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gutxituen biziberritzean.**
Nazioarteko konferentzia

**Territories of higher speaker
density in minoritised
language communities.**
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**Interaction Between Areas with
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6. Interaction Between Areas with Different Speaker Densities in Basque Language Weakening and Revitalisation Processes

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Abstract: This article examines the sociolinguistic effects of residential mobility on language use in the Southern Basque Country. Using microdata from the 2021 ECEPOV survey by INE (Spanish National Statistics Institute), new indicators were developed by cross-referencing speakers' place of residence, place of birth, and parental origin across different sociolinguistic territorial zones. The results show that the majority of Spanish-dominant speakers in Basque-speaking places originate from more Spanish-speaking areas, while in contrast, speakers who use mainly Basque in Spanish-speaking zones disproportionately originate from more Basque-speaking territories. These findings confirm that the capacity of the Basque-speaking community to reproduce itself is closely linked to spatial-demographic conditions, and that inter-territorial mobility flows are structurally intertwined with the overall evolution of the language community.

Keywords: Basque language, Arnasgune, Residential mobility, Areas of dominance, Sociolinguistic density, Territorial sociolinguistic dynamics.

Context

This paper analyses the influence of residential mobility of speakers on habitual language use in the Southern Basque Country, focusing both on inhabitants of Basque *arnasgunea*¹ areas who hail from more Spanish-speaking areas and those currently living in more Spanish-speaking regions who hail from more Basque-speaking areas.

1. Arnasgune (literally 'breathing spaces') refers to socio-territorial areas in the Basque context characterised by a high density of Basque speakers, strong intergenerational transmission, and Basque as the unmarked social norm. Unlike Fishman's 'breathing spaces', the concept has evolved into a context-specific theoretical category.

By cross-referencing speakers' and their parents' place of birth, their current place of residence and the language they use with family members and friends, and by analysing the results, we aim to gain insight into the sociolinguistic consequences of residential mobility between sociolinguistic areas.

The research conducted aims to serve as a starting point for highlighting the importance of the territorial perspective and spatial analysis in the study of sociolinguistic situations and their development. It also aims to underscore the influence of the dynamics present in each sociolinguistic area on the evolution of the entire community of speakers.

Theoretical framework

Sociolinguistic characteristics of *arnasgunes*

The concept of *arnasgune* stems from the term 'physical breathing space' coined by sociolinguist Joshua A. Fishman, which was applied to and developed in the Basque language by Basque Language Academy member Mikel Zabide.

A demographically concentrated space where Xish can be on its own turf, predominant and unharassed. Such spaces may appear abnormal or atypical vis-à-vis the outside, non-Xish surrounding reality; but vis-à-vis internal Xish reality, such spaces become potential oases of authenticity and centres of increased cultural self-regulation that seek to counteract the physical dislocation that minority life is so commonly afflicted with (Fishman, 1991, p. 58).

Although the concept has been interpreted and used in several diverse ways in international sociolinguistics (Dorronsoro, 2025), the most faithful development and use of the original concept can be found in the context of Basque sociolinguistics.

(...) the original meaning of the concept 'breathing spaces' had a fruitful development in the Basque context, where it has been literally translated as *arnasgunea*, and has continued being particularly loyal to Fishman's definition. Most if not all the literature on the *arnasguneak* has been written in Basque, so both the knowledge about and access to such niche literature is usually limited to Basque-speaking researchers (Dorronsoro, 2025, p. 6).

According to the prevailing view in Basque academic sociolinguistics (Dorronsoro, 2025), an *arnasgune* is a 'geoterritorial [area] in which Basque is the

dominant language of everyday use'. They are areas in which Basque feels like the 'master of the house' and is used 'without any extraordinary effort, reward, self-censorship or sacrifice' (Zalbide, 2001). In practice, the principal units of measurement and operationalisation for *arnasgunes* are municipalities.

Arnasgunes are the only areas in which language transmission from generation to generation is guaranteed in a continuous, natural manner. Joshua A. Fishman identifies the following as the '6th stage' in his RLS (Reversing Language Shift) scale: 'the intergenerational and demographically concentrated home-family-neighbourhood-community: the basis of mother-tongue transmission'.

For his part, Mikel Zalbide identifies six main keys to understanding the importance of *arnasgunes* (Zalbide, 2019):

1. The 'normal' language of everyday Basque, i.e. the one most similar to that commonly used in healthy speaker communities, thrives in *arnasgunes*.
2. People living in *arnasgunes* speak Basque effortlessly, with no reward, self-censorship or sacrifice, in accordance with an unwritten social norm.
3. *Arnasgunes* show that the Basque-speaking community is still alive, clearly showcasing what it means to live 'normally' in Basque.
4. They represent a fertile community of speakers with a high level of Basque and a rich range of language—a breeding ground for skilled and eloquent Basque speakers.
5. They are the only areas in which Basque is the predominant language of everyday use, at either the local or the regional level.
6. In the chain of children-young people-adults, generational transmission is assured.

According to Zalbide, *arnasgunes* also face three main interrelated challenges:

- A demolinguistic challenge: how to maintain the number and concentration of speakers (birth rate, migration, retaining young people in the area, etc.).
- A socioeconomic challenge: how to guarantee jobs and services in the area.
- A sociocultural challenge: how to maintain a well-balanced sense of community and social organisation, alongside a climate of 'living in Basque'.

Arnasgunes in the Southern Basque Country

From a demolinguistic perspective, Basque is clearly a minoritised language in the Basque Country (Iurrebaso, 2023). Indeed, 83% of the population (2.2 million people) feel more comfortable speaking Spanish or French than Basque, compared to 8% (210,000 people) who feel more comfortable speaking Basque. In the street, Basque is used 12.6% of the time, a percentage that has not changed over the past 24 years (Altuna *et al.*, 2022).

The *arnasgunes* of the Southern Basque Country² have shown signs of weakening over recent years. In quantitative terms, in 2021, only twenty-one municipalities in the Southern Basque Country were classified as *full breathing spaces*, with Basque language use being above 80%. Moreover, these municipalities only accounted for 0.3% of the population (9,424 inhabitants). A further seventy-five municipalities were classified as *affected breathing spaces*, with Basque language use being between 60% and 80%. These municipalities accounted for 4.2% of the population (118,093 inhabitants). This means that less than 5% of the population of the Southern Basque Country live in *arnasgunes*. In contrast, nine out of ten inhabitants (88.5%) live in municipalities in which the predominant language spoken is Spanish, and in many of these areas, Basque use does not even reach 20%.

Table 1. Municipalities and populations by language predominance area. Southern Basque Country, 2021 (Criterion: synthetic indicator of proximal use).

Area	Municipality		Population	
	Number	%	Number	%
<i>Arnasgune beteak</i> - Full breathing spaces (80%-100% Basque use)	21	4.0	9,424	0.3
<i>Arnasgune erasanak</i> - Affected breathing spaces (60%-80%)	75	14.3	118,093	4.2
No clear predominance (40%-60%)	52	9.9	196,214	7.0
Spanish dominance, not absolute (20%-40%)	61	11.7	316,829	11.3
Spanish dominance, absolute (0%-20%)	314	60.0	2,174,018	77.2
TOTAL	523	100.0	2,814,578	100.0

Source: UEMA, 2025 [Original sources: Population and Housing Census (Eustat-Nastat) and Measurement of Language Use in the Street (Sociolinguistics Cluster)].

2. This analysis has had to be limited to the Southern Basque Country, as there are no data sources in the Northern Basque Country that enable an analysis of the situation of the Basque language at a local level.

Although *arnasgunes* have a limited demographic weight in the population, they are the setting for a substantial percentage of Basque use in the Basque Country, due to the high percentage of Basque speakers living in them and the concentration and density of the Basque speaking community (Iurrebaso, 2023). In *arnasgunes*, most children speak Basque as their first language, and most native Basque speakers continue to use Basque predominantly in their everyday lives. One could argue that unlike in the rest of the region, the conditions in *arnasgunes* facilitate and encourage Basque language use and increased Basque language proficiency.

Language predominance areas as indicators of the conditions of sociolinguistic ecosystems

The concept of ‘language predominance area’ is a means of classifying a territory in accordance with language use levels (see Table 6: Classification of the Southern Basque Country by language predominance area). However, language predominance areas go beyond use to take the *entire ecosystem* into account. They are one of the basic elements used to diagnose the situation of the Basque language, as it is of particular interest to determine whether each language predominance area is growing or shrinking in terms of surface area and demographic weight at the regional level.

The concept of Basque *language predominance areas* is therefore linked to the regional concentration and sociolinguistic prevalence of Basque and Spanish. In demolinguistic analyses of minoritised languages, the concept can be used to analyse how a language group produces and reproduces itself. Language predominance areas are structural indicators of speakers’ basic language competence and opportunities for use. They determine the possibilities open to each individual to use one language or another in accordance with social convenience and personal and collective linguistic competence. The effort required to use a minoritised language rather than choose the ‘easier’ option depends on contextual conditions, influenced also by other motivations such as attachment and the desire to pass one’s language on. Language predominance areas therefore reflect the characteristics of the territorial context, and this has a direct impact on speakers’ individual linguistic behaviour.

Indeed, the dynamics that occur within these language predominance areas greatly influence the evolution of speakers. Native Basque speakers living in *arnasgunes* generally maintain their relative proficiency in Basque better than their counterparts living in other areas. Likewise, these environments offer ideal conditions for non-Basque speakers to learn the language, develop good skills,

practice speaking it and pass it on to their descendants. At the other extreme, in contexts in which Spanish is clearly predominant, it is difficult for non-Basque speakers to learn the language and for Basque speakers to live their lives in Basque, since the context is not conducive to this.

The importance of childhood and adolescence in language socialisation and the consolidation of speaker profiles

Language socialisation is fundamental to the monitoring of minoritised languages. Transmitting the language to younger generations is an urgent priority for the revitalisation and survival of minoritised languages. The early years of children's lives (childhood and adolescence) are a fundamental period for language socialisation and the consolidation of speaker profiles (proficiency, use and attitudes). From this perspective, the focus on increasing Basque knowledge and use among the younger generations (a key element in the overall strategy for the revitalisation of the Basque language) has had clear results (Iurrebaso, 2023).

The sociolinguistic context is a fundamental factor in children's language acquisition and conversion into speakers (Kasares, 2013). As such, it is important to broaden our view and analyse the factors that influence language socialisation outside the family environment, since, in language transmission, conditions outside the home often have a greater impact than those within it. According to Kasares, social networks in the immediate environment (friends, local or neighbourhood atmosphere) are a particularly important factor, as this is where most informal relationships are developed. In these extra-family settings, adult relationships have a decisive impact on children's linguistic behaviour. Interactions at home, at school and between adults are mutually reinforcing socialising activities that form part of the broader community-wide language socialisation process that occurs during childhood. The context in which speakers are born and raised is therefore often a key determining factor that impacts their proficiency, use habits and attitudes towards language.

Residential mobility as a key to analysing social structure

The concept of *residential mobility* has been defined in the academic literature as follows:

Residential mobility denotes the relatively local-scale relocation of individuals and households from one usual residence to another.

(Coulter & Thomas, 2020)

In other words, residential mobility points to the changes in a person's habitual place of residence, referring largely to relocation at a local level. This definition highlights the fact that people generally move locally (moving to a new dwelling in the immediate vicinity), a characteristic that distinguishes residential mobility from more distant or international migration.

There are several different theories and models for understanding the concept of residential mobility. For example, the first classic models of population mobility (push-pull migration models, Ravenstein's laws, etc.) linked changes of residence to improved living conditions or needs. Beginning with the classic *Why Families Move* (Rossi, 1955), this approach emphasises the fact that families move home when their needs change (children, job opportunities, housing conditions). According to these theories, changing one's residence is a mechanism for responding to the events and transitions that occur during the normal course of one's life (marriage, divorce, birth of one's children, retirement, etc.), which is why residential mobility is also analysed from life cycle and life course approaches (Coulter & Thomas, 2020). In contrast, more recent theoretical studies have tended to rethink residential mobility, viewing it as a relational practice that connects lives in time and space and, at the same time, connects people to structural conditions (Coulter, Ham & Findlay, 2015). These approaches combine geography and sociology, understanding mobility as the reorganisation of people's everyday space. Studies on residential mobility also take into account individuals' relationships with their neighbours, along with changes in one's local neighbourhood and urban structure, and the composition of social networks (Coulter & Thomas, 2020).

