Retention and accommodation in the basque of Elko, Nevada

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1.-Introduction[1]

This article focuses on the status of the Basque language in Elko, Nevada. I conducted fieldwork in Elko during the summer of 1994, and interviewed over fifty *Euskaldunes*. The first goal of this research is to outline some sociological aspects such as Basque language knowledge, use, and attitudes in order to characterize the Basque-speaker community and later, their speech in sociolinguistic terms. For this second goal, I studied only a few linguistic aspects. This article is only a first approximation to further research, which should give a complete linguistic characterization of the community.

The literature on Basque language in America is very limited, which is surprising since there has been a general belief in the Basque Country through this century that American Basque (especially North American and Argentinian) was a unique koiné made by the interaction of speakers of different dialects (see Zuazo 1991 for further description of this belief). This American variety was, for some Basque and non-Basque scholars, much more appropriate than the standard Unified Basque proposed by the Basque Academy.

Basque dialectologist Koldo Zuazo, nevertheless, doubts the existence of a Basque standardized variety in America for two reasons. First, testimonies about the status of Basque among younger generations reveal its decreasing use. Second, there is not (and there has not been) so much interaction between speakers of different dialects everywhere in America as many scholars have believed.

There are some data about knowledge of Basque in Western America (Douglass

(1) Artikulu hau Renoko Unibertsitatean 1994ean burutu nuen masterreko tesina-laneko ondorioa da. Horregatik, dagoen bezala, ingelesez, ematea erabaki dut, aldaketa txiki batzurekin. 1995eko Linguistic Society of Americako Urteko Biltzarrean (New Orleansen) honen laburpena aurkeztu nuen.

Nire eskerrik beroenak irakasle eta lekuko guztiei eman nahi dizkiet, eta ikerketa honen zuzendari izan den William H. Jacobsen-i bereziki. Baita, modu baten edo bestean lan honi ekiten lagundu didaten Bill Douglass, Nelson Rojas, Jose Mallea, Chris Upchurch eta Renoko Unibertsitateko Basque Studies Program-eko lagunei. Azkenik, Elkoko jendeari euren harrera onagatik.

and Bilbao 1975: 364-367; Mathy 1985: 267; Decroos 1983: 76-79, 97), but no study (as far as I know) on either use of the language or linguistic description[2] has been done.

Before describing the speech of Elko's microsociety, I must further describe this microsociety. We need to determine some aspects of the sociology of language: language knowledge (how many languages can informants speak and/or understand), use (in which situations do they use Basque most), and attitudes towards Euskara (do they give any symbolic value to the minority language?, do they think it is going to survive or disappear in Elko?, are they transmitting it to their children?, etc.). After defining the community, a sociolinguistic study can be carried out. As stated above, only a small introduction to the sociolinguistic study has been done for the purpose of this work.

Most Elkoans I interviewed are immigrants, but some are American-born. Immigrants belonged to a very definable social group in the Basque Country; they immigrated under the same conditions and for the same reasons. Economical and social reasons made people leave their country. They were almost exclusively from a rural ambience. In addition, they all shared some other characteristics. They all spoke Basque as a first language, and most could understand Spanish or French, learned at school. Most were males, and they wished to work in the States for some years in order to make money and then go back home.

At the time most of my informants (the immigrants' group) left the Basque Country, the political situation in Spain (under Franco's rule) did not allow any public manifestation in or in favor of peripheral languages. Even though the French Government did not forbid the use of minority languages, even today the assistance these languages receive is insignificant. This is a very important point for understanding the linguistic situation in the diaspora. Immigrants were never forbidden to speak their native language (although the host society always pressured them not to do so) and, in addition, they gave it an extra symbolic value as against Franco's policy with respect to the Basque Country. Nevertheless, they never had an education in Euskara (likewise, American-born Euskaldunes' ancestors did not have that opportunity either), which made them to be not complete speakers but native speakers illiterate in their own language. This situation of illiteracy in the Basque language is common for elder speakers in Euskal Herria. Nevertheless, things start-

(2) The only references I have found are an article about the phonemes of the Basque of Bakersfield, California (Wilbur 1961), another one about the influence of English on the Basque of Idaho (Etxabe 1985), and an appendix of borrowings (mostly from Spanish but some from English) (Eiguren 1974) also in the Basque of Idaho.

A Basque ethnolinguistic atlas (Aranzadi Zientzia Elkartea. Etnologia Mintegia, 1990) includes a list of words and short sentences collected in Boise, Idaho. I believe the reason for including Boise in this atlas was more symbolic than dialectological, since we cannot speak of a Basque standardized variety of Boise. The two American informants did not fulfill the requirements asked of the rest of the informants: to have little or no influence of other dialectal varieties, to have been living in their town for their whole life, etc.

Finally, Peter Bakker (1989) describes a Basque-American Indian pidgin in use between Europeans and Native Americans in North America, ca. 1540-ca. 1640. See also Bakker et al. 1991.

ed to change in the Spanish Basque Country at the time the last immigrants left it. Changes in education, administration, and use of Euskara in general have been made as a consequence of reversing language shift. When immigrants visit the Basque Country, they see a better situation; at the same time, while families integrate more into American society (now their close family is here and only a few still think of going back to Europe), they relax more about language transmission and, in addition, maintenance of Euskara is no longer a symbolic way of fighting against Franco's policy. On the other hand, when they visit, they observe the visible changes made thanks to language shift reversal efforts (mass media and education in Basque, institutional commercials, etc.), exactly the fields in which they cannot do anything in Elko. On the contrary, they cannot observe as easily the better familial transmission of Euskara that is occurring within many Basque families (especially those of mixed Spanish-Basque or French-Basque parents). If they were to notice this, they might feel more motivated to do something about it.

In addition, coming originally from a rural Euskaldun ambience, they also discover a much more modern Basque Country: the business world is the one in which Euskara is less used. Finding a modern "Spanishized" Basque Country makes them feel even less motivated to preserve and transmit Euskara.

These being the circumstances, the sociolinguistic situation in Elko is parallel in many ways to the sociolinguistic situation in the Basque Country. Elko is in many ways a Basque microsociety, sharing many characteristics with the Basque Country, and also having some differences, for example in the sociolinguistic groups that make up Basque society. I distinguish four such groups. First, within Basque society, there is an important group of native non-literate Basque speakers; almost all Basque speakers in Elko belong to this group. Second, there is an increasing, and younger, group of native literate speakers in Euskal Herria. There is only one literate Basque speaker in Elko. Third, semispeakers are also increasing in the Basque Country, especially new speakers. Only one in Elko acquired enough proficiency to converse in Euskara, whereas they are increasing in the Basque Country. On the other hand, there are also denativized speakers (native speakers with a remarkable degree of attrition) in Europe, and also in Elko (due to the low use of Euskara by some speakers). Finally, many people who cannot speak Euskara consider themselves Basques, both in the United States and the Basque Country. But there is a difference between the two. In the Basque Country, the reason for non-speakers of Euskara (either because their parents are Spanish immigrants or because, even with their parents being Basque they did not acquire the language) for considering themselves Basques is that they were born in Euskadi. Nevertheless, in the diaspora the main reason for people to consider themselves Basques is that they have a Basque ancestor.

All the above-mentioned parallelisms make the study of Euskara as spoken in Elko very applicable to similar situations in the Basque Country.

On the other hand, Elko was chosen because speakers with different dialectal backgrounds interact and accommodate to each other's speech. Dialectal variation is

a greater communication problem in the Basque Country and sometimes a controversial issue in the standardization of the language.

In this article, I discuss about language maintenance in the U.S., and especially about the erosion of Basque in the American West. After giving some historical and demographical data, I describe the Basque community in Elko in terms of their language knowledge, use, and attitudes. Finally, I introduce some linguistic phenomena produced as a consequence of dialect accommodation, language obsolescence, and the influence of other languages.

2.- Language maintenance in the American West

Ethnicity is seen now in the United States as a special way of being American. When it concerns transmission of ethnic languages, however, it is not seen in that way. Fishman reports that even during the great growth of ethnic manifestations, there was no increase of non-English language use. The same can be said about Euskara. In fact, the use of Basque has decreased, together with some other previous characteristics of Basque ethnicity in the diaspora, such as endogamy. Mixed marriages are one of the reasons for the non-use, and consequent non-transmission, of Euskara. Huffines, describing the Pennsylvania Dutch language status situation, stresses that ethnic language maintenance depends on "how important speakers perceive their ethnicity to be and how strongly they wish to express it linguistically" (1991: 9). She also points out that the halt of immigration makes the number of fluent speakers decrease, and eventually no social context remains in which it is appropriate to speak the language. Learning and using English are necessary in order for immigrants and immigrants' children to be 'good Americans' (Veltman 1991: 161), and accordingly the minority language is used only in private.

Basque ethnicity is perceived in a very different way by American-born generations. Cultural conceptions about the immigrants' sheep world are no longer useful for their children. Even if these conceptions are not their values, children are judged according to them (Fernández de Larrinoa 1992: 74). Especially language maintenance is not seen as necessary by American-born generations in order to keep one's ethnicity.

Douglass and Bilbao gave some generalizations about language maintenance in 1975. First, most first-generation Basque-Americans learned Euskara as a first language, and English in school, replacing the former by the latter during their lives. Second, even if their parents were bilingual (Basque and Spanish or French), they did not acquire the national language. Euskara was always preferred as the family language. Third, language retention for American-borns was very often correlated with parents' occupation (if they remained in the sheep business or worked in a Basque hotel, their children were more likely to retain Euskara), and with siblings' age order (the oldest was considerably more likely to learn Euskara). Fourth, second-generation persons rarely retained Basque (364-65). Now, even for first-generation American-born Basques with both parents being Basque speakers, it is not always the case that they retain the language, especially younger siblings. On the other hand,

sometimes French or Spanish are preferred at home for practical reasons (they find it more useful for their children in American society).

3.- Status of the Basque language in Elko, Nevada

Elko was chosen for several reasons. On the one hand, Elko has always been an important point of reference for Basque people. Being an important center of immigration, it has been culturally very active. On the other hand, immigrants with different dialectal backgrounds (especially Biscayan and High Navarrese) settled there. Interaction is not difficult for most of them since they are used to it. This makes their speech very different from their original dialectal varieties. Finally, the use of Euskara in Elko has drastically decreased, which makes its study necessary.

There is no precise data about the number of Basques in Elko. Nevertheless, there is approximate historical and demographic information about the chosen town.

Finally, I analyze the data from the questionnaire that I administered to my informants (over fifty Basque speakers who have lived in Elko at least for the last five years) about their language knowledge, Basque use, and attitudes towards it.

The selection of informants was done by networking and judgement, taking into account variables of gender, age, dialectal background, and whether they were American-born or not. I tried to choose my informants taking into account the proportion of the different variables in the whole Basque-speaking community. All interviews were conducted in Euskara (I, being Biscayan, only tried to adjust to informants' dialect with a couple of informants who had problems understanding the Biscayan dialect) and tape-recorded. We first talked about topics related to the sociology of language and, subsequently, informants were requested to translate sentences from Spanish or English, as they chose, into Euskara.

I consider my informants representative of the whole Basque-speaking community in Elko. The majority of Basque-speakers are immigrants, and the majority of the American-born are older people. The generation who most retained Basque was born during the first two decades of this century. The decrease in language transmission since then is clear.

Among immigrants, men are the majority (three out of four in my sample). The most important age group is the one of people born from 1944 to 1954 (32% of my sample).

3.1.- Elko History

Elko was born as a townsite in December 1868, when the construction crews of the Central Pacific Railroad company left a town of tents by the Humboldt River on their way to Utah. This surprisingly new town sits in one of the most recently created states in the U.S. The territory contained within the limits of the present State of Nevada was acquired in 1849 from Mexico by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. In 1850, the Territory of Utah was created, which along with other vast areas, constituted the later Nevada (Patterson, Ulph, Goodwin 1991: 3).

As stated above, the beginning of the townsite was due to the construction of the

railroad. The Central Pacific planned to locate a terminal at the junction of Pine Creek and the Humboldt River in Twelve Mile Canyon. By June 1869, the town had grown considerably: there were 22 general merchandise vendors, two banks, 45 saloons, etc. That year, Elko County (17,127 square miles) was formed.

By 1900, Elko's population had dropped from the former 4,000-5,000 to 1,000 inhabitants. Nevertheless, according to Patterson et al., "the fledgling town was firmly established and entered the twentieth century with a future" (1991: 560). Until recently, the city had a slow and controlled growth. Of late the pace has accelerated. According to the Chamber of Commerce, the town's population in 1983 was about 10,500 and today, in 1994, according to the Elko County Board of Realtors, it is 27,400 (including Rynden and Spring Creek). The population of the county is estimated to be 37,000.

When talking about the beginnings of Elko, the Basque people's presence and importance must be underscored. According to Douglass and Bilbao, Basques were present in Western and Northern Nevada by no later than 1870. "The greater Winnemucca region, bounded to the west by Reno, to the north by Jordan Valley (Oregon) and to the east by Elko, provided one major area for the activities of Basque sheepmen begining in the early 1870s" (242).

Basque people have historically been related to the cattle and sheep industry in Nevada.[3] Eventually, the cattle industry became the state's second largest tax base. Nonetheless, the development of eastern Nevada is closely associated with mining (James 1981: 79). Accordingly, Basque immigration to Elko is associated with the sheep industry, and not with the mining one.

Basques in Elko first concentrated around the Basque hotels, home for many Basque sheepherders. These hotels in Elko,[4] like those in other towns, provided help and protection to the newly arrived and sometimes employment to women and ex-sheepherders. Not only did they work in the Basque hotels, many managed to buy one. As Douglass and Bilbao state, the Basque hotels are the oldest and most important ethnic institution in the American West (1975: 370).

The Star Hotel opened in 1910,[5] and since then it has always been owned by Basques. This is the only boarding house still existent in Elko, the permanent home of a dozen Basques.

In 1959, forty-two people decided to organize the Elko Euskaldunak Club. Dances and picnics were held annually until 1964. This was the Nevada Centennial Year, and the club, with a membership of 301 (Elko Euskaldunak Club 1964: 1), sponsored the First National Basque Festival, officially declared by the governor of Nevada. This festival is full of symbolism (Fernández de Larrinoa 1992: 90-91). On the one hand, the organizers wanted to stress its Americanness by declaring it national and celebrating it on Independence Day. Not only was there a conscious link between Nevada and the Basque community, but also between the United

(3) For a further description of the sheep industry activities of Basques in Elko, see Lane 1970.
(4) The first allusion found is about "The Basco saloon", in 1904 (Lane 1970: 267).
(5) There were three other hotels prior to the Star.

States and the Basques. The Chamber of Commerce of Nevada and local businesses help financially in the organization of the festival, which continues as an annual event.

In 1968, the club organized the dance group "Arinak", the most successfully active part of the club now. A year later, a radio broadcast in Basque began being transmitted in Elko on Sundays for an hour and fifteen minutes. The program contained a news section (both about the American Basque community and the Basque Country), a music section, interviews of Elkoan Basques, and commercials.

3.2.- Demographic data

Basque immigrants have never been recorded as Basques but rather as Spaniards or Frenchmen, which makes it very difficult to determine their number. Moreover, there is no in-depth demographic study of Elko; consequently, it is very risky to try and compare Basque immigration in Elko with that of other groups. Notwithstanding, the Basque community was formed and maintained at a time in which the sheep industry was predominant and Basque people constituted an important group in the wider community of Elko County. During the last quarter of this century, Basque immigration declined drastically and, at the same time, the Elkoan population boomed, receiving mostly Americans from other states, as well as Mexicans and other Hispanic groups. This fact will affect considerably the use of Basque which, being the minority language, is being relegated to a few spaces such as some homes and Basque bars.

