the quotation; the remaining three are dealt with in this chapter. Therefore, we will make three main distinctions among the second-level labels for *data strength*: *closeness to source*, *strength of evidence* and *relevance*.

10.1.1. Closeness to source

Not all historical documentary materials are equally reliable. Data from some sources may be very reliable, and that from others of limited reliability. This has long been a problem for historians: Gerd Simon made a proposal for classifying documents, for instance: *Zur Beurteilung von Informationsarten* (Simon [no date]).

In each case, whether the information is first, second, third or fourth hand is specified, together with an indication of whether the source is shown. Simon specifies the contribution, the disadvantages and his recommendations for each type of data. When dealing with the possible advantages, he mentions the following:

- a) **Proximity**. Whether the description or testimony is chronologically close to or far from the period (reality) under study in a given monograph.
- b) **Checkability**. In other words, whether the details provided with the data allow us to access the original document.
- c) **Conceptual inclusion**. Whether the piece of information can be included in a theoretical system or not.
- d) **Comprehensibility**. Whether the piece of information can be easily understood, or whether it is difficult to draw correct conclusions from it without other further global, contextualised information.

Table 77: evaluation of information types

Type of information	Description of information	Advantages	Disadvantages	Recommendations
Primary information	Contemporary archives and publications	Close to the events, reliable (derived from criticism of the sources)	Hard to obtain, lacking context; risk of misunderstanding or misinterpreting.	Completely necessary for doctoral theses
Secondary information	Provided by experts, indicating source of primary information	Checkable, reasonably protected by context from misunderstanding and falsification.	Information must at least be checked by random sampling; not always easy for the reader	Necessary in publications by university teachers, at least
Third-level information	Provided by experts; without indicating first-hand sources, generally based on second-level information	Can be included in information system or theory	Cannot be checked; not reliable	Appropriate for presenting a subject and for textbooks and handbooks
Fourth-level information	Mostly based on third-level information, provided by popularising scientists (seldom experts)	Easy to understand	Lack of systematization, tendency to summarize and simplify	Appropriate for non-experts

In general, we have included the scheme suggested by Simon in SHB's methodology and so have created terms for those four types of information in the labelling system.

In addition to those four there is a further category which deserves particular mention: a text may be original, first-hand, but that does not guarantee that the information given by the document is true. In most cases, we have simply accepted it as true, there being no statements to the contrary, but in some cases, it has been possible to prove that the document is *apocryphal*. In the Middle Ages, for instance, there are several cases of texts produced by people in defence of their own interests. Care must be taken in such cases: not infrequently what a document says may not be the (whole) truth. What it says may be wrong, in part or as a whole, in both content and date. This does not mean, however, that everything said there is false. Names of people and places given there, for instance, may well

be correct. The term *apocryphal* is used to warn that caution should be exercised. Further details may be given in the notes on the quotation. One such case, until the contrary is proved, is the Bull about the foundation of the kingdom of Navarre (in other words, that of Pamplona / Iruñea), which offers fairly precise details of great interest about the ethnolinguistic configuration of Navarre, among other details. Hence, apocryphal does not necessarily mean that nothing in the text is of value: it may mean that at the time when the document was forged (or adapted) at least, it did have some verisimilitude.

In short, five terms have been created for this subset: *primary information*, *secondary information*, *third-level information*, *fourth-level information* and *apocryphal*.

In practice, it is quite difficult to use these four levels. It is easier to use the two habitual distinctions of sources and bibliography (see, for instance, Madariaga's books and other authors too, for instance Ahačič (2014: 293) "primary source vs secondary source"). Furthermore, in some cases, depending on the objectives of the research, the bibliography (*secondary source*) becomes the source (*primary source*), particularly in the case of historiographical research. For instance, if the ideology of historians of a certain period is being examined, the bibliography itself becomes the source.

10.1.2. Strength of evidence

Clearly, the strength of a piece of testimony changes as we distance ourselves from a source, in both time and space. SHB uses a four-level scale:

- A specific piece of information has been checked by SHB: we know that such a book was written in Basque: we have had a copy of it in our hands and checked it ourselves;
- Somebody else (B) claims to have checked the data and SHB has registered that claim;
- A third party (C) has on their own report quoted and checked the quotation, but that person is not the writer who is our source. The latter has not seen it, but trusts C's description of it;
- The person mentioning the information simply believes it: with more or less justification, the writer believes, say, a given book to exist in Basque, but has not in any way checked it, or received any confirmation of its existence.

So, with regard to strength of evidence, SHB has distinguished between these four options by using the following terms: *direct testimony*, *direct mention*, *indirect mention* and *individual opinion*.

10.1.3. Relevance to research

After collecting data, which will be of varying value, it is interesting to know if we have used it in a given monograph. We will only be able to gauge this at the conclusion of each research monograph. This information is useful for updating old monographs. We have used the *relevance* label when quotations have actually been made use of.

10.1.4. Summary of terms

Table 78 provides a summary of the terms presented.

Table 78: structure of the data strength set of labels

First level label	Second level label	Third level label
Data strength	Closeness to source	Primary information
		Secondary information
		Third-level information
		Fourth-level information
		Apocryphal
	Strength of evidence	Direct testimony
		Direct mention
		Indirect mention
		Individual opinion
	Relevance	

10.2. Features of quotation

Finally, there is another small set of labels, valid for all quotations and so not included in the cells of the sociolinguistic matrix. This mark-up set has been called *features of quotation*. It has four second-level labels: *monograph*, *nature of quotation*, *language mentioned in quotation* and *language of quotation*.

10.2.1. Monograph

The name initially given to the monograph is recorded under this heading. Using this label, all the quotations connected with a particular monograph can be consulted.

10.2.2. Nature of quotation

As with documents, one may wish to record the nature of quotations, above all if it does not coincide with the rest of the document: for instance, a map or a table in a book constituted primarily of text. In order to reflect the nature of quotations, there is a total of eleven labels available: *statistics*, *questionnaire*, *audio-visual*, *image*, *map*, *sound*, *table*, *text*, *list*, *other* and, finally, *embedded quotation*.

10.2.3. Language mentioned in quotation

In order to record the language mentioned in a quotation, there are, basically, ten language labels on the third level relevant to the case of Basque: *Aquitanian*, *Arabic*, *Romance*, *Basque pidgin*, *Basque*, *French*, *Spanish*, *Iberian*, *Latin* and, for other cases, *other language*. Of those ten options, only two have been developed to the fourth level, providing the possibility of greater precision: *Romance* and *Basque*. In the first case, five options have been defined: *Castilian Romance of Basque Autonomous Community area*, *Navarre-Aragonese*, *Gascon*, *other Occitan* and *other*; in the second case, however, there are only four choices: *General*, *undetermined*; *Standard Basque*; *Basque popular language* and *written variety of Basque*. We believe that this list reflects the languages most used in the Basque region historically: if there have ever been others, we believe that their social influence has been minimal and, until otherwise proven, have decided to include them under the heading *other language*.

10.2.4. Language of quotation

In order to mark the language of the quotation, there are six options: *Basque*, *Spanish*, *Latin*, *French*, *English* and, for all other cases, *other*. We believe that the first five languages cover the majority of texts about Basque.

10.2.5. Summary of terms

Table 79 provides a summary of terms presented.

Table 79: features of quotation

First level label	Second level label	Third level label	Fourth level label	
Features of quotation	Monograph	[Title of paper]		
	Nature of quotation	Audiovisual		
		Image		
		List		
		Map		
		Questionnaire		
		Sound		
		Statistics		
		Table		
		Text		
		Other		
		Embedded quotation		
		Language mentioned in quotation	Aquitanian	
	Arabic			
	Basque		General, undetermined	
			Standard Basque	
			Basque popular language	
			Written variety of Basque	
	Basque pidgin			
	French			
	Iberian			
	Latin			
	Spanish			
	Romance		Castilian Romance of Basque Autonomous Community area	
			Navarre-Aragonese	
			Gascon	
			Other Occitan language	
			Other	
	Other language			
	Language of quotation	Basque		
		Spanish		
		Latin		
		French		
English				
Other				

11. SHB'S SOURCES

In historical sociolinguistics and social history, sources and the information they contain may be reliable to varying extents, as has been seen in chapter 10. This, however, is not the only difficulty we are confronted with. In this chapter, we will address a concern we have already looked at, if only briefly, in chapter 1: the frequent lack of sources in historical sociolinguistics. When we presented international historical sociolinguistics (and other related lines of research) in that chapter, we mentioned the lack or scarcity of sources time and again. In the case of Basque, many authors stress the scarcity of sources time and again. Talking about the Middle Ages, for instance, Reguero (2012: 66) mentions this issue: “Unfortunately, there are few texts or testimonies for examining Basque in the Middle Ages, and this is a problem when it comes to studying the Basque of that period”. As well as being scarce, there are several other problems with the sources we have available. Reguero (2012: 66-67) continues: “To this problem must be added that of testimonies about Basque appearing in texts written in a language other than Basque and using that language’s spelling system. In the same way, we do not know whether the author of the document knew Basque and, so, whether there could be misunderstandings, mishearings, etc between what was said and what they heard and wrote. Furthermore, there may be several interpretations of each testimony because what is written is not clearly decipherable. For instance, while Mitxelena (*TAV*, §2.1.2), read IAUNINCO on a gravestone in Garai, it could also be read as NUNINCO (Azkarate & Garcia Camino 1996: 143). Furthermore, even in cases in which the text is easy to read, linguists may assign different interpretations to the reading”. In this chapter, we will discuss potential sources for SHB and their possible exploitation.

11.1. Sources for historical sociolinguistics

With regard to sources of information on historical sociolinguistics, three main sets may be distinguished.

A) Direct testimony about oral language (transcriptions of oral Basque):

1. Historical transcriptions of oral language: sermons, minutes of administrative meetings, famous people's speeches, testimony given in court, etc. For more recent times, there are also radio recordings, television programmes, recordings of ethnological interviews, etc. (see Martineau 2012).
2. Fictional oral texts: direct speech in plays and novels, fictional conversations in didactic tools for foreign language teaching, etc.

B) Direct testimony of written language (Basque texts):

1. Published texts: novels, plays, works about history, grammar books, etc.
2. Official texts: Basque texts (or fragments) in court registers, notaries' documents, official proclamations, etc.
3. Unpublished texts: personal letters, unpublished literary works, handwritten notes in books, etc.

C) Indirect testimony about sociolinguistic situations (presented in any language):

1. Metalinguistic notes in published texts (for instance, the notes in *Peru Abarka* (Mogel 1990 [1881])), direct testimony about sociolinguistic situations (for instance, what Camino (1963 [1780]) says about the language situation in Donostia), foreign travellers' notes about the sociolinguistic situation in different places, etc.
2. Published or unpublished official reports: notes and reports from official school inspections, questionnaires, etc.
3. Published or unpublished indirect testimony: from official documents, or from the documents and certificates issued by notaries (for instance, technical words in Basque included in a will or on a list, etc.), court cases connected with language and sociolinguistic situations, etc.⁴¹¹

⁴¹¹ In general, court cases are of particular interest: they often provide written records, including precise details of words used by ordinary people in daily life. For further information on this topic see, for instance, Rilova 2006: 2009.

For reasons inherent to the Basque case, SHB has decided to choose 1980 as the cut-off date for its research. That time limit permits the inclusion of some radio and television archives, videos, recordings about oral language, etc.⁴¹²

The classification which we have put forward here has been specifically prepared for SHB, primarily from a sociology of language perspective. Variationist sociolinguists have put forward an alternative classification in order to examine oral language. Schneider distinguishes five types of text:

1. "Recorded" (direct transcription of an interview, for instance);
2. "Recalled" (transcription in an autobiography of a conversation which took place in the past, for instance);
3. "Imagined" (appearing in the letters of semi-literate people, for instance);
4. "Observed" (including a traveller's observations about the language situation in a particular place, for instance);
5. "Invented" (conversations in literary works, for instance).

Each type has its own features: whether a person taking part in a conversation transcribed their own words (or not), whether recording took place after the event (or in real time), etc. (See Schneider 2002: 71-81).

⁴¹² To give an exceptional example, the Germans recorded a number of prisoners' songs, including some in Basque, during the First World War (1914-1918) (Canas & Menoyo 2016).

Table 80: text type and orality (“Categorization of text types according to their proximity to speech” in Schneider 2002: 73)

Category	Reality of speech event	Speaker - writer identity	Temporal distance speech - record	Characteristic text types
Recorded	real, unique	different	immediate	interview, transcripts, trial records
Recalled	real, unique	different	later	ex-slaves narratives
Imagined	hypothetic, unique	identical	immediate	letters, diaries
Observed	usu. real, unique	different	later	commentaries
Invented	hypothetic, unspecified	n/a	unspecified	literary dialect

In addition to direct testimony, recording what authors (and particularly historians) have had to say about particular historical situations is also essential. In other words, second level bibliography, too, must be taken into account as well as examining first-hand sources. In this area, Intxausti (2011) is of great assistance in terms of locating first and second level sources for those interested in the social history of Basque (for further information about Intxausti’s work, see Zalbide, M., Joly, L., Gardner, N., 2015: 488-491).

11.2. Dealing with archive materials

Many of the sources used by SHB come from archives. The following types of documents are of particular value:

- a) Notarial protocols: wills, sales documents, etc.
- b) Laws: Provincial laws, City charters, royal decrees, etc.
- c) Court cases: civil, ecclesiastical.
- d) Local or municipal council documents (minutes, etc.)
- e) Provincial institutions: provincial councils and their executive arms.

- f) Ecclesiastical archives: Pamplona, Calahorra, Bayonne (and a further 15 dioceses).
- g) Cultural institutions: Eusko Ikaskuntza, Euskaltzaindia, other entities, etc.
- h) Private archives: letters, wills, etc.
- i) Archives of royal courts (Pamplona, Pau, Valladolid).
- j) Specific searches in large archives (Valladolid, Rome, Seville)

The list, however, is not exhaustive. As Madariaga (2014: 27) has mentioned, valid information may be found in any type of archive: “Language being, as I say, a transversal element, the documents referenced may turn up in almost any type of archive: ecclesiastic or secular, local or general, in the Basque Country or also outside it”. Documents may also be of many different types. Madariaga (2014: 27) mentions the following: “(...) from lawsuits about insults to works of language apologists, via problems with regard to religious preaching, jurisdictional conflicts, military proclamations, satirical songs, witch trials, festive occasions, matrimonial infidelity, rogations and many, many more”.

Unfortunately, much material of that type related to Basque is still in the archives: in storage and undiscovered. Most of the material will consist of documents yet to be unearthed, or documents which in spite of being known to us have yet to be read and exploited from a sociolinguistic point of view. In some cases, texts which are of interest to SHB (texts in Basque or texts with sociolinguistic data) are found in archives by historians, however, as Basque and its sociolinguistic situation is not the subject of their research, those discoveries are not made known to the scientific community of the sociolinguistic field and they get lost. As we have mentioned at the start of this chapter, two types of information can be found in archives: original texts (or fragments of texts) in Basque and documentary testimony about the sociolinguistic situation of the Basque Country. The latter are almost always in a language other than Basque.

