



INFORME / REPORT / REPORTE

EL ARAGONÉS *en el* SIGLO XXI

L'Aragonés en o sieglo XXI

Aragonese language *in 21st century*

Aragonese language
in 21st

L'Aragonés en o siglo XXI



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La lengua aragonesa se encuentra en la encrucijada. Su reto en el siglo XXI es la supervivencia en una sociedad moderna para la que no está preparada. Para ello es imprescindible, además de su reconocimiento oficial y el de su nombre histórico, su acceso al sistema educativo, a la administración y a los medios de comunicación y una presencia digna en la vida social y cultural.

En este informe, elaborado por especialistas en diversas áreas del conocimiento, se pone de manifiesto cuál ha sido el devenir de esta lengua, desde su nacimiento en la Edad Media hasta su crítica situación actual.

A luenga aragonesa se troba en a cruzillata. O suyo reto en o siglo XXI ye a perbibenzia en una soziedá moderna ta ra que no ye parata. Ta ixo li cal, antiparti d'o suyo reconoximiento ofizial e o d'o suyo nombre istorico, o suyo azeso á o sistema educatibo, á l'aministración e á os meynos de comunicazió e una presenzia dina en a bida soziales e cultural. En iste reporte, elaborato por espezialistas en dibersas árias d'o conoximiento, s'amuestra cuál ye estato o esdebenir d'ista luenga, dende a suya naxenzia en a Edá Meya dica ra suya cretica situazió actual.

The Aragonese language is at the crossroads. Its challenge in the twenty-first century is survival in a modern society for which it is unprepared. This requires, in addition to its official recognition and that of its historical name, its introduction into education, public administration and the media, as well as a dignified presence in social and cultural life. This report, prepared by specialists in various areas of knowledge, shows the evolution of this language, from its origins in the Middle Ages to the present critical situation.

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Traducción al inglés / *Translation into English* : Jamie Jones y Chulia Ara

Foto de portada / *Cover picture*: Luesia. Santiago Cabello. Archivo Tintaura

Foto de colofón / *Ending picture*: Hecho. Piedra tallada / *Hecho (Aragón). Carved stone*. Santiago Cabello. Archivo Tintaura

Diseño y maquetación / *Design by*: Pilara Pinilla estreudes

Edita / *Edited by*: Fundación Gaspar Torrente

Colaboran / *Collaborate*: Association pour les Langues et Cultures Européenes Menacées, Consello d'a Fable Aragonesa, Gara d'Edizions, Instituto de Estudios Altoaragoneses, Rolde de Estudios Aragoneses y Sociedad Cultural Aladrada

Agradecimientos / *Our gratitude to*: Chusé Aragüés, Santiago Cabello, Eduardo García Perea, Ángel Gayúbar, Víctor Longares, Alfonso López Moya, Pascual Miguel Ballestín, Ricardo Párraga, Carlos Serrano y Carlos Tarazona

ISBN: 978-84-940886-5-0

Depósito legal / *Cataloguing in publication data*: Z-1415/2013

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ARAGONESE LANGUAGE IN 21st

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Benasque. Foto/Photo: Rafel Vidaller

Introduction

It has been 25 years since the publication of *Aragonese today. Information about the current situation of the Aragonese language*. In this quarter century lots of things have happened with regards to the Aragonese language.

On the one hand, the pretty much complete inactivity of Aragonese institutions, at least until 2009 when 10/2009 Law was approved, which encouraged the use, protection and promotion of Aragon's own languages, which was then repealed in 2013, which has abandoned the scientific and historical name of the language.

On the other hand, there have been many generations of speakers who, in general, have been losing in quantity and quality their use of the language. However, the number of people interested in Aragonese has improved significantly outside of its linguistic territory and, why not, also the speakers of the acquired language.

But, maybe, the best thing that has happened to Aragonese in these 25 years has been the change in the view of Aragonese society, which now, as a general rule is seen as a language, as a singular heritage, that has to be conserved, a view that has gone from disdain to affection.

You therefore have to update the state of the issue and that is what we are trying to do with this work that many professionals have collaborated on, almost needless to say when we refer to this topic, selflessly. To all those people, to the speakers, to those who are interested in Aragonese, we thank you.

1. The Romance Languages

Romance languages, sometimes also called Romanic or Neo-Latin Languages, are those that come from the evolution of Common Latin in the various territories of the Roman Empire where the referred languages developed.

Aragonese originally formed in the territory between the western Anso Valley and the eastern Benasque, encompassing to the south the Pre-Pyrenean mountains such as Loarre,

Gratal, Caballera o Guara. That is to say, the area where it developed is practically where it stays today.

In this original stage Aragonese would already be clearly differentiated from the Latin of around the 8th to 9th century. Thus, various studies show how already early texts showed typical characteristics of Aragonese. Although it is not a general fact, notaries and other authors when they write insert Romance words that would reflect the speech of the town they came from. This trend is mostly shown as of the 11th Century.

Aragonese, as the romanic language it is, shares lots of linguistic characteristics with its neighbour languages, namely for instance, Castilian, Catalan and Occitan. It is, therefore, a bridge language between Iberian Romance languages and Gallo-Romance languages.

Amongst all the Romance languages Aragonese is, according to recent reports by Unesco, the European language in the most fragile situation. The immediate cause is the historical decline in the generational passing down of the language, accentuated during the 20th and 21st centuries.

2. Languages of the Spanish State

The romance languages currently spoken in Spain are: Aragonese, Aranese (a Gascon dialect of Occitan), Astur-Leonese, Castilian, Catalan and Galician. Additionally, in parts of Basque Country and Navarre, Basque is spoken, a language of unknown origin.

All these languages have legal protection, although only Castilian, Catalan (as well as Valencian), Aranese and Galician have official status and differ in number of speakers, literary production, teaching and levels of normalization and standardisation.

3. Where Aragonese is spoken today

During the middle ages, Aragonese was the commonly spoken language in almost all of Aragon, parts of Navarre, Rioja, bordering areas that are today the provinces of Guadalajara, Soria and Cuenca, inner parts of the Valencian

Commune, a good part of Murcia and some parts of Andalusia, especially of Eastern Almería and also written as a diplomatic and notarial language.

This is a situation which is very different from the current one, in that Aragonese is spoken and known, traditionally, in the High Aragonese regions of Jacetania, High Gállego river valley, Sobrarbe, Hoya de Huesca, Somontano de Barbastro and the eastern half of Ribagorza. In the region of Cinca Medio it is spoken in Fonz and, to a lesser extent, in Cofita. The same can be said for the Zaragoza region of Cinco Villas, where Aragonese is still currently spoken or known in places such as Longás and Fuencalderas.

