Language in Society **32**, 383–413. Printed in the United States of America
DOI: 10.1017/S0047404503323048

Language ideologies and practices in (en)gendering the Basque nation

BEGOÑA ECHEVERRIA

Graduate School of Education
University of California, Riverside
Riverside, CA 92521-0128
b.echeverria@ucr.edu

ABSTRACT

This article argues that an androcentric Basque nationalist pedagogy is enacted in secondary schools in San Sebastian (Donostia), Spain. Textbooks present men as the exemplary Basque speakers and cultural agents by erasing women's contributions to Basque language and culture. Schools also contribute to a recursive language ideology, linking "authentic" ethnic identity, "naturalness," and solidarity with vernacular Basque, of which the most pragmatically salient marker is the familiar form of address *hi*. *Hi*, in turn, indirectly indexes male speakers and masculinity, thereby creating an iconic relationship between authentic Basque identity, Basque culture, and masculinity. However, many women in Basque society have challenged this male privilege in various domains, thereby opening up the possibility of a Basque nation that embraces its female as well as its male members. As such, the Basque case has interesting implications for theorizing the relationships among language, gender, and nation. (Basque Country, language ideology. gender, nationalism, linguistic minorities)

INTRODUCTION

This article examines the role Basque language schooling plays in the construction of Basque ethnic identity among high school students in San Sebastian (Donostia) in the Autonomous Basque Community (*Comunidad Autonoma Vasca*, or CAV) of Spain. While there are various definitions of "Basqueness," schools in the CAV promote a model I am calling Ethnolinguistic Pedagogy, which is based on the premise that a Basque person is "one who has the Basque language" (*Euskara*). But in doing so, Ethnolinguistic Pedagogy projects an androcentric vision of Basque ethnic identity. I will illustrate the processes by which this vision is perpetuated, following a framework developed by Gal & Irvine 1995.

First, women's contributions to Basque language and culture are ERASED, so that men appear as the quintessential Basque speakers and cultural agents. Second, language ideologies inhabiting schools RECURSIVELY construct a link among Basque ethnic identity, masculinity, and particular linguistic forms. That is, an opposition between prestige and solidarity, initially represented by the Spanish

© 2003 Cambridge University Press 0047-4045/03 $12.00

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404503323048 Published online by Cambridge University Press

and Basque languages respectively, recurs in discussions about standard and vernacular Basque, as well as about two 2nd person singular pronouns, *zu* and *hi*. Because *hi* indexes certain social meanings (e.g. ethnic authenticity and spontaneity) and certain social activities (e.g. the traditional Basque sport of rock-lifting) that are associated primarily with men, an ICONIC relationship is constructed between authentic Basque identity and masculinity. However, I will also show that women in Basque society have challenged this male privilege in various domains, thereby opening up the possibility of a Basque nation that embraces its female as well as its male members. I will close by discussing the implications of the Basque case for theorizing the relationships among language, gender, and nation.

METHODOLOGY

To examine the relationship between Basque schooling and Basque ethnic identity, I conducted research in seven secondary schools between January and December 1997. Three were Spanish-medium, and four were Basque-medium.[1] This article focuses on Basque-medium schools because these students have the linguistic capabilities to enact a Basque-speaking vision of the Basque nation if they choose.

Given the importance of speaking Basque to Ethnolinguistic Pedagogy, my research focused on students' language ideologies and linguistic practices. A four-fold methodology was used to collect the data analyzed here. First, I collected curricular materials and newspaper articles relating to Basque identity and Basque language instruction. Second, I observed each classroom once a week for a period of three to nine months; I focused on the language used by teachers and students and paid special attention to how teachers conveyed the importance of speaking *Euskara* to being Basque. Third, I administered a short questionnaire to gather information on students' backgrounds and language practices. Finally, I interviewed three girls and three boys in each classroom, of different ethnic and language backgrounds, about their ethnic identities, language practices, and ideologies. I also interviewed most of their parents and teachers.

WHO IS BASQUE?

At its inception about a century ago, Basque nationalism advocated a definition of Basque identity based on descent rather than on language (Payne 1975, Conversi 1990, Diez Medrano 1995, Shafir 1995). Language became the focal point of Basque nationalism when "increased immigration from southern Spain … made it imperative that there be a change from ascriptive criteria of membership to non-ascriptive ones" (Conversi 1990:50). However, Shafir 1995 argues that a "civic" definition of Basque identity holds wide currency; 61% of respondents to a 1985 survey (cf. Linz 1986) considered all those who lived and worked in the Basque Country to be Basque.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404503323048 Published online by Cambridge University Press

My research indicates, however, that schools continue to define Basque identity primarily in linguistic terms; I will refer to this discourse as "Ethnolinguistic Pedagogy." Textbooks[2] emphasize the importance of *Euskara* to Basque identity by describing it as "our language" and Spanish as just one of many other languages. Figure 1 shows a flower inside a cage, whose branches take root elsewhere. Verses from Basque writers – from various provinces – accompany its blooms. Xabier Amuriza, a male writer from Bizkaia, writes: "What would the Basque Country be, if it loses its language, too?!" Itxaro Borda, a female writer from Zuberoa, writes: "We are Basques. We aren't indebted to anyone. Basque is our language. All of us Basques need to know and transmit Basque."

The link between the Basque language and Basque Country is also made explicit in textbooks used in Spanish-medium classrooms. One image shows a young man pondering the connection between the Basque language and Basque Country. If *Euskara* plus *herria* ('land' and 'people') equals *Euskal Herria*, then what's left if *Euskara* is taken away from the land? That this revelation is new to him is indicated by his utterance *To*!, which roughly translates as 'Oh!' Beside the man is a poem that asks, "What kind of Basque Country would it be if it were to lose its language? Don't you know that an *Euskalduna* [Basque person] is one who speaks *Euskara*?"

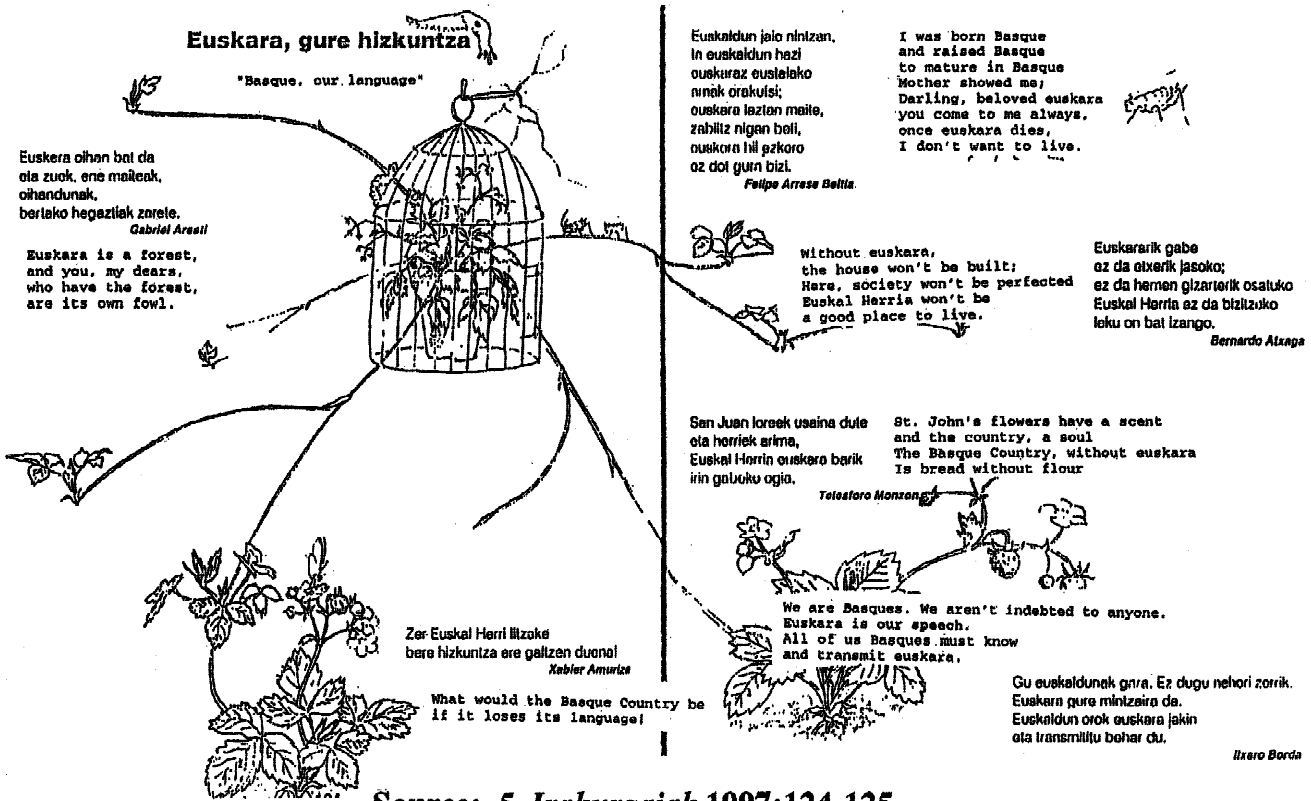
ERASURE OF WOMEN'S CULTURAL WORK

This section will show that Ethnolinguistic Pedagogy highlights the efforts men have made to appropriate Basque language and culture by erasing the contributions women have made to Basque cultural life. ERASURE involves "the process by which ideology, in simplifying the field of linguistic practices, renders some persons or activities or sociolinguistic phenomena invisible" (Gal & Irvine 1995:975). In the Basque case, women organized the first *Euskara* classes in the 1930s and taught the first clandestine classes during Franco's regime (del Valle 85/87:14). In the 1996–1997 school year, 78% of all elementary and secondary school teachers were women (EUSTAT 1999).