11.2.1. Collecting Basque texts in archives

There are few direct sources available for drawing up the social history of Basque, and most information is indirect. By “direct information” we are referring to texts in Basque or direct contemporary testimony about sociolinguistic situations. In order to carry out sociolinguistic research on a particular period, then, both the scarce material available and inferences drawn from indirect information must be used. As has often been mentioned (see chapter I and Madariaga

2014: 27), language is a transversal feature of society: it is to be found everywhere and making inferences based on such indirect information often enables us to formulate meaningful hypotheses about daily language use.

Whether examining private or public archives, the objective must be to carry out the most exhaustive search possible. Bearing in mind the current situation of those Basque materials, for one thing, and the amount of work involved in an exhaustive approach, for another, that will inevitably be a long-term objective. The most sensible thing is to gather information little by little, carrying out research on specific times and places. That is how SHB has carried out its work until the present and it will continue to do so in the foreseeable future. Indeed, SHB's database has been set up to gather the information arising from those monographs of limited scope and classify it appropriately.

In general, two types of tasks have to be carried out when collecting Basque texts for SHB: all texts published in Basque have to be gathered (many such sources are already available); work is just beginning on collecting unpublished texts in Basque. The second type of data gathering is much more difficult: in fact, at present it is impossible to examine all archive documents. This means that the first approach is often through catalogues of archive collections. Unfortunately, the information in catalogues is often limited and, in most cases, there is no record of whether there are documents in Basque or not, let alone whether there is a single Basque sentence or word embedded in a text in a language other than Basque.

11.2.2. Collecting indirect testimony

Collecting indirect testimony is even more difficult than collecting direct testimony or texts in Basque. Above all, reading archival texts must be done from a sociolinguistic perspective. Many different types of information must be collected; for instance, scribes used to report the language used in a trial like this: “y declaró en lengua vascongada/ vulgar/ del país (...)” (“so-and-so made their declaration in Basque / the vernacular / the local language (...”). Likewise, sentences such this can be found at the end of notary documents: “y se le dió a entender en vascuence (...)” (“and this information was explained to them in Basque (...”). These two examples give us direct information about the use of and language competence in Basque. But, of course, there is even more remote testimony. Let us imagine, for instance, a list in a will registered by a notary: there may be some technical words in Basque inserted into the non-Basque text, or there may be interferences caused by Basque ways of speaking in non-Basque texts. There are two possible causes in the first case: the scribe did not know the technical term in the language other than Basque, only knowing it in Basque and, consequently,

wrote it in Basque; or, not understanding the Basque term, they transcribed it as heard, without knowing what it meant.⁴¹³ In either case, two contrasting conclusions may be drawn: the scribe may have been a bilingual Basque speaker or, to the contrary, a monolingual non-Basque speaker. In practice, both cases may arise but the first one is the most usual, in fact scribes often introduce a Basque word as follows: “*XXX* that is called/ they call [*Basque word*]” (for examples see Prieto & Irixoa 2016: 67), which means that the language used in daily life was Basque and not the language the scribe was writing. It must be taken into account that in the 16th century an important metallurgical industry was developed in the Basque Country, but was non-existent in Castile. The specific vocabulary related to metallurgy was therefore available in Basque, but not in Castilian as is often reflected in original documents (Azkune 2015: 218). Moreover, this phenomenon is quite common and not only linked to the vocabulary of metallurgy: Irixoa and Prieto (2017) have drawn up a list of such terms in the documentation of Gipuzkoa for the 16th-18th centuries.

11.2.3. A practical example: archive information about Zestoa

We have mentioned two types of information: direct testimony in Basque (Basque texts) as well as information about the sociolinguistic situation in the Basque Country. As there has been a centuries-long diglossic situation in the Basque Country, the language used orally in daily life did not appear in writing. Collecting quotes reflecting this indirectly is of particular interest.

Iñaki Azkune is carrying out a thorough search for information in various archives about Zestoa village in the most exhaustive possible way. He has collected and is still collecting material which is of interest to SHB. In addition to direct testimony, he has also included mistakes, interferences and so on in written non-Basque texts influenced by oral Basque. In the next few lines, we will sample the type of information which may be found when examining archive documents by looking at a few real examples.

a) Information about literacy:

In the documents Azkune has examined, the reader is occasionally informed that someone “does not know how to sign”. This is interesting information about literacy. If the social class, gender, etc. of the person in question have also been recorded, then it is possible to make inferences about the sociolinguistic confi-

⁴¹³ There are also some additional second level hypotheses. But we have ignored them for the moment. For instance, we do not take into account the possibility that those Basque words may have been regularly used in the Spanish of the time.

guration of society. In general, at least in the documents we have accessed, fewer women than men seem to have known how to sign their name. Likewise, there seems to be a clear difference by occupation: the closer to the world of the farm and the further from that of the town, the larger the proportion of people unable to sign their name. We have used a limited sample to draw these conclusions; the hypothesis will have to be confirmed using a larger sample. The figures evolve by place and historical period. Examining those changes may be very interesting when examining the nature and rhythm of the spread of literacy.

There are also direct notes about literacy. To give some examples:

“e por/23 mi el dicho escribano leyda, luego “ [XV. m. 91] (p. 13) [‘read afterwards by me the aforementioned scribe’] and “presento e leer fiso a mi el dicho escribano la dicha carta de merçed/8 por mi el dicho escribano leyda, luego el dicho/11” [XV. m. 92] (p. 15) [‘s/he] presented and had me the aforementioned scribe read the aforementioned letter of grant’].

See, likewise, information about Basque monolingualism:

“(…) se le leyó en lengua vulgar”, “(…) se le dio a entender en lengua vulgar” [‘it was read to them in the vernacular language’ / ‘it was communicated to them in the vernacular language’] are frequent. That means that while the scribes were bilingual and all the official papers were drawn up and written in Spanish, ordinary village folk were monolingual Basque speakers. The linguistic mediators (scribes, priests, clerks etc.) and the way in which they interfered between monolinguals and the official language of power are key topics in diglossic situations, when the oral language was not the language of power and a part of the population was monolingual. (Madariaga 2014: 305-392)

b) Mutual influence between Basque and Spanish:

Sources of information about how Basque and Spanish have influenced each other is also of great value. This information must be examined with great care: as with Basque, there is a great difference between the Spanish of the time and today’s Spanish, and what at first may seem to be Basque influence may, in fact, in some cases be no more than a feature of Spanish of the time.

In documents from Zestoa from the 14th and 15th centuries, Basque influence often appears in texts written in Spanish. Here are a few simple examples:

- Gender error in Spanish articles (“e leer fizo **vn** procuración”), or “sus hermanos y hermanas”, for instance, where you would expect only the Spanish

masculine form, generally taken -then, at least- to include the feminine as well, which was not and is not the case in Basque).

- Basque terminology (use of terms like “austarriça” or “astigarra”, for instance).
- Word forms influenced by Basque phonetics (“Arreselin” rather than “Reselin”, for instance).
- Use of Basque syntax.

c) Other interesting information can be gathered from archives:

- Information from place names.
- Quotes stating that information was given in Basque.
- Others. The cases which we have looked at so far are from research on Zestoa, but many more may be found in other places too. For instance, some court cases may be directly connected to language: when priests had to translate, they sometimes refused to because they were paid very little for such work. Such refusals led to conflict between the authorities and some priests (Madariaga 2014: 306-314). The case of one long-lasting trial in Navarre is well known, as is the series of debates that occurred in Navarre on priests' low level of Basque (Madariaga 2014: 185-213, Jimeno Jurio 2004). With regard to types of information and sources, there are considerable differences by historical period. Madariaga (2014) provides us with considerable information and many examples for the 17th and 18th centuries. However, information available about previous periods is very different and must be treated in a different way. The language's internal configuration, the structural characteristics yielded up by proper names (local place names and, very often, the surnames derived from them) are often, even today, the main starting point for those earlier periods. It should also be borne in mind that the huge new linguistic databases can offer new perspectives for research (for instance Conde 2007, Säily et al. 2017, Fitzmaurice et al. 2017, Baker et al. 2017).

12. EXAMPLES FOR AN APPLICATION OF THE TAXONOMY PROPOSAL

In this chapter, we provide many examples using our taxonomy for historical sociology of language. We provide both international examples and examples about the Basque historical situation. As we have already stated, the goal of the project is to collect and classify direct information about different historical moments, that is, primary and original sources, and also to collect and classify other sources and the varying analyses of researchers on those topics, that is, secondary sources and bibliography. Examples in this chapter are classified using the dimensions and analytical parameters used by SHB which are the base of the taxonomy that we propose. We do not specify all the marks (taxonomical entries or concepts) related to each quotation, only the most explicit ones. More examples on the Basque situation are available in the book we published in 2015 (Zalbide, Joly, Gardner 2015: 539-629). Most of the examples in English are from secondary sources and bibliography as we used the international bibliography on historical sociolinguistics to make it more understandable and to point out the effectiveness of our model using materials that are well known by international researchers. The aim of these examples is to make the different concepts discussed in this book clearer and to show the applicability of our model for SHB research and also, with appropriate minor revisions, for much international historical sociology of language research.

12.1. 1A

As described in chapter three, cell 1A provides information and brings together quotations that provide information on describing language use and answers the question:

What is the situation at a certain place, at a certain time with regard to language use?

1.

1A:

“In seventeenth-century Amsterdam, the Portuguese Jewish community spoke Portuguese or Spanish among themselves, Dutch to outsiders, and Hebrew in the synagogue.” (Burke 1993: 17)

2.

1A:

“(…) the importance of Latin in post-medieval European culture is illustrated still more vividly by the larger number of translations into that language made in the early modern period – more than 528 of them published between 1485 and 1799” (Burke 1993: 41)

3.

1A, 1B:

[Description of the use of Spanish by preachers in monolingual Basque-speaking areas:]

“(…) we are informed that, in the Basque land, and especially in those places where the majority of them speak Basque, the Preachers, using their authority, preach in the Romance language and not in Basque (…)” (Lepe 1700: 126-127)

4.

1A:

[Basque text with Spanish heading:]

“Romance del Santissimo Sacramento en Bascuence

Ogui consagratua,
Arimaco sustentua,
Ene ariman eguin eguiçu
Egun ceure ostatua.
Peregrinoa nola çatoz
Hauitua mudatua:
Libreaçat artu deçu
Ogui consagratua.”

[Iruña 1610] (Mítxelena 1990: 118-122)

5.

1A, 1B:

[Basque words of a witness cited in a trial:]

“He said words like these to the aforementioned Micheto Usabarrena in Basque: *Micheto veguirayçu cer ariçaren sorguina çarela esaten bedeçu errecoçaytue*. Which amounts to saying: *Be careful what you do, if you say you are a witch, they will burn you*”. [Inza, Errazkin 1610-1611]. (Sarasola 1983: 108-109)

6.

1A, 1B:

“Quite a number of English medieval sources explicitly or implicitly point to bilingualism and the use of different languages according to communicative situation and participants, i.e. to a kind of diglossic or even multiglossic situation.” (Schendl 2000: 78)

7.

1A:

“It can be said that the Basque language opened its doors to history in the 16th century. The first more or less extensive texts written in this language originated in that century.” (Zuazo 1995: 5)

8.

1A:

“(…) before the Roman conquest, Basque coexisted in the same territory with other Indo-European (Celtic) and non-Indo-European languages (Iberian).” (Zuazo 1995: 7)

9.

1A:

Linguae Vasconum Primitiae – The first fruits of the Basque language. First book printed in Basque by Bernard Etxepare (1545). (Etxepare 1995 [1545]: 178)

12.2. 1B

As described in chapter three, cell 1B provides information and brings together quotations that provide information on describing language competence and answers the question:

What is the situation at a certain place, at a certain time with regard to language competence?

10.

1A, 1B, 1E, 6A:

“French was first and foremost the language which was unknown by the majority of the population. Its use both spoken and in writing may have served as a barrier against political participation by the lower and (part of the) middle classes. The symbolical value of French as a tool for social and political exclusion in the Bruges city council, therefore, was apparent” (Willemyns & Vandebussche 2006: 153)

11.

1B:

“It has been plausibly argued that neo-Latin poets faced a serious problem when they were writing in a language which for writer and reader alike was devoid of the associations of early childhood.” (Burke 1996: 74)

12.

1B, 1C:

“(…) much more important is regional dialect, because it was the first and probably the only language of the majority of the population. As late as 1860, when Italy was officially united, it is probable that only 3 per cent of the population understood Italian, let alone spoke it.” (Burke 1993: 78)⁴¹⁴

13.

1B, 1A:

“In spite of Trevisa’s statement (…) about the efforts of ‘uplondish’ men to learn French in order to liken themselves to gentlemen, French can have had but little currency among the middle classes outside the towns. (…) It is clear that the

⁴¹⁴ As in other examples from the international bibliography, we consider one of the two language as if it were Basque and the other as if it were “Language other than Basque”. Normally we consider the dialect or L language as if it were Basque and the national standard or H variety as if it were the other language.

people who could speak French in the fourteenth century were bilingual.” (Baugh & Cable 1951: 144)

14.

1A, 1B:

[1766: Public letter written by town mayor in Euskera “so that everyone understands better”]

“I am writing in Basque so as to be better understood.

All you gentlemen of Azpeitia pay attention, make this well-known (...)” (Zapirain & Mora 2003: 433-442)

15.

1A, 1B, 1E:

[Letter between mayors of border areas of France and Spain in Basque because the mayor of the Spanish border town doesn’t know French and the mayor on the French side cannot write in Castilian.]

“Sir as you do not understand the French language, and I do not know how to write in Spanish, for this reason I shall write this letter in Basque, with the hope that you will take pleasure in our natural language (...). [1616-1617, Zuberoa – Erronkarri] (Trebiño 2001: 20)

16.

1B:

“(...) with many members of the higher and educated middle ranks of society, bilingualism –or even trilingualism – seems to have been no unusual phenomenon in both oral and written communication, involving either two vernacular languages (English, French) or Latin as the High variety with one or two vernaculars.” (Schendl 2000: 77)

17.

1B:

“Graff (1987: 106) gives the following estimates for the late medieval literacy: urban male population: 25%, men in general 6-12%, women less than half of the figure for men.” (Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 1996: 25)

18.

1B:

“The number of people able to express themselves fluently in Basque is estimated to be around 660,000, while a further 455,000 have some knowledge of the language but not a good command of it (...)” (Zuazo 1995: 5)

12.3. 1C

As described in chapter three, cell 1C provides information and brings together quotations that provide information on describing language-internal configuration and answers the question:

What is the situation at a certain place, at a certain time with regard to language-internal configuration?