Conversely, Aragonese, is now confined unevenly in the refuge in northern Aragon where it was born in the middle ages. However, it has many of the linguistic traces still exist – mostly lexical – in the rest of the recently Hispanicised High Aragon (except the most easterly area, where they speak Catalan), such as north of Monegros and north-northwest of Bajo Cinca and, to a lesser extent, in the rest of Aragon.

On the other hand, there exists a considerable community of new speakers, most of all, in the cities of Huesca and Zaragoza and in main urban centres a good number of maternal speaking migrants live, including outside of Aragon such as in Barcelona.

The linguistic boundary of Aragonese to the north is clear, Occitan. On the other hand, the eastern border is blurred, so the transition between Aragonese and Catalan is gradual.

Finally, the southern and eastern boundaries (marked by the Valle de Ansó in the north where it makes a border with Basque Country) is very blurred due to the Castilian influence, although you can establish an imaginary line that joins Fago, Biel, Biscarrués, Almudévar, Barbués, Torres de Alcanadre and Fonz, to the north, which is the area of use and knowledge of the Aragonese language.

The criteria which is used to put a territory under Aragonese linguistic domain are the conservation (if only sporadically or amongst the older generations) of morphological and syntactic features of Aragonese, as well as a large volume of Aragonese vocabulary. For example, the use of the articles *o, a, os, as* or their own geographic variations; the use of adverbial pronouns (*en/ne, bi/i*); the use of typical prepo-

sitions (*ta, enta* “a, hacia”); the use of demonstratives (*ixe, ixa, ixo*), the use of indefinites (*bel, bella*) or the use of Aragonese verbal tenses (such as simple perfects: *metiè, cantoron/canton* or imperfects with *-b-*: *meteba, partiba*)

4. Complex Aragonese Dialects

All languages have historical, geographical and social variants, and Aragonese is no exception. In the case of the Aragonese language, there tends to be considered 4 complex dialects: **western, central, eastern** and **southern**, although the latter we could consider a degradation of the Hispanicisation of central and western Aragonese. Therefore, there are considered to be 3 dialects.

As happens in other languages, in certain places they have their own traits caused by their own orography that has remained isolated to certain zones and, above all, due to Hispanicisation which has produced a certain rift between some varieties.

4.1. WESTERN ARAGONESE

Western Aragonese extends from Valle de Ansó and Val de Onsella to Valle de Canfranc, to the north, and Canal de Berdún and Campo de Jaca, to the south, that is to say, through the regions of Jacetania and High Gállego river valley and, to a lesser extent, through parts of Cinco Villas, where there are still places that have preserved Aragonese. This includes various local varieties with a strong personality and literary culture such as Cheso (Valle de Hecho) and Ansotano (Valle de Ansó), who preserve quite well the typical features of phonetics, morphology and syntax, and other more Hispanicised ones like Chaqués (Campo de Jaca), Aragonese from Valle de Estarrún, Valle de Aragüés or the Canal de Berdún.

In this dialect the definite articles *o, a, os, as* prevail except in Hecho, Aragüés and Jasa, where they maintain the articles *lo, la* (*lo can* ‘el perro’), and they use participles ending in *-au -iu* (*puyau* ‘subido’ or *muuiu* ‘ordeñado’)

Literarily, it has been developed by authors such as the speakers of the Cheso dialect Domingo Miral (1872-1942), Veremundo Méndez (1897-1968), Chusé Coarasa (1918-1989), Rosario Ustáriz (Hecho, 1927-Jaca, 2009) and Mariví

Nicolás (Zaragoza, 1939). In Ansó Aragonese, Elena Gusano (Madrid, 1949) María José Pérez and María Jesús Fernández stand out. On the other hand the play in Aragonese titled *Un concello de aldea* by Bernardo Larrosa (1810-1893) remains unedited. Chusé Gracia (Sinués, 1899-Senegüé, 1891) cultivated the Aragonese dialect in the countryside of Jaca.

4.2. CENTRAL ARAGONESE

Central Aragonese stretches from Valle de Tena to La Comuna to the north and from La Guarguera to Viejo Sobrarbe to the south, therefore covering the shores of the Gállego and Cinca rivers. With regards to local dialects you can highlight Tensino (Val de Tena), which is best preserved in the town of Panticosa, Belsetán (Valle de Bielsa) or Aragonese from Valle de Vió. On the other hand, in areas such as Tierra de Biescas, Sobrepuerto, Solana, Fiscal or la Guarguera it is very sparse or has completely disappeared. However, more to the south, in the towns of Somontano de Barbastro, like Naval, Rodellar, Colungo or Costeán, they expand the linguistic *continuum* of central Aragonese. The only radical difference is the loss of typical idiomatic features by the Hispanicisation that has historically affected the more southerly towns. The vitality and social use of the language in this area is scarce and severely weakened facing Castilian Spanish. In general lots of areas have been recently Hispanicised as is the case with Valle de Broto and especially in towns like Torla, that preserved a very pure and complete version of the language until the mid-1900s.

The articles are *o, a, os, as* except intervocalically when, in general in certain areas, they use the forms *ro, ra, ros, ras*. They use the participles ending in *-ato, -ito* (*puyato* “subido” or *ito* “ido”), in general conversation and silent intervocalic consonants (*capeza* “cabeza”, *caixico* “roble”, *forato* “agujero”).

Also you can hear the silent occlusive after nasal or liquid sounds (*cambo* “campo”, *aldo* “alto”). It is probably the dialect that maintains the most genuine and pure characteristics of the Aragonese language, although, as we have shown, nowadays it is in a very precarious state and is on the verge of disappearing.

From a literary point of view, the teacher Leonardo Escalona (1891-1938) wrote in Belsetán. Félix Gil del Cacho (1924-1986) wrote in Aragonese from Valle de Tena, Ricardo Mur Saura (1962), from Tramacastilla de Tena still writes in it

today. Aragonese from la Guarguera was cultivated in various fables and ballads by Regino Berdún (1917-2009), from Belarra. On the other hand, the extinct Aragonese spoken in Sobrepuerto has been literarily recovered by José María Satué, from Escartín.

4.3. EASTERN ARAGONESE

Eastern Aragonese covers from the Cinca River to the Ésera River, where speech starts to transition to Catalan. This includes Valle de Gistaín and Valle de Benasque to the north to western Baja Ribagorza to the south (in the east they speak Catalan). The local unique variants are Chistabín (Valle de Gistaín), Benasqués (Valle de Benasque) and Fobano (Fueva), also all of BajoRibagorzan, that keeps a high social life in towns like Estadilla or Fonz and conserves a large homogeneity in all of the area.