Residential mobility is a fundamental concept in several different fields. In demographics, these internal population movements are analysed in studies on population distribution and the growth and shrinkage of specific regions. For their part, geography experts analyse residential mobility in terms of its role in processes of neighbourhood transformation or gentrification. Indeed, it has often been observed that housing choices and population displacement can transform the socio-economic structure of a neighbourhood.

In sum, residential mobility is a key concept in many different disciplines for analysing changes in people's place of residence. Methodological, conceptual and theoretical approaches have been considered in the conceptual analysis of the term. Ultimately, this is because residential mobility provides a fundamental key to understanding the structure of society and its regional organisation.

To measure this phenomenon, studies often chart the number of families or individuals who change their place of residence within a given period: for example, the percentage of people who have moved houses in a year or the average number of times a person moves houses within the course of their life. According to census data from 2024 (INE, 2024), in the Southern Basque Country, most people (59.2% of the population) live in a different municipality from the one in which they were born. One may safely assume that these changes of residence have a sociolinguistic impact on both the origin and destination municipalities, as many of these moves involve a change in the sociolinguistic environment.

Research questions

In the present study, our aim is to explore the impact of residential mobility flows on the sociolinguistic situation, and to provide a preliminary answer to the research questions. The aim is to analyse how the residential mobility of speakers from different areas or sociolinguistic backgrounds influences language use in their destination municipalities. By way of example, the study seeks to answer the following specific questions:

1. Among people who live in Basque *arnasgunas* but mainly use Spanish in daily life, how many come from more Spanish-speaking areas?
2. Among people who live in predominantly Spanish-speaking areas but mainly use Basque in daily life, how many come from more Basque-speaking areas?

Sources and methodology

Given the nature of the questions and in accordance with the positivist paradigm, quantitative information was gathered to provide answers. The main source used was the *Encuesta de Características Esenciales de la Población y Viviendas* (Survey of Essential Characteristics of the Population and Housing), from here on referred to as the ECEPOV, published by the Spanish National Institute of Statistics (INE). This survey was conducted by the INE in 2021 as part of its census study. Specifically, micro-data from the ECEPOV were used in the present study, including language variables and regional information (speakers' place of residence and place of birth, as well as their parents' place of birth). We submitted a specific data request to the INE in order to obtain territorial information from the ECEPOV that we then used to analyse language predominance areas.

This source fulfils the following two conditions. First, it gathers information about the variables on which the present study focuses, namely the use of Basque-Spanish and speakers' place of residence and birth. And second, the samples used are of an appropriate size, thereby making it possible to achieve the degree of disaggregation required for the present study. The study universe comprised 2,799,463 speakers who were residents in the Southern Basque Country in 2021, when the ECEPOV survey was conducted. For its part, the sample comprised the 27,763 records featured in the research micro-data.

Based on these sources, the methodology used involved the creation of new significant indicators based on the ECEPOV survey, along with their initial analysis using basic descriptive statistical tools. The new indicators created from the ECEPOV survey are outlined below.

Indicators of language use with family and friends

The ECEPOV gathers information on language use in three areas: (1) with family, (2) with friends and (3) in the workplace or place of learning.

Respondents are asked to what extent they use each language (Basque, Spanish and, for those who speak a third language, that other language). However, the way in which the ECEPOV asks about language use is prone to error. As shown in Table 7, for example, a sizeable number of speakers responded with impossible combinations. For example, many of those who said they 'always' speak Spanish also claimed to speak Basque sometimes, often or always. And vice versa.

Table 2. Basque use with family members crossed with Spanish use with family members. Southern Basque Country, 2021.

		Spanish use with family				TOTAL
		Never	Sometimes	Often	Always	
Basque use with family	Never	39,946	48,267	54,454	1,516,881	1,659,548
		% 1.4	% 1.7	% 2.0	% 55.0	% 60.1
	Sometimes	1,269	16,589	84,480	375,316	477,654
		% 0.0	% 0.6	% 3.1	% 13.6	% 17.3
	Often	483	64,812	200,296	61,236	326,827
		% 0.0	% 2.3	% 7.3	% 2.2	% 11.8
	Always	96,707	85,341	20,116	94,211	296,375
		% 3.5	% 3.1	% 0.7	% 3.4	% 10.7
TOTAL		138,405	215,009	359,346	2,047,644	2,760,404
		% 5.0	% 7.8	% 13.0	% 74.2	% 100.0

These data therefore have certain validity issues. Although the questions used to ask about language use in Basque demolingustics³ are more appropriate, the ECEPOV has unfortunately not followed this sounder trend when formulating its questions, thereby reducing the quality of the data gathered. Nevertheless, the data obtained in the survey are not entirely invalid, and our analysis was conducted on this basis. After classifying all the possible combinations reflected in the above table, we divided speakers into three groups:

1. Those who speak mainly (or only) Basque at home

- Basque *Sometimes* + Spanish *Never*
- Basque *Often* + Spanish *Never/Sometimes*
- Basque *Always* + Spanish *Never/Sometimes/Often*

2. Those who speak both languages equally

- Basque *Never* + Spanish *Never*
- Basque *Sometimes* + Spanish *Sometimes*
- Basque *Often* + Spanish *Often*
- Basque *Always* + Spanish *Always*

3. Both the Sociolinguistic Survey and the EUSTAT and NASTAT censuses have developed more appropriate procedures for gathering information on language use. In a single question, respondents are asked about their use of both Spanish and Basque.

3. Those who speak mainly (or only) Spanish at home

- Basque *Never* + Spanish *Sometimes/Often/Always*
- Basque *Sometimes* + Spanish *Often/Always*
- Basque *Often* + Spanish *Always*

Speakers were analysed in these three groups in accordance with the generated indicator. When processed in this way, in general, the data on 'language use in the family home' provided by the ECEPOV does not differ greatly from that used by EUSTAT to analyse language use at home.

The same criteria used to analyse family use were also used to calculate the 'use with friends' indicator.

These were the two language use indicators used in this study: use with family and use with friends.

Indicators linked to place of residence and one's own and one's parents' place of birth

The ECEPOV gathers detailed information on the following variables that are fundamental to our research aim:

- Speaker's municipality of residence.
- Speaker's place of birth.
- Speaker's first parent's place of birth.
- Speaker's second parent's place of birth.

Values reflecting the sociolinguistic characteristics of places of residence and of birth (see the fourth variable above) were assigned to each speaker in the ECEPOV sample, based on the values for geographical areas established by UEMA (the Association of Basque-speaking municipalities) in 2025, in accordance with its classification of municipalities in the Southern Basque Country⁴. This process gave rise to the following four variables:

- **Use in place of residence:** level of Basque use in the speaker's municipality of residence⁵.

4. To this end, the INE (National Institute of Statistics) carried out a special study in response to a request from UEMA.

5. The synthetic indicator 'proximal use' was used, calculated on the basis of the mean use of Basque in the family home among the inhabitants of the municipality and the use measured in the streets of the municipality, detailed grouping. Original sources: EUSTAT (Basque Institute of Statistics), 2021 and Sociolinguistics Cluster, 2021.

- **Use in place of birth:** level of Basque use in the speaker's municipality of birth⁶.
- **Use in place of birth of parent 1:** level of Basque use in the place of birth of speaker's first parent.
- **Use in place of birth of parent 2:** level of Basque use in the place of birth of speaker's second parent.

Each of these four indicators was classified into the intervals shown in column one of Table 8 and linked to the classification of language predominance areas (column two), with the correspondence specified in the table.

Table 3. Grouping of municipalities in accordance with Basque use: detailed groupings and language predominance areas.

Proximal Basque use in the municipality	Language predominance areas
Basque 90%-100%	ARNASGUNE BETEAK - FULL BREATHING SPACES (municipalities in which Basque is fully predominant)
Basque 80%-89.9%	
Basque 70%-79.9%	ARNASGUNE ERASANAK - AFFECTED BREATHING SPACES (municipalities in which Basque is not fully predominant)
Basque 60%-69.9%	
Basque 50%-59.9%	MUNICIPALITIES IN WHICH NEITHER LANGUAGE IS PREDOMINANT
Basque 40%-49.9%	
Basque 30%-39.9%	MUNICIPALITIES IN WHICH SPANISH IS NOT FULLY PREDOMINANT
Basque 20%-29.9%	
Basque 10%-19.9%	MUNICIPALITIES IN WHICH SPANISH IS FULLY PREDOMINANT
Basque less than 10%	
Outside the Southern Basque Country	Outside the Southern Basque Country

Source: authors' own elaboration.

6. It would be more appropriate to study the municipalities in which both speakers and their parents were born in accordance with language use levels at the time they were born and growing up, rather than in accordance with current usage. However, this is not possible at present.

Indicators for comparing the places where speakers live and where they or their parents were born

Based on speakers' current place of residence and their and their parents' places of birth⁷, we created the following three indicators:

- Comparison of the mean level of Basque language use in the speaker's place of residence and place of birth (based on proximal use)
- Comparison of the mean level of Basque language use in the speaker's place of residence and the place of birth of parent 1 (based on proximal use)
- Comparison of the mean level of Basque language use in the speaker's place of residence and the birthplace of parent 2 (based on proximal use)

These indicators may have one of the three following values:

- Born in a more Spanish-speaking area
- Born in the same place or somewhere with a similar level of Basque language use
- Born in a more Basque-speaking area.

Residential mobility and Basque language use in the Southern Basque Country

As explained above, language predominance areas can be used as indicators summarising the conditions of an entire sociolinguistic ecosystem: percentage of speakers, language use practices, the set of norms surrounding the use of each language, collective and individual proficiency, the presence of a transmission chain, etc.

When trying to understand the sociolinguistic factors affecting each individual, as well as those at play in their current place of residence, it is particularly important to consider the conditions present in their place of origin. If someone was born somewhere other than where they currently live and lived there for several years, their linguistic biography and experiences will be influenced by the situation in their place of birth. Similarly, if those who transmitted language skills, habits and ideologies to said individual (usually their parents) hail from a different sociolinguistic environment, that too can influence transmission. Even those born and raised in the same place may today receive a

7. These comparisons were based on the detailed grouping of municipalities.

hugely different sociolinguistic inheritance from their parents, a circumstance that may strongly influence their language socialisation process.

Level of Basque use by place of birth and place of residence

Let us examine this explanation by looking at the data. By way of example, let us see how the proportion of speakers who primarily use Basque with friends varies in accordance with the combined language predominance categories of their birthplace and place of residence. As shown in Tables 9 and 10, a speaker's birthplace and current place of residence, along with their parents' birthplace, are the three factors that determine their level of Basque use. For example:

- If we look at the current place of residence, we see that, among those residing in municipalities in which Spanish is predominant, only 2.1% claim to speak Basque predominantly, a figure that rises to 76.1% among those living in *full breathing spaces*. Intermediate areas show intermediate values. In terms of birthplace, only 3.4% of people born in predominantly Spanish-speaking municipalities speak Basque predominantly among friends, a figure that rises to 71.9% among those living in *full breathing spaces*.
- In addition to the speaker's own place of birth, the birthplace of their parents is also clearly associated with their level of Basque use. For instance, among those whose parents were born in a predominantly Spanish-speaking area, only 4.3% speak Basque primarily with their friends; in contrast, this figure is 60.4% among those whose parents were born in an *arnasgune*.
- Even more significant differences were observed when we crossed speakers' place of residence with their place of birth. Among those who were born and currently live in predominantly Spanish-speaking municipalities, only 2.4% mainly speak Basque with their friends; among those who were born and currently live in an *arnasgune*, this figure is 65.8%⁸.
- The lowest use levels were found among those born outside the Southern Basque Country. However, it should be noted that place of residence also has a clear impact on this group. Among those who were born outside the Southern Basque Country but live in an *arnasgune*, the level of Basque use is remarkable, with 9.7% claiming to mainly speak Basque with their

8. In this case, the size of the sub-sample was not large enough to enable us to identify differences between *arnasgune beteak* and *arnasgune erasanak* (full and affected breathing spaces).

friends. This figure is above the mean for the Southern Basque Country in general (8.7%).

