



**Arnasguneak hizkuntza
gutxituen biziberritzean.**
Nazioarteko konferentzia

**Territories of higher speaker
density in minoritised
language communities.**
International Conference

2025eko urriaren 16 eta 17a
Azpeitia, Euskal Herria



CC-BY-SA 4.0 Aitortu-PartekatuBerdin 4.0 Nazioartekoa
CC-BY-SA 4.0 Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International
<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/>

**Euskalduntzearen inpaktua,
lurraldearen euskalduntasunaren
arabera. Euskararen indarberri-
tzerako lurralde-estrategia
baterantz**
125-152. or.

**The impact of Basque-language
acquisition, according to the
Basque- language vitality of each
territory. Towards a territorial
strategy for Basque revitalisation**
275-302. or.

Iñaki Iurrebaso Biteri (UEMA)

<https://dx.doi.org/10.26876/Arnasguneak.2026.06>

Sustatzaileak / Promoters:



**SOZIOLINGUISTIKA
KLUSTERRA**
Euskara biziberritzeko
ikergunea



**UDALERRI
EUSKALDUNEN
MANKOMUNITATEA**



7. Euskalduntzearen inpaktua, lurraldearen euskalduntasunaren arabera. Euskararen indarberritzerako lurralde-estrategia baterantz

Iñaki Iurrebaso Biteri (UEMA)

Laburpena: Ikerketari dagokionez, Inkesta Soziolinguistikoa ustiatuta, ikusiko da euskaldun berrien euskararen erabilera-maila zeharo aldatzen dela bizi diren udalerriaren arabera: zenbat eta udalerri euskaldunagoa, orduan eta handiagoa erabilera. Errealitate horretatik ondorioztatuko da eremu euskaldunagoan egindako indarberritze-ahaleginak askoz ere fruitu ugariagoak eman dituela proportzioan, zona erdaldunagoetan egindakoak baino.

Ondoren, proposatzen da lurralde-estrategia bat komeni dela indarberritze-prozesuan aurreratzeko, lurralde euskaldunagoei motor-papera, aitzindaritzapapera, aitortuz; lurralde horiek euskara irradiatuz eta zabalduz... gainerako eremuak elikatzea bilatuz. Estrategia horren barruan, funtsezkoa izango da, batetik, motor-papera beteko duten lurraldeak bereziki zaintzea; eta bestetik, irradiatze hori gerta dadin bitarteko ahalik eta egokienak lantzea.

Lan honetan aurkezten dira, lehenik, euskalduntzearen aldeko ahaleginak lurraldean izandako inpaktuari buruzko ikerketa bat. Eta, ondoren, oinarritzko proposamen bat lurraldean esku hartzeari begira.

Gako-hitzak: hiztun berriak, erabilera, inpaktua, nagusitasun-eremuak, arnasguneak, hizkuntza-politika.

Sarrera: efizientzia eta inpaktuaren bila indarberritze-ahaleginean

Edozein politika publikok, edozein esku-hartze sozialerako egitasmok, egiten diren ahaleginekin ahalik eta eraginik handiena eskuratzea bilatu ohi du. Printzipio hori, jakina, aplikagarria da hizkuntza gutxituen aldeko lanera ere.

Euskararen alde azken hamarkadetan egindako ahalegina erreferentziazkoa da hizkuntza gutxituen eremuan. 60ko hamarkadan euskararen alde sortu zen olatuak aspalditik zetorren galera-joera etetea eta itzulbiratzea ekarri zuen Hego Euskal Herrian¹. XX. mendearen amaiera arte, indarberritze-aldi argia bizi izan zuen euskarak, bultzada sozialak eta frankismo ondoko politika berriek eraginda. Azken bi hamarkadetako datuek, ordea, indarberritze-prozesua geldotze-fase batean sartu dela erakusten digute (Iurrebaso, 2024). Aurrera begira landu diren proiektioek, gainera, atzerakada-fase berri batean sar gaitezkeela erakutsi digute (Siadeco, 2025). Gauzak doazen bidetik jarraituz gero, euskararen komunitateak erreakzionatzen ez badu eta neurriko politikak bideratzen ez badira, galera-fase berri horrek honakoak ekar ditzake, besteak beste: hiztunen multzo trinkoenaren ahultzea, arnasguneen galera eta belaunaldi berrietan azken hamarkadetan lortutako aurrerapauso sendoetan atzera egiten hastea.

Testuinguru horretan, bi funtsezko ideia aipatu izan ditugu lehenago (Iurrebaso eta Goikoetxea, 2025): batetik, beharrezkoa da euskararen aldeko jende saila *esnatzea*, egoeraz jabetzea eta erreakzionatzea. Bestetik, beharrezkoa da euskara lehentasunetara ekartzea, bai maila pertsonalean, baita maila politikoan ere. Horrek eskatzen du orain baino ahalegin handiagoa egitea euskararen alde, euskararentzat baliabide gehiago bideratuz, besteak beste.

Horrekin batera, ordea, badago gure ustez funtsezkoa den hirugarren ideia bat: lortu beharko genuke euskararen aldeko esku-hartzea geroz eta efizienteagoa izatea, ditugun baliabide beti mugatuekin geroz eta aurrerabide handiagoa eskuratzen saiatuz. Eta lortu beharko genuke geroz eta inpaktu handiagoa, gure lanarekin geroz eta gehiago hurbiltzea gure helburuetara.

Berez, ez da berria gure indarberritze-prozesuan inpaktua eta efizientzia bilatzea. 1960ko olatuak, adibidez, irizpide argi bat izan du hasieratik gaur arte: lehentasuna belaunaldi berrien euskalduntzean jartzea. Esango genuke inplizituki efizientzia- eta inpaktu-irizpideak daudela oinarrian: batetik, haurrek errazago ikasiko dute hizkuntza helduek baino. Bestetik, fruitu ugariagoak emango ditu bizi-itxaropen luzea duten hiztunengan eragiteak, adin handiagoko (eta bizi-esperantza laburragoko) herritarrengan eragiteak baino. Oinarritzko irizpide hori aplikatu izan da gurean, arrakasta argiz aplikatu ere.

1. Hego Euskal Herria edo Hegoalde deitzen diogu Espainiako estatuaren menpe dagoen Euskal Herriko zatia. Lurralde hau, administratiboki Euskal Autonomia Erkidegoak eta Nafarroako Foru Komunitateak osatzen dute (Trebiñuko konderria eta Villaverde Turtziozeko udalerria, administratiboki Gaztela Leon eta Kantabriaren menpe daudenak, gure ikerketa eremutik kanpo geldituko dira).

Iruditzen zaigu, adinaren ardatz funtsezkoaz gain, geure buruari galdetu beharko geniokeela zein beste alderditan egon daitezkeen alde esanguratsuak efizientzia- eta inpaktu-irizpideak aintzat hartuta. Euskal Herriko gizartea osatzen duten zein ataletan eta zein prozesutan izan daitekeen emankorragoa eragitea, eta zeinetan eragiteak ez duen hainbesteko fruiturik ekarriko, oro har. Gure ustez, XXI. mendeko euskalgintzak asmatu beharko luke, lehenik, efizientzia- eta inpaktu-maila ezberdindu horiek atzematen. Eta bigarrenik, horren arabera esku-hartzeak fintzen.

Norabide horretan ekarpen xume bat izan nahi luke lan honek. Ikerlan honetan, esku-hartzeen efizientzia eta inpaktua aztertzerakoan funtsezko izan daitekeen ardatz bat landuko dugu: lurraldea. Eragin bera al dute lurralde batzuetan eta besteetan euskararen alde egiten diren ahaleginek? Ba al dago ebidentziarik pentsatzeko, zona euskaldunagoetan edo erdaldunagoetan, zein zonatan izan den emankorragoa euskararen aldeko lana? Ikergai orokor horretara lehen hurbilpen bat egingo dugu jarraian, gure herrian hiztun berriak sortzeko egin den ahalegin eskergaren inpaktua lurraldearen arabera aztertuz. Beste baterako utziko dugu, ordea, efizientiaren azterketa, hots, euskalduntze-ahaleginean erabilitako baliabideak eta lortutako emaitzak harremanetan jartzea.

Kokapena

Hiztun berriak Euskal Herrian: euskaldun berriak

Soziolinguistika hiztegiaren arabera, euskaldun berria da «lehen hizkuntza erdara izanik, euskaraz ondo ulertzen eta hitz egiten duen pertsona» (UZEI, 2010, 59. or.). Erakunde publiko zein herritarren ahaleginean oinarrituta, hezkuntzan eta helduen euskalduntzean azken hamarraldietan egin den lan eskergari esker, asko handitu da Hego Euskal Herrian, euskaldun berrien multzoa, 13. taulan ikus daitekeen bezala. Azken datuen arabera ia 300.000 lagunek osatuko lukete ume-garaian etxean euskara jaso ez, eta gaur egun ongi edo nahiko ongi hitz egiteko gai direnen multzoa, 30 urte lehenagoko kopuruak laukoiztuz. Nabarmendu behar da, gainera, euskaldunen multzoak azken 30 urteotan izan duen hazkundera ia erabat zor zaiola hiztun berrien hazkunderari. Euskaldun berrien ugaritzearena funtsezko masa-fenomenoa da azken hamarraldietako Hego Euskal Herrian. Gaur egun euskaldun berriak, Hegoaldeko hiztun guztien % 11,7 eta euskaldunen % 37,6 osatzen dute.

1. taula. Hiztunak, euskaldunak eta euskaldun berriak. 16 urtetik gorako hiztunak, Hego Euskal Herria, 1991-2021.

	1991	1996	2001	2006	2011	2016	2021
Hiztunak	2.162.181	2.215.703	2.275.436	2.359.417	2.410.637	2.397.982	2.427.363
Euskaldunak	459.389	535.277	579.287	613.988	663.036	700.330	757.857
Euskaldun berriak	65.772	103.343	172.956	197.097	243.144	264.080	284.818
Euskaldun berriak hiztun guztiekiko (%)	3,0	4,7	7,6	8,4	10,1	11,0	11,7
Euskaldun berriak euskal-dunekiko (%)	14,3	19,3	29,9	32,1	36,7	37,7	37,6

Iturria: egileak landua [jatorrizko iturria: Inkesta Soziolinguistikoa].

Aldeko eta aurkako testuinguruak; nagusitasun-eremuak

Soziolinguistikaren oinarrizko printzipiotzat jo daiteke hiztunen portaerak sozialki baldintzatuak direla. Horren barruan, norbere harreman-sareak eta zabalago, testuinguru hurbilak (norbera bizi deneko auzo, herri edo dena delakoak) hiztunaren esperientzian, portaeran eta hautuetan eragingo du. Hiztun berrien bizipenak ikertu dituzten Ortega, Amorrortu, Goirigolzarri eta Urlak (2016), oso modu adierazgarrian, testuinguru *mesedegarri* eta *oztopotzaile* gisa izendatzen dituzte ingurune euskaldunagoak eta erdaldunagoak.

Horregatik, besteak beste, hizkuntza gutxitu batentzat funtsezkoa da hizkuntza hori nagusi izango den espazio geoterritorialak izatea, «*breathing space*» direlakoak (Fishman 1991: 58), *arnasguneak* Mikel Zalbidek Euskal Herrirako egindako egokitzapenean (2019). Zalbideren ekarpena asko laburtuta, hauxe da arnasgunea: hiztunen dentsitate handia duen eta eguneroko jardun arruntean euskara nagusi den ingurune geoterritoriala; horrekin batera, hizkuntzaren belaunez belauneko transmisio naturala bermatzen duena.

Arnasguneen gaia, berez, lurraldean hizkuntza bakoitzak duen nagusitasun-maila jaso dezakeen aldagai zabalago baten barruan ere azter daiteke. Helburu horrekin, euskarak lurralde ezberdinetan duen pisu soziala aztertu ahal izateko, «nagusitasun-eremuak» erabiltzen ditugu. Udalerriak (eta udalerrietako biztanleria) bertako euskararen erabilera-mailaren arabera sailkatzen ditugu, 2. taulan eta 1. mapan ikus daitekeen bezala². Udalerri multzo horiek, lehenago

2. Udalerri bakoitzaren hurbileko erabilera bertako etxeko erabileraren (zentsuetatik) eta kalekoaren (kaleko neurketetatik) batez bestekoarekin kalkulatzen dugu, informazio-hutsuneak dauden kasuan datuak erregresio bidez kalkulatuta (UEMA, 2025).

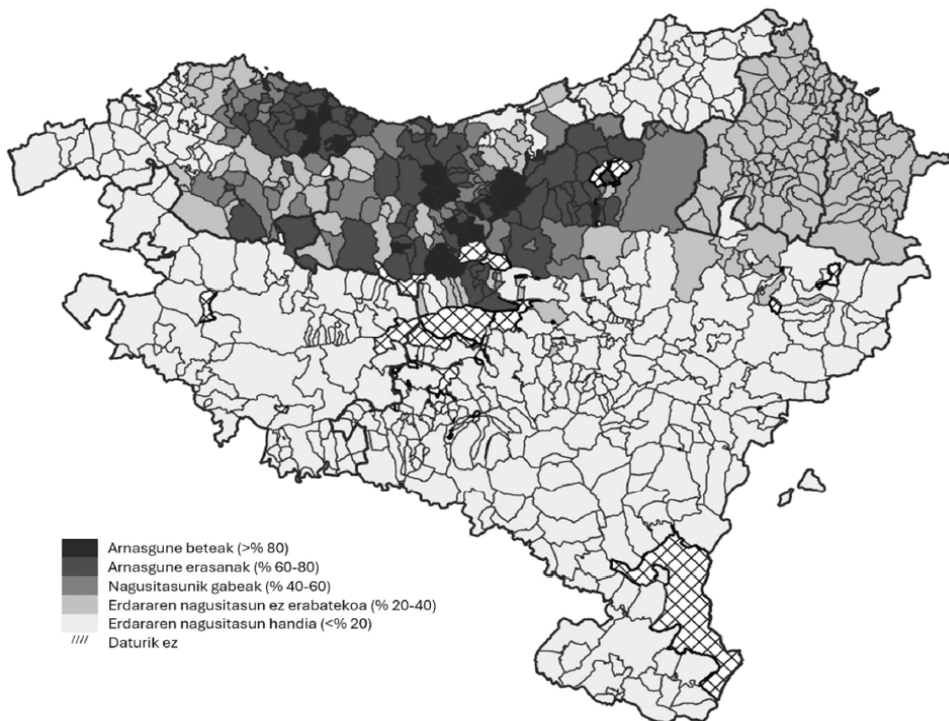
aipatutako logikarekin jarraituta, ekosistema ezberdinak osatzen dituzte ezaugarri eta dinamika soziolinguistikoari dagokionez. Arnasgune beteak dira, euskaldun bizitzeko eta euskara garatzeko baldintza egokienak eskaintzen dituzten inguruneak: beste inon baino errazagoa da euskaraz hitz egitea, euskal gaitasun sendo bat garatzea, hizkuntza transmititzea eta norbere bizitzan euskararen aldeko hizkuntza-bilakaera bat izatea. Beste muturrean, erdararen nagusitasun handiko eremuan, zailagoa da euskara garatzea, horietan izaten diren dinamikek erdararen alde (eta euskararen kontra) askoz ere indartsuago egiten baitute. Tarteko eremuek tarteko joera erakusten dute. Bost nagusitasun-eremu horien arabera landuko ditugu ikerketa honetako datuak.

2. taula. Biztanleria, nagusitasun-eremuetan. Hego Euskal Herria, 2021 (Irizpidea: hurbileko erabileraren adierazle sintetikoa, kalekoa eta etxekoa uztartuta).

	Kopurua	%
Arnasgune beteak (euskaraz % 80-100)	9.424	0,3
Arnasgune erasanak (% 60-80)	118.093	4,2
Nagusitasun argirik gabeak (% 40-60)	196.214	7,0
Erdararen nagusitasun ez-erabatekoak (% 20-40)	316.829	11,3
Erdararen nagusitasun handikoak (% 0-20)	2.174.018	77,2
GUZTIRA	2.814.578	100,0

Iturria: UEMA, 2025 [Jatorrizko iturriak: EUSTAT eta NASTATen Biztanleriaren eta etxebizitzaren zentsuak; Soziolinguistika Klusterraren erabileraren neurketen datu-basea, 1989-2023].

1. mapa. Nagusitasun-eremuak. Euskal Herria, 2021 (Irizpidea: hurbileko erabileraren adierazle sintetikoa, kalekoa eta etxekoa uztartuta).



Iturria: UEMA 2025. [Jatorrizko iturriak: EUSTAT eta NASTATen Biztanleriaren eta etxebizitzaren zentsuak; Soziolinguistika Klusterraren erabileraren neurketen datu-basea, 1989-2023.]

Oharra: Ipar Euskal Herriko datuak ez dira udalerrikakoak, herrialdekakoak baizik (Inkesta Soziolinguistikoan oinarrituta).