But women are given little public credit for their efforts: "The activities and institutions related to *Euskara* that have had the most social prestige have been those led by men; none of them is associated with the home, with children, or with primary education" (del Valle 1994:21). One such institution is the 23-member Basque Language Academy, the Euskaltzaindia. Since the 1960s, the Euskaltzaindia has been developing a unified written standard for use in public institutions, especially schools. However, even though women comprise a majority of those who hold the Basque proficiency certificate (EGA), only one woman has ever been appointed to the Euskaltzaindia. Miren Azkarate currently occupies the place vacated at the death of Jose Miguel Barandiaran, a renowned ethnologist and linguist. That a woman replaced such a legendary figure was quite controversial (del Valle 2000:41).

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404503323048 Published online by Cambridge University Press

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404503323048 Published online by Cambridge University Press



Source: *5 Irakurgaiak* 1997:124-125.

FIGURE 1: Basque as "our language".

Women have also had more difficulty than men in being accepted into another prestigious domain, the literary canon. White has written that "a visit to a bookstore in the Basque Country is an exercise in female invisibility" (1999:41). Although 18% of Basque writers are women, only six are regularly included in histories of Basque literature (White 1999). Few women were accepted into the canon unless they had written more than one work in a literary genre, while many male authors were included for writing just one work in Basque, regardless of genre.

Reflecting this, textbooks portray men as the primary linguistic resources. The text in Figure 2 reads: "Basque is our language, but we don't always speak Basque. We also know how to speak other languages. Let's think about this a little bit." Thus, students are asked to reflect on their own language behaviors – perhaps in the hope that they will make more of an effort to speak Basque – and the icon for this lesson is a Basque grandfather figure with the traditional Basque beret.

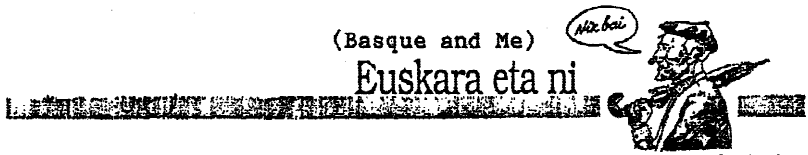
Similarly, textbooks present men as the primary participants in Basque cultural life, such as *bertsolaritza* (ritual verbal dueling), shown in Figure 3. *Bertsolariak* perform at major public events, and a competition held every year is broadcast on Basque television and radio. Some women do participate in *bertsolaritza*; indeed, in 1997, a woman made it to the finals for the first time. Even so, *bertsolaritza* remains a male domain, and this is reflected in textbook imagery.

Another source of prestige in Basque society has to do with *indarra*, which "combines tremendous stamina, determination and energy with great strength . . . sometimes it is a quality of a relationship; at other times a force that acts upon the natural world" (Ott 1990:194). Preserving *indarra* is crucial to the spiritual unity of the family, and it becomes accessible to the heir of the house. Although *indarra* is admired in both men and women, it is related mostly closely to men of action (*ekintza*) who engage in tests of physical strength (del Valle et al. 1985:178, Ott 1990). Textbooks frequently represent men displaying their *indarra* in the public sphere in activities such as rock-lifting, shown in Figure 4.

In contrast, textbook images of women focus not on how much they accomplish in the public sphere but on how well they tend to the needs of others in the private sphere. Women in textbooks are most likely to appear in traditional roles, such as a farmer, or as mythological figures, such as witches. Even though these images are not necessarily negative, they imply that a woman's proper place is within the confines of the domestic sphere or the mythic imagination. That women do not play a role equal to men in Basque life is also indicated in a textbook used in a Spanish-medium classroom, entitled *Where is Xabier from? Where are you from?* Not only does the heading privilege men: so do the images. A map is shown of the seven provinces that make up the historical Basque Country, with one person standing in for each province, and only one is a woman.

Even so, I did encounter a few images that ran counter to these patterns; for example, Figure 5 shows a woman veterinarian. Images such as these suggest that the modern, urban woman can also be an acceptable part of the range of Basque

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404503323048 Published online by Cambridge University Press



"Basque is our language, but we don't always speak Basque. We also know how to speak in other languages. Let's think about this a little bit."

Source: 3 *Euskara hizkuntza* 1997:133.

FIGURE 2: Men as Basque language socializers.

womanhood. Figure 6 suggests that, under certain circumstances, even a woman cross-dressing as a man can. The only clear example of what Butler 1990 calls "gender trouble," Katalina de Erauso is one of four examples (the rest were men) featured under the title "These people, too, were Basque." Erauso escaped from a convent and fought as a soldier throughout Spain and Latin America, dressed in

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404503323048 Published online by Cambridge University Press



FIGURE 3: Men as cultural protagonists.

men's clothing. She was renowned for her fighting, and it was only when she became injured that she revealed that she was a woman.

Contestation and consequences

Figures 5 and 6 notwithstanding, textbooks in general privilege male contributions to Basque language and culture.[3] These notions have not gone uncontested, however; women have used the public sphere as a site for challenging androcentric gender ideologies. Just as cultural activities like *bertsolaritza* and rock-lifting are considered male terrain, so is Basque dance. Although many dances feature female characters, they have traditionally been danced by men. One such dance, from Zuberoa, is the *Maskarada*. A ritual in which the *Gorriak* (Reds) fight the *Beltzak* (Blacks), the *Maskarada* is tied to notions of life, death, and fertility. Many villagers consider the *Maskarada* a "masculine event, [which] should only

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404503323048 Published online by Cambridge University Press

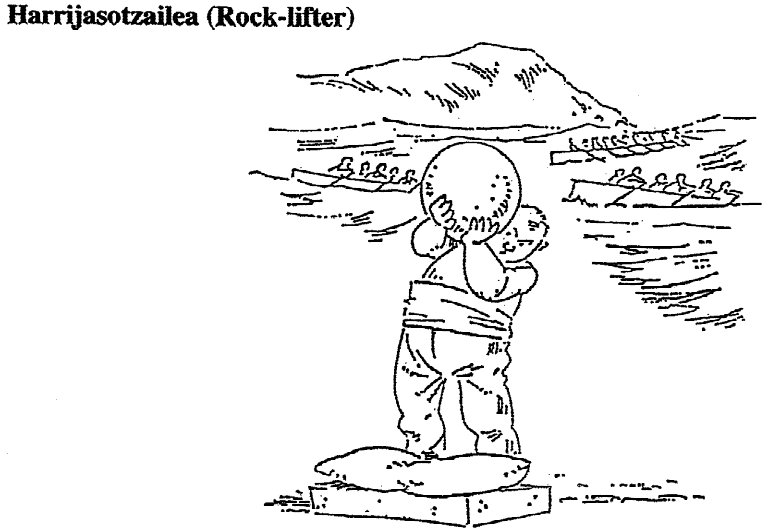


FIGURE 4: Male participants in Basque culture.

be acted out by men" (Fernandez 1997:5). Villagers said it would be especially ugly (*itusia*) for women to play the *Beltzak*, who spend much of their time swearing and drinking. Even so, an all-female group performed the *Maskarada* in 1991, indicating that even the traditional women idealized in Basque nationalist discourse are creating more visible roles for themselves in Basque cultural life.

While some women have found ways to contest traditional gender roles within existing cultural frameworks, others have created new social spaces in which to make their mark. Sometimes the mark is quite literal; women have, for example, used graffiti to deface sexist imagery and advertising. On the International Day of the Woman (March 8), women have marched under banners such as *Zutik Emakumeok*! 'Stand up, women!', which contrasts sharply with images of women staying quietly within the domestic sphere (del Valle 1997:215). Further, since 1990, many women have participated in an all-female footrace, the *lilaton* (237). These activities not only encourage women to participate in spheres traditionally closed to them, they also challenge traditional gender roles in more fundamental ways. They encourage women to define themselves in relationship to other women rather than to men, and they provide women new opportunities to mobilize around political issues (238).

However, not all sectors of Basque society are ready to accept women playing such innovative roles in public life: "Women who compete with men on their own terms . . . [are often denigrated as] '*mari-gizonak*' ['masculine women']" (Ugalde

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404503323048 Published online by Cambridge University Press



Source: *6 Ingurunea* 1997:54

FIGURE 5: Women in non-traditional roles.

1994:290). The consequences that can befall such women are illustrated in how fervently the gender borders were policed during the *Alarde* parades in two towns, Hondarrabia (Fuenterrabia) and Irun. In these commemorations of victorious battles against the French, men dress up as soldiers and women dress up as *cantineras* (serving girls). Originally, *cantineras* represented women who served food and tended to the injured soldiers, but the pageant has devolved into a beauty contest: "'To be pretty' emerges as the decisive requirement for being a *cantinera*" (Bullen 1999:149).

Since 1996, women have attempted to march alongside the men as soldiers. They were insulted and even physically attacked in Irun, and were prevented from proceeding – by traditionalist women – in Hondarrabia. These events show that large segments of the population reject the idea that women should play prominent roles in the public sphere. Indeed, women are often the most vociferous defenders of the Basque tradition that can explicitly exclude them. Given the limits put on them, "sometimes women attempt to enact nationalism through traditional roles assigned them by nationalists – supporting husbands, raising (the nation's) children and serving as symbols of national honor" (Nagel 1998:252).

Gender differentiation elsewhere in Spain

Of course, some form of gender differentiation occurs in most societies, and other parts of Spain are no exception. In 19th-century Spain, gender ideologies were encapsulated in the term "Angel of the House," according to which "motherhood figured as the maximum horizon for women's self-fulfillment and social role . . . [which excluded] any other social or professional undertaking" (Nash 1999:27). This was replaced at the beginning of the 20th century with the notion of the "New Woman," which allowed women entrée into occupations such as teaching

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404503323048 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Katalina Erauso

Donostian jaio zen 1592.urtean. Bere gurasoek monja sarrarazi zuten, baina 1607an komentutik ihes egin zuen eta Espainian zehar ibili zen gizonezkoz jantzita. Barku batean sartuta Mundu Berrira (Ameriketara) joan zen. Han soldadu egin zen eta oso borrokalari ausarta izan omen zen. Borroka batean zauritu zutenean jakin zen emakumezkoa zela. Monja alfereza ere deitu izan zaio.