We can therefore conclude that place of residence and speakers' own and their parents' birthplace are three variables that greatly influence Basque use. Moreover, the effect of these three variables is cumulative, with the data analysed indicating a clear logic in this regard.

Table 4. Proportion of those who primarily speak Basque with their friends, by birthplace and current place of residence. Southern Basque Country, 2021 (% of each group in each cell).

	PLACE OF RESIDENCE				TOTAL
	Municipalities in which Spanish is fully predominant	Municipalities in which Spanish is not fully predominant	Municipalities in which neither language is predominant	Arnasgunes (full and affected)	
BIRTHPLACE					
Outside the Southern Basque Country	0.3	0.6	5.0	9.7	0.8
Municipalities in which Spanish is fully predominant	2.4	8.5	27.9	33.4	3.4
Municipalities in which Spanish is not fully predominant	6.4	22.0	30.1	33.6	20.6
Municipalities in which neither language is predominant	11.8	24.2	46.7	44.3	39.3
Arnasgunes (full and affected)	21.5	34.3	58.1	65.8	58.2
TOTAL	2.1	15.3	36.2	51.9	8.7

Source: ECEPOV, 2021. Authors' own elaboration.

Table 5. Proportion of people who primarily use Basque with their friends, by current place of residence, place of birth and parents' place of birth. Southern Basque Country, 2021 (% of each group in each cell).

		Municipa- lities in which Spanish is not fully predo- minant (Basque use <20%)	Municipa- lities in which Spanish is predo- minant (Basque use 20%-40%)	Municipa- lities in which neither language is predo- minant (Basque use 40%-60%)	Arnasgune erasanak- Affected breathing spaces (Basque use 60%- 80%)	Arnasgune beteak- Full breathing spaces (Basque use >80%)	TOTAL
CURRENT PLACE OF RESIDENCE		2.1	15.3	36.2	48.7	76.1	8.7
BIRTHPLACE	0.8	3.4	20.6	39.3	56.1	71.9	8.7
PARENTS' BIRTHPLACE*	2.0	4.3	23.5	36.4	49.0	60.4	8.7

* In the interviews carried out during the ECEPOV survey, respondents were asked individually about each of their parent's place of birth. For the purposes of this study, the general percentages for all parents shown in the table were calculated by summing the results for all individual parents.

Source: ECEPOV, 2021. Authors' own elaboration.

The data therefore reveal **that context has a decisive influence on individual language practices**. It is widely accepted that not everyone born in the same place behaves in the same way, and this is true also for those living in the same place and those whose parents come from various parts of the world. **However, as a general trend, these three indicators are important for understanding people's current language practices. Analysing the associations and interactions that exist between the three may provide insight into local situations and trends.**

Let us now, therefore, analyse the data that may directly help us answer the research questions.

Use of Spanish in arnasgunes

By definition, Basque is the predominant language spoken in arnasgunes. However, it is important to clarify what proportion of the Spanish spoken in these spaces is spoken by those born and raised there, and what portion is spoken by those hailing from nearby Spanish-speaking areas. The more specific question is: what proportion of speakers who primarily speak Spanish come from more Spanish-speaking backgrounds? It is a question that needs to be analysed also from an intergenerational perspective.

Table 6. Composition of the group who primarily speak Spanish, by their and their parents' place of birth. arnasgunes in the Southern Basque Country (full and affected, Basque language use over 60%), 2021.

	Percentage of the population (%)	Percentage of those who primarily speak Spanish with their families (%)	Percentage of those who primarily speak Spanish with their friends (%)
By speaker's birthplace:			
Born in a more Spanish-speaking area	41.8	71.8	72.8
Born in the same place (or a place with a similar level of Basque use)	56.0	27.3	26.6
Born in a more Basque-speaking area	2.2	1.0	0.5
	100.0	100.0	100.0
By speaker's parents' birthplace:			
Born in a more Spanish-speaking area	54.5	83.0	81.8
Born in the same place (or a place with a similar level of Basque use)	40.7	14.8	15.4
Born in a more Basque-speaking area	4.8	2.2	2.8
	100.0	100.0	100.0
Summary indicator:			
Speaker or at least one of their parents born in a more Spanish-speaking area	69.4	91.6	90.8
The rest	30.6	8.4	9.2
	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: ECEPOV, 2021. Authors' own elaboration.

If we focus on speakers' own birthplace, we see that those born in more Spanish-speaking areas represent 41.8% of those currently living in *arnasgunes*, whereas among those who primarily speak Spanish with their family or friends, this percentage is much higher: 71.8% and 72.8% (respectively). Conversely, those born in the area represent slightly more than half of the population (56%), although among Spanish speakers, this percentage decreases considerably (27.3% of those who speak Spanish with family and 26.6% of those who speak it with friends). This means that more than seven out of ten people who mainly speak Spanish in Basque *arnasgunes* were born in more Spanish-speaking areas.

If we focus on parental birthplace, the impact becomes even clearer. Half of those living in *arnasgunes* (54.5%) have parents who were born in more Spanish-speaking areas. However, among those who primarily speak Spanish with family and friends, this figure is 83.0% and 81.8% (respectively). Conversely, although those whose parents were born in the area represent 40.7% of the population, among those who primarily speak Spanish with their family and friends, this figure is just 14%-15%.

If we consider both factors together (speakers' own and their parents' birthplace), we see that those who were themselves born or who have at least one parent who was born in a more Spanish-speaking area represent 69.4% of all those living in Basque *arnasgunes*. However, among those who predominantly speak Spanish with family and friends, this figure is 91.6% and 90.8% (respectively). In other words, at least nine out of every ten people who primarily speak Spanish in Basque *arnasgunes* have some kind of connection to a more Spanish-speaking area.

Basque use in predominantly Spanish-speaking areas

The sociolinguistic impact of residential mobility in the opposite direction is analysed below in terms of the birthplace and parental birthplace of the group of people who speak Basque more than Spanish despite living in predominantly Spanish-speaking municipalities (proximal Basque use less than 20%).

An analysis by place of birth reveals that those born in a more Basque-speaking area represent 4.5% of those living in predominantly Spanish-speaking municipalities, whereas among those who primarily speak Basque with their family or friends, this percentage is five times higher (21.7% and 20.0%, respectively). In other words, more than one out of every five people who mainly speak Basque was born in a more Basque-speaking area.

If we look at parents' place of birth, we see that the impact of this variable is even greater. People whose parents were born in more Basque-speaking areas represent 6.8% of the population in predominantly Spanish-speaking areas. However, they represent 32.6% of those who primarily speak Basque with their family and 27.1% of those who primarily speak Basque with their friends, figures that are five and four times (respectively) the overall percentage of those who primarily speak Basque. Almost one in three of those who primarily speak Basque with their family and one in four of those who primarily speak Basque with their friends were born in a more Basque-speaking area.

Table 7. Composition of the group of those who primarily speak Basque, by their own and their parents' birthplace. Predominantly Spanish-speaking municipalities in the Southern Basque Country (Basque use less than 20%), 2021.

	Percentage of the population (%)	Percentage of those who primarily speak Basque with their families (%)	Percentage of those who primarily speak Basque with their friends (%)
BY SPEAKER'S BIRTHPLACE:			
Born in a more Spanish-speaking area	29.8	8.6	6.4
Born in the same place (or a place with a similar level of Basque use)	65.7	69.8	73.6
Born in a more Basque-speaking area	4.5	21.7	20.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0
BY SPEAKER'S PARENTS' BIRTHPLACE			
Born in a more Spanish-speaking area	50.4	18.6	18.7
Born in the same place (or a place with a similar level of Basque use)	42.9	48.8	54.2
Born in a more Basque-speaking area	6.8	32.6	27.1
	100.0	100.0	100.0
SUMMARY INDICATOR:			
Speaker or at least one of their parents born in a more Basque-speaking area	11.7	44.5	37.8
The rest	88.3	55.5	62.2
	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: ECEPOV, 2021. Authors' own elaboration.

If we analyse speakers' own birthplace and that of their parents together, the results reveal that 11.7% of the population in predominantly Spanish-speaking areas were born or have at least one parent who was born in a more Basque-speaking area. Among those who primarily speak Basque with their family, this figure is 44.5%; and among those who primarily speak Basque with their friends, it is 37.8% (percentages that are four and three times higher, respectively). Approximately four out of every ten people who predominantly speak Basque with their family or friends were born or have at least one parent who was born in a more Basque-speaking area.

Conclusions

The study reveals that speakers' place of birth and current place of residence are both key factors influencing linguistic behaviour. The former determines, to a large degree, the conditions for language socialisation, whereas the latter determines the opportunities they have to use the language and how convenient it is for them to do so. The results also indicate that a good linguistic ecosystem can partially integrate residentially mobile speakers into the dynamics of its habitual language practice, and that the success of this sociolinguistic integration depends on both the density of speakers in the area and the size of the mobility flows.

In response to the first research question, the results indicate that the vast majority of those who predominantly speak Spanish in Basque *arnasgunes* hail from more Spanish-speaking areas, with seven out of ten having been born in these areas, and eight out of ten having parents who were born there. It is clear that residential mobility flows should be considered a key element in the analysis and interpretation of the linguistic evolution of speakers living in *arnasgunes*.

In relation to the second research question, the results indicate that the vast majority of those who mainly speak Basque in predominantly Spanish-speaking areas hail from more Basque-speaking environments. The contribution made by people born in more Basque-speaking areas, as well as their children, to Basque language use in predominantly Spanish-speaking areas is considerably greater than the proportion of the population they represent. Basque language ecosystems in predominantly Spanish-speaking areas cannot be understood without considering the influence of adults hailing from more Basque-speaking regions.

The favourable conditions Basque enjoys in these areas enable the creation and reproduction of fully fluent speakers for the entire language community. This capacity for reproduction not only impacts the local area due to residential mobility flows, but it also affects much broader regions in which the Basque-speaking community faces greater difficulties in terms of reproducing its own speakers. The contribution of *arnasgunes* and more Basque-speaking areas is therefore felt beyond these specific regions, throughout the entire Basque-speaking world.

Some reflections for the future

Research and intervention

The present study uses approximations based on cross-sectional sources that provide basic insights into the phenomenon under study. However, if the research parameters are refined and expanded, the results reported here may open up avenues for further exploration and the development of a specific research itinerary.

Given that research into residential mobility offers much scope for development from a demolinguistic perspective, it would be worthwhile to further refine the initial work carried out here, moving beyond place of birth and current residence to take into account also the different places in which an individual has lived throughout the course of their life. The study of origin could also be extended to include speakers' grandparents' generation and the conditions prevalent in speakers' or their parents' place of birth at the time of their birth. As a general hypothesis, it could be argued that the strong influence of residential mobility observed in this study on different environments may be explained even more effectively if the research were carried out using more precise procedures.

For decades now, some of the most major changes that have occurred in people's lifestyles and habits have been linked to mobility, in terms of residential mobility flows, daily mobility habits and international hypermobility (linked to tourism, academic studies, professional careers, etc.), among others. Given that these changes have a significant impact on sociolinguistic dynamics, the issue must be viewed as a much broader phenomenon than just residential mobility. The relationship between regions and their populations has changed considerably. This should prompt us to pay special attention to the spatial dimension of sociolinguistic evolution and explore other indicators, over and above the usual sociolinguistic ones. If this avenue of research were to enable us to determine how certain mobility flows (residential, work-related, leisure-related, commercial, etc.) facilitate or hinder Basque language use, said flows could be taken into account when designing strategies aimed at revitalising this minoritised language. In the field of language policy and sociolinguistic intervention, this information could be used to inform choices and expand existing approaches. Whether prompted by work or leisure, regional mobility and flows have increased and are now commonplace in the lives of today's Basque citizens. This has led to changes in both social interactions among individuals and sociolinguistic interactions between territories. Although some efforts have been made to understand these

experiences (Sorolla *et al.*, 2021), this is undoubtedly an avenue of research with enormous potential for development and further exploration.