Esku-hartze egitasmoen inpaktuaren neurketa

Hiztun berrien ugaritzeak nagusitasun-eremu ezberdinetan izandako azken emaitza baloratzeko, politika publikoen eta alor sozialeko esku-hartzeen ebaluazioari buruzko proposamenetan bereizten diren adierazle mota ugarien artean (González, 2021; Hernández et al., 2023) inpaktu-adierazleetan jarriko dugu arreta. Inpaktu-adierazleekin, egindako esku-hartzearen ondorioz gizartean epe luzera gertatu diren aldaketak neurtzen dira; azken helburura zein neurritan hurbildu garen baloratzeko erabiltzen dira. Adibidez, drogen inguruko kanpaina baten ebaluazioa egiterakoan, hainbat alderdi balora daitezke: zenbat jenderengana iritsi den kanpaina hori, zenbat gaztek hartu duten parte programatutako ekintza eta dinamiketan eta abar. Inpaktuaz ari bagara, ordea,

epe luzeko aldaketa sakonagoei erreparatu behar diegu. Adibidearekin jarraituta, drogen kontsumoan egon den balizko jaitsieraren bidez neurtu ahalko dugu kanpainaren inpaktua; edo droga-mendekotasun arazoengatik artatutako gazteen kopuruaren jaitsierarekin. Laburbilduz, inpaktu-adierazleek neurtzen dute programak gizartean eta bizitza errealean sortzen duen sakoneko aldaketa iraunkorra, parte-hartzaileengan ez ezik, ingurune osoan eragina duena.

Ikerketa-galdera

Honako galderari erantzuten saiatuko gara gure ikerketan:

Euskaldun berriak bizi diren lurraldearen euskalduntasunaren arabera sailkatuta, nola aldatzen da, zein zentzutan eta zein neurritan, hiztun horiek euskalduntzeak komunitatean eragin duen inpaktua (inpaktu hori erabileraren bidez neurtuta)?

Horrela, bada, inpaktua neurtu nahi dugu, jatorriz erdaldunak ziren hiztunak euskalduntzearen epe luzeko eragina, alegia; eragin hori erabileran oinarrituta neurtuz eta tokiko testuinguru soziolinguistikokoaren arabera aztertuz.

Zergatik jo euskaldun berrien erabilerara beren euskalduntzearen inpaktua aztertzeko? Horixe izan daitekeelako, gure ustez, egindako ahaleginak komunitatean eragin duen aldaketa aztertzeko alderdi nagusia. Euskalduntze-ahaleginaren inpaktua sakon aztertzeak lanketa zabalagoa eskatuko lukeen arren, ez dugu uste oker gabiltzanik, ahalegin horrek luzera bilatzen zuena, neurri handi batean, hiztun berriak hiztun aktibo, euskara erabiliko zuten hiztun, bihurtzea zela esaten badugu. Horregatik, eta jakin arren eragin-multzo konplexuagoak ere badaudela tartean, jatorriz erdaldunak ziren hiztunak euskalduntzeak komunitatean eragindako inpaktua hiztun horiek euskara erabiltzen duten neurrian oinarritzea izan da gure hautua³.

Gure ikerketa-galderari erantzuna bilatzeko, Inkesta Soziolinguistikoko datuetara jo, eta aztertuko dugu zein toki ematen dioten beren jardunean euskarari hizkuntza hori etxetik kanpo ikasi dutenek, eta nola aldatzen den toki hori bizi diren udalerrriaren euskalduntasunaren arabera. Euskalduntasun hori, udalerriko erabileren arabera neurtuko dugu, aurrerago ikusiko dugun bezala.

3. Erabileraren inpaktuaren adierazle gisa erabiltzea eztabaidagarria izan daiteke abiapuntuan oso erdaldunak izan eta azken 40 urteotan euskararen aldeko esku-hartze publikorik bat ere ez (edo oso mugatua) izan duten Nafarroako hegoalde eta erdialdeko ingurunez aritzeko. Horietan, euskara ikaste hutsa, nahiz eta ondoren erabileran ez gauzatu, lorpen gisa har baitaiteke. Hala eta guztiz, Hegoalde mailan euskalduntzearen inpaktua lurraldean neurtzeko erabilerari erreparatzea hautu egokia dela deritzogu.

Iturriak eta metodologia

Iturriak. Iturri nagusia Inkesta Soziolinguistikoa (ISL) izan da. Inkesta hau Euskal Herri osoko 16 urtetik gorako herritarren lagin handi bati egiten zaio bost urtean behin, erakunde publikoen bultzadaz, Eusko Jaurlaritzako Hizkuntza Politikarako Sailburuordetzaren gidaritzapean. Bertan soziolinguistikan oinarritzekoak diren alderdiei buruzko informazio zehatza eskuratzen da. Horrek guztiak bihurtzen du gure lanketarako iturri egokiena. Guk, zehazki, *Euskal Herriko Inkesta Soziolinguistikoa*ren datu-basea (1991-2021) baliatu dugu, bertako mikro-datuak ustiatuta.

Horrez gain, UEMAren *Erabilera hurbilaren kalkulua udalerrira* erabili dugu nagusitasun-eremuak finkatzeko garaian (UEMA, 2025). Lan horrek, era berean, honako iturrietatik edan zuen: EUSTAT eta NASTATen *Biztanleriaren eta etxebizitzaren zentsuak* eta *Soziolinguistika Klusterraren erabileraren neurketen datu-basea*, 1989-2023 (HEKN). Horien artean, eta arnasguneetarako azpilagin egokiagoak ziurtatze aldera, kaleko erabileraren arabeko eremuak landu ditugu gure ustiaketa lantzeko.

Ikertutako unibertsoa; adin-, lurralde- eta denbora-mugaketa. Hegoaldean bizi diren 16 urtetik gorako euskaldun berriek osatzen dute gure ikerketa-unibertsoa:

- Ikerketaren lurralde-eremua Hegoaldera mugatu dugu, Iparraldean udalerrri-mailako informaziorik ez dugunez, landuko dugun ustiaketa-eredua ezin delako gaur-gaurkoz garatu.
- Adin-taldea 16 urtetik gorakoen multzoak osatuko du, ISLn multzo horri buruzko informazioa biltzen delako.
- Denborari dagokionez, lehen ahalegin batean saiatu gara daturik berrienak lantzen, 2021ekoak, alegia. Ikusi dugu, ordea, urte horretako nagusitasun-eremuetarako euskaldun berrien azpilaginen neurriak txikiegiak zirela egin nahi genuen ikerketa egiteko. Lagin adierazgarriagoak bilatuz, 1996-2021 datu metatuetara jo dugu⁴. Urtekako datuei begiratuta, ez dugu uste 25 urteetako datu metatuekin lan egiteak askorik distortsionatuko zituenik emaitzak; hortaz, gaur egungo joerak atzementeko baliogarritzat joko ditugu.

4. Inkesta Soziolinguistikoa 1991. urtean egin zen lehen aldiz. Urte horretako datuak, ordea, ez ditugu gure lanketan txertatu, urte horretako erabilerari buruzko datuen eta ondorengo urteei buruzkoen erabateko alderagarritasuna ezin zelako bermatu landu ditugun adierazleetan.

Horiek horrela, honela defini dezakegu ustiaketa honetan landu dugun unibertsoa: 1996-2021 tartean Hegoaldean bizi (izan) diren eta lehen hizkuntza gisa etxean euskararik jaso ez zuten hiztun euskaldunak. Bestela esanda, epealdi horretako 16 urtetik gorako euskaldun berriek osatzen dute gure ikerketa-unibertsoa.

Lagina. goiko definizioa betetzen duten 7.062 kasu aurkitu ditugu ISLren datu-basean. Berez, oinarri oso egokia da azterketa orokor bat egiteko ($\pm 1,2$ ko akats-tarte orokorra eratortzen da kopuru horretatik, % 95eko konfiantza-mailan eta $p = q = \% 50$ denerako), baina ikusiko dugun bezala, laginen neurria dezente txikitzen da nagusitasun-eremu batzuetan, arnagune erasanetan eta, batez ere, beteetan. Kasu horietan azpilaginak komeni baino txikiagoak dira; dena den, aztergai dugun joera orokorra antzemateko balekoak direla deritzogu. Edozelan ere, azpilaginen neurriak tauletan aurkeztuko ditugu.

Ustiaketan landutako aldagaiak:

Euskaldun berriak hartu, eta honako bi aldagaien arteko harremana aztertuko dugu, taula gurutzatuen eta batez bestekoen bidez:

- Mendeko aldagai gisa, hiztunen aurrez aurreko harremanetako erabilera landuko dugu. Adierazle hau inkesta soziolinguistikoan biltzen diren hainbat erabilera xehe uztartuz sortzen dugu (familia-girokoa, lagunartekoa, lankideekikoa eta abar), erabilera xehe bakoitzari egunerokoan izan dezakeen garrantziaren arabera pisua emanez. Adierazle sintetikoa da, eta hiztun bakoitzaren jardunean euskarak hartzen duen pisua adierazten du % baten bidez (adierazle horren eraikuntza zehatz ikusteko: Iurrebaso, 2024: 530).
- Aldagai aske gisa, hiztunak bizi direneko nagusitasun-eremuak landuko ditugu, hiztunak bizi direneko udalerriaren euskalduntasunaren arabera bost multzo nagusitan sailkatuz, irizpide gisa kaleko erabilera hartuta.

Inpaktuaren neurketa, hots, hiztun berriek euskararen erabilerari egiten dioten ekarpenaren kalkulua, bi modutan egingo dugu, aurrez aurreko harremanetako erabileraren adierazlea bi eratara landuz:

- Batetik, nagusiki euskaraz bizi diren hiztunen garrantziaz jakitun (Zalbide, 2016) eremu batzuetako eta besteetako euskaldun berrien artean nagusiki euskaraz bizi direnen ehunekoak kalkulatuko ditugu (euren jardunaren % 60tik gora euskaraz egiten dutenena zehazki).

- Bestetik, euskara gutxiago erabiltzen duten hiztunen ekarpenak ere aintzat hartzeko, euskaldun berri guztiek egiten duten euskararen batez besteko erabilera kalkulatuko dugu, euren erantzun aitortuetan oinarrituta, lehenik; eta erantzun aitortuetan egon ohi den alboratzea saihesteko egindako doiketa baten bidez, ondoren.

Datuen lanketa eta irakurketa

Inpaktuaren neurketa, nagusiki euskaraz bizi diren hiztunak aintzat hartuta

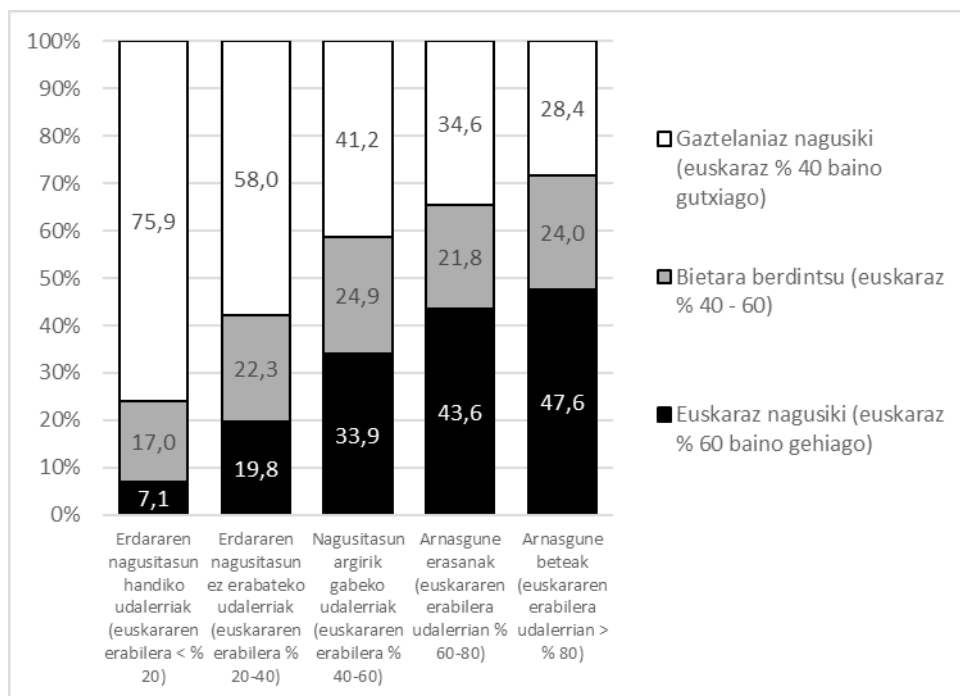
3. taulan eta 1. grafikoan, Hegoaldeko euskaldun berrien hizkuntzen erabileraren banaketa erakusten da, beren bizilekuaren arabera (udalerri euskaldunagoa edo erdaldunagoa, nagusitasun-eremuak aintzat hartuta). Euskaldun berri guztiei buruzko datu orokorrak hartuta, euskara etxetik kanpo ikasi duten hiztunek, nabarmen gehiago erabili izan dute 1996-2021 aldian euren egunerokoan erdara euskara baino: % 10,6k euskara erdara baino gehiago erabili izan du, eta % 71,4k erdara euskara baino gehiago (gainerako % 18,0k euskara-gaztelania bi hizkuntzak maila bertsuan erabili izan dituzte).

Kopuru horiek, ordea, eta gure ikergaiari zuzenean helduz, nabarmen aldatzen dira hiztun horiek bizi diren ingurunearen arabera. Muturretara joz, erdara oso nagusi den eremuetan euskaldun berrien % 7,1ek bakarrik erabiltzen du euskara gaztelania baino gehiago; kopuru hori, ordea, % 47,6raino igotzen da arnasgune beteetan, testuinguruan euskara oso nagusi den eremuetan. Bi mutur horien artean, hurrenkera argia erakusten dute datuek: zenbat eta testuinguru euskaldunagoa, orduan eta gehiago dira nagusiki euskaraz bizi diren euskaldun berriak. Bereziki aipagarria iruditzen zaigu honako datua: arnasgune bete zein erasanetan, euskaldun berri gehiago dira euren eguneroko hizkuntza nagusi euskara dutenak gaztelania dutenak baino.

3. taula. Hizkuntzen erabilera aurrez aurreko harremanetan, bizi diren nagusitasun-
eremuen arabera. 16 urtetik gorako hiztun euskaldun berriak, Hegoaldea, 1996-2021
(datu metatuak).

	Hiztunen bizilekua, nagusitasun-eremutan					
	Erdararen nagusitasun handiko udalerriak (euskararen erabilera <% 20)	Erdararen nagusitasun ez eraba-teko udalerriak (euskararen erabilera % 20-40)	Nagusitasun argirik gabeko udalerriak (euskararen erabilera % 40-60)	Arnasgune erasanak (euskararen erabilera udalerrian % 60-80)	Arnasgune beteak (euskararen erabilera udalerrian >% 80)	
GUZTIAK						
Gaztelaniaz nagusiki (euskaraz % 40 baino gutxiago)	71,4	75,9	58,0	41,2	34,6	28,4
Bietara berdintsu (euskaraz % 40-60)	18,0	17,0	22,3	24,9	21,8	24,0
Euskaraz nagusiki (euskaraz % 60 baino gehiago)	10,6	7,1	19,8	33,9	43,6	47,6
GUZTIAK	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
n (kasu kopurua)	7.062	6.224	410	264	105	59

Iturria: egileak landua [jatorrizko iturria: ISL].



1. grafikoa. Erabilera aurrez aurreko harremanetan, bizi diren nagusitasun-eremuen arabera. 16 urtetik gorako hiztun euskaldun berriak, Hegoaldea, 1996-2021 (datu metatuak).

Iturria: egileak landua [jatorrizko iturria: ISL].

Inpaktuaren neurketa, batez besteko erabileran oinarrituta

4. taulako a zutabean, hiztun berrien batez besteko erabilera aitortua erakusten da, nagusitasun-eremuka. Emaitzek aipatu berri dugun logika bera erakusten dute: erdara oso nagusi den eremuetan euskarak % 25,3ko batez besteko tokia betetzen du euskaldun berrien jardunean; kopuru hori % 55,6raino igotzen da arnasguneetan; tarteko eremuetan, tarteko balioak aurkitzen ditugu. Datuok, hortaz, aurrekoen logika bera erakusten dute argi; baina oraingoan lurraldearen eta erabilera-mailaren arteko harremanean ikusten diren aldeak «nagusiki euskaraz» aritzen direnen kopuruetan baino nabarmen apalagoak izan dira.

4. taula. Euskaldun berrien euskararen batez besteko erabilera aurrez aurreko harremanetan, erantzun aitortuetan oinarrituta; doitze-koefiziente baten kalkulua hitzun guztien erabilera aitortua eta behatua harremanetan jarrita; doitze-koefizientea aplikatuta euskaldun berrien batez besteko erabileraren kalkulua. Hegoaldea nagusitasun-eremuka, 1996-2021 (datu metatuak).

Hitzun guztiei buruzko datuetan oinarrituta, doitze-koefizientearen kalkulua							
Euskaldun berrien euskararen batez besteko erabilera (%) aurrez aurreko harremanetan (ISL 2021, 16 urtetik gorakoak, erantzun aitortuak) <i>a</i>	Euskaldunen euskararen batez besteko erabilera (%) aurrez aurreko harremanetan (ISL 2021, 16 urtetik gorakoak, erantzun aitortuak) <i>b</i>	Euskaldunen proportzioa hitzun guztiekiko (ISL 2021, 16 urtetik gorakoak) <i>c</i>	Hitzun guztien euskararen batez besteko erabilera (%) aurrez aurreko harremanetan (ISL 2021, 16 urtetik gorakoak) <i>d = b*c/100</i>	Kaleko erabilera behatua (HEKN 2021, 2 urtetik gorako hitzunak) <i>e</i>	Doitze-koefizientea (aitortutik behatua dagoen aldea: aitortua 1 bada, zenbat den behatua) <i>f = e/d</i>	Euskaldun berrien batez besteko erabilera (%) aurrez aurreko harremanetan, 2021 (erantzun aitortuei doitze-koefizientea aplikatuta) <i>g = f*e</i>	
Erdararen nagusitasun handiko udalerriak (euskararen erabilera <% 20)	25,3	41,1	23,6	9,7	5,2	0,54	13,5
Erdararen nagusitasun ez erabateko udalerriak (euskararen erabilera % 20-40)	36,6	69,2	56,6	39,1	29,3	0,75	27,4
Nagusitasun argirik gabeko udalerriak (euskararen erabilera % 40-60)	46,7	77,6	71,5	55,5	49,5	0,89	41,7
Arnasgune erasanak (euskararen erabilera % 60-80)	53,1	84,4	76,2	64,3	69,9	1,09	57,8
Arnasgune beteak (euskararen erabilera >% 80)	55,6	89,6	90,1	80,7	86,8	1,08	59,8

Iturria: egileak landua [jatorrizko iturriak: ISL eta HEKN].

