

Chistabino (Pyrenean Aragonese)

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Chistabino is the variety of Aragonese, a Romance dialect descended from Latin, like Spanish, still spoken in the Valley of Gistau, bordering on France and formed by the River Cinqueta, in the central part of the Spanish Pyrenees (Province of Huesca). Although it is spoken mainly in the village of Gistaín (*c.* 240 inhabitants; *c.* 1400 m above sea-level, near latitude 42°35'), and is fairly well preserved by the older generations there, fluent speakers can still be found also in the nearby locality of San Juan. The other inhabited villages in the valley (Plan, Serveto, Sin and Saravillo) have suffered much greater degrees of erosion by Castilian (Standard Spanish), which has increased its influence through much improved communications, leading to the development of tourism in the area and emigration by the young in search of greater prosperity. The remaining village, Señes, has been uninhabited since 1970.

Since the end of the Franco dictatorship (1975), regional autonomy in Spain has been accompanied by a burgeoning interest in and reappraisal of local speech forms. In the case of Aragon, this has led to a moderate revival of slowly dwindling dialects like *chistabino*, *belsetán*, *cheso* and *ansotano*, spearheaded by a group of enthusiasts in Huesca (*O Consello d'a Fabla*), who are intent on saving Aragonese from the attrition and disintegration it has progressively suffered since at least the sixteenth century and are keen to impose a standard orthography, while accusing the more conservative scholars in Saragossa of neglect of their heritage. However, unless a standard form of Aragonese is accepted by the Civil Service and taught in schools, its widespread resurrection is highly unlikely. Furthermore, as what remains of Aragonese amounts largely to vestiges of highly divergent dialects, speakers of local varieties like *chistabino* have no interest in assuming the additional burden of learning a standard macrodialect when Castilian serves them perfectly well as a lingua franca.

Chistabino possesses a number of particularly interesting linguistic features. The most important of these is a periphrastic preterite, formed, as in Catalan, with the verb *ir* 'to go' + infinitive (cf. Catalan *anar* + infinitive). Moreover, the Chistabino reflexes of Latin ESSE(RE) and STARE do not coincide in use exactly with Modern Castilian *ser* and *estar*, the two verbs meaning 'to be', and *fer* 'to do' < FACERE is used in a large number of periphrases, as in Catalan (cf. Chistabino *fer goy* [fe 'ɣoɨ], Catalan *fer goig*, Castilian *dar gusto* 'to please, make happy').

The lexis of Chistabino is typically Aragonese with its pre-Roman elements and forms related to Gascon, and there are a considerable number of items shared with or borrowed from Catalan mainly because of the unification of the Kingdom of Aragon and the Principality of Catalonia under the 'Corona de Aragón' in 1137 through the marriage of Petronila, daughter of Ramiro II of Aragon, to the Count of Barcelona, Ramon Berenguer IV, which rendered Aragon trilingual, as the administration of the new State was now conducted in Aragonese,

Catalan and Latin. Some of the more idiosyncratic vocabulary of Chistabino can be found in the literary output of the local writers Nieves Lucía Dueso Lascorz and Joaquín Villa Bruned. Note the following lexical sample from my own research (Mott 1989, 2000): *catanazos* [kata'naθos] 'elderly person', *crabutar* [kraβu'tar] 'to die of the cold', *charrampla* [tʃa'rampla] 'talkative person', *chubillo* [tʃuβi'lo] 'ball of wool', *esnabesar* [eznaβe'sar] 'to disappear', *fochar* [fo'tʃar] 'to work hard', *foter* [fo'ter] 'to do, make, put, stick', *ixayos* [i'jaɣos] 'remains of food', *matután* [matu'tan] 'lazy', *niedil* [njeðil] 'pole in the centre of a haystack', *pando* [pando] 'slow', *roña* [roɲa] 'bad temper', *rueña* [rueɲa] 'mange', *tanganazo* [taɲga'naθo] 'blow; swig'.

Although Chistabino is largely opaque to the uninitiated outsider, its phonological system and phonetic peculiarities coincide in many respects with those of Spanish, which all speakers of Chistabino know and speak fluently.

Consonants

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar
Plosive	p b		t d				k g
Affricate					tʃ		
Nasal	m			n		ɲ	
Flap				r			
Trill				r			
Fricative		f	θ	s	ʃ		x
Lateral approximant				l		ʎ	
Median approximant						ɟ	

The table of consonants gives examples of the phonemes of Chistabino in different positions in order to show allophonic variation. As in Spanish, the plosives have approximant allophones ([β, ð, ɣ]), most noticeably between vowels, and the flap /r/ is also frequently weakly articulated ([r̥]). In syllable-final position, where the opposition between the flap and the trill is neutralized, either sound may surface; in word-final position, the segment is often not pronounced at all. For further details on these points, see below.