. . . was born in Donostia in 1592. Her parents put her in a convent, but in 1607, she escaped from the convent and traveled throughout Spain dressed as a man. She got in a boat and sailed to the New World (America). There, she became a soldier and reputedly was a very courageous one. It was when she became injured that they learned she was a woman. They call her "The Lieutenant nun."

Source: *5 Irakurgaiak* 1997:146.

FIGURE 6: Respect for women . . . in men's clothing.

and social work – so long as such work did not interfere with their duties as wife and mother. This discourse, in turn, was supplanted by "True Catholic Womanhood," which reigned during Franco's regime. Because the family was seen as a microcosm of society, measures were taken to strengthen it. Women were once again exhorted to focus their lives on family, not individual achievement. Schools contributed to these efforts by holding up historical religious figures as exemplars for female students, and by incorporating Catholic encyclicals into the curriculum. One such encyclical argued that because God endowed men and women with different abilities, they need not be educated in the same way. In fact, "any rebellion from [a traditional] role condemned [a woman] to life as a sinner" (Morcillo Gómez 1999:58).

Gender differentiation can be found in the peripheries of Spain as well. Gilmore 1990 contends that men in Andalusia are expected to remain outside the home – at work or in bars – while women are expected to remain housebound. He argues, however, that women's relegation to the private sphere cannot be equated with powerlessness. His examination of power relations within the household shows that these women have more power than the men when it comes to control of household finances and decision-making. Kelley 1999 tells a similar story about gender relations in Galicia. Here, too, women are associated with the household and men with work outside it, but this public/private dichotomy "prevent[s] us from seeing the ways in which constructing a public reputation may be very much

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404503323048 Published online by Cambridge University Press

a concern for female actors" (Kelley 1999:199). Indeed, Kelley found that it is work, which encompasses agricultural as well as domestic labor, that is most central to these women's construction of identity.

It is possible that rural Basque women, too, wield considerable power in the domestic sphere and acquire prestige there, so that the textbook portrayals of them in traditional roles are not to be interpreted negatively. Since students' interpretations of textbook images were not the focus of this research, I cannot speak to this issue directly. The next section, however, will show that ideologies of gender differentiation are also inscribed in ideas of Basque identity and language, and that these messages are interpreted by many students in ways that reinforce androcentricism.

RECURSIVENESS: AUTHENTICITY AS MALE DOMAIN

Drawing on interviews with Basque-schooled students and parents, this section will examine how language ideologies recursively construct a link among Basque ethnic authenticity, masculinity, and particular linguistic forms. RECURSIVENESS is the "projection of an opposition, salient at some level of relationship, onto some other level" (Gal & Irvine 1995:974). An opposition between prestige and solidarity, initially represented by the Spanish and Basque languages, recurs in discussions about standard and vernacular Basque, as well as about two 2nd person singular pronouns, *zu* and *hi*. To contextualize my discussion of these three levels of recursiveness, represented in Figure 7, I briefly review the vast literature on the relationships among language, prestige, and solidarity.

Language, prestige and solidarity

Prestige often accrues to languages used in public institutions, such as the government, media, and education. Indeed, Bourdieu 1990 has argued that a language imposed by the state through such institutions is almost certain to become hegemonic. Not only does that language become indispensable to social mobility, it is "misrecognized" by non-elites as inherently superior to the language varieties they speak (Bourdieu 1991). However, Woolard's (1989) research in Catalonia has challenged this claim. If Bourdieu's assertion were true, then Spanish should have established its dominance in Catalonia, because Spanish was the hegemonic language of public institutions throughout the Franco era. Woolard found, however, that Catalan was ascribed higher status than Spanish by speakers of both languages. She argues, then, that it is face-to-face encounters rather than institutional arrangements that are most important in imbuing languages with prestige. Other scholars have also shown that aspirations toward prestige can be mitigated by speakers' concerns about solidarity and authenticity, which are often associated with vernaculars (Gal 1979, Milroy 1987, Jaffe 1993, Pujolar 1997).

The Basque case is an interesting site in which to study the relationships among language, prestige, and solidarity. Although Spanish continues to be the institutionally hegemonic language and the dominant language of everyday interaction,

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404503323048 Published online by Cambridge University Press

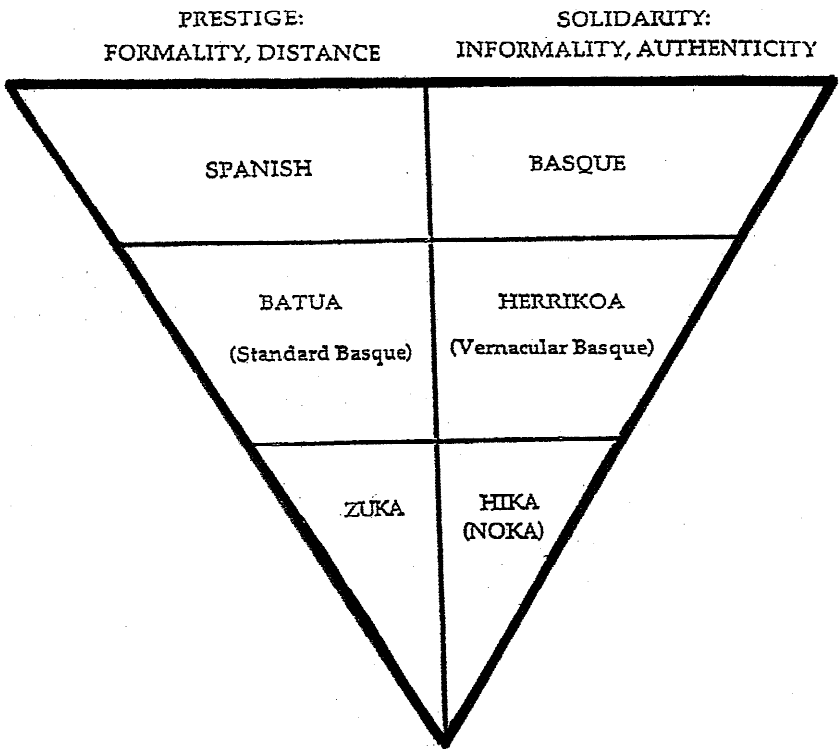


FIGURE 7: Recursive language ideology.

the Basque government has attempted to combat this by standardizing *Euskara* and making it instrumentally advantageous; many teaching and civil service positions require Basque proficiency. Thus, in institutional terms, the Basque language is in the best position it has ever been.

In interviews, parents and students agreed that Basque fares better today than a generation ago, in both affective and instrumental terms. The general populace seems not only to accept that Basque is "our language" but also to acknowledge it as a language suitable for people from all walks of life, even in the public domain. Spanish, however, continues to dominate in both institutional and informal contexts. While Basque is the sole language used for one newspaper, one television channel, and several radio stations, most broadcast media are in Spanish. Basque is rarely required for private industry, and most business in San Sebastian is conducted in Spanish.

Thus, parents and students described Spanish as the more important language for students' future prospects; although most students hoped to pursue post-

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404503323048 Published online by Cambridge University Press

secondary education in the CAV, they recognized that some subjects are unavailable in Basque at the university level. Some students hoped to study or work outside the CAV, where Basque would be of little use. Further, my observations showed that Spanish was the language used most often among Basque-schooled students outside the classroom or whenever the teacher was not looking.

It does not seem, then, that Basque language policies have put Basque on a par with Spanish with regard to prestige. These findings support Woolard's contention that "authority is established and inculcated most thoroughly not in schools and other formal institutions, but in personal relations [and] face to face encounters" (1989:21). Although Basque language planners have attempted to use public institutions to increase the prestige and use of Basque, this has not yet happened, in part because Basque speakers do not come from economically powerful or prestigious positions.

Spanish and Basque: Gendered patterns of use?

Interestingly, reports of language use did reveal a gendered pattern: Parents and students agreed that, in general, men spoke more Basque than women. This was true even in households where both parents spoke Basque; the mother was often characterized as speaking Spanish on occasion, but the father was not. Several parents explained this difference in explicitly sociological terms. They reported that Basque used to be denigrated as a peasant language and associated with illiteracy, so that girls would speak Spanish in an attempt to sound more elegant. One father said that girls were most likely to speak Spanish when talking to boys, perhaps in an attempt to marry "up" into a Spanish-speaking family. Another couple explained that girls from their village usually worked as maids in the city, where they developed inferiority complexes about speaking Basque. Boys either stayed on the family farm or worked in factories with other Basque-speaking males, so that they never developed a need for Spanish or anxiety about not being able to speak it. This phenomenon is not uncommon; scholars such as Gal 1979 and MacDonald 1989 have noted the tendency of women (but not men) to reject a denigrated peasant language in favor of an ostensibly more sophisticated urban language.

It is not clear that this gender difference has continued in the younger generation. My interview data did not indicate a clear gender difference. Some informants said that boys were more likely than girls to speak Basque, while others contended the opposite. My observations were also inconclusive. In one Spanish-dominant classroom, only two students habitually used Basque, and both were girls. In another, similarly Spanish-dominant classroom, however, there was one Basque-dominant clique, and it was composed of four boys. In a third class, the amount of Basque spoken by girls and boys was about the same. In the fourth, most students spoke Basque most of the time, though girls tended to speak it a little more often than boys.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404503323048 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Thus, while Basque language policies have not put Basque on a par with Spanish with regard to prestige, the evidence suggests that Basque is held in greater esteem than it used to be. As the prestige of *Euskara* has increased, so has its use by girls, as compared to a generation ago. This fits in with observations in much sociolinguistic literature: When opportunity is available, females are more likely than males to speak high-prestige language varieties (Labov 1972, Trudgill 1995).