19.

1C, 1D:

“Febvre argued that atheism was impossible in the sixteenth century, among other reasons because of the lack of abstract concepts in French which might sustain such a worldview.” (Burke 1993: 5-6)

20.

1C, 2C, 3C:

“The conservatism of Icelandic and the relative lack of variation in that language may therefore be attributed largely to the great practical importance attached to maintaining strongly established kin and friendship networks over long distances and through many generations. (...) Such a social structure (based on informal links) could flourish in medieval Iceland because of the inability of pan-European institutions (Church and the feudal system) to establish their power fully.” (Milroy 1985: 377)

21.

1C:

[Lepe says that different dialects of Basque exist in Biscay, Gipuzkoa and Araba]

“In the Basque speaking lands of this Bishopric of ours there is a difference between the Basque of the Lordship of Biscay, the Province of Gipuzkoa, and Araba” (Lepe 1700: 126-127)

22.

1C, 6C:

[c. 1802: Mogel underlines the problems for monolingual Basque people when pronouncing some of the Spanish phonemes.] (Larrañaga 2011: argitaratugabe]

“8. Vuelvo a mi intento. El idioma bascongado no necesita en el alfabeto romano de estas dos letras *f* y *h*, y no aciertan los que escriben *f* estos vocablos: *alferra*, *afaria*, *ifini*, y algunos otros, que se deben escribir con *p*: *alperra*, *aparia*, *ipini*... es decir, como los pronuncian los puros bascongados. Estos, si no han estado en tierras donde han aprendido algo del idioma castellano, o no han cursado la escuela, no pueden pronunciar la *f*. Así por *Fernando* dicen *Pernando*, por *Francisco*, Prancisco, por *fiesta*, y *función*, *piesta* y *punción*. He hecho repetidas experiencias con ellos, y no pueden pronunciar la *f*, sino substituyendo la *p*. Argumento concluyente de que es letra extraña y superflua. Los chicuelos, cuando empiezan a aprender el abecedario en la escuela, llegando a la *f*, dicen *epe*, y cuesta trabajo el enseñarles a decir *f* como los castellanos.” (Moguel 1990 [1881]: 28)

23.

1C.

“The numerous Scandinavian place-names of Yorkshire, Lincolnshire and elsewhere strongly suggest that Danish-speaking communities survived in these areas for some time.”(Milroy 1985: 378)

24.

1A, 1C:

[English-French code-switching. Letter from Richard Kingston, Dean of Windsor, to King Henry IV (1403)]

“*Please* a vostre tresgraciously Seignourie entendre que a-jourduy apres *noone*... qu’ils furent venuz deinz nostre *countie* (...)”(Schendl 2000: 81)

12.4. 1D

As described in chapter three, cell 1D provides information and brings together quotations that provide information on describing societal features and answers the question:

What is the situation at a certain place, at a certain time with regard to social composition?

25.

1D:

“As the properties are only minor, the cultivation of it, despite the amount of work, occupies the peasant only some time of the year. For the rest many go about a trade and many scatter around as carpenters in the surrounding area. Although one cannot call people in the Basque Country rich, most of them live well. Even in Markina they told me that they have meat at every lunch, always have wine in the evenings, and their midmorning snack is abundant, too”. (Humboldt 2013 [1801]: 66)

26.

1D:

“Deep inside the land, just as here and everywhere else where they live solely from farming and differ from the common villages merely in size and affluence, the stranger sees –and indeed not without bewilderment when compared to other countries- particularly in this part of Biscay, how the gentleman and commoner, the poor and the wealthy, converse with each other in complete equality. It occurred to us more than once that among a group of people of whom all were dressed alike and very commonly, there would be one among them who would be pointed out to us as coming from a very well-known family or one that bore a title in Castile. Just how utile it is for the richer ones, who at first glance seem to live a life of mere idleness and redundancy, to associate with their fellow countrymen shows the widespread Enlightenment among the people.” (Humboldt 2013 [1801]: 66-67)

27.

1A, 1D:

[Differences between the levels of cultural romanization in different parts of the Basque Country:]

“Nafarroako beheko partea, erdi-hegoaldekoa, alegia, gehien latinizatu eta erromanizatu zena izan zen, *civitas* zeritzan hiriak ere sortuz: Cascante, Santacara edo *Pompaelo* bera. Eskabazioek biztanlegoa autoktonoa bazegoela agertzen dute, eta erromatarrekin bat egin zela jende hori. Bestalde, ekonomiaren aldetik, laborantza bulkatu bidenabar, erromatarrek bertan bizitzeko beren *villae*-ak ere sortu zituzten: Falces, Villafranca, Tuter, esaterako. Honek denak, oso erromani-

zazio bortitza eragin zuen lurralde hauetan. Iparraldean, berriz, ez da horrelakorik gertatzen (...)" (Pagola 1995: 256)

28.

1D, 2D:

"There was little social stratification in the Icelandic Commonwealth: there was no aristocracy, and the feudal system had no effect until after the annexation of Iceland by the Norwegian crown in the late thirteenth century. Although Christianity was accepted officially in 1000, the temporal power of the Church appears to have been less than elsewhere. (...) In short, institutional power seems in general to have been weak enough to allow informal kinds of social organization to flourish." (Milroy 1985: 376)

29.

1D:

"(...) *Domesday* suggests that some 5,000 Norman or French knights had been installed over England by 1086." (Iglesias 1987: 101)

30.

1D:

"(...) armies were often international organisations. The Spanish army in Netherlands, for example, included Englishmen, Irish, Germans and Italians." (Burke 2004: 129)

31.

1D:

"The seven historical Basque territories or provinces are Biscay (Bizkaia), Gipuzkoa, Alava (Araba), Navarre Nafarroa), Labourd (Lapurdi), Low Navarre and Soule (Zuberoa). The Basque Country's population is relatively high, slightly over 2,900,000." (Zuazo 1995: 5)

12.5. 1E

As described in chapter three, cell 1E provides information and brings together quotations that provide information on describing language attitudes and answers the question:

What is the situation at a certain place, at a certain time with regard to language opinions, attitudes, behaviours?

32.

1A, 1E415:

“in Philadelphia in the 1940s, for instance, it was U to refer to one’s ‘house’ and ‘furniture’, but non-U to call them ‘home’ and ‘furnishings’; U to feel ‘sick’, but non-U to feel ‘ill’.” (Burke 1993: 12)

33.

1B, 1E, 1A:

“I cannot forbear to tell, that at an inn of *Bayonne*, where I stopped three or four days, I met with two Biscayan maids, who, besides their own *Bascuense*, could speak, and very intelligibly, the *French* and *Spanish*, together with the *Gascoon dialect* that is spoken there, and understood throughout the *Landes* of *Bordeaux* and the *Pais de Bigorre*. The necessity that forces the females of Biscay to know more than one language, is far from impairing their beauty, as no new language can be learned without acquiring new ideas; and the more ideas a woman has, the more agreeable she will be.” (Baretti 1770: 6)

34.

1E:

“Basque Is a Richer, More Copious Language than Many Others

I will need much doctrine to demonstrate this point. Let us imagine first, that Basque is a poor language. Decorous, decent poverty is no shame, and is in fact more admirable than indecent, dirty wealth. And the cleanliness and decency of the Basque language is manifested far more clearly than in other languages, for she has her jewels so well ordered, so well placed, so beautifully set, that one can see nothing but harmony, good taste, imagination, and genius in any aspect of her construction; whereas in the others, we see only naste barraste, [or] “confusion” and shapeless heaps of what they call wealth.” (Larramendi 1745: jx in Madariaga 2006: 329)

35.

1E:

⁴¹⁵ What we are marking in section E in this case is not what Burke is saying (i.e. his opinion), but the attitudes and opinions accompanying two sets of uses in Philadelphia in the 1940s.

“Indeed, the Cantabrians, meaning by this name all those who speak the Biscayan language, are simple people well-known for their honesty.” (Cadalso [c. 1773-1774] 1827: 69).

36.

1E:

“In ancient India, rather than the gods being conceived as linguists, the language itself was considered a goddess.” (Joseph 1987: 164)

37.

1E, 1C:

“(…) the description of Chinese as one language with several dialects, and of Norwegian, Danish, and Swedish as three languages is more a reflex of nationalism and borders than the conclusion of descriptive linguistics” (Schniedewind 2013: 7)

38.

1E:

“The prestige attached to standardised, written varieties of language is associated with the belief that they are the most correct forms of the language, and that they are perhaps the most ‘beautiful’.” (Leith 1978 [1983]: 11)

39.

1E:

“(…) the 16th-century Slovenian Protestant writers modelled their ideas of language on the extant traditions, German, Latin, and, partly, Italian.” (Ahacic 2014: 285)

12.6. 2A

As described in chapter three, cell 2A provides information and brings together quotations that provide information on change in language use and answers the question:

How have things evolved with regard to language use?

40.

2A:

“Latin did not suddenly disappear at the end of the seventeenth or even the end of eighteenth century. It was still being spoken and written in some places and in some domains in the nineteenth century and even the twentieth.” (Burke 1993: 63)

41.

1A, 2A, 5A, 6A:

[Ulzurrun says that the Basque language is the historical language of Navarre, but as it disappears, he proposes to use it in court:]

“... que por ser el lenguaje cantábrico o vascongado el natural de Navarra, y tan antiguo que se presume lo trajo el patriarca Tubal a España y por ver que se pierde, habiendo de hacerse en Navarra por ambas causas, la debida estimación de él, se establezca [...] que en los Tribunales de dichos lugares donde hasta ahora se habla, se escriba y hable en Vascuence, y si de la sentencia dada se apelare a la Corte de Pamplona, se traslade el proceso en romance a costa del apelante”. (Ulzurrun 1662 in Irigaray 1974: 86).

42.

2A, 2B:

“Evolution of the number of Basque speakers in Navarre, 1587-1935

	Total population	Basque-speaking population	%
1587	150,000	97,000	64.7
1778	227,000	121,000	53.1
1863	299,654	90,344	30.1
1935	357,751	60,724	17

Source: for 1587 and 1778, own estimates; for 1863 and 1935, Erize Etxegarai, X. *op. cit.*, p. 84.” (Mikelarena 1991: 192)

43.

2A⁴¹⁶:

⁴¹⁶ In this example, we consider English as if it was Basque in our taxonomy, and French as if it was a “language other than Basque”.

“The relative status of the different languages and their functional range, especially those of English and French, clearly changed over the centuries, especially in regard to their main functions and domains. While the role of French became increasingly restricted to a small number of functions such as law in the late ME period, and English at the same time extended its functional range, Latin maintained its status as the High variety in most functions throughout the ME period (and well into Early Modern English, EModE).” (Schendl 2000: 77-78)

44.

2A, 2C:

“Though Hebrew itself had ceased to be spoken by 200 c.e., the Mishnah was codified about 230 c.e.” (Schniedewind 2013: 4)

45.

“it can be assumed that Basque or a closely related language was spoken in a much wider area than what the Basque Country occupies currently.” (Zuazo 1995: 6)

12.7. 2B

As described in chapter three, cell 2B provides information and brings together quotations that provide information on change in language competence and answers the question:

How have things evolved with regard to language competence?

46.

2A, 2B, 3B/D:

[Urkixo, using Lacombe’s words, describes the evolution of bilingualism in the Basque-speaking areas:]

“Que la ‘vieille langue ibère’ ait reculé depuis 1863, cela peut s’entendre de plusieurs manières. Il va sans dire d’abord qu’aucun village n’a cessé depuis quarante ans de parler basque : tout ce que l’on peut affirmer, c’est que le nombre de bilingues a considérablement augmenté. Mais, comme la population du pays basque s’est beaucoup accrue dans ces dernières années, on peut soutenir qu’il y

a à l'heure actuelle, plus de gens capables de comprendre et de parler [sic] l'*eskuara* qu'en 1868" (Urkixo 1910: 137-138).

47.

2B:

"It can be noted, however, that the process of language change has generally developed over three or four generations:

- The grandparents were monolingual Breton,
- the parents have been or are bilingual,
- children or grandchildren are monolingual French speakers." (Broudic 1995: 355)

48.

2B, 2A, 1E, 3B:

[Iztueta is critical with the situation in education: young Basque people going to study outside the Basque country forget the Basque language:]

"The son of ours who was away (studying) came home last night, very smart, in good health and extremely knowledgeable. He has completely forgotten his Basque" (Iztueta [1824] in Zalbide 2007a: 37)

49.

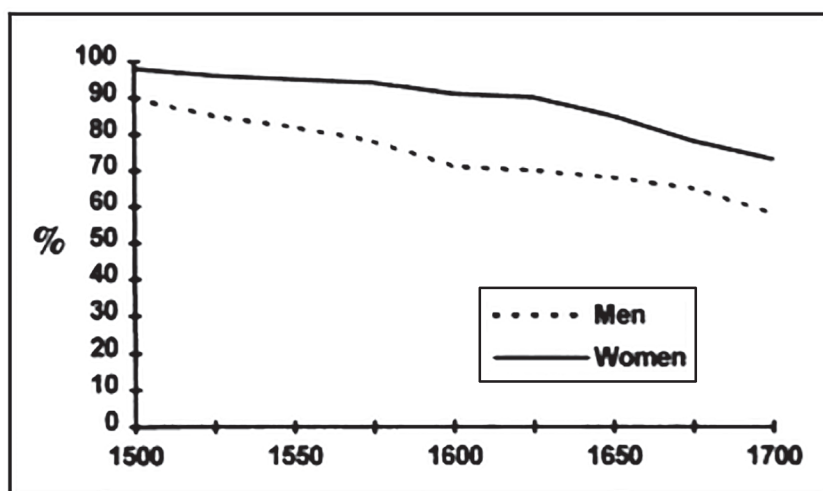
2B, 1B, 2A, 1A, 6B:

"Since the 1930s, Welsh has been taught in primary schools in the strongly Welsh-speaking areas, and since 1950 there have also been bilingual secondary ones. The Ministry of Education has approved a policy of bilingual education for all Welsh children, and it is as a teaching medium that the language is used over 650 schools in both urban and rural areas." (Leith 1978 [1983]: 180)

50.

2B:

Illiteracy in England (Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 1996: 21)



12.8. 2C

As described in chapter three, cell 2C provides information and brings together quotations that provide information on change in language-internal configuration and answers the question:

How have things evolved with regard to language-internal configuration?

51.

2C:

“Based on the data from the EModE section of the Helsinki Corpus, we found that within the non-sibilant verbs, the most frequent verbs started to change first. But once the infrequent verbs got started, they changed more quickly than the frequent verbs.

(...) Finally, we have shown that diffusion from site to site started in the North and proceeded slowly in the North-East Midlands, and then rapidly in more and more sites in the South-East Midlands towards London. We have also suggested that diffusion from word to word is slower than diffusion from speaker to speaker, but faster than diffusion from site to site.” (Ogura & Wang 1996: 131-132)

52.