3. taulako datuek eta 4. taulako a zutabekoek zein baliozkotasun⁵ izan dezakete hiztunen *benetako* erabilera-ohiturak kuantifikatzeko garaian? Ez da azkar-azkar erantzuteko moduko galdera, eta goazen astiro. Hasteko, oinarritzko gogoeta bat: kopuru horiek hiztunen lagin batek inkesta bati emandako erantzun aitortuetan oinarritzen dira, ez dira zuzenean hiztun horien portaeren zenbaketa baten emaitza. Zein puntutan etorriko dira bat elkarrizketatuen portaerak eta elkarrizketatuek beren portaerei buruz inkestan emandako erantzunak? Inkesta-tekniketan sarri gertatzen den bezala, uste izatekoa da portaera errealek eta inkestako erantzunek lotura argia izango dutela, baina ez direla % 100ean bat etorriko; alboratze bat egongo baita egiten dela esaten denaren eta *benetan* egiten denaren artean. Alde horri buruz aspalditik hitz egin izan da nazioarteko soziolinguistikari buruzko literatura metodologikoan (Dell'Aquila eta Iannàccaro, 2019: 530; Fasold, 1996: 186; Vila eta Sorolla, 2009: 79).

Oro har, inkestako erantzunetan hizkuntza gutxituaren erabilera *puzteko* edo *hanpatzeko* joera egongo da hizkuntza gutxituarekiko jarrera positiboa nagusitzen den testuinguruetan eta erabilera hori dena baino txikiagoa azaltzeko joera hizkuntzarekiko jarrera negatiboa nagusi denean. Logika orokor horren baitan, Euskal Herrian agerikoa da erabilerari buruzko erantzun aitortuetan oinarritutako datuek «hobetu» egiten dituztela behaketa bidez jaso izan diren erabilerari buruzko datuak (Iurrebaso, 2012). Har ditzagun, adibidez, 2021eko erabilerari buruzko bi datu: 2021. urtean Euskal Herri osoan behaketa bidez egindako neurketan, % 12,6koa⁶ izan zen euskararen erabilera-tasa (Altuna *et al.*, 2022: 17); urte bereko inkesta soziolinguistikokoan jasotako erantzun aitortuen arabera, berriz, % 16,6koa izan zen euskararen batez besteko erabilera 16 urtetik gorako hiztunen artean. Alde ohargarria dago, hortaz, inkestetan jasotzen den informazioaren eta behaketa batek ematen dituen emaitzen artean. Bi kopuru horien arteko aldean bestelako alderdiek ere eragiten dute, ez gara orain horretan luzatuko; baina erabilitako teknika (inkesta batean, behaketa bestean) funtsezko alderdia da bi kopuru horien arteko aldeak azaltzeko. Ez dago esan beharrik, hiztunen portaera errealak gertuago egongo direla behaketa-teknikek ematen dituzten balioetatik erantzun aitortuetan oinarritzen diren inkestetako datuetatik baino.

5. Baliozkotasunak, ikertzaileak benetan neurtu nahi duena neurtzea lortzen ote duen erakusten du: baliozkotasuna, izan ere, «irudikatzen saiatzen den egoeraz egiazki irudikatzen duen maila gisa defini dezakegu» (Etxeberria Murgiondo, 2011, 25. or.).

6. Kale-neurketetako datua hiztun guztiei dagokie; haurren erabilera ere barnebiltzen du hortaz. 15 urtetik gorako hiztunen erabilerara mugatuko bagina kopurua apur bat baxuagoa izango litzateke, eta inkesta soziolinguistikoko datu aitortuarekiko aldeak, apur bat handiagoa.

Inkestako datu aitortuek berez dakarten alboratze hori, gainera, ez da gizarteko alor guztietan homogeneoa izaten, gaiari buruzko metodologia-literaturan esan ohi zaigun bezala: arrazoi ezberdinak tarteko, alor batzuetako elkarrizketatuek beren *benetako* portaerak gehiago *hanpatzeko* joera izan ohi dute beste alor batzuetakoek baino (De Rosselló eta Ginebra, 2014, 257. or.; Fasold, 1996, 187. or.; Ó Riagáin, 2018, 40. or.). Ideia horri tiraka, hona hemen gure datuak interpretatzerakoan garrantzitsuak izan daitezkeen bi ideia: batetik, uste izatekoa da alboratzeak handiagoak direla euskara gutxitan edo noizbehinka erabiltzen duten elkarrizketatuen artean, euskara eguneroko hizkuntza nagusi dutenen artean baino. Hortaz, uste izatekoa da nagusiki euskaraz aritzen direla dioten ehunekoen 3. taulako balioek alboratze txikiagoa izango dutela errealitatearekiko, hiztun guztien euskararen batez besteko erabilera jasotzen duten 4. taulako a zutabeko datuek baino.

Bestetik, pentsatzekoa da lurraldearen euskalduntasun-mailak ere zerikusia izango duela erantzunak gehiago edo gutxiago *hanpatzeko* joerarekin. Horrela, metodologia-literaturak dioenari jarraikiz, uste izatekoa da aitortutako erantzunetan oinarritutako kalkuluak gehiago *hanpatuko* dituztela erabileraren emaitzak ingurune erdaldunagoetan ingurune euskaldunagoetan baino (Iurrebaso, 2024, 257. or.). Guk eskura ditugun datuek ere ideia hori berriro baieztatzen garamatzate (hiztun guztiei buruzko datuak dira orain, ez euskaldun berriei buruzkoak soilik). 4. taulako d eta e zutabeetan ikus daitekeen bezala, erantzun aitortuetan oinarritutako batez besteko erabileraren eta behaketa bidez jasotakoaren arteko desoreka aldatu egiten da ingurunearen arabera: ingurune erdaldunagoetan handiagoa da *hanpatze* hori euskaldunagoetan baino⁷.

Joera ezberdindu hori ezagututa, 4. taulan *hanpatze* horren eragina saihesteko kalkulu batzuk egin ditugu. Horrela, hiztun guztien artean, aitortutako batez besteko erabileraren eta erabilera behatuaren artean dagoen desorekarekin doitze-koefiziente bat kalkulatu dugu f zutabearen nagusitasun-eremu bakoitzerako. Ondoren, koefiziente hori a zutabeko euskaldun berrien batez besteko erabilera aitortuaren ehunekoari aplikatuta, datu doituak sortu ditugu g zutabearen. Hanpatzearen eragina neutralizatuta sortutako datu horiek hurbilpen egokiagoa izango dira eremu batzuetan eta besteetan euskaldun berriek egiten duten erabileraren berri izateko, zuzenean erantzun aitortuetan oinarritutakoak baino; g zutabeko datuak hobetsiko ditugu, beraz, euskaldun berrien euskararen batez besteko erabilera zertan egon daitekeen kuantifikatzeko. Datu horien arabera erdara oso nagusi den udalerrietako euskaldun berriek % 13,5ean darabilte

7. Are gehiago, arnaguneetan apur bat handiagoa da erabilera behatuak euskarari ematen dion tokia erantzun aitortuek ematen diotena baino.

euskara batez beste euren aurrez aurreko harremanetan; kopuru hori % 59,8raino iristen da arnasgune beteetan. Tarteko eremuetan, tarteko balioak hartzen ditu batez besteko erabilerak. Aipagarria da emaitza hauen arabera arnasguneetako euskaldun berriek erdarari baino toki handiagoa ematen diotela euskarari euren eguneroko jardunean.

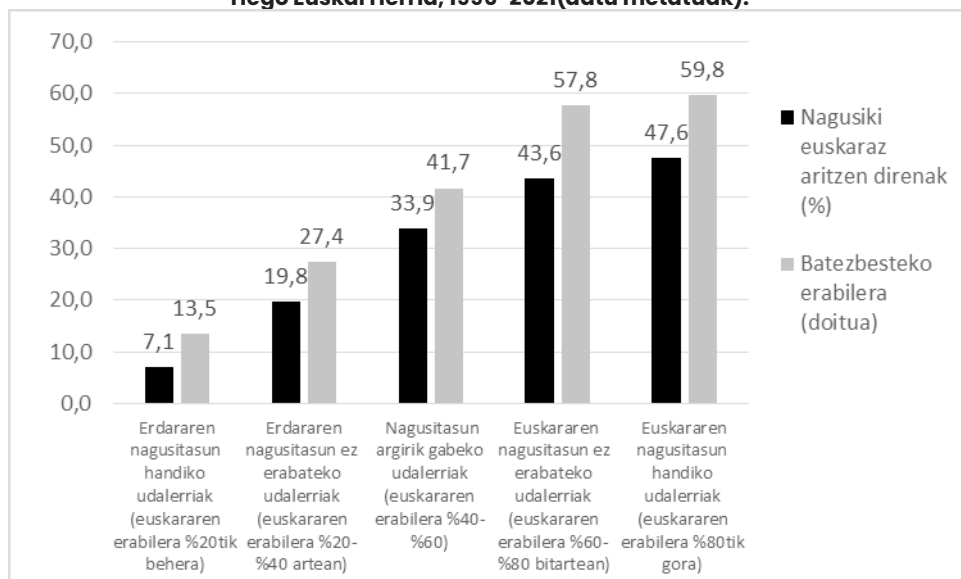
Euskaldun berrien inpaktua laburtuz

Atal honekin amaitzeko, 9. grafikoan euskaldun berrien erabilerari buruzko datu nagusiak laburtu ditugu. Bertan ikus daitekeenez, erabilera errotik aldatzen da hiztun hori bizi deneko udalerriaren euskalduntasuna aintzat hartuta. Laburtuz:

- Oro har, euskaldun berrien % 7,1 bihurtu da nagusiki euskara darabilen hiztun erdararen nagusitasun handiko udalerrietan; kopuru hori, % 47,6ra igotzen da arnasgune beteetan. Tarteko eremuek bi mutur horien arteko tarteko balioak hartzen dituzte.
- Batez besteko erabilerak aztertuta (eta erantzun aitortuek izan dezaketen alboratzea zuzenduta), euskaldun berrien jardunaren % 13,5 da euskaraz erdararen nagusitasun handiko eremuetan. Kopuru hori % 59,8ra igotzen da arnasgune beteetan. Adierazle honetan ere, tarteko eremuek tarteko balioak hartzen dituzte.

2. grafikoa. Euskaldun berrien artean zenbat bizi diren nagusiki euskaraz eta haien batez besteko euskararen erabilera, nagusitasun eremuen arabera.

Hego Euskal Herria, 1996-2021(datu metatuak).



Iturria: egileak landua [jatorrizko iturria: ISL].

Inpaktuari dagokionez, hortaz, argia da ondorioa: jatorriz erdaldunak ziren hiztunak euskalduntzeak erabileran duen inpaktua aldatu egiten da ingurune soziolinguistikoaren arabera. Zenbat eta ingurune euskaldunagoa, orduan eta inpaktu handiagoa. Izan ere, ingurune euskaldunagoetako euskaldun berriek askoz ere ekarpen handiagoa egiten diote euskararen erabilerari batez beste, ingurune erdaldunagoetakoek baino. Muturretara joz, arnasmune bateko euskaldun berri batek euskararen erabilerari egiten dion ekarpena, batez beste, ingurune oso erdaldun batekoak egiten diona baino bost edo sei⁸ aldiz handiagoa da.

Ondorioak

Euskalduntzearen inpaktu aldakorra, testuinguru soziolinguistikoaren arabera

Euskaldun berriek euskara gehiago erabiltzen dute bizi diren udalerrria zenbat eta euskaldunagoa izan. Horregatik, jatorriz erdaldunak ziren hiztunak euskalduntzeko egindako ahaleginak inpaktu ezberdina izan du nagusitasun-eremuen arabera: igo egiten da nabarmen euskaldun berriak bizi direneko lurraldearen euskalduntasuna igo ahala. Zonarik euskaldunenetan lortutako eragina, zona erdaldunenetan lortutakoa baino 5-6 aldiz handiagoa da euskalduntutako pertsonako. Horixe gure ikerketaren ondorio nagusia.

Inpaktu aldakorra zergatik ote?

Zergatik ote 5-6 aldiz handiagoa inguru euskaldunagoetako euskaldun berrien erabilera (eta inpaktua) gune erdaldunenetakoa baino? zein logika soziolinguistikok azaltzen ditu batzuen eta besteen arteko aldeak? Testuinguruak zuzenean baldintzatzen ditu hiztun batzuen eta besteen erabilera-maila ulertzeko funtsezkoak diren hainbat alderdi. Hasteko, ingurune euskaldunagoetan, hiztun berriak euskara erabiltzeko aukera gehiago izango ditu ingurune erdaldunduagoetan bizi denak baino. Aukera ez ezik, euskara erabiltzearen aldeko bultzada sentituko du sarri asko arnasmuneetako euskaldun berriak, erdara nagusi den eremuetan, arau soziala gartzelania erabiltzearen aldekoa den bitartetan. Zentzu berean, mintzakide elebidunen gaitasun erlatiboak (euskaraz edo erdaraz egiten duten errazago) ere euskara erabiltzearen alde eragingo du zona euskaldunagoetan eta erdararen alde zona erdaldunagoetan. Horrek guztiak zeharo baldintzatzen ditu eremu batzuetako eta besteetako hiztun berrien praktikak. Erabileraren erabileraz, gainera, zona euskaldunagoetako hiztun berriak euskal gaitasun

8. Borobildu egin ditugu muturreko eremuen arteko ratioak; hemen kopuru zehatzak: euskaraz nagusiki bizi direnak % 7,1 dira erdara oso nagusi den eremuetan eta % 47,6 arnasmune beteetan (ratioa = $47,6 / 7,1 = 6,7$). Euskararen batez besteko erabilera doituia % 13,5koa da erdara oso nagusi den eremuetako euskaldun berrien artean eta % 59,8koa arnasmune beteetakoetan (ratioa = $59,8 / 13,5 = 4,4$).

sendoagoa garatuko du batez beste ingurune erdaldunagokoak baino, eta horrek berak ere bultzatu egingo du gehiago erabiltzera; zona erdaldunagoetako euskaldun berri asko, ordea, erabilerarako urratsa eman ezinda geldituko dira, testuinguru oztopatzailean trabatuta, eskuratutako gaitasuna baliatu eta garatu ezinda.

Hipotesi bat efizientziaren azterketaren zain

Sarreran aipatu dugu erronka dugula indarberritzean egiten diren ahaleginen inpaktuan eta efizientzian eragiten duten ardatzak detektatzen. Ikerlan honetan lurraldearen araberrako inpaktuaren azterketara mugatu gara. Inpaktua ez ezik, efizientzia ere neurtuko bagenu, hots, euskaldun berri horiek «ekoizteko» egindako ahalegina eta jarritako bitartekoak ere ekuazioan sartuko bagenitu, eta ahalegin hori sortutako inpaktuarekin harremanetan jarri, uste izatekoa da eremuen arteko aldea inpaktuan ikusitako 5-6ko ratioa baino are handiagoa izango litzatekeela. Izan ere, pentsatzekoa da euskara ikasteko prozesu bera ere azkarragoa-errazagoa izango dela udalerrri euskaldunetan gainerakoetan baino. Ondorioz, egindako ahalegina eta erabileran izandako inpaktua harremanetan jarrita 5-6ko ratio hori aise gaudituko litzatekeelakoan gaude. Ideia hori, dena den, datuekin noiz landuko zain, hipotesi gisa planteatuko dugu oraingoz.

Orokortzeko modukoa ote inpaktu ezberdinduaren logika?

Hego Euskal Herrian hizkuntza gutxituaren ahaleaginean inpaktu-maila lurraldean hizkuntza gutxituak duen nagusitasunarekin lotzen duen joera hau orokortu ote daiteke beste hizkuntza gutxituen kasura? Ez dugu galdera horri zorrotz erantzuteko oinarri askirik. Hala ere, hemen gure iritzia: Hego Euskal Herrian atzemandako inpaktu aldakor hori, orokorrak diren prozesu eta logika soziolinguistikoen ondorioz ematen denez, uste izatekoa da gainerako hizkuntza gutxituetan ere fenomeno bera aurkituko dugula. Espero dezagun etorkizuneko ikerketek argia ekarriko dutela gai hauei buruz.