The articles are *el, la, es/los, las* and they use participles ending in *-au, -iu*. The following are all typical of this dialect: the use of the periphrastic simple perfect. (*bas puyar* “subiste” in place of *puyés*, generally in the rest of the linguistic field), the loss of the final *-r* in pronunciation (/fe/ instead of /fer/ or /milló/ instead of /millor/) and the palatalization of words starting with *l* (*lluna, llibro*) and the groups *pll, fll* and *cll*, are typical of all of Ribagorzan (so, *plorar* is pronounced /pljorá/), but not used in Valle de Gistaín or in la Fueva.

Historically this dialect has had a relatively abundant literary production, like the work of authors such as Bernabé Romeo (1841-1916), Dámaso Carrera (1848-1909), Cleto Torrodellas (1868-1939), Vicente Barrós (1876-1942), Tonón de Baldomera (1904-1977), the pseudonym of Antonio López Santolaria, and Pablo Recio (1914-1988), pseudonym of Cleto José Torrodellas Mur.

Recently it has brought in writers such as the Foncense Toni Collada (1974), Ana Tena (1966) or Estadillan Elena Chazal (1960). A key tool for the spread this type of Aragonese has been *El Llibré*, the program of Graus summer festivals, where a lot of writers have written.

In valle de Gistaín the prolific works of Nieuw Luzía Dueso (1930-2010) stands out and, nowadays, Quino Villa (1957) stands out. With regards to the Aragonese spoken in Valle de Benasque, you can point to above all Carmen Castán

(1954), teacher and writer in Benasqués and to José María Ferrer (1954), author of modern and cosmopolitan poems. In Campo, Bienvenido Mascary (1937) stands out.

4.4. SOUTHERN ARAGONESE

Southern Aragonese is the result of the coming together of two different dialects. It is the most homogenous dialect, but also the most Hispanicised and they speak it in the surrounding area of Ayerbe, Sotonera and the Somontano de Huesca and Somontano de Barbastro. Amongst its linguistic characteristics, what stands out is the common use of the articles *o, a, os, as*, although there are pockets of use of the articles *lo, la* in some towns in Somontano de Barbastro, like in El Grado, Hoz and Costeán or Naval, and also in the forms *ro, ra, ros, ras* in the area north-west of Somontano de Barbastro, in villages like Alquézar, Ponzano, Salas Altas or Castillazuelo, a characteristic shared with a large part of central Aragonese. Also, the use of the participles that end in *-au, -iu* except in some cases of lexicalisation (*forato* “agujero”, etc.) although beforehand they coincided with those of central Aragonese. The life of this dialect nowadays is low considering the penetration of Castilian Spanish has been historically more intense than that of the dialects in the more isolated areas and is limited to older people –and not even in all cases–. However, areas like Agüero have kept the language in a state of conservation and with relatively high life.

Without a doubt, the loss of Aragonese in this vast area happened in the first third of the 19th century, just after the civil war. They Hispanicised, firstly, medium sized centres like Almudévar or Tardienta, and then, the rest of the towns. Additionally, cities like Huesca or Barbastro have put a more Hispanicised focus on nearby towns. In all forms, there are certain characteristics, like definite articles or the complement *en/ne* that has remained quite well, even in areas that have been pretty much completely Hispanicised, like towns south of Almudévar or in Monegros.

The following people have written in this dialect: Chuana Coscujuela (1910-2000), Agliberto Garcés (1908-2002), Luis Pérez Gella (1930-2013), Vicente Tobeña y Barba (1863-1921), Pedro Arnal Caverio (1884-1962) and Lorenzo Cebollero (1930). Pedro Lafuente (1929-2000) wrote in the more Hispanicised Aragonese of Huesca and its surrounding area.

5. A little bit of history

5.1. TERRITORIAL DEPLOYMENT AND OFFICERS OF ARAGONESE

It was during the Middle Ages that Aragonese, an originally Pyrenean language, had, due to the process of reconquering and resettling common to Christian Kings from the north of the Iberian Peninsula, its highest geographical reach. Just before 1300 it was the working language of the majority of the area that is now known and the autonomous community of Aragon (except the eastern edge where they spoke Catalan), vast areas of non-Basque speaking Navarre and La Rioja, areas bordering what is now the provinces of Soria, Guadalajara and Cuenca, the interior non-Castilian speaking regions of the Valencian Community, inner Murcia and some Andalusian settlements that have been repopulated by Aragonese.

The documents written pertaining to these centuries are abundant, though, as with many of the contemporary works of other romance languages, almost none of them are literary. The concept of literature has to be reinterpreted, therefore, into a slightly broader form than usual, since a large part of works are going to be adaptations (rather than original works), translations... or a group of historical texts (chronicles, local or universal tales), legal documents (compilations of laws, ceremonials etc.), notaries (testaments, buying and selling documents, contracts...) which, by nature are difficult to justify as literary. A phenomenon that usually happens in texts from this era is the fact that the type of language that they use on numerous occasions isn't purely Aragonese. The genuinely Aragonese examples tend to appear mixed in with characteristics typical of Castilian in a kind of linguistic compromise between different scales and tonalities.

Latin texts

Already as of the 9th century, as also often happens with the rest of the Romance-speaking regions, often you can follow in different Latin texts added traces of the native Aragonese language.

10th Century (approx. 977) Glosas Emilianenses

Of all the glosses, the following extract is surely the most representative, so some writers have considered it as the start of the birth of the Aragonese language;

It is a text that would have to be put up there with other coetaneous linguistic monuments considered as the first manifestations of other such neo-Latin languages, as is the case with Italian (indo-vinello Veronese, 7th-9th century), French (The Oaths of Strasbourg –Sacramenta Argentariae- 842), Catalan, (an extract from the translation to Catalan from Forum Judicum, from the mid-9th 10th century or Homilies d'Organyá, 12th-13th century), Mozarab (the first Mozarab jarchas date from 1042) or Galician-Portuguese (Auto das partilhas, around 1192, Cantiga de maldizer, by Juan Soares de Paiva, dated in 1196, Noticia de torto, before 1211, or the Testament of Alfonso II, from the year 1214).

As has been said, there are numerous authors that say that it is most likely a variant of Aragonese in Glosas Emilianenses. Numerically, in the credit report by Heinz Jürgen Wolf you can see that, at most, 5 of the 20 confirmed linguistic characteristics are Riojan. However, all these characteristics are also found in old Aragonese and still today can be proved to be in the dialects of certain High Aragonese regions. In this sense, a comparison, as a way of an example, between the original text, current-day Aragonese and Castilian is very revealing:

13th Century

The main texts we find in this century are:

Liber Regum. Codex from the 13th century, probably written between 1194 and 1211. It is about the first historiographical text of the Iberian Peninsula.