2C, 3C:

[Mitxelena describes the evolution of Basque in South America and the birth of a new dialect:]

“Es natural, en efecto, que en países americanos por ejemplo, donde la colonia vasca, formada por individuos procedentes de distintas zonas dialectales, conservó o conserva la lengua durante varias generaciones, ésta evolucione hacia un sincretismo en el que se fundan elementos de oriundez diversa. La Koiné tenía un aire marcadamente occidental, entre vizcaíno y guipuzcoano, en el Perú en la medida en que podemos fiarnos del testimonio de unos versos, de valor poético nulo, publicados en Lima en 1761.” (Mitzelena 1961: 19)

53.

2C:

[Around 1712 Etxeberri says that Basque had not undergone any linguistic change during the last 150 years:]

“(…) so it is clear that for around one hundred and fifty years Basque has not undergone any change and that its pure nature has been maintained (…).” (Etxeberri 1907 [1712]: 15)

54.

2C, 3C, 1C:

“Old English, like other Indo-European languages, enlarged its vocabulary chiefly by a liberal use of prefixes and suffixes and an easy power of combining native elements into self-interpreting compounds. In this way the existing resources of the language were expanded at will and any new needs were met. In the centuries following the Norman Conquest, however, there is a visible decline in the use of these old methods of word formation.” (Baugh & Cable 1951: 177)

55.

2C:

“Although some occasional instances of *you* can be found to occur in the subject position from the fourteenth century onwards, they remain sporadic in Late Middle English. The correspondence corpus shows that the real breakthrough of the oblique form took place very rapidly between 1520 and 1600 (...). London clearly leads the change during its phase of acceleration. In the period 1520–1559, Londoners chose *you* instead of *ye* in over half of the instances of second-person subject pronouns while this was the case only in one fifth of the instances of the second person subjects in the North, and in 7% in East Anglia.” (Nevalainen 2000: 262-263)

56.

2C, 2A:

“French is the classic example of a language spread across the world by imperialistic expansion which nevertheless maintained a rather consistent monocentric standard” (Joseph 1987: 171)

12.9. 2D

As described in chapter three, cell 2D provides information and brings together quotations that provide information on change in societal features and answers the question:

How have things evolved with regard to social composition?

57.

2D:

[Demographic evolution of the Basque country between 1704 and 1797:]

“Demographic evolution in 18th century

As a first approach, (bear in mind the reliability of statistical data from that time is relative) I shall use the data from the following table⁴¹⁷:

Year	Biscay	Gipuzkoa	Navarre	Araba	Lapurdi	Low Navarre	Zuberoa
1704	77.426						
1718					69.505		
1724				64.500			
1725			156.487				
1745	93.990	91.700					
1747				64.600			
1778					70.000	35.968	16.718
1787			227.382				
1797	111.603	104.491		69.158			

(Sagarna 1984: 25).

⁴¹⁷ Lopez, Rafael; Agirreazkuenaga, Joseba; Basurto. Román; Mieza Rafael, *Historia de Euskal Herria* 2 tomo. Donostia, 1980. 106.

58.

2D:

“From the time of William the Bastard to King John, the King of England was also the duke of Normandy, and held Normandy as a fief from the king of France. Until about 1200, most of the higher nobility divided their time roughly equally between England and Normandy.” (Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 268)

59.

2D:

“Until the late Middle Ages the concept of England itself was a fragile one. The Anglo-Saxon kingdoms were often at war with each other, and for over two centuries they suffered militarily and politically at the hands of the Vikings.” (Leith 1978 [1983]: 8)

60.

2D:

“Table 2.2: Social and economic condition in England 1420-1680.

Before 1558**After 1558**

1. Demography

Gradual recovery after the catastrophic loss of population in the Black Death (...) (Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 1996: 21)

Rapid growth of population, with a decline after 1650 (...)”

61.

2D:

“Since the process of administrative decentralization was started in Spain (1979), the provinces of Alava, Gipuzkoa and Biscay have constituted the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country or Euskadi, whereas Navarre forms its own Autonomous Community. On the northern side of the Pyrenees, Labourd and Low Navarre have been integrated into the Arrondissement of Bayonne since 1926, whereas Zuberoa was separated from the former, being included in the Arrondissement of Oloron (Béarn).” (Zuazo 1995: 6)

12.10. 2E

As described in chapter three, cell 2E provides information and brings together quotations that provide information on change in language attitudes and answers the question:

How have things evolved with regard to language opinions, attitudes, behaviours?

62.

2E, 2A, 3A:

“In Italy, as in other parts of Europe, the attitude of the upper classes to regional dialects changed in the course of the early modern period. There are three main phases. The first phase is that of the unselfconscious use of dialect by nobles and scholars as well as everyone else. The second phase is one of deliberate ‘withdrawal’ by the upper classes from varieties of language (and indeed other forms of culture) which they were coming to associate with the lower elements in society. The third phase (...) is one of a rediscovery or reappraisal of dialect in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries, when peasant speech, like peasant costumes, came to be valued by the upper classes as symbols of the people or nation.” (Burke 1993: 82)

63.

2E, 3E:

“Fr. Villasante says the following about Fr. Larramendi in his “*Historia de la literatura Vasca*” (History of Basque Literature): ‘*Fr. Larramendi was the promoter who encouraged his compatriots and made them abandon the lethargy and indifference they showed with respect to the language*’.” (Sagarna 1984: 54).

64.

2E:

[Madariaga describes the evolution in thinking about the origin of the Basque language and its interest for Basque elites:]

“After the essentially Tubalist positions set by the first apologists, from Garibay to Agramont by way of Zaldibia and Sada, the seventeenth century saw a new generation of scholars who developed other, more nuanced theories. Arnaud Oihenart (1592–1668) marks a change in the arguments and strategy employed in defense of the Basque language. His position was that, in addition to its literary

and communicative value, the language possessed an intrinsic value in and of itself.” (Madariaga 2006: 131)

65.

2E, 3E:

“Also from 1100 to at least 1500 the French were culturally 50 to 100 years in advance of other Europeans, and any cultured person felt he should know French, even if he did not.”(Thaumason & Kaufman 1988: 269)

66.

2E:

“In Jewish tradition, the origins of Hebrew were decidedly sacred. Already by the late Second Temple period, Hebrew was understood to be the language of creation”. (Schniedewind 2013: 27-28)

12.11. 3A

As described in chapter three, cell 3A provides information and brings together quotations that provide information on the dynamics of change in language use and answers the question:

Why is what has happened (is happening) happened (happening) with regard to the evolution in language use?

67.

3A:

[Landazuri describes why the evolution of Basque in Araba has been negative: because priests don't know Basque and because Basques had to communicate with Castilian people.]

“Dos causas pudieran señalarse que han contribuido á esto [euskararen gainbehera Araban] principalmente. La primera, el haber entrado por Curas párrocos en los pueblos de Alava personas que ignoraban este idioma, ó que no hacian aprecio y caso de usar de él, pues si en los púlpitos hubieran explicado la doctrina christiana conforme lo hicieron sus antecesores y no en castellano, se hubiera conservado este idioma. (...)

La segunda causa que puede señalarse de la corrupcion del bascuence en Alava es el trato indispensable y frecuente con los Castellanos confinantes con ella.” (Landazuri 1798: 157-158)

68.

3A, 2A:

“The Visigoths of the Lower Danube area, for instance, were originally employed to regain what is now Spain from other Germanic adventurers; but as the collapse of Roman rule became imminent, they created their own Empire there. But Roman ways lived on. The Visigoths were rapidly Christianised. Above all, they adopted Latin; at first for writing, later in speech. It is their version of spoken Latin that forms the basis of the Spanish language.” (Leith 1978 [1983]: 16)

69.

2A, 3A:

“In Wales Anglicisation was begun in the sixteenth century by weaning the sons of noblemen away from their subjects by educating them in England. This removed the source of patronage for vernacular poetry and song, which subsequently became a culture of the folk.” (Leith 1978 [1983]: 165)

70.

3A/D:

“In 1538, to solidify the Auld Alliance between the two kingdoms, King James V of Scotland married a French princess, Marie de Guise (Mary of Lorraine). (...) For a good twenty years, then, in the middle of the sixteenth century, French influence in Scotland was paramount, and as we might expect, state papers from the time contain a large quantity of material in French.” (Leith 1978 [1983]: 16)

71.

3A/D:

“The decline and fall of the Roman Empire, which in this area took place during the second half of the third century of our era, undoubtedly worked in favor of the maintenance of Basque.” (Zuazo 1995: 7)

72.

3A, 2A:

“Quickly united under one leader, the Franks had been baptised before the end of the fifth century. With Christianity came Latinisation. Latin remained the language of administration and religion, and soon became the language of law. In the end the Franks, like Visigoths discarded their Germanic speech and adopted the spoken Latin of Gaul, the language that was to become French. It is probable that these two cases of language shift were led from above, by each ruling group.” (Leith 1978 [1983]: 16)

(See: 3A/ dimentsioen arteko harremana/ D; 3A/ zergatik: aldaketa-iturri xehea-D/ prozesu politiko-operatiboa; 3A/ zergatik: aldaketa-iturri xehea-D/ prozesu soziokulturala)

12.12. 3B

As described in chapter three, cell 3B provides information and brings together quotations that provide information on the dynamics of change in language competence and answers the question:

Why is what has happened (is happening) happened (happening) with regard to the evolution in language competence?

73.

1B, 2B, 3B:

[Authors of a sociolinguistic study of the Basque Country describe the impact of demographic changes on the evolution of the Basque language competence of the population:]

“Atzera begiratuz gero, ikusten da euskaldunen ehunekoak nabarmen egin duela gora azken 30 urteotan, 14,5 puntuko hazkundea izan baitu. Euskaldunak %21,9 ziren 1981ean eta %36,4 dira 2011n.

Dena dela, azken hamarkadan biztanleriaren joan-etorriek, atzerriko etorkinen hazkunde handiak eta oraingoek baino euskaldunen ehuneko handiagoa zuten jende nagusiaren heriotzak euskaldunen hazkundea moteldu egin du. Euskaldunen hazkundea 2001etik hona 4,2 puntukoa izan da.” (Eusko Jaurlaritz 2014: 29-30)

74.

2B, 3B, 6B:

“If they had taught him a little more in Basque before going to school, in spite of learning a new language, they [sic] would have kept their Basque, but by the time they get there the poor lads can neither read in Basque, nor do the shortest course, and, of course, instead of getting ahead in Basque alongside Spanish, he falls behind, further and further, as if half ashamed, like a person incapable of dealing with the topics that all other languages deal easily with.” (Lojendio 1956: 252)

75.

2A, 3A, 2B, 6B, 3E:

“One should note that Basque has been preserved precisely in those places where Spanish was already understood (villages of Gipuzkoa and Sakana) and that it has disappeared from many villages that were solely Basque speaking at that time; a fact which favours those who defend bilingualism, against those who proclaim that the population can not have two languages; indeed, by knowing Spanish, the troubles associated with speaking only in Basque disappear; and it is more difficult to end up hating the latter.” (Irigarai 1935: 620-621)

76.

3B, 2B:

“The provinces of Labourd, and especially Biscay, which received a great number of immigrants before the end of the last century, include a large number of people who are completely ignorant of the Basque language. In Navarre, and Alava, the loss of Basque took place mostly in the 18th and 19th centuries, before there was any significant immigration.” (Zuazo 1995: 5)

77.

3B 1A:

“A Roman beggar arrested in 1595 told the authorities that there would be a general meeting of beggars the following May ‘to change their slang [mutare il gergo di parlare]’ because outsiders had cracked their code.” (Burke 1981: 25)

12.13. 3C

As described in chapter three, cell 3C provides information and brings together quotations that provide information on the dynamics of change in language-internal configuration and answers the question:

Why is what has happened (is happening) happened (happening) with regard to the evolution in language-internal configuration?

78.

3C, 2C, 2D:

“The nobility and valor of the natives and original inhabitants of Gipuzkoa are well-known throughout the world, having survived from ancient times in their ancestral homes with great purity, unmixed with other foreign nations, as is evident in their Basque language, clothing, and style of life; and this is evidenced by the decrees, laws (these being confirmed by the Kings of Castile), privileges, escutcheons, and coats of arms, which the greatest and earliest won by their heroic feats and exploits in battles, so that finally, in recognition of their prosperous and felicitous actions, their heirs and descendants are honored and ennobled in memory of such deeds.” (Martínez de Isasti 1850 [1625]: 36 in Madariaga 2006: 270)

79.

2C, 3C, 1C:

“The productive power which these formative elements [English prefixes] once enjoyed has in many cases been transferred to prefixes like *counter-*, *dis-*, *re-*, *trans-*, and others of Latin origin. It is possible that some of them would have gone out of use had there been no Norman Conquest, but when we see their disuse keeping pace with the increase of the French element in the language and find them in many cases disappearing at the end of the Middle English period, at a time when French borrowings have reached their maximum, it is impossible to doubt that the wealth of easily acquired new words had weakened English habits of word formation.” (Baugh & Cable 1951: 178)

80.

2C, 3C, 3E

“In the middle Ages, Latin retained some of its ties to vernacular dialects until a reaction arose against the impurity thus introduced: this was the Carolingian Renaissance, which by making H more difficult to attain helped pave the way for the eventual creation of vernacular standards.”(Joseph 1987: 173)

81.

2C, 3C, 1A:

“The English of the Germanic tribespeople who first encountered the Celts of Britain was not the English of the Anglo-saxon kingdoms at the time of the Viking invasions. By that time English had a written form, and was beginning to

serve the functions of the developing institution of monarchy. The language had changed, that is to say, because it had been made to function in a different kind of society.” (Leith 1978 [1983]: 8)

82.

2C, 3C

“(...) the orthodox church of Asia Minor was partly responsible for the maintenance of a classical form of Greek between the ancient and modern period.” (Joseph 1987: 173)

83.

2C, 3C:

“A fact of special importance for the status and development of the language is the administrative division that the Basque-speaking community has traditionally known. The provinces of Labourd, Soule or Zuberoa and Low Navarre, on the one hand, and those of Alava, Gipuzkoa, Biscay and Navarre, on the other, have long been attached to the crowns of France and Spain respectively. Especially since 1659, the French-Spanish border has marked a deep division within the country.” (Zuazo 1995: 5-6)

84.

3C:

“We feel that the above three factors, that is, the small number of Basque speakers, its limited territory, and the administrative division that it has suffered, have determined and still determine in a decisive fashion the evolution of the Basque language.” (Zuazo 1995: 6)

85.