INITIAL			MEDIAL			FINAL			
p	pin	[pin]	'pine'	escopallo	[esko'paʎo]	'broom'	top	[top]	'mole'
b	borda	[ˈborða]	'cowshed'	tabierna	[taβjerna]	'tavern'			
t	taca	[ˈtaka]	'stain'	retallo	[re'taʎo]	'rag'	paret	[pa'ret]	'wall'
d	dallo	[ˈdaʎo]	'scythe'	mida	[ˈmiða]	'measure'			
k	cuco	[ˈkuko]	'insect'	talaca	[ta'laka]	'bell'	boc	[bok]	'billy-goat'
g	garra	[ˈgara]	'leg'	caixigo	[ka'i'xiɣo]	'oak tree'			
tʃ	choven	[tʃoβen]	'young'	mochila	[mo'ʃila]	'bag'			
m	molín	[mo'lin]	'mill'	fiemo	[ˈfjemo]	'dung'			
n	nieda	[ˈnjeða]	'haystack'	cabana	[kaβana]	'cabin'	adebán	[aðe'βan]	'forward'
ɲ	ñudo	[ɲuðo]	'knot'	rapiñar	[raɲi'ɲar]	'to steal'			
ŋ				trango	[ˈtrango]	'stride'			
r				navatera	[naβa'tera]	'puddle'	per	[per]	'for'
r	rella	[reʎa]	'ploughshare'	sarra	[ˈsara]	'saw'			
f	figa	[ˈfiɣa]	'fig'	tafora	[ta'fora]	'partying'			

θ	zagal	[θa'ɣal]	'lad'	fizar	[fi'θar]	'to sting'	foz	[foθ]	'you (pl.) do'
s	saya	[sa'ja]	'skirt'	posar	[po'sar]	'to put'	os	[os]	'you (pl. obj.)'
f				lexiva	[le'xiβa]	'bleach'	conoix	[ko'noix]	'knows'
x	jauto	[xaɣto]	'insipid'	conejo	[ko'nexo]	'rabbit'	reloj	[re'lox]	'watch, clock'
l	lin	[lin]	'flax'	remolón	[remo'lon]	'grumpy'	estrel	[es'trel]	'star'
ʎ	llebre	[ʎeβre]	'hare'	estallo	[es'talo]	'herd'			
ʝ	hierba	[ʝerβa]	'grass'	caye	[ka'je]	'falls'			

The postalveolar voiceless fricative, /ʃ/, is the only consonant in the Chistabino system not shared with Spanish.

As in all the other Romance varieties, the voiceless plosives are unaspirated in all positions. Of these, /t/ is the commonest in final position owing to its frequency in diminutives ending in [et] and the diminutive/augmentative suffix [ot] (e.g. *chicot* [tʃi'kot] 'little', *bordegot* [borðe'ɣot] 'illegitimate', *vedellet* [beðe'ʎet] 'little calf'), and its presence in one or two other lexical items like *paret* [pa'ret] 'wall', *set* [set] 'thirst' and the adverb *cot-cot* 'furtively', but even in these cases, it is an unwelcome segment in this position and is usually elided in less careful speech, even before vowels. The plosives /p/ and /k/ are very unusual in final position, and only found in words borrowed from (or bearing the phonological stamp of) Catalan, such as *top* [top] 'mole', *sep* [sep] 'mushroom', *cap* [kap] 'head' (both the latter two have commoner indigenous synonyms), *boc* [bok] 'billy-goat' and the onomatopoeic form *croc* [krok] 'crunch', which in any case tends to elide the final consonant.

Owing to the articulatory proximity of /t/ and /θ/ (they are both unvoiced dentals) and the fact that they are involved in a paradigmatic relationship (nouns and adjectives ending in /t/ form their plural in /θ/ < /ts/), these two segments are often 'confused': *camatón* [kama'ton] ~ [kama'θon] 'pile of grass', *abet* [aβet] ~ [aβeθ] 'fir tree' ([aβeθ] is also plural, written *abez*). The preference for /θ/ in final position is no doubt encouraged by the fact that plosives are not prototypical consonants in this position either in Chistabino or Spanish.

As far as the three corresponding voiced plosives, /b, d, g/, are concerned, these are only fully plosive in Chistabino, as in Spanish, after pause, a homorganic nasal consonant and, in the case of /d/, after [l]. Elsewhere, notably between vowels, approximant allophones are used: *tabierna* [taβjerna] 'tavern', *mida* [miða] 'measure', *caixigo* [kai'xiɣo] 'oak tree'. On top of this, /d/ has been lost completely in the past participle ending *-au* < -ATU (cf. Spanish *-a(d)o*) and in final position (*metá* [me'ta] 'half', cf. Spanish *mitad* [mi'tað] ~ [mi'ta]), and the feminine form *-ada* frequently loses its intervocalic consonant, too, whether it be used in a verbal, noun or adjectival function: (*hierba*) *enfaixada* [emfai'fa:] '(pile of grass) bound together', *esbalsada* [ezβa'θa:] 'landslide'. Like its unvoiced counterpart [θ], [ð] may be interdental in Chistabino, but is often apico-dental, as is the case in Spanish (see Quilis & Fernández 1969: 94f., and compare the equivalent British English segments, which are both typically apico-dental fricatives). Very often, the voiced approximants in Chistabino are reduced to zero by assimilation to following consonants, as in *ilesia* [i'lesja] 'church' < *iglesia*; [ð] may become lateral in this position, as [l] is more usual in syllable codas: *almitir* [almi'tir] 'to admit' (cf. Spanish *admitir*), *alvertir* [alβerti] 'to warn' (cf. Spanish *advertir*).