As stated above, population in Elko has grown enormously during the last decades. The following tables show the growth trends and the average annual growth rates.

Growth Trends:

Census Year	City	*County*
1950	5,393	11,654
1960	6,289	12,011
1970	7,449	13,958
1980	8,758	17,269
1985	10,190	22,350
1990	15,520	34,570
1994	27,400	37,000

Average Annual Growth Rates:

Census Period	*City*	*County*
1980-85	16%	29%
1985-90	52%	55%
1990-91	4%	4%

The growth in the fifties was moderate. This is the time when many Basques came to Elko. According to journalist Mike Newman, in 1973, the Basque community comprised 20-25% of the town's population, numbering 1,500-2,000 (1973). We can assume a much bettter situation for the language at this time. However, the drastic growth starts during the seventies, becoming even more so during the next two decades (from 7,449 in 1970 to 15,520 in 1990, only in the city). In fact, the average growth rate from 1980 to 1985 in the city of Elko was sixteen percent, whereas from 1985 to 1990 it was fifty-two percent. One needs to be reminded that very few Basque people immigrated during this period of time. Consequently, the importance of the Basque community within Elkoan society decreased considerably.

On the other hand, the Hispanic population gained importance in number.

According to the 1990 Census of Population and Housing, there were 4,264 Hispanics (12.9 percent of the population) in Elko County (29,266, 86.2 percent, non-Hispanic and 2,006, 6.3 percent, American Indian). Linguistically speaking, the Hispanic population is an important social group because of their language loyalty. Since most Basque speakers in Elko can also speak Spanish, this language will sometimes be preferred at home by mixed (Hispanic-Basque) families, which are not rare.

In conclusion, Euskara finds less room in the Basque community, due to mixed marriages and a decrease in the percentage of Basque speakers within the whole population of Elko.

On the other hand, population-wise Elko is a young county: 29.4 years old on the average. The following table shows the distribution by age in the county:

Under 5	9.6%
5-17	22.6%
18-20	3.9%
21-24	5.6%
25-44	35.5%
45-54	10.6%
55-59	3.4%
60-64	2.6%
65-74	3.7%
75-84	1.9%
85 & over	0.5%

As the table shows, the most numerous groups of population are the ones between twenty-five and forty-four (35.5 percent of the population) and one and twenty (36.1%). The former represents young parents, the most important group for the transmision of a minority language,[6] and the latter represents younger speakers, in other words, the future of the language. However, there are only a few Basque speakers in Elko within these age groups, and most of them are American-born. For the young American-born generation it is very difficult to preserve the language and even more difficult to transmit it. Moreover, very few children and teenagers are learning Euskara at home in a society where they are an absolute minority. Children do not want to be different and do not need the minority language to communicate with their friends. Motivation must come from their parents. When both are Basque speakers, children may identify Basque with the home language. Nevertheless, if parents do not make this link very strong, children tend to use English, since they know their parents understand it.

In addition, sometimes adults feel the necessity of learning English and would use this language either for their own practice or to help their children to learn it so as not to suffer the same linguistic problems in American society.

On the other hand, when the spouse is not a Basque speaker, which is very

(6) Fishman, defining his theory of Reversing Language Shift (RLS), states (1991: 6) "The priorities at various points in the RLS struggle must vary but they must, nevertheless, derive from a single, integrated theory of language-in-society processes that places intergenerational mother tongue transmission at the very center and that makes sure to defend that center before setting out to conquer societal processes that are more distant, dubious and tenuous vis-à-vis such transmission".

common, the chance of acquiring the minority language is very remote, especially if it is the mother who does not speak it.

Obviously, children are not especially motivated to use Basque. At college age, nevertheless, motivation arises for different reasons. On the one hand, ethnicity consciousness is stronger, and learning their ancestors' language is one marker of ethnic background. On the other, young people are aware of the importance of language learning and its social and professional advantages.

One cannot be sure of the number of Basque people resident in Elko now. Nevertheless, it is obvious that their numerical importance has been considerably reduced as a consequence of the decline in the sheep industry and the subsequent halt of Basque immigration, on the one hand, and the boom of American population on the other, due especially to the mining industry.

To sum up, the importance of Basques within the whole community of Elko has decreased considerably and, in parallel fashion, the prestige and use of Basque has also been affected.

3.3.- Description of the Community

After reviewing the history of Elko and its demographic development in the last decades, I will now concentrate on the Basque-speaker population.

The first problem arises when we try to specify how many Euskaldunes (Basque speakers) we are talking about. In fact, we do not even know how many people consider themselves Basque. It is even more difficult to determine how many people can still converse in Euskara. Nevertheless, informants' estimates vary from two hundred to four hundred (I believe it to be closer to the former than to the latter). I formally interviewed fifty-three informants and located seventy-nine more living in Elko. Undoubtedly there are more.

More important than knowing the exact amount of Euskaldunes is describing the situation of Euskara in terms of the sociology of language, in other words, language knowledge, use, and the attitudes towards it of Euskaldunes in Elko. Especially significant is whether or not Euskara is being transmitted within the family.

As stated above, I interviewed fifty-three informants, fourteen[7] of whom are American-born, while the rest were born in the Basque Country, and emigrated to the American West as adults.

I clearly distinguish two social groups: on the one hand, American Basques; on the other, immigrant Basques. This distinction is necessary in order to determine if these two social groups differ linguistically.

(7) One of these informants was born in Elko and moved to her family's hometown Gernika when she was seven years old. She moved back to Elko seventeen years later, and has been living there since then. I consider her an immigrant since she spent seventeen years in the Basque Country when she was young.

3.3.1.- Language knowledge, use, and attitudes: American Basques

This group is represented by thirteen informants, 24.5% of the people interviewed. American Basque is defined as the type of Euskara used by American-born Basques,[8] which may differ from the one used by Basque immigrants born in Europe and who have recently (or not so recently) come to the U.S. That is why I want to make a distinction between these two groups, in order to check any differences. Their speech may also differ, and indeed it does, from normative dialectal uses in the Basque Country. Polinsky (1994a) also makes a distinction between American Russian and Emigré Russian. "American Russian is the first language that becomes secondary; it is spoken by those who learnt it as their first language and then switched to English as their primary language". Euskara is the first language (mother tongue)[9] for all the American-born Euskaldunes interviewed except for one. CF, born in 1968, is the only speaker I found who had acquired Euskara (in the Basque Country) as a second language and has enough competence to converse. Nevertheless, Euskara is not the primary language for these speakers, but rather English.

The quantity of use of Euskara varies among these informants from very seldom (maybe because they use it with just one person, for instance their mother) to almost every day for some hours (if working at a Basque restaurant or if having a Basque-speaking spouse or children).

Transmission of Euskara is very difficult for American Basques, even if both parents are Euskaldunes. Only two of these women's children can speak it.

In this section I will introduce data from the interviews with thirteen Basque-American speakers living in Elko, about their language knowledge, use, and attitudes.

Language knowledge: American Basques

Most informants acquired Euskara at home, as a first language, and English in school, the latter being their primary language now.

The following table shows data about their and their spouses' language knowledge.

American Basques Interviewed: Language Knowledge

Informant	Gender	*Birth-year*	*Other lang.*	*Eusk-spouse*
F.B.	f	1913	Sp-U2	y
L.Z.[10]	f	1913	Sp-U2	y
A.M.	f	1916	--	n
J.M.L	m	1917	Sp-U2	y

(8) The degree of proficiency in Euskara varies considerably across American Basques; while the attrition level of some is very high (semi-speakers), others have a very good competence level. I only took into consideration informants who have enough competence to converse in Euskara. Further research may study Basque-American semi-speakers' speech.

(9) Only one informant declared that she acquired both Euskara and English at the same time; her elder brother did not want her to suffer the problèms he had to at school not knowing any English, and, consequently, taugh her this language. One other informant learned Spanish along with Basque. Her father, a Spanish monolingual Navarrese immigrant, learned Euskara as a second language in this country.

(10) L.Z. is A.M.'s sister.

J.A	m	1921	Sp-U2	n
A.V.	f	1926	Sp-U1,S1	-
A.G.	m	1936	Sp-U2	n
J.B.	m	1944	Sp-U2	n
M.Y.[11]	f	1949	Sp-U1, S1	y
A.F.	f	1954	Sp-U1, S1	n
F.M.	m	1961	--	n
S.Y.	m	1966	Sp-U2	n
C.F.	f	1968	Sp-U2	-

Eusk-spouse: Spouse is a Basque-speaker (y/n). / f: female. / m: male.
Sp-U2: They understand some Spanish, but they scarcely speak it.
Sp-U1, S1: They both understand and speak Spanish.
Understanding and speaking Spanish go together for these informants.

All speakers interviewed are bilingual (Euskara and English) and most know some Spanish. Spanish was learned at home by only one informant (Footnote 9), but many acquired some knowledge, especially passive understanding, by contact with Spanish speakers (both Spaniards and Latin Americans) at work, in social interaction, etc. Spanish is easy to acquire even for French Basques.

Three of the Basque Americans interviewed understand and speak Spanish, and eight understand it but can speak very little. Only two informants have no knowledge of Spanish at all (both A.M. and F.M. learned Euskara at home, English in school, and have no Basque-speaking spouses; they are not exposed to the Spanish language).[12]

It is also important to notice that only four informants are (or were) married to Euskaldunes. This is going to affect considerably the transmission of Basque to their children.

All the informants spent their whole life in Elko, and most of them have never visited the Basque Country. Consequently, their variety will be close to their parents' dialect, with other dialectal influences depending on their personal relationships with other Euskaldunes in Elko. The following table shows informants' parents' birthtowns, and information about other dialect-speakers they are in contact with.

Expected Dialectal Background and Influences

Informant	*Mother's*[13]	*Father's*[14]	*Other*
F.B	Amoroto	Arbazegi	Spouse: Ea; Wk Bsq r, 25y.
L.Z.	Bedarona	Ispaster	Spouse: Lumo
A.M.	Bedarona	Ispaster	-
J.M.L.	Murueta	Luzaide	Spouse: Elko-Gernika[15]
J.A.	Gernika	Muxika	Wk Bsq r.

(11) M.Y. is S.Y.'s mother.

(12) A.M.'s sister, however, was married to a Basque from Bizkaia (who also knew some Spanish) and can understand Spanish, probably because she had more access to it.

(13) Mother's birthtown.

(14) Father's birthtown.

(15) M.L., J.M.L's wife, was born in Elko in 1922. When she was seven years old, her family moved back to their hometown of Gernika (Bizkaia), where she lived until 1947. She has been living in Elko since then. I consider her an immigrant, linguistically speaking.

A.V.	Urepel	Esain[16]	-
A.G.	Elko	Elko[17]	(B) and (N) friends.
J.B.	Elko[18]	Ereño	Brother-in-law (N)19
M.Y.	Elko	Ereño	Spouse: Lesaka
A.F.	Markina	Ondarru	all
F.M.	Ispaster	Ea	-
S.Y.	Elko	Lesaka	-
C.F.	non-eusk	Lesaka	learned Batua

Wk Bsq r: Work at a Basque restaurant; 25y: for twenty-five years; (B) Biscayan; (N) Navarrese; all: interaction with all dialectal background speakers.

Most speakers have a Biscayan dialectal background. A.V. and C.F. are the only ones from whom we do not expect much Biscayan influence because they do not interact (and they never did) with other people apart from their parents, who are not Biscayan. In fact, A.V. (whose mother spoke Western Low Navarrese) told me that she does not understand Biscayan people, though her mother did. C.F. is exposed only to Batua and her father's dialect, High Navarrese. I, myself, being Biscayan, tried to accommodate to the speech of both in order to make communication easier. In addition, other varieties than coastal Biscayan (their own) are difficult to understand for A.M. and L.Z.

All the others are used to interacting with other dialectal background speakers and have few communication problems. (For example, S.Y.'s father is Navarrese and his mother has a Biscayan dialect background).

Use of Euskara: American Basques

As stated above, English is the primary language for all American Basques interviewed. Their use of Basque is restricted to a few situations. The following table shows situations in which they speak the most Euskara, and whether or not they read and write in Basque.

Read, Written, and Oral Use of Euskara

Informant	*Read*	Write	*Oral Situations*
F.B	never	never	neighbors
L.Z.	never	never	hm, sibl, fr
A.M.	never	never	sibl, fr
J.M.L.	never	never	hm, Bsq r
J.A.	never	never	wk (Bsq r), Bsq r
A.V.	never	never	fr (very few)
A.G.	never	never	fr, rel
J.B.	never	never	Bsq r, rel
M.Y.	somet.	never	hm, Bsq r, tf, rel
A.F.	somet.	somet.	hm (child), wk, tf, Bsq r, fr
F.M.	never	never	rel, Bsq r
S.Y.	never	never	rel, tf, Bsq bars
C.F.	never	never	father

(16) He learned Basque in Elko.

(17) His grandparents were from Gernika.

(18) Her parents were from Ea.

(19) He lived on a ranch until he got married in 1967. Many Euskaldunes of different background worked there.

hm: home; wk: work; rel: any relatives; fr: friends;
Bsq r: Basque restaurants; sibl:siblings; tf: telephone.

Most Basque Americans do not read or write in Basque at all. Only two people received some education in Euskara. One illiterate native speaker (A.F.) became literate by receiving education in the Basque Country, the other studied Euskara as a second language in a school for adults also in the Basque Country. The others never learned to write and read in Basque (which for English speakers is difficult due to the different spelling conventions in English and Euskara).

On the other hand, use of Basque is very restricted, most informants use it with few people (normally close relatives or friends) and seldom. The Basque restaurants are a place often mentioned. Notwithstanding, Basque Americans do not visit these places so often as immigrants (male immigrants are the social group who visit them most).

Attitudes towards Euskara: American Basques

The attitude towards the language itself is a very positive one. They all like it and are proud of their knowledge; they wish they knew it better, though.

I included the topic of language transmission in this part because I believe the fact that their children learned Euskara is the best proof of their positive attitude towards the language. The following table shows the transmission of Euskara in relation to the parents' native language.

Language Transmission in Relation to Parents' Language:

Informant	*Eusk-spouse*	*First child*	*Second*	*Third*	*Fourth*
F.B	y	no	-	-	-
L.Z.	y	U1, S2	-	-	-
A.M.	n	U2	no	no	no
J.M.L.	y	U1, S1	U2[20]	=	=
J.A.	n	no	no	no	no
A.V.	-	-	-	-	-
A.G.	-	U2	U2	U2	U2
J.B.	n	U2	U2	-	-
M.Y.	y	U1, S1	U1,S2	-	-
A.F.	n	U1, S1	U1,S1	U1,S1	U1
F.M.	n	-	-	-	-
S.Y.	n	-	-	-	-
C.F.	-	-	-	-	-

U1: s/he understands almost everything / U2: s/he understands well / U3: s/he understands a little / S1: s/he speaks fluently / S2: s/he speaks a lot / S3: s/he can speak a little

Women are thought to be more loyal to minority languages. It is easier for them to transmit them, at least in a traditional society, since they spend more time with children. From the seven women interviewed, only five have descendants and only two transmitted or are transmitting Euskara to their children.

When asked about the language they used most themselves at home when they were young, most say their mother was more loyal to Basque than their father.