Recursiveness in language ideology: Batua *versus* Herrikoa

Even though Basque language schooling has not yet accomplished its explicit goal to revitalize use of *Euskara*, it could still transform *Euskara* into a symbol of Basque identity, even if it is not spoken everywhere. This would be similar to the Irish case, where schooling in Irish has not increased use of Irish but has helped transform the language into a symbol of Irish identity (Fasold 1988:184). If, however, we look at the ideologies about different varieties of Basque, we see that the opposition between prestige and solidarity – initially represented by the Spanish and Basque languages – recurs in discussions about standard (*Batua*) and vernacular Basque (*Herrikoa* from the 'land' or 'people'). Both parents and students lauded *Batua* for its utility, as essential for mutual intelligibility between speakers of different Basque dialects, but both also criticized *Batua* for its artificiality, especially the emphasis teachers put on memorizing its long verb forms. Indeed, several native Basque-speaking parents had abandoned their efforts to learn *Batua* precisely because the verb forms were so difficult to master. Some native Basque-speaking parents claimed that they did not consider *Batua* "for speaking." One student said that he considered the verbs they had to memorize in school "downright ugly."

In contrast, students and parents described *Herrikoa* as the kind of Basque that was spoken spontaneously with friends, the variety native speakers use in their more relaxed moments. It is described as *betiko Euskara* 'the Basque of always', the kind of Basque that "people speak without having to think about it." Further, *Herrikoa* was characterized as the variety of Basque spoken by native Basque speakers, or *Euskaldunzaharrak* 'Old Basques'; *Euskaldunberriak* 'New Basques' rarely learn anything other than the standard.

Recursiveness in practice

We have seen that the split between prestige and solidarity that appeared in discussions about Spanish and Basque reappears in discussions about standard and vernacular Basque. As when they compare Spanish with Basque, informants described *Batua* as formal and cultured. *Herrikoa*, like Basque when compared with Spanish, was described as the language variety one uses with friends and family. This recursiveness continued in discussions about two forms of address that are instantiated in pronouns: *zu* and *hi*. This is where we see most clearly how Basque ethnicity is, in fact, a gendered category. A discussion of the two pronouns follows.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404503323048 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Zu *and* hi*: Gendered ideologies*

In the CAV, two 2nd person singular pronouns are used: *zu* and *hi*.[4] *Zu* is considered the pronoun of respect, while *hi* connotes intimacy (cf. Urla 1997:290). However, this dichotomy does not map neatly onto the categories set up by Brown & Gilman 1960. They argue that there has been a shift away from formal (or V) forms of address toward mutual T (or familiar forms). Put another way, mutual T is the usual form of address in many languages, such as Spanish and French. This is not the case in Basque. Although *hi* is still used by some native Basque speakers, especially those living in some rural areas, *zu* is the pragmatically unmarked form of address. Like other V forms, *zu* is used with people one knows who are of a higher social rank, such as parents or the elderly, but *zu* is also used with nonintimates, even those of lower social rank than oneself, to show respect. As such, teachers "should" use *zu* with students, as "should" masters with servants (Alberdi 1986:176). *Zu* is also used when addressing entities pertaining to the supernatural world, such as God or human spirits. This has not always been the case, however. I recently came across a 1700 Basque translation of the Old Testament in which God himself is addressed with *hi* by Eve as well as by Adam (Urte 1894).

Indeed, generalizations about *hi* are difficult to make. Like other T forms, *hi* indicates intimacy in that it is sometimes used between close friends, especially when making jokes. It is also used when addressing persons of similar social rank (siblings and friends one's own age) and persons of lower social rank (children, younger siblings). *Hi* can be used to insult an interlocutor, or to gossip about someone who is not present. That *hi* can connote great disdain is also evidenced by the fact that it is used when addressing evil spirits, the damned, and the Devil (Alberdi 1986:175). Alberdi (1986:280) cites an 1820 text stating that *hi* was inappropriate for religious language, for the "language of the Pulpit" required a level of "delicacy" and "cultured style" that *hi* lacked.

However, *hi* cannot be equated with other T forms, for several reasons. First, *hi* is also used in situations not necessarily paralleled by other T forms, such as addressing inanimate objects, talking to one's own body, or talking to oneself.[5] According to Alberdi 1986, *hi* is also used when addressing animals; however, one of my informants told me that while *hi* is used for "unimportant" animals, such as pets, *zu* is used when addressing "important" animals. Bees, for example, are addressed with *zu* because they produce the wax that makes the candles used in important rituals, such as funerals.

Second, unlike the case in several surrounding languages, in Basque asymmetrical T/V usage is quite common. Within families where *hi* is used, asymmetrical *zu*/*hi* use is the norm; when parents use *hi* with their children, they are answered in *zu*. Interestingly, spouses usually use *zu* reciprocally with each other, even if they used *hi* before becoming romantically involved; de Rijk argues that "the vastly different role patterns assumed in marriage are felt to preclude soli-

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404503323048 Published online by Cambridge University Press

TABLE 1. *Zu* and *hi*.

zu	***hi***
zu z-a-ra you 2sg-Pres-AUX (f/m) 'you are'	*hi h-a-iz* you 2Sg-Pres-AUX(f/m) 'you are'
lan egin du-zu work do AUX-2SgErg (f/m) 'you have done work'	*lan egin du-**n*** work do AUX-2sg***FemErg*** 'you have done work'
	*lan egin du-**k*** work do AUX-2sg***MascErg*** 'you have done work'
gertatu ø-zai-zu happen 3Abs-AUX-2SgDat (f/m) 'it happened to you'	*gertatu ø-zai-**n*** happen 3Abs-AUX-2sg***FemDat*** 'it happened to you'
	*gertatu ø-zai-**k*** happen 3Abs-AUX-2sg***MascDat*** 'it happened to you'

darity between husband and wife" (1991:377). While pronominal asymmetry is quite common within families, reciprocal pronominal usage is more common in other domains (Alberdi 1995:376). This is true even of employers and employees (de Rijk 1991:377).

However, *hi* usage is much more variable than such pronouncements would suggest. For example, I know a few couples who continued to use *hi* with each other even after marriage. The story of one such couple illustrates the rarity of such usage, though. They were riding the bus in their hometown one day, speaking in *hi*, when a member of the Basque language academy boarded the same bus. When he overheard the couple, he approached them: "Aren't you two married? How is it that you speak to each other in *hi*?"

Finally, *hi* is unlike other T forms in that it is the only place in the language where gender is marked. Indeed, as Table 1 shows, *hi* marks gender in such a complicated way that is supposedly very difficult to master for anyone who has not "heard it from the cradle" (Alberdi 1986:171). Although there is no grammatical gender in *Euskara*, "the use of the 2nd person singular form, '*hi*' [sometimes] requires a gender marker on its accompanying verb forms" (Aulestia 1989:a49).

As indicated in Table 1, when the addressee is the subject of an intransitive verb (absolutive case), the verb does not carry a gender marker. However, when the addressee is the subject of a transitive verb (ergative case), or is the indirect object (dative case), then the auxiliary verbs mark the addressee's gender (*-n* for female, *-k* for male).[6]

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404503323048 Published online by Cambridge University Press

TABLE 2. *Allocutive forms.*

zu	*laguna-k ikusten n-a-u-ø* friend-Erg sees 1SgAbs-pres-root-3SgErg (f/m) 'a friend sees me'
hi	*laguna-k ikusten n-a-i-**n**-ø* friend-Erg sees 1SgAbs-pres-AUX-***ALLOCfem***-3SgErg 'a friend sees me'
	*laguna-k ikusten n-a-i-**k**-ø* friend-Erg sees 1SgAbs-pres-***AUX-ALLOCmasc***-3SgErg 'a friend sees me'

(Source: Oyharcabal 1993:91)

A more unusual property of *hi* is its allocutivity, which means that the inflected verb agrees with the addressee's gender even when the addressee is not an argument in the sentence (Oyharcabal 1993:90). This is demonstrated in Table 2. In this example, 'you' is not an argument in the sentence. Even so, when using *hi*, the auxiliary verbs mark the addressee's gender (*-n* for females and *-k* for males).[7]

Now that we have reviewed the basics of how *zu* and *hi* function, the next section discusses how the two pronouns are used in everyday life.

Pragmatics of zu *and* hi*: School-generated discourses*

Studying the pragmatics of contemporary *hika* usage (see note 4) in an urban area is particularly difficult because the loss of *hi* use over time is especially common in the cities. However, use of *hi* vs. *zu* remains "pragmatically salient" (Errington 1985:29): Even those who do not use *hi* themselves usually are aware of the social significance of using *hi* over *zu*. This awareness is manifested in explicit statements, and to a lesser degree in use of the two pronouns; these, in turn, are informed by and contribute to lessons taught about pronouns in school.

Zu is the pronoun used almost exclusively in Basque instruction. Basque-schooled students are not taught the entire range of *hi* forms until they are about sixteen; Spanish-schooled students – and adults who learn *Euskara* as a second language – usually are not taught *hi* forms at all. When I asked about this, I was told that little attention was paid to *hi* because it was not needed for everyday communication.

If we examine the lessons about *zu* and *hi*, it appears that the distinctions between them map quite neatly onto the prestige/solidarity dichotomy. Textbooks describe *zu* as the "cultivated" pronoun used by educated people.[8] It is presented as the pronoun of respect, which should be used with individuals older than oneself, such as one's parents. *Hi*, in contrast, is described as the pronoun

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404503323048 Published online by Cambridge University Press

appropriate for use among social equals, between friends, with people whom one trusts. But *hi* is not only associated with affection; it can also be used to express contempt or disrespect (*Elgoibarko Euskara Mintegia* 1988:7–9). The textbook goes on to say that *hika* usage is much more restricted and variable than *zuka*. In some areas, *hi* is widely used; in others, it is used only by the older generation. In some regions, *hi* is used between siblings as well as between friends; in others, it is considered rude to use at all. These explicit lessons suggest that *hika* usage is constrained not only by the communicative function one wishes to perform, but also by such factors as interlocutors' age or social status.