Chistabino has at least one affricate with phonemic status, /tʃ/, as in *choven* [tʃoβen] 'young' and *enchugardido* [entʃuɣarðiðo] 'playful'. Martínez Celdrán et al. (2003: 255) give a voiced counterpart of this phoneme for Spanish, which in Martínez Celdrán & Fernández Planas (2001: 175) is described as 'a double articulation with a fully palatal place of articulation whose second element is an approximant', and is represented as /tʃ̞/, with the (intervocalic) approximant allophone [j̞]. I have adopted the more traditional standpoint of Alarcos Llorach (1950) and Quilis (1993), where [tʃ̞] (Alarcos [ɣ̞], Quilis [d̞]) is analysed as a positional variant of /j/ (Alarcos /y/, Quilis /j/) occurring after pause, [l] and [n] (typical strengthening environments in Spanish). For the alternation between /k/ and /j/, see below.

I asked two Chistabino men (not including the reader of the samples in this text) to read the sentences *Este yogurt ye güen* ['este ʝo'ɣur 'je 'ɣwen] 'This yoghurt is good',

El yogurt ye güen [el j̥oˈɣur 'je ˈɣwen] ‘The yoghurt is good’; and *Dame un yogurt* [ˈdame un j̥oˈɣur] ‘Give me a yoghurt’. The first reader used approximants for the initial consonant of *yoghurt* and *ye* when intervocalic and after [l], as transcribed; the other reader produced similar results for *yoghurt* but pronounced *ye* with a semi-consonant, [j] (see the ‘Diphthongs and triphthongs’ section below, where [j] is also an allophone of the vowel /i/). However, after [n], both definitely had a pronunciation more closely resembling the affricate, [tʃ].

The nasal consonants undergo Homorganic Nasal Assimilation, so that they adapt their place of articulation to that of the following obstruent, which may be labiodental, interdental, dental, palatal or velar (velar segments are sometimes uvularized in Aragon): *chanfarucal* [tʃam̩faruˈkaɫ]/*chanforical* [tʃam̩foriˈkaɫ] ‘bog’, *ronzal* [roŋˈθaɫ] ‘halter’, *punta* [ˈpuŋta] ‘point’, *puncha* [ˈpuŋtʃa] ‘spike’, *tiengo* [ˈtjeŋgo] ‘I have’, *mondongo* [moŋˈdoŋgo] ‘feast to celebrate killing the pig’. Only the alveolar nasal occurs in word final position; cf. Chistabino *comprán* [komˈpran] ‘we buy’ < Latin COMPARAM(US) with Catalan *comprem* [kumˈpɾem], with final [m].

The trill /r/ and flap /ɾ/ are only in phonological opposition between vowels, as in Spanish: *morro* [ˈmoro] ‘snout’, *moro* [ˈmoro] ‘Moor’. However, alternation between these segments is not uncommon in Chistabino and, in fact, is widely attested in other parts of Aragon and in the Iberian Peninsula in general: *forrajes* [foˈɾaxes] ~ *forajes* [foˈɾaxes] ‘fodder’, *sarrau* [saˈrau] ~ *sarau* [saˈrau] ‘hill’. Otherwise, the trill is used in word-initial position and after [l], [n] and [s] (the prototypical syllable-final consonants): *alredor* [alreˈðo] ‘around’, *enreblau* [enreˈβlau] ‘frozen’, *esramacear* [ezramaˈθja] ‘to beat’. In word-final position, [r] is usually lost in connected speech, though the older generation show a predilection for addition of a paragogic front vowel, which serves to preserve the prototypical CV syllable structure (see also the section ‘Vowels in hiatus’): *puyar(e)* [puˈja] ~ [puˈjare] ‘to go up’, *muller(e)* [muˈle] ~ [muˈlere] ‘woman’, *enter(e)* [ente] ~ [entere] ‘whole’.

Interchange between /r/ and /d/ is common in some words like *fogaril* [foɣaˈril] ~ [foɣaˈðil] (with etymological /r/) ‘hearth’, *bastida* [bastiˈða] ~ [bastira] (with etymological /d/) ‘doorframe’.

The fricative consonants, /f, θ, s, ʃ, x/, are all unvoiced in Chistabino (with possible voiced allophones when followed by voiced consonants in connected speech), and all except /f/ can occur word-finally: *falz* [faɫθ] ‘scythe’, *latóns* [laˈtons] ‘pigs’, *paix/pais* [paiʃ, paɪs] ‘seems’, *reloj* [reˈlox] ‘clock’. The /s/ is of the northern Spanish type, i.e. apico-alveolar. In verb paradigms, syllable-final [ʃ] is often replaced by [s], a less marked segment with a greater functional load: *paix* [paiʃ] ~ *pais* [paɪs] ‘seems’, *conoixco* [koˈnoiʃko] ~ *conosco* [koˈnosko] ‘I know’. In word-initial position (but not necessarily internally), [ʃ] is always preceded by the high front vowel [i]: *ixinglo* [iˈʃiŋglo] ‘splinter’, *ixufrina* [iˈʃufrina] ‘cold air’. The sequence [iʃ] is best treated monophonematically as an allophone of /ʃ/ (see Arnal Purroy 1998: 153–166).