Exploring the experiences linked to the transformation of sociolinguistic ecosystems in the linguistic biographies of speakers, from both a qualitative and an ethnographic perspective, may also be an interesting and fruitful avenue of research. How do speakers experience the move from a Basque-speaking to a Spanish-speaking area? What are the keys to understanding why such a move ignites a sense of activism for the Basque language in some yet prompts adaptation to hegemonic practices in others? This is an important topic to explore, since 21.7% of speakers who were born in a more Basque-speaking area but live in municipalities in which Spanish is the main language spoken primarily speak Basque with their friends (Table 4). This figure is high within this residential context. However, this piece of data can also be interpreted from a distinct perspective, namely that most of those who are born in an *arnasgune* and later move to predominantly Spanish-speaking municipalities do not speak Basque primarily with their friends. Within this group of speakers who move from an *arnasgune* to predominantly Spanish-speaking areas, it would be interesting to explore in greater depth the trajectories, experiences and attitudes of both those who continue to speak Basque and those who transition to Spanish.

There is enormous potential for leveraging the knowledge gained from the aforementioned avenues of research in public and social language revitalisation interventions. Such information could be used to develop large-scale plans and small-scale local interventions, both of which would increase the likelihood of ensuring a more effective language policy. Given that urban planning, spatial planning, mobility, the economic model and policies and interventions that affect spatial configuration all contribute to transforming the sociolinguistic situation, the most effective approach would be to articulate all these factors within the framework of a coherent, comprehensive language policy strategy.

People hailing from predominantly Spanish-speaking areas in Basque *arnasgunes*

The question of how to integrate a predominantly Spanish-speaking population is a fundamental challenge for *arnasgunes*. Basque sociolinguistics, the social movement in favour of the Basque language and public language policy stakeholders have already begun to focus on international migration flows and their consequences. However, it is also important to specifically analyse residential mobility within the Basque Country itself and to develop integrated reception strategies. In order to guarantee the continued predominance of Basque use

in these *arnasgunes*, we need advanced policies and shared resources aimed at maintaining daily Basque use. The material conditions for sociolinguistic integration within the Basque-speaking community must be ensured, along with the means to generate and reproduce among speakers, at a community level, awareness of and identification with their sociolinguistic reality.

People hailing from predominantly Basque-speaking areas in predominantly Spanish-speaking areas

Raising awareness among speakers born in predominantly Basque-speaking areas about their role in ensuring the vitality of Basque in predominantly Spanish-speaking areas may constitute an important step towards viewing the care and promotion of both *arnasgunes* themselves and more Basque-speaking areas in general as a goal shared by all those striving to ensure the revitalisation of the Basque language. Given that the health of these *arnasgunes* directly affects all Basque speakers, it is important for everyone to understand their vital role. Ultimately, it is the more Basque-speaking areas that have made a significant contribution to ensuring the continued presence of Basque in predominantly Spanish-speaking areas. The weakening of these more Basque-speaking areas would therefore have consequences for the entire Basque Country.

In terms of intervention, the results of the present study may inform new initiatives. For example, interventions could be designed for those hailing from areas with a higher prevalence of Basque, offering them diverse ways to maintain their Basque identity and counteract the prevailing tendency to adopt the use habits of Spanish speakers. Such initiatives could focus on raising awareness of the sociolinguistic conditions that foster Basque use, as well as on promoting the integration of Basque-speaking citizens and empowering individuals to face linguistic conflicts head on and manage linguistic stress assertively.

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6. Hitzun-dentsitate desberdineko lurralde- eremuen elkarreragina euskararen ahultze- eta indarberritze-prozesuetan

Asier Basurto Arruti (Soziolinguistika Klusterra)

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Laburpena: Artikulu honek Hego Euskal Herriko hiztunen bizileku-mugikortasunak hizkuntzen erabileran dituen ondorio soziolinguistikoak aztertzen ditu. Horretarako, ECEPOV (INE, 2021) inkestan oinarritutako adierazle berriak sortu dira, hiztunen bizilekua, jaioterria eta gurasoen jatorria zona soziolinguistiko ezberdinen arabera erabilerari buruzkoekin gurutzatuz. Emaitzek erakusten dute arnasguneetako gaztelaniaren erabileran pisu handia dutela zona erdaldunagoetatik etorritako hiztunek, eta, alderantziz, erdararen nagusitasun handiko eremuetan euskara erabiltzen dutenen artean jatorria zona euskaldunagoetan duten hiztunek pisu esanguratsua dutela. Ondorioz, hiztun-komunitateak bere burua erreproduzitzeko gaitasunak baldintza espazial eta demografikoekin lotura zuzena duela baieztatzen da, eta lurralde arteko fluxuak hizkuntza-komunitatearen dinamika orokorraren elementu garrantzitsua direla.

Gako-hitzak euskara, arnasguneak, bizileku-mugikortasuna, nagusitasun-eremuak, dentsitate soziolinguistikoa, lurralde-dinamika soziolinguistikoak.

Kokapena

Artikulu honetan, Hego Euskal Herriaren testuinguruan hiztunen bizileku-mugikortasunak hizkuntzaren ohiko erabileran duen eragina aztertu da: zona erdaldunagoetan jatorria duten arnasguneetako biztanleena, batetik; eta zona euskaldunagoetan jatorria duten eta gaur egun zona erdaldunagoetan bizi diren herritarrena, bestetik.

Herritarren eta euren gurasoen jaiotza-tokia, gaur egungo bizilekua, familian egiten duten hizkuntza-erabilera eta lagunartean egiten dutena elkarrekin gurutzatuta eta gurutzaketen emaitzak aztertuta, zona soziolinguistikoaren arteko bizileku-mugikortasunaren ondorio soziolinguistikoaren zenbait ebidentzia eskuratu dira.

Ariketa honek heldulekua izan nahi du errealitate eta bilakaera soziolinguistikoa azterketan lurralde-ikuspegiak eta azterketa espazialek duten potentzialitatea nabarmentzeko. Eta zona soziolinguistiko bakoitzeko dinamikek hiztun-komunitate osoaren bilakaeran duten eragina agerian jartzeko.

Marko teorikoa

Arnasguneen ezaugarri soziolinguistikoak

«Arnasgune» kontzeptua Joshua A. Fishman soziolinguistaren «physical breathing space» aipamenetik dator, Mikel Zalbide euskaltzainak euskarara ekarri eta garatu zuena.

A demographically concentrated space where Xish can be on its own turf, predominant and unharassed. Such spaces may appear abnormal or atypical vis-à-vis the outside, non-Xish surrounding reality; but vis-à-vis internal Xish reality, such spaces become potential oases of authenticity and centres of increased cultural self-regulation that seek to counteract the physical dislocation that minority life is so commonly afflicted with (Fishman, 1991, 58. or.).

Kontzeptuak hainbat interpretazio eta erabilera izan ditu nazioarteko literatura soziolinguistikoan (Dorronsoro, 2025). Jatorrizko kontzeptuaren garapenik eta erabilerarik leialena euskal soziolinguistikaren testuinguruan egin da:

(...) the original meaning of the concept ‘breathing spaces’ had a fruitful development in the Basque context, where it has been literally translated as arnasgunea, and has continued being particularly loyal to Fishman’s definition. Most if not all the literature on the arnasguneak has been written in Basque, so both the knowledge about and access to such niche literature is usually limited to Basque-speaking researchers (Dorronsoro, 2025 6. or.).

Euskal soziolinguistika akademikoan nagusi den ulerkeraren arabera (Dorronsoro, 2025), arnasguneak «eguneroko mintzajardunean euskara nagusi duten eremu geoterritorialak» dira, non euskara «etxeko nagusi» sentitzen den eta «aparteko esfortzu, ordain-sari, autozentsura edo sakrifizioak gabe» erabiltzen den (Zalbide, 2001). Praktikan, gehienetan, udalerririk erabiltzen dira arnasguneen operatibizatze- eta neurri-unitate gisa.

Arnasguneak dira hizkuntzaren belaunez belauneko transmisioa modu etengabea eta natural batean ziurtatzen den eremu bakarrak. Joshua A. Fishmanek bere RLS (Reversing Language Shift) eskalan «6. Etapa» gisa

identifikatzen du hau: «The intergenerational and demographically concentrated home-family-neighbourhood-community: the basis of mother-tongue transmission».

Mikel Zalbidek sei gako nagusi aipatzen ditu arnaguneen garrantzia azpimarratzeko (Zalbide, 2019):

1. Eguneroko euskarazko mintzamolde «normala», osasun oneko hiztun-elkarteen mintzajardun arruntaren antzekoena, arnaguneetan dago indar betean.
2. Arnaguneetan bizi den jendeak aparteko esfortzu, ordain-sari, autozentsura edo sakrifizioak gabe egiten du euskaraz, hitzez ari delarik, Inon idatzi gabeko gizarte-arauari jarraituz.
3. Euskal hiztun-elkarte beregaina bizirik dagoela erakusten dute arnaguneek, euskaraz «normal» bizitzea zer den argien azalduz.
4. Euskarazko mintzamen-maila altua eta hizkera aberatsa duten hiztunen sorgune oparoa dira; hitz-etorri oneko euskaldun trebe landuen harrobia.
5. Eguneroko mintzajardun arruntean euskara nagusi den esparru bakarra dira, herri- edo eskualde-mailan.
6. Haur, gazte eta helduen katean, belaunez belauneko transmisioa segurtaturik dago.

Bestalde, Zalbiderentzat arnaguneek elkarri lotuta dauden hiru erronka nagusi dituzte:

- Demolinguistikoa: hiztun-kopurua eta kontzentrazioa mantentzea (jaiotza-tasak, migrazioak, gazteak herrian atxikitzea...).
- Sozioekonomikoa: lanpostuak eta zerbitzuak herrian bermatzea.
- Soziokulturala: komunitate-sentimendua eta antolaketa soziala orekan uztarturik mantentzea eta euskarazko bizi-giroari eustea.

Arnaguneak Hego Euskal Herrian

Euskara minorizazio gorrian dago demolinguistikoki Euskal Herrian (Iurrebaso, 2023). Biztanleen % 83 hobeto moldatzen dira gaztelaniaz edo frantsesez euskaraz baino (2,2 milioi lagun), eta euskaraz hobeto moldatzen direnak, aldiz, % 8 dira (210.000 lagun). Kaleko euskararen erabilera % 12,6koa da, azken 24 urtetako maila berean (Altuna eta beste, 2022).

Hego Euskal Herriko arnasguneek¹ ahultze-zantzuak erakutsi dituzte azken urteetan. Datu kuantitatiboek dagokienez, 2021ean Hego Euskal Herrian, 21 udalerri baino ez ziren «arnasgune beteak» (% 80tik gorako euskararen erabilera dutenak), eta biztanleriaren % 0,3 baino ez zuten hartzen (9.424 biztanle). Horietaz gain, 75 udalerri «arnasgune erasanak» (% 60-80 arteko erabilera) ziren, biztanleriaren % 4,2 hartzen zutenak (118.093 biztanle). Horrek esan nahi du Hego Euskal Herriko biztanleriaren % 5 baino gutxiago bizi dela arnasguneetan. Aitzitik, hamar herritarretik bederatzi (% 88,5) gaztelania nagusi den udalerrietan bizi dira, batez ere euskararen erabilera % 20ra ere iristen ez den eremuetan.

**1. taula. Udalerriak eta biztanleria, nagusitasun-eremuetan.
Hego Euskal Herria, 2021 (Irizpidea: hurbileko erabileraren adierazle sintetikoa).**

Eremua	Udalerriak		Biztanleak	
	Kopurua	%	Kopurua	%
Arnasgune beteak (euskaraz % 80-100)	21	4,0	9.424	0,3
Arnasgune erasanak (% 60-80)	75	14,3	118.093	4,2
Nagusitasun argirik gabeak (% 40-60)	52	9,9	196.214	7,0
Erdararen nagusitasun ez-erabatekoak (% 20-40)	61	11,7	316.829	11,3
Erdararen nagusitasun handikoak (% 0-20)	314	60,0	2.174.018	77,2
GUZTIRA	523	100,0	2.814.578	100,0

Iturria: UEMA, 2025 [jatorrizko iturriak: Biztanleriaren eta etxebizitzaren zentsuak (Eustat-Nastat) eta Hizkuntzen Erabileraren Kale Neurketa (Soziolinguistika Klusterra)].