The implicit lessons in these textbooks, however, suggest that *hika* usage is also constrained by gender. I examined several hundred pages from textbooks, in which most exemplars use the male rather than the female forms. *Hi* was used between male characters or to address a male audience; sometimes male *hika* forms were used in discussing a gender-neutral topic, when the female forms would have done just as well. Indeed, it seems that male *hika* forms are becoming the default, gender-neutral form of address.

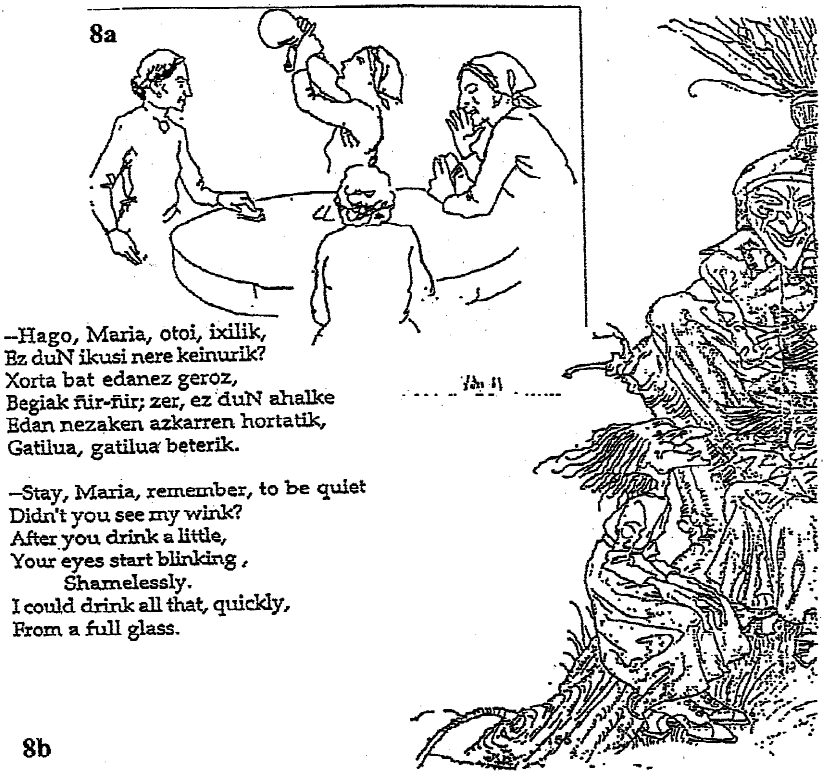
In contrast, I found only two texts that employed the female *hika* forms. The song "Four women's party" (*Lau Andren Besta*), an excerpt from which is shown in Figure 8a, portrays four women playing a card game. One of the women is chastising her partner, Maria, for being too drunk to play correctly, and she uses familiar address forms when doing so (N indicates the feminine forms). Although this might seem to be a portrayal of women's joking fun similar to the images of men we have seen so far, this image is significantly different: It turns out that the women are actually witches who have transformed themselves into women. The other instance of women using informal address forms, shown in Figure 8b, also involves witches. The part in parentheses is nonsensical, but written as if the witches were using familiar address forms with each other. It roughly translates as 'They told me, what do you have there?'

A central question that emerges from these textbook images is to what extent they merely reflect the current sociolinguistic reality, rather than recreating or reconstructing it. One way to address this issue is to examine speakers' ideologies and uses of *zu* versus *hi*, to which I now turn.

Zu *and* hi*: Respondent-generated discourses*

Consonant with the textbook messages discussed above, students and parents described *zu* as the pronoun that connotes respect and formality, as the pronoun appropriate for use with authority figures, strangers and second language learners of Basque. *Hi*, in contrast, was portrayed as the key marker of solidarity, as the pronoun used in close relationships and with best friends. *Hi* was described as something used by people who are "really, really Basque": native speakers, those who live in villages, especially on farms. *Hi* was not used with strangers, authority figures or "New Basques" – and only rarely with and by women and girls.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404503323048 Published online by Cambridge University Press



Source*: 3 Euskara hizkuntza* 1997:49-50;
***5 Irakurgaiak* 1997:155**

FIGURE 8: Women using familiar address forms (*Noka*).

Gendered ideologies, gendered use

My observations of usage in schools and elsewhere in San Sebastian corroborate these views: Among Basque speakers in San Sebastian, *zu* is indeed the pronoun used in almost every context. Although *zu* is also the pronoun most often used in schools, I did observe teachers using *hi* about a dozen times, to chastise students. One teacher, after finishing a grammar lesson, turned to one of the boys and asked, *Aurrera begira ez za**k***? 'Are you looking toward the front?'. Teachers also used *hi* (*Bukatu de**k***? 'Are you finished?') to keep students on task. In only one case was the teacher using *hi* a woman, and in only one case was the student addressed a girl (who was addressed with the female *hika* forms).

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404503323048 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Among students, too, *hi* was used almost exclusively by boys in addressing other boys. I observed a drawing class where students could roam from desk to desk to show their work and help each other. Several boys, but no girls, used *hi* in these interactions. Another school took its sophomore class on a field trip. After completing their assignments, students returned to a common area for lunch. Upon doing so, one boy found his backpack buried in the sand. He accused one boy after another: 'Were you the one that did it?', using *hi* each time. But no girls used *hi* on this trip, even though they also had their playful moments.

Several things are noteworthy in the *hika* usage discussed so far. First, *hika* is used mostly by male speakers to male addressees. Second, *hika* is used either between male age-mates (i.e., by students to each other) or by teachers to students and not vice versa. When used by students at all, it was used well outside the hearing of the teacher, outside the parameters where formal instruction was taking place – before or after class, or outside the school building itself.

However, I was able to observe and record some students as they engaged in group work in the classroom, and some *hika* was used here, too. In example (1), students are summarizing a section of their Basque literature book that discusses the Roman Empire. Jose Angel is trying to get someone to read from the book so they can proceed. (Pseudonyms are used. Girls' names are underlined. ***Hika*** is in *boldface italics*).

(1)

1	Jose Angel:	*Irakurri.*
		'Read.'
2	Eli:	*Baino ez tego dena kopiatu-ko.*
		but no is all-copy-fut
		'But I won't copy it all.'
3	Antton:	*Utzi. Irakurri et.*
		leave it read AUX
		'Leave it. I'll read it.'
4	Antton:	*Erromanizazioa, erromatar kolonizazio aztertuz …*
		Romanization, Roman colonization studying
		'Romanization, studying Roman colonization.'
5	Eli:	*Toka-tzen zai-zu idaztea. Ni-k len-go egun-ean idatzi nuen.*
		turn-imperf 3Abs-AUX-2Erg write-det. 1Sg-Erg before day-loc write-perf AUX.
		'It's your turn to write. I wrote the other day.'
6	Antton:	*Aurrera.*
		'Go on.'
7	Antton:	*Baino ez tut nahi.*
		but no AUX want
		'But I don't want to.'
8	Jose Angel:	*Antton, tontu-a al* ***h-a-iz****?* [slow, deliberate]
		Antton idiot-det perhaps ***2sg-pres-root***
		'Antton, ***are you*** an idiot?'
9	Antton:	*Bai!* [high-pitched voice]
		'Yes!'
[Everybody laughs]		

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404503323048 Published online by Cambridge University Press

In this exchange, Jose Angel tries to get the group on task; it is only when he becomes frustrated at the group's frivolity that he uses *hi* (line 8). Interestingly, when Jose Angel uses *hi*, he slows down his speech so he sounds simpleminded. An example of Goffman's "say-for" (1974:535), Jose Angel is mimicking the voice often associated with the use of *hi*: the country bumpkin. Several other male students said that they sometimes used *hi* when joking around "pretending to be peasants."

Jose Angel's patience gets tried continually as the work progresses. In (2), Eli begins to sing a song to no one in particular (Spanish words are underlined):

(2)

1	Eli:	*Buru-a galtzen hasi naiz inor bezela maite z-a-it-u-da-lako*. head-det lose-imperf begin am no one like love 2sg-pres-pl-root-1SgErg-rel 'I'm losing my head because I love you like nobody else.'
2	Enrike	*Beñat!* [to student in other group] 'Beñat!'
3	Eli:	*Benetan*. 'Seriously.'
4	Jose Angel:	*Bueno*, ***hi,*** *irakurri za-**k**, hau altuan*. well ***you*** read AUX***mascErg*** this high-loc 'Well, ***you, read*** this, out loud.'

Once again, Jose Angel's emphatic statement gets the group back to the task at hand, at least for a few minutes.

These excerpts corroborate two points made above about the meaning of *hi*. In addition to indicating a relationship of solidarity, it can also index stances such as anger or spontaneity and "naturalness" (Woolard 1999). Both parents and students described *hi* as something that "just came out" when they were joking, having fun, or getting angry. It is perhaps not surprising, then, that most uses seen so far have been in the imperative. This is consistent with Brown & Gilman's description of informal pronouns generally: "the oldest uses of T . . . seem everywhere to have been the T of contempt or anger and the V of admiration or respect . . . In saying T, where V is usual, the speaker treats the addressee like a servant or a child and assumes the right to berate him" (1960:274).

Although I observed few actual uses of *hi* – and none by girls – *hi* remains pragmatically salient to many of the students and parents I talked to. Most agreed that men and boys use *hi* more often than girls and women. Carlos's mother reported that she used *zu* with her brothers, but that they used *hi* with each other. She also reported that her husband uses both *hi* and *zu* with their sons (who answer in *zu*), but uses only *zu* with their daughters. She uses only *zu* with both her daughters and sons. Her sons, however, use both forms with each other, but only *zu* to their sisters; her daughters use *zu* with each other.