Chistabino, like Spanish, has two laterals, one alveolar and one palatal, with the same distribution as in Spanish, i.e. the palatal is restricted to syllable-initial position, but not the alveolar: *polo* [ˈpolo] ‘pole’, *pollo* [ˈpoɫo] ‘chicken’. As in many other areas of the Spanish-speaking world, the palatal /k/ is often delateralized and articulated as /j/ (see the paragraph on affricates above for allophones of this approximant phoneme): *palla* [paɫa] ~ [ˈpaja] ‘straw’. Conversely, an underlying /j/ may surface as a palatal lateral (*royo* [roɫo] ~ [ˈrojɔ] ‘red’). However, such vacillation appears not to affect the (diminutive) suffix *-iello* (*crespiello* [kresˈpjeɫo] ‘a pastry’, *maciello* [maˈθjeɫo] ‘bachelor’) or particular words like *arrollo* [aˈroɫo] ‘stream’ (though sometimes [aˈrojɔ], like Spanish *arroyo*). Chistabino *pallaso* [paˈɫaso] ‘clown’ has the palatal lateral /k/ like Catalan *pallasso*, straight from Italian *pagliaccio*, while Spanish *payaso* retains the delateralized /j/ of French *paillasse*. Thus there is alternation of /k/ and /j/ in some words but phonological stability in others, which means that there is no likelihood of a merger between these segments just yet (note the similar observation on Spanish in Green 1988: 84).

Like the alveolar nasal, the alveolar lateral assimilates to the place of articulation of following consonants, and can become interdental, dental or palatalized: *calz* [kaɫθ] ‘kick’, *timulto* [tiˈmuɫto] ‘crowd’, *colcha* [kolˈtʃa] ‘bedspread’. However, unlike nasals, laterals do not assimilate to labials and velars.

Vowels

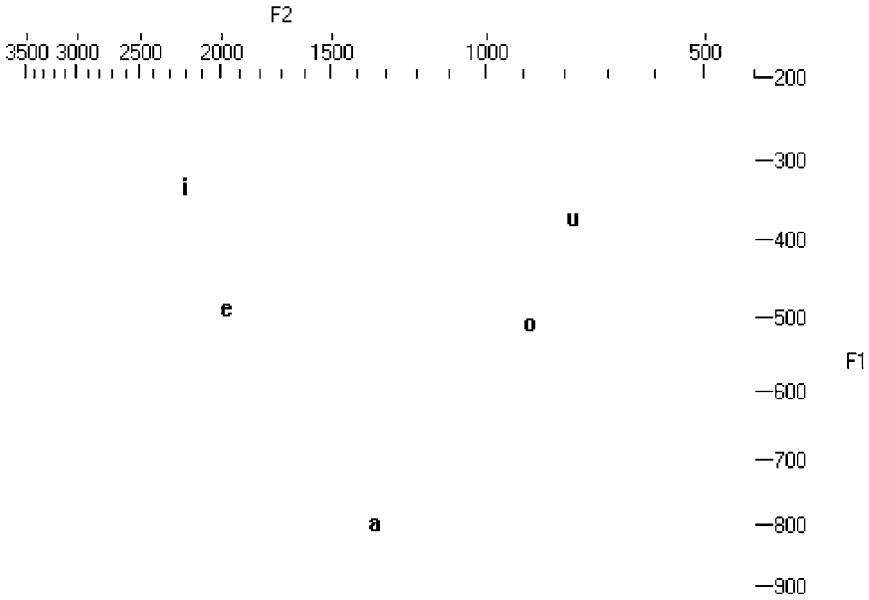


Figure 1 Stressed vowels.

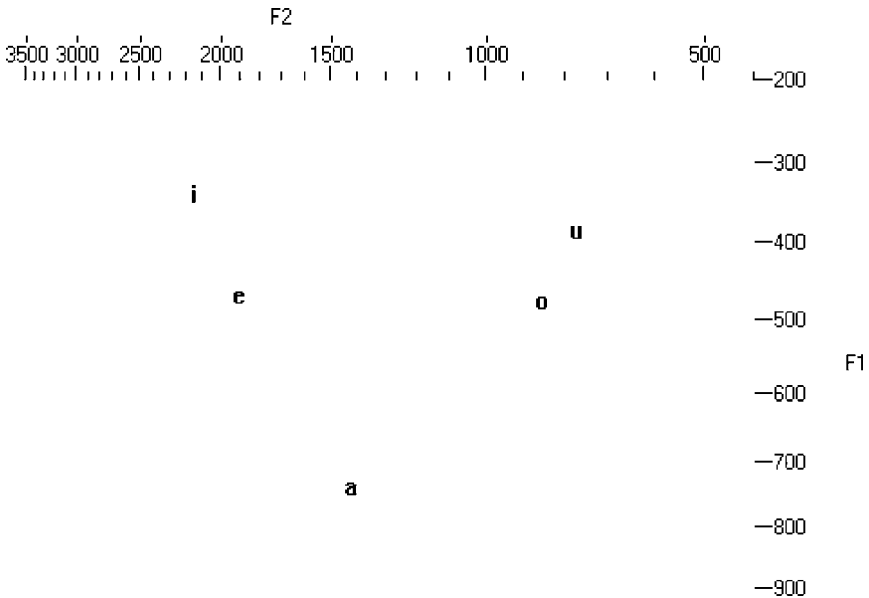


Figure 2 Unstressed vowels.