3C, 3D:

“It is clear that the efficient cause of the beginning of what we call the English language was arguably a sociolinguistic phenomenon: the invasion of England in the fifth and sixth centuries by Germanic tribes who brought with them their own culture, customs, and language. The society that these tribes initiated in England, influenced as it was by the remnants of the Roman occupation, by the scattered indigenous Celtic peoples, and by the geographic and political exigencies of the new environment, necessarily placed demands on communication different from those experienced on the Continent. These exigencies concomitantly shaped the

form and function of the dialects of Old English. Such sociolinguistic factors, indeed, contributed to English for the first time notions of linguistic prestige and the power of written language.” (Machan & Scott 1992: 19)

12.14. 3D

As described in chapter three, cell 3D provides information and brings together quotations that provide information on the dynamics of change in societal features and answers the question:

Why is what has happened (is happening) happened (happening) with regard to the evolution of social composition?

[As explained in the theoretical part of the book, in cell 3D only information about society, that is, pure social history, is included. Cases involving social factors AND language have to be included in the other sections of row 3 (3A, 3B, 3C and 3E).]

86.

2D, 3D:

[Sagarna explains why the Basque population didn't expand before the eighteenth century:]

“Before the 18th century, deaths caused by plagues or the emigration imposed by the poorness of the land and the limited development of trade and industry cancelled out increases in the population.” (Sagarna 1984: 26)

87.

3D:

“The inscriptional documentation from the Roman era which is found within the boundaries of the historical Basque Country is, however, insignificant. It is believed that this region's economic and cultural underdevelopment, along with a rough and mountainous terrain, made its conquest unappealing to the Roman Empire. Only some small enclaves of interest from a strategic point of view (military, commercial, communication routes, etc.) were under its control.” (Zuazo 1995: 6-7)

88.

2D, 3D:

“Regarding Navarre, it maintained its sovereignty as a separate kingdom until 1512, when it was annexed to the Castilian-Aragonese Crown, after a military intervention.” (Zuazo 1995: 9)

89.

3D:

“What we have described here is the continuity between Late Bronze and Iron Age scribal institutions, particularly those related to the Egyptian administration that dominated the southern Levant in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties (that is, the thirteenth and early twelfth centuries B.C.E.). The arrival of Sea Peoples in the early twelfth century B.C.E., however, is thought to mark a decisive cultural break throughout the Levant.” (Schniedewind 2013: 60)

12.15. 3E

As described in chapter three, cell 3E provides information and brings together quotations that provide information on the dynamics of change in language attitudes and answers the question:

Why is what has happened (is happening) happened (happening) with regard to the evolution in language opinions, attitudes, behaviours?

90.

2E, 3E:

“The death throes of the foral system, which was to disintegrate under a series of martial, judicial, and political attacks throughout the nineteenth century, as was the case in 1812, 1820, 1839, 1841, and 1876, coincided with a campaign to tarnish the prestige of Basque institutions and culture, and once again the language was to find itself in the eye of the storm. As the new political and administrative space of the liberal regimes were configured and the capitalist economic and social model was developed, the survival of the Basque language began to be looked upon as an anomaly, endearing in some cases, nostalgic in others, barely tolerable in the majority.” (Madariaga 2006: 157)

91.

2E, 3E:

“All the countries in western Europe, principally those in a more advanced stage in their nation-building process, engaged in the defense of their respective

languages. The noble origin, perfection, purity, and greatness of the national language was praised. The purpose was to place these languages at the same level as Latin.” (Zuazo 1995: 9)

92.

2C, 3C/E:

“The retention of *thou* in dialect may have been motivated by covert prestige. It is noteworthy that it is still heard in northern England where the desire to maintain a regional identity is strong.” (Leith 1978 [1983]: 109)

93.

3B/D, 3E/C, 3E/D, 3D/C, 3E/E/A, 3D/C:

“Several major social contexts shaped changes in the classical Hebrew over two millennia. First, the influence of the administrative structures of the Late Bronze city-states framed the learning of writing systems in the early Iron Age. Second, the rise of nationalism in Syria-Palestine would shape an individualization of the Northwest Semitic languages. Later, urbanization and the democratization of writing would cast Hebrew with a more popular hue. In the aftermath of the Babylonian exile, the colonialism of the Persian Empire would add an Aramaic tint to the Hebrew language. Resurgent nationalism in the Hasmonean and Roman periods would be accompanied by the ideological use of Hebrew as a symbol of the Jewish nation. Religious sectarianism and social-class distinctions would work themselves out in Qumran Hebrew and the emergence of Rabbinic Hebrew.” (Schniedewind 2013: 26)

12.16. 4A

As described in chapter three, cell 4A provides information and brings together quotations that provide information on the expected future language use and answers the question:

What type of future do we expect with regard to language use?

94.

4A:

“In less than a century, the Basque language might have disappeared from the number of living languages (...)” (Humboldt 1979 [1801]: 14 in Madariaga 2006: 505)

95.

4A:

“But God wants Basque to survive to save the souls of our purest and yet neediest. While there are honest farmers in our farmhouses, Basque will survive.” (Kardaberaz 2004 [1761]: 22 in Madariaga 2006: 369)

96.

4A:

[As Vinson had said Basque will soon disappear, Bonaparte answers that this language will live for many centuries:]

“Tout fait prévoir la mort prochaine de l’*escuara* ou euscara», continue M. Vinson. Rien n’indique, répondons-nous, que le basque ait envie de mourir. Cette langue (...) continuera à vivre pour des siècles (...)” (Bonaparte 1877: 6)

97.

4B:

[Alustiza affirms that a young priest who doesn’t know Basque has been appointed in Mezkiriz and he claims that because of that within fifteen years Basque will disappear from this area:]

“Une ontan Naparroko Erro deritzaion baillara ederra datorkit burura. Baillara guztian erri bakarra degu euskeraz mintzaten dana: Mezkiriz deritzaion errixka. (Luzaide edo Valcarlos ezteztartean sartzen, Espainiarako baiño Frantziarako joera aundiago baidu). Mezkiriz euskeraz ari da oraindik. Apaiz euskaldun bat izan dualako beti. Zaar bat zan nik azkenekoz ezagutu nuana. Il zan gizarajoa. Entzun detanez, euskerarik ezteztakian gazte bat etorri zaio atzetik. Ta egingo nuke, amabost urteen buruan, irentsi duala ango euskera ederra.” (Alustiza 1961: 280)

12.17. 4B

As described in chapter three, cell 4B provides information and brings together quotations that provide information on the expected future language competence and answers the question:

What type of future do we expect with regard to language competence?

98.

4A, 4B, 4D⁴¹⁸

“Sooner or later, the Basque Countries on both sides of the Pyrenees, completely crisscrossed in every direction by lines of communication, will belong to foreigners as much as to the natives themselves, and the latter, obliged to learn two languages at once, will end up abandoning the one that is least useful.” (Reclus 1867: 329 in Madariaga 2006: 632)

99.

4B:

“But the time is not far off when all Mauritian men and women will have a good knowledge of creole” (Stein 1982: 276)

12.18. 4C

As described in chapter three, cell 4C provides information and brings together quotations that provide information on the expected future language-internal configuration and answers the question:

What type of future do we expect with regard to language-internal configuration?

100.

4C:

[According to the authors the Basque language does not have the lexicon of the most developed languages. The Basque language will create it from its own word stock without using the Greek language as other European languages have done:]

“Nuestra lengua patria, en su estado actual, no puede expresar castizamente todas las ideas que los idiomas cultos expresan. Necesitamos cientos y aun miles de neologismos. El euskera los formará de su propia sustancia, sin acudir al

⁴¹⁸ In this example we have the following case: why what will happen will happen. 4D influences 4B and subsequently 4A.

griego, como es costumbre inveterada de los idiomas europeos”. (Campion & Broussain 1920: 17)

101.

4C:

“(…) Many young people in the Tolosa area believe that just as *noka* (marking main verbs to indicate a female interlocutor) is on the point of disappearing, *toka* (similar markings for male interlocutors) will also go the same way.” (Ozaita 2014: 86)

102.

4C, 6C:

“The unified language will be richer, more beautiful and perfect than each one of the dialects or it will die as soon as it is born.” (Campion & Broussain 1920: 13)

12.19. 4D

As described in chapter three, cell 4D provides information and brings together quotations that provide information on the expected future societal features and answers the question:

What type of future do we expect with regard to social composition?

103.

4A, 4D:

“If the Basques have a bishop who speaks their language, a municipal council and parishioners who speak their language, pastoral missions, sermons and books in their language, they will identify with it more and more. They will try to extend it throughout the boundaries of the three provinces, winning back the lost ground and making it their national language; (...)” (Barbagero 1861 in Madariaga 2006: 605)

104.

4D:

“I am convinced that some day nationalism will combine idealism and realism harmoniously, and will produce a superior man to represent it (...) (Campion 1908: 28)

105.

4D:

“Undoubtedly, this Basque unity tends to grow smaller and will finally disappear. Great states must absorb small ones; that is the law of history and of nature.” (Hugo 1890: 62 in Madariaga 2006: 571)

106.

4D:

“(…) it is probable that the Spanish Basque will lose, as a consequence of this last war [the second Carlist War], what remains of his ancient privileges, which are in any case incompatible with the demands of modern legislation.” (Derreagaix 1876 in Madariaga 2006: 625)

12.20. 4E

As described in chapter three, cell 4E provides information and brings together quotations that provide information on the expected future language attitudes and answers the question:

What type of future do we expect with regard to language opinions, attitudes, behaviours?

107.

4E:

“Basque language, go forth into the world!

You were considered the least of languages; but now, you will be honored among all others.”(Detxepare 1545 in Madariaga 2006: 182)

108.

4E:

“All men respect the Basques, although they do not understand their language. Now everyone will know the Basque language.”(Detxepare 1545 in Madariaga 2006: 182)

109.

4E, 5B:

“[...] I hope that many wise men, not fellow countrymen, will learn our Basque language in all earnest and thoroughly. Such people would give an impartial and well-founded vote on the wealth or poverty, the eloquence or the coarseness of Basque. Until then everything will be problematic: the Basque speaker praising it will be considered partisan; and the uncomprehending scornful critic, a poor witness. (...)”. (Mogel in *Memorial Histórico Español*, 1834: 703)

12.21. 5A

As described in chapter three, cell 5A provides information and brings together quotations that provide information on language use contrasted with ideal and answers the question:

a) Where are we headed (4) and where would we like to be headed with regard to language use?

b) Where are we (1) and where would we like to be with regard to language use?

110.

4A, 5A, 2A:

“I do not wish to be a prophet of doom, and for me the extinction of Euskara is a terrible disaster, but I do not see how she can survive another century of encroachment by the Spanish language; let us see if she even lasts until the end of this century, because the speed with which she was obliterated in Araba was truly frightening.” (Irizar y Moya 1841: 34 in Madariaga 2006: 567)

111.

5A, 1B, 1A:

“The person introducing this topic arrived at the following conclusion: ‘The Spanish Basque-Navarrese nation numbers approximately eight-hundred thousand inhabitants, of whom six hundred thousand speak Castilian, a relatively small number of these speak Basque as well, while the remaining two hundred thousand speak only Euskara. An effort should be made, therefore, not to impose the Basque language on the six hundred thousand Basque-Navarrese citizens, but to teach the smaller group to speak Castilian.’” (Soraluce 1879: 3 in Madariaga 2006: 612)

112.

5A:

“So, gentlemen priests, I ask you please to continue distributing books in Basque and giving sermons in good quality Basque for their benefit (...)” (Baertel 1895: 7)

113.

5A, 1A, 6A:

“The fear of what we now call ‘language death’ was expressed on a number of occasions in the Middle Ages. In 1295, Edward I of England claimed that the King of France planned to invade England and ‘wipe out the English language’. At the end of the fourteenth century, according to the chronicler Adam of Usk, the King of England considered ‘a decree for the destruction of the Welsh language’ (*decretum destructionis lingue wallicae*). In similar fashion, a Polish chronicler recorded the story that the knights of the Teutonic Order intended ‘to exterminate the Polish language’. Again, speeches in the English parliament in the fourteenth century –ironically enough, delivered or at least recorded in French– claimed that the French wanted ‘to annihilate the whole nation and the English language’ (*aneantir tote la nation et la langue Engleys*). (Burke 2004: 16)

114.

5A, 1A:

“Similar ideas were expressed in seventeenth-century England, especially during the civil wars, when the use of Latin in the universities and French in the law courts was denounced by radicals such as the clergyman William Dell, the shoemaker Samuel How, author of *The Sufficiency of the Spirits Teaching* (1639) and the Digger leader Gerrard Winstanley.” (Burke 2004: 17)

115.

1E, 2E, 2A, 4A, 5A:

“a sure sign of this advance of French in the countryside close round the towns is the feeling of shame that those who do not speak it begin to experience. We were struck by this on a farm near Quimper where only one man about thirty-five years old was unable to express himself in the French language, while his wife and children had no difficulty in keeping up a conversation. As we asked him the reason, he replied to us in Breton that ‘he was the only idiot in the family’.” (Baudrillart 1885 quoted in Broudic 1995: 298)⁴¹⁹

⁴¹⁹ Baudrillart appears pleased with the dynamics (Breton is declining, soon to disappear), but not with the situation at that moment (Breton was still surviving).

12.22. 5B

As described in chapter three, cell 5B provides information and brings together quotations that provide information on language competence contrasted with ideal and answers the question:

a) Where are we headed (4) and where would we like to be headed with regard to language competence?

b) Where are we (1) and where would we like to be with regard to language competence?

116.

4B, 5B, 4D:

[Grégoire explains why it is essential that all French people know French for the correct functioning of the republic:]

“Tous les membres du souverain sont admissibles à toutes les places; il est à désirer que tous puissent successivement les remplir, et retourner à leurs professions agricoles ou mécaniques. Cet état de choses nous présente l’alternative suivante: si ces places sont occupées par des hommes incapables de s’énoncer, d’écrire dans la langue nationale, les droits des citoyens seront-ils bien garantis par des actes dont la rédaction présentera l’impropriété des termes, l’imprécision des idées, en un mot tous les symptômes de l’ignorance? Si au contraire cette ignorance exclut des places, bientôt renaîtra cette aristocratie qui jadis employait le patois pour montrer son affabilité protectrice à ceux qu’on appelait insolemment *les petites gens*. Bientôt la société sera infectée de *gens comme il faut*; la liberté des suffrages sera restreinte, les cabales seront plus faciles à nouer, plus difficiles à rompre, et, par le fait, entre deux classes séparées s’établira une sorte de hiérarchie. Ainsi l’ignorance de la langue compromettrait le bonheur social ou détruirait l’égalité.” (Grégoire 1794 in Certeau, Julia, Revel 1975: 335)

117.

5B, 1B, 1D:

[Grégoire explains why Basques should learn French:]

“Une langue sonore et imagée est regardée comme le sceau de leur origine et l’héritage transmis par leurs ancêtres. Mais ils ont des prêtres, et les prêtres se servent de leur idiome pour les fanatiser; mais ils ignorent la langue française et la langue des lois de la République. Il faut donc qu’ils l’apprennent, car, malgré la différence de langage et malgré leurs prêtres, ils sont dévoués à la République

qu'ils ont déjà défendue avec valeur le long de la Bidassoa et sur nos escadres.” (Barère 1794 in Certeau, Julia, Revel 1975: 324)

118.