Arnasguneek biztanleriaren pisu demografiko mugatua dute, baina Euskal Herri osoan gertatzen den euskararen erabileraren zati handi bat haietan ekoizten da, euskal hiztunen dentsitatea, konzentrazioa eta hiztun-komunitatearen trinkotasunaren eraginez (Iurrebaso, 2023). Arnasguneetan haur gehienek euskara dute lehen hizkuntza, eta jatorrizko euskaldun gehienek euskarazko nagusitasunari eusten diote; esan daiteke, arnasguneetako baldintzek euskara erabiltzeko eta euskarazko gaitasuna handitzeko prozesuak errazten dituztela; lurraldearen gainontzeko eremuetan ez bezala.

1. Azterketa hau Hego Euskal Herrira mugatu behar izan da, Ipar Euskal Herrian ez baitago euskararen egoera maila lokalean aztertzea ahalbidetzen duen datu-ituririk.

Nagusitasun-eremuak ekosistema soziolinguistikoetako baldintzen adierazle gisa

Nagusitasun-eremuak lurraldea sailkatzeko modu bat dira, hizkuntzen erabilera-maila kontuan hartuta (ikusi 1. taulan Hego Euskal Herriko osaketa nagusitasun-eremutan). Baina erabileratik harago, praktikan *ekosistema* osoa hartzen dute kontuan. Eta euskararen diagnosia egiteko oinarritzko ardatzetako bat dira, berebiziko interesa baitu lurralde-mailan nagusitasun-eremu bakoitza azaleraz eta pisu demografikoz hazten edo txikitzen ari den ikustekak.

Euskarazko *nagusitasun-eremuak* kontzeptua lurralde-mailako kontzentrazioari eta euskara-erdaren nagusitasun soziolinguistikoari lotuta dago beraz. Nagusitasun-eremua kontzeptua, hizkuntza gutxitu baten azterketa demolinguitikoa erabil daiteke, hizkuntza-talde batek bere burua nola ekoizten eta ugaltzen duen aztertzeko. Nagusitasun-eremuak hiztunen gaitasun-zorua eta erabileraren aukeren egituraren adierazle dira. Ereku horiek baldintzatzen dute, norbanakoari dagokionez, erosotasun sozial eta gaitasun linguistiko pertsonal eta kolektiboaren arabera, hizkuntza bat ala bestea erabiltzeko aukera. Errazagoa den hizkuntza erabili beharrean, beste motibazio batzuek bultzatuta (atxikimendua eta transmisio-bulkada, kasu) hizkuntza gutxitua gehiago erabiltzeko ahaleginak zenbatekoa izan beharko duen ere testuinguruko baldintzen arabera da. Nagusitasun-eremuek, beraz, lurralde-testuinguruaren ezaugarriak jasotzen dituzte, eta horrek eragin zuzena du hiztunen hizkuntza-portaera indibidualean.

Izan ere, nagusitasun-eremuen barnean gertatzen diren dinamikek eragin handia dute hiztunen bilakaeran. Arnasguneetan bizi diren jatorritzko euskaldunek beste inon baino hobeto eusten diote euskarazko gaitasun erlatiboari. Orobat, ingurune horiek baldintza egokienak eskaintzen dituzte ez dakienak euskara ikasteko, gaitasun sendoa garatzeko, euskaraz hitz egiteko eta hizkuntza ondorengoei transmititzeko. Beste muturrean, erdararen nagusitasun handiko testuinguruetan zaila izango da euskaraz ez dakienarentzat euskara ikastea eta euskalduna euskaraz bizi ahal izatea: testuinguruak ez du lagunduko.

Haurtzaroaren eta nerabezaroaren garrantzia hizkuntza-sozializazioan eta hiztun-profila finkatzean

Hizkuntza-sozializazioa funtsezkoa da hizkuntza gutxituen jarraipenerako. Hizkuntza belaunaldi berriei transmititzea da hizkuntza gutxituak indarberritzeko eta iraunarazteko premia eta lehentasunezko prozesua. Haurren lehen biziurteek, haurtzaroak eta nerabezaroak, berebiziko garrantzia dute hizkuntza-sozializazioan eta hiztun-profila finkatzean (gaitasunean, erabileran eta

jarreretan). Ikuspegi horrekin, euskararen biziberritze-estrategia orokorrean zentrala izan den belaunaldi berriak euskaldun hazteko apustuak emaitza argiak izan ditu (Iurrebaso, 2023).

Testuinguru soziolinguistikoa funtsezko baldintzapena da haurrak hizkuntzaz jabetzeko eta hiztun bilakatzeko prozesuan (Kasares, 2013). Izan ere, komeni da begirada zabaltzea eta hizkuntza-sozializazioan familiaz gain eragina duten faktoreei erreparatzea: hizkuntza-transmisioan familiaz kanpoko baldintzek sendiaren barnekoek baino eragin handiagoa izaten dute maiz, gaur egun. Inguru hurbileko gizarte-sareak (lagunartea, herri-/auzo-giroa) eragile garrantzitsua dira Kasaresen arabera, horietan gertatzen baitira harreman informal gehienak. Etxetik kanpoko eremu horietan, adinkideen arteko harremanak erabakigarriak dira haurren hizkuntza-jokabideari begira. Etxeko, eskolako eta adinkideen arteko elkarrekintzak elkar elikatzen duten jarduera sozializatzaileak dira, haurtzaroko hizkuntza-sozializazio komunitarioaren prozesu zabalaren parte. Horiek horrela, hiztuna jaio eta hazi izan den testuingurua baldintzatzaile garrantzitsua izan ohi da eta aztarna utzi ohi du hiztunaren gaitasunean, erabilera-ohituretan eta hizkuntzekiko jarreretan.

Bizileku-mugikortasuna gizarte-egitura aztertzeako gako gisa

Bizileku-mugikortasuna (*Residential mobility*) kontzeptuari, honako definizioa eman zaio literatura akademikoan:

Residential mobility denotes the relatively local-scale relocation of individuals and households from one usual residence to another.

Bizileku-mugikortasunak norbanakoen eta etxekoen tokiko eskalako birkokapena adierazten du, ohiko bizileku batetik besterakoari.

(Coulter & Thomas, 2020)

Bestela esanda, *bizileku-mugikortasuna* pertsonak ohiko bizilekuz aldatzea da, neurri handi batean tokian tokiko birkokapenari erreferentzia eginez. Definizio horrek azpimarratzen du lekualdatzeak eskala lokal edo hurbilekoak izaten direla (ingurune hurbilean etxebizitza aldatuz), horrela bereiztuz *residential mobility* migrazio urrunagoetatik edo nazioarteko migrazioetatik.

Bizileku-mugikortasuna kontzeptua ulertzeko hainbat teoria eta eredu daude. Adibidez, populazio-mugikortasunaren lehen eredu klasikoek (*push-pull* migrazio-ereduak, Ravenstein-en legeak, etab.) bizileku-aldaketak bizitza-

baldintzen hobekuntzarekin edo beharrekin lotu zituzten; *Why Families Move* (Rossi, 1955) klasikotik hasita, ikuspegi honek azpimarratzen du familiek euren beharrianak aldatzean (seme-alabak, lan-aukerak, etxebizitza-baldintzak) bizilekua aldatzen dutela. Teoria horien arabera, bizileku-aldaketa pertsonen bizikloan gertatzen diren gertaera eta trantsizioei erantzuteko mekanismo bat da (ezkontza, dibortzioa, seme-alaben jaiotza, erretiroa, etab.), eta hortaz *bizileku-mugikortasuna* bizitza-zikloaren eta bizitza-ibilbidearen ikuspegietatik ere aztertzen da (Coulter & Thomas, 2020). Azken ikerketa teorikoek, bestalde, *bizileku-mugikortasuna* erlaziozko praktika moduan birpentsatzera jo dute, denboran eta espazioan bizitzak lotzen dituzten eta, aldi berean, pertsonak egitura-baldintzetara konektatzen dituzten erlazio-praktika gisa (Coulter, Ham & Findlay, 2015). Ikuspegi horiek geografiaren eta soziologiaren arteko uztarketa dakarte, mugikortasuna pertsonen eguneroko espazioaren berrantolaketa gisa ulertuz. Era berean, *bizileku-mugikortasunari* buruzko ikerketek bizilagunen arteko harremanak, auzo- eta hiri-egituraren aldaketak eta gizarte-sareen osaera ere kontuan hartzen dituzte (Coulter & Thomas, 2020).

Bizileku-mugikortasuna funtsezko kontzeptua da hainbat arlotan. Demografiaren alorrean, biztanleriaren barruko mugimendu horiek populazioaren banaketari eta eskualdeen hazkundeari eta galerari buruzko azterlanetan sartzen dira. Geografian adituek *bizileku-mugikortasuna* aztertzen dute auzoen eraldaketa edo gentrifikazio-prozesuetan daukan rolagatik; maiz ikusten da etxebizitza-aukeraketak eta biztanleen desplazamenduen pilaketak auzo bateko egitura sozioekonomikoa eraldatzen dutela.

Laburbilduz, *bizileku-mugikortasuna* pertsonen bizileku-aldaketei buruzko kontzeptu gakoa da, diziplina anitzetan landua. Kontzeptuaren analisisian ikuspegi metodologikoak, kontzeptualak eta teorikoak kontuan hartu dira. Azken batean, *bizileku-mugikortasunak* gizartearen egitura eta lurralde-antolaketa ulertzeko funtsezko gakoa ematen baitu.

Fenomeno hori neurtzeko maiz aztertzen da zer proportziok aldatzen duten bizilekua epe jakin batean (esaterako, urtebeteko tartean bizilekua aldatu duten pertsonen ehunekoa) edo batez besteko bizileku-aldaketa kopurua biztanleko. Hego Euskal Herriko testuinguruari begiratuta, zentsuko 2024ko datuen arabera (INE, 2024), herritar gehienak (% 59,2) ez dira bizi jaio ziren udalerrian, beste batean baizik. Pentsatzekoa da bizileku-aldaketa horiek eragin soziolinguistikoa dutela jatorrizko eta helmugako udalerrietan, bizileku-aldaketa horietako askok ingurune soziolinguistikoz aldatzea baitakarte.

Ikerketa-galderak

Bizileku-mugikortasunaren fluxuek errealitate soziolinguistikoan duten eraginaren gaiari heldu nahiko genioke artikulu honetan eta honako ikerketa-galderei lehen erantzun behin-behineko bat eman. Aztertu nahi da ea nola eragiten duen lurralde-jatorri soziolinguistiko ezberdina duen hiztunen bizileku-mugikortasunak helmugako udalerrietako hizkuntza-erabileran. Eta horren erakusgarri bezala, testu honetan zehazki galdera hauei erantzun nahi zaie:

1. Arnasguneetan nagusiki gaztelania erabiltzen duten pertsonen artean zenbatek dute jatorria ingurune erdaldunagoetan?
2. Erdararen nagusitasun handiko eremuetan nagusiki euskara erabiltzen duten pertsonen artean, zenbatek dute jatorria ingurune euskaldunagoetan?

Iturriak eta metodologia

Iturriak

Galderen izaera ikusita, paradigma positibistaren barruan, informazio kuantitatiboa baliatu da erantzunak bilatzeko. Iturri nagusi gisa Espainiako Estatistika Institutuaren (INE) *Encuesta de Características Esenciales de la Población y Viviendas* (ECEPOV) erabili da. Eragiketa hori 2021. urtean egin zuen INEk urte horretako zentsua lantzeko. Zehazki, ECEPOVen mikro-datueta jo da: hizkuntzari buruzko aldagaiak landu dira batetik; eta lurraldeari buruzko informazioa (hiztunen bizilekuari, jaiolekuari eta gurasoen jaiolekuari buruzkoa) bestetik. Horretarako, INEa egindako berariazko datu-eskari baten bidez, ECEPOVeko lurralde-informazioa nagusitasun-eremuka lantzeko moduan eskuratu da.