STRESSED VOWELS				UNSTRESSED VOWELS			
a	papo	[ˈpapo]	‘crop (of bird)’	papet	[paˈpet]	‘crop (of bird)’ (dimin.)	
	bamba	[ˈbamba]	‘pretentious’	babieca	[baˈβjeka]	‘owl’	
e	bebé	[beˈβe]	‘baby’	beber	[beˈβer]	‘to drink’	
	bela	[ˈbela]	‘bleats’	belar	[beˈlar]	‘to bleat’	
i	vive	[ˈbiβe]	‘lives’	viviré	[biβiˈre]	‘I will live’	
	bita	[ˈbita]	‘appetite’	bimbola	[bimˈbola]	‘scatterbrained’	
o	bofo	[ˈbofo]	‘hollow’	popillo	[poˈpiˈlo]	‘orphan’	
	pobre	[ˈpoβre]	‘poor’	pobret	[poˈβret]	‘poor’ (dimin.)	
u	bufa	[ˈbufa]	‘blows’	bufar	[buˈfar]	‘to blow’	
	pude	[ˈpuðe]	‘smells’	pudir	[puˈðir]	‘to smell’	

Chistabino has only a three-way phonemic opposition in its unstressed vowel system owing to the neutralization of the pairs [a] ~ [e], [e] ~ [i], [o] ~ [u] in a number of morphs and positions (Mott 1993: 30f.; 2000: 35f.): *ansera* [anˈsɛra] ~ [enˈsɛra] ‘handle’, *escanar* [eskaˈna] ~ [askaˈna] ‘to choke’; *enchelibrado* [entʃeliˈβriðo] ~ [entʃiliˈβriðo] ~ [intʃiliˈβriðo] ‘frozen’, *inquesto* [inˈkɛsto] ~ [enˈkɛsto] ‘annoying’; *tornar* [torˈna] ~ [turˈna] ‘to return’, *bufinera* [bufiˈnera] ~ [bofiˈnera] ‘type of fungus’. Note that the final [o]s in these examples may also close to [u], and mid-high vowels in general in final unstressed open syllables have a particularly strong tendency to close: *conejo* [koˈnɛxu] ~ [kuˈnɛxu] ‘rabbit’.

In some cases, instead of vacillation in the articulation of unstressed vowels as above, one vowel seems to predominate. This is true of the first syllable of *nusatros* [nuˈsatros] ‘we’ and *gusatros* [guˈsatros] ‘you’, which are always pronounced with [u]. It is also noteworthy that sometimes the above-mentioned unstressed vowels may appear in phonological opposition: *parola* [paˈrola] ‘loquaciousness’, *perola* [peˈrola] ‘cooking pot’; *chemecar* [tʃemeˈka] ‘to make an effort’, *chimicar* [tʃimiˈka] ‘to whine’; *garrolero* [garoˈlero] ‘fond of walking’, *garrulero* [garuˈlero] ‘mad (animal)’. However, these are probably just potential oppositions which may or may not be exploited depending on the need for explicitness and speed of delivery, and they do not necessarily disprove the claims to neutralization which are being made here. Compare English *veracity* and *voracity*, which may both be articulated as /vəˈræsəti/, or in more careful speech as /veˈræsəti/ and /vɔˈræsəti/, respectively.

Diphthongs and triphthongs

The Chistabino diphthongs can be divided into (i) rising diphthongs, consisting of a glide or semi-consonant plus a syllabic nucleus, and (ii) falling diphthongs, consisting of a syllabic nucleus plus a semi-vowel. Both the semi-consonants [j, w] and the semi-vowels [i, u] can be analysed as [–SYLLABIC] variants of the syllabic nuclei /i, u/, but note that [j] can also be an allophone of the palatal approximant /j/ (see above under ‘Consonants’).

Rising diphthongs

STRESSED DIPHTHONGS				UNSTRESSED DIPHTHONGS			
je	vier	[bje]	‘to see’	anieblar	[anjeˈβla]	‘to spoil’	
ja	femear	[feˈmja]	‘to manure’	ansias	[ˈansjas]	‘nausea’	
jo	mioja	[ˈmjoxa]	‘breadcrumb’	escarpio	[esˈkarpjo]	‘clever, sly’	
ju	viuda	[ˈbiuða]	‘widow’	viudez	[biuˈðeθ]	‘widowhood’	
wi	fuigo	[ˈfwiyɔ] ~ [ˈfuiyɔ]	‘I flee’	fuigán	[ˈfwiyán] ~ [ˈfuiyán]	‘we flee’ (subj.)	
we	güen	[gwen]	‘good’	truesil	[ˈtrweˈsil]	‘pile of branches’	
wa	cuan	[kwan]	‘when’	augua	[ˈaɥwa]	‘water’	
wo	cuota	[ˈkwota]	‘quota’	cuodrilla	[kwɔˈðriˈla]	‘gang’	

Regarding /ju/, the pronunciation with the rising diphthong [ju] is theoretically possible, but the speaker on the recording invariably uses the falling diphthong [iɥ] post-consonantly. On

the other hand, the speaker uses both rising [wi] and falling [uj]. Vacillation in these high diphthongs is also common in Spanish (see Quilis 1993: 181, 185f.).

Falling diphthongs

STRESSED DIPHTHONGS				UNSTRESSED DIPHTHONGS		
e _i	vey	[be _i]	'sees'	deixar	[de _i 'ja]	'to leave'
a _i	baixo	[ba _i 'fo]	'short, low'	airera	[a _i 'rera]	'wind'
o _i	boira	[bo _i 'ra]	'mist'	afloixar	[aflo _i 'ja]	'to slacken'
u _i	fuy	[fu _i]	'flees'			
e _u	peu	[pe _u]	'foot'	yeuguada	[j̄je _u 'ɣwa]	'group of mares'
a _u	fau	[fa _u]	'beech-tree'	maular	[ma _u 'la]	'to meow'
o _u	prou	[pro _u]	'enough; of course'			

For a mixture of phonetic and phonological reasons (elegance of classification of consonant clusters, vowel-like properties of the glides and the fact that they can be distended and pronounced as pure vowels in hiatus with the following nucleus, etc.), sequences consisting of the glides [j] and [w] are best treated as rising diphthongs in Chistabino (as in Spanish; for full details, see Alarcos Llorach 1950: 150–160) rather than a combination of consonant plus vowel, which is the case of languages like English with a large vowel inventory.