Manuela's mother always uses *zu* because she doesn't like *hi*. She was born on a farm but moved to San Sebastian as an adolescent. Only the oldest of her brothers, who stayed on the farm, sometimes uses *hi* to their younger brothers. Her daughter summarized her maternal family's sociolinguistic history nicely: She

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404503323048 Published online by Cambridge University Press

explained that some of her aunts are *como mas señoritas* 'more like little ladies' and so speak Spanish, while her uncles use *hi porque baserrian hola ibili ziren* 'because they've been on the farm'. Manuela has internalized these distinctions so much that she code-switched into Spanish when describing her aunts' linguistic practices, thus embodying graphically the recursiveness of the distinctions. Finally, the women who did use *hi* reported doing so in fewer contexts and expressed greater reservations about doing so. One woman, Pilarcho, reported that she usually used *zu*; indeed, it is only with her brothers that she sometimes used *hi*.

In Ochs's (1992) terms, what these ideologies show is that *hi* indexes certain social meanings (spontaneity, directness, naturalness, anger, fun, peasantness), which in turn index masculinity. This is reflected further in (3). Jose Angel is yet again trying to return the group to the task at hand:

(3)

1	Jose Angel:	*Antton, venga, zu bertan.* Antton come you right there 'Antton, come on, you do it.'
2	Antton:	***Hi!** Ni-k lengo eun-in in nun, e!* ***you!*** 1SgErg before day-loc do AUX, e '***You***! I did it the other day!'
3	Jose Angel:	*Ze in zenun?* what do AUX 'What did you do?'
4	Enrike:	*Kaka in zenun!* crap do AUX 'You took a crap!'
5	Eli:	*Onek ez ta idatzi.* that no is write-perf 'That's not writing.'

Here, it is Antton who uses *hi* (line 2: *Hi*!) to protest mockingly that it's not his turn to read. That it is said only in mock anger is clearly indicated by the fact that Enrike follows it up with a scatological joke. But another striking – and gendered – feature of this exchange becomes evident when it is compared with (1) above. Eli also protests that it's not her turn to read, but her protest employs *zuka* forms (shown in boldface uppercase):

(4)

(1) Eli	(3) Antton
*Tokatzen zai**ZU** idaztea.*	***Hi**! Nik lengo eunin*
Nik lengo egunean idatzi nuen.	*in nun, e!*
'It's **YOUR** turn to write.	'***You**!* I did it the other day!'
I wrote the other day.'	

Thus, even though both students say almost exactly the same thing, Antton employs *hika* forms, while Eli does not. Boys, but not girls, can use *hi* with impunity, even when doing so can invoke a negative stereotype, the country bumpkin. This phenomenon is consonant with what is seen in other minority language communities, where playing the peasant or telling an off-color joke constitutes part of a

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404503323048 Published online by Cambridge University Press

masculine persona (cf. MacDonald 1989 and Pujolar 1997, discussed below). When boys want to get their point across in a "manly" fashion, they do so in *hi* rather than *zu* – if they are linguistically competent to do so.

In contrast, because of its use in standard Basque, which is used in formal institutions and domains, *zu* is clothed with an air of sophistication and social mobility. As such, it is the pronoun used by girls for all their communicative functions, or else they resort to Spanish to get their point across, as shown in (5). Here, Rosa and Jon take turns dictating and writing passages from the textbook:

(5)

1 Rosa *Beskoitze 1560–1601, Leizarra-garen bizitzari-a buruz . . .*
Beskoitze 1560–1601 Leizarra-gen lifestyle-det about
'Beskoitze, 1560–1601, about the life in Leizarraga . . .'

2 Jon *Itxoin za-**k**!*
wait AUX**mascErg**
'Wait!'

[break in transcript]

3 Jon *Apaiz Katoliko-a izan zen, Protestante-a . . .*
priest Catholic-det be was Protestant-det
'He had been a Catholic priest, a Protestant . . .'

4 Rosa *Isildu! Jode!*
'Shut up! Damn!'

Thus, when Rosa directs Jon (line 4), she uses *zu* (*isildu*) instead of *hi (isil hadi)*; then she tacks on a variant of a Spanish expletive (*jode*). In contrast, Jon directs Rosa by using *hi* (line 2), but he uses the male *hika* forms (*za**k***) instead of the female form (*za**n***) when addressing her, reflecting the loss of the female forms.

Indeed, several parents related a loss in female *hika* forms. Candida's mother reported being put off during a visit to a new dentist. Not only did the dentist presume to use *hi* forms even though they had never met before, but "he addressed me with [male] *hi*, as if I were a man!" Jose Angel's father learned Basque at twenty and was the only "New Basque" who reported ever using *hi*, and his usage, too, was limited to males. He said that he used *hi* with his "close friends," but he clarified that he only used it with male friends, as he did not really know the female *hika* forms.

ICONICITY: *HIKA* AS MALE DOMAIN

These statements and uses of *hi* indicate that *hi* seems appropriate for boys and men, but not for girls and women. In Gal & Irvine's terms, there is an "iconic" relationship between *hi* and masculinity. ICONICITY "involves a transformation of the sign relationship between linguistic practices, features, or varieties and the social images with which they are linked" (Gal & Irvine 1995:973). This iconic relationship between *hi* and masculinity is especially interesting given that *hi* was originally the only 2nd person pronoun in *Euskara*[9]; thus, *hi* had to have been available to women as well as men for all their communicative functions, includ-

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404503323048 Published online by Cambridge University Press

ing those that seem inappropriate for them today. How is it that *hi* has subsequently become associated with male speakers and masculinity?

I contend that *hi* "sounds" more appropriate for use by and between male speakers because *hi* is associated with certain "social meanings (e.g. stances, social acts, social activities) which in turn help to constitute gender meanings" (Ochs 1992:339). One such domain is traditional Basque life. We have seen that those who live in villages, especially on farms, are considered by many respondents to be "really, really Basque." Since such individuals often use *hi* – or are assumed to do so – *hi* indexes "authentic" Basqueness. We have also seen that textbooks, like Basque society more generally, celebrate traditional cultural forms such as *bertsolaritza* (ritual verbal dueling) and rock-lifting. Further, Basque television and radio cover sports such as *pilota* (handball), and the commentary on these, by men, very often uses male *hika* forms. *Bertsolariak,* too, routinely use *hi* forms in composing their verses. Since these activities are male-dominated, *hi* becomes a marker of ethnic authenticity most closely associated with male Basque speakers.

Another domain in which *hi* is used is "radical Basque" youth culture. Pirate radio and radical rock groups routinely use *hika* in their broadcasts and lyrics as a way to create "an imagined community of 'horizontal comradeship,' " a way of rejecting "the traditional status hierarchies that have dominated Basque society including much of nationalist political culture" (Urla 1995:255). Most of these protagonists, too, are men. Perhaps unwittingly, they imagine primarily a male audience: The *hika* forms they employ are usually the male forms (Urla to appear).

Indeed, *hika* usage is associated with nationalist militancy more generally, and most of the protagonists here, too, are male (del Valle et al. 1985, Alcedo 1996). Mainstream newspapers will not publish interviews with avowed ETA members, but such an interview was published in a leftist publication, *Sabatoia* 'Sabotage'. Although the interview itself was conducted in *zuka,* the ETA members used *hika* in challenging the journalist's credentials and demanding that no photographs be taken (*Sabatoia* 1995). Similarly, Zulaika (1985:309) recounts that, immediately before killing a fellow villager they considered a traitor, ETA members said to him in *hika, Hi txakur bat haiz!* 'You are a dog!'. Finally, Aretxaga (1988:80) points out that *bertsolariak* routinely sing verses at the funerals of militants; these, too, are often in *hika*.

The above discussion helps explain why *hi* sounds more appropriate for male participants in traditional Basque culture and militant groups. We have seen that *hi* also indexes stances of solidarity and naturalness. Respondents repeatedly said that *hi* was used between friends and "just came out" in spontaneous moments such as anger or joking. However, even *hi* usage for these stances was considered more appropriate for male than for female speakers because of its masculine connotations. Several parents described *hika* as *brutoa* and *indartxua* 'brutish' and 'forceful'. One boy said he used *hi* when arguing with his brother as a way to "score points." One parent said that *hi* was not a concern for girls, because *hi* is

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404503323048 Published online by Cambridge University Press

used when expressing anger or swearing – as if these acts and emotions were of no concern to women. Another said that she thought it ugly when women and girls used *hi*.

Why should female *hika* usage be deemed inappropriate in these situations? One explanation might be found in the different employment patterns of rural Basque women and men. Until recently, Basque peasant families have been quite large, and, given the tradition of primogeniture, this has meant that most family members have had to make their living elsewhere. While some siblings would marry into another family's *baserri* (farmhouse), others would seek employment as wage laborers. For men, the most likely employment would be found in a timber company or a factory (cf. Douglass 1976), where their co-workers would mostly likely be Basque speakers. Retention of *hika* forms seems quite likely under such circumstances; after all, it is precisely in working-class environments that vernacular forms are most valued (cf. Labov 1972, Milroy 1987, Pujolar 1997).

The work experiences of rural Basque women have been quite different. They have historically found employment in service industries, working as maids, waitresses, or shop clerks (cf. Douglass 1976). Such jobs require a friendly, helpful demeanor, maybe even a modicum of elegance. Under these circumstances, it seems likely that Basque women would avoid using *hi*, which is the most pragmatically salient marker of the vernacular Basque that had been stigmatized for so long. In jobs where customer service is highly valued, women would understandably want to avoid sounding coarse or vulgar, and instead would use linguistic forms they perceived to sound more polite or sophisticated, such as Spanish or *zu*.

This argument was corroborated in interviews. Several parents said that, when they were young, girls were more likely to speak Spanish than boys precisely because they wanted to sound sophisticated or "be more." One teacher mentioned that boys today were more likely to use *hi* than girls because *hi* is sometimes considered rude, and "we forgive boys their wrongdoings more than we do girls. Girls have to worry more about appearing elegant." By avoiding *hi*, women hope to avoid being perceived as impolite, crass, and uneducated.