Iturri horrek honako bi baldintzak betetzen ditu. Batetik, aztergaiei buruzko informazioa biltzen du; bai euskara-gaztelaniaren erabilerari buruzkoa eta baita hiztunen bizileku eta jaiolekuari buruzko informazio zehatza ere. Bestetik, laginek neurri egokia dute, eta horrek lanketak eskatzen duen desagregazio-mailarekin lan egitea ahalbidetu du. Ikerketa honen unibertsoa 2021. urtean, ECEPOV eragiketa egin zen garaian, euren bizilekua Hego Euskal Herrian zuten 2.799.463 hiztunek osatu dute. Eta lagina, berriz, aipatu ikerketaren mikro-datueta azaltzen diren 27.763 erregistroek.

Iturri horietan oinarrituta, hau da ikerketaren metodologia-hautua: ECEPOV ikerketan oinarrituta, aztertu nahi den gaia lantzeko adierazle esanguratsu

berriak sortzea eta horien lehen irakurketa bat egitea oinarritzko estatistika deskriptiboaren tresnak baliatuta. Jarraian aurkezten dira ECEPOVetik abiatuta sortu diren adierazle berriak.

Familiako eta lagunarteko erabilerari buruzko adierazleak

ECEPOVen hiztunek hiru eremutan egiten duten erabilerari buruzko informazioa jasotzen da: familian egiten dutena (1), lagunartekoa (2) eta lantokian edo ikastokian egiten dutena (3).

Hizkuntza bakoitza zein neurritan erabiltzen duten galdetzen zaie elkarrizketatuei (euskara, gaztelania, eta beste hizkuntzarik ezagutzen dutenei hizkuntza horri buruzko erabilera-mailari buruz ere galdetuz). ECEPOVen erabilerari buruz galdetzeko modu horrek akatsa dakar berekin. 7. taulan ikus daiteke, adibidez, hiztunen kopuru esanguratsu batek ezinezkoak diren konbinaketak erantzuten dituela. Adibidez, «beti» gaztelaniaz aritzen direla esaten duten askok aipatzen dute ondoren euskara batzuetan, maiz edo beti erabiltzen dutela. Eta berdin alderantziz.

2. taula. Hiztunen euskararen familiako erabilera, gaztelaniaren familiako erabileraren arabera. Hego Euskal Herria, 2021.

		Gaztelaniaren erabilera familian				GUZTIRA
		Inoiz ez	Batzuetan	Maiz	Beti	
Euskararen erabilera familian	Inoiz ez	39.946	48.267	54.454	1.516.881	1.659.548
		% 1,4	% 1,7	% 2,0	% 55,0	% 60,1
	Batzuetan	1.269	16.589	84.480	375.316	477.654
		% 0,0	% 0,6	% 3,1	% 13,6	% 17,3
	Maiz	483	64.812	200.296	61.236	326.827
		% 0,0	% 2,3	% 7,3	% 2,2	% 11,8
	Beti	96.707	85.341	20.116	94.211	296.375
		% 3,5	% 3,1	% 0,7	% 3,4	% 10,7
GUZTIRA		138.405	215.009	359.346	2.047.644	2.760.404
		% 5,0	% 7,8	% 13,0	% 74,2	% 100,0

Baliozkotasun-arazoak dituzte, hortaz, honako datuek. Euskal demolingüistikan hizkuntza-erabileraz galdetzeko ohituraz baliatu izan diren galderak² egokiagoak izanik, ECEPOV ez da tamalez tradizio sendoago horri lotu galderak egiteko erabilitako moduan. Eta ziur aski, hautu horrek datuen kalitatea kaltetuko zuen. Dena den, ez dira guztiz baliogabeak horrela eskuratutako datuak eta oinarri horretatik abiatuta egin da lanketa. Zehazki, taulako konbinaketa posible guztiak sailkatuta, honako hiru multzotan banatu dira hiztunak:

1. Etxean nagusiki (edo soilik) euskaraz ari direnak

- Euskaraz Batzuetan + Gaztelaniaz Inoiz ez
- Euskaraz Maiz + Gaztelaniaz Inoiz ez/Batzuetan
- Euskaraz Beti + Gaztelaniaz Inoiz ez/Batzuetan/Maiz

2. Bietara berdintsu ari direnak

- Euskaraz Inoiz ez + Gaztelaniaz Inoiz ez
- Euskaraz Batzuetan + Gaztelaniaz Batzuetan
- Euskaraz Maiz + Gaztelaniaz Maiz
- Euskaraz Beti + Gaztelaniaz Beti

3. Nagusiki (edo soilik) gaztelaniaz ari direnak

- Euskaraz Inoiz ez + Gaztelaniaz Batzuetan/Maiz/Beti
- Euskaraz Batzuetan + Gaztelaniaz Maiz/Beti
- Euskaraz Maiz + Gaztelaniaz Beti

Hiztunak hiru multzo horietan landu dira, hortaz, sortutako adierazlean. Oro har, ECEPOVen familiako erabilerari buruz horrela landutako datuak ez dira askorik urruntzen EUSTATEk etxeko erabileraz landu izan dituenetatik.

Familiako erabilera lantzeko erabilitako irizpide berberak erabili dira lagunarteko erabilerari buruzko adierazlea kalkulatzeko.

Erabilerari buruzko bi adierazle horiekin egin da lan ikerketa honetan: familiako erabilerarekin eta lagunartekoarekin.

2. Bai Inkesta Soziolingüistikoan eta bai EUSTAT eta NASTATen zentsuetan prozedura egokiagoak landu izan dira erabilerari buruzko informazioa eskuratzeko. Galdera bakarrean galdetzen zaio elkarriketatuari egiten duen euskara-erdaren erabilerari buruz.

Bizilekuari eta norbere zein gurasoen jaiolekuari lotutako adierazleak

ECEPOV-en, berez, ikergairako funtsezkoak diren honako aldagaiak buruzko informazioa biltzen da zehatz:

- Hiztunaren bizileku-udalerria.
- Hiztunaren jaiotze-tokia.
- Hiztunaren 1. gurasoaren jaiotze-tokia.
- Hiztunaren 2. gurasoaren jaiotze-tokia.

ECEPOVen lagineko hiztun bakoitza hartu, eta lau aldagai horietarako, bizileku eta jaiolekuaren ezaugarri soziolinguistikoei buruzko balioak esleitu zaizkie, eremu geografikoei buruzko balioak UEMak (2025) landutako Hego Euskal Herriko udalerrien sailkapenetik hartuta³. Horrela, honako lau aldagaiak sortu dira:

- **Bizilekuko erabilera:** Hiztunak bizi diren udalerriko euskararen erabilera-maila⁴.
- **Jaiolekuko erabilera:** Hiztuna jaio zen udalerriko euskararen erabilera maila⁵.
- **1. gurasoaren jaiolekuko erabilera:** Hiztunaren 1. gurasoa jaio zen udalerriko euskararen erabilera-maila.
- **2. gurasoaren jaiolekuko erabilera:** Hiztunaren 2. gurasoa jaio zeneko udalerriko euskararen erabilera-maila.

Lau adierazle horietako bakoitza, 8. taulako lehen zutabeaz azaltzen diren tarteetan sailkatu da eta horiek nagusitasun-eremuen sailkapenarekin (bigarren zutabea) lotu dira, taulan ikusten den korrespondentziarekin.

3. Horretarako lanketa berezia egin du INEk UEMaren eskari bati erantzunda.

4. «Erabilera hurbila» adierazle sintetikoa erabili da, udalerriko herritarrek etxean egiten duten erabileraren eta udalerriko kaleetan neurtutakoaren batezbestekoaren bidez kalkulatu; multzokatze xehea. Jatorrizko iturriak: EUSTAT, 2021 eta Soziolinguistika Klusterra, 2021

5. Berez egokiagoa litzateke hiztunak zein gurasoak jaio izandako udalerriak, egungo erabileraren arabera baino, jaio eta hazi zirenen erabilera-mailaren arabera lantzea. Oraingoan, ordea, ez dago horretarako aukerarik.

3. taula. Udalerrietako euskararen erabilaren arabera udalerrien multzokatzea: multzokatze xehea eta nagusitasun-eremuak.

Euskararen erabilera hurbila udalerrian	Nagusitasun-eremuak
Euskaraz % 90-100	ARNASGUNE BETEAK (euskararen nagusitasuna handia den udalerriak)
Euskaraz % 80-89,9	
Euskaraz % 70-79,9	ARNASGUNE ERASANAK (euskararen nagusitasuna erabatekoa ez den udalerriak)
Euskaraz % 60-69,9	
Euskaraz % 50-59,9	NAGUSITASUN ARGIRIK GABEKO UDALERRIAK
Euskaraz % 40-49,9	
Euskaraz % 30-39,9	ERDARAREN NAGUSITASUN EZ ERABATEKO UDALERRIAK
Euskaraz % 20-29,9	
Euskaraz % 10-19,9	ERDARAREN NAGUSITASUNA HANDIA DEN UDALERRIAK
Euskaraz % 10 baino gutxiago	
Hego Euskal Herriatik kanpo	Hego Euskal Herriatik kanpo

Iturria: egileek landua.

Hiztunak bizi diren eta eurak edo euren gurasoak jaio ziren tokien arteko alderaketarako adierazleak

Hiztunen egungo bizilekua batetik eta euren zein euren gurasoen jaiolekua bestetik aintzat hartuta⁶, honako hiru adierazleak sortu ditugu:

- Hiztunen bizilekuko eta jaiolekuko batez besteko euskararen erabilera-mailaren alderaketa (erabilera hurbilaren arabera).
- Hiztunen bizilekuko eta 1. gurasoaren jaiolekuko euskararen erabilera-mailaren alderaketa (erabilera hurbilaren arabera).
- Hiztunen bizilekuko eta 2. gurasoaren jaiolekuko euskararen erabilera-mailaren alderaketa (erabilera hurbilaren arabera).

Adierazle horiek honako hiru balioak har ditzakete:

- Zona erdaldunagoan jaioak.
- Toki berean edo euskararen erabilera-maila bereko tokian jaioak.
- Zona euskaldunagoan jaioak.

6. Alderaketa horiek udalerrien multzokatze xehearen arabera landu dira.

Bizileku-mugikortasuna eta euskararen erabilera Hego Euskal Herrian

Lehenago azaldu bezala, nagusitasun-eremuak ekosistema soziolinguistiko oso bateko baldintzak sintetizatzen dituen adierazle gisa baliatu daitezke: hiztun-proportzio batzuk, hizkuntza-erabileraren praktika bat, hizkuntza bata eta bestea erabiltzearen inguruko arau-multzo bat, gaitasun kolektibo eta indibidualak, transmisio-kate bat...

Kontua da, norbanakoaren baldintzapen soziolinguistikoak ulertzen jarrita, uneko bizilekuan dituen gain, oso interesgarria dela bere jatorriko guneetako baldintzak ere kontuan hartzea. Norbera gaur egun bizi dena ez den toki batean jaio bada eta urte batzuk eman baditu bertan, pertsona horren biografia linguistikoa eta bizipenak baldintzatuko ditu jaioleku horretako egoerak. Era berean, bakoitzari hizkuntza-gaitasunak, -ohiturak eta -ideologiak transmititu dizkieten pertsonak, norberaren gurasoak kasu, beste ingurune soziolinguistiko bateko baldintzetatik baldin badatoz, transmisio horren baitan eragina izan dezake jatorri horrek. Gaur egun toki berean jaio eta hazi diren pertsonak nolabaiteko oinordekotza soziolinguistiko oso desberdina jaso dezakete gurasoengandik, hizkuntzaren sozializazio-prozesua erabat baldintzatuz.