Initial [w] is very close and tends to develop a consonantal off-glide: *un güego* [uŋ'gweɣo] 'an egg', *el güego* [el'ɣweɣo] 'the egg'. [ou] is found only in the adjective, pronoun and adverb *prou* [pro_u] 'quite, enough', inherited from Catalan. In a few words, [a_i] is used where Spanish has [e_i]: *m'afaito* 'I shave' [ma'fa_ito], *afaitar-se* [afa_i'tase] 'to shave' < AFFECTARE, *sais* [sa_is] < *seis* < SEX 'six'. One sometimes hears also the pronunciation [be_i'la] for *bailar* [ba_i'la] 'to dance', as in the lower class speech of other Spanish-speaking areas.

Triphthongs

We can also identify certain triphthongs in Chistabino beginning with a glide:

ja _i	i hay	[ja _i]	'there is/are'
ja _u	cudiau	[ku'ɟja _u]	'care'
je _u	nieu	[nje _u]	'snow'
we _i	güey	[gwe _i]	'ox'
wa _i	guaire	[gwa _i re]	'a lot, much'

Vowels in hiatus

Chistabino often applies strategies to avoid vowels in hiatus. These strategies, which serve to preserve the prototypical CV structure either by eliminating or reinforcing the syllable boundary, take one of the forms in (i)–(iii).

(i) Reduction of two vowels to one:

- (a) identical vowels: *ensalada* [ensa'lɔ:] 'salad', *naide en casa* [na_i'ɟeŋ'kasa] 'nobody at home'
- (b) non-identical vowels: *la entrada* [lan'tɾa:] 'entrance', *primo hermano* [primor'mãno] 'first cousin', *almada* [al'ma:] 'pillow' (< *almohada*), *a (b)uscar* [a_us'ka] 'to search for' > *ascar* [as'ka]

In the latter case, it is the more open or grave vowel which predominates.

- (ii) Change of the unstressed (or less stressed) mid-high vowel to a semi-vowel or glide: *dau* (< *dado*) [da_u] 'given', *Joaquín* [xwa'kin] 'proper noun', *trairé* (< *traeré*) [tra_i're] 'I will carry', *ronquear* [ron'kja] 'to snore', *peazo* [pjaθo] 'sock'
- (iii) Insertion of an epenthetic consonant, usually /j/, before or after front vowels; [β] or [ɣ] before or after back vowels: *fayena* [fa'jɛna] 'work', *soltapeya* [solta'peja] 'woman from

the house called *Soltapey*, *criyer* [kriːje] ‘to believe’, *día* [diːja] ‘day’, *tovalla* [toβaʎa] ‘towel’, *puga* [puɣa] ‘spike’, *emplegar* [empleˈɣa] ‘to use’

Note that falling diphthongs change their semivowel to an approximant (or intercalate an approximant) when another vowel follows: *voy a* [boja] ‘I’m going to’, *tumeua* [tuˈmeuɰwa] ‘woman from the house called Tumeu’.

Certain verb forms have velar insertion, even after front vowels. Witness the following subjunctive forms: *sigá* [siːɣa] ‘be’ (< *ser* ‘to be’; cf. Spanish *sea*), *veiga* [beiːɣa] ‘see’ (< *ver* ‘to see’; cf. Spanish *vea*).

Monophthongization

Occasionally, diphthongs may monophthongize in Chistabino: *vintidós* [bintiːðos] ‘twenty-two’ < *veintidós*, *güis* [uːis] < *güeis* ‘oxen’ (Serveto), *prebo* [preβo] ‘deterioration’ < *pruebo* (loss of labialization after /r/), *pos* [pos] ‘well’ < [pwos] < *pues* [pwes], *unque* [ʎnke] ‘although’ < *aunque*, *Usebio* [uːseβjo] (proper noun) < *Eusebio*, *dixar* [diːʎa] ‘to leave’ < *deixar*, *pine* [pine] ‘comb’ < *peine*.

Prosody

Lexical stress

Words in Chistabino are usually stressed on the penultimate or final syllable, as in all Aragonese accents: *desenfaixa* [desenˈfaiːʎa] ‘s/he undoes the bundle of grass’, *desenfaixar* [desenˈfaiːʎa] ‘to undo a bundle of grass’. Antepenultimate stress is much rarer than in Spanish, though you sometimes find hypercorrect forms like *pántano* [paˈntano] ‘reservoir’ (Spanish *pantano* [paˈntano]). In third person imperatives, the antepenultimate stress of Spanish is avoided by the fact that the reflexive pronoun precedes the verb: *s’asiente usté* [saːsjente uste], *s’asienten ustés* [saːsjenteːn ustes] ‘sit down’ (cf. Spanish *siéntese usted*, *siéntense ustedes*).