Zergatik eragin lurralde ikuspegiz

Lurralde-ikerketatik indarberritze-politiketara: baratze emankorrenen bila, politiken eragina handitzea helburu

Ikerketaren ondorio nagusia izan da inpaktu ezberdina izan duela euskalduntze-ahaleginak lurraldean; lurralde euskaldunagoetan euskara ikasi dutenek gehiago erabiltzen dutela euskara, lurralde erdaldunagoetan ikasi dutenek baino. Ondorioz, batez beste inpaktu positibo handiagoa izan du lurralde euskaldunagoetan euskaldunetako euskaldun berriak lurralde

erdaldunagoetakoak baino⁹. Efizientziari buruzko azterketaren zain, baina erratzeko arrisku handirik gabe, esan dezakegu lurralde euskaldunagoetan egindako ahaleginak nabarmen emankorragoak izan direla lurralde erdaldunagoetan egindakoak baino. Horiek horrela, hona erantzun beharreko funtsezko galdera praktiko bat: dinamika hori kontuan hartu behar ote da politika publikoen eta eragile sozialen ahaleginak non eta nola bideratu erabakitzerakoan, edo politika horiek errealitate hori aintzat hartu gabe lantzea ote da egokiagoa?

Metafora bat: gosetea eta elikagai-gabezia larria bizi dute herrialde batean. Baratze ezberdinak dituzte euren lurretan, eta azken uztetan frogatu dute horietako batzuetan ereindako haziak fruitu nabarmen ugariagoa eman dutela besteetan ereindakoek baino. Horiek horrela, zer egin datorren urteari begira? Baratza guztietan haziak proportzionalki banatu edo sail emankorragoetan hazi gehiago erein? Uste dugu balizko egoera horretan inor gutxik jarriko lukeela auzitan zein den erabaki egokia: haziak (beti mugatuak) baratze emankorragoetan gehiago ereinda, uzta orokor handiagoa ekarriko lieke guztietan haziak berdintsu banatuta baino.

Gure egoerak badu antzekotasunik metaforakoarekin. Gure ustez, zentzu betea du minorizazio gorrian dagoen hizkuntza-komunitateak bere baratze emankorrenetan ahaleginak biderkatzeak. Ahalegin orokor gutxiagorekin, gehiago aurreratu ahal izatea ez da garrantzirik gabeko argudioa: euskarak adierazle nagusietan egun dituen balio baxuetatik igo beharra dauka, igoera hori azkarren nola egin funtsezko auzia da.

Horrek lurralde-estrategia baten premia jartzen du mahai gainean. Ez da horrelako estrategia bat justifikatzeko argudio bakarra.

Lurraldean ematen den dinamika soziolinguistikoa aintzat hartzearen onurak

Ezaugarri soziolinguistiko ezberdinak dituzten eta elkarreraginean dauden lurralde-eremu interkonektatuen batura da egungo Euskal Herria. Lurralde-eremu euskaldunagoek euskalduntzearen aldeko eragina daukate gainerakoetan;

9. Irakurketa hau nahasgarria gertatuko zaio baten bati, beste toki batzuetan esan izan dugunarekiko kontraesankorra eman dezakeelako. Hots, beste toki batzuetan azaldu izan dugu zonarik euskaldunenetan egin duela euskarak batez ere atzera, zona horiek ahuldu direla gehien. Lan honetan, berriz, azaldu dugu euskaldun berriek inpaktu positibo handiagoa izan dutela batez beste ingurune euskaldunagoetan. Nola uztartzen dira bi ikuspegiak? Inpaktuak ingurune euskaldunen barne-dinamikarekin du zerikusia: zona euskaldunaren berezko ezaugarriek eraginda, euskaldun berriek gehiago erabiltzen dute euskara eremu hauetan. Zona euskaldunen bilakaera ulertzeko, ordea, barne-dinamikaz gain kanpo-dinamika ere aintzat hartu behar da, biztanleria-fluxuen eragina zehazki. Fluxu horiek erabakigarriak izan dira eremu euskaldunen ahultzean. Laburtuz, nahiz eta barneko dinamikak euskararen alde eragin, eta horrek euskaldun berrien praktikan isla argia izan, dinamika orokorrak ingurune euskaldunen ahultzea eragin du.

lurralde erdaldunagoek, erdararen aldekoa (Basurto eta Lurrebaso, 2025). Eragin hori indartsua da kuantitatiboki. Berez, lurralde mota bakoitzak duen pisuaren ondorioz (baita botere-egitura orokorren ondorioz ere) handiagoa da eremu erdaldunagoen eragin «erdaltzalea» eremu euskaldunagoen euskara indartzearen aldeko eragina baino. Edozelan ere, aldebikoa da eragina.

Onura argiak ekarriko lituzke hizkuntza-politikak elkarerreragin horren ezagutza zehatzetik abiatzeak. Aldeko korronteak (lurralde euskaldunagoek eragiten duten gainerakoen «euskalduntzea») gehiago aprobetxatzeko eta ahal den neurrian indartzeko bitartekoak landuz; eta kontrako korronteen eragina ahultzea bilatuz. Azken batean, eraginkorragoa izango da gure ahalegina esku-hartze politikak lurraldeen arteko elkarerreraginaren ezagutzaren gainean eraikita, dinamika horien aurrean ezikusiarena eginda baino.

Arnasguneak babestea lehentasun

Zergatien artean azken puntuan aurkeztuko dugun arren, aurrekoa bezain garrantzitsua bada, gutxienez, teoria soziolinguistikoaren alorretik hizkuntza gutxitu batentzat arnasguneek duten garrantziaz esaten zaiguna (Fishman, 1991; Giollagáin *et al.*, 2025; Zalbide, 2019): dentsitate handiko lurguneari eustea eta, ahal bada, hedatzea, hil ala bizikoa da hiztun-komunitate gutxituak aurrera egingo badu. Ez gara luzatuko hemen hori argudiatzen. Ezta azken mende luzean eta bereziki azken hogeita bost urteotan gertatzen ari den ingurune hauen suntsipen prozesuaren indarra gogoratzen ere (Lurrebaso eta Goikoetxea, 2025). Eta ezta eragin ezean etorkizun hurbilean espazio hauek bizi dezaketen erabateko desagertzea deskribatzen ere (Siadeco, 2025).

Arnasguneak galduz gero, euskararen egoera orokorrak okerrera egingo luke nabarmen; besteak beste, lurralde trinkoenaren galerak eskutik ekarriko lukeelako funtsezko beste zenbait aldagaietan ere atzera egitea, hala nola nagusitasunezko hiztunen multzoan, erabilera trinkoa duten hiztunen multzoan eta transmisio betea jasotzen duten haurren multzoan. Lurgune euskaldunena ahultzeak atzerakada argia ekarriko luke Euskal Herriko egoera soziolinguistiko orokorrean, euskara heriotzatik gertu dauden komunitateetara gehiago hurbilduz. Lehen mailako arrazoia da honakoa lurralde-estrategia bat abian jartzeko.

Hiriburuen rolari buruz

Argipen bat aurrera segi baino lehen. Hiriburu eta hiri-inguru populatueneke bete al dezakete indarberritze-prozesuan motor- edo aitzindaritzarolik? Izan al daitezke eremu hauek gainerakoen euskalduntasuna elikatze bitarteko nagusi eta hizkuntza-politika aurreratuagoetan bide-erakusle? Ez dirudi horretarako

baldintza egokienak dituztenik. Lehenik eta behin, eremu horietan euskarak bizi duen minorizazio-maila bereziki larriagatik. Hegoaldeko lau hiriburuetan euskarak maila apala edo oso apala du¹⁰. Gure historia soziolinguistiko hurbilak, gainera, erakutsi digu azken hamarraldietan eremu horietan egindako ahalegin handiak fruitu esanguratsuak ekarri dituela ezagutzen, baina adierazle sendoagoetara joz gero aurrerapena oso apala izan dela. Adibidez, Iruñea, Gasteiz eta Bilbon kaleko erabileraren igoera puntu bat edo biren bueltan ibili da hogeita hamar urteko ibilbidean. Ez da harritzekoa: ingurune hain erdaldunduetan bereziki zaila da euskalduntzean aurrera egitea, inguru demolinguistiko eta sozialak gogor bultzatzen baitu erdalduntzearen alde. Aurrera begira, egoera erraztuko ez duten faktore berriagoak indartzen ari dira gainera: aurrez aurreko harremanen ahultzea bereziki indartsua da ingurune hauetan, nazioarteko fluxu demografikoek bereziki eragiten diete hiriburuei eta inguruneei, higiezin merkatuaren logikak belaunaldi berriak (euskaldunagoak) kanporatzen ditu hiriburuetatik... Horiek horrela, nekez jokatu dute hiriburuak indarberritzearen motor demolinguistiko praktikoaren papera. Alderantziz, eremu horiek, Bilbo eta Donostiaren kasuan bereziki, gaur egun erdara irradiatzen dute euskaldunagoa den ingurune hurbilera, fluxu demografikoen eta lan- zein aisia-arloko mugikortasunaren bidez, besteak beste. Horrela bada, errealismotik at legoke hiriburuei motor- edo aitzindaritzapapera esleitzea; inork betetzekotan, eremu euskaldunenak soilik bete lezake paper hori.

Lurralde ezberdinetan eragiteari buruzko gogoetak, ordea, berariaz landu beharko luke zein toki bete behar duten herrialdeetako hiriburuak. Eskualde-mailan topatu daitezkeen denetariko dinamikak aztertzea eta lantzea ere interesgarria litzateke, eskualde-buruen paperean eta eraginean arreta berezia jarritz. Aldaketa soziokulturaletan hiriburuak jokatu ohi duten lidergo-rola kontuan hartuta, botere politiko-ekonomiko-kultural-sinbolikoaren egoitza gisa duten garrantzia ezagututa, eta askotan ingurune zabalagoko herritarrak biltzen dituzten masa-ekitaldiak bertan egiten direla kontuan hartuta, garrantzitsua da hiriburuetan euskarak duen estatua bermatzea. Adibidez, hiriburuetan dauden eta lurralde osoko euskaldunentzako espazio erreferentzialak direnak zainduz eta indartuz; edo lurralde osora zabaltzen den kultur eta kirol-eskaintza hizkuntza-irizpide egokiekin egingo direla ziurtatuz. Euskararen alde edo euskaraz egiten diren jarduera masibo askok ere, hiriburuetan garatzen jarraitzea dirudi egokiena. Horrez gain, esan beharrik ez dago populazioaren zatirik handiena hiriburu-

10. Adibidez, 2021eko erabileraren kale-neurketetan Hegoaldeko lau hiriburuetan behatutako elkarrizketetan euskarak izan zuen pisua % 2,7koa izan zen Iruñean, % 3,5ekoa Bilbon, % 4,1ekoa Gasteizen eta % 15,3koa Donostian (Altuna *et al.*, 2022).

inguruetan bizi dela jakinda, agerikoa dela eremu horietako esku-hartzean asmatzea funtsezko erronka dela indarberritzeak aurrera egin dezan.

Lurralde-estrategia bat euskararentzat

Lurraldean jarduteko bost irizpide orokor

Nahikoa arrazoi badaude, beraz, lurralde-irizpideak indarberritze-ahaleginean berariaz txertatzeko. Jarraian, gure ustez Hizkuntza Politikaren oinarrian beharko luketen lurraldeari buruzko irizpide orokor batzuk proposatuko ditugu, gaiaren inguruko eztabaida bideratzeko lagundu dezaketelakoan. Euskararen aldeko lanean diharduten erakunde publiko, pribatu eta sozialak eduki hauen gaineko eztabaida zintzo batetik oinarrizko adostasunetara heltzea aurrerapauso handia litzateke.

Lehen irizpidea: lurralde-eremu guzti-guztietan eragin behar da. Zehazki, hiztunen hiru laurdenak pasa (% 77,2) erdararen nagusitasun handiko udalerrietan bizi direnez, guztiz okerra litzateke horiek albo batera uztea. Are gehiago, lan honen helburuetatik at gelditzen den arren, indarberritze-prozesuak aurrera egin dezan, funtsezkoa da eremu horietan aurreratzeko estrategian asmatzea, orain arteko bidearen azterketatik abiatuta. Zona erdaldunagoetan funtsezkoa izango da, gure ustez, ezagutzaren hedapenean jarraitzea, euskaraz erraz arituko diren hiztunen multzoa handitzeko bitartekoak jartzea, euskaldunen saretzea erraztea, euskararen komunitatearen trinkotzean aurreratzeko, euskarazko praktiken eta jardueren ikusgarritasuna eta oihartzuna sustatzea, eta abar. Asmatu egin behar da lurralde horietan, gainerakoetan bezala, nola handitu gure lanaren eragina. Azken batean, Euskal Herria geroz eta lurralde interkonektatuagoa da, eremu guztietan eragitea ezinbestekoa da.

Bigarrena: lurralde batzuen eta besteen egoera soziolinguistikoa ezberdina izanik, **esku-hartze moldeak ere ezberdindua** beharko du izan gehienetan. Euskara indartsuago edo ahulago egon, oinarrian errealitate eta dinamika soziolinguistikoko ezberdindua aurkitzen dugu; komeni da eremu mota bakoitzarentzat esku-hartze molde egokituak garatzea. Komeniko litzateke, lehenik, irizpide soziolinguistikoen gainean udalerrien tipologia batzuk zorrotz finkatzea. Hortik aurrera, ez litzateke aurrerapen makala, tipologia bakoitzerako irizpide nagusi, esku-hartze molde eta esperientzia praktikoko arrakastatsuen zerrendak osatzea, euskararen aldeko lana geroz eta eraginkorrago egiteko. Udalerrri-tipologiek bestalde (bakoitzari dagokion esku-hartze molde multzoarekin) udalerrri erdaldunenetatik euskaldunenetarako ibilbidea irudikatuko

lukete; udalerri bakoitzak bere egungo egoera eta aurreratuz gero *hurrengo geltokia* zein litzatekeen ikusi ahalko luke segida horretan.

Hirugarrena: azkarrago aurreratzeko eta egokiago eragiteko lagungarria da lurraldeei rol ezberdinak aitortzea. Zehazki, ingurune euskaldunagoei motor-lidergo-aitzindaritzak papera dagokie indarberritze-prozesuan. Dinamika soziolinguistikoa hori horrela gertatzen da, berez, guk horren arabera esku hartu edo ez: zona euskaldunagoek euskara irradiatzen dute gainerakoetara (zona erdaldunagoek erdara). Gure esku-hartzean berezko joera hori kontuan hartzeak onurak ekarriko ditu indarberritze-prozesuan. Marinelak itsas korrontekin nola, guk ere errazago aurreratuko dugu gure errealitate soziolinguistikoko barruko korrontek ezagututa eta horiek gure alde baliatuta. Aitzindaritzak lidergoa jokatu lezakete eremu euskaldunenek, bertan abiatutako politika aurreratuek eta bertako praktika sozialek gainerakoei noranzkoa erakutsiz. Aipatutako lidergoa, ezin da ulertu modu erabatekoan; hiriburuek, adibidez, hainbat eginkizun betetzen jarraituko lukete, lehenago azaldu bezala. Eragin praktikoa, soziolinguistikoki eraginkor batez ari gara lurralde hauek jokatu beharreko motor-izaeraz ari garenean.

Badakigu ez dela erronka erraza proposatzen duguna: herri ez oso handiak hirigune askoz populatuagoetan eragin dezaketen trakzionatze-efektua mugatua eta partziala izango da, ezinbestean. Horregatik, sakon pentsatu eta hautatu beharko da soziolinguistikoki kritikoak diren zein arlotan saiatuko garen arnasmune eta ingurune euskaldunen aitzindaritzak paper hori indartzen; denean ezingo baita.

Laugarrena: egin dezaketen ekarpen handiagoagatik, gainerako eremuak «euskalduntzen» jokatzen duten zereginagatik eta arnasmuneez hizkuntza gutxituaren osasun orokorrerako duten garrantziagatik, **arreta berezia eskaini behar zaie lurralde-eremu euskaldunenei**. Horrela, euskalduntze-prozesuan funtsezko alderdia izango da euskara nagusi den lurralde-eremua zabaltzea (neurritz) eta sendotzea (bere euskalduntasunean). Egungo arnasmuneez babestearekin eta sendotzearekin batera, aktiboki bilatuko da egun arnasmune-izaera ez duten udalerri euskaldunak ere, arnasmune izatera pasatzea etorkizun ahalik eta hurbilenean, horrela euskararen nagusitasunezko lurralde-eremua sendotuz eta zabalduz. Gainerako eremuetara euskara irradiatzen duen eguzkiaren neurria eta potentzia handituz. Logika horretan, jarduteari begira, zenbat eta lurralde euskaldunagoa izan, orduan eta ahalegin bereziagoa egitea komeni da eremu hori zaintzeko eta garatzeko.

Bosgarrena: zona euskaldunagoak (arnasguneak bereziki) gainerako eremuen euskalduntzerako baliabide eraginkor(ago) bihurtu behar dira. Guk dakigula orain arte ez da sistematikoki ikertu eremu hauek eta bertan hazitako hiztunek gainerako zonen euskalduntzean jokatu izan duten paperaz. Baina mamia duen gaia dela deritzogu. Lehenik, udalerri horiek espazio gisa ingurune erdaldunagoetako hiztunentzat jokatu duten paperaz ari gara (bertan euskara ikasteko edo praktikatzeko, oporrak giro euskaldunean igarotzeko eta abar). Bigarrenik, inguru euskaldunagoan hazi eta ondoren zona erdaldunagoetara aldatu diren hiztunek euren bizileku berrian duten eragina hartu behar da kontuan: hiztun gaitu, aktibo eta ez gutxitan militanteak transferitu dira zona euskaldunagoetatik besteetara. Hirugarrenik, aipatu behar da hiztunek eta eremu euskaldunetan bizitzen jarraitzen dutenek ere gainerako eremuetan egiten duten ekarpena: irakasle gisa, proiektu ugarietako profesional gisa edo kultur gile gisa, besteak beste. Aurrera begira, modu askotan gertatzen den irradiazio-lan hori berariaz bilatzea eta bultzatzea ildo emankorra izan daitekeelakoan gaude. Arnasguneek berez jokatzeko duten paper hori optimizatuz eta aprobeztatuz; ingurune ezberdinetako euskaldunen arteko sinergiak sortuz. Ahalik eta gehien bultzatu behar da arnasguneen paper hori, betiere, praktika horrek euren euskalduntasuna eta arnasgune-izaera kolokan jartzen ez dituen heinean.