Razón feita d'amor (1205). This is considered the first lyrical poem written in Romance language in the Peninsula, after the Mozarab kharjas / jarchas. At the end of it, the tale “Lupus me feçit de Moros” is featured.

Historical or epic books, traced to Mester de Clerecía, like *Libro de Apolonio* (around 1235-1240) and *Libre de Alexandre* (around 1250). These are, in reality, partly Aragonese copies of the original poems in Castilian.

Hagiographical books or biblical books, like *Vida de Santa María Egipcíaca* (Not given an exact date), *Libre dels*

tres Reys d'Orient or *Libro de infancia y muerte de Jesús* (around 1250-1260)

Compilación de Huesca o Vidal Mayor. A work by Vidal de Canellas. Jaime I asked Vidal de Canellas, being a bishop of the Huescan headquarters, that “fiziese dreiturera compilation de los fueros assi como savio omne” and, as such, he did the collection of the regional laws that is known as the previously mentioned title. His version in Aragonese is very important from a linguistic, historical and artistic point of view.

14th Century

Johan Ferrández de Heredia (Munébrega, 1310-Avignon, 1396) was in rank a noble and member of the Order of Hospitable Gentlemen from San Juan of Jerusalem, adviser to Kings (Pedro IV, Juan I and Martín I the Humane of Aragon) as well as Popes (Inocencio VI, Urbano V, Gregorio XI and Clemente VII), politician, ambassador, soldier, grand master, sage, bibliophile, a writer... His life was full of infinite unforeseen events. He led a team of compilers and translators that released an enormous bibliographical work of such importance only comparable with the one released a few decades earlier, in the 13th century, by Alfonso X the Wise, Castilian Monarch. He was one of the first humanists from the Iberian Peninsula and he translated (or had translated) Italian and Greco-Latin works of particular relevance, contributing to the arrival of Humanism and, with it, the Renaissance in the regions under the Aragonese Crown which was quite far ahead of that which was coming with the Castilian King and other peninsular regions.

Apart from the Castilianisms, the Heredian work (*Vidas Semblantes*, *Secreto Secretorum*, *Grant Cronica de Espanya*, *Libro de Macro Polo*, etc.) offer a cultured and refined type of Aragonese

Trasoro. This is an authentic patchwork composed of things from chapters dedicated to certain parts of the Old Testament, to the explanation of philosophical ideas, to geographical descriptions, to diverse zoological information, etc. An authentic gem from our literary heritage, possibly from the end of the 14th century or the beginning of the 15th. Therefore we know a copy – or translation – exists in Aragonese and another in Catalan that, for the moment,

remains unedited. Although it probably hasn't left the Herodian *scriptorium* it is also part of the same educational spirit.

El Poema de Yúçuf. A Spanish text written in Arabic letters. It is, according to Menéndez Pidal, the oldest poetic work that the Moors have left us, as well as also being the most resolute, the most valiant, the main work from Spanish literature written in Arabic letters.

Crónica de San Juan de La Peña. Historical chronicle of the Kings of Aragon. It shows a type of language similar to *Liber Regum* with popular forms that don't appear in other texts (perfect tense with *-oron*, imperfect with *yeran*, etc.)

Ceremonial de la Consagración y Coronación de los Reyes de Aragón. Dating from 1353. It was written at the request of King Pedro IV the Ceremonious. It is an excellent demonstration of Court or Palace Aragonese.

Transfixio (Hermandad e Confrayria in honore de Sancta Maria de Transfixio). In this case we are faced with the statutes of a Zaragoza brotherhood written between 1311 and 1508

15th and 16th Centuries

In these centuries, the presence of Aragonese in chronicles and similar texts declines, but the juridical texts still continue, like Regional Laws of Aragon. Ultimately, however, some certainly interesting documents in Aragonese when it comes to their linguistics have been discovered. Amongst all of them, it is possible to highlight a group of texts made up of cards, contracts, certificates, receipts etc., concerning the remodelling of the Stone Bridge in Zaragoza. It contains documentation from the year 1401. It is written in a type of language that preserves admirably a large number of the genuinely Aragonese linguistic characteristics. A type of language that, by its magnificent level of conservation, shows, as if it wasn't already sufficiently clear, that Aragonese was also spoken in Zaragoza or in the lower areas of Aragon.

Other samples that should be taken into account are the huge documentation of various ranchers Guilds or cattle dealers Guilds (especially that of *Ligallo* of Zaragoza), as well as numerous customs books or all the *capbreus* that are prolific from this era.

Some of the last texts from the 16th century that are conserved are last will and testaments, copied from the words spoken by the dying person by notaries and priests.

5.2. THE DECLINE OF THE ARAGONESE LANGUAGE

With the passing of centuries the Aragonese language survived in a diglossic situation, where Castilian represented the language of the culture and social progression, and Aragonese was the rural, plebeian language and that of uncultured people. This reality has unfortunately still remained to this day. It is not strange, therefore, that after so many centuries, still today many of the speakers of Aragonese don't have a linguistic awareness and refer to their own language as "badly spoken" or "a crude language."

The regression of the Aragonese language clearly already started at the beginning of the 15th century. In the year 1412 the arrival of the Aragonese throne to the Trastámara family brought the abandon of Aragonese as a language of the court. This political change coupled, principally, with a serious lack of linguistic awareness in the town and a lack of production of literature in the language leaves an open field for Hispanisation. Thus, already by the 14th century, and consolidating itself completed during the 15th, a clear Hispanicisation is shown in official texts and therefore the Aragonese phonetic, morphologic, syntactic and lexical characteristics are replaced by the Castilian ones. This progressively results in it being very rare to find Aragonese words or expressions in any kind of text.

Geographically, without doubt, the biggest centres of Aragonese population were the first to be Hispanicised. In some cases, not very naturally, as can be shown with two examples. On the one hand, in the "Memorial Service and Poetry competition for Margaret of Austria", held in Zaragoza in 1612, one of the contestants was excluded for using the Aragonese word *fusta* instead of the Castilian *madera* in his poem. The other, in the same city and in the *ordinaciones* that the Zaragoza Jury gave in the year 1629 to the office of *parcheros*, it is stipulated that henceforth these artisans are known as *pasamaneros* being *bocablo más plático y moderno*. That is to say, in both cases the lexical substitution of Aragonese for Castilian is imposed.