(20) He has six children; the five youngest ones understand some Euskara, but cannot speak.

Asked if they always speak in Euskara to Basque speakers, six answered that they always do so; four, that they mostly do it; and three, that they do so sometimes (one informant was more precise: he always speaks in Basque to immigrants but he almost never speaks in Euskara to Basque Americans).

The five youngest persons interviewed not only were aware of the standard Unified Euskara, but also gave their opinion. Some see the Unified Language as something positive: "ori ona da, denak alkarregas ongi ibiltzeko [...], euskara garbia" (S.Y.).[21] "Euskera polita, aisagoa da ikasteko" (C.F.).[22] Since C.F. learned Euskara as a second language, she is aware of the problem of dialectal diversity for teaching a language. The remaining informants, all older ones, most of whom have never visited the Basque Country, are not aware of Euskara Batua.

Another informant was very concerned about Euskara Batua; she wants her children not only to learn Biscayan, but also Batua. Nevertheless, she pointed out that the kind of language some people use is not comprehensible, referring not to the fact of using standard, but of using an overly technical or complicated kind of language.

On the other hand, one Basque American informant complained he could not understand his cousins' letters because they were written in Batua. It is difficult to understand Batua for many illiterate people even in the Basque Country; it is even more difficult for someone with a coastal Biscayan dialect background, who seldom uses, or even listens to, any other dialect than his parents'.

Even if some are optimistic about the situation of the Basque language in Elko (two informants believe it will not die out for at least sixty years), most are more realistic and admit it will not survive for much longer than twenty years, unless new immigrants come to Elko. Asked about the convenience and practicality of teaching some classes of Euskara in their town, most think it is a good idea to do so. Only four people think it is hopeless. It is interesting that even if they know it is very difficult to preserve the language, they wish that there were some classes, so their children, and they themselves, could learn it.

In conclusion, Euskara has been transmitted within the family for one or two generations. Now, nevertheless, transmission is more difficult due to reasons already explained. Notwithstanding, now there are more Euskaldun children than in the previous generation. Spanish does not occupy an important place for Basque Americans.

Competence in Euskara occurs at an oral level; most Basque-Americans in Elko have not received any education in Basque and, in addition, many do not interact very often with speakers of other dialectal backgrounds, with which communication is sometimes difficult.

Language knowledge, use, and attitudes: Basque immigrants

Forty Basque immigrants, 75.5% of the people interviewed in Elko, gave their

(21) "That's good, so we all understand each other [...], pure Euskara". All the quotations of my informants are simplified phonological transcriptions.

(22) "Beautiful Euskara, it is easier to learn".

opinion about their language knowledge, use of Euskara, and attitudes towards the language. These informants grew up in the Basque Country, and moved to Western America as adults. Their first language was Basque and they learned Spanish or French in school, and English in the States. Polinsky (1994a) defines immigrants' Russian:

> The Russian language as spoken in North America by the first generation of immigrants, who grew up speaking Full Russian and came to America as adults is called Emigré Russian. For these speakers, Russian remains their first and, normally, primary language (3).

There are some differences, nevertheless, between the immigrant community studied by Polinsky and the Basque community in Elko.

First, Basque immigration stopped at the beginning of the seventies (with only one exception, they all have been living in the U.S. for more than twenty years; some have spent almost seventy years in Nevada). Now, very few people come to this country to work; most are connected with a university. This group of people is completely different from the former (immigrants who earlier came to work): not only are they educated but they are also normally literate in their native language due to the educational change in relation to the minority language in the Basque Country during the last decades. On the other hand, they do not normally have such a close relationship with other Basque speakers. Finally, they have spent much less time in this country. The study of these immigrants' Basque is also very interesting. There may be many differences with respect to the present study. Obviously, there are not new immigrants (students, professors) in Elko. Further research could study new immigrants' Euskara.

Second, Russian immigrants are a pretty hetereogeneous group, with a lot of social variation. Social variation among Basque immigrants is less: they are a pretty homogeneous social group.

Third, Euskara does not remain the primary language for many of my informants. Use of Euskara is very restricted, especially for people married to non-Basque speakers. Basque immigrants' life has changed since the decline in the sheep industry. They do not use Basque at work any more (except for some exceptions, such as a few ranches, Basque restaurants or small businesses owned by Basques and which have Basque workers); most do not use Euskara at home and they seldom read or write in Basque. Few are transmitting their mother language, even if most wished their children knew Euskara.

The following table shows some demographic information about these forty informants.

Demographic Information

Informant	*Gender*	*Birth-town*	*Birth-year*	*Immigr.-year*
A.H.	f	Aldude	1900	1925
A.A.	f	Gernika	1903	1923
L.E.	f	Errigoitia	1912	1941
D.O.	m	Arteaga	1913	1943[23]

(23) He came from Mexico to the States in 1943.

M.L.	f	Elko	1922	1947
D.M.	m	Ea	1923	1952
Ju.A.	m	Mendexa	1924	1952
J.L.	m	Gizaburuaga	1925	1964
L.B.	m	Lesaka	1926	1959
N.F.[24]	m	Lesaka	1926	1951
J.J.[25]	m	Gizaburuaga	1926	1955
B.Y.	m	Lesaka	1926	1950
R.F.	m	Lesaka	1928	1948
J.M.U.[26]	m	Larrauri	1930	1966
Js.J.	m	Gizaburuaga	1930	1948
P.O.	m	Bakio	1930	1955
M.I.	m	Muxika	1934	1976
E.Y.	f	Mundaka	1935	1963
A.M.A.	f	Arteaga	1935	1960
A.E.	m	Busturia	1936	1967
J.L.	m	Muxika	1938	1957
I.T.	m	Busturia	1939	1963
A.G.	m	Palencia[27]	1940	1961
A.U	m	Zeberio	1940	1967
A.Y.[28]	m	Lesaka	1941	1962
J.F.	m	Aranaz	1942	1960
S.L.	m	Gaztelu[29]	1942	1961
J.A.L.	m	Gizaburuaga	1943	1962
J.M.[30]	m	Munitibar	1943	1963
B.M.	f	Munitibar	1944	1970
L.M.	f	Heleta	1944	1964
J.A.	m	Jatabe	1944	1965
J.U.	m	Bermio	1945	1963
Mi.L.	m	Lantz	1946	1966
I.I.[31]	m	Bakio	1947	1973
E.M.	m	Zubieta	1950	1967
S.I.	m	Bakio	1950	1974
J.M.	m	Bakio	1952	1970
S.A.	m	Markina	1952	1974
M.M.	f	Bermio	1958	1978

Nine out of the forty speakers interviewed are women, 22.5 percent. The majority of Basque immigrants in Elko are Biscayans (28), 70 percent of the speakers interviewed, 25 percent (ten informants) being Navarrese. Only 5 percent of the people interviewed (2) are French Navarrese.

(24) N.F. and R.F. are brothers.

(25) J.J. and Js.J. are brothers.

(26) J.M.U. is M.M.'s father.

(27) He lived in Palencia (Castile) for two years. Then, he moved to Lesaka, where he lived until he came to the U.S. He acquired both Spanish and Euskara at the same time.

(28) A.Y. is married to M.Y. He is also S.Y.'s father.

(29) Gaztelu, Nafarroa.

(30) J.M. and B.M. are married.

(31) I.I. and S.I. are brothers.

Taking age into consideration, the most numerous group is the one born between 1941 and 1950 (thirteen informants out of forty), who are now forty-four to fifty-five years old. The second age group in importance is the one born between 1921 and 1930 (twelve informants), who are now sixty-four to seventy-five years old. Finally, eight people were born from 1931 to 1940 (fifty-four to sixty-five years old). The Basque-speaker (immigrant) population in Elko is not very young. The youngest people are around forty. This is directly related to immigration. One needs to be reminded of the causes that made immigration lose its appeal: on the one hand, the decline in the American sheep industry; on the other, the better economic and social conditions in the Basque Country from the seventies on.

In this section, I will introduce data from the interviews with forty Basque immigrants living in Elko for at least five years. Indeed, most have been living in this town for more than twenty years.

Language knowledge: Basque immigrants

Most informants are English-Spanish bilinguals. Their degree of proficiency, however, varies. The following table shows their ability in English and other languages, in terms of understanding (U1: S/he understands almost everything; U2: S/he understands well; U3: S/he understands some), and speaking (S1: S/he speaks fluently; S2: S/he can speak a lot; S3: S/he can speak some). The last column shows the spouse's home town, when s/he is a Basque speaker; 'no', when the spouse is not a Basque-speaker; and, ---, when the informant is not, and has never been married. Spouse's dialectal background is also important for a comparison. That is why I also gave her/his hometown when s/he is a Basque-speaker.

		Language Knowledge		
Informant	*Gender*	*Engl. ability*	*Other lang.*	*Eusk-spouse*
A.H.	f	U1, S1	Sp: U2, S3 Fr: U2, S3	Urepel
A.A.	f	U1, S1	Sp: U1, S1	Muxika
L.E.	f	U1, S1	Sp: U1, S1	Lesaka
D.O.	m	U1, S1	Sp: U1, S1	Elko[32]
M.L.	f	U1, S1	Sp: U1, S2	Elko
D.M.	m	U1, S2	Sp: U2, S2	Ispaster
Ju.A.	m	U3, S3	Sp: U3, S3	---
J.L.	m	U1, S2	Sp: U1, S2	---
L.B.	m	U3, S3	Sp: U2, S2	---
N.F.	m	U1, S1	Sp: U1, S1	no
J.J.	m	U3, S3	Sp: U2, S3	---
B.Y.	m	U1, S1	Sp: U1, S1	Mundaka
R.F.	m	U1, S1	Sp: U1, S1	Susanville[33]
J.M.U.	m	U1, S2	Sp: U1, S1	Bermio
Js.J.	m	U1, S1	Sp: U1, S3	no
P.O.	m	U1, S1	Sp: U1, S1	no

(32) Her parents were from Lekeitio.

(33) She is a native Basque speaker. Her father was born in Natxitua and her mother was a Basque speaker from Elko.

M.I.	m	U1, S2	Sp: U1, S1	no
E.Y.	f	U1, S1	Sp: U1, S1	Lesaka
A.M.A.	f	U1, S1	Sp: U1, S1	Donibane Garazi
A.E.	m	U2, S2	Sp: U1, S1	---
J.L.	m	U1, S1	Sp: U1, S1	no
I.T.	m	U1, S1	Sp: U1, S1	no
A.G.	m	U1, S1	Sp: U1, S1	no
A.U	m	U1, S1	Sp: U1, S3	no
A.Y.	m	U1, S1	Sp: U1, S1	Elko
J.F.	m	U3, S3	Sp: U3, S3	---
S.L.	m	U1, S2	Sp: U2, S2	no
J.A.L.	m	U1, S1	Sp: U1, S1	no
J.M.	m	U1, S1	Sp: U1, S1	Munitibar
B.M.	f	U1, S1	Sp: U1, S1	Munitibar
L.M.	f	U1, S1	Fr: U1, S1 It: U1, S1 Sp: U3	no
J.A.	m	U1, S1	Mex Sp: U1, S1[34]	no
J.U.	m	U1, S1	Sp: U1, S1	no
Mi.L.	m	U1, S1	Sp: U1, S1 Fr: U3	no
I.I.	m	U1, S1	Sp: U1, S1	---
E.M.	m	U1, S3	Sp: U1, S1	---
S.I.	m	U1, S1	Sp: U1, S1	no
J.M.	m	U1, S1	Sp: U1, S1	no
S.A.	m	U1, S1	Sp: U1, S1	no
M.M.	f	U1, S1	Sp: U1, S1 Fr: U3	no

Sp: Spanish / Fr: French / It: Italian / Mex Sp: Mexican Spanish

Their English ability is very good (both on the understanding and speaking levels) for twenty-nine informants, 72.5% of the people interviewed. If we correlate this with gender, we discover that all the nine women interviewed declared that their English ability was very good (U1, S1), whereas only twenty of the thirty-one men interviewed did so. In addition, five men said they could not speak so fluently, even if they can understand almost everything (U1, S2); one said he could understand almost everything but his speaking ability was bad (U1, S3); and one more said he could not understand everything, nor speak fluently (U2, S2). Finally, four out of thirty-one, 13.5% of the men interviewed, declared that their English competence was very bad (U3, S3).

Let us relate English ability to the fact of either being married to a Basque speaker or not. Sixteen of the informants who married a non-Basque speaker (out of eighteen) said that their English ability was very good (U1, S1), and only two said they could not speak fluently (U1, S2). Obviously, the fact of being married to a non-Basque speaker helps in acquiring English. Nonetheless, twelve out of the fourteen informants married to a Basque speaker declared that their English ability

(34) He learned Mexican Spanish in Elko, working on a ranch with Mexicans.

was very good (U1, S1), and only two said they could not speak fluently (U1, S2). No informant married to an euskaldun said that their English competence was worse than fluent. Consequently, having an Euskaldun spouse is not an obstacle in acquiring English. It seems that it is a matter of motivation. People already married in this country are more motivated to get involved in American culture and society. Unmarried speakers, on the contrary, do not seem so motivated to learn English, even if they have been living here for more than twenty years. Only one out of eight said his English ability was good (U1, S1), whereas four said that it was very bad (U3, S3). Most informants are Basques from Spain. Consequently, they know some Spanish, which was always learned at school. It is interesting, again, to see that all the women but one (she is the oldest one) think they have a good knowledge of either Spanish or French (U1, S1). Most men (twenty-three out of thirty-one) also declared so. Nevertheless, four said their Spanish competence was not so good (three: U2, S2; one: U2, S3), and two more that it was bad (U3, S3).

Looking at age, it is obvious that younger people have a better competence in Spanish (or French) than older ones, due to the efforts made by the Spanish government during Franco's rule, on the one hand, and to the latter's lesser contact with Spanish speakers in this country, on the other. One needs to be reminded that at the time these first immigrants came to Elko there were fewer Spaniards and Latin Americans there.

Use of Euskara: Basque Immigrants

As stated above, use of Euskara is restricted to a few linguistic spaces. Reading and writing use is not common, and even oral use is restricted to a few situations. The following table shows reading, writing, and oral use of Basque among Basque immigrants in Elko.

Informant	*Read*	*Write*	*Oral situations*
A.H.	never	never	hm, fr.
A.A.	somet.	never	fr, rel.
L.E.	somet.	never	tf, fr.
D.O.	somet.	never	wk, Bsq r, tf, rel (Elko).
M.L.	somet.	never	hm, tf, fr, rel (Elko).
D.M.	somet.	never	hm, tf, rel (Reno, Boise), neighbors.
Ju.A.	never	never	hm, Bsq r, tf.
J.L.	somet.	seldom	hm, Bsq r, tf, brother (WA)
L.B.	often	somet.	hm, wk, Bsq r, tf.
N.F.	somet.	never	hm (C.F.), Bsq r, tf, rel (Elko).
J.J.	somet.	somet.	hm, wk, Bsq r, tf, brother (Elko).
B.Y.	somet.	somet.	hm, Bsq r, tf, rel (CA, OR), child (WA, ID).
R.F.	never	never	hm, wk, Bsq r, tf, brother (Elko).
J.M.U.	never	never	hm, Bsq r, tf.
Js.J.	somet.	somet.	Bsq r, tf, rel (CA, Elko).
P.O.	somet.	never	hm (somet), wk, Bsq r, tf.
M.I.	somet.	somet.	Bsq r, tf.
E.Y.	somet.	somet.	hm, Bsq r, tf, rel (CA, OR), children (WA, ID).
A.M.A.	somet.	never	hm, wk, Bsq r, tf.