Oharra: aipatu diren irizpideak lurralde osoko perspektiban bezala, pentsa daiteke hein batean behintzat, berdintsu balio dezaketela udalerri bateko auzo edo herrietarako ere.

Mapa bat indarberritzean aurreratzeko

Aipatutako irizpideetan oinarrituz eta horiek aplikatzen laguntzeko, **babes eta sustapen bereziko eremu bat** legez zehaztearen komenientzia aztertu beharko litzateke¹¹. Eremu euskaldunenari legezko babes sendoagoa ematea bilatuko litzateke, bertan politika aurreratuagoak egitea ahalbidetuz, eremu hori zaintzen eta garatzen lagunduz, ortzi-mugan euskara sozialki nagusi izango den eremua sendotzea eta hedatzea izanik, batetik; eta eremu horrek bere «irradiatze-lana» optimizatzea, bestetik. Azken batean, babes eta sustapen bereziko eremuarekin, eremu euskalduna babestea eta hedatzea bilatuko litzateke, aldi berean Euskal Herriko udalerri eta eskualdeen arteko hartu-eman eta dinamismoa hizkuntzarentzat mesedegarri izango den moduan garatzea bilatuz.

11. Beste aukera bat litzateke lurralde osoa bere baitan hartuko lukeen legezko eremu-sailkapen linguistiko bat lantzea; aukera posibleen balizko onurak eta oztopoak aztertu beharko lirateke bide egokiena aukeratzeko.

Gure iritziz, babes- eta sustapen-eremu horrek *gune zabal* bat zehaztu beharko luke lehenik, bilatuz epe ertain-luzera euskara nagusi izango den lurralde geografikoki jarraitu, demografikoki ohargarri eta soziolinguistikoki sendoa eraikitzea. Bestetik, bai gune zabal horretan baita gune horretatik kanpo gelditzen den zonan ere, barruan egon daitezkeen tipologia ezberdinak ere zehaztea lagungarria litzateke, aurreko puntuko bigarren irizpidean aipatutakoaren bidetik.

Eragiteko hiru norabide orokor

Nola eragin arnasmuneetan eta, zabalago, udalerri euskaldunetan? UEMA lantzen ari den esku-hartze ereduari jarraituz, aipa ditzagun labur-labur lanerako hiru funtsezko norabide:

1. **Politika integraletara jauzia** eman beharra dago. Ingurune hauen sendotasun soziolinguistikoa bermatzeko alderdi demografikoei, ekonomiari, lurralde-antolamenduari eta herri horiek komunitate jasangarri eta bizi gisa sendotuko dituzten alderdiei kasu egin behar zaie, eta horietan eragin. Lurralde horien garapen integralerako politikak behar dira azken batean. Horrekin batera, maila orokorreko politikek ingurune hauetan izango dituzten ondorio soziolinguistikoak zaintzea, neurtzea eta kontrolatzea komeniko da.
2. Tradizionalki **Hizkuntza Politikak** landu izan dituen alderdiei dagokienez (hezkuntza, helduen euskalduntzea, kultura, hedabideak, aisia...) **politika aurreratuak** behar dira lurralde hauetarako, araugintzatik zein sustapenetik eraginez.
3. Ingurune horietako hiztunen **kontzientzia linguistikoa** eta ahalduztzea sendotzea ere funtsezko norabidea da. Maila mikroan diskurtso eta praktika linguistiko egokiak indartzea nahitaezkoa da.

Ez da testu honen xedea norabide horiek garatzea. Gehiago sakondu nahi izanda, ikus Eusko Jaurlaritzak, Nafarroako Gobernuak eta UEMAk 2024an argitaratutako *Euskararen Arnasmuneak. Definizioaren eta erronken berrikuspena* dokumentua. Horrez gain, erakunde publikoek arnasmuneei begirako politika berriak inplementatzeko asmoa adierazi izan dute behin baino gehiagotan azken hilabete eta urteetan; eta, zehazki, UEMAk lurralde-estrategia ikuspegiarekin garatu beharreko politiken proposamena lantzeko asmoa adierazi du.

Ekarpen bat euskarak behar duen olaturako

Adierazle soziolinguistikoek eta aurrera begirako proiektio kezkagarriek euskararen aldeko borrokan urrats argiak eman beharra erakusten digute. Berriz

ere indarberritze-norabidean jarriko gaituen olatu berri baten premia dugu euskaldunok. Olatu-jauzi-pizkunde horrek, beste osagai askorekin batera, beharko ditu gure jarduna birpentsatzera eta hobetzera eramango gaituzten gogoetak eta proposamenak. Norabide horretan egindako ahalegin bat da testu hau.

Lan honetan saiatu gara azaltzen, orain arte euskararen aldeko lana emaitza onekin egituratu duen ardatz nagusi bati (belaunaldi berrietan lehentasunak jartzea agindu digun adinaren araberako ardatzari) bigarren ardatz bat eransteak onura argiak ekarriko lizkiokeela indarberritze-prozesuari. Lurraldearen euskalduntasunaren araberako inpaktu hazkorren fenomenoak pentsatzera garamatza lurralde euskaldunenari aitzindaritzapapera emateak eta lehentasunez babesteak onura orokorrak ekarriko lizkiokeela euskararen indarberritzeari. Errazago eta azkarrago aurreratuko genukeela, alegia. Ekarpeneren amaiera aldean norabide horretan aurreratzeko lurralde-estrategia bati buruz hitz egiten ere ausartu gara; horri buruz esandakoak, har bitez, lehen proposamen eztabaidagarri, hobegarri eta garatu beharreko gisa.

Erreferentziak

- Altuna Zumeta, O., Iñarra Arregi, M., eta Basurto Arruti, A. (2022). *Hizkuntzen erabileraren kale neurketa, Euskal Herria 2021. Emaitzen laburpen txostena*. Soziolinguistika Klusterra.
- Basurto Arruti, A., eta Iurrebaso Biteri, I. (2025). Hemen izenburua. In UEU-SLK (Ed.), *Hemen liburuaren izenburua* ()
- Basurto, A., & Iurrebaso, I. (2026). Hitzun-dentsitate desberdineko lurralde-eremuen elkarreragina euskararen ahultze- eta indarberritze-prozesuetan. In A. Basurto & I. Iurrebaso (arg.), *Arnasguneak hizkuntza gutxituen biziberritzean* (101–126. or.). UEU.
- De Rosselló i Peralta, C., eta Ginebra Domingo, D. (2014). Tries lingüístiques: huit anys després. L'evolució dels usos lingüístics des de P3 fins a 6è de primària. *Treballs de Sociolingüística Catalana*, (24), 267–280. <https://www.raco.cat/index.php/TSC/article/view/293777>
- Dell'Aquila, V., eta Iannàccaro, G. (2019). The geolinguistic treatment of demolinguiistic data. *Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft / Handbooks of Linguistics and Communication Science (HSK)* (523–535. or.). De Gruyter. 10.1515/9783110435351-043
- Etxeberria Murgiondo, J. (2011). *Estatistika aplikatua: teoria eta praktika*. Elhuyar.
- Fasold, R. (1996). *La sociolingüística de la sociedad: introducción a la sociolingüística*. Visor Libros.

- Fishman, J.A. (1991). *Reversing language shift: Theoretical and empirical foundations of assistance to threatened languages*. Multilingual Matters.
- González Rabanal, M.C. (2021). Indicadores para evaluar la eficiencia de programas sociales. Una propuesta a partir de un Proyecto de Aprendizaje-Servicio entre alumnos de la Facultad de Derecho de la UNED y el Ayuntamiento de Madrid. *Revista De Fomento Social*, (299), 29-68. 10.32418/rfs.2021.299.4580
- Hernández Ardila, D.S., eta Rodríguez Rodríguez, A. (2023). *Estadísticas e indicadores en la gestión pública. Aproximación teórica y práctica*. UNAL.
- Iurrebaso Biteri, I. (2012). Metodozko hainbat proposamen euskararen erabilera zertan den azterteko. *Bat: Soziolinguistika Aldizkaria*, (84), 89-120. http://www.soziolinguistika.eus/files/1%C3%Blaki%20Iurrebaso%20I_0.pdf
- Iurrebaso Biteri, I. (2024). *Gako berrien bila. Hizkuntza gutxituen jarraipena, ordezkapena eta indarberritzea neurtzeko demolinguistikazko tresna metodologikoak garatzen: Euskal Herrirako aplikazio praktikoa* (1. ed.). Euskaltzaindia = Real Academia de la Lengua Vasca, Euskaltzaindia.
- Iurrebaso, I., eta Goikoetxea, G. (2025). *Esnatu ala hil: euskararen oraina eta geroa, diagnostiko baten argitan*. Elkar.
- Ó Giollagáin, C., Bourgeois, D., Ó Curnáin, B., Caimbeul, I., eta Cameron, G. (2025). Language Dynamics in Society (LandS): The LandS Analytical Framework for Majority and Minority-Language Ethnolinguistic Vitality. *Treatises and Documents, Journal of Ethnic Studies / Razprave in Gradivo, Revija Za Narodnostna Vprašanja*, 94(1), 25-75. 10.2478/tajes-2025-0002
- Ó Riagáin, P. (2018). *Measures of language proficiency in censuses and surveys : a comparative analysis and assessment*. Palgrave Macmillan. 10.1007/978-3-319-72941-1
- Ortega, A., Amorrortu Gómez, E., Goirigolzarri Garaizar, J., eta Urla, J. (2016). *Euskal hiztun berriak: esperientziak, jarrerak eta identitateak* (1. ed.). Universidad de Deusto = Deustuko Unibertsitatea, Servicio de Publicaciones = Argitalpen Zerbitzua : Bizkailab.
- Siadeco (2025). *Norantz doa euskara? Hego Euskal Herria 2036 proiektio demolinguistikoa*. UEMA.
- UEMA, Udalerrri Euskaldunen Mankomunitatea (2025). *Erabilera hurbilaren kalkulua udalerrriak*. Argitaratu gabea.
- UZEI (2010). *Soziolinguistika hiztegia euskal soziolinguistikaren eremuan erabiltzeko*. HPS, IVAP, Eusko Jaurlaritzaren Argitalpen Zerbitzu Nagusia.
- Vila i Moreno, F. Xavier, eta Sorolla Vidal, N. (2009). Els Usos lingüístics interpersonals no familiars a Catalunya. Estat de la qüestió a començament del segle XXI. *Treballs De Sociolingüística Catalana*, 77-158. <https://ehu.on.worldcat.org/oclc/681535302>

Zalbide Elustondo, M. (2016). Mintzajardunaren egoera eta azken urteoteko bilakaera: aurrera begirako erronkak. *Bat: Soziolinguistika Aldizkaria*, (100), 11-190. http://www.soziolinguistika.eus/files/mikel_zalbide_bat100.pdf

Zalbide Elustondo, M. (2019). Arnasguneak. Etorkizuneko erronkak. *Bat: Soziolinguistika Aldizkaria*, 110, 11-78. https://soziolinguistika.eus/files/01_mikel_zalbide_110.pdf

7. The impact of Basque-language acquisition, according to the Basque-language vitality of each territory. Towards a territorial strategy for Basque revitalisation

Iñaki Iurrebaso Biteri (UEMA)

Abstract: This paper presents a research study on the impact of strategies for creating new Basque speakers on the region. It also presents a basic proposal for territorial intervention.

Based on data gathered during the Sociolinguistic Survey, the results reveal that the level of Basque language use among new Basque speakers varies widely in accordance with the municipality in which they reside: the more Basque is spoken in their environment, the more new Basque speakers use the language. We can deduce from this that the language revitalisation effort has yielded proportionally much better results in more Basque-speaking areas than in more Spanish-speaking ones.

The paper ends with a proposal for a territorial strategy to advance the language revitalisation process. The proposal recognises the leadership role played by more Basque-speaking areas and seeks to promote and disseminate Basque use in said areas as a means of enriching Basque use in the rest of the region. Within the framework of this strategy, it is essential to pay special attention to those areas that play this key role, and to determine the most effective way of ensuring this knock-on effect.

Keywords: New speakers, Use, Impact, Predominance areas, Breathing spaces, Language policy.

Introduction: ensuring the efficiency and impact of the Basque revitalisation effort

All public policies and social intervention programmes seek to maximise the impact of the efforts made, and initiatives seeking to promote and revitalise minoritised languages are no exception.

The effort made over recent decades to promote the Basque language constitutes a benchmark in the field of minoritised languages. The wave of support for Basque in the 1960s reversed a long-standing downturn in language knowledge and use and marked the beginning of an upturn in the Southern Basque Country¹. Up until the end of the 20th century, the Basque language underwent a clear period of recovery, influenced by social momentum and new post-Francoist policies. However, data from the last two decades indicate that this recovery process has since slowed down (Iurrebaso, 2024). Furthermore, future estimates suggest that it may even be entering a new decline (Siadeco, 2025). If things continue as they are, if the Basque-speaking community fails to react and appropriate policies are not implemented, this new phase of decline could lead to, among other things, a weakening of the core Basque-speaking population, the loss of what are known as 'breathing spaces' and a reversal among younger generations of the significant progress made in recent decades.

In this context, two fundamental ideas mentioned previously (Iurrebaso & Goikoetxea, 2025) are of the utmost importance: first, it is necessary to wake people up to the situation so that they take action in support of the Basque language. And second, it is necessary to prioritise Basque at both a personal and a political level. This requires a greater effort than is currently being made in support of Basque, including (among other things) the allocation of more resources.

Alongside this, however, there is a third idea that we consider to be fundamental: we should strive to make sure that our interventions in support of the Basque language become increasingly effective, so that we can achieve ever greater progress with the always limited resources at our disposal. We need to ensure an ever-greater impact, so that, day by day, we grow closer to achieving our goals.

1. The Southern Basque Country, or *Hego Euskal Herria* or *Hegoaldea* as it is called in Basque, is the part of the Basque Country that is under the control of the Spanish state. From an administrative perspective, the region is divided between the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country and the Foral Community of Navarre (Treviño County and the municipality of Villaverde Trucios, which are administratively dependent on Castile and León and Cantabria, respectively, fall outside the scope of our research).

The need to ensure the impact and efficiency of our revitalisation process is nothing new. The pro-Basque language movement of the 1960s, for example, had a clear objective right from the start: to prioritise the teaching of the Basque language to younger generations. This aim is implicitly based on the criteria of efficiency and impact, first, because children learn new languages more easily than adults, and second, because the benefits will be greater among speakers with a longer life expectancy than among the older population (whose life expectancy is shorter). This is therefore the basic criterion that has been applied (very successfully) in our case.

However, it seems to us that, in addition to the fundamental criterion of age, we should also ask ourselves in what other aspects might significant differences be found in terms of efficiency and impact. In which segments and processes of Basque society might interventions be most fruitful, and in which will actions not generally have as much of an effect? In our opinion, Basque cultural activity in the 21st century should strive to understand and identify these differential levels of efficiency and impact and refine its interventions accordingly.

In this paper, we aim to make a modest contribution to this by focusing on a factor that is vital to the analysis of the efficiency and impact of interventions: the territory. Do efforts to promote Basque have the same effect in different regions or areas? Is there evidence to suggest that actions taken to promote Basque have been more productive either in more Basque-speaking or in Spanish-speaking areas?? We will begin by taking an initial look at this general research topic, analysing the impact of the enormous effort made to teach Basque to non-native speakers region by region. We will leave the analysis of efficiency (i.e. the link between the resources earmarked for Basque language promotion and the outcomes obtained) for another time.

Context

Non-native Basque speakers in the Basque Country: *euskaldun berriak* (new Basque speakers)

In sociolinguistic terms, an *euskaldun berri* (or new Basque speaker) is 'someone whose first language is not Basque, but who understands and speaks Basque well' (UZEI, 2010: 59). Thanks to the efforts of both public institutions and citizens, and the significant work carried out over recent decades in the fields of education and adult Basque literacy, the number of new Basque speakers has increased considerably in the Southern Basque Country, as shown in Table 13.

According to the most recent data, almost 300,000 people who did not learn Basque at home during their childhood are now able to speak it well or fairly well. This is four times the number recorded 30 years ago. It is also worth noting that the overall growth experienced by the Basque-speaking population in the last 30 years is almost entirely due to the increase in new speakers. The proliferation of new Basque speakers is a fundamental mass phenomenon occurring in the Southern Basque Country over recent decades. New Basque speakers currently represent 11.7% of all speakers in the Southern Basque Country and 37.6% of all Basque speakers.

Table 1. Speakers, Basque speakers and new Basque speakers. Speakers aged 16 and over, Southern Basque Country, 1991–2021.

	1991	1996	2001	2006	2011	2016	2021
Speakers	2,162,181	2,215,703	2,275,436	2,359,417	2,410,637	2,397,982	2,427,363
Basque speakers	459,389	535,277	579,287	613,988	663,036	700,330	757,857
New basque speakers	65,772	103,343	172,956	197,097	243,144	264,080	284,818
New basque speakers in relation to the total number of speakers (%)	3.0	4.7	7.6	8.4	10.1	11.0	11.7
New basque speakers in relation to the total number of basque speakers (%)	14.3	19.3	29.9	32.1	36.7	37.7	37.6

Source: own elaboration [original source: ISL].