However, there are some exceptions like the Vicar from Cariñena, who in the 17th century wrote in Aragonese, or the example of Ana Abarca Bolea, who, in some of her compositions, used the popular speech from Somontano de Huesca.

Given this reality, the scarce literary texts in Aragonese from the 18th or 19th century, like shepherds recitations in local festivals, *pastoradas*, relegates the use of Aragonese to stupid, uncultured or lower class characters and Castilian is established as a unique example of a cultured language. From this era there are a few examples of concern for Aragonese like the anonymous manuscript *Sobre la lengua aragonesa* or the collection of Aragonese words by Sieso de Bolea for its inclusion in the official Spanish dictionary.

In the middle of the 19th century however comes a turning point, a point, perhaps, of no return for our language.

During all this time, Aragonese continued surviving in isolation. They continued publishing studies and vocabularies of the language, mainly during the 19th century, like those of Mariano Peralta (*Ensayo de un diccionario aragonés-castellano*, 1836), Jerónimo Borao (*Diccionario de voces aragonesas*, 1859), Francisco Otín y Duaso, (including a vocabulary in his *Discurso leído ante la Real Academia Española de Arqueología y Geografía del Príncipe Alfonso* -1868-), or an anonymous dictionary between the 18th and 19th century.

The interest for the linguistic reality of Aragon is materialised at the beginning of the 20th century, when they founded the Study of the Philology of Aragon, supported by the Provincial Council of Zaragoza. Another example in the first half of the century is the work by Mosén Pardo Asso (born in Santa Cilia in 1880), who made an entrance into the field of Aragonese lexicology with his book *Nuevo Diccionario Etimológico Aragonés* (1938)

However, despite these small efforts, lots of people (like the philologists Jean Joseph Saroihandy, Willam D. Elcock or Alwin Kuhn) warned of the situation of the Aragonese language that was so delicate that already by the beginning of the 20th century they assured that Aragonese would disappear before the end of the century.

Other factors that have contributed to the decline and loss of the language are the influence of the mass media, in that Aragonese is not represented in mass media. Also hydraulic works and, specifically, “*Plan de Desarrollo*

Económico y Social de Huesca” (1963), that established that said province, with an active population of 50,000 speakers, had a *surplus* of 21,00 speakers and, however, then said: “On the other side, here we still continue to have public works in irrigation and colonization, in hydro electricies on an important scale, in reforestation, in urban construction in various point, which makes the importation, more or less, of **not Aragonese** Spanish, but mainly Andalucian or Extremaduran necessary.” That is to say, the Franco regime suggested and executed the expulsion of Aragonese people (and therefore also its culture and language) from the area and replaced them with people from other areas and cultures; the compulsory education that turned its back on the cultural and linguistic reality of Aragón with what Enrique Satué referred to as “The problem of the altered language” so that “on the one hand life favoured the vernacular language and, on the other, school demanded the official language, Castilian.”

Compulsory education in Castilian, instead of protecting the native linguistic legacy, definitively excluded it from the curriculum, from teaching practice and from the entire education system. Subsequently, a few decades later, the spread of mass media (radio and, above all, television) and of new lifestyles and types of language has finished the job that schools couldn't.

Despite all these factors it is surprising that there still is an understanding between all the varieties of Aragonese, though the existence of multiple hybrids of Aragonese and Castilian isn't surprising, a product of the pressure of one on the other: *trebajar, lloveba*. A state of pre-linguistic substitution; the step that we find the language in now.

One of the more damaging consequences of this is the complete inferiority that most Aragonese speakers feel with respect to the official language: Castilian. That feeling has been generating self-hate and has led in many cases (practically widespread in many areas) to blame the native language, almost criminalise it, coming to terms with it and internalising it until finally coming to the conclusion that speaking Aragonese is equivalent to being rude and being poor and speaking Castilian is refined and leads to prospering socially.

Moreover, the lack of idiomatic awareness translates to a, completely misguided, common perception of people who speak their own language. That is to say, far from being con-

ceived as an independent language, different from Castilian, it makes them think the language they speak is nothing more than a linguistic register (more or less casual, vulgar or colloquial) of the general Castilian language. This perception, combined with the fact that both Aragonese and Castilian are two Romance or Neo-Latin languages, relatively close together, has contributed to a growing process of *patue-sización* that over time is allowing the gradual – and almost unnoticeable – substitution of one language, Aragonese, for the other, Castilian.

The lack of standardising processes (in short the lack of standardisation of the social use of the language and a lack of social dignity) and regulating processes (creation and acceptance of a linguistic model that serves as a reference for the different geographical forms of the language) has promoted localism and the absence of a wider vision of the Aragonese language in time, space and the universe and the possible communicative uses, like all languages, that it has.

Nowadays, after almost 40 years of democracy, all these shortages are far from being solved, either for lack of political will or because a strategy for its linguistic elimination is continuing.

The fact that the different regional executives have continued to present a linguistic policy that is erratic; it is most of the time practically inexistent, and other times, like at the moment, it is openly regressive, which leaves, as the years and decades go by, less and less room for manoeuvre at a time of trying to promote the dignity and active defence of our language. Or even mere conservation or survival. The number of speakers has long ago started its final countdown and the intergenerational passing down of the language is practically gone. Now more than ever we need urgent governmental measures and actions.

In the proposed classification by Stephen Wurm of minority languages, Aragonese finds itself at the middle of the road between the third and fourth levels, corresponding respectively with languages in great danger and dying languages.

6. Contemporary Literature

Since the end of the 19th century and over the course of the 20th century there has been more literature written in Aragonese than in the rest of its more than 1000 year history.

As well has Bernardo Larrosa, to whom we've already referred, in the last third of the century, arises the work of authors like Leonardo Gastón (1837-1885) and Bernabé Romeo (1841-1916), who write in their own respective local linguistic dialects, Cheso Aragonese and Bajorribagorzano Aragonese from Estadilla. Their work, though brief, was a foretaste of the dialectal literary (mostly poetry) *boom* that was going to take place in the 20th century.

6.1 DIALECTAL LITERATURE

The essential role of current day literature in Aragonese, as Francho Nagore pointed out, is based in the tension between localism and tradition/universalism and modernisation. Supposedly the first corresponds to dialectal literature and the second to the fledgling literature in common Aragonese.

A similar opinion is found in one of the articles by Ángel Crespo dedicated to contemporary poetry in Aragonese. However, Ángel Crespo himself changed, in part, his hypothesis on reading the book of poems in Benasqués Aragonese *Ta las fuens m'en boi*, by Chusé María Ferrer.