A.E.	somet.	never	hm, wk, Bsq r, tf, cousins (Ely).
J.L.	somet.	seldom	wk, Bsq r, tf, sisters (NY, WA), fr.
I.T.	never	never	wk, Bsq r, tf, sist (Salt Lake).
A.G.	never	never	Bsq r, tf.
A.U	often	somet.	hm (somet), Bsq r, tf, fr.
A.Y.	often	never	hm, Bsq r, tf, rel (Elko).
J.F.	somet.	somet.	hm, wk, Bsq r, tf, rel (Elko).
S.L.	somet.	never	wk, Bsq r, tf.
J.A.L.	never	never	hm (somet), wk, Bsq r, rel (Elko).
J.M.	often	somet.	hm, Bsq r, tf, rel (NV, OR, ID).
B.M.	somet.	somet.	hm, Bsq r, tf, rel (NV, OR, ID).
L.M.	somet.	never	wk, Bsq r, tf, brother (Elko).
J.A.	never	never	Bsq r, tf.
J.U.	seldom	never	hm (somet), Bsq r, tf, sister (Oklahoma).
Mi.L.	often	often	hm, wk, Bsq r, tf, brother (Gardnerville)
I.I.	somet.	seldom	hm, Bsq r, brother (Elko).
E.M.	somet.	never	hm, wk, Bsq r, tf, cousin (CO).
S.I.	never	never	Bsq r, tf, brother (Elko).
J.M.	never	never	Bsq r, tf, brother (Elko).
S.A.	never	never	hm (somet), Bsq r, tf.
M.M.	somet.	never	hm, Bsq r, rel (CA).

Key-words:/ hm: home; fr: friends; rel: relatives; / wk: work; Bsq r: Basque restaurants; / tf: on the telephone to friends and relatives in the Basque Country (place names in parentheses indicate where relatives live).

Eleven informants out of forty, 27.5%, never read or write in Euskara, and fourteen, 35%, read sometimes, but never write. Seven said they read and write sometimes, three read often and write sometimes, and only one reads and writes often in Euskara. Nevertheless, we need to be skeptical with respect to this data: it seems to me too high of a degree of reading and writing Basque by people who very seldom used Basque in these ways while in the Basque Country.

Oral situations in which Euskara is used are very few. The most popular one is the Basque restaurant: thirty-five people (87%) mentioned this context. The second most indicated was on the telephone with relatives and friends in the Basque Country: thirty-four people (85% of the people interviewed talk on the telephone).[35] The third linguistic space most mentioned was the home: twenty-one people use Basque at home on a regular basis (52.5% of the people interviewed), and six more use it sometimes. Twenty-seven (67.5%) use Euskara with their relatives in this country, and fourteen (35%) at work.

As stated above, the most preferred situation is the Basque restaurant. Nevertheless, women seldom go there unless it is to have dinner. They very seldom take part in the card games, which is the context where most Euskara is used. Women mention talking with friends and neighbors instead.

(35) Even if we did not ask how often they telephone, we can assume that this is a good way to remain in touch with their home dialectal variety.

Attitudes towards Euskara: Basque Immigrants

As stated in the previous section, the best proof of the positive attitude towards Basque is familial transmission. The following table shows children's competence in Euskara related to parents' background.

Children's Competence in Euskara related to Parents' Backgrounds

Infor.	*Gender*	*Eusk-spouse*	*1st child*	*2nd child*	*3rd*	*child4th*
A.H.	f	Urepel	U1, S2	---	---	---
A.A.	f	Muxika	U1, S2	---	---	---
L.E.	f	Lesaka	U1, S2	U1, S2	---	---
D.O.	m	Elko	U2	no	---	---
M.L.	f	Elko	U2, S3	U3	no	no
D.M.	m	Ispaster	U1, S1	U1, S1	---	---
N.F.	m	no	U3	U3	U1, S1	---
B.Y.	m	Mundaka	U1, S1	U1, S1	U1, S1	---
R.F.	m	Susanville	no	no	no	---
J.M.U.	m	Bermio	U1, S1[36]	---	---	---
Js.J.	m	no	U3	U3	U3	---
P.O.	m	no	U2	no	U2, S3[37]	---
E.Y.	f	Lesaka	U1, S1	U1, S1	U1, S1	---
A.M.A.	f	D. Garazi	U2, S3	U2, S3	---	---
J.L.	m	no	U2, S2	U3	---	---
I.T.	m	no	no	no	no	---
A.G.	m	no	no	no	no	no
A.U.	m	no	U3	U3	---	---
A.Y.	m	Elko	U1, S1	U1, S2	---	---
S.L.	m	no	U3	U3	---	---
J.A.L.	m	no	U2, S2	no	---	---
J.M.	m	Munitibar	U1, S1	U1, S2	---	---
B.M.	f	Munitibar	U1, S1	U1, S2	---	---
L.M.	f	no	no	---	---	---
J.A.	m	no	no	no	---	---
J.U.	m	no	U2[38]	---	---	---
Mi.L.	m	no	Fst 3: U3	4th:U2, S3	Last 2: U3	
S.I.	m	no	no	no	---	---
S.A.	m	no	U2, S3	U2, S3	---	---
M.M.	f	no	U2	no	---	---

The best familial environment for a child to learn a minority language is having both parents speak it. Seven Basque immigrant women out of the nine interviewed are married to a Basque speaker (six are immigrants, and one American-born). Two families transmitted a good competence of Euskara, while three more families' children can understand everything, but have some problems speaking Basque.

On the other hand, the two remaining women are married to non-Basque speakers, and they did not transmit it to their children.

For fathers, it is almost impossible to transmit a language if the spouse is not a

(36) She grow up in the Basque Country; I do not count her for transmission.
(37) She learned some Basque in the Basque Country.
(38) He is two years old.

Basque speaker: from fourteen fathers in this situation, only one's children understand pretty much and can speak something; those of eight understand a little, and of five know nothing at all. Nevertheless, for Euskaldun fathers married to Basque immigrants (three families are in this situation) it was easy to transmit Euskara to their children. Finally, three more are married to Basque-Americans. For this group, it is more difficult to preserve the minority language; only one family did so. Among them older people are married to Basque speakers, and younger people are not.

On the other hand, it is important to see that in the case of Basque marriages, parents' different dialectal background is not a big difficulty for acquiring Euskara.

Other aspects related to Basque immigrants' attitudes towards Euskara are also interesting. All except three said that they always speak in Basque to Basque speakers. Of the three, two specified that they do so when everybody is Euskaldun, and one explained she has some problems understanding other speakers (Biscayans, especially; she is French-Navarrese).

The activities in which most of my informants take part are Basque festivals and mus games (restricted almost completely to men). There is a general opinion that Euskara is used and heard a lot during festivals, and always used during mus games (this is the most consistent situation in which Euskara is used).

Asked about the future in Elko of their native language, half the informants answered that Euskara will not survive, eight more think it will be alive for twenty years, and five more think it will survive for forty years. There are also some (six) very optimistic informants who think Euskara will never die out in Elko. Most (twenty-five) wish there were some language classes in Elko; only six think Euskara is hopeless in Nevada. The others do not know if some classes would be fruitful: lack of motivation among young people is the main reason.

Batua is often defined as 'Euskara Berria' (the new Basque) by Basque people in the Basque Country. Some informants defined it in the same way in Elko. As one of them said, "oraingo euskaldunberri... euskera berriya, bizkainuk eta naparrak eta giputxak denak baten, denak entenitzeko... niri gustatzen zait, nik uste ona dela [...] ikasteko ta ortara, denak batera, ikasteko, euskera bat ona dela".[39] This definition comprises three ideas about the standard language. First, it is something new;[40] second, it is a unifying variety in order for everybody to understand each other better; and third, it is necessary for its teaching and codification.

Nevertheless, not everybody is aware of Batua: seventeen informants had never heard of it, and six more knew the word, but could not explain the concept. Finally, fourteen could define it.

On the other hand, there is a feeling among some Basque speakers in Elko that

(39) "The new Basque-speakers, the new Basque language; Bizcayans, and Navarrese, and Guipuzcoans, all the same way, in order for all to understand each other... I like it, I think it is a good thing [...] to learn it, all the same way, to learn it, one Basque is good". The standard language is often identified with new speakers by older natives.

(40) Another informant contrasted it with dialectal varieties: "gurea lengo euskera zaarra da" ("Ours is the original old Basque").

they use a kind of Batua, since they mix different dialectal forms: "e pe apur bat kanbiaute dakote, baakisu,[41] gure antzera eiten daue eta ni pe ekin aditzera ta niretzako oixe da batua, aditzen gara ederto bata besteakin eta naikoa da"[42] or, "danak euskara alkartu eta andik egin duen izkuntza... emen naastu egiten dugu eta baturantz egiten dugu, zertaz nire emastea bizkaina da eta ni naparra ta, baakizu, biyak eiten dugu pixkat naastu baina ez da batua kompletoa".[43] For others, this accommodation is more negative than positive.

Another usual idea about standard language is that it is purer than dialects. Many speakers reject their own borrowings (especially Spanish ones) and ask how they are said in Batua. There is a feeling that Euskara Batua has that vocabulary, but they never acquired it because of lack of education.

In conclusion, women and married people declare, in general, that they have a better competence in English. Motivation is the main reason to learn a language. It seems that, on the one hand, the women I worked with interact more in English (with children's teachers, doctors, shopping, etc.) and, on the other, they seem more motivated to integrate into American society,[44] which does not happen for unmarried people (they live very isolated from this society; they are always around Basque people). Of course, not having a family of their own in this country makes them feel less motivated to integrate into this society.

Spanish competence is better for younger people due to the political and social situation in the Basque Country before they left. Spanish is now preferred in some families as the home language. Transmission of Basque is very weak, and almost impossible if both parents are not Basque or unless they take their children to the Basque Country to learn the language.

Finally, use of Basque is restricted to a few spaces: Basque restaurants (especially during mus games), Basque festivals, and a few homes (without forgetting the telephone). Use is mostly oral, with a few informants sometimes reading in Euskara.

4.- Dialect Accommodation and Language Attrition: the Linguistic Questionnaire

This section will focus on the data gathered from the linguistic questionnaire that I administered to my informants, even though I will also give some other information. The first part of the section will give an introduction to the theory of linguistic accommodation and aspects of dialect accommodation. The second part

(41) Notice the *s/z* neutralization. He is Navarrese from Lesaka, married to an Elkoan of Biscayan background.

(42) "They also change it, you know, they do it as we, and also I in order to understand them, and, in my opinion, that's Batua, we understand each other very well and that's enough". He admits, nevertheless, that there are more inherent communication problems in the Basque Country than in Elko.

(43) "all put together Basque and it is the language made from that... here we mix and we go towards the Unified, because my wife is Biscayan and I am Navarrese and, you know, we both mix a little bit, but it is not the complete Unified".

(44) There is no contradiction with the fact that, on the one hand, women are more loyal than men towards Basque at home, and, on the other, they learn English better.

will focus on some aspects of language attrition due to the low use of Basque of some speakers. Finally, I will present the data on the use of demonstratives from the linguistic questionnaire and some other aspects of vocabulary and grammar.

4.1.- Theory of Accommodation: Dialect Accommodation

One of the most interesting linguistic phenomena among Basque American speakers in Elko is the ability most have to accommodate to each other's dialectal variety or, at least, understand other dialects, using their polylectal competence.

The theory of accommodation between dialects attempts to explain, first, why speakers modify their language in the way and to the extent that they do, and second, which effects and costs are produced by this type of modification. Dialect accommodation can be studied within Giles's theory of linguistic accommodation: speakers accommodate to each other linguistically by reducing the dissimilarities between their speech patterns and adopting features from each other's speech.

The theory of accommodation, founded during the 1970s, studies the motivations underlying and the consequences arising from ways in which we adapt our language and communication patterns toward others'. The first studies were within Speech Accommodation Theory (SAT). Giles reinterpreted the prestigiousness of speech styles studied by Labov as having been mediated by interpersonal accommodation processes. "The supposition was that context formality-informality determining the prestigiousness of phonological variants could be supplanted by an interpretation in terms of interpersonal influence of the interviewee's convergence with the interviewer" (Giles et al. 1991: 5). Now the interview's influence was taken into consideration for the first time.

SAT has been moving in a more interdisciplinary direction since then, focusing on non-verbal and discursive dimensions of social interaction: now scholars refer to it as Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT).

Speakers may converge or diverge. Convergence is the strategy whereby individuals adapt to each other's communicative behaviors in terms of a wide range of linguistic-prosodic-nonverbal features, including speech rate, pausal phenomena, utterance length, phonological variants, smiling, gaze, and so on. Divergence, on the contrary, is the term used to refer to the way in which speakers accentuate speech and non-verbal differences between themselves and others (ibid: 7-8).

Linguistic convergence is a strategy used by Basque Elkoans more often than one might have expected. Generally speaking, Euskaldunes, especially immigrants, converged toward other dialects. Language is an ethnic marker that unites this group. Sometimes, nevertheless, some speakers did not wish to make any effort to accommodate, which results in disapproval by other members of the ethnic group. One informant wondered why every Basque in America should not try to understand and help one another if they are all in the same circumstances: they all came to this country to work.

There are several reasons why speakers would accommodate to each other linguistically, but the most important seems to be the necessity of mutual assistance

within the ethnic group in a foreign society. All coming from the same culture and speaking the same language, although sometimes with significant differences, it is normal that Basque immigrants especially attempted to interact in their own language as much as they could. Accordingly, they adopted features from each other's speech. This is not very surprising, given a contact situation. What is more surprising is the fact that some speakers have the ability to change their speech with regard to their interlocutor, even if they do not adopt other's dialectal variety perfectly.

The problem is to capture the contexts in which they accommodate in natural speech, and samples of this accommodation. Since most informants speak Biscayan, like myself, they did not normally try to accommodate when talking to me. I compared the interview I did with a Biscayan immigrant from the coast to another interview done with him by a male Gipuzcoan for a Basque newspaper.[45] While this informant used a very low degree of mixing in talking to me, he adopted a completely different intonation, much slower speed, and many eastern dialect features when answering the questions asked by the journalist (even though the latter tried to accommodate to the former's speech). I tried to provide an informal context for my interview, which took place at my informant's house, and after I had talked to him several times. The other interview took place during the Basque festival in Elko this year (only about a week after I recorded him), the first time interviewer and interviewee had met. The interviewer also used a rather formal register, as if they had a public audience. This informant's speech, when talking to me, was much more rapid. He made more contractions, yodizations (for example, *Bakizo*[46] 'Bakio', *arotzize* 'carpenter's shop') and palatalizations (for example, *eitxen* 'doing'), characteristic of his basilect. He uses Spanish for large numbers.[47] (He does not worry about giving them in Basque, as in the other interview. In that, on the contrary, he did not give numbers in Spanish, but only in Euskara, which proves his careful speech.) He spoke more slowly, changed intonation and accent (giving a much more Eastern type),[48] did not use so many yodizations (for ex. *Bakiotarra*) and contractions (he also uses some Biscayan contracted verbal forms, though) and he even changed syntax, using series of sintagms (for ex. "biskainoak ekarten du .. beren parientak edo, lengusuak edo,.. nor besela" 'the Biscayan [person] brings.. his/her relatives or, cousins or,.. like me'). Finally, he also adopted many vocabulary items that he hardly used when talking to me, for example: *sarri* 'soon', *onki* 'well', *berantiago* 'later', *erran* 'to say', *anitz* 'many', *lembisiko* 'first'.