In Aragonese accents, particularly those south of Huesca and in the Ebro Valley, it is usual for the final syllable of an intonation unit, even if unstressed, to be given prominence by lengthening and a rise in pitch. This phenomenon, which gives the impression of stress displacement, is less noticeable in Chistabino than in the accents of the afore-mentioned areas. Note the following verb + pronoun phrases: *comprar-me-ne* [komˈpramene] ‘to buy some for myself’, *mirando-la* [miˈraɲdola] ‘looking at her/it’, *prenez-os-lo* [preˈneθoslo] ‘take it for yourselves’.

Rhythm

Like Spanish, Chistabino is largely syllable-timed, certainly if compared to a more generally stress-timed language like English, but it shows a greater tendency than Spanish to reduce unstressed vowels where legal consonant clusters are produced: *aspro* [aspro] ‘rough’ < *áspero*, *prejil* [preːxil] ‘parsley’ < *perejil*.

In fact, although Spanish has been traditionally quoted as a perfect example of regular syllable timing, as such a descriptive label is based primarily on auditory impression, Green (1988: 80) says, ‘A newer proposal suggests Spanish would be more accurately described as “segment-timed” since the delivery, though perceptually regular, does not always produce isochronous syllabification or isochronous stress intervals’. Presumably, much the same could be said of Aragonese in general, particularly in view of the tendency in Aragon to lengthen vowels in open syllables in phrase-final position.

No doubt, Ashby & Maidment (2005: 162) are nearer the truth when they say that ‘[t]he distinction between stress-timed and syllable-timed languages is very probably an oversimplification. It is probably more accurate to say that some languages make greater use of one kind of rhythm, but that both types can be found in most languages’.

Intonation

The nuclear tone in Chistabino falls on the last stressed syllable of an intonation phrase, as in Spanish, with little of the tendency to front stress which is so characteristic of English. Where the nucleus is followed by one or more unstressed syllables, the intonation pattern is spread over these.

Statements (see (1) and (2) below) have a falling tune, with a slight step up before the final fall on the nucleus. *Wh*-questions generally end on a rise (see (3) below) or a rise-fall (see (4) below), but may end on a fall if said with a reflective, meditative or incredulous air (see (5) below; cf. figure 3). YES-NO questions end on a rise-fall (see (6) and (7) below). Any phrases or clauses before the final fall which constitute separate intonation units (as in (1), (2) and (4) below) end on a rise.

- (1) *Mañana de ma ↗ñanas, jopa ↗ré cara a ↘Güesca.*
'Tomorrow morning, I'm going to Huesca.'
- (2) *Cuan von allegar a la Fuen des Li ↗tás, von abre ↗var todo el ga ↘nau.*
'When we reached the spring called Litás, we watered all the cattle.'
- (3) *Tan cal jopar ma ↗ñana?*
'Where do we have to go tomorrow?'
- (4) *↗Ixo qué ↗ ↘ye?*
'What's that?'
- (5) *Qui l'ha (de)bi(d)o fer ↘ixo?*
'Who could have done that?'
- (6) *Tú yes la muller de Quin de Ca ↗ ↘ñau?*
'Are you the wife of Quin from casa Cañau?'
- (7) *No serás tú la muller de Quin de Ca ↗ ↘ñau?*
'You wouldn't be the wife of Quin from casa Cañau?'

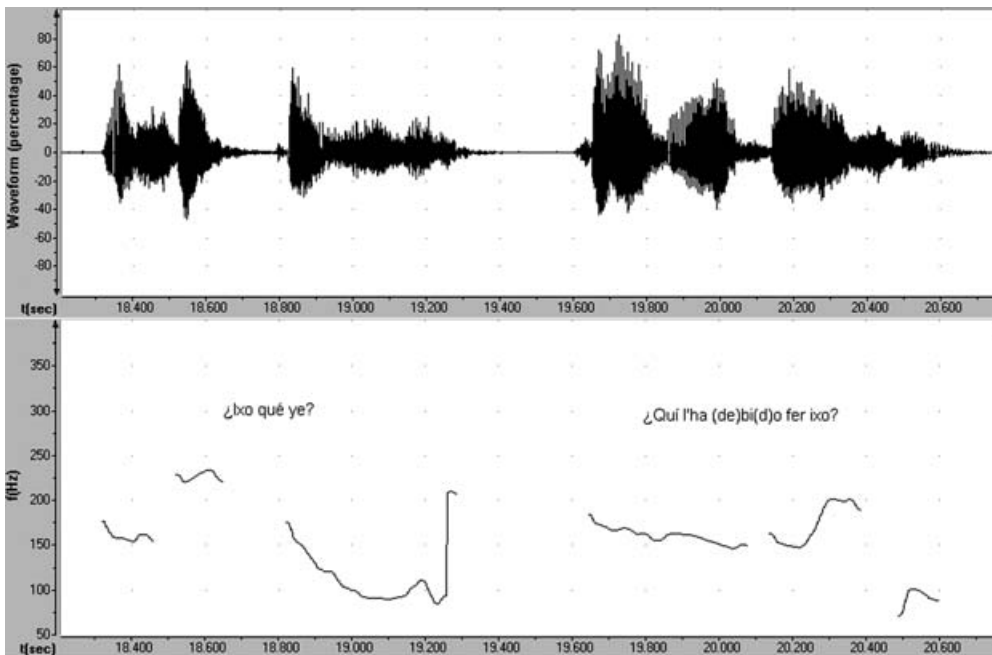


Figure 3 FO tracings of sentences (4) and (5).