Euskararen erabilera-maila jaiolekuaren eta bizilekuaren arabera

Ikus dezagun azaltzen ari garen hau datuen bidez. Erakusgarri bezala, begiratu dezakegu nola aldatzen diren hiztunen artean lagunartean nagusiki euskaraz aritzen direnen proportzioak, haien jaiolekuaren eta bizilekuaren nagusitasun-eremua konbinatuta aztertuz. 4. eta 5. tauletan ikus daitekeen bezala, hiztunen jaiolekuak eta egungo bizilekuak, eta baita gurasoenak ere, hirurek baldintzatzen dute haien erabilera-maila. Adibidez:

- Egungo bizilekuari erreparatuz, erdararen nagusitasun handiko udalerrietan bizi diren hiztunen artean, % 2,1ek erabiltzen dute euskara nagusiki; kopuru hori % 76,1era igotzen da arnasmune beteetan. Tarteko eremuek tarteko balioak erakusten dituzte.
- Jaiolekuari erreparatuz, erdararen nagusitasun handiko udalerrietan jaiotakoen artean % 3,4k soilik dute euskara lagunarteko hizkuntza nagusi; kopuru hori % 71,9raigo igotzen da arnasmune beteetan jaiotakoen artean.
- Norberaren jaiolekuak ez ezik, gurasoenak ere zerikusi argia du hiztunen erabilera-mailan: gurasoak erdararen nagusitasun handiko eremuan jaiotakoak dituztenen artean % 4,3k egiten dute nagusiki euskaraz; gurasoak arnasmunekoak dituztenen % 60,4k.

- Norbere bizilekua eta jaiolekua, bi aldagaiak uztartuta, aldeak are esanguratsuagoak dira: erdararen nagusitasun handiko udalerrietan jaio eta bizi diren herritarren artean % 2,4k erabiltzen dute euskara nagusiki; % 65,8k arnasguneetan jaio eta bizi direnen artean⁷.
- Erabilera apalena Hego Euskal Herritik kanpo jaiotako hiztunek erakusten dute. Dena den, aipagarria da horien artean ere bizilekuak eragin argia duela. Horrela, Hego Euskal Herritik kanpo jaio baina arnasgunean bizi diren hiztunen artean erabilera-maila ohargarria da, horien arteko % 9,7k nagusiki euskaraz egiten dute lagunartean, Hegoaldeko hiztun guztien batez besteko maila (% 8,7) gaindituz.

Horrela, bada, bizilekuak, norbere jaiolekuak eta gurasoenak, hiru aldagaiek dute eragin handia erabileran. Eta hiru aldagaien eragina metatu egiten da: erabateko logika erakusten dute, alde horretatik, landutako datuek.

4. taula. Lagunartean nagusiki euskara erabiltzen dutenen proportzioa hiztunen jaiolekuaren eta egungo bizilekuaren arabera. Hego Euskal Herria, 2021(multzo bakoitzarekiko %ak gelaxka bakoitzean).

	BIZILEKUA				GUZTIAK
	Erdararen nagusitasun handiko udalerriak	Erdararen nagusitasun ez erabateko udalerriak	Nagusitasun argirik gabeko udalerriak	Arnasguneak (erasanak eta beteak)	
Hego EHTik kanpo	0,3	0,6	5,0	9,7	0,8
Erdararen nagusitasun handiko udalerriak	2,4	8,5	27,9	33,4	3,4
Erdararen nagusitasun ez erabateko udalerriak	6,4	22,0	30,1	33,6	20,6
Nagusitasun argirik gabeko udalerriak	11,8	24,2	46,7	44,3	39,3
Arnasguneak (erasanak eta beteak)	21,5	34,3	58,1	65,8	58,2
GUZTIAK	2,1	15,3	36,2	51,9	8,7

Iturria: ECEPOV, 2021. Egileek landua.

7. Kasu honetan azpilaginen neurriek ez dute ematen arnasguneen barruan bereizteko.

5. taula. Lagunartean nagusiki euskara erabiltzen dutenen proportzioa hiztunen egungo bizilekuaren, jaiolekuaren edo gurasoen jaiolekuaren arabera. Hego Euskal Herria, 2021 (multzo bakoitzarekiko %ak gelaxka bakoitzean).

		Erdararen nagusitasun handiko udalerriak (euskararen erabilera <% 20)	Erdararen nagusitasun ez erabateko udalerriak (euskararen erabilera % 20-40)	Nagusita- sun argirik gabeko udalerriak (euskararen erabilera % 40-60)	Arnasgune erasanak (euskararen erabilera % 60-80)	Arnasgune beteak (euskararen erabilera >% 80)	GUZTIAK
EGUNGO BIZILEKUA		2,1	15,3	36,2	48,7	76,1	8,7
JAIOLEKUA	0,8	3,4	20,6	39,3	56,1	71,9	8,7
GURASOEN JAIOLEKUA ¹	2,0	4,3	23,5	36,4	49,0	60,4	8,7

* ECEPOVen elkarriketatuen bi gurasoen jaiolekuaz galdetzen da, banaka. Guraso guztien kopuruak batu eta horien gainean kalkulatu dira lan honetako tauletan gurasoei dagozkien ehuneko orokorrak.

Iturria: ECEPOV, 2021. Egileek landua.

Beraz, datuetan ikusten da **testuinguruak hizkuntza-praktika indibidualetan eragin erabakigarria duela**. Toki berean jaiotako guztiek ez dutela joera bera, toki berean bizi direnek ere ez, eta toki guztietako gurasoak dituztenek ere ez; hori gauza jakina da. **Hala eta guztiz, joera orokor gisa, hiru adierazle hauek garrantzitsuak dira pertsonen gaur egungo hizkuntza-praktikak ulertzeko. Eta hiruren arteko harremana eta elkarreagina aztertzeak argia ekar dezake tokian tokiko egoerak eta joerak interpretatzeko.**

Jo dezagun, beraz, ikerketa-galderei zuzenean erantzuten lagundu dezaketen datuak aztertzeraz.

Gaztelaniaren erabilera arnasguneetan

Definizioz, arnasguneetan euskara da nagusi erabileran. Argitu behar dena, berriz, honakoa da: bertan egiten den gaztelaniaren zein zati dagokie bertako jatorria duten hiztunei eta zein zati ingurune erdaldunagoetatik etorritakoei? Zehatzago galdetuta, nagusiki erdaraz aritzen diren hiztunen zein zati da ingurune erdaldunagoetatik etorria? galdera hori belaunaldi arteko ikuspegiz ere landuta.

6. taula. Nagusiki gaztelania erabiltzen duen hiztun-multzoaren osaera, hiztunen eta haien gurasoen jatorriaren arabera. Hegoaldeko arnasguneak (beteak eta erasanak; euskararen erabilera % 60tik gora dutenak), 2021.

	Pisua biztanlerian (%)	Pisua familian nagusiki gaztelania erabiltzen dutenen artean (%)	Pisua lagunartean nagusiki gaztelania erabiltzen dutenen artean (%)
Norbere jaiolekuaren arabera:			
Zona erdaldunagoan jaioak	41,8	71,8	72,8
Toki berean jaioak (edo erabilera-maila bertsua duen batean)	56,0	27,3	26,6
Zona euskaldunagoan jaioak	2,2	1,0	0,5
	100,0	100,0	100,0
Gurasoen jaiolekuaren arabera:			
Zona erdaldunagoan jaioak	54,5	83,0	81,8
Toki berean jaioak (edo erabilera-maila bertsua duen batean)	40,7	14,8	15,4
Zona euskaldunagoan jaioak	4,8	2,2	2,8
	100,0	100,0	100,0
Laburpen adierazlea:			
Norbera edo gurasoetako bat gutxienez zona erdaldunagoan jaioak	69,4	91,6	90,8
Gainerakoak	30,6	8,4	9,2
	100,0	100,0	100,0

Iturria: ECEPOV, 2021. Egileek landua.

Norberaren jaioterria kontuan hartuta, zona erdaldunago batean jaiotakoak arnasguneetan bizi direnen % 41,8 dira; baina familian edo lagunartean nagusiki gaztelaniaz dihardutenen artean proportzio hori askoz handiagoa da, % 71,8 eta % 72,8, hurrenez hurren. Aldiz, tokian bertan jaiotakoek populazioaren erdia baino zertxobait gehiago osatzen dute (% 56), baina gaztelania-hiztunetan haien pisua nabarmen jaisten da (% 27,3 familian eta % 26,6 lagunartean). Beraz, arnasguneetan gaztelania erabiltzen dutenen artean, hamarretik zazpi baino gehiago zona erdaldunago batean jaiotakoak dira.

Gurasoen jaioterriari erreparatuta, eragina are argiagoa da. Arnasguneetako biztanleen erdiek (% 54,5) gurasoak zona erdaldunagoetan jaiotakoak dituzte; baina nagusiki gaztelania erabiltzen duten hiztunen artean proportzio hori % 83,0 eta % 81,8koa da. Aldiz, gurasoak tokian bertan jaiotakoak dituztenak populazioaren % 40,7 badira ere, familian eta lagunartean nagusiki gaztelaniaz egiten dutenen artean % 14-15 dira.

Bi faktoreak (norberaren eta gurasoen jatorria) batera hartuta, ikusten da norbera edo gurasoetako bat gutxienez zona erdaldunagoan jaiotakoa izatea arnasguneetako populazioaren % 69,4aren kasuan gertatzen dela. Baina nagusiki gaztelania darabilten hiztunen artean proportzio hori % 91,6koa da familian, eta % 90,8koa lagunartean. Hau da, arnasguneetan nagusiki gaztelania erabiltzen dutenen artean hamarretik bederatzik gutxienez jatorri-lotura dute zona erdaldunago batekin.

Euskararen erabilera erdararen nagusitasun handiko eremuetan

Jarraian bizileku-mugikortasunaren eragin soziolinguistikoa kontrako norabidean aztertuko da. Gaur egun erdararen nagusitasun handiko udalerrietan (euskararen erabilera hurbila % 20aren azpitik) bizi diren hiztunen artean euskara gaztelania baino gehiago erabiltzen dutenen multzoaren jaiolekua eta haien gurasoena.

7. taula. Nagusiki euskara erabiltzen duen hiztun-multzoaren osaera, hiztunen eta haien gurasoen jatorriaren arabera. Hegoaldeko erdararen nagusitasun handiko udalerriak (euskararen erabilera % 20aren azpitik dutenak), 2021.

	Pisua biztanlerian (%)	Pisua familian nagusiki euskara erabiltzen dutenen artean (%)	Pisua lagunartean nagusiki euskara erabiltzen dutenen artean (%)
NORBERE JAIOLEKUAREN ARABERA:			
Zona erdaldunagoan jaioak	29,8	8,6	6,4
Toki berean jaioak (edo erabilera-maila bertsua duen batean)	65,7	69,8	73,6
Zona euskaldunagoan jaioak	4,5	21,7	20,0
	100,0	100,0	100,0
GURASOEN JAIOLEKUAREN ARABERA:			
Zona erdaldunagoan jaioak	50,4	18,6	18,7
Toki berean jaioak (edo erabilera-maila bertsua duen batean)	42,9	48,8	54,2
Zona euskaldunagoan jaioak	6,8	32,6	27,1
	100,0	100,0	100,0
LABURPEN ADIERAZLEA:			
Norbera edo gurasoetako bat gutxienez zona euskaldunagoan jaioak	11,7	44,5	37,8
Gainerakoak	88,3	55,5	62,2
	100,0	100,0	100,0

Iturria: ECEPOV, 2021. Egileek landua.

Jaiolekuaren arabeko azterketan ikus daiteke erdararen nagusitasun handiko udalerrietan bizi diren biztanleen artean, zona euskaldunagoan jaiotakoak % 4,5 direla; baina familian edo lagunartean nagusiki euskaraz dihardutenen multzoan, berriz, zona euskaldunagoan jaiotakoen proportzioa 5 aldiz handiagoa dela (% 21,7 eta % 20,0, hurrenez hurren). Hau da, nagusiki euskara erabiltzen duen biztanleriaren zatian, 5etik bat baino gehiago zona euskaldunago batean jaiotakoa da.