Thus, there is a naturalized relationship between *hi* and masculinity. Kuipers calls this process "essentialization." As a "linguistic feature that indexes a social status, group, or category comes to be seen as essentially or naturally linked to it" (1998:20), other linguistic features are pushed to the periphery, where their meanings become more ambiguous or uncertain. As *hi* comes to be seen as essentially linked to male speakers and masculinity, use of *hi* by or to women is pushed to the periphery, where its social meanings become less clear. By default, then, *zu* becomes the pragmatically unmarked form used by women, or for speaking to women. This essentialization has interesting theoretical implications for the Basque case, and for the study of language, nationalism. and gender more generally, to which I now turn.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404503323048 Published online by Cambridge University Press

DISCUSSION

The three constructs discussed here – language, nation, and gender – are all used to create social boundaries and construct personal identities. Nevertheless, few scholars have examined how nation-building processes intersect with ideologies of both gender and language, and how these intersections are enacted in linguistic practices.

Indeed, most scholars interested in the relationships between nation, language, and gender have examined, at most, two of them at a time. Works that investigate how language and nation relate to each other have perhaps the longest history. Although "nothing seems more 'natural' than the current linkage between a particular ethnocultural identity and its associated language" (Fishman 1989: 265), many scholars have pointed out that this linkage is socially constructed rather than natural and automatic (Fishman 1972, Coulmas 1988, Woolard 1998). Even so, this "nationalist ideology of language" (Woolard 1998) continues to enjoy wide currency, as evidenced by the plethora of nationalist movements – including that in the Autonomous Basque Community – that make language their core value.

Many scholars have also examined the relationship between language and gender. As discussed above, Ochs (1992:341) argues that language helps to "constitute" gender identities, in that it indexes certain stances or social activities, which then index gender meanings. When it comes to how this indexicality can be manifested in language practices, two ultimately complementary findings have been the focus of much past research, as well as that discussed here. One is that female speakers tend to use prestigious language varieties more than male speakers do (Labov 1972, Trudgill 1995). Even though recent work (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1992, Gordon 1997) has problematized this interpretation, this tendency is most often taken as a reflection of women's "linguistic insecurity" (Labov 1972) vis-à-vis men; that is, women are said to use prestigious language forms as a way to enhance their social position.

The second finding is that there is an indexical or even iconic relationship (as argued here) between vernaculars and masculinity. For young men in Brittany, for example, joking in Breton constitutes part of a masculine persona – a "kind of 'masculine chic' which their fathers did not know and which young women admire and require" (MacDonald 1989:380). Similarly, young working-class men in Barcelona enact masculine identities, in part, by swearing heavily and affecting an Andalusian accent (Pujolar 1997).

Most recently, research has also investigated the relationships between gender and nationalism. Enloe (1989:44) has argued that "nationalism typically has sprung from masculinized memory, masculinized humiliation and masculinized hope." Male Indian nationalists, for example, constructed traditional notions of "New Womanhood" to heighten their own bourgeois credentials and masculinity, both of which their British colonizers had questioned (Thaper 1993). Indeed, many

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404503323048 Published online by Cambridge University Press

nationalist movements passed "pro-women" legislation – against *sati* in India, footbinding in China, or the *chador* in Iran – precisely to prove that they were "civilized" enough to rule themselves and protect their women (Jayawardena 1994).

Nationalism and masculinity also "articulate well together" (Nagel 1998:249) in that nationalist ideologies often foreground men's roles in the nationalist struggle. The iconography of Basque nationalism is one example of this; the "Great Trek" in South Africa is another. First enacted in 1938, nine wagons were built for this commemoration of the Boers' massacre of the Zulus; eight were given male names, and the ninth was generically baptized "Wife and Mother" (McClintock 1993). This shows that nationalist ideologies are gendered at a symbolic level as well. Not only are women often the very symbols of a nation; their behavior is often the measure of that nation's honor or shame. A nation's honor or shame, that is, often hinges on the extent to which its women fulfill the traditional roles ascribed to them. The Basque case shows that women who take on untraditional roles often suffer harm to their reputation or their person. Jayawardena 1994 found that women throughout Asia faced similar consequences if they questioned the patriarchal structures on which their societies, or nationalist movements, were based (cf. Enloe 1989).

The discussion above demonstrates that nationalist and language ideologies often reflect and reinforce each other. Nationalist movements often use language to legitimate their political claims; language varieties often enhance their social and political cachet if they are considered inextricably linked to a particular group of people. But "nation" and "language," too, are gendered. While nationalist movements are based on supposed differences from other nations, gender differences within nations also play crucial if more subtle roles in the nation-building process. Would-be nations often delineate gender roles along traditional lines in keeping with those of the nations whose ranks they hope to join. Since language ideologies, too, are often gendered, it is somewhat surprising that little research has examined how national, language, AND gender relate to one another at the level of ideology and/or practice (cf. Inoue ms. for one exception).

The Basque case attests to the value of examining all three simultaneously, and to the value of a language ideology approach in doing so. A language ideology approach attends to the heteroglossic social meanings ascribed to language varieties as well as to their manifestation in language practices. It also recognizes that as the social circumstances of a language or its speakers change, so do the meanings – and, perhaps, the use – of that language. In this article, I have argued that schools in the CAV promote a vision of Basque identity that is linked to *Euskara*, and that they focus on a standard variety of Basque in doing so. However, this does not mean that these efforts have straightforward effects on everyday actors' language ideologies or practices. Although official Basque language revitalization efforts have increased the prestige of *Euskara*, it is not yet clear that they have increased the use of Basque in informal contexts. Fur-

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404503323048 Published online by Cambridge University Press

ther, efforts stemming from outside formal domains – the public sphere and popular culture – are generating their own effects, which may or may not be congruent with what official revitalization efforts intend. It is vernacular Basque that is used in these spheres; to the extent that the vernacular indexes traditional cultural domains as well as emerging cultural forms, new "voices" are being added to *Euskara*. These, then, contribute new ways of conceptualizing Basque language and identity.

The same is true of the associations between *Euskara* and gender identity. I have argued that Basque schools privilege an androcentric vision of Basque nationhood, and that there is an iconic relationship between *hi* and masculinity. A language ideology approach, however, recognizes that such linkages are not immutable but socially constructed and continually negotiated. However, Bahktin contended that "not all words submit equally to appropriation … many words stubbornly resist, others remain alien [or] sound foreign" (1981:294). Only time will tell if women will be able to reappropriate the social meaning of *hi* in such a way that it can express a "feminine" as well as a "masculine" voice. On the one hand, *hika* is already overlain with male voices, which are positively valued because they connote masculinity, express *indarra*, and are employed in social activities that are male-dominated. There is no equivalent, positively valued, traditional female cultural or social activity that is tied to female use of *hika*. On the other hand, women have begun to carve out more visible roles in Basque cultural life, even when they have met resistance. As they do so, it is possible that the language associated with those domains, too, might become imbued with "authentic" female voices alongside the male ones Basque nationalism has privileged so far. As such, it is possible that a new Basque identity will emerge with new understandings of what it means to speak and be Basque.

NOTES

[1] In the CAV, bilingual education is available at the elementary school level but not beyond. Students must pursue secondary and education in Basque- or Spanish-medium schools.

[2] The textbooks discussed here are those most commonly used by schools in the CAV.

[3] Of course, the meanings of these images are not monolithic or transparent. That is, their meanings do "not reside in texts, but in the interaction between the symbolic resources of texts and their readers in specific social, historical and institutional settings" (Wills 2001:45). Unfortunately, I cannot speak to the ways students themselves interpreted these texts because I did not observe any lessons while these particular curricular images were in use. It is still true, however, that androcentric imagery is privileged in these materials, and we will see that this androcentricism is present in language ideologies and practices as well.

[4] The terms *zu* and *zuka* (the pronominal and nominal forms, respectively) will be used interchangeably, as will *hi* and *hika*. Readers should be also be aware that there are two other 2nd person singular pronouns in Basque. *Xu* is used only in eastern dialects; *berori*, used to show great deference, was traditionally used in western dialects but has largely disappeared (cf. Alberdi 1995).

[5] As will be shown below, *hika* forms mark addressee's gender. In most cases, the uses of *hika* described here employ the male forms. Interestingly, even women reportedly use the male forms when talking to themselves (Alberdi 1995).

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404503323048 Published online by Cambridge University Press

[6] Technically, the female addressee forms are called *noka*, and the male addressee forms are called *toka*. But in everyday parlance in Donostia, *hi* usually refers to both forms. I will use *hi*/*hika* as generic terms; I will use "male *hika*" and "female *hika*" as gender-specific terms.

[7] My data did not include any allocutive forms, and I include an example merely to demonstrate that it is another special feature of *hika*, which contributes to its difficulty (cf. Alberdi 1992 and Oyharcabal 1993 for details).

[8] This discussion is based on the textbook used in most of the classrooms I observed, *Euskal hizkuntza eta literatura BBB 3*, published by Erein.

[9] Most linguists agree that *hi* was originally the only 2nd person singular pronoun, and that *zu* was originally a 2nd person plural pronoun (cf. Alberdi 1995 and Trask 1997). The transformation of *zu* into a 2nd person singular pronoun is impossible to trace, as even in the "earliest documents *zu* appears exclusively with the value of a 2nd person singular of respect, side by side with familiar *hi*" (Alberdi 1995:280).

REFERENCES

Alberdi, Xabier (1986). Euskarazko tratamenduen ikuspedia: I. Historia apur bat. *Anuario de seminario de filología vasca "Julio de Urquijo."* Donostia: Excana Diputacion Foral de Gipuzkoa.