Favourable and unfavourable contexts; language predominance areas

It is a basic principle of sociolinguistics that speakers' behaviour is socially conditioned. In other words, speakers' network of relationships and broader immediate context (the neighbourhood or town in which they live, etc.) influence their experiences, behaviour and choices. In their research into the experiences of new speakers, Ortega, Amorrortu, Goirigolzarri and Urla (2016) clearly identify predominantly Basque-speaking and predominantly Spanish-speaking environments as favourable and hindering contexts, respectively.

Therefore, among other things, it is essential for a minoritised language to have geoterritorial spaces in which it is the predominant language spoken. Such spaces are commonly referred to as 'breathing spaces' (Fishman 1991: 58)

or, in the Basque context, *arnasguneak* (Zalbide, 2019). According to Zalbide, an *arnasgune* (or Basque breathing space) is a geoterritorial area with a high density of speakers in which Basque is the predominant language of daily practice, thereby guaranteeing the natural transmission of the language across generations.

The issue of breathing spaces can also be analysed within a broader variable that encompasses the degree to which each language is predominant in each specific area. Consequently, to analyse the social weight of Basque in different territories, we use the concept ‘language predominance areas’, in which municipalities (and their populations) are classified according to their level of Basque language use, as shown in Table 2 and Map 1². In accordance with that outlined above, these groups of municipalities constitute distinct ecosystems in terms of their characteristics and sociolinguistic dynamics. Full breathing spaces are environments that offer Basque speakers the most suitable conditions for living their lives in and improving their Basque. They are areas that offer unbeatable opportunities for speaking in and becoming proficient in Basque, transmitting the language and ensuring individual linguistic evolution in favour of Basque. At the other extreme, in areas in which Spanish is the predominant language spoken, it is more difficult for speakers to improve their Basque, since the dynamics at play are much more strongly in favour of Spanish (and against Basque). Intermediate areas follow an intermediate trend. The data used in the study were analysed based on these five language predominance areas:

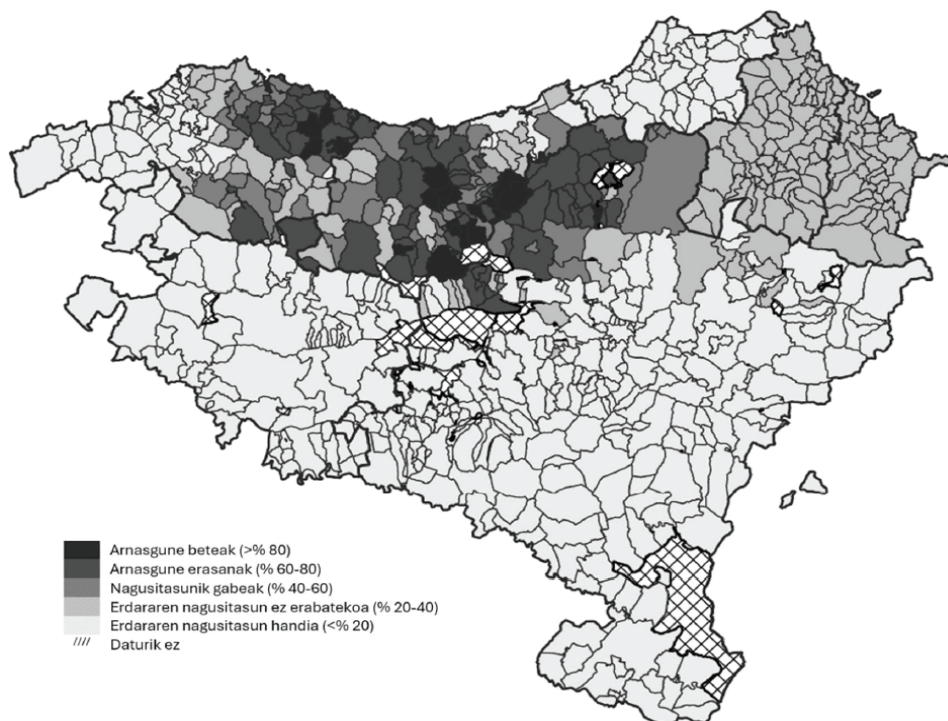
Table 2. Population in the different language predominance areas. Southern Basque Country, 2021 (Criterion: synthetic indicator of proximal use, combining use on the street and in the family home).

	Number	%
Full breathing spaces (80%-100% Basque use)	9,424	0.3
Affected breathing spaces (60%-80%)	118,093	4.2
No clear predominance (40%-60%)	196,214	7.0
Spanish dominance, not absolute (20%-40%)	316,829	11.3
Spanish dominance, absolute (0%-20%)	2,174,018	77.2
TOTAL	2,814,578	100.0

Source: UEMA, 2025 [Original sources: EUSTAT and NASTAT population and housing censuses; Sociolinguistics Cluster’s use measurement database 1989–2023].

2. We calculate what is known as the proximal language use in each municipality, based on the mean level of use in the family home (according to information gathered during censuses) and the mean level of use on the street (street measurements), and using the regression method to calculate missing data (UEMA, 2025).

Map I: Language predominance areas. Basque Country, 2021 (Criterion: synthetic indicator of proximal use, combining use on the street and in the family home).



Source: UEMA 2025. [Original sources: EUSTAT and NASTAT population and housing censuses; Sociolinguistics Cluster's use measurement database 1989-2023.]

Note: Data for the Northern Basque Country are aggregated by region rather than by municipality (based on the Sociolinguistic Survey).

Measuring the impact of intervention projects

Of the many types of indicators identified in proposals for assessing public policies and interventions in the social sphere (González, 2021; Hernández *et al.*, 2023), we will focus specifically on impact indicators in order to assess the final outcome of projects designed to increase the number of new Basque speakers in different language predominance areas. Impact indicators measure the long-term changes that have occurred in society as a result of the intervention; they are used to assess the extent to which the final aim of the intervention has been attained. For example, when evaluating an anti-drug abuse campaign, different aspects can be considered, including the number of people who have heard about the campaign and the number of young people who participated in the activities and events organised. However, if we want to measure the actual impact of said

campaign, we must focus on deeper, longer-term changes. Continuing with the example, we can measure the campaign's impact in terms of a possible decrease in drug use, or in the number of young people receiving treatment for drug addiction. In sum, impact indicators measure the fundamental and lasting changes that an intervention generates in society and in real life, not only among participants themselves, but also in the entire target region.

Research question

Our study attempts to answer the following question:

If we classify new Basque speakers in accordance with the level of Basque spoken in the area in which they live, how, in what sense, and to what extent does the impact of their Basque language acquisition on the local language community differ (impact measured in terms of real use)?

Our aim is to measure the long-term impact of Basque language acquisition by non-native speakers based on language use and local sociolinguistic context.

Why have we chosen to measure language use by new Basque speakers in order to analyse the impact of their Basque language acquisition? Because, in our view, this is likely the principal indicator of the change generated in the community by the effort made. Although a more in-depth study of the impact of the Basque language promotion initiative would require a broader approach, we believe it is safe to say that the long-term goal of this initiative was to transform new speakers into active users of the Basque language. Therefore, although we acknowledge the existence of a more complex set of influences, we have chosen to base our measurement of the impact of the process of creating new Basque speakers on new Basque speakers on the extent to which these speakers speak Basque in their everyday lives³.

To answer our research question, we used data from the Sociolinguistic Survey (ISL) to analyse to what degree those who learned Basque outside their family home use the language in their daily lives, exploring how this varies in accordance with the level of Basque language use in their municipality. We will

3. Using language use as an impact indicator may not be the best option in relation to areas in southern and central Navarre, which started from a predominantly Spanish-speaking situation and over the past 40 years have been the target of no (or very limited) public interventions aimed at promoting the Basque language. In those areas, merely learning Basque can be considered an achievement, even if this acquisition fails to subsequently lead to active use. Despite this, however, we believe that focusing on use is a good option for measuring the regional impact of Basque language acquisition by non-native speakers in the Southern Basque Country.

measure this level of Basque language use in accordance with the degree to which the language is spoken in the municipality, as we will discuss later.

Sources and methodology

Sources: The primary source was the ISL. This survey is conducted once every five years with a large sample of speakers aged 16 and over from all over the Basque Country. It is carried out by public institutions and directed by the Basque Government Deputy Ministry for Language Policy. It provides detailed information on basic sociolinguistic variables, making it the ideal source for our analysis. Specifically, we used the microdata contained in the *Basque Country Sociolinguistic Survey database (1991-2021)*.

We also used UEMA's (the Association of Basque-speaking municipalities) 'Calculation of Proximal Use by Municipality' to define the different language predominance areas (UEMA, 2025). That study in turn drew on the following sources: the EUSTAT and NASTAT population and housing censuses and the Sociolinguistics Cluster's use measurement database 1989-2023 (HEKN). For the purposes of our study, and in order to ensure more suitable sub-samples for the Basque breathing spaces, we also defined areas based on Basque use in the street.

Study universe, delimitation of age, region and time. Our research universe encompassed new Basque speakers aged 16 years and over living in the Southern Basque Country.

- Geographically, the scope of the research is limited to the Southern Basque Country, since the current lack of information at a municipal level in the Northern Basque Country precluded the implementation of the model there.
- In terms of age, the sample is limited to those aged 16 years and over, since the ISL only gathers information on this age group.
- Regarding time, we initially attempted to use the most recent data, that from 2021. However, we realised that such sub-samples of new Basque speakers in the different language predominance areas were too small for the study we wanted to conduct. Consequently, in order to obtain more representative samples, we used cumulative data from 1996 to 2021⁴. After examining the data by year, we concluded that working with cumulative

4. The ISL was first carried out in 1991. However, we have not included the data from that year in our calculations because we could not guarantee full comparability between the use data from that year and those from subsequent years in relation to the indicators developed here.

data from all 25 years would not significantly distort the results. We therefore consider this method to be valid for detecting current trends.

We can therefore define the population studied in this analysis as follows: the study deals with Basque speakers who lived in the Southern Basque Country between 1996 and 2021 for whom Basque is not their mother tongue. In other words, our research population comprises new Basque speakers who were aged 16 years and over during that period.

Sample: 7,062 cases that complied with the aforementioned criteria were found in the ISL database. This is a more than adequate sample for conducting a general analysis (a sample of this size yields a general error range of $\pm 1.2\%$, for a 95% confidence level and $p = q = 50\%$). However, as we will see, the sample size is considerably smaller in some language predominance areas (mainly affected breathing spaces and, especially, full breathing spaces). Nevertheless, although in these cases the sub-samples are smaller than we would have liked, we believe they are valid for detecting the general trend under study here. The sizes of the various sub-samples are shown in the tables.

Variables analysed in the study:

We analysed the relationship between the following two variables in relation to new Basque speakers, using cross-tabulations and means:

- As a dependent variable, we analysed use in face-to-face interactions among speakers. This indicator was created by combining different types of use gathered during the ISL (in family settings, informal conversations, interactions with work colleagues, etc.), and assigning each type a weight based on its importance in daily life. It is a synthetic indicator that represents the degree (in percentage terms) to which the respondent speaks Basque in each activity (for a detailed explanation of how this indicator was constructed, see Iurrebaso, 2024, p. 530).
- As an independent variable, we used the language predominance areas in which each respondent lives/lived classified into five main groups based on the degree to which Basque is spoken in the municipality, using the street use as our criterion.

Impact, or the degree to which new Basque speakers contribute to Basque language use, was measured in two ways, with two different methods being applied to the use in face-to-face interactions indicator:

- First, given the importance of those who speak primarily in Basque (Zalbide, 2016), we calculated the percentage of new Basque speakers who mainly speak Basque across different contexts (focusing specifically on those who speak Basque in more than 60% of their interactions).
- Second, in order to take into account the contribution made by those who speak Basque less frequently, we calculated the mean level of Basque use for all new Basque speakers, based on their self-reported responses, and then adjusted this figure to avoid the bias that is usually present in this kind of response.

Data collection and analysis

Measuring impact, focusing on those who speak primarily in Basque

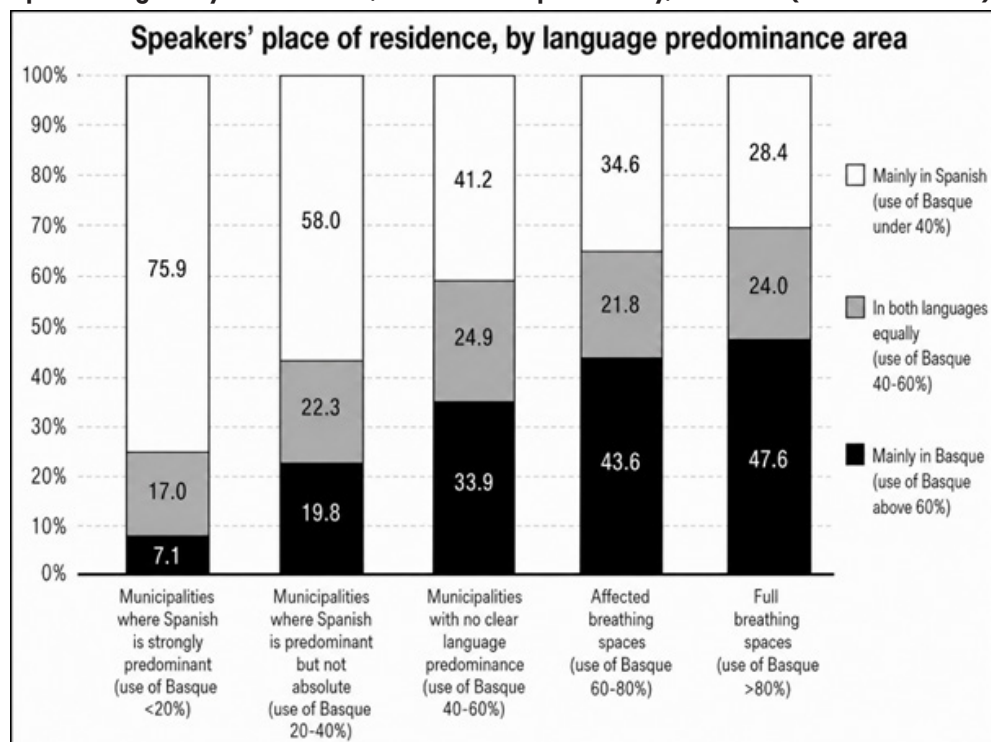
Table 3 and Figure A show the distribution of language use among new Basque speakers in the Southern Basque Country, in accordance with their place of residence (more Basque-speaking or Spanish-speaking municipality, in terms of language predominance area). Taking the overall data pertaining to all new Basque speakers, the results indicate that those who learned Basque outside the home used Spanish significantly more than Basque in their daily lives during the period 1996–2021. Specifically, 10.6% spoke Basque more than Spanish, and 71.4% spoke Spanish more than Basque (the remaining 18% spoke both languages equally).

Nevertheless, these figures vary considerably depending on the environment in which speakers live. At the two extremes, only 7.1% of new Basque speakers living in predominantly Spanish-speaking areas speak Basque more than Spanish, whereas this figure rises to 47.6% in full Basque breathing spaces, where Basque is clearly the predominant language spoken in the local environment. Between these two extremes, the data reveal a clear pattern: the more Basque-speaking the context, the more new Basque speakers speak primarily in Basque in their everyday lives. It is particularly worth noting that, in both full and affected Basque breathing spaces, there are more new Basque speakers who speak Basque as their primary language in daily life than there are new Basque speakers who speak primarily Spanish.

Table 3. Language use in face-to-face interactions, in accordance with language predominance area. New Basque speakers aged 16 years and over, Southern Basque Country, 1996–2021 (cumulative data).

		Speakers' place of residence, by language predominance area				
		Municipalities where Spanish is strongly predominant (use of Basque <20%)	Municipalities where Spanish is predominant but not absolute (use of Basque 20–40%)	Municipalities with no clear language predominance (use of Basque 40–60%)	Affected breathing spaces (use of Basque 60–80%)	Full breathing spaces (use of Basque >80%)
	TOTAL					
Mainly in Spanish (use of Basque under 40%)	71.4	75.9	58.0	41.2	34.6	28.4
In both languages equally (use of Basque 40–60%)	18.0	17.0	22.3	24.9	21.8	24.0
Mainly in Basque (use of Basque above 60%)	10.6	7.1	19.8	33.9	43.6	47.6
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
n (number of cases)	7,062	6,224	410	264	105	59

Figure 1: Use in face-to-face interactions by language predominance areas. New Basque speakers aged 16 years and over, Southern Basque Country, 1996–2021 (cumulative data)



Source: own elaboration [original source: ISL].

Measuring impact based on mean use

Column a of Table 4 shows the mean levels of reported Basque use by language predominance area. The results follow the same pattern as that outlined above: in areas in which Spanish is the predominant language spoken, new Basque speakers speak Basque in (on average) 25.3% of their activities; this figure rises to 55.6% in Basque breathing spaces, with intermediate values being recorded for areas with a moderate level of use. These data, therefore, follow the same pattern as before, the difference being that the link between language predominance area and use level is significantly weaker than that observed among those who speak 'primarily in Basque'.