Transcription of the recorded passage

The following dialectal version of 'The North Wind and the Sun' was written and recorded by Joaquín Villa Bruned, aged 48. The non-plosive allophones of /b, d, g/ are always pronounced as approximants: [β, ð, ɣ]. In most cases, too, /r/ is weakly articulated rather than produced as a fully-fledged flap but, since this phenomenon is irregular, as in Castilian, the subscript diacritic used with [β, ð, ɣ] has not been added. Note also that in syllable-final position there are several instances of the trill articulation, [r]. Assimilations to following dental consonants, which are automatic, have not been marked.

estoᵢ ke | 'laᵢre ðe 'pwerto ᵢ el 'sol | se β̣an metere ðe 'punta | iṇkestoz ðe 'tot ||
te 'jeran esp̣rexjando | ke 'kwalo ðez 'ðos seria el 'mas θe'reno || 'pero ke la 'uᵢ
kantaβ̣a 'alto | i 'latro aβ̣aj̣so | i no se meteβ̣an 'mika ð̣akwerðo || entremistanto
kes teneβ̣as 'asinas | 'ba anθerta: pasare per a'li um:arṭʃan | reβ̣oθau en uᵢ
gambeto 'taᵡ graṇiθo | ke paᵢ'feβ̣a uᵡ farfa'lares || 'elos:ie β̣an aṭʃu'ɣa | ke 'ki
'antez le 'fese sa'ka el ɣambeto al marṭʃan | seria el 'mas θe'reno | ᵢ 'asinas el
β̣aṇ 'fere || el 'aᵢre ðe 'pwerto | 'ba empeθi'pjare || se β̣a mete a β̣u'fa kon 'toða la
'su:ja:lma | 'pero 'kwanto 'maz β̣u'faβ̣a | el marṭʃan 'masempu'ṭʃikaβ̣a | enros'kau
ðeβ̣aj̣sol ɣambeto || a la 'fin | 'laᵢre de 'pwerto | nom 'ba tenere 'atra | ke ði'fastare
la β̣arumbja || alaβ̣eθ el 'sol | se β̣a meter a kremare kon 'tanta raβ̣jore | kel
marṭʃan dekaṃin sem 'ba ðes'fe ðel ɣambeto || i 'je per 'iʃo | ke 'laᵢre ðe 'pwerto
nom 'ba tenere 'atra | ke aβ̣antare al 'sol | 'komo el 'mas θe'reno | 'aᵡkel 'fese kon
la β̣oka ṭʃikota

Orthographic version in Chistabino

In order to maximize regularity in the orthographic representation of the text, forms (particularly infinitives) ending in [r] are written without the paragogic vowel [e] which is sporadically used after this final consonant.

Estoy que l'aire de puerto y el sol se van meter de punta, inquestos de tot. Te yeran espregiando que cualo des dos sería el más cereño; pero que la un cantaba alto y l'atro abaixo, y no se meteban mica d'acuerdo. Entremistanto que es tenebas asinas, va ancertain a pasar per alí un marchán, rebozau en un gambeto tan granizo que paixeaba un farfalares. Ellos se van achugar que qui antes le fese sacar el gambeto al marchán sería el más cereño, y asinas el van fer. El aire de puerto va empecipiar; se va meter a bufar con toda la suya alma, pero cuanto más bufaba, el marchán más s'empuchicaba, enroscau debaixo el gambeto; a la fin l'aire de puerto no'n va tener atra que deixar estar la barrumbiada. Alavez el sol se va meter a cremar con tanta rabor que el marchán decamín se'n va desfer del gambeto. Y ye per ixo que l'aire de puerto no'n va tener atra que avanzar al sol como el más cereño, aunque el fese con la boca chicota.

Literal translation into Castilian Spanish of the Chistabino text

Según he oído contar, el viento norte y el sol se enfrentaron, enzarzados el uno con el otro en una violenta discusión. Estaban discutiendo sobre cuál de los dos sería el más valiente; pero uno decía una cosa y el otro otra, y no se ponían nada de acuerdo. Mientras estaban así, por casualidad pasó por allí un viajero envuelto en una capa tan grande que parecía un fantasma. Se apostaron que quien antes lograra obligar al viajero a quitarse la capa sería el más valiente, y así lo hicieron. El viento norte empezó; se puso a soplar con toda su

fuerza, pero cuanto más soplabá, más se encogía el viajero, acurrucado bajo la capa. Al final, el viento norte no tuvo otra opción que abandonar la empresa. Entonces el sol se puso a quemar con tanta fuerza que el viajero en seguida se quitó la capa. Y es por eso que el viento norte no tuvo más remedio que reconocer al sol como el más valiente, aunque lo hiciera a regañadientes.

Traditional orthographic version in Castilian (Standard Spanish)

El viento norte y el sol porfiaban sobre cuál de ellos era el más fuerte, cuando acertó a pasar un viajero envuelto en ancha capa. Convinieron en que quien antes lograra obligar al viajero a quitarse la capa sería considerado más poderoso. El viento norte sopló con gran furia, pero cuanto más soplabá, más se arrebujaba en su capa el viajero; por fin el viento norte abandonó la empresa. Entonces brilló el sol con ardor, e inmediatamente se despojó de su capa el viajero; por lo que el viento norte hubo de reconocer la superioridad del sol.

The Chistabino text and words in this paper can be downloaded from the Cambridge Journals Online site as Supplementary materials to the text document at <http://journals.cambridge.org/jid_IPA>.

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