Convergence happens not only in a Biscayan to Eastern direction. A woman from Nafarroa Beherea also tried to accommodate to my speech, even though she noticed I understood her with no problems.

In addition, informants change their basilect variety in more formal situations,

(45) Thanks to Miel Anjel Elustondo for his help in this matter.

(46) /z/ is a prepalatal voiced fricative, like in English *vision* or French *journal*.

(47) Most informants gave me their year of birth and other large numbers in Spanish or, at least, in both Spanish and Euskara or English and Euskara.

(48) As he told me in the first part of the interview, he worked for many years for a French-Basque.

even if they are Biscayans, when talking to me. Another informant, a male from the Biscayan coast, did so. I called him to make an appointment, and he asked me to visit him the same day. First, I recorded him, and after half an hour, he asked me to turn off the recording machine, and we continued talking about his home town, family, and friends. During the first part of the conversation (the recorded one, "the real interview" conducted by myself), he used a much more formal variety, and with a high degree of eastern features. During the second part, we chatted about the topics he proposed and he started to use his basilect more and more. Unfortunately, this second part was not recorded.

The study of register switching requires the recording of a huge amount of natural language data in different social situations.

I made some recordings of natural conversation, but not enough to reach any kind of firm conclusion. On the other hand, I tried to get narrative texts by asking my informants first about their life and, especially, their arrival in the U.S. However, these conversations turned out to be, sometimes, more interviews (in other words, a succession of questions and short answers) than natural conversations. Many informants were intimidated by the recording machine, and even if they told me their life in a very comfortable way beforehand, as soon as I showed them the recording machine, they started giving me very short answers.

Labov critized interviews for their unrepresentativeness of everyday language. Other scholars, nevertheless, believe interviews may be used, but along with using ethnographic insights to help develop culture-sensitive interviewing procedures (Milroy et al. 1991: 292). These scholars also stress the necessity for the fieldworker to become attached to local networks.[49] They propose an ethnographic study in two steps: first, interpreted method (in the Gumperz-style line of unsystematically observed data), and second, the systematic approach to data promoted by Labov. This ethnographic study must take into account the role of the investigator in interaction (ibid: 298). As is clear from the examples given, in this case, the investigator's own speech is determinant.

In conclusion, some speakers have a great ability to accommodate to other dialectal varieties in a highly systematic way, and they decide, consciously or unconsciously, when to do it. In addition, due to this accommodation process (developed during decades in Elko), speakers adopted mixed forms under the influence of other varieties. These two interrelated phenomena (register switching and usage of mixed forms) are due to linguistic accommodation. The former cannot be studied from the results of the linguistic questionnaire, but the translation exercise shows the latter.

Speakers accommodate by imitation, and sometimes this accommodation may be imperfect. "The failure to imitate another variety correctly may extend also to the level of language use and communicative competence. Speakers not only have an incorrect analysis of the phonology and grammar of other dialects, they also have an

(49) I also tried to get involved culturally in the activities of the Elko Basque Club, and I even taught Euskara lessons to some children.

inadequate appreciation of how they are employed in social interaction" (Trudgill 1983: 12). In other words, speakers make mistakes because they do not have a rule-governed knowledge of those features. Imperfect accommodation may lead to the (temporary or permanent) development of forms that are intermediate in other ways (Trudgill 1986: 78). For instance, some Elkoans adopt a Navarrese form of the demonstrative together with a basilectal one in double demonstrative forms like *onekin abade onegas* 'with this priest'. Some speakers also adopt the Navarrese demonstrative, but they place it before the noun, or repeat it, like in Biscayan: *okeri kosinerueri* 'to these cooks', *okin maistra okin* 'with these (female) teachers'.

The case of Elko is reminiscent of what Trudgill calls "dialect transportation" in European new towns deliberately created by governments. In dialect transportation, the second generation is influenced in the development of their native dialect (we cannot talk about a standardized dialect in Elko, though). In this generation, there is a greater degree of similarity between the speech of individuals. In the third generation, we find further reduction of variant forms (1986: 95). The first contact situation in this kind of new towns reminds one of the contact situation in Elko. The low use of Basque among the second and third generations makes the latter different, however.

But, going back to the reasons for speakers to accommodate, I must say that some speakers are very integrated within the Basque community in Elko; others are not. "People who are well integrated into a particular social group may have linguistic characteristics rather different from those who are more peripheral in the group, because the influence of the group will be less strong and less consistent on the peripheral members" (Chambers and Trudgill 1980: 75). Undoubtedly, people wishing to play an important part within their ethnic community will try to accommodate to the group's linguistic tendencies. (One cannot forget that not every speaker has the same linguistic ability and/or interest.)

In addition, social ambition is a feature that may often lead to differences in linguistic behavior for people who might objectively appear to fall into the same social category. "... our understanding of the social correlates of linguistic variation can depend upon very subtle social factors, like individual ambition, as well as upon the more obvious factors of social differentiation, like age, sex, social class and ethnic background" (Chambers and Trudgill 1980: 80). I believe individual social ambition is an important reason for some speakers either to accommodate to others' speech or maintain their own variety when they wish to do so, according to their social situation. It is my feeling that people who own businesses and deal with Basque speakers are more capable of accommodation than other speakers. Comparing the results from the questionnaire on language knowledge, use, and attitudes, it can be stated that, in general, informants with a better knowledge of English also seem to have a better ability to accommodate to other dialectal varieties in Euskara. I believe that the reason is more social than linguistic.

Social groups tend to alter their speech in more formal styles. "Whenever there is class differentiation in a linguistic variable, it is the variant used by the higher

classes that is ascribed more status or prestige than the other variants" (Chambers and Trudgill 1980: 82). Stylistic variation, by this explanation, is a direct result of social class value judgements about particular linguistic variants, and formal situations lead to a greater use of the highly valued forms. The variables can be markers (systematic stylistic variation) or indicators (non-systematic).

Dialect accommodation situations may lead to mixing. In mixing situations several linguistic phenomena may occur, such as simplification, levelling, reallocation, and the creation of interdialect forms.

Mühlhäusler has argued that simplification can be taken to refer to an 'increase in regularity', and it is a term which should be used relatively, with reference to some earlier stage of the variety or varieties in question. There are two types of simplifications: increase in morphophonemic regularity (loss of inflections; increase in invariable word forms), on the one hand, and increase in the 'regular correspondence between content and expression' (increase in morphological and lexical transparency), on the other. In the linguistic questionnaire I administered to my informants I found, for instance, loss of inflections to occur more often in speakers with a higher level of language attrition.

Levelling is the reduction or attrition of marked (unusual) variants. Normally, the most widely distributed forms (both geographically and socially) are the ones retained. Sometimes, notwithstanding, less widespread forms are preferred for their simplicity, for example the form *-t(z)en* to make "potential" sentences: *etortzen al da* 's/he can come', *egiten al dosu* 'you can do it', avoiding the use of the potential auxiliaries common in all the western Basque Country,[50] for example *etorri daiteke* or *etorri leike* 's/he can come', *egin zeinke* 'you can do it'.

The term 'interdialect' refers to situations where contact between dialects leads to the development of forms that originally were used in neither dialect (Trudgill 1983: 62), for example *ok profesorekin* 'with these teachers' (Navarrese demonstrative but before the noun, like in Biscayan).

Reallocation is another common phenomenon in dialect accommodation: sometimes an originally dialectal feature may be reallocated in contact situations into a social or stylistic variable (ibid: 110-126).

Levelling and simplification, both due to accommodation processes, are crucial in new-dialect formation in contact situations. The combination of levelling and simplification is referred to as koinéization. A koiné is a historically mixed but synchronically stable dialect which contains elements from the different dialects that went into the mixture, as well as interdialect forms that were present in none (Trudgill 1986: 107-108). Elkoan Basque is historically mixed but it is not synchronically stable, as the linguistic questionnaire showed.

Nevertheless, the feeling many speakers have of speaking a "mixed language" is

(50) The increasing use of the parallel form *egin ahal da, egin ahal duzu* among younger native and new speakers in the Basque Country is not a coincidence. The verbal system in Euskara is a very complex one, which has been losing forms during the last centuries. It is losing verb paradigms drastically in oral use among younger speakers.

curious. They normally devalue their speech because of the introduction of borrowings (from Spanish and English) but not so much for the mixing of dialectal forms. Sometimes, they do not even notice them.

Their awareness, generally speaking, of the necessity for a standard language and the prestige it has among Basque Elkoan people is also very interesting.

Linguistic accommodation may produce two kinds of change: socially motivated change and structurally motivated change. According to Polinsky (In press-a), "The difference between them is a reflection of the period of time it takes for a change to develop". Socially motivated change takes a shorter period of time to develop (normally less than three years, according to Polinsky's study).

It is more expectable to find structural change in the Euskara of Elko, since informants have been interacting, and living in this country, for so much time. Nevertheless, dialect accommodation is, in essence, a socially motivated phenomenon in the sense that speakers try to accommodate to (or sometimes be distinguished from) others' speech as a signal of incorporation and involvement in (or rejection of) the others'. With the passing of time, these socially motivated changes become structural.

Apart from changes produced by the influence of other dialectal varieties of Euskara, we can also find changes produced by the influence of English and/or American society. Borrowing of discourse markers from English is one such socially motivated change towards American society. The comparison between Emigré / American Basque and European Basque discourse markers is complicated, since discourse markers in oral Basque have not been deeply studied.

Polinsky has the impression that discourse markers in Emigré Russian occur much more frequently than the discourse markers of Full Russian or the respective discourse markers in American English. I think that this is also true for some Basque speakers, especially immigrant women. I counted the discourse marker *badakizu* (*baakisu* 'you know'), used by different informants in the same period of time (seven minutes), and I found that whereas one female immigrant used it twenty-eight times and another seven, an American male used it just once, and a male immigrant also only once. Two more immigrants never used it in the same amount of time. I also counted this discouse marker in a half-hour free conversation between a married couple and me. The wife used it eighteen times, the husband eight, and I never did so. The reason for this overuse of discourse markers has to do with prestige, in Polinsky's words: "It seems that Emigré Russian discourse markers serve to indicate the speaker's familiarity with American English and a prestigious way of speaking; thus, they acquire an additional social function as compared to their Full Russian and American English counterparts". Women also seem to use more often English discourse markers like *o my god*, *my gosh*, *you bet*, *anyway* (*an estao txamisurik, gure parajean, anyway* 'there is no sagebrush there, in our land, anyway') , *that's it*, *I don't know*, *ya*, *no*, *O.K.*, *see* (*see, diferentea da* 'see, it is different'), *wait a minute* (*wait a minute, etxoin!* 'wait a minute, wait'). It seems that the use of English discourse markers by Basque-speaking Elkoans is due to borrowing more than to code-switching.

3.2.- Manifestations of Language Attrition

In addition to dialect accommodation, Basque in Elko also exhibits phenomena due to the low frequency of usage of some speakers. Language obsolescence or attrition refers to incomplete language competence, or to a reduced language as opposed to full language.

Language attrition is a very common consequence of immigration. Polinsky found significant attrition in all the languages she studied in the U.S., especially when their speakers had left their original speech community as young children (In press-b).

The linguistic questionnaire (translations) turned out to be very efficient for the study of language attrition.

A problem often mentioned by scholars (for instance Trudgill 1983, Polinsky In press-a) is the inability of informants to employ their passive competence to make judgements about forms usual in other dialects. Polinsky also points out that her informants easily accept anything. Some of my informants did not accept forms like *orrek maisuekin* 'with those (male) teachers', telling me that the utterance was wrong because the demonstrative must go after the noun in Basque (in fact it does in their dialect). Nevertheless, five minutes before they had given me the inessive plural *ok etxiotan* 'in those houses', with anteposition of the demonstrative under Biscayan influence.

Basque immigrants often have difficulties due to inadequate knowledge of English. This is why I gave them the choice of being asked the linguistic questions (translations) in either English or Spanish. Some said that they did not care, and some preferred the English version. There was only one informant who knew both Spanish and English and who preferred to be asked to translate from English, which suggests a better competence (or, at least, more security) in the second language than the third.

It is very curious that speakers with greater attrition are not aware of it, while the speakers with better proficiency perceive better their limitations. I agree with Polinsky that this may be explained by the diminished awareness of the linguistic structures and the overall perception of any utterance as well formed (In press-b). In fact, speakers with greater attrition judged every sentence I proposed to them as acceptable, even if sometimes they were aware of the ungrammaticality of some of their utterances.

Language attrition in native speakers has been related to second language learning, baby talk, and pidgin and creole languages. In fact, Schumann studied the development of the untutored acquisition of English by six speakers and developed the pidginization hypothesis of second language learning. He found that some speakers use a simplified and restricted variety of English, with linguistic features which are shared with pidgin languages like, for example, lack of question inversion, of auxiliaries, of inflection of possessives, use of the unmarked form of the verb for past tense, or deletion of subject pronouns (Romaine 1988: 212-213). Some of the linguistic phenomena I found among Elkoan native speakers also occur among

students of Euskara as a second language, for instance, deletion of case markers (for example, *ori andrie esan dau* 'that woman said it', losing the ergative, instead of *orrek andreak esan dau*) or lack of dative concordance in the verb (for example *aurra aret*[51] *eman du gasta mutil oneri* 'the child gave the cheese to this boy', lit. 'that child over there gave the cheese to this boy', not marking the dative concordance in the verb, and using the demonstrative after the noun but with the definite form of the latter, instead of *aurrak eman dio gasta mutil oneri*; or, *karniseroa eman du aragia kozineroak* 'the butcher gave the meat to these cooks', losing the demonstrative, the ergative and dative markers in the noun phrases and dative concordance in the verb, instead of *Karniseroak eman dio*[52] *aragia kozineruei / kozineruokeri*).

3.3.- Use of Demonstratives

Before starting to analyze the data gathered in the linguistic questionnaire, I will give the demonstrative paradigms of Batua, Unified Biscayan, and some dialectal norms. The same forms of demonstratives in Basque can function as either pronouns or adjectives. Euskara, like Spanish, has three forms of demonstratives for the singular and three more for the plural, representing three different degrees of proximity. Since English has only two degrees of proximity, I will translate the third Basque one as 'that/those over there'.

Although there are sixteen cases in Basque, I only asked my informants for seven, the most representative. The ones I chose are: Nominative (Nom.), also called Absolutive, case of the subject of intransitive verbs and direct object of transitive verbs; Ergative (Erg.), case of the subject of transitive verbs, also called "active" in traditional Basque grammars; Dative (Dat.), case of the indirect object; Genitive (Gen.), case that expresses possession; Comitative (Com.), also called Sociative, case that indicates 'being with'; Inessive (Ines.), case that expresses position; Allative (All.), case that expresses direction to. In addition, Basque, unlike Indo-European languages, has alternative "close" forms, more used in the plural, for example: *onek euskaldunak / onek euskaldunok* 'these Basques', the latter expressing proximity to the speaker. Basque also have "intensive" forms for pronouns and adverbs, for example: *hau* 'this', *hauxe* 'exactly this'; *hemen* 'here', *hementxe* 'exactly here'.