A large part of the initial characteristics shown by the dialectal literature and poetry are on track to be weakened and in some cases even have started to disappear, being more and more on par with, both in literary quality as well as having its sights set high regarding themes and approach, with the best works written in common Aragonese. Moreover, also in common Aragonese there is a good number of populist works with traditional technique and even thematic localism.

6.2. COMMON ARAGONESE

The boundaries between dialectal literature and common Aragonese have been gradually broken down, unifying both of them in two ways:

With regards to the range of the aesthetic or literary intention of the authors

With regards to the personal contact maintained between the authors of one group and the other and the progressive increase in the mutual literary influences.

In the last few decades awards have been very important for the increase in the creation of literature in Aragonese and also for the mutual knowledge and cohabitation of the authors in both common Aragonese and in different Aragonese dialects.

6.3. MODEL

At first common Aragonese was basically marked by the influence of Cheso Aragonese or of Aragonese spoken in Sobrarbe. Later, as more literary works in other local dialects appeared and there were more studies on them, and the different writers in common Aragonese were delving deeper in their knowledge of the whole of the Aragonese language, the model was drifting, work after work, into a model that was more and more polymorphic and, definitely, much more rich, flexible and natural. The model, therefore, is nowadays continuously reshaping and feeding back into itself.

Yet, the principal of its shortcomings is that it can still sometimes be too bookish.

6.4. AUTHORS

The foundational triad was formed by Ánchel Conte (*No deixez morir a mía voz*, 1972; *O tiempo y os días*, 1996; *O rafe de l'espello*, 1997; *E zaga o mar o desierto*, 2002; *O bolito d'as sisellas*, 2000; *Aguardando lo zierzo*, 2002; y *De ordo sacerdotalis*, 2004); Francho Nagore (*Sospiros de l'aire*, 1971; *Cutiano agüerro*, 1977; *Purnas en a zenisa*, 1984; y *Baxo a molsa*, 1999) and Eduardo Vicente de Vera (*Garba y augua*, 1976; *Do s'amorta l'alba*, 1977; *Chardín d'ausenzias*, 1981; y *As fuellas de París*, 1989). These works were about the leading examples in the frenetic run of literature in common Aragonese.

Over the course of the seventies and the start of the eighties, a whole host of contributing writers that in some media like *Andalán* (Ánchel Conte, Francho Nagore, Antonio Martínez, Chorche Cortés, etc.) or in *Nueva España* from Huesca (Bizén d'o Río, Inazio Almudébar, Chulio Brioso, Francho Nagore, Chesús Giménez Arbués, etc.) were spreading Aragonese writings in Humanistic texts and in

opinion press. In all this quiet and daily work, what stands out is the publication of the compilation *Beyendo chirar o sol* (1980), by Inazio Almudébar. Later, in the year 2004 a collection of collaborations from this era appeared by Masimo Palacio entitled *Traquitos de Biescas* (2004)

With regards to the narrative and poetic genres, we can talk about the second advance (rather than generation) of basically made up of authors like Rafel Barrio (*Falordias y broxas*, 1980) and Francho Rodés (*Ascuira, clamor bueita*, 1980, y *Armonicos d'aire y augua*, 1985)

Immediately a veritable explosion occurred Aragonese writing with the appearance of Chusé María Guarido (*A nuestra canta*, 1983) and Chusé Inazio Nabarro (*A pelleta entre as barzas*, 1983; *O mirallo de chelo*, 1985; *Astí en do l'aire sofla ta sobater as fuellas de os árbols*, 1989; *A balada de o choben Billy*, 1994; *Tiempo de fabas*, 1997; *En esfensa de as tabiernas y atos poemas*, 1998; *Sonetos d'amor e guambra*, 2001; *Chuan Galé. (O cuaderno de tapas royas)*, 2003; *Reloch de pocha*, 2006; *Mesaches*, 2012) and the incorporation of other more veteran writers, with regards to age, but equally new with regards to the publication of work in Aragonese, Miguel Santolaria (*Mal d'amors*, 1983; *As charradas de Tonón*, 1987; *L'erenzio*, 1988), Santiago Román (*Rolde de broxas en Crenchafosca y No cal que t'en baigas*, 1986; *Cronicas d'Ardanau*, 2010) or Chuaquín Castillo (*A casa maldada*, 1989)

The subsequent generations have been going on apace, at least, until the last few years. The list is certainly extensive: Chusé Raúl Usón (*Ixe buxo biello (Entre fierros)*, 1988; *Cruzillata*, 1994; *As zien claus*, 1997; *Enruenas*, 2008); Carlos Diest (*Luen d'as tierras d'a libertá*, 1989; *O churamento de Creszenzio*, 1990; *Animals esclarexitos*, 1995; *Rimallós*, 1996; *Long live rock'n'roll y atras basemias*, 1998); Chusé Carlos Laínez (*En o gudrón espígol xuto*, 1991; *Aires de liloilera*, 1992; *A besita de l'ánchel*, 1994; *Bel diya*, 1998); Roberto Cortés (*Escais d'un zarpau d'intes*, 1995, *Entre os repuis d'o buedo*, 2003; *Baxo as telleras*, 2004; *Réquiem por nusatros*, 2004); Fernando Vallés and Javier Gurpegui (*Mai sólo bi'n ha que una*, 1998).

Equally there is a large group of writers from Teruel like Chusé María Cebrián (*Paisaches*, 1990), Chusé A. Gracia (*Os mons malditos*, 1992), Chusé María y Chabier de Jaime

(*Os berdes beranos*, 1993), and, above all, Chuan Chusé Bielsa (*A frescor en a penumbra*, 1994). Santiago Moncayola and Ana Cristina Vicén (*Animals, animals*, 1993; *No son indios toz os que fan a tana*, 2000) Chesús Lorién Gimeno (*A rechira de Chil*, 1993), Zésar Biec (*Bel puesto en a pantalla*, 1995, *O fuego que nunca no s'amorta*, 2009) and Manuel Ramón Campo (*Falordietas*, 2005) are some of the most well-known authors of children's literature in Aragonese.