Table 4. Mean Basque use by new Basque speakers in face-to-face interactions, based on self-reported responses; calculation of an adjustment coefficient by comparing the self-reported and observed use of all speakers; calculation of new Basque speakers' mean level of Basque use by applying the adjustment coefficient. Southern Basque Country by language predominance area, 1996–2021 (cumulative data)

Mean Basque use by new Basque speakers							
New Basque speakers' average use of Basque (%) in face-to-face interactions, SL Survey 2021 (population aged 16 and over, self-reported answers)	Basque speakers' average use of Basque (%) in face-to-face interactions, SL Survey 2021 (population aged 16 and over, self-reported answers)	Proportion of Basque speakers among all speakers (SL Survey 2021, population aged 16 and over)	Average use of Basque among all speakers (%) in face-to-face interactions (SL Survey 2021, population aged 16 and over)	Observed street use (HEKN 2021, speakers aged 2 and over)	Adjustment coefficient (the gap between self-reported and observed use: if self-reported use is 1, how much observed use is)	New Basque speakers' average use of Basque (%) in face-to-face interactions, 2021 (applying the adjustment coefficient to self-reported answers)	
<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i> = <i>b</i> * <i>c</i> /100	<i>e</i>	<i>f</i> = <i>e</i> / <i>d</i>	<i>g</i> = <i>f</i> * <i>e</i>	
Municipalities where Spanish is strongly predominant (use of Basque <20%)	25.3	41.1	23.6	9.7	5.2	0.54	13.5
Municipalities where Spanish is predominant but not absolute (use of Basque 20–40%)	36.6	69.2	56.6	39.1	29.3	0.75	27.4
Municipalities with no clear language predominance (use of Basque 40–60%)	46.7	77.6	71.5	55.5	49.5	0.89	41.7
Affected breathing spaces (use of Basque 60–80%)	53.1	84.4	76.2	64.3	69.9	1.09	57.8
Full breathing spaces (use of Basque >80%)	55.6	89.6	90.1	80.7	86.8	1.08	59.8

Source: own elaboration [original source: ISL and HEKN].

But how valid⁵ are the data shown in Table 3 and column *a* of Table 4 for quantifying speakers' actual use habits? This is not a question that can be answered quickly, so let us proceed slowly. First, a basic consideration: these figures are based on the self-reported responses of a sample of speakers who completed a survey; they are not a direct measurement of said speakers' behaviour. There is no guarantee that respondents actually behave in the way they say they do. As is often the case with survey techniques, although it is reasonable to assume a degree of association between actual behaviours and survey responses, they will not coincide 100%, since there will usually be a bias affecting what is reported. This difference has been a topic of debate for many years in the methodological literature on international sociolinguistics (Dell'Aquila & Iannàccaro, 2019: 530; Fasold, 1996: 186; Vila & Sorolla, 2009: 79).

In general, survey responses tend to *overstate* or *exaggerate* the use of the minoritised language in contexts in which a positive attitude towards said language predominates, and to *understate* its use in contexts in which the prevailing attitude towards the language is negative. In line with this general logic, in the Basque Country, it is clear that data based on self-reported responses regarding use tend to be more 'positive' than those traditionally collected through observation (Iurrebaso, 2012). Let us, for example, look at two data points regarding language use from 2021: in the observational measurement carried out in 2021 across the entire Basque Country, the use rate for Basque was 12.6%⁶ (Altuna *et al.*, 2022: 17), whereas according to the self-reported responses collected during the sociolinguistic survey conducted that same year, mean Basque use among speakers aged 16 and over was 16.6%. There is, therefore, a significant difference between the information collected in surveys and the results obtained through observation. Although other factors are also involved (we do not have time to elaborate further here), the data collection method used (survey or observation) is fundamental to explaining the difference between the two figures. It goes without saying that speakers' actual behaviour will be closer to the values provided by observational techniques than to survey data based on self-reported responses.

However, as is often noted in the methodological literature, the inherent bias present in survey data manifests differently in different segments of society; for various reasons, respondents from some fields tend to *overstate* their *actual*

5. Validity indicates whether or not the researcher has actually managed to measure what they wanted to measure; validity can be defined 'as the degree to which the data actually represent the situation they are meant to represent' (Etxeberria Murgiondo, 2011: 25).

6. The data from street measurements refer to all speakers, including children. If we were to focus solely on speakers aged 15 and over, the number would be slightly lower, and the difference between these results and the data reported in the sociolinguistic survey would be slightly greater.

behaviour more than those from other fields (De Rosselló & Ginebra, 2014: 257; Fasold, 1996: 187; Ó Riagáin, 2018: 40). Building on this idea, there are two points here that are important when interpreting our data. First, it is reasonable to assume that biases will be stronger among respondents who use Basque infrequently or occasionally than among those who use Basque as their primary language in their everyday lives. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the percentages shown in Table 3 referring to those who claim to primarily speak Basque will be less affected by bias than those in column a of Table 4, which reflect the mean level of Basque use among all speakers.

It is also reasonable to assume that the level of Basque language use in speakers' immediate environment will influence their tendency towards *over* or *understating* their responses. According to the methodological literature, it can be assumed that calculations based on self-reported responses will tend to overestimate use more in Spanish-speaking environments than in their Basque-speaking counterparts (Iurrebaso, 2024, p. 257). Our data support this idea (we refer to the data pertaining to all speakers, rather than just new Basque speakers). As can be seen in columns d and e of Table 4, the imbalance between mean use figures based on self-reported responses and those based on observation varies depending on the environment under study, with the figures being more overstated in more Spanish-speaking areas than in more Basque-speaking regions⁷.

Given these differential trends, we performed a series of calculations designed to counteract the effect of this bias (see Table 4). Specifically, for the entire sample of speakers, we calculated an adjustment coefficient for the discrepancy between use figures based on self-reported responses and those based on observation, for each language predominance area (see column f). Next, we applied this coefficient to the mean self-reported use levels of new Basque speakers (column a) in order to obtain the adjusted figure (column g). This figure, which was generated by neutralising the effect of the aforementioned bias, reflects a more appropriate approach to understanding Basque use among new Basque speakers living in different contexts than data based directly on self-reported responses. Consequently, from here on, we will use the figures from column g to quantify mean Basque use among new Basque speakers. According to these data, new Basque speakers in municipalities in which Spanish is the predominant language speak Basque in (on average) 13.5% of their face-to-face interactions, with this figure rising to 59.8% in full breathing spaces. Intermediate areas returned intermediate mean values. It is worth noting that, according to these

7. Indeed, in Basque breathing spaces, Basque use figures based on observation are slightly higher than those based on self-reported responses.

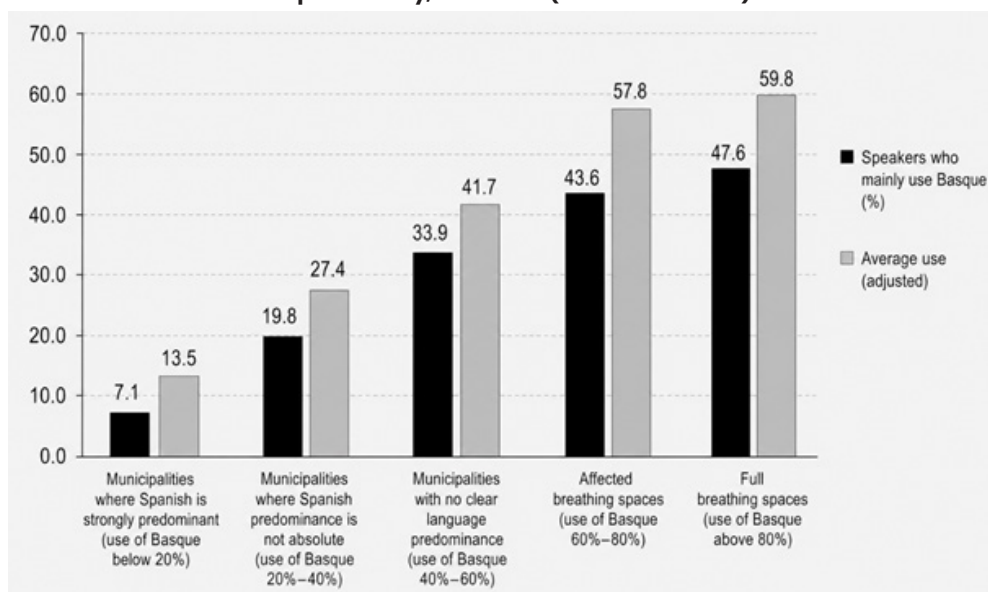
results, new Basque speakers living in Basque breathing spaces speak Basque more frequently than Spanish in their daily activities.

Summarising the impact of new Basque speakers

To conclude this section, Figure 2 summarises the main data for Basque use among new Basque speakers. The results indicate that use varies significantly in accordance with the degree to which Basque is spoken in the speaker's municipality of residence. In sum:

- In general, 7.1% of new Basque speakers living in predominantly Spanish-speaking municipalities primarily speak Basque in their daily lives, with this figure rising to 47.6% in full Basque breathing spaces. The figures for intermediate areas fall somewhere between these two extremes.
- In terms of mean Basque use levels (and after correcting for bias in self-reported responses), new Basque speakers living in predominantly Spanish-speaking areas carry out 13.5% of their daily activities in Basque. This figure rises to 59.8% in Basque breathing spaces. The figures for intermediate areas again fall somewhere between these two extremes.

Figure 2. Number of new Basque speakers who mainly speak Basque in their everyday lives and their mean level of Basque use, by language predominance area. Southern Basque Country, 1996–2021 (cumulative data)



Source: own elaboration [original source: ISL].

In terms of impact, therefore, the conclusion that can be drawn is clear: the impact of Basque language acquisition on new Basque speakers' Basque language use varies in accordance with the sociolinguistic environment in which they live. The more Basque-speaking the environment, the greater the impact. Indeed, new Basque speakers who live in more Basque-speaking environments contribute, on average, much more to Basque language use than those living in more Spanish-speaking environments. Looking at the two extremes, the contribution made to Basque language use by new Basque speakers living in full Basque breathing spaces is, on average, five or six times greater⁸ than that of their counterparts living in predominantly Spanish-speaking areas.

Conclusions

Variable impact of Basque language acquisition in accordance with sociolinguistic context

The more Basque-speaking the municipality in which new Basque speakers live, the more they speak Basque in their daily lives. Therefore, the impact new Basque speakers have had on the Basque revitalisation effort differs in accordance with the area in which they live, increasing considerably as the general level of Basque use in their immediate environment rises. The impact of new Basque speakers in areas in which Basque is most predominant is between 5 and 6 times greater than that achieved in more Spanish-speaking areas. This is the main conclusion of our study.

What is the reason for this variable impact?

Why is the level of Basque use (and impact) of new Basque speakers living in more Basque-speaking areas 5–6 times greater than that of those living in more Spanish-speaking areas? What sociolinguistic reason can there be for this difference? Context directly influences a series of aspects that are fundamental to understanding use levels in each group of speakers. First, in more Basque-speaking environments, new Basque speakers will have more opportunities to speak the language than their counterparts living in more Spanish-speaking areas. Moreover, new Basque speakers living in breathing spaces will often feel encouraged to speak Basque, whereas in areas in which Spanish is the

8. The ratios between the two extremes have been rounded off. The specific figures are as follows: those who speak mainly in Basque account for 7.1% in predominantly Spanish-speaking areas and for 47.6% in full breathing spaces (ratio = $47.6/7.1 = 6.7$). The adjusted mean Basque use figure is 13.5% among new Basque speakers living in predominantly Spanish-speaking areas and 59.8% among those living in full breathing spaces (ratio = $59.8/13.5 = 4.4$).

predominant language spoken, the social norms foster the use of that language. Similarly, the relative proficiency of bilingual speakers (which language they speak more fluently) will also work in favour of Basque use in more Basque-speaking areas and in favour of Spanish in more Spanish-speaking areas. All of this has a strong influence on the practices of new Basque speakers in different contexts. In addition to having more opportunities to use the language, new Basque speakers living in more Basque-speaking areas will become more proficient in the language than their counterparts living in more Spanish-speaking areas, which will in turn encourage them to use it more. Meanwhile, many new Basque speakers living in more Spanish-speaking areas will be unable to take the leap towards using the language; trapped in an obstructionist context, they find themselves unable to take advantage of or develop their acquired skills.

A hypothesis that requires an efficiency analysis

As stated in the introduction, we face the challenge of identifying those factors that influence the impact and efficiency of the efforts made to revitalise the Basque language. The focus of the present study was limited to measuring the impact of this movement at a regional level. However, if we were to measure not only the impact of the movement but also its efficiency—in other words, if we were to include the effort made and the resources used to ‘produce’ these new Basque speakers in the equation, and then if we compared this effort with the impact generated—it would be reasonable to assume that the difference between areas would be even greater than the 5-6 ratio observed in the impact analysis. Indeed, it would be reasonable to assume that the very process of learning Basque is faster in Basque-speaking municipalities than elsewhere, suggesting that when the effort made is linked to the impact achieved in terms of use, the 5-6 ratio would increase significantly. However, pending further data to support this idea, it remains a hypothesis for now.

Is the logic of differential impact generalisable?

Can this trend, which links the impact of the efforts made to revitalise Basque (a minoritised language) in the Southern Basque Country to the level of Basque use in the local area, be generalised to other minoritised languages? We do not have enough data to answer this question with sufficient scientific rigour. However, we believe that, since the variable impact observed in the Basque Country is due to general sociolinguistic processes and logics, similar phenomena are likely to exist also in other minoritised languages. It is our hope that future research will shed light on these issues.

Why adopt a territorial perspective?

From research to revitalisation policies: identifying the most productive areas in order to enhance the impact of policies.

The main conclusion of the present study is that efforts to revitalise the Basque language have had a differential impact across the region, with those who have learned the language in more Basque-speaking areas speaking it more than those who have learned it in more Spanish-speaking areas. Consequently, the mean positive impact of new Basque speakers has been greater in more Basque-speaking areas than in more Spanish-speaking ones⁹. Pending an efficiency analysis, but with a fair degree of certainty, we can state that the efforts made in more Basque-speaking areas have been significantly more productive than those made in more Spanish-speaking ones. Therefore, one key practical question that must be answered is whether this dynamic should be taken into account when deciding where and how to channel the efforts made by public policies and social stakeholders, or whether it is better to address these issues without considering this phenomenon.

Let us use a metaphor to illustrate our point: a region is experiencing famine and severe food shortages. They have several crop fields in their territory, and over recent years, they have noticed that in some of them, the seeds sown have yielded a considerably better harvest than in others. In light of this situation, what should they do during the coming year? Should they distribute their seeds evenly across all their fields? Or should they sow more seeds in the more productive fields? We believe that in this hypothetical situation, few would doubt what the correct decision should be: if the (limited) seeds available are sown more densely in the more fertile fields, they will yield a better overall harvest than if they were distributed evenly across all fields.

There are certain similarities between our situation and this metaphor. We believe it makes perfect sense for a linguistic community that is clearly in the

9. Some may find this confusing, as it may seem to contradict what we have said elsewhere, namely that Basque use has dropped most in more Basque-speaking areas, and that these areas are the ones which have weakened most. In this study, however, we claim that new Basque speakers have, on average, had a greater positive impact in more Basque-speaking environments. How can these two perspectives be compatible? Impact is linked to the internal dynamics of Basque-speaking areas: due to the characteristics of these areas, new Basque speakers living in them speak Basque more. To understand the evolution of Basque-speaking areas, however, in addition to internal dynamics it is also necessary to consider external dynamics, specifically the impact of population flows. These flows have been a decisive factor in the weakening of the most Basque-speaking areas. In sum, although internal dynamics may favour Basque, something that is clearly reflected in the linguistic behaviour of new Basque speakers, general dynamics have led to the weakening of more intensely Basque-speaking environments.

minority to redouble its efforts in its most fertile fields. The ability to make more headway with less overall effort is by no means an irrelevant consideration: Basque urgently needs to improve its results in its principal indicators, and the question of how to do this in the quickest possible way is a key one.

This highlights the need for a territorial strategy. But this is not the only argument supporting such a strategy.

The benefits of considering the different sociolinguistic dynamics that exist within a given territory

The Basque Country today is the sum of a series of interconnected territorial areas with different yet mutually influencing sociolinguistic characteristics. The more Basque-speaking areas exert a positive influence over the rest in terms of encouraging Basque language acquisition, whereas the more Spanish-speaking areas exert an influence in favour of Spanish (Basurto & Iurrebaso, 2025). Quantitatively speaking, this influence is strong. Due to the relative importance of each type of area (as well as to the general power structures), although their impact is bilateral, the ‘Spanish-speaking’ influence of more Spanish-speaking areas is greater than the ‘Basque-speaking’ influence of their more Basque-speaking counterparts.

A language policy based on a detailed understanding of these interactions would offer clear benefits. The aim would be to leverage and (as far as possible) strengthen favourable trends (the ‘Basque-speaking’ influence exerted by more Basque-speaking areas) and to weaken the effect of opposing ones. Ultimately, our efforts will be more effective if we design intervention policies based on a deep-rooted understanding of the interactions that exist between different areas, than if we simply choose to ignore these dynamics.

Protecting breathing spaces is a priority

Although this issue is only mentioned among the last points in the study, it is no less important than the previous ones analysed, as sociolinguistic theory clearly identifies the importance of breathing spaces for any minoritised language (Fishman, 1991; Giollagáin *et al.*, 2025; Zalbide, 2019). Maintaining and, if possible, extending a high-density area is vital for the advancement of a minoritised language community. We will not elaborate on this argument here. Nor will we call to mind the intense process of destruction suffered by these areas over the past century, and especially over the past twenty-five years (Iurrebaso & Goikoetxea, 2025). Nor indeed will we dwell on the fact that these breathing spaces may well disappear altogether in the near future if steps are not taken (Siadeco, 2025).