5B, 1A:

“The importance and even urgent necessity that exists to teach the Castilian language in the schools of Gipuzkoa is universally acknowledged today” (Eguren 1867 in Madariaga 2006: 627)

12.23. 5C

As described in chapter three, cell 5C provides information and brings together quotations that provide information on language-internal configuration contrasted with ideal and answers the question:

a) Where are we headed (4) and where would we like to be headed with regard to language internal configuration?

b) Where are we (1) and where would we like to be with regard to language internal configuration?

119.

5C, 1C:

“If as many books had been written in Euskara as in Latin, French, or other foreign languages, Euskara would also be as rich and perfect as they, and if this has not happened, it is the Basques themselves who are to blame, not Euskara.” (Pedro de Axular 1643: 224)

120.

5C, 1C:

“If the Basque language is not to die, if the Basque language is to develop, if the Basque language is not to renounce the possibility of a rich literature, then the existence of a *grammar* is essential (...). Well then, in Spain (...)” (Lopez 1884: 498-499)

121.

5C:

“In early fifteenth-century Bohemia, the religious reformer Jan Hus was worried by the influence of German on Czech and tried to defend his native language.” (Burke 2004: 16)

122.

5C, 1C:

“As in the later Middle Ages, there were comments on the poverty of the vernaculars by comparison with Latin. In the case of Polish, a native speaker referred in 1566 to the ‘poverty’ of the language (*niedostatek*), while the poet Szymon Szymonowic expressed his regret for what he called ‘the acute lack of words among us’”. (Burke 2004: 17-18)

123.

5C:

“Christian Gueintz, a German superintendent of schools, declared in 1641 that ‘The perfection of the German language is so great that virtually nothing can be discovered that cannot be named in this language’”. (Burke 2004: 18)

12.24. 5D

As described in chapter three, cell 5D provides information and brings together quotations that provide information on societal features contrasted with ideal and answers the question:

a) Where are we headed (4) and where would we like to be headed with regard to social composition?

b) Where are we (1) and where would we like to be with regard to social composition?

124.

5D:

“It is a pain, gentlemen, a veritable pain [to observe] the travels of Basque students forced to leave their homeland, their home, their family and their friends, to go to distant cities where they will not study the actual pressing questions of their country which will subsequently occupy them during their professional activity.” (Esteban Bilbao in Agirrebaltzategi 2006: 71)

125.

5A, 5D, 2A, 1A, 6D:

“The Irish language holds the history, the feelings, the thoughts, the culture of our people for the past 2,000 years. It is the continuing - but weakening - influence of that culture which the Irish language represents, that still gives us something of a national personality. But this will not last long should the language be completely lost. We are too close to England, and the Anglo-American language and culture is too all-pervasive for us to preserve a separate identity without the Irish language.” (O’Maolchraoibhe 1984: 3 in Crowley 1996: 191)”

126.

5D:

“Equality of customs and traditions: this is the principle being evoked at this moment for political annexations in violation of all law and justice, and by that same token differences in traditions and customs could be invoked as justification for separation. So instead of maintaining this difference of customs among the Basque peoples with respect to those of Castile and Navarre, efforts should be made to extend good customs and eradicate bad ones in all of the provinces (...)” (Barbagero 1861 in Madariaga 2006: 625)

127.

5D.

“we perceive the constitutional system practiced to date is not so bad; the unitarian or federal republic that has been posited following the course of modern ideas which, godless and arrogant as they are, endeavor to place paltry human reason above a Supreme Being, the lord of all creation, seems to us to be even worse.” (Jausoro 1872 in Madariaga 2006: 648)

12.25. 5E

As described in chapter three, cell 5E provides information and brings together quotations that provide information on language attitudes contrasted with ideal and answers the question:

a) Where are we headed (4) and where would we like to be headed with regard to language opinions, attitudes, behaviours?

b) Where are we (1) and where would we like to be with regard to language opinions, attitudes, behaviours?

128.

5E:

“The French no longer respect their language because they are no longer proud of themselves nor of their country. They no longer love themselves, and as they no longer love themselves, they no longer love what was the instrument of their glory.” (Druon 2004 in Aquino, Cotelli, Kristol 2009: 138)

129.

5E:

“(…) See what love all the other peoples of the world show to their nation and towards the language passed on by their mother. From that you will see that it is the task of each person to know, honour and develop the language given as a treasure by birth.” (Etxeberri 1907 [1712]: 82)

130.

5E, 1A:

“For this reason, these flower games [literary festival] which are now being held in Irún, just as they have previously been held in other places in the Basque Country, should be regarded sympathetically by the Navarrese, who cannot forget that Basque was the common language of this ancient kingdom and is even today spoken by thousands of its inhabitants.” (*Diario de Navarra* 1903 in Erize 1997: 413)

12.26. 6A

As described in chapter three, cell 6A provides information and brings together quotations that provide information on language status planning and answers the question:

What must be done, to protect what is right or correct what is wrong with regard to language use?

131.

1A, 6A:

“(…) the president and fellows of Queen’s College Cambridge enjoined the undergraduates to speak Latin in hall at dinner and supper. In Harvard College in the seventeenth century, the use of English was prohibited within the college precincts.” (Burke 1993: 48)

132.

6A, 1A:

“We establish, and order, that the lord Bishops, our successors, should have printed each year primers of Christian Doctrine in the Romance language and in the Basque language, according to the custom of the aforementioned provinces, so that the Priests have primers in the language corresponding to each Province (...)” (Lepe 1700: 126-127).

133 .

6A, 1B:

“Of the manner of carrying out the reception of information, and proof in criminal cases.

[...]

And if the witnesses are Basque speakers who do not know the Spanish language, he should examine them and receive their witness, with another Receiver and interpreter.” (*Fueros, Privilegios, Franquezas y Libertades del M. N. y M. L. Señorío de Vizcaya*, Bilbao: Imprenta de la Biblioteca Bascongada, 1897, Ley II del Título noveno, 65 or. in Urrutia 2011: 532)

134.

1A, 6A, 1B:

[Permission to translate into Basque the decrees of the National Assembly at the beginning of the French Revolution:]

“Vous avez reçu, M., une lettre de M. Le Controleur Général en date du 10 de ce mois qui vous autorise à faire imprimer les decrets de l’Assemblée Nationale en langue basque suivant l’idée que vous en aviez donnée pour mettre les peuples de Navarre en état d’entendre ces décrets. (Goihenetxe 1983: 254)

135.

6A:

“In no theatre in Spain will it be permitted to play, sing or dance pieces which are not in the Castilian language” (“Instructions for the [proper] order of theatres and comic companies outside the Court” [1801] in Ferrer 1985: 60)

136.

6A, 6D:

“Highland involvement with the Stuart Pretenders to the throne stimulated the most ruthless repression of clan life, customs, and language, by forces loyal to the crown. After the rising in 1745 the clans were crushed militarily, their weapons confiscated, and their language proscribed.” (Leith 1978 [1983]: 177)

137.

6A:

“This is not to say that the language question was of no political interest in the 16th and 17th centuries; on the contrary, Cosimo de’Medici, the first Grand Duke of Tuscany, took a strong interest in the promotion of Tuscan, which he seems to have regarded as a source of prestige for his regime.” (Burke 1981: 29)

138.

6A:

[Act of Union of England and Wales. 1536:]

“from hensforth no personne or personnes that use the Welsshe speche or language shall have or enjoy any maner office or fees within the Realm of Englonde Wales or other the Kinges dominions upon peyn of forfaiting the same offices or fees onles he or they use and exercise the spech or langage of Englissh”. (Machan & Scott 1992: 22)

139.

6A:

“These by-Laws, which date back to 1349, explicitly prohibited using Basque (as well as Arabic and Hebrew) in the markets of this town (Lleida).” (Zuazo 1995: 8)

140.

6A:

“All the Basque ‘literature’ of this time [16th and 17th centuries] is reduced to poor and stiff translations of Castilian books for religious instruction, sometimes written at the express orders of the ecclesiastic authority in fulfilment of the agreement reached at the Council of Trent (1545-1563).” (Zuazo 1995: 10)

12.27. 6B

As described in chapter three, cell 6B provides information and brings together quotations that provide information on language acquisition planning and answers the question:

What must be done, to protect what is right or correct what is wrong with regard to language competence?

141.

6A, 6B, 1B, 1A:

[Prohibition for some towns on attending the Annual General Meeting of 1613 because their representatives cannot read or write in Castilian:]

“Tampoco asistieron las Villas y Ciudad á la Junta general convocada para el 10 de Diciembre [de 1613], en la cual se ordenó que en adelante no fuesen admitidos como procuradores de las Anteiglesias los que no supiesen leer y escribir en romance “para que mejor se gobierne la república;” (Monreal 1974: 346)

142.

6A, 6B:

“The Head Chaplain of the Regiment *must know the Basque language*”, [Navarre 1662-1665] (Jimeno Jurío 1997: 124)

143.

6B, 6D:

“Primary schools will be set up throughout the territory of the Republic. Teaching will be carried out in the French language.” (1794-11-17 decree in Torrealdai 1998: 28)

144.

1A, 6B, 6D:

“[The Prefect is requesting a school be opened in Saint-Jean-Pied-de-Port to] assist with the penetration of the French language into the Basque Country” (Préfet, 1819 in Torrealdai 1998: 32)

145.

6A, 6B:

“(...) there is documentary evidence, dating back to 1613, that the Biscayan General Assembly (the highest political organism in the province) required the knowledge of Castilian as a necessary condition for election. The same was required of the Alavese representatives, according to a 1682 document.” (Zuazo 1995: 10)

146.

6A, 6B:

“(..) the foundation around 1960 of an educational system in the Basque language known as the *ikastola* must be emphasized. This educational system functioned in tandem with the official one and followed language immersion techniques.” (Zuazo 1995: 21)

147.

1B, 6A, 1A, 2B, 3B, 6B:

“As the mother tongue was not fostered at the higher levels of education, some educated Slovenians even came to forget it.” (Ahacic 2014: 285)

12.28. 6C

As described in chapter three, cell 6C provides information and brings together quotations that provide information on language corpus planning and answers the question:

What must be done, to protect what is right or correct what is wrong with regard to language-internal configuration?

148.

6C:

“(...) others will concern themselves with polishing and cultivating the Basque language, or with compiling the most unusual and select material written in it, both in prose and in verse, and with perfecting Basque poetry (...)” (*Statutes of the Sociedad Bascongada de los Amigos del país, according to the Agreement of its Assembly in Vitoria, in April 1765*, in Sagarna 1984: 56).

149.

6C, 1E, 1A:

“At a time, the 1520s, when the high style of literary Italian was being codified (by a Venetian, Pietro Bembo), the use of dialect may also express a critique of this high style, an anti-language for an anti-Renaissance.” (Burke 1981: 28)

150.

6C.

“Leizarraga’s translation reflects a surprisingly elaborated type of language that, although based on the Labourdin coastal dialect (different from the author’s own dialect), contains elements from other varieties. The goal was to be understood by as many readers as possible. This is, thus, the first attempt to codify and standardize the Basque language, something unthinkable in the southern provinces until well into the 18th century. In the south, each author used the dialect of the narrow setting of his own place of origin, and, regarding spelling norms, absolute anarchy ruled whenever the norms of Castilian were not suitable for representing Basque sounds.” (Zuazo 1995: 12)

151.

6C, 6B.

“The introduction of Basque into education, as well as a literary boom in almost all its genres, demanded the urgent elaboration of a model of standard language. This model, known as *euskara batua* or Unified Basque, was finally presented in 1968 under the auspices of the Academy of the Basque Language.” (Zuazo 1995: 22)

152.

6C, 6D:

“Spelling can also have an ideological component. As an example, it is worth recalling Noah Webster’s justification for spelling reform in American English in 1789: ‘As an independent nation, our honor requires us to have a system of our own, in language as well as government’”. (Schniedewind 2013: 11)

12.29. 6D

As described in chapter three, the 6D cell provides information and brings together quotations that provide information on planning for societal features and answers the question:

What must be done, to protect what is right or correct what is wrong with regard to social composition?

153.

6D, 1C:

[Reasons not to join the French Basque provinces with other regions:]

[1789]. “LII.- La position de ce pays, l’ingratitude du sol, qui produit à peine le grain nécessaire pour la consommation de quatre mois de l’année, le caractère des habitants, leur langue inintelligible pour tous ceux qui ne sont pas nés Basques, tout fait désirer à cette Nation fidèle et soumise de n’être réunie à aucune des provinces voisines, qui toutes plus riches qu’elle auroient de la peine à croire à sa pauvreté.» (Iturbide 1912: 106).

154.

6D:

“1. Members of religious orders need to be sensitive and attentive to grasp the cultural values of minority and marginal groups in the societies where they live, so as to pursue their human development and complete liberation from within their cultural identity.” (Euskal Erlijiosoen Batzarra 1979: 1)

155.

6D:

“For these reasons, which the Government of His Majesty will be able to appreciate appropriately, the creation of an Episcopal see in Vitoria, or in any other place in the provinces from which the title of “Basque Bishop” can originate, is not to be recommended.” (Barbagero 1861 in Madariaga 2006: 606)

12.30. 6E

As described in chapter three, cell 6E provides information and brings together quotations that provide information on planning for language attitudes and answers the question:

What must be done, to protect what is right or correct what is wrong with regard to language opinions, attitudes, behaviours?⁴²⁰

156.

6E, 5E:

“If teachers have never needed to be aseptic and cold in the matter of Basque, it is even less the case at the present time.” (*Gazteak eta euskara* 2000: 20)

157.

6E, 5E:

[Author claims that language motivations are to be planned to have a higher use of the Basque]

“Motibazioa ez da erraz lortzen diren ezaugarrietako bat, baina, sinbolikoa izan – norberaren identitatearekin lotua- edo pragmatikoa izan, behar-beharrezkoa da euskararentzako erabilera-eremuak irabazi nahi badira. Motibazioa, bestalde, sendotu daiteke, sentsibilizazio saioen eta berariazko prestakuntzaren bitartez. Jarduera horiek plan honetako ekintza zehatzen artean jaso eta garatzen dira. Ikaste prozesuarekin eta hizkuntzaren erabilerarekin batera motibazioak elkar elikatzen duten osagaien oinarritzko triangelu bat osatzen du. (Eusko Jaurlaritza 2012: 15)

158.