The following chart shows the forms Euskaltzaindia proposes for Batua (1987: 126-137):

	Sg.			Pl.		
	'this'	'that'	'that over there'	'these'	'that'	'that over there'
Nom.	*hau*	*hori*	*hura*	*hauek*	*horiek*	*haiek*
Erg.	*honek*	*horrek*	*hark*	*hauek*	*horiek*	*haiek*
Dat.	*honi*	*horri*	*hari*	*hauei*	*horiei*	*haiei*
Gen.	*honen*	*horren*	*haren*	*hauen*	*horien*	*haien*

(51) See 3.3.- Use of Demonstratives: Use of Demonstratives by American Basques for an explanation of the shift from /k/ to /t/.

(52) All the Navarrese informants gave the forms *dio* or *dako* with the morpheme of dative for the third person singular, instead of the third person plural. Pedro de Yrizar (1981: 170-71) gives the corresponding plural forms: *diote* and *dakote*.

Com.	*honekin*	*horrekin*	*harekin*	*hauekin*	*horiekin*	*haiekin*
Ines.	*honetan*	*horretan*	*hartan*	*hauetan*	*horietan*	*haietan*
All.	*honetara*	*horretara*	*hartara*	*hauetara*	*horietara*	*haietara*

According to Euskaltzaindia, in Batua the demonstrative adjectives must go at the end of the noun phrase. Some of the intensive forms that appear in Euskaltzaindia 1985 have the suffix *-xe* (*hauxe, horixe,...*) ('exactly this, that,..'). Other forms, such as *berau* 'exactly this', *berori* 'exactly that', *bera* 'exactly that over there', are also mentioned. Euskaltzaindia does not even mention the Biscayan usage whereby the demonstrative is mostly repeated (before and after the noun), or located only before the noun. The phonological value of tonal accent in demonstratives, both adjectives and pronouns, to differentiate the singular from the plural (erg sg: *onek, orrek, arek;* erg pl: *ónek, órrek, árek*) is characteristic of Biscayan.[53]

I could not find demonstrative paradigms for all the towns my informants come from. I will give a selection.[54]

Proposal for Unified Biscayan[55] (Arejita et al. 1983: 19)

	Sg.			Pl.		
	'this'	'that'	'that over there'	'these'	'those'	'that over there'
Nom.	*hau*	*hori*	*ha*	*honeek*	*horreek*	*hareek*
Erg.	*honek*	*horrek*	*harek*	*honeek*	*horreek*	*hareek*
Dat.	*honi*	*horri*	*hari*	*honeei*	*horreei*	*hareei*
Gen.	*honen*	*horren*	*haren*	*honeen*	*horreen*	*hareen*
Com.	*honegaz*	*horregaz*	*haregaz*	*honeekaz*	*horrekaz*	*hareekaz*
	honekin	*horrekin*	*harekin*	*honeekin*	*horreekin*	*hareeki*
Ines.	*honetan*	*horretan*	*haretan*	*honeetan*	*horreetan*	*hareetan*
All.[56]	*honetara*	*horretara*	*haretara*	*honeetara*	*horreetara*	*hareetara*

According to Pérez Bilbao (1991: 25-29), the demonstrative adjectives are placed before the noun in the Biscayan of Bermeo, and both adjective and noun are declined. For example:

Sg. Nom.	*hau etxie*[57]	*hori txakurre*	*ha mendije*
	'this house'	'that dog'	'that mountain ov th'

He also gives the three grades declined in some of the cases:

	Sg.		Pl.	
Erg.	*honek txakurrek*	'this dog'	*hónek txakurrek*	'these dogs'
Dat.	*hareri gizonari*	'to that man over there'	*hárei gizonai*	'to those men over there'

(53) Although differences in accent could have also been considered (see Jacobsen 1972: 67-109) in what follows, the available data does not make it feasible. For a description of the word-prosody systems of Basque, see Hualde 1991: 139-77.

(54) I give only the cases that I used in my questionnaire.

(55) This proposal tries to unify Biscayan diversity on a written level, and moving towards Unified Batua. That is why the graphemes *h* and *z* are used. Aspiration is not made in Biscayan, and *z* is not pronounced as distinct from *s*.

(56) I added this form, which was not in the source, based on the pattern.

(57) The *h* is not pronounced. This author mixes spelling and phonological transcription. The *z* is also neutralized with *s*.

Com.	*horregaz zapati(e)gaz*	'with that shoe'	*hórrekaz zapatakaz*	'with those shoes'
Ines.	*hamen etxien*	'in this house'	*hónetan etxietan*	'in these houses'
All.	*hona herrire*	'to this town'	*hónetara herrijetara*	'to these towns'

The intensive forms are characterized by an accent on the first syllable, and the diphthongization of its vowel: *háunek* 'exactly these', *háuneri* 'to exactly these', etc.

Juan Manuel Etxebarria gives also some demonstrative forms in his ethnolinguistic study of the Biscayan of Zeberio valley (1991: 128-131).

	Sg.					
	'this'	'that'	'that over there'	'these'	'those	'those over there'
Nom.	*au*	*ori*	*a*	*onik*	*orrik*	*aik*
Erg.	*onek*	*orrek*	*ak*	*onik*	*orrik*	*aik*
Dat.	*oneri*	*orreri*	*areri*	*oniri*	*orriri*	*aieri/airi*
Gen.	*onen*	*orren*	*aren*	*onin*	*orrin*	*ain*
Com.	*onegas*	*orregas*	*aregas*	*onikas*	*orrika*	*aikas*
Ines	*onetan*	*orretan*	*aretan/atan*	*onitan*	*orritan*	*aietan/aitan*
All.	*onetara*	*orretara*	*aretara/atara*	*onitara*	*orritara*	*aitara*

This scholar also gives the repeated forms:[58]

	'this door'	'that door'	'that door over there'
Nom.	*au ate au*	*ori ate ori*	*a atea*
Erg.	*onek ate onek*	*orrek ate orrek*	*ak ateak*
Dat.	*oneri ate oneri*	*orreri ate orreri*	*areri ateari*
Gen.	*onen ate onen*	*orren ate orren*	*aren atean*
Com.	*onegas ateonegas*	*orregas ate orregas*	*aregas ateagas*
Ines.	*onetan ateonetan*	*orretan ate orretan*	*an atean*
All.	*ona ate onetara*	*orra ate orretara*	*ara atera*

	'these doors'	'those doors'	'those doors over there'
Nom.	*onik ateok*	*orrik ateok*	*aik ateak*
Erg.	*onik ateok*	*orrik ateok*	*aik ateak*
Dat.	*oniri ateori*	*orriri ateori*	*airi ateari*
Gen.	*onin ateon*	*orrin ateon*	*ain atean*
Com.	*onikas ateokas*	*orrikas ateokas*	*aikas ateakas*
Ines.	*onitan ateotan*	*orritan ateotan*	*aitan ateatan*
All.	*onitara ateotara*	*orritara ateotara*	*aitara ateatara*

According to this paradigm, in Zeberio, the demonstrative goes both before and after the noun, but for the allative (also for the locative genitive, and the ablative) singular, instead of the first demonstrative they use the place adverbs *(ona, orra, ara)* (ibid: 133-134). In the plural, instead of the demonstrative, they use the proximate plural. This linguist also mentions forms in which, in the singular, instead of the second demonstrative, the article is suffixed. This kind of form (*au gixona*, *ori gixona*, *auxe gixona*, etc.) has an expressive value, in his opinion.[59]

(58) I have normalized this paradigm, giving the repeated demonstrative together with the noun in the third grade and plural. The author gives them as separate words.

(59) I think this kind of form is used much more in oral speech than some dialectologists have reported.

According to Hualde et al. (1995), "In Lekeitio, as in many other Biscayan varieties, demonstratives in their adjectival use appear in phrase-initial position, to the left of the noun. In noun phrases containing demonstratives, case inflection appears both on the demonstrative and phrase-finally. An inflected suffixal copy of the demonstrative may also appear at the end of the phrase, as in the right-column examples. In some plural cases (genitive, benefactive and comitative), the phrase-initial demonstrative may be optionally left in its absolutive/ergative form, whereas the noun (or adjetive) inflects for the corresponding case". The following are some of the cases they give:

	'this child'		'that child'	
Nom.	*au umia*	*au umiau*	*ori umia*	*ori umiori*
Erg.	*onek umiak*	*onek umionek*	*orrek umiak*	*orrek umiorrek*
Dat.	*oneri umiari*	*oneri umioneri*	*orreri umiari*	*orreri umiorreri*
Gen.	*onen umien*	*onen umionen*	*orren umien*	*orren umiorren*
Soc.	*oné(g)as umiá(g)as*	*oné(g)as umioné(g)as*	*orré(g)as umiá(ga)s*	*orré(g)as umiorré(g)as*

	'that child over there'	'these children'	
Nom.	*a umia*	*ónek umiak/umíok*	
Erg.	*arek umiak*	*ónek umíak/umíok*	
Dat.	*areri umiari*	*onéri umiári/umióri*	*onéri umionéri*
Gen.	*aren umien*	*ónen umíen/umíon*	*ónen umiónen*
Soc.	*aré(g)as umiá(g)as*	*onékiñ umiákiñ/-ókiñ*	*onékiñ umionékiñ*

	'those children'		'those children over there'
Nom.	*órrek umíak/umíok*		*árek umíak*
Erg.	*órrek umíak/umíok*		*árek umíak*
Dat.	*orréri umiári/umióri*	*orréri umiorréri*	*áreri umíari*
Gen.	*órren/órrek umíen/umíon*		*áren/árek umíen*
Soc.	*orrékiñ umiákiñ/-ókiñ*	*orrékiñ umiorrékiñ*	*arékiñ/árek umiákiñ*

They also report that the original forms of the demonstrative series have been lost in the singular, and that the place adverbs are used instead, for example:

amen etxian	'in this house'	*orra etxera*	'in that house over there'
ona etxera	'to this house'	*ara etxera*	'to that house over there'
or etxian	'in that house'	*an etxian*	'to that house'

But, the plural forms maintain the demonstrative:

onétan etxiótan/-étan and *onétan etxionétan*	'in these houses'
onetára etxiotára/-etára and *onetára etxionetára*	'to these houses'
orrétan etxiótan/-étan	'in those houses'
orretára etxiotára/-eta	'to those houses'
arétan etxiétan	'in those houses over there'
aretára etxietára	'to those houses over there'[60]

(60) They also give the forms: *onek etxiotáko/-etáko* and *ónen etxiotáko* ('of these houses'), with the nominative or genitive form in the demonstrative. Forms of this kind appear very often among my informants.

The intensive demonstratives have the suffix *-xe/-txe* in Lekeitian dialect, according to the same authors.

Use of demonstratives by Biscayan immigrants

I administered the linguistic questionnaire to twenty-five Biscayan immigrants, but three were incomplete, so I did not take them into consideration for this section. The following table shows: first, how many times they used the form *beste* 'other' in the questionnaire for the third grade; second, how many times (out of fourteen: seven cases for the singular, and seven for the plural) they distinguished the three grades; third, how many times they did not use the second grade[61] (*ori, orrek, orra, or*, etc.); fourth, how many times they used the form *ango* 'of there' for the third grade; fifth, how many mixed (unexpected for their family[62] dialectal background) forms they used; sixth, forms differing in another way from the "expected" ones.

Infor.	*beste*	*3 gr.*	*ori*	*ango*	*mixed*	*other*
A.A.	-	-	-	-	-	-
L.E.	0	8	0	0	0	3
D.O.	0	6	0	0	0	0
M.L.	3	12	1	0	0	3
D.M.	3	8	3	0	0	0
J.L.	0	0	10	12	4	0
J. J.	0	1	7	0	1	0
J.M.U.	2	9	1	0	0	1
Js.J.	0	0	5	0	7	0
P.O.	0	2	10	0	0	2
M.I.	1	6	5	0	0	0
E.Y.	-	-	-	-	-	-
A.M.A.	3	12	2	0	1	1
A.E.	0	1	0	0	0	9
Jn.L.	6	1	6	0	0	5
I.T.	-	-	-	-	-	-
A.U.	0	11	3	0	0	0
B./J.M.	0	13	1	0	0	5
J.A.	8	4	2	0	0	3
J.U.	1	3	6	3	0	1
I.I.	5	5	7	0	1	2
S.I.	4	2	5	0	0	3
J.M.	0	8	6	0	0	16
S.A.	0	11	1	0	4	0
M.M.	0	10	3	1	0	13

The first four columns reflect the use of the three grades of approximation in the demonstratives (and adverbs of place). From twenty-two informants, six mostly distinguished and used the three grade system (at least ten times out of fourteen cases). Taking gender into account, from the five women[63] who answered the questionnaire completely, four mostly distinguished the three grades (one thirteen times

(61) If they used the the second grade form for another grade, I did not count it as lost.

(62) I did not count as unfamiliar vocabulary forms that are not used in the Basque Country, like *potreru* 'field', *tentia* 'tent', etc.

(63) B.M. and J.L.M. were together at the time of the interview, but it was B.M. who mostly answered the linguistic questionnaire.

out of fourteen, two more twelve times, and one ten times), whereas the fifth one only did so half of the possible times.

Among men, only two (out of seventeen, since one questionnaire was incomplete) made the difference ten or more times (in fact, both did so eleven times). These two informants gave a very normative questionnaire, never using *beste* or *ango*, and losing the second grade (*ori* declined, or the corresponding adverb of place) only once and three times respectively.

If we compare the paradigm of repeated demonstratives for the Biscayan of Zeberio (Etxebarria 1991), and the forms given by A.U., informant from the same town, we find some differences. First, the singular forms are exactly the same except for the inessive. Etxebarria gives the demonstratives *onetan ate onetan*, *orretan ate orretan*, *an ate an*,[64] whereas my informant gave the adverbs of place *emen etxean*, *an etxean* (for both the second and third grades). Most important, the whole plural differs in two features. On the one hand, my informant does not make the phonetic change of *ee* to *i* which reminds one of the forms proposed for written Biscayan, whose main purpose is that of unification of the different Biscayan varieties. *Honeek* (/ónek/) is closer to my informant's forms than *onik*. (The Arratian dialect shows an intermediate form: *oneik*). For example the plural forms:

Case	Unified Biscayan	Elkoan infor.	Zeberio
Nom.	*honeek*	*onek*	*onik*
Erg.	*honeek*	*onek*	*onik*
Dat.	*honeei*	*oneri*	*oniri*
Gen.	*honeen*	*onen*	*onin*
Ines.	*honeetan*	*onetan*	*onitan*
Soc.	*honeekaz*	*onekas*	*onikas*

On the other hand, my informant did not use the "close" plural form, giving *onek euskaldunak* 'these Basques' instead of *onek euskaldunok*; *oneri kosinerueri* 'to these cooks' instead of *oneri kosinenuori*, etc.[65]

Finally he did not use[66] the form *-rengan* for animate beings in the inessive, but only the one for the inanimate (*onetan / orretan / aretan emakumeatan* 'in these / those / those (over there) women').

The other informant who clearly kept the three grade demonstrative system used a variety, for the linguistic questionnaire, closer to Unified Basque than to his basilect, placing the demonstrative (always) after the noun. Nevertheless, he did not use Lesakan forms, and he was very consistent. For example,

(64) Nevertheless, he also gives the adverbs in the allative.

(65) According to the paradigm given by Etxebarria, in Zeberio only forms that are close in Batua are used; my informant from Zeberio only gave plain forms. I do not know if the other forms are available for either the dialect of Zeberio or my informant.

(66) Nevertheless, informants had, in general, problems in translating these sentences. I am afraid that it was not a good sentence for getting the marker for animate beings. It may also be possible that my informants use this case less (nobody used it in translation elicitations, although I heard it a couple of times in spontaneous speech). In addition, this inessive marker for animate beings is not always used in the Basque Country either.