Fabián Castillo (*Parolas tristas*, 2001; *Traquitos de bida e muerte*, 2008), Óscar Latas (*Berari*, 2003; *Sísolas*, 2004; *Ortensia de Chudas*, 2004; *Pétalos de febrero en Bordenes*, 2007; *Postaletas*, 2011; *Ya s'ha despertato Guara*, 2011; *Ablandindo golez de soledá*, 2008; *L'ombre-choto de Sobrarbe*, 2009; *Chuegos florals. Repuis d'asperanza y malinconía*, 2012), María Pilar Benítez (*Chima. Besos roys en o canfranero*, 2003; *Cazar charlos*, 2007; *Yo, Taresa Çuria*, 2007; *Plandibón*, 2008), Carmina Paraíso (*A escondrecucas en l'alcoba*, 2008), Fernando Romanos (*Baxo a mirada de os fustez*, 2006; *Alas de papel*, 2010), Ferrán Marín (*Lorién de Borbuén*, 2003), Rubén Ramos (*Bidas crebazadas*, 2007; *En l'altro canto d'a güega*, 2009), Dabi Lahiguera (*Ucronía*, 2007), Chuan Carlos Bueno (*En o envero d'a fruita*, 2008), Santiago Paricio (*Fillos d'as luengas*, 2010) are other authors from the last few classes that are contributing a new sensibility to writings in Aragonese.

7. Current Situation of Aragonese

7.1. NORMALIZATION AND STANDARDISATION

Aragonese has grabbed the attention of both European as well as Spanish philologists and investigators, mainly over the course of the 20th century, those that stand out are the French Jean-Joseph Saroïhandy (1867-1932), the German Alwin Kuhn (1910-1968) or the English William D. Elcock (1910-1960), authors of important and vital studies and monographs about Aragonese.

After a long silence, between the end of the sixties and the beginning of the seventies, a process to dignify the language was started, with the fundamental objective of recovering and studying the language, at the same time as publishing texts and books in Aragonese and creating a standard model. Also, of course, giving speakers back the respect for their own language, after centuries of contempt.

It is in this era, specifically in 1976, when the “Consello d’a Fabla Aragonesa” was created, an entity that would manage the process, which was known as “Renaxedura.” Thanks to this work the linguistic studies and the literature production has multiplied, although in the areas of teaching and the media, the situations of the Aragonese is quite far from desirable. In the subsequent years new associations gradually appeared in favour of the Aragonese language. One of the important points of this movement of the defence of Aragonese was the celebration in Huesca in 1987 of *I Congreso ta ra normalizazió de l’Aragonés*, where some graphic regulations for Aragonese were approved by numerous associations, that completed and perfected those that had been used since 1974. Nowadays, however, Aragon still does not yet have a recognised linguistic authority and hence the use of various proposed spellings.

7.2. THE TEACHING OF ARAGONESE

The teaching of Aragonese has been promoted for the most part by cultural associations, especially, but not only, by Consello d’a Fabla Aragonesa (CFA), Ligallo de Fablans de l’Aragonés (LFA), Nogará, O Trango and, to a lesser extent, Rolde de Estudios Aragoneses and local associations like L’Albalda de Baldexalón, Boira, Fablans d’o Sur, Aragonese centres in Barcelona and Valencia etc...

The CFA has given courses since its creation (1976), with an average of between 300 and 400 students per year in different regions, especially in High Aragon. So, in 1995 they gave 17 courses in 12 towns (Ayerbe, Barbastro, Alcolea de Cinca, Benasque, Binéfar, Jaca, Grañén, Robres, Tardienta, Huesca, Monzón y Sabiñánigo); in 1996 in 13 (Barbastro, Benasque, Binéfar, Jaca, Fañanás, Grañén, Aínsa, Monzón, Robres, Sabiñánigo, San Mateo de Gállego, Tardienta, Huesca); in 1997 in 18 (Albalatillo, Ayerbe, Banastás, Belver de Cinca, Benasque, Binéfar, Calatayud, Capella, Jaca, Estadilla, Fonz, Aínsa, Monzón, Robres, Sabiñánigo, Sariñena, Tardienta y Huesca). Between 1989 and 1999, this association relied on the help of the Department of Education and Culture of the General Council of Aragon. Since 2000 it has carried out one or two courses in Huesca and others in different towns, but without institutional support.

For its part, the LFA started giving classes exclusively in its headquarters in Zaragoza, but soon its dynamism led it to extend its activity to other areas around Aragon. Between 1994 and 2012 it has carried out courses in Artieda, Barbastro, Biescas, Brea, Cadrete, Canfranc, Cantavieja, Hecho, Ejea, Épila, Fuendejalón, Gallur, Garrapinillos, Illueca, La Cartuja, La Puebla de Alfindén, Monreal del Campo, Montalbán, Pina de Ebro, Quinto, Sabiñánigo, Sádaba, Sallent de Gállego, San Mateo de Gállego, Santaliestra, Tarazona, Tauste, Teruel, Villanueva de Gállego y Zuera. In some of these towns its work has born and developed other groups like Espelungué (Jaca), Boira (Ejea), Calibo (Sabiñánigo) and Carrasca (Teruel), founders, joint with Fablans Zaragoza, of the Federación de Ligallos de Fablans de L'Aragónés. In total more than 3,300 students have participated in their courses.

Moreover, at the beginning of the 90s, LFA created, with European bases and the collaboration of CFA, the Huescan council and the Local Government from Monzón, the school of Aragonese culture “Nabata,” in which the language coupled with other aspects of Aragonese culture is studied. They planned to have a second school in Jaca but it never became a reality.

Also, the University of Zaragoza has intermittently offered an Aragonese course, in many cases, with the collaboration of LFA and Nogarà.

The association Nogarà held, in Zaragoza, first and second *ran* courses, as well as online and partial in-class courses, and other intensive courses in the summer.

Since 2009, the Asociación Cultural O Trango has organised first and second *ran* courses, and awareness activities like talks, seminars, conferences and linguistic information campaigns, especially in places like the University of Zaragoza and Casa de Juventud University, although also in colleges and institutes like I.E.S. Andalán. In 2012 it contributed to the labelling in Aragonese of major signs in the Department of Education in the University of Zaragoza.

With regards to official education, whilst the education in Catalan started in the academic year of 1984-1985, it wasn't until 1997-1998 when, after an agreement between the Aragonese government and the local governments of Aínsa, Benasque, Biescas and Jaca, that they started to teach Aragonese as extracurricular and non-evaluated subject.

The data we have made it clear that, while the number of students has increased (from 191 to 387), the number of teachers (4 or 5, most of whom were part time) and institutes have remained the same over the last 15 years, when the desired outcome would have been a display of greater magnitude in that area. In fact, it wasn't until the 2010/11 course when they started to teach Aragonese in a new CRA, in “Cinca Cinqueta”, thus, as of the 2012-2013 course, these are the towns that have official teaching of Aragonese: Laspuña, Ainet, Aínsa, Benasque, Bielsa, Biescas, Caldearenas, Castejón de Sos, Cerler, Gistaín, Escallona, Jaca, Laspaúles, Panticosa, Plan, Sabiñánigo, San Juan de Plan, Saravillo, Sahún, Senegüé, Tramacastilla de Tena.