6E:

[A politician explains that attitudes about Basque language are being planned and how they are planned]

“En la presentación de esta mañana en Donostia, el Viceconsejero de Política Lingüística Patxi Baztarrika ha señalado que este año 2008, “se da continuidad a la línea marcada en 2007 reflejada en el lema “Pixka bat es mucho” con el objetivo de transmitir que el euskera es cercano, amable y accesible, empleando mensajes sencillos y directos a través de una estética y soportes de comunicación actuales y atractivos. Este año, Ukan va a por el público, no espera a que vengan. Tratamos de que el euskera guste a todo el mundo empleando sus códigos y soportes”. “Y lo conseguimos -ha añadido- con una puesta en escena novedosa: un

⁴²⁰ The examples for this cell are mostly more modern than the historical limits taken into consideration by SHB. This happens because attitude planning is a fairly recent development; it has been taken into account in the model because instances could occur in the past.

videoclip. A través de un grupo y una canción con una letra en torno al significado de “Pixka bat es mucho”, una música fresca, fácil de recordar y cantar. Contagiosa. Una canción para el verano”. (Gazteukera 2008)

159.

6C, 6E, 6D:

“A famous example is Turkey’s adoption of the western alphabet in 1928, not only a symbol of westernization but a powerful means of cutting the Turks off from their Ottoman past.” (Burke 1993: 32)

13. GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

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15. APPENDIX

15.1. Example of quotation



EHS
AIPU-FITXA / QUOTATION RECORD

Aipua / Quotation:

"Que el Capellan Mayor de este Tercio *ha de saber la lengua bascongada y, caso de que no la sepa, no le ha de pagar su sueldo ni parte alguna de el*".

Testuingurua / Context:

Instrucciones dadas al pagador de los soldados navarros enviados a la guerra de Cataluña en 1653.

Oharra / Note:

Sortze-data / Created: 2011-08-17

15.2. Dimensions and analytical parameters table

			DIMENSIONS				
			A: Language use	B: Language competence	C: Language structure	D: Societal features	E: Language opinions- attitudes- behaviours
ANALYTICAL PARAMETERS	1	Descriptive	1A - Describing language use	1B - Describing language competence	1C - Describing language structure	1D - Describing societal features	1E - Describing language attitudes
	2	Kinetic	2A - Change in language use	2B - Change in language competence	2C - Change in language structure	2D - Change in societal features	2E - Change in language attitudes
	3	Dynamic	3A - Dynamics of change in language use	3B - Dynamics of change in language competence	3C - Dynamics of change in language structure	3D - Dynamics of change in societal features	3E - Dynamics of change in language attitudes
	4	Prospective	4A - Expected future language use	4B - Expected future language competence	4C - Expected future language structure	4D - Expected future societal features	4E - Expected future language attitudes
	5	Contrastive	5A - Language use contrasted with ideal	5B - Language competence contrasted with ideal	5C - Language structure contrasted with ideal	5D - Societal features contrasted with ideal	5E - Language attitudes contrasted with ideal
	6	Prescriptive	6A - Language status planning	6B - Language acquisition planning	6C - Language corpus planning	6D - Planning for societal features	6E - Planning for language attitudes

15.3. Fundamental questions answered by analytical parameters and cells

			DIMENSIONS				
			A: Language use	B: Language competence	C: Language structure	D: Societal features	E: Language opinions- attitudes- behaviours
ANALYTICAL PARAMETERS	1	What is the situation at a certain place, at a certain time?	With regard to language use	With regard to language competence	With regard to language structure	With regard to societal features	With regard to language opinions-attitudes-behaviours
	2	How have things evolved?	With regard to language use	With regard to language competence	With regard to language structure	With regard to societal features	With regard to language opinions-attitudes-behaviours
	3	Cause: Why is it happening, why has it happened? Effect: What is the consequence of each evolution on the second parameter in the other four dimensions? Covariation: Covariation, co-occurrences and other covariation phenomena	With regard to the evolution in language use	With regard to the evolution in language competence	With regard to the evolution in language structure	With regard to the evolution in societal features	With regard to the evolution in language opinions-attitudes-behaviours
	4	What type of future do we expect?	With regard to language use	With regard to language competence	With regard to language structure	With regard to societal features	With regard to language opinions-attitudes-behaviours
	5	Where are we headed (4) and where would we like to be headed? (Where would we like to be and where are we (1)?): (dis) agreement between the two	With regard to language use	With regard to language competence	With regard to language structure	With regard to societal features	With regard to language opinions-attitudes-behaviours
	6	What must be done, to protect what is right or correct what is wrong? What has been done?	With regard to language use	With regard to language competence	With regard to language structure	With regard to societal features	With regard to language opinions-attitudes-behaviours

15.4. Taxonomy for the Social History of Basque: list of concepts

Taxonomy proposal for the sociology of language research				
TABLE OF CONTENTS				
EHS	SOCIO-HISTORICAL SETTING		pages 482-483	
	LANGUAGE BEHAVIOUR		pages 484-485	
	ANALYTICAL PARAMETER	1. analytical parameter		pages 486-492
		2. analytical parameter		pages 493-496
		3. analytical parameter		page 497
		4. analytical parameter		pages 498-499
		5. analytical parameter		page 500
6. analytical parameter		pages 501-505		
FEATURES OF QUOTATION		Monograph, Nature of quotation, Language mentioned in quotation, Language of quotation	page 506	
DATA-STRENGTH			page 507	
Socio-historical setting	When	Period discussed: date of beginning	<i>Value</i>	
		Period discussed: date of ending	<i>Value</i>	
	Type and quantity of speakers	Social attributes	Age	
			Gender	
			Social stratification	
			Other	
		Proportion and number of speakers	Absolute number	
			Basque/non-Basque proportion	
			Basque demographic concentration	
			Other	
	Geographical position	Geolinguistic position	Basque-speaking area	
			Non-Basque-speaking area	
			Other	
		Administrative demarcation	Civil demarcation	<i>Value</i>
			Religious demarcation	
			Other	Judicial demarcation
Other demarcation				
		Unlocated statement		

Socio-historical setting	Ecological demarcation	Sedentary life-style	Without migratory movement		
			With migratory movement	Emigration/ diaspora	Basque retention without learning/using the host language
					Basque retention plus learning/using the host language
					Full ethnolinguistic assimilation, full debasquisation
				Immigration	Language retention without learning/using Basque
					Language retention plus Basque learning/ using
		Full ethnolinguistic assimilation, full Basquisition			
		Mobile life-style	Transhumance-transtermitance		
			Long-distance trading		
			Sea and land transport		
			Higher studies place		
			Temporarily working away		
	Other				
	Diaspora				
	Urban/rural dichotomy	Urban			
		Rural			
	Ager/Saltus dichotomy	Ager			
		Saltus			
	Other				
	Sociofunctional position	Domain	Authorities and administration		
			Leisure and sport		
			Religion		
			Home and family		
			Neighbourhood: friends and acquaintances		
Mass media					
Education					
Work sphere					
Trading					
Other					
Role relationships					
Language status: H/L					

Language behaviour				
Language behaviour	MEDIA	OVERTNESS	STYLE	
	General, undetermined	<i>Table A</i>		
	Listening	General, undetermined	<i>Table A</i>	
		From known sender	General, undetermined	<i>Table A</i>
			Formal	<i>Table A</i>
			Informal	<i>Table A</i>
			Intimate	<i>Table A</i>
		From unknown sender	General, undetermined	<i>Table A</i>
			Formal	<i>Table A</i>
			Informal	<i>Table A</i>
Intimate	<i>Table A</i>			
Speaking	General, undetermined	<i>Table A</i>		
	Inner speech	General, undetermined	<i>Table A</i>	
		Informal	<i>Table A</i>	
		Intimate	<i>Table A</i>	
	For known receiver	General, undetermined	<i>Table A</i>	
		Formal	<i>Table A</i>	
		Informal	<i>Table A</i>	
		Intimate	<i>Table A</i>	
	For unknown receiver	General, undetermined	<i>Table A</i>	
		Formal	<i>Table A</i>	
		Informal	<i>Table A</i>	
		Intimate	<i>Table A</i>	
Reading	General, undetermined	<i>Table A</i>		
	For oneself	General, undetermined	<i>Table A</i>	
		Formal	<i>Table A</i>	
		Informal	<i>Table A</i>	
		Intimate	<i>Table A</i>	
	Aloud	General, undetermined	<i>Table A</i>	
		Formal	<i>Table A</i>	
		Informal	<i>Table A</i>	
		Intimate	<i>Table A</i>	



Language behaviour	Writing	General, undetermined	<i>Table A</i>	
		For oneself	General, undetermined	<i>Table A</i>
			Formal	<i>Table A</i>
			Informal	<i>Table A</i>
			Intimate	<i>Table A</i>
		For known receiver	General, undetermined	<i>Table A</i>
			Formal	<i>Table A</i>
			Informal	<i>Table A</i>
			Intimate	<i>Table A</i>
		For unknown receiver	General, undetermined	<i>Table A</i>
			Formal	<i>Table A</i>
			Informal	<i>Table A</i>
	Intimate		<i>Table A</i>	
	Translation			
	Cryptolanguage			



Table A: DOMINANT LANGUAGE	
General, undetermined	<i>Table B</i>
Always or almost always in Basque	<i>Table B</i>
More frequently in Basque	<i>Table B</i>
Equally in both	<i>Table B</i>
More frequently in language other than Basque	<i>Table B</i>
Always or almost always in language other than Basque	<i>Table B</i>



Table B: LANGUAGE VARIETY
Basque in general
Det-Basque
Dot-Basque
Dut-Basque
Standard Basque
Language other than Basque in general
Spanish
French
Latin
Gascon
Navarre-Aragonese
Other non-Basque language

Descriptive parameter: 1A					
Analytical parameter	Descriptive parameter	IA - Describing language use	General, undetermined		
			Describing language use without language contact		
			Describing language use with some kind of language contact	General, undetermined	
				Situation stable (language maintenance prevails)	Without (patent or operative) conflict
					With (patent or operative) conflict
				Situation unstable (some sort of language shift appears)	With (patent or operative) conflict
					Without (patent or operative) conflict
				Diglossia	Present
			Absent		
			Word <i>Diglossia</i> mentioned		
Language use related dominance configuration table					
Reason for 1A					
Inference					

Descriptive parameter: 1B (1)			
Analytical parameter	Descriptive parameter	IB - Describing language competence	
		Speaker's linguistic repertoire	
		Level of language competence	General, undetermined <i>Table C</i>
			Unspecified Basque speaker <i>Table C</i>
			Unspecified non-Basque speaker <i>Table C</i>
			Unspecified bilingual speaker <i>Table C</i>
			Monolingual Basque speaker <i>Table C</i>
			Bilingual Basque speaker <i>Table C</i>
			Balanced bilingual speaker <i>Table C</i>
			Non-Basque dominant bilingual speaker <i>Table C</i>
			Monolingual non-Basque speaker <i>Table C</i>
			Multilingual Basque speaker <i>Table C</i>
			Multilingual non-Basque speaker <i>Table C</i>
Language competence related dominance configuration table			

Table C	
	Listening
	Speaking
	Reading
	Writing

Descriptive parameter: 1B (2)								
Analytical parameter	Descriptive parameter	1B - Describing language competence	Language competence acquisition mode	General, undetermined	Basque	Language competence in general		
						Listening competence		
						Speaking competence		
						Reading competence		
						Writing competence		
					Language other than Basque	<i>The five options above</i>		
				Acquisition via ordinary daily use	Speaker of indeterminate L1	Basque	Language competence in general	
							Listening competence	
							Speaking competence	
							Reading competence	
							Writing competence	
						Language other than Basque	<i>The five options above</i>	
L1 speaker of Basque	Language other than Basque	Basque	<i>The five options above</i>					
		Language competence in general as L2						
		Listening competence as L2						
		Speaking competence as L2						
		Reading competence as L2						
		Writing competence as L2						
L1 speaker of language other than Basque	Language other than Basque	Basque	<i>The five options above</i>					
		Language competence in general						
		Listening competence						
		Speaking competence						
		Writing competence						
L1 speaker of Basque and a language other than Basque	Language other than Basque	Basque	<i>The five options above</i>					
		Language other than Basque	<i>The five options above</i>					

Descriptive parameter: 1B (3)							
Analytical parameter	Descriptive parameter	1B - Describing language competence	Language competence acquisition mode	Learning via education	Speaker of indeterminate L1	Basque	Language competence in general
							Listening competence
							Speaking competence
							Reading competence
							Writing competence
						Language other than Basque	<i>The five options above</i>
					L1 speaker of Basque	Basque	Language competence in general
							Listening competence in formal register
							Speaking competence in formal register
							Reading competence
							Writing competence
						Language other than Basque	Language competence in general as L2
							Listening competence as L2
							Speaking competence as L2
							Reading competence as L2
							Writing competence as L2
					L1 speaker of language other than Basque	Basque	<i>The five options above</i>
						Language other than Basque	Language competence in general
							Listening competence in formal register
							Speaking competence in formal register
Reading competence							
	Writing competence						
L1 speaker of Basque and a language other than Basque	Basque	<i>The five options above</i>					
	Language other than Basque	<i>The five options above</i>					

Descriptive parameter: 1B (4)						
Analytical parameter	Descriptive parameter	1B - Describing language competence	Language competence loss mode	Speaker of indeterminate L1	Basque	Language competence in general
						Listening competence
						Speaking competence
						Reading competence
						Writing competence
					Language other than Basque	<i>The five options above</i>
				L1 speaker of Basque	Basque	<i>The five options above</i>
					Language other than Basque	<i>The five options above</i>
				L1 speaker of language other than Basque	Basque	<i>The five options above</i>
					Language other than Basque	<i>The five options above</i>
				L1 speaker of Basque and language other than Basque	Basque	<i>The five options above</i>
					Language other than Basque	<i>The five options above</i>
				Reason for 1B		
				Inference		

Descriptive parameter: 1C										
Analytical parameter	Descriptive parameter	1C - Describing language structure	Data derived from language structure	Global description	Basic linguistic features	Phonetics				
						Morphosyntax				
						Lexicon				
						Semantics				
								Interlinguistic distance		
				Result of language contact	Interference and loanwords	Phonetics				
						Morphosyntax				
						Lexicon				
								Code-switching		
				Internal uniformity of language	Degree of fragmentation	Geografic fragmentation				
						Social fragmentation				
								Degree of standardisation		
								Type of standardisation		
								Power and solidarity indices		
				Significant source	Onomastics	Place names				
						Anthroponyms				
						Ethnonyms				
						Glottonyms				
						Names of things				
					Paremiology					
					Etymology					
					Other					
	Reason for 1C									
	Inference									

Descriptive parameter: 1D, 1E							
Analytical para Analytical parameter meter	Descriptive parameter	1D - Describing societal features	Data relating to societal features	General, undetermined			
				Demographic features			
				Econotechnical features			
				Political-operative features			
				Psychosocial and sociocultural features			
			Reason for 1D				
			Inference				
			1E - Describing language attitudes	Attitude about what?	Language use: A	Basque	
						Language other than Basque	
					Speakers and their language competence: B	Basque speakers	
					Speakers of language other than Basque		
		Languages: C			Basque		
					Language other than Basque		
		Ethnicity: D			Basque ethnicity		
					Non basque ethnicity		
		Language attitudes: E			Basque		
					Language other than Basque		
		Other					
		Reason for 1E					
		Inference					

Kinetic parameter: 2A									
Analytical parameter	Kinetic parameter	2A - Change in language use	Type of comparison		<i>Table D</i>				
			Evolution of language use	General, undetermined					
				Death of language other than Basque				<i>Table E</i>	
				Increase in the use of Basque	General, undetermined			<i>Table E</i>	
					Spread of Basque		<i>Table E</i>		
					Shift to Basque		<i>Table E</i>		
					Disappearance of the use of language other than Basque		<i>Table E</i>		
					Maintenance of the (non) use of Basque		<i>Table E</i>		
				Decline in the use of Basque	General, undetermined		<i>Table E</i>		
					Spread of language other than Basque		<i>Table E</i>		
					Shift from Basque to language other than Basque		<i>Table E</i>		
					Disappearance of the use of Basque		<i>Table E</i>		
				Death of Basque		<i>Table E</i>			
				Evolution of language use among languages other than Basque		<i>Table E</i>			
				Diglossia	Present				
Absent									
Evolution of language use related dominance configuration table									
Inference									




Table D
From moment A to moment B
Between generations
Older people speaking of their childhood
Between places
Other

Table E
General, undetermined
Functions
Speakers
Place

Kinetic parameter: 2B				
Analytical parameter	Kinetic parameter	2B - Change in language competence		
		Type of comparison	<i>Table D</i>	
		Evolution in speaker's linguistic repertoire		
		Evolution of language competence	General, undetermined	General, undetermined
				Basque
				Language other than Basque
			Improving language competence	General, undetermined
				Basque
				Language other than Basque
		Maintaining language competence	General, undetermined	
			Basque	
			Language other than Basque	
		Decrease in language competence	General, undetermined	
			Basque	
			Language other than Basque	
Complete loss of language competence	General, undetermined			
	Basque			
	Language other than Basque			
Evolution of route to acquiring language competence	Language acquisition via ordinary daily use	Basque		
		Language other than Basque		
Learning via education	Basque			
	Language other than Basque			
Evolution of route to loss of language competence		Basque		
Evolution of route to loss of language competence		Language other than Basque		
Evolution of language competence related dominance configuration table				
Inference				

Kinetic parameter: 2C, 2D					
Analytical parameter	Kinetic parameter	2C - Change in language structure	Type of comparison	From moment A to moment B	
				Between generations	
				Older people speaking of their childhood	
				Between places	
				Other	
		Data derived from evolution (occurring) in language structure	Global structure evolution	Basic linguistic features	Phonetics
					Morphosyntax
				Lexicon	
				Semantics	
				Interlinguistic distance	
			Evolution in the result of language contact	Interference and loanwords	Phonetics
					Morphosyntax
					Lexicon
					Semantics
				Code-switching	
			Evolution in internal uniformity of language	Degree of fragmentation	Geographic fragmentation
					Social fragmentation
				Degree of standardisation	
				Type of standardisation	
			Evolution in power and solidarity indices		
		Evolution in significant source (onomastics, paremiology and etymology)	Onomastics	Place names	
				Anthroponyms	
				Ethnonyms	
				Glottonyms	
				Names of things	
			Paremiology		
			Etymological explanations		
			Other		
		Inference			
2D - Change in societal features	Evolution in societal features	General, undetermined			
		Demographic process			
		Econotechnical process			
		Political-operative process			
		Psychosocial and sociocultural process			
		Inference			

Kinetic parameter: 2E						
Analytical parameter	Kinetic parameter	2E - Change in language attitudes	Type of comparison	From moment A to moment B		
				Between generations		
				Older people speaking of their childhood		
				Between places		
				Other		
			Evolution of attitude about what?	Language use: A	Basque	
					Language other than Basque	
				Speakers and their language competence: B	Basque speakers	
					Speakers of language other than Basque	
				Languages: C	Basque	
					Language other than Basque	
				Ethnicity: D	Basque ethnicity	
			Non basque ethnicity			
			Language attitudes: E	Basque		
				Language other than Basque		
Other						
Inference						

Dynamic parameter: 3A, 3B, 3C, 3D, 3E													
Analytical parameter	Dynamic parameter	3A - Dynamics of change in language use	Relationship between dimensions	A	<table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th colspan="2">Table F</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>General, undetermined</td> <td rowspan="5" style="vertical-align: middle;">  </td> </tr> <tr> <td>Demographic process</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Econotechnical process</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Political-operative process</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Psychosocial and sociocultural process</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	Table F		General, undetermined		Demographic process	Econotechnical process	Political-operative process	Psychosocial and sociocultural process
				Table F									
				General, undetermined									
				Demographic process									
				Econotechnical process									
			Political-operative process										
		Psychosocial and sociocultural process											
		Detailed source of change - D	Table F										
		Inference											
		3B - Dynamics of change in language competence	Relationship between dimensions	B									
				C									
				D									
				Detailed source of change - D	Table F								
				Inference									
			3C - Dynamics of change in language structure	Relationship between dimensions	C								
		D											
		Detailed source of change - D		Table F									
		Inference											
		3D - Dynamics of change in societal features											
		3E - Dynamics of change in language attitudes	Relationship between dimensions	B									
C													
D													
E													
Detailed source of change - D	Table F												
Inference													

Prospective parameter: 4A, 4B					
Analytical parameter	Prospective parameter	4A - Expected future language use	General, undetermined		
			Without language contact		
			With some kind of language contact		
			Diglossia	Present	
				Absent	
			Prospective language use related dominance configuration table		
		Inference			
		4B - Expected future language competence	Prediction about speaker's linguistic repertoire	General, undetermined	
			Prediction about language competence	Unspecified Basque speaker	
				Unspecified non-Basque speaker	
				Unspecified bilingual speaker	
				Monolingual Basque	
				Basque bilingual	
				Balanced bilingual	
				Non-Basque dominant bilingual	
				Monolingual non-Basque speaker	
				Multilingual Basque speaker	
				Multilingual non-Basque speaker	
			Prediction about acquiring language competence	Language acquisition via ordinary daily use	Basque
					Language other than Basque
	Learning via education		Basque		
		Language other than Basque			
Prospective language competence related dominance configuration table					
Inference					

Prospective parameter: 4C, 4D, 4E					
Analytical parameter	Prospective parameter	4C - Expected future language structure	Prediction about language structure	Global description	Basic linguistic features
					Interlinguistic distance
				Result of language contact	Interference and loanwords
					Code-switching
				Internal uniformity of language	Degree of fragmentation
					Degree of standardisation
					Type of standardisation
					Power and solidarity indices
					Significant source (onomastics, paremiology and etymology)
			Other		
			Inference		
		4D - Expected future societal features	Prediction about societal features	General, undetermined	
				Demographic features	
				Econotechnical features	
				Political-operative features	
				Psychosocial and sociocultural features	
				Inference	
		4E - Expected future language attitudes	Prediction about language attitudes about what?	Language use: A	
				Speakers and their language competence: B	
				Languages: C	
				Ethnicity: D	
Language attitudes: E					
Other					
	Inference				

Contrastive parameter: 5A, 5B, 5C, 5D, 5E				
Analytical parameter	Contrastive parameter	5A - Language use contrasted with ideal	Contrasting language use	General, undetermined
				Problematic
				Unproblematic
			Contrastive language use related dominance configuration table	
			Inference	
		5B - Language competence contrasted with ideal	Contrasting speaker's linguistic repertoire	
			Contrasting language competence	General, undetermined
				Problematic
				Unproblematic
			Contrasting acquisition of language competence	General, undetermined
				Problematic
			Unproblematic	
			Contrastive language competence related dominance configuration table	
			Inference	
		5C - Language structure contrasted with ideal	Contrasting language structure	General, undetermined
				Problematic
				Unproblematic
			Inference	
		5D - Societal features contrasted with ideal	Contrasting societal features	General, undetermined
	Problematic			
	Unproblematic			
	Inference			
5E - Language attitudes contrasted with ideal	Contrasting language attitude	General, undetermined		
		Problematic		
		Unproblematic		
	Inference			

Prescriptive parameter: 6A						
Analytical parameter	Prescriptive parameter	6A - Language status planning	Socio-philosophical underpinnings			
			Degree of overtness	Indirect planning	Positive outcome	Basque
						Language other than Basque
					Negative outcome	Basque
						Language other than Basque
				Direct planning	Positive outcome	Basque
						Language other than Basque
					Negative outcome	Basque
						Language other than Basque
			Goal of language planning	General, undetermined	Basque	
					Language other than Basque	
				Requiring use	<i>As above</i>	
				Increasing use	<i>As above</i>	
				Maintaining use	<i>As above</i>	
				Compartmentalizing use	<i>As above</i>	
				Limiting use	<i>As above</i>	
				Prohibiting use	<i>As above</i>	
			Other	<i>As above</i>		
			Stage of language planning	General, undetermined		
				Planning proposal		
Norm selection						
Implementation of status planning						
Evaluation of status planning						
Actor	<i>Table G</i>					
Directionality: top-down/bottom-up	Bottom-up planning					
	Top-down planning					
	Other					
Target group		<i>Table H</i>				
Opinion on status planning						
Reason for 6A						
Inference						

Table G
Authority
Individual
Organised group
Other

Table H
Whole population
Group defined by profession
Group defined by ethnic features
Group defined by language
Group defined by territory
Group defined by individual criteria
Group defined by age
Group defined by gender
Other

Prescriptive parameter: 6B (1)							
Analytical parameter	Prescriptive parameter	6B - Language acquisition planning	Socio-philosophical underpinnings				
			Degree of overtness	Indirect planning	Positive outcome	Basque	
						Language other than Basque	
					Negative outcome	Basque	
				Language other than Basque			
				Direct planning	Positive outcome	Basque	
						Language other than Basque	
			Negative outcome		Basque		
				Language other than Basque			
			Goal of language planning	Planning of speaker's linguistic repertoire			
					Language proficiency requirement	Basque	Required
				Preferred			
				Not considered			
				Other			
				Language acquisition planning	Language acquisition planning	General, undetermined	Basque
Language other than Basque							
Requiring acquisition of language competence	<i>As above</i>						
Increasing language competence	<i>As above</i>						
Maintaining language competence	<i>As above</i>						
Compartmentalizing language competence	<i>As above</i>						
Limiting acquisition of language competence	<i>As above</i>						
Impeding acquisition of language competence	<i>As above</i>						
Other	<i>As above</i>						

Prescriptive parameter: 6B (2)				
Analytical parameter	Prescriptive parameter	6B - Language acquisition planning	Stage of language planning	
			General, undetermined	
			Planning proposal	
			Norm selection	
			Implementation of language acquisition planning	
			Evaluation of language acquisition planning	
			Actor	<i>Table G</i>
			Directionality: top-down/bottom-up	Bottom-up planning
				Top-down planning
				Other
			Target group	<i>Table H</i>
			Opinion on language acquisition planning	
			Reason for 6B	
			Inference	

Prescriptive parameter: 6C						
Analytical parameter	Prescriptive parameter	6C - Language corpus planning	Socio-philosophical underpinnings			
			Degree of overtness			
			Indirect planning	Positive outcome	Basque Language other than Basque	
				Negative outcome	Basque Language other than Basque	
			Direct planning	Positive outcome	Basque Language other than Basque	
				Negative outcome	Basque Language other than Basque	
			Goal of language planning	General, undetermined	Basque Language other than Basque	
				Purifying language	<i>As above</i>	
				Naturalising interference	<i>As above</i>	
				Standardising language	<i>As above</i>	
				Language codification	Graphization	<i>As above</i>
					Grammatication	<i>As above</i>
					Lexication	<i>As above</i>
					Pronunciation	<i>As above</i>
					Other	<i>As above</i>
				Developing intertranslatability	<i>As above</i>	
				Language cultivation	<i>As above</i>	
				Abstand-Ausbau	<i>As above</i>	
			Other	<i>As above</i>		
			Stage of language planning	General, undetermined		
				Planning proposal		
				Norm selection		
				Implementation of corpus planning		
Evaluation of corpus planning						
Actor	<i>Table G</i>					
Directionality: top-down/ bottom-up	Bottom-up planning					
	Top-down planning					
	Other					
Target group	<i>Table H</i>					
Opinion on corpus planning						
Reason for 6C						
Inference						

Prescriptive parameter: 6D, 6E						
Analytical parameter	Prescriptive parameter	6D - Planning for societal features	Socio-philosophical underpinnings			
			Point of intervention	General, undetermined		
				Demographic features		
				Econotechnical features		
				Political-operative features		
				Psychosocial and sociocultural features		
			Opinion on planning for societal features			
			Reason for 6D			
			Inference			
			6E - Planning for language attitudes	Socio-philosophical underpinnings		
		Degree of overtness		Indirect planning	Positive outcome	Basque
						Language other than Basque
					Negative outcome	Basque
						Language other than Basque
				Direct planning	Positive outcome	Basque
						Language other than Basque
					Negative outcome	Basque
						Language other than Basque
		Goal of language planning		Influencing attitudes about language use		
				Influencing attitudes about speakers and their language competence		
				Influencing attitudes about language structure		
				Influencing attitudes about ethnicity		
			Influencing attitudes about language attitudes			
Other						
Stage of language planning	General, undetermined					
	Planning proposal					
	Norm selection					
	Implementation of planning for language attitudes					
	Evaluation of planning for language attitudes					
Actor	<i>Table G</i>					
Directionality: top-down/ bottom-up	Bottom-up planning					
	Top-down planning					
	Other					
Target group	<i>Table H</i>					
Opinion on planning for language attitudes						
Reason for 6E						
Inference						

Features of quotation			
Features of quotation	Monograph	[Title of paper]	
	Nature of quotation	Audiovisual	
		Image	
		List	
		Map	
		Questionnaire	
		Sound	
		Statistics	
		Table	
		Text	
		Other	
		Embedded quotation	
		Language mentioned in quotation	Aquitanian
	Arabic		
	Basque		General, undetermined
			Standard Basque
			Basque popular language
			Written variety of Basque
	Basque pidgin		
	French		
	Iberian		
	Latin		
	Spanish		
	Romance		Castilian Romance of Basque Autonomous Community area
			Navarre-Aragonese
			Gascon
			Other Occitan language
Other			
Other language			
Language of quotation	Basque		
	Spanish		
	Latin		
	French		
	English		
	Other		

Data strength		
Data strength	Closeness to source	Primary information
		Secondary information
		Third-level information
		Fourth-level information
		Apocryphal
	Strength of evidence	Direct testimony
		Direct mention
		Indirect mention
		Individual opinion
	Relevance to research	