Nom. sg.	*emakume au / ori / ura*	'this / that / that (over there) woman'
Erg. sg.	*makume onek / orrek / areke*	'this / that / that (over there) woman'
Gen. sg.	*emakume onen/orren/aren aitona*	'the grandfather of this / that / that (over there) woman'
Dat. sg.	*mutiko oni / orri / areri*	'to this / that / that (over there) boy'
All. sg.	*txabola ontara / ortara / artara*	'to this / that / that (over there) cabin'
Dat. pl.	*sukaldeko*[67] *gison auei / sukaldeko oiei / sukaldeko aiei*	'to these / those / those (over there) cooks'
Soc. pl.	*erakusle aiekin / orrekin / aiekin*	'with these / those / those (over there) teachers'.

There are also two informants who never made the three grade difference. They both translated from English. One gave the same form for the second and third grades in the singular and made relative clauses for the third grade in the plural. For example, erg. sg. *onek emakume onek* 'this woman', *arek emakumeak* 'that woman' and 'that woman over there'; *onek neskasaar onek* 'these maiden ladies', *orrek neskasarrok* 'those maiden ladies', *orrek an direan neskasarrok* 'those maiden ladies over there'.[68] This informant also shows a high level of dialectal mixing: he mostly uses the demonstrative repeated or before the noun, but sometimes he postposes it. Four times he used Lesakan forms before the noun: in the dative plural (*okeri kosinerueri* 'to these cooks'), allative plural (*ok soluetara* 'to these fields'), sociative plural (*okin maistra okin* 'with these [female] teachers'), inessive plural (*oketan etxeotan* 'in these houses').

The other informant from this group who translated from English, uses the third grade to translate 'that' and the form *ango ... -a* to translate 'over there'. Nevertheless, I believe this is due to the exercise itself, being from English. In addition, he mostly uses the demonstrative after the noun (only four times did he not do so), showing a tendency towards accommodation to other dialects, and also coinciding in most of the forms with Batua.

Another informant who did not use the second grade demonstratives or place adverbs ten times gave, most of the time, the same form for 'that' and 'that over there', even though he was given the forms in Spanish to translate. He makes the three grades in the nominative (with help), but he is not consistent at all with other cases.

In addition, *beste* 'other' is a popular form for the third grade. This is a surprising piece of information: I do not know why so many people used it without mentioning 'otro/a' or 'the other' in the sentences to be translated. Almost half of the informants used it at least once; one did so eight times.

According to the paradigms and descriptions given by Etxebarria (1991) and Pérez Bilbao (1991), the case marker appears twice, on each form (in both demonstratives, if it is a repeated form) or in the demonstrative and the noun (if it is a

(67) Notice that he avoids the use of borrowings for 'cook' and 'teacher'. He is trying to use a formal register. Actually, he turned to a much more "Biscayan" and colloquial register after we finished the formal interview.

(68) This informant did not use the second grade at all in the singular, but overused it in the plural. In other words, he did not lose any of the three grades, but he is not sure of their use.

simple form). Hualde et al. point out that in some plural cases (the genitive, benefactive, comitative, and locative) the phrase-initial demonstrative may optionally be left in its nominative/ergative form, whereas the noun inflects for the corresponding case. They give the following forms:

Gen. pl.	*órrek umíen*	'of those children'
	árek umíen	'of those children over there'
Ben. pl.	*ónek umiéntzat*	'for these children'
	órrek umiéntzat	'for those children'
	árek umiéntzat	'for those children over there'
Com. pl.	*árek umiñ*	'with those children over there'
Loc. pl.	*ónek etxiotáko / -etáko*	'of these houses'
	órrek etxiotáko / -etáko	'of those houses'
	árek etxietáko	'of those houses over there'
	ónek etxiotárutz	'towards these houses'
	órrek etxiotárutz	'towards those houses'
	árek etxiotárutz	'towards those houses over there'

I did not ask my informants about the benefactive and locative, but some of them gave me this kind of forms (demonstrative in the nominative plus noun declined) not only in the cases mentioned by Hualde et al., but also in the dative, allative, and inessive plural, and in the ergative, dative, comitative, and allative singular:

Erg. sg.	*a andreak*	'that woman (over there)'
Dat. sg.	*a mutillari*	'to that man (over there)'(twice)
All. sg.	*ori kampora*	'to that field',
	a txabolara	'to that cabin (over there)'
Soc. sg.	*au abadekin*	'with this priest',
	a neskatokin	'with that girl (over there)'
Dat. pl.	*arek kosinerueri*	'to those cooks (over there)'
Gen. pl.	*arek neskasarren kriyadue*	'the servant of those maiden ladies (over there)'
Soc. pl.	*onek maisukin*	'with these (male) teachers',
	onek andrakin	'with these women',
	orrek profesorakin	'with those teachers',
	orrek andrakin	'with those women',
	arek profesoriekas	'with those teachers (over there)',
	arek maisukin	'with those (male) teachers (over there)',
	arek andrakin	'with those women (over there)',
	arek beste maistrakin	'with those (female) teachers (over there),
	arek profesorakin	'with those teachers (over there)'
Ines. pl.	*orrek etxietan*	'in those houses',
	orrek beste etxietan	'in those houses (over there)',
	arek etxietan	'in those houses (over there)'
All. pl.	*orrek kamputara*	'to those fields',
	arek kampoetara	'to those fields (over there)',
	arek soloetara	'to those fields (over there)',
	arek kampotara	'to those fields (over there)',
	arek terrenoetara	'to those fields (over there)'.

The same authors also mention (90: footnote 7) that in the plural locative genitive, the nonlocative genitive form of the demonstrative can be used in Lekeitio, for example: *ónen etxiotáko* 'of these houses'. Some of my informants use the nonloca-

tive genitive form of the demonstrative in the inessive singular (I found it fourteen times), dative singular (five times), allative singular (once), allative plural (ten times), inessive plural (seven times), and comitative plural (three times):

Ines. sg:	*onen etxean*	'in this house',
	onen neskatillan	'in this girl',
	orren embrien	'in that woman',
	orren etxian and *orren etxien*	'in that house',
	orren neskien and *orren neskatillan*	'in that girl',
	aren etxean and *aren etxien*	'in that house (over there)',
	aren neskien and *aren neskatillan*	'in that girl (over there)',
	aren embrien	'in that woman (over there)'
Dat. sg.	*aren mutillari*	'to that boy (over there)'
All. sg.	*orren kabañara*	'to that cabin',
	aren kabañara	'to that cabin (over there)'
Com. sg.	*aren abadiagas*	'with that priest (over there)'
Com. pl.	*orren profesorakas*	'with those teachers'
Ines. pl.	*onen embratan*	'in these women',
	onen emakumeetan	'in these women',
	orren etxietan	'in those houses' (twice),
	orren embratan	'in those women',
	orren emakumeetan	'in those women',
	aren etxietan	'in those houses (over there),
	aren emakumeetan	'in those women (over there)'
All. pl.	*onen terrenoetara*	'to these fields',
	onen lekutara	'to these fields (lit. 'places')',
	orren kampora	'to those fields (lit. 'to this field')',
	orren terrenoetara	'to those fields',
	aren kampora	'to those fields (over there) (lit. 'to that field')' (twice),
	aren kamporat	'to those fields (over there) (lit. 'to that field')'.

It seems obvious that Elkoan Basque people in general, although not always and not all of them, use this kind of form (demonstrative declined in the nominative or genitive) more often than people in the Basque Country.

As the table shows, some informants did not use this kind of form even once. Others, on the contrary, use them a lot. I cannot find a reason that would explain this usage. Dialectal background is not determinant: speakers from the same town have different usages. (In addition, I administered the same linguistic questionnaire to the sister of the informant who used this kind of form the most. She lives in the Basque Country, but she was visiting in Elko, and, like her brother, she is a non-literate native speaker: she did not use a single one of these forms).

Other variables (age, gender, knowledge of other languages, contact situation with other Basque speakers, etc.) also proved futile when trying to find an explanation for the high use of this kind of form.

Use of demonstratives by Navarrese immigrants

Ten informants (almost one-third of the immigrants interviewed) are Navarrese. Six are from Lesaka; the others (from Lantz, Zubieta, Gaztelu, and Aranaz) originally speak the same subdialect, high Navarrese from the north, variety of Bortzirieta

except for the one from Lantz (variety of Ultzama). Regarding the use of demonstratives, there is no doubt that these speakers can differentiate the three grades, at least in most cases.[69] Normally, this distinction is well made in the nominative and accusative, confusion occurring only in other cases, for example, the allative singular forms: *txabola ontara* (cabin this-all) 'to this cabin'; *txabola artara* (cabin that (over there)-all) for both the second and third grades.

Some speakers (two), though, make a clear distinction, whereas two make the distinction in the singular but are not consistent in the plural, and three more distinguish two grades in some cases, and neutralize the third one inconsistently, the last ones giving for instance: gen. pl. *neskazarrokin* 'with these maiden ladies', *neskazar orrekin* 'with those maiden ladies', *ek, neskazar ekin* 'with those maiden ladies over there', but dat. pl. *kozineruokeri* 'to these cooks', *kozineruokeri* 'to those cooks', *kozinero ekeri* 'to those cooks over there'. (Finally, three informants had difficulty in translating, and their questionnaires were incomplete.)

The grade that gets mixed the most is the second one, probably under the influence of English. All these Navarrese informants were asked to translate sentences from Spanish, which does have three grades of proximity in demonstratives and adverbs of place. Consequently, not differentiating very clearly the three grades is not due, this time, to influence of the translation exercise itself.

As stated above, the grade which gets mixed the most is the second one, *ori* declined in different cases. Sometimes, the declined form of *ori* does occur, giving informants the same form for two or three grades, for example, in the dative singular: *aur orreri* 'to this child' for all three grades, or, sociative plural *profesore oyekin* 'with those teachers' for the first and second grades. Other times, the second grade is lacking, informants giving the third one instead. For example, in the nominative plural *euskaldunok* 'these Basques', *euskaldunek* 'those Basques' (lit. 'the / these Basques'), *beste euskaldunek* 'those Basques (over there)' (lit. 'the other Basques'); or, inessive singular, *etxi ontan* 'in this house', *etxe artan* 'in that house' (lit. 'in that house [over there]'), *beste etxian* 'in that house (over there)' (lit. 'in the other house').

This example shows clearly the way some informants find to still distinguish three different grades. Once they use the normative third form for the second grade of proximity, they need a different one for the last grade, and hence insert the word *beste* 'other'. This is a very common phenomenon among Elkoan informants. This form appears ten times in Navarrese speakers' translation elicitations, most of them from the two informants who have the most Biscayan influence in their speech. This form, *beste*, also occurs in combination with the demonstrative form for the second grade of proximity: *beste neskazar orrek* for both 'those maiden ladies' and 'those maiden ladies (over there)', lit. 'those other maiden ladies'. The demonstrative forms given by two informants (both immigrants from Lesaka, but married to Elkoan women whose parents were Biscayan) have a high degree of dialectal mixing. The

(69) The fact that some informants are not able to distinguish the three levels does not mean that they do not make these distinctions in their normal speech. The elicitation of translations is a difficult exercise, which makes some informants nervous and insecure.

most remarkable effect of this phenomenon is the anteposition of the demonstrative, common in Biscayan, but not at all in Navarrese. For instance, one gave the following interdialect forms for the intensive demonstratives in the nominative singular:[70]

au gison bera,	*ori gison bera,*	*gison ura bera*
this-nom man int-nom	that-nom man int-nom	man that (ov th) -nom int-nom
'exactly this man'	'exactly that man'	'extly th man ovth'

The last one is the basilectal form; the other two are influenced by Biscayan anteposition. In addition, this speaker did not correctly acquire the Biscayan forms, which would be:

au gixona bera	*ori gixona bera*	*a gixona bera*
this-nom man-nom	that-nom man-nom	that (ov th)-nom
int-nom	int-nom	man-nom int-nom
'exactly this man'	'exactly that man'	'extly that man over there'

In any case, the following forms are much more common in Biscayan:

auxe gixona	*orixe gixona*	*axe gixona*
this-int-nom man-nom	that-int-nom man-nom	that (ov th)-nom man-nom
'exactly this man'	'exactly that man'	'extly th man (ov th)'

This same informant also uses sometimes the forms *ok gisonok* 'these men' in the nominative plural. This form is reminiscent of the Biscayan *orrek gisonok*. Nevertheless, he is maintaining the Navarrese demonstrative form, even if he anteposes it by influence of Biscayan.

The other Lesakan informant with a high degree of dialectal mixing mostly uses the Biscayan demonstrative of third grade, with anteposition: *a atsua* (nom.) 'that old woman (over there)', *arek andriak* (erg.) 'that woman (over there)', *a andrian aitita*[71] (gen.) 'the grandfather of that woman (over there)', instead of the common Lesakan forms: *andri ura*, *andri arek*, and *andri aren atautzia*, respectively.

The same phenomenon of anteposition occurs also in the plural:

ek euskaldunak	*ok etxiotan*[72]
those (ov th) Basque-nom-pl	those house-close ines-pl
'those Basques (over there)'	'in those houses'

instead of

euskaldun ek	*etxi oietan*
Basque those (ov th)-nom pl	house those-ines-pl
'those Basques over there'	'in those houses'

He also uses Biscayan intensive forms, such as *auxe gisonau* (this-int-nom man-

(70) Notice the neutralization *s*/*z*.

(71) This form, *a andrian aitita* (that (ov th)-nom woman-gen-sg grandfather-nom-sg), also contains a very common simplification made by Biscayans in Elko: elision of the genitive in the demonstrative (instead of *aren andrian aitita*: that (ov th)-gen woman-gen grandfather-nom-sg). One needs to remember the forms given by Hualde et al. for Lekeitian dialect: *órrek umien* 'of these children'. Nevertheless, these scholars did not pick up the singular form.

(72) This is the same type of simplification, elision of the inessive plural marker in the demonstrative.

this-nom) 'exactly this man', *oixe gisona* (this-int-nom man-nom-sg) 'exactly that man', *oixek gisonak* (those-int-nom man-nom-pl) 'exactly those men'.

There is one more informant from Lesaka married to a Biscayan woman, born in the Old Country. He does not show any mixing at all. He uses the expected Lesakan forms. His performance was very carefully done; he is very consistent and normative and he even used the learned form *erakustalle* 'teacher', which shows a high degree of conciousness about using a formal register. This may be the reason why he did not use Biscayan forms during the interview; it does not mean that he never does.

Use of demonstratives by American Basques

From the eleven American-born informants interviewed, I will take into consideration only nine linguistic questionnaires, since two informants answered at the same time, and one more is a new speaker, who mostly learned Batua, and whose speech is outside of the purpose of this work. All except two are expected to have a low degree of mixing of dialectal forms, since they do not have relatives other than Biscayans and they do not interact much in Basque with other Basque speakers. The remaining three (four, if people who answered this questionnaire together are taken into consideration) seldom interact in Basque with speakers who use a different dialect. These three informants do not show any mixing of dialectal forms at all, but they do show some features differing from the dialectal norm in the Basque Country.

On the one hand, one informant does not normally use the second grade demonstratives, neither in the singular nor in the plural (she only used the second grade adverb of place *orra* 'to there' in the allative singular form *orra kabinara* (to-there cabin-all-sg) 'to that cabin', which is a normative common form in Biscayan. She also accepted the form *oixe gixona* (that-int-nom man-nom-sg) 'exactly that man' following my suggestion, but she never gave the second grade demonstrative in translation elicitations, and kept saying that 'that' and 'that over there' are the same thing. Obviously, since she was completely consistent in her translations, I assume that the second grade demonstrative has almost disappeared from her speech even if she may use it in some cases in natural speech.