_____ (1992). *Hika tratamenduari buruzko ihardunaldiak*. Arrasate: San Frantzisko Xabier Ikastola.

_____ (1995). The development of the Basque system of terms of address and the allocutive conjugation. In Jose Lakurra and R.L. Trask (eds.), *Current issues in linguistic theory, 131: Towards a history of the Basque Language*, 275–93. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Alcedo, Miren (1996). *Militar en ETA. Historias de vida y muerte*. Donostia: Aranburu.

Aretxaga, Begoña (1988). *Los funerales en el nacionalismo radical vasco*. San Sebastian: La Primitiva Casa Baroja.

Aulestia, Gorka (1989). *Basque-English dictionary*. Reno & Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press.

Bahktin, Mikhail (1981). Discourse in the novel. In his *The dialogic imagination*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre (1990). *The logic of practice*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

_____ (1991). *Language and symbolic power*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Brown, Roger, & Gilman, Albert (1960). The pronouns of power and solidarity. In Thomas Sebeok (ed.), *Style in language*, 253–276.

Bullen, Margaret (1999). Gender and identity in the Alardes of two Basque towns. In William A. Douglass et al. (eds.), *Basque Studies Program occasional paper series, No. 5*, 149–77. Reno: University of Nevada.

Butler, Judith (1990). *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*. New York & London: Routledge.

Conversi, Daniele (1990). Language or race? The choice of core values in the development of Catalan and Basque nationalisms. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 13:50–70.

Coulmas, Florian (1988). What is a national language good for? In F. Coulmas (ed.), *With forked tongues: What are national languages good for?*, 1–24. Singapore: Karoma.

Del Valle, Teresa (1985/87). Contradicciónes en torno a la actividad linguística de la mujer y su reflejo en Korrika. *Kobie Antropología Cultural* 2:14–21.

_____ (1994). *Korrika: Basque ritual for ethnic identity*. Reno: University of Nevada Press.

_____ (1997). *Andamios para una nueva ciudad. Lecturas desde la antropología*. Madrid: Catedra.

_____ (2000). El género en la construcción de la identidad nacionalista. *Foru Hispánica de los Países Bajos* 16:37–44.

_____ et al. (1985). *Mujer vasca: Imagen y realidad*. Barcelona: Anthropos.

De Rijk, Rudolf P. G. (1991). Familiarity or solidarity: The pronoun hi in Basque. *RIEV* 36:373–78.

Diez Medrano, Juan (1995). *Divided nations: Class, politics and nationalism in the Basque Country and Catalonia*. Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press.

Douglass, William A. (1976). Serving girls and sheepherders: Emigration and continuity in a Spanish Basque village. In Joseph B. Aceves & William A. Douglass (eds.), *The changing faces of rural Spain*, 45–62. New York: John Wiley.

Eckert, Penelope, & Sally McConnell-Ginet (1992). Think practically and look locally: Language and gender as community-based practice. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 21:461–90.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404503323048 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Elgoibarko Euskara Mintegia (1988). *Euskal hizkuntza eta literatura*. Donostia: Elkar.
Enloe, Cynthia (1989). *Making feminist sense of international politics*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
Errington, Joseph (1985). On the nature of the sociolinguistic sign: Describing the Javanese speech levels. In Elizabeth Mertz & Richard J. Parmentier (eds.), *Semiotic mediation*, 287–310. Orlando: Academic Press.
Euskal hizkuntza eta literatura BBB 3 (1989). Donostia: Erein.
EUSTAT (1999). *Teaching statistics*. Gasteiz.
Fasold, Ralph (1988). What national languages are good for. In Florian Coulmas (ed.), *With forked tongues: What are national languages good for*?, 180–84. Singapore: Karoma.
Fernandez de Larrinoa, Kepa (1997). *Mujer, ritual y fiesta: Género, antropología y teatro de carnaval en el valle de Soule*. Pamplona-Iruñea: Pamiela.
Fishman, Joshua (1972). *Language and nationalism: Two integrative essays*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
_____ (1989). *Language and ethnicity in minority sociolinguistic perspective*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
5 Irakurgaiak (1997). Donostia: Elkar.
Gal, Susan (1979). *Language shift: Social determinants of linguistic change in bilingual Austria*. New York: Academic Press.
Gal, Susan, & Irvine, Judith (1995). The boundaries of languages and disciplines: How ideologies construct difference. *Social Research* 62:967–1001.
Gilmore, David (1990). Men and women in southern Spain: "Domestic power" revisited. *American Anthropologist* 92:953–70.
Goffman, Erving (1974). *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Gordon, Elizabeth (1977). Sex, speech and stereotypes: Why women use prestige speech forms more than men. *Language in Society* 26:47–63.
Inoue, Miyako (2002). Gender, language and modernity: Towards an effective history of "Japanese Women's Language." *American Ethnologist* 29:392–422.
Jaffe, Alexandra (1993). Obligation, error, and authenticity: Competing cultural principles in the teaching of Corsican. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 3:99–114.
Jayawardena, Kumari (1994). *Feminism and nationalism in the Third World*. London & New Jersey: Zed Books, Ltd.
Kelley, Heidi (1999). Enlacing women's stories: Composing womanhood in a coastal Galician village. In Victoria Loree Enders & Pamela Beth Radcliff (eds.), *Constructing Spanish womanhood: Female identity in modern Spain*, 195–226. Albany: State University of New York Press.
Kuipers, Joel C. (1998). *Language, identity and marginality in Indonesia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Labov, William (1972). *Sociolinguistic patterns.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
Linz, Juan (1986). *Conflicto en Euskadi*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe.
MacDonald, Maryon (1989). *We are not French: Language, culture and identity in Brittany*. New York: Routledge.
McClintock, Anne (1993). Family feuds: Gender, nationalism and the family. *Feminist Review* 44:60–82.
Milroy, Lesley (1987). *Language and social networks*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
Morcillo Gómez, Aurora (1999). Shaping true Catholic womanhood: Francoist educational discourse on women. In Victoria Loree Enders & Pamela Beth Radcliff (eds.), *Constructing Spanish womanhood: Female identity in modern Spain*, 51–69.
Nagel, Joane (1998). Masculinity and nationalism: Gender and sexuality in the making of nations. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 16:242–69.
Nash, Mary (1999). Un/contested identities: Motherhood, sex reform and modernization of gender identity in early twentieth century Spain. In Victoria Loree Enders & Pamela Beth Radcliff (eds.), *Constructing Spanish womanhood: Female identity in modern Spain*, 25–50.
Ochs, Elinor (1992). Indexing gender. In Alessandro Duranti & Charles Goodwin (eds.), *Rethinking context*, 335–58. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Ott, Sandra (1990). Indarra: Some reflections on a Basque concept. In J. Peristany & J. Pitt Rivers (eds.), *Honour and grace*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404503323048 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Oyharcabal, Bernard (1993). Verb agreement with non arguments: On allocutive agreement. In Jose Ignacio Hualde & Jon Ortiz de Urbina (eds.), *Current issues in linguistic theory, 105: Generative Studies in Basque Linguistics*, 189–220. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
Payne, Stanley G. (1975). *Basque nationalism*. Reno: University of Nevada Press.
Pujolar i cos, Joan (1997). Masculinities in a multilingual setting. In Sally Johnson & Ulrike Hana Meinhof (eds.), *Language and masculinity*, 86–106. Oxford: Blackwell.
Sabatoia: Letra bat baino gehiago (1995). *Herria eginez* 29:20–28.
Shafir, Gershon (1995). *Immigrants and nationalists: Ethnic conflict and accommodation in Catalonia, the Basque Country, Latvia, and Estonia*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
6 Ingurunea (1997). Donostia: Elkar.
Thaper, Suruchi (1993). Women as activists, women as symbols: A study of the Indian nationalist movement. *Feminist Review* 44:81–95.
3 Euskara hizkuntza (1997). Donostia: Elkar.
Trask, R. L. (1997). *The history of Basque*. London and New York: Routledge.
Trudgill, Peter (1995). *Sociolinguistics: An introduction to language and society.* London: Penguin.
Ugalde, Mercedes (1994). Apuntes sobre el género como categoría y de analisis para la historia del nacionalismo. El caso vasco del primer tercio de siglo. In Justo G. Beramendi (ed.), *Nationalism in Europe past and present*, 1:353–80. Santiago de Compostela: Universidad de Santiago de Compostela.
Urla, Jacqueline (1995). Outlaw language: Creating alternative public spheres in Basque radical youth culture. *Pragmatics* 5:245–62.
_____ (1997). Outlaw language: Creating alternative public spheres in Basque free radio. In Lisa Lowe & David Lloyd (eds.), *The politics of culture in the shadow of capital*. Durham: Duke University Press.
_____ (to appear). Basque hip hop? Language, cultural identity and popular music. In her *Being Basque, speaking Basque: Cultural politics and language revival in the post-Franco era*.
Urte, Pierre D. (1894). *The earliest translation of the Old Testament into the Basque language (A fragment)*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
White, Linda (1999). Mission for the millennium: Gendering and engendering Basque literature for the next thousand years. In William A. Douglass et al. (eds.), *Basque Studies Program occasional papers series, No. 5*, 134–148. Reno: University of Nevada.
Wills, John (2001). Missing in interaction: Diversity, narrative, and critical multicultural social studies. *Theory and Research in Social Education* 29:43–64.
Woolard, Kathryn A. (1989). *Double talk: Bilingualism and the politics of ethnicity in Catalonia*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
_____ (1998). Introduction: Language ideology as a field of inquiry. In Bambi Schiefflin et al. (eds.), *Language ideologies: Practice and theory*, 3–50. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
_____ (1999). *Linguistic ideologies of naturalness and authenticity*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Chicago.
Zulaika, Joseba (1985). The tragedy of Carlos. In William A. Douglass (ed.), *Basque politics: A case study in ethnic nationalism*, 309–31. Reno: University of Nevada Press.

(Received 19 July, 2001; accepted 1 January, 2002)

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404503323048 Published online by Cambridge University Press