If Basque breathing spaces were indeed to disappear, the overall situation of Basque would worsen considerably, not least because their loss would trigger a decline in other fundamental variables, such as the number of fluent speakers, the number of those who speak the language intensely and the number of children to whom it is fully transmitted. Any weakening of the most Basque-speaking areas would result in a clear setback in the overall sociolinguistic situation of the Basque Country, bringing Basque closer to extinction. This is a key reason for implementing a regional strategy.

On the role of the capital cities

One clarification before continuing. Can capital cities and more densely populated urban areas play a key or leadership role in the language revitalisation process? Can these areas serve as a driver for fostering Basque identity in other areas and as a vehicle for more advanced language policies? Unfortunately, the conditions we find in such areas do not appear to be conducive to this task. First, because Basque is extremely minoritised in these areas. In the four capital cities of the Southern Basque Country, Basque language use is low or very low¹⁰. Recent sociolinguistic history has shown us that although the concerted effort made in these areas over recent decades has yielded significant gains in terms of knowledge (i.e. the number of people who can speak Basque), if we measure the situation using more robust indicators, we see that the progress made has in reality been fairly modest. For example, the increase in street use in Pamplona, Vitoria, and Bilbao has remained at around one or two percentage points for the past thirty years. This is not surprising, given that in such densely Spanish-speaking areas it is particularly difficult to foster Basque language acquisition and use, since the prevailing linguistic and social environment strongly favours Spanish. Moreover, looking to the future, we see new factors emerging that are unlikely to improve the situation. Specifically, the reduction in face-to-face interactions is particularly pronounced in these areas, international demographic flows are having a particularly strong effect on capital cities and their surrounding areas, and the logic of the real estate market is driving new (more Basque-speaking) generations out of city centres. In light of this, it is unlikely that the capital cities of the Basque Country will be able to serve as practical linguistic drivers of the Basque revitalisation process. Quite the opposite, in fact: these cities, especially Bilbao and San Sebastián, are currently spreading Spanish to their more Basque-speaking surrounding areas through demographic flows and

10. For example, according to the street use measurements carried out in 2021, 2.7% of conversations recorded in Pamplona were held in Basque, with this figure being 3.5% in Bilbao, 4.1% in Vitoria-Gasteiz and 15.3% in Donostia-San Sebastián (Altuna et al., 2022).

work-related and leisure mobility, among other factors. It would therefore be unrealistic to assign capital cities a driving or leadership role, since said role could only really be played (if at all) by more Basque-speaking areas.

Any reflection on the impact of the revitalisation effort on different areas should therefore strive to identify the role that capital cities should play. It would also be interesting to analyse and explore the different dynamics at a regional level, paying particular attention to the role and influence of the regional capitals. Given the leading role that capital cities typically play in sociocultural changes, their importance as seats of political, economic, cultural and symbolic power, as well as the fact that they often host mass events that attract citizens from a wider area, it is important to guarantee the status of Basque in these urban centres. This can be done, for example, by maintaining and strengthening key spaces for Basque speakers in both capital cities and throughout the region; or by ensuring that cultural and sporting events organised at a regional level comply with appropriate linguistic criteria. Many of the large-scale events held either in Basque or in support of the language seem best suited to the venues provided by capital cities. Furthermore, given that most of the population lives in or around these cities, it is clear that effective interventions in these areas are crucial to ensuring the success of the language revitalisation process.

A territorial strategy for the Basque language

Five general criteria for territorial action

As we have seen, there are sufficient reasons to expressly incorporate regional criteria into the revitalisation effort. The following are a series of general criteria linked to the territorial perspective that, in our opinion, should form the basis of our Language Policy. We propose them here because we believe they may help guide the debate on the subject. If the public, private and social institutions working to promote the Basque language were to reach a series of basic agreements as a result of a careful debate on these criteria, it would constitute a major step forward in our efforts to revitalise our language.

One: we must strive to have an impact on every single area. Given that more than three-quarters of the Basque population (77.2%) live in municipalities in which Spanish is the predominant language spoken, it would be a mistake to disregard these areas. Moreover, although it falls outside the scope of this study, for the language revitalisation process to move forward, it is essential to choose the right strategy for these areas, based on an analysis of the headway

made to date. In the more Spanish-speaking areas it is, in our opinion, vital to continue promoting language acquisition, earmarking resources to increasing the number of speakers capable of expressing themselves fluently in Basque, facilitating the integration of Basque speakers, strengthening the Basque-speaking community and promoting the visibility and impact of Basque-language practices and activities. We must determine how to increase the impact of our work in these (and other) areas. Ultimately, the Basque Country is becoming increasingly interconnected, and it is essential to have an impact in all areas.

Two: given that the sociolinguistic situation varies across areas, **our intervention approach must also differ accordingly.** Given that the situation of the Basque language in each area is determined by a specific sociolinguistic reality and a set of specific dynamics, it is important to develop intervention strategies adapted to each type of context. The first step would be to establish a clear set of municipality types based on sociolinguistic criteria. The next (very important) step would be to develop lists of general criteria, intervention strategies and successful practical experiences for each type of municipality in order to ensure the increasing effectiveness of the work carried out in support of the Basque language. Furthermore, these municipality types (with their respective sets of intervention strategies) would reflect the progression from more Spanish-speaking areas to more Basque-speaking ones, enabling each municipality to determine its current position and the position it would occupy if it were to progress.

Third: acknowledging the different roles played by different areas would help us progress more quickly and ensure that our efforts have a greater impact. Specifically, more Basque-speaking areas should play a leading role in the revitalisation process. This is usually what happens anyway in sociolinguistic dynamics, regardless of whether or not we intervene: more Basque-speaking areas have a knock-on effect on the rest (just as more Spanish-speaking areas do in the case of Spanish). Taking this natural tendency into account in our interventions will benefit the language revitalisation process. Like sailors navigating ocean currents, we too will progress more easily if we understand the internal currents of our sociolinguistic reality and use them to our advantage. More Basque-speaking areas could play a key leadership role, blazing a trail for other areas to follow based on the advanced policies implemented in them, as well as on local social practices. This leadership role cannot be understood in absolute terms; capital cities, for example, would continue to perform a series of functions, as explained above. When we talk about these areas being a driving force for the revitalisation process, we are talking about them exerting a practical, sociolinguistically effective influence.

We are aware that the challenge we have set ourselves is a stiff one, given that the knock-on effect that relatively small municipalities can have on much larger urban centres will inevitably be both limited and partial. Consequently, we must think carefully about what we decide to do and choose in which sociolinguistically critical fields we are going to try to strengthen the leadership role played by breathing spaces and intensely Basque-speaking environments, since we will not be able to focus on all of them.

Four: due to their greater contribution, the role they play in encouraging greater Basque use in other areas and their importance in maintaining the overall health of our minoritised language, **special attention must be paid to breathing spaces and those areas in which Basque use is highest.** One fundamental aspect in the Basque revitalisation process will be to expand (in terms of size) and strengthen (in terms of Basque use) those areas in which Basque is clearly the predominant language of everyday life. In addition to protecting and strengthening current breathing spaces, an active effort must be made to ensure that Basque-speaking municipalities that are not currently considered breathing spaces become so in the near future, thereby strengthening and expanding those areas in which Basque is the predominant language spoken. This will increase the scope and strength of the influence exerted by these areas on nearby regions. Following this logic, when planning actions and initiatives, a concerted effort should be made to preserve and develop these areas, especially as they become more intensely Basque-speaking.

Five: more Basque-speaking areas (especially breathing spaces) must become an effective resource for the Basque revitalisation effort in the rest of the region. To the best of our knowledge, no systematic research has yet been conducted on the role these areas and the speakers who grew up in them have played in the Basque language revitalisation process in the rest of the region. Nevertheless, we believe this is a fundamental issue. First, we are referring to the role these municipalities have played in the Basque language acquisition process of speakers from more Spanish-speaking environments, as spaces in which to learn or practice Basque or in which to spend holidays in a Basque-speaking environment, etc. Second, it is important to consider the influence that speakers who grew up in more Basque-speaking environments and subsequently moved to more Spanish-speaking areas have had on their new places of residence: skilled, active and often militant speakers have been transferred from more Basque-speaking areas to other regions. Third, it is important to acknowledge the contributions made in other fields by Basque speakers and those who continue to live in Basque-speaking regions, as teachers, professionals involved in numerous

projects and cultural practitioners, among others. In the future, we believe that specifically seeking out and promoting this type of knock-on effect, which can take many forms, may be a fruitful undertaking. This task would involve optimising and leveraging the natural role played by breathing spaces, generating synergies among Basque-speakers from different areas. We must maximise the role played by breathing spaces, providing of course that this practice does not compromise their Basque-speaking nature and their status as breathing spaces.

Note: it is logical to assume that the aforementioned criteria can be applied not just at a territorial level, but at a district or neighbourhood level also.

A map for advancing the Basque revitalisation process

Based on the aforementioned criteria and to facilitate their application, it is important to analyse the possibility of establishing **a legally-defined area of special protection and promotion**¹¹. The aim would be to provide stronger legal protection for Basque-speaking areas, thereby enabling more advanced policies, helping to ensure their preservation and development and consolidating and expanding a space in which, in the long term, Basque would be socially dominant. It would also help optimise their 'knock-on effect'. Ultimately, this area of special protection and promotion would seek to protect and enlarge the Basque-speaking region, while simultaneously fostering dynamism and interrelation between the municipalities and regions of the Basque Country in a way that benefits the language.

In our opinion, this area of protection and promotion should first define a *broad space*, aiming to build a geographically recognisable, demographically distinct and sociolinguistically solid territory in which Basque is predominant in the medium to long term. Next, in accordance with the second criterion outlined in the previous section, it would be helpful to define the different types that exist both inside that broad space and outside of it.

Three general avenues of action

How can we impact the situation in breathing spaces and, more broadly, Basque-speaking municipalities in general? Following the intervention model developed by UEMA, we shall now outline three basic avenues for action:

1. We must move towards **comprehensive policies**. To guarantee the sociolinguistic strength of these environments, we must address and

11. Another option would be to develop a legal linguistic classification that covers the entire territory; the possible advantages and drawbacks of the different alternatives must be studied in order to select the most appropriate option.

influence demographic, economic and spatial planning variables, along with those that will help ensure sustainable and vibrant communities in them. What we need are policies designed to ensure the comprehensive development of these areas. Moreover, we also need to pay attention to, measure and monitor the sociolinguistic effects of general policies in these areas.

2. Regarding those aspects on which **Language Policy** traditionally focuses (education, adult Basque language learning, culture, the media, leisure, etc.), **advanced policies** are required for these areas, focusing on both regulations and promotion.
3. It is also vital to empower and raise the **linguistic awareness** of speakers living in these areas. We need to foster an appropriate linguistic discourse and practices at the local level.

Developing these avenues of action is beyond the scope of this text. For further information, see the document *Euskararen Arnasguneak. Definizioaren eta erronken berrikuspena* (Basque Breathing Spaces. A review of their definition and challenges), published in 2024 by the Basque Government, the Government of Navarre and UEMA. Over recent months and years, our public institutions have repeatedly expressed their intention to implement new policies regarding Basque breathing spaces and, more specifically, UEMA has stated its intention to develop a policy proposal based on a territorial strategy approach.

Ekarpen A contribution to the boost that the Basque language needs

Current sociolinguistic indicators and concerning future forecasts highlight the need to take firm action in the movement to protect our language. Basque language revitalisation efforts need a new boost to put us back on the path to recovery. This renewed momentum, along with many other factors, will require a deep-rooted process of reflection and a series of proposals that prompt us to rethink and improve our actions. This paper aims to make a contribution to this.

Our aim is to explain why adding a second focus to the main one that has so far successfully structured the efforts in favour of the Basque language (the age-based approach that prioritises younger generations) would be clearly beneficial for the revitalisation process. The observation that the level of general Basque use in the municipality has a differential impact strongly suggests that assigning a leadership role to the most Basque-speaking areas and prioritising their protection would result in general benefits for the Basque language revitalisation process. In other words, it would enable us to progress more easily and at a quicker pace.

Towards the end of our paper, we have also ventured to suggest a territorial strategy designed to help us move towards this goal; this suggestion is meant as an initial (perhaps controversial) proposal that is open to improvement and further development.

References

- Altuna Zumeta, O., Iñarra Arregi, M., & Basurto Arruti, A. (2022). *Hizkuntzen erabileraren kale neurketa, Euskal Herria 2021. Emaizten laburpen txostena*. Soziolinguistika Klusterra [Sociolinguistics Cluster].
- Basurto Arruti, A., & Iurrebaso Biteri, I. (2026). Interaction between areas with different speaker densities in Basque language weakening and revitalisation processes. In A. Basurto Arruti & I. Iurrebaso Biteri (Eds.), *Territories of higher speaker density in minoritised language communities* (pp. 101–126). Udako Euskal Unibertsitatea.
- De Rosselló i Peralta, Carles, & Ginebra Domingo, D. (2014). Tries lingüístiques: vuit anys després. L'evolució dels usos lingüístics des de P3 fins a 6è de primària. *Treballs de Sociolingüística Catalana*, (24), 267–280. <https://www.raco.cat/index.php/TSC/article/view/293777>
- Dell'Aquila, V., & Iannàccaro, G. (2019). The geolinguistic treatment of demolinguistic data. *Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft / Handbooks of Linguistics and Communication Science (HSK)* (pp. 523–535). De Gruyter. 10.1515/9783110435351-043
- Etxeberria Murgiondo, J. (2011). *Estatistika aplikatua: teoria eta praktika*. Elhuyar.
- Fasold, R. (1996). *La sociolingüística de la sociedad: introducción a la sociolingüística*. Visor Libros.
- Fishman, J.A. (1991). *Reversing language shift: Theoretical and empirical foundations of assistance to threatened languages*. Multilingual Matters.
- González Rabanal, M.C. (2021). Indicadores para evaluar la eficiencia de programas sociales. Una propuesta a partir de un Proyecto de Aprendizaje-Servicio entre alumnos de la Facultad de Derecho de la UNED y el Ayuntamiento de Madrid. *Revista De Fomento Social*, (299), 29–68. 10.32418/rfs.2021.299.4580
- Hernández Ardila, D.S., eta Rodríguez Rodríguez, A. (2023). *Estadísticas e indicadores en la gestión pública. Aproximación teórica y práctica*. UNAL.
- Iurrebaso Biteri, I. (2012). Metodozko hainbat proposamen euskararen erabilera zertan den azterteko. *Bat: Soziolinguistika Aldizkaria*, (84), 89–120. http://www.soziolinguistika.eus/files/1%C3%Blaki%20Iurrebaso%20I_0.pdf
- Iurrebaso Biteri, I. (2024). *Gako berrien bila. Hizkuntza gutxituen jarraipena, ordezkapena eta indarberritzea neurtzeko demolinguistikazko tresna*

- metodologikoak garatzen: Euskal Herrirako aplikazio praktikoa* (1st ed.). Royal Academy of the Basque Language, Euskaltzaindia.
- Iurrebaso, I., & Goikoetxea, G. (2025). *Esnatu ala hil: euskararen oraina eta geroa, diagnostiko baten argitan*. Elkar.
- Ó Giollagáin, C., Bourgeois, D., Ó Curnáin, B., Caimbeul, I., & Cameron, G. (2025). Language Dynamics in Society (LandS): The LandS Analytical Framework for Majority and Minority-Language Ethnolinguistic Vitality. *Treatises and Documents, Journal of Ethnic Studies / Razprave in Gradivo, Revija Za Narodnostna Vprašanja*, 94(1), 25–75. 10.2478/tdjes-2025-0002
- Ó Riagáin, P. (2018). *Measures of language proficiency in censuses and surveys: a comparative analysis and assessment*. Palgrave Macmillan. 10.1007/978-3-319-72941-1
- Ortega, A., Amorrortu Gómez, E., Goirigolzarri Garaizar, J., & Urla, J. (2016). *Euskal hiztun berriak: esperientziak, jarrerak eta identitateak* (1st ed.). Deusto University, Publications Service: BizkaiLab.
- Siadeco (2025). *Norantz doa euskara? Hego Euskal Herria 2036 proiektzio demolingüistikoa*. UEMA.
- UEMA, Udalerrri Euskaldunen Mankomunitatea (2025). *Erabilera hurbilaren kalkulua udalerrriak*. Unpublished.
- UZEI (2010). *Soziolingüistika hiztegia euskal soziolingüistikaren eremuan erabiltzeko*. HPS, IVAP, Basque Government Central Publications Service.
- Vila i Moreno, F. Xavier, & Sorolla Vidal, N. (2009). Els Usos lingüístics interpersonals no familiars a Catalunya. Estat de la qüestió a començament del segle XXI. *Treballs De Sociolingüística Catalana*, 77–158. <https://ehu.on.worldcat.org/oclc/681535302>
- Zalbide Elustondo, M. (2016). Mintzajardunaren egoera eta azken urteoteko bilakaera: aurrera begirako erronkak. *Bat: Soziolingüistika Aldizkaria*, (100), 11–190. http://www.soziolingüistika.eus/files/mikel_zalbide_bat100.pdf
- ZalbideElustondo, M. (2019). Arnasguneak. Etorkizuneko erronkak. *Bat: Soziolingüistika Aldizkaria*, 110, 11–78. https://soziolingüistika.eus/files/01_mikel_zalbide_110.pdf