The data we have available is the following:

So therefore, looking at the previous data, we lack a more determined policy from the Aragonese Government in implementing measures that allow, at least, the support of the language in the current generation, considering as well that there are a good number of city councils that have asked for it. Specifically, there were 46 councils that asked for the teaching until 2000, with the support of the council of Huesca: Abizanda, Aínsa-Sobrarbe, Ansó, Ayerbe, Azara, Barbastro, Benasque, Berbegal, Bielsa, Biescas, Biscarrués, Capdesaso, Campo, Caldearenas, Castejón de Sos, Jaca, El Grado, Estadilla, Fañanás, Fonz, Graus, Huesca, la Fueva, la Sotonera, Labuerda, Laspuña, lanaja, Laspaúles, Loarre, Monflorite-Lascasas, Monzón, Naval, Pertusa, Sallent de Gállego, Sabiñánigo, San Juan de Plan, Santa M^a de Dulcis, Siétamo, Sodeto, Torla, Torrelarribera, Torres de Alcanadre, Tramaced, Vencillón, Vicién, Villanoba.

The Luzía Dueso Project have started in school year 2006-07, specially focused, but not only, on schools teaching aragonese language.

7.3. THE TEACHING OF ARAGONESE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF ZARAGOZA

The governing board of the University of Zaragoza authorised, at the request of more than 300 students of the university Primary teacher training school (EGB) in Huesca and its own department, the teaching of “Aragonese Philology I and II” as a voluntary subject, as of the year 1986-1987

within the General and Hispanic Linguistics Department. Amongst their objectives were the training for the interpretation of texts in Aragonese and learning to be able to teach basic levels.

Since then, the most relevant course in the field in the University of Zaragoza is the “Diploma of Specialisation in Aragonese Philology” which is taught by the Humanities and Education department on the campus of Huesca since the year 2011/2012 and coordinated by Professor Dr. Francho Nagore. The curriculum is made up of 10 subjects, all of them compulsory and counts in total as 32 ECTS credits.

8. Chronology of the normalization process of Aragonese

In the seventies a movement started the process of naturalisation of the Aragonese language in conferences, press articles, courses and radio programs.

In 1974 the first provisional proposal for standard spelling was made.

In 1976 the Consello d’a Fabla Aragonesa was born. Its principal objectives were, and still are, the defence, promotion, study and spreading of Aragonese in all respects.

In 1977 5 books were published, as well as the *Aragonese Dictionary* by Rafael Andolz. This dictionary, with 40,000 entries is the most complete Aragonese dictionary in existence, although it is not a normative dictionary, but a dialectal one.

Also the first edition of the *Grammar of the Aragonese Language* was published by Francho Nagore that, from a more descriptive than normative point of view, gave the first view of the Aragonese language based on synchronous and more than dialectal criteria. This was a first step towards a structuration of morphology and syntax.

At the end of the 70s came campaigns like “L’aragonés t’a escuela” (a promotion of the teaching of Aragonese) and “L’aragonés cofizial” and the Rolde de Estudios Aragoneses (1977) was founded, that inspired literary prizes and publications in Aragonese.

In the 80s the number of Aragonese courses increased, new associations were born (like the Ligallo de Fablans de l’Aragonés -1982-) that added to the work by the Aragonese

and grew the number of books published. So, until 1975 there was an average of one book every two years published, whereas the number increased to 4 every year from 1976 to 1985 and 7 from 1986 to 1990.

In 1987 the “I Congreso ta ra Normalización de l’Aragonés” was celebrated, approving by consensus the graphic standards that have been used since then in most works published in Aragonese, although some writers and local groups haven’t used them in their publications and since 2005 they have put together two other proposed standards.

In the 90s the interest for Aragonese was more profound and grew most of all in the very young and in the urban areas of Zaragoza, bringing about new associations like Nogará (1990). The annual average number of books in Aragonese grew to 8.

In 1997 the lexicographical investigation *Tresoro d’a Lengua Aragonesa* was started to create a database of Aragonese vocabulary and expressions that helped the codification and normalization of Aragonese.

This same year a special judgement committee for linguistic policy was approved in Aragonese courts. In it they indicated the guidelines that weren’t being fulfilled, and were called for in their presentation at the end of 1997, by the Aragonese Languages Act. This year, the association “Ligallo de Fablans de l’Aragonés” creates the prize “Arredol”, in honour and acknowledgement to the work, for aragonese language, of different public figures, and is born the association of translators into aragonese “Asoziación de Tradutors en Aragonés”, which later expands its activity and was reborn with the name of “Asoziación d’Estudios y Treballos en Luenga Aragonesa”

In 1998 a draft of the Languages Act was made by the Government and the cultural associations, which however did not end up in the Aragonese courts.

In 1999 the Aragonese courts approved the Cultural Heritage Bill, in which, for the first time, there was an expressed recognition of the Aragonese language.

In 2000 the “Consello Asesor de l’Aragonés” was created. Its objectives were to advance the process of the codification of the standard of written Aragonese as well as the process of normalisation and standardisation of Aragonese.

In 2001 the Aragonese Government presented at a public exhibition, a draft of the Languages Act of Aragon; however, by the end of the exhibition, they didn't present a bill and therefore the parliamentary process was not started.

Since 2002 the "Asociación Cultural Parola" has worked on the documentation, investigation and spread of the High Aragonese linguistic heritage through new audio-visual technologies.

Between years 2004-2005 the association "Sociedat de Lingüística Aragonesa" was created; and began to be conceived the movement "Chuntos por l'aragonés", which ended in 2006 in the "2nd Congress of Aragonese", and the creation of a new association "Estudio de Filología Aragonesa".

Both associations, "S.L.A." and "E.F.A." postulate their own spelling rules, different from the approved ones in the "First Congress of Aragonese" in year 1987. This situation is getting difficult the process going into the normalization of aragonese language, because there are two different spelling rules fighting to prevail, which could end in different models, and in a disintegration and atomization of the vindication movement about aragonese language.

In 2009 faced with the lack of approval of the Languages Act the "Coordinadora Aragón Trilingüe" was launched that resulted in a demonstration in the streets of Zaragoza. That same year they approved the 10/2009 Act of the use, protection and promotion of the typical languages of Aragon, that recognised Aragonese and Catalan as the typical and historical languages of Aragon.

In December 2010, one year after the Act was passed, the Board of Governors of the languages of Aragon was formed.

In May 2012 the new Aragonese Government (that had come into office the year before) presented in the courts a draft of the bill that, amongst other things, denied the existence of Aragonese and Catalan, giving