Gurasoen jaiolekuari erreparatzen badiogu, eragina kuantitatiboki handiagoa dela ikus daiteke. Gurasoak zona euskaldunagoetan jaiotakoak dituztenak erdararen nagusitasun handiko eremuetako populazioaren % 6,8 dira. Baina familian nagusiki euskaraz dihardutenak % 32,6 eta lagunartean nagusiki euskaraz dihardutenak % 27,1 dira; proportzio orokorra boskoiztu edo laukoiztu egiten da nagusiki euskara erabiltzen dutenen artean, beraz. Familiarekin nagusiki euskaraz mintzo direnen ia hirutik baten gurasoak zona euskaldunagoan jaiotakoak dira; eta lagunartean nagusiki euskaraz aritzen direnen lautik baten gurasoak dira zona euskaldunagoan jaiotakoak.

Bi faktoreak, norberaren jaiolekua eta gurasoena konbinatuta aztertuz gero, ikusten da norbera edo gurasoetako bat gutxienez zona euskaldunagoan jaioa dela erdararen nagusitasun handiko eremuko populazioaren % 11,7aren kasuan. Familiarekin nagusiki euskaraz aritzen diren pertsonen % 44,5aren kasuan norbere edo gurasoen jaiolekua zona euskaldunago batean dago. Eta lagunartean nagusiki euskaraz aritzen direnen artean, berriz, % 37,8 dira. Beraz, proportzioa laukoitza edo hirukoitza da. Familiarekin edo lagunartean nagusiki euskara erabiltzen dutenen artean, jatorria (norberarena edo gurasoetako batena) zona euskaldunagoan dutenak hamarretik lau inguru dira.

Ondorioak

Azterlanak agerian uzten du hiztunen jaioterria eta bizilekua biak direla hizkuntza-portaeretan eragina duten faktore garrantzitsuak. Lehenak hizkuntza-sozializazioaren baldintzak ezartzen ditu, neurri handi batean. Eta bigarrenak, berriz, hizkuntza-erabilerarako aukerak eta erosotasun-baldintzak. Gainera, ikus liteke ekosistema linguistiko batek bizileku-mugikortasunetik jasotzen dituen hiztunak bere ohiko mintzajardunaren dinamikan integratzeko gaitasun partziala duela; eta hiztunen dentsitatearen zein mugikortasun-fluxuen tamainaren arabera izango dela arrakastatsua integrazio soziolinguistiko hori.

Lehen ikerketa-galderari erantzunez, emaitzek erakusten dute arnaguneetan erdaraz nagusiki aritzen diren hiztunen gehiengo oso handiak ingurune erdaldunagoetan duela jatorria; ingurune erdaldunagoetan jaiotakoak dira hamarretik zazpi eta horietan sortutako gurasoak dituzte hamarretik zortzik. Arnaguneetako hiztunen hizkuntza-bilakaera prozesuak aztertu eta interpretatzeko garaian bizileku-mugikortasunaren fluxuak elementu zentral gisa kontuan hartu beharra agerikoa da.

Bigarren ikerkerta-galderari erantzunez, esan daiteke erdararen nagusitasun handiko eremuetan euskaraz aritzen diren hiztunen artean pisu ohargarria dutela euren jatorria ingurune euskaldunagoetan dutenek. Zona euskaldunagoetan jaiotako pertsonak edo horien seme-alabek erdararen nagusitasun handiko eremuetako euskararen erabilerari egiten dioten ekarpena biztanlerian duten pisua baino nabarmen handiagoa da. Ezin da ulertu erdararen nagusitasun handiko eremuetako euskararen ekosistema, zona euskaldunagoetatik heldutakoen eragina aintzat hartu gabe.

Eremu euskaldunagoetan dauden euskararen aldeko baldintzek hiztun osoak sortzeko eta erreproduzitzeko ahalmena ematen diote hiztun-komunitate osoari. Eta erreproduzio-ahalmen horrek ez du soilik tokian bertan eragiten; bizileku-mugikortasunaren fluxuei loturik, lurralde-eremu askoz zabalagoetan du eragina, baita euskal hiztunen komunitateak erreproduzitzeko zailtasun eta oztopo handienak dituen eremuetan ere. Arnasguneen eta zona euskaldunen ekarpena, hortaz, zona horietatik harago, euskararen eremu osoan hautematen da.

Gogoeta batzuk, aurrera begira

Ikerketa eta esku-hartzea

Azterketa honetan baliatutakoak hurbilpenak dira, zeharkako iturrietan oinarritu-takoak. Fenomeno honen gutxieneko dimentsio batzuk erakusteko balio dute. Baina, era berean, sakonago ikertzeko eta berariazko ikerketa-ibilbide bat lantzeko heldulekuak ikus daitezke bertan, ikerketen parametroak finduz eta garatuz gero.

Bizileku-mugikortasuna kontuan hartzen duen ikerketa-ildo demolinguistikoa nondik garatu badago eta merezi luke hemen egindako lehen lanketa gehiago fintzea: jaiolekuaz eta uneko bizilekuaz harago, biografia linguistikoko bizileku desberdinak kontuan har daitezke; aitona-amonen belaunaldirainoko jatorriak azter daitezke; hiztunen edo euren gurasoen jaiolekuek jaiotza-unean zituzten baldintzak kontuan har daitezke... Hipotesi orokor gisa, pentsa liteke, ikerketa honetan bizileku-mugikortasunak ingurune batzuetan eta besteetan duen eragin handia are indartsuago azalduko litzatekeela ikerketa prozedura zehatzagoekin eginez gero.

Hamarkada batzuetatik hona, herritarron bizimoduan eta bizi-ohituretan gertatu diren aldaketa garrantzitsu batzuk mugikortasunarekin lotutakoak dira; bizileku-mugikortasunaren fluxuak bezala, eguneroko mugikortasun-

ohiturak, nazioarteko hipermugikortasuna (turismoari, ikasketei edo karrera profesionalei lotutakoa, besteak beste...) eta abar. Aldaketa hauek dinamika soziolinguistikoetan zeresan handia dutela oharturik, gaiari bizileku-mugikortasuna baino askoz zabalagoa den fenomeno gisa begiratu behar zaio. Lurraldeen eta biztanlerien arteko lotura eta harremana asko aldatu da. Horrek bilakaera soziolinguistikoaren dimentsio espazialean arreta jartzea ekarri behar luke. Ohiko adierazle soziolinguistikoetatik haragoko batzuk kontuan hartzeko beharra azaleratzen du. Ikerlerro horren garapenetik mugimendu-fluxu batzuek (bizilekukoak, laboralak, aisialdikoak, komertzialak...) euskararen erabileraren erraztaile eta beste batzuek oztopatzaile gisa jokatzeko dutela identifikatzeko gaitasuna eskuratuz gero, kontuan hartu ahal izango liriateke hizkuntza gutxituaren indarberritzerako estrategietan. Hizkuntza-politikaren eremuan eta esku-hartze soziolinguistikoarenean zenbait hautu egiteko eta zenbait bide berri zabaltzeko baliagarria litzateke. Lana edo aisialdia direla-eta gertatzen den mugikortasuna eta lurralde-fluxuak, esate baterako, ugaritu eta ohikotu egin dira euskal herritarren gaur egungo bizimoduan. Horrek elkarrekintza sozialaren eta lurraldeen arteko elkarrenergin soziolinguistikoen aldetik aldaketak ekarri ditu. Horiek ezagutzeko ikerketa-ildoan ahaleginak egon diren arren (Sorolla eta beste, 2021), garatzeko eta sakontzeko potentzial handia duen bidea da, zalantzarik gabe.

Ikuspegi kualitatibotik eta etnografikotik hiztunen biografia linguistikoan ekosistema soziolinguistikoz aldatzeari lotutako bizipenak ezagutzea ere ikerlerro interesgarria eta emankorra litzateke. Nola bizi dute hiztunek euskararen nagusitasun-eremuetatik erdararen nagusitasun-eremuetara bizileku-aldaketa? Zein gako daude ulertzeko batzuen aktibazio euskaltzalea eta beste batzuen praktika hegemonikotara egokitzea? Ez da garrantziarik gabeko ikergaia. Arnasguneetan jaio eta erdararen nagusitasun handiko udalerrietan bizi diren hiztunen % 21,5ek euskara darabil nagusiki lagunartean (12. taula). Kopuru hori, kopuru handia da bizileku-testuinguru horren baitan. Datua beste aldera irakurtzea ere badago, ordea: arnasguneetan jaiotako eta ondoren erdararen nagusitasun handiko eremuetara aldatutako hiztun gehienek ez dute euskara lagunarteko hizkuntza nagusi. Aurrerapena litzateke, arnasguneetatik etorritako hiztun horien artean euskarari eusten dioten eta erdarara lerratzen diren hiztunen ibilbide, bizipen eta jarretan sakontzea.

Hizkuntza biziberritzearen aldeko esku-hartze publiko eta sozialean aipatutako ikerlerroetatik eskuratutako ezagutza baliatzeko aukerak handiak liriateke. Ikuspegi horretatik, plan handiak edo esku-hartze txiki eta tokikoak planteatu daitezke. Baina, edozein kasutan, hizkuntza-politika eraginkorragoari begira asmatzeko aukerak handitzea ekarriko luketenak. Hirigintzan,

lurralde-antolaketan, mugikortasunean, eredu ekonomikoan edo espazioaren konfigurazioan eragina duten politikek eta esku-hartzeek errealitate soziolinguistikoa eraldatzen duten kontzientziatik, hizkuntza-politika integralaren estrategia koherente baten baitan egituratzea litzateke ikuspegi eraginkorrena.

Lurralde-jatorri erdaldunagoko biztanleria arnasguneetan

Zentzu horretan, lurralde-jatorri erdaldunagoko biztanleriaren harrera funtsezko erronka da arnasguneentzat. Nazioarteko migrazio-fluxuetan eta haien ondorioetan arreta jartzen hasia da euskal soziolinguistika, euskararen aldeko gizarte-mugimendua eta hizkuntza-politika publikoetako eragileak. Baina Euskal Herri barruko bizileku-mugikortasuna ere berariaz aztertu eta harrera-estrategia integratuak garatzea beharrezkoa da. Arnasguneetan euskararen erabileraren nagusitasuna bermatzeko, politika aurreratuak eta baliabide partekatuak behar dira, eguneroko mintzajarduna euskaraz mantentzea bilatzen dutenak. Euskaraz bizi den komunitatean migrazio soziolinguistikoa eman dadin baldintza materialak ziurtatu behar dira, batetik; eta komunitate-mailan bere errealitate soziolinguistikoarekiko kontzientzia eta identifikazioa sortzeko eta erreproduzitzeko bideak, bestetik.

Lurralde-jatorri euskaldunagoko biztanleria erdararen nagusitasun handiko eremuetan

Eremu euskaldunagoetan jaiotako hiztunek erdararen nagusitasun handiko eremuetako euskararen bizitasunean duten zeresanaz kontzientzia hartzeak ekar dezake, batetik, arnasguneen eta zona euskaldunen zaintza eta hedapena euskararen indarberritzearen helburua partekatzen duen ororen helburu komun gisa ulertzeko urrats garrantzitsua. Arnasguneen auziak euskaldun ororengan eragin zuzena duela ikusita, euskaltzale ororentzat garrantzitsua behar lukeela ohartzea. Azken batean, zona euskaldunagoek elikatu dute, hein garrantzitsuan, zona erdaldunagoetako alor euskalduna. Zona euskaldunago horien ahultzeak, hortaz, Euskal Herri osoan ekarriko lituzke ahultze-ondorioak.

Eta esku-hartzeari dagokionez, ekinbide berriak planteatzeko oinarri gisa joka dezake. Esate baterako, adibide gisa, euskararen presentzia handiagoko eremuetatik heldutako hiztunei begirako esku-hartzeak planteatu daitezke, euren euskalduntasunari eusten jarraitzeko eta erabilera-ohitura erdaldunetara asimilatzeke egon daitekeen joera nagusiari aurre egiteko bitartekoak eskainiz. Norberak dituen euskararen aldeko baldintza soziolinguistikoaren kontzientzia hartzera bideratutako ekimenak; hizkuntza-gatazken aurrean jokatzeko eta estres linguistikoa modu asertiboan kudeatzeko ahalduntze-ekimenak; euskarazko hizkuntza-ohiturak dituzten herritarrak saretzea bilatzen duten ekimenak...

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