The other two informants in the same situation (informants who do not show mixing of dialectal forms, and interact in Basque not very often and always with people of their same dialectal background) use the second grade inconsistently; one only used it normatively five times out of fourteen cases (in the nominative singular, dative singular, ergative plural, genitive plural, and dative plural); and the other did so eight times (for the nominative singular, sociative singular, inessive singular, nominative plural, ergative plural, genitive plural, sociative plural, and inessive plural).

On the other hand, these three informants make simplifications in another degree. The youngest informant made simplifications which will be discussed: dative singular *oneri mutiko oneri* 'to this boy', *a mutikori* 'to that boy' (lit. 'to that boy over there'), *areri mutikoari* 'to that boy over there'; sociative singular *onas pralle onas* 'with this priest', *a pralleas* 'with that priest' (lit. 'with that priest over there') and *orras pralle orras* 'with that priest' and 'with that priest over there' (lit. 'with that priest')

and *arias pralleas* 'with that priest over there'; sociative plural *onen maistrakin* 'with these (female) teachers', *orretin maistrakin* and *orret maistrakin* 'with those (female) teachers', *orret maistratin* 'with those (female) teachers over there' (lit. 'with those (female) teachers').

First, this informant very often replaces the stop /k/ by /t/,[73] giving the voiceless dental for the voiceless velar, especially in demonstratives in the nominative and ergative (always *onet*, *orret*, *aret*, *onexet*, instead of *onek*, *orrek*, *arek*, and *onexek*) and one time in the sociative plural (*orret maistratin* instead of *orrekin maistrakin*).

Second, as shown in the examples given, he sometimes (four times) neutralizes the case on the demonstrative. Nevertheless, he later gave the normative form.

Another informant gave the following simplifications (the first form represents the first grade, the second represents 'those' and the third, 'those (over there)': gen. pl. *onek atzosarren serbantia* (instead of *onen atzosarren serbantia*) 'the servant of these maiden ladies', *orrek... aren neskasarren serbantia* 'the servant of those maiden ladies' (lit. 'those... the servant of those maiden ladies'), *ango neskasarren serbantia* 'the servant of those maiden ladies (over there)' (lit. 'the servant of the maiden ladies of there'); all. pl. *onek potrerutara* (instead of *onetara potreruetara*) 'to these fields', *ango potrerutara* 'to those fields' (lit. 'to the fields of over there'), *ango potrerutara* 'to those fields (over there)'; com. pl. *onek maistrakin* 'with these (female) teachers', *onek andrakin* (instead of *onekin maistrakin, onekin andrakin*) 'with these women', *arek maistrakin* (instead of *arekin maistrakin*) 'with those (female) teachers' (lit. 'with those [female] teachers [over there]'), *ango maistrakin* 'with those (female) teachers (over there)' (lit. 'with the teachers of over there').

As is clear from the examples, it is easy for this informant to eliminate the case marker in the plural. She uses two strategies, either using the demonstrative adjective in the nominative case or replacing the demonstrative by an adverb of place in the locative genitive case (*emengo*, *ango*: 'of here', 'of over there'). One is reminded that in Biscayan *emen etxian*, *or etxian*, *an etxian* (here / there / over there house-ines-sg) 'in this / that / that (over there) house' are common forms.

On the other hand, she also uses analogical forms, such as *onen neskien* (this-ines girl-ines-sg) 'in this girl', *aren neskien* 'in that girl over there', eliminating the infix *-ta-*, mandatory in local cases (inessive, allative, ablative, locative genitive, directional) for other than persons or animals.

There is one more informant who does not have any mixing of degree in her speech. In fact she now speaks Basque very seldom and has difficulty in understanding Biscayans. She told me that her mother could speak the Biscayan dialect because she worked for Biscayans. Since her mother passed away, she has not spoken in Basque very often, and she has a considerable degree of attrition, although she can converse in Basque. I, myself, tried to accommodate to her dialect to make communication easier.

(73) I found this same phenomenon in another younger American-born informant. These two speakers do not normaly talk in Basque with each other and none of their relatives make this phonetic shift. I cannot find an explanation for this coincidence.

Summary

There are some differences in the use of demonstratives among my informants. First, whereas some (the minority) clearly distinguish the three grade system, many, especially the ones under the most English influence, merge two grades: the second and the third. Very often, the second grade (*hori* 'that') disappears. As a consequence of this phenomenon, alternative forms like *beste* 'other' and *ango* 'of over there', or a whole relative clause (*an dagoen...* '... that is over there') are used to express the Basque third grade. Normally, Biscayans or American Basques with intensive Biscayan influence use this kind of forms.

Nevertheless, the difficulty of the exercise itself must also be underlined. Not every speaker has the ability to translate categories from one language to another. Consequently, some of the confusion I found in the linguistic questionnaire is probably due to the difficulty of the exercise. The particular sociolinguistic situation in Elko (with language attrition and dialectal accommodation processes going on) also has something to do with this confusion.

Secondly, some speakers show some degree of dialectal mixing, whereas others do not. This does not mean that the ones who did not use other dialectal forms in the translation elicitations are not able to accommodate to other speakers' varieties, but just that they can, consciously, more easily delimit different registers. Normally, American-borns do not show mixing, whereas some Biscayans and Navarrese do (I only interviewed one lady from Nafarroa Beherea: she did not use any form unexpectable from her dialectal background). The most remarkable feature some Navarrese speakers adopt from Biscayans is the anteposition of the demonstrative, even while using Navarrese forms.

Finally, some speakers (Biscayans or others under Biscayan influence) use forms whose first element (the demonstrative) is declined in the nominative or genitive and whose second element (the noun) is declined in any other case. Hualde et al. report forms of this kind in some cases in the plural. I found this kind of forms very often in some informants, in more cases, and even in the singular. I believe this may be an increasing phenomenon in many towns in Biscay, though not often reported.

Due to language attrition, some American-born speakers (the ones who use Basque the least) also neutralize plural cases into the singular, or they even lose case markers.

4.4.- Use of Vocabulary

The first important thing to mention is that vocabulary is the part of language easiest to acquire and, accordingly, adoption of other dialectal vocabulary items is common among Elkoan Basque-speakers. This is the easiest way of accommodation to other speakers' speech. In fact, some speakers gave me three and four different dialectal forms in some sentences, in order to show me that they are able to accommodate to different dialects (for example, one informant used *akitu* (Navarrese form), *amaittu* (Biscayan), and *finitu* (form from Iparralde), all in a row to translate

'to finish', and *kampo* (a very widespread Spanish borrowing), *belaia* (Navarrese form), and *potreru* (Basque-American borrowing from Mexican Sp. *potrero*) 'field'.

Biscayans adopt Navarrese or northern words (for example: *apes onekin* 'with this priest' [with postposition of the demonstrative], *emastea* 'woman' [northern form], *aitatxi* 'grandfather' [northern form], *aitona* [Gipuzcoan], *gasna* 'cheese' [Eastern], *aragia* 'meat' [Gipuzcoan and Eastern]). Navarrese speakers also adopt Biscayan forms, for example: *biarrian* 'at work, working', *esan gure deu* 'it means', *gogor in yatan* 'it was hard for me', *illean pagaten euskun* 'they paid us every month', *eskuak apurtuta neukasen* 'my hands were callused', *usaba* 'boss'. Nevertheless, it must be pointed out that vocabulary adoptions may be done in an unconscious way (which I call "mixing"), without even noticing the shift, or consciously, with the desire of accommodation to the interlocutor's speech, or because the situation requires it. Even though some informants mentioned Biscayan forms, accommodating to my speech, most non-basilectal forms are more due to unconsciously mixing from so much interaction with speakers of other varieties than to momentaneous accommodation.

I did not find a remarkable lack of vocabulary in my informants. Only some American-borns did not know how to say a few words (many American-borns had a hard time translating 'maiden ladies', probably because there are not many unmarried older women in the Basque community in Elko, and they do not use *neskazaharra* very often). In addition, my informants do not have a great degree of attrition. Consequently, they do not lack much vocabulary either.

Another interesting point is that, apart from the older Spanish and French borrowings (for example: *pastela* from Sp. *pastel* 'cake', *karnizerua* from Sp. *carnicero* 'butcher', *kozinerua* from Sp. *cocinero* 'cook', *jefea* from Sp. *jefe* 'boss'), Basques in Elko have also adopted Mexican and English loan words. From Mexican Spanish[74] they adopted *potrerua* 'field' (used sometimes as a collective noun), from Mex. Sp. *potrero*; *txamizua* 'sagebrush', 'rabbitbrush', from Mex. Sp. *chamizo/a*; *karroa* 'car', from Mex. Sp. *carro*; *pesoa* 'dollar', from Mex. Sp. *peso*, *kantineru* 'bartender' from Mex. Sp. *cantinero*, *ardikampoa* 'field' (lit. 'field of sheep', made from the Basque word *ardi* and the Spanish borrowing *campo*), *karrokanpoa* 'cart' (lit. 'cart of field', with both components being Spanish borrowings: *carro* and *campo*). Borrowings from English are much more common. I distinguish two kinds of borrowings: on the one hand, the ones for naming culturally new or modern things. These are normally the same that we borrow from Spanish or French in the Basque Country: *txansia* 'chance', *postofiza* 'post office', *tentia* 'tent', *grinkarta* 'green card', *nersa* 'nurse', *sauorra hartu* 'to take a shower', *estorra* 'store', *yarda* 'yard', *buesa* 'boss', *aiskrimia* 'ice cream', *kukia* 'cookie' *keika* 'cake', *pankeikak* 'pancakes', *pikapa* 'pickup', *troka* 'truck', etc.[75] On the other

(74) Even if these words are used in all Latin-American Spanish, Basques adopted them by interaction mostly with Mexicans.

(75) Eiguren (1974: 94-111) disapproves the following English borrowings: *draibiatu*, 'to drive', *pitxiforka* 'fork for hay', *garbitxa* 'garbage', *leika* 'lake', *mitiña* 'meeting'.

Etxabe (1985) gives the following English loan words: *adresa* 'address', *artist* 'artist', *nouna* 'known', *feimesa* 'famous', *auta* 'out', *bulxeta* 'bull shit', *sanabaganatxua* 'son of a gun', *nusa* 'new[s?]', *nuspeperra* 'newspaper', *reporterra* 'reporter', *magazina* 'magazine', *tibixa* 'T.V.', *raiterra* 'writer', *reidixua*

hand, there are ones that entail the loss of common Basque words like *faiteatu* 'to fight', *krismasetan* 'at Christmas'. Notwithstanding, the latter are used seldom or only by speakers with the highest level of attrition (for example, an American-born informant who probably has the highest level of language loss among all of them, did not know how to say 'shepherd' and pointed out that it was hard for her to speak in Basque: "hard da, nola da hard" 'it is hard, how do you say hard?'.

Other times, there are some changes of meaning, for example the verb *mogitu*, used like English 'to move', or *amerikanu* and *indio*, used to refer to 'English' and a 'Native American language'. The verb *usatu* 'to use' is also used more often than in the Basque Country.

Some English words are adapted in different ways by different speakers: for example, some speakers say *jaieskola*[76] 'High School', others translate both words (*eskola handia*, lit. 'big school'). 'College' is said as *kolitxa* by some speakers and *kolejiyua*, by analogy with Sp. *colegio*, by others.

The word *basko* 'Basque' is also much used even when speaking in English ("She is a Basco"). When it functions as an adjective, it is normally placed (especially by Basque-Americans) before the noun, as in English and differing from Basque, which postposes adjectives, for example: *basko piknika* 'Basque picnic', *basko liburue* 'Basque book', *basko kluba* 'Basque club', *basko senterra* 'Basque center'.

Finally, other vocabulary items are also special: *txotxo* 'young child' is not only used as a vocative, but also as a normal noun (for example, *txotxo bi etorri ziren* 'two children came'). This word is often used, even when speaking in English. In addition, the words *atsoa* 'older woman' and *agurea* 'older man' are used by some (American-born older) speakers to mean 'wife' and 'husband' respectively and without any affectionate or pejorative meaning.

4.5.- Other morphological and syntactic characteristics

I did not study in depth other aspects of morphology and syntax. Nevertheless, I found some interesting phenomena from the linguistic questionnaire. Even though I cannot give any kind of definite conclusion, it seems that many informants are already in the process of reducing some morphological features, like the previously

'radio', *mauntena* 'mountain', *balia* 'valley', *topia* 'top', *farma* 'farm', *farmerra* 'farmer', *xipa* 'sheep', *xiperra* 'shepherder', *jebia* 'heavy', *krika* 'creek', *plauxa* 'plough', *esporta* 'sport', *sokerra* 'soccer', *soker pleierra* 'soccer player', *Jai Alai* 'Jai Alai', *fast* 'fast', *partixa*, 'party', *singerra* 'singer', *dantzaplaza* 'dance place', *ambrela* 'umbrella', *alkojola* 'alcohol', *drinka* 'drink', *tiketa* 'ticket', *uikena* 'weekend', *danserra* 'dancer', *japixa* 'happy', *jelou esan* 'to say hello', *ask esaiozu* 'ask him', *laboreguna* 'Labor Day', *beismena* 'basement', *plasa* 'place', *elebadorea* 'elevator', *esmoka* 'smoke', *dangerra* 'danger', *espoildua* 'spoil', *ofiza* 'ofice', *kukerra* 'cook', *panakixa* 'pancake', *friueia* 'freeway', *espida* 'speed', *brixa* 'bridge', *troka* 'truck', *pikapa* 'pick up', *turnatu* 'to turn', *dauntauna* 'downtown', *postofiza* 'Post Office', *unibersitia* 'university', *jospitalea* 'hospital', *restorana* 'restaurant', *xopa* 'shop', *kolixa* 'college', *kartierra* 'Quarter'(from French?), *materra* 'matter', *estrita* 'street', *oldziria* 'Old City'. (I maintained the spellings given by the author.)

(76) This is a funny hybrid for a Basque non-familiarized with English since *jai* means 'holiday' in Basque. Of course, it comes from Engl. *high*, added to *eskola* 'school'.

mentioned loss of dative concordance in the verb[77] (very widespread even among speakers with no attrition, especially very widespread among Basque Americans): for example, *ume orrek eman du gastaia mutill oneri* instead of *ume orrek eman dio/deutzo gastaia mutill oneri* 'this child gave the cheese to this boy', ... *areri estot nik... [aituten]* '... to that... I do not... [understand] instead of ... *areri es deutzat nik...*; or loss of the ergative or dative cases among speakers with a higher degree of language loss.

In addition, the whole declension system seems to be maintained much better in the singular. I found a lot of plural forms converging to the singular.

A deep study of syntactic aspects of Euskara as spoken in Elko would show many interesting phenomena. Some of these are the overuse of the form *-ten ahal*, already mentioned; the use of the form *-larik* (to make temporal subordination), very widespread also among Biscayans, and, finally, an also very much used utterance translated from English: *gustatzen yatzu emen?* 'do you like it here?', which reminds one of the eastern Basque form: *laketzen zira hemen?*.

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(77) This phenomenon is completely normal in the northern Basque Country. It should be studied more also in the southern Basque Country. I believe many of the phenomena found in Elko may also be found in the Old Country, even if it is to a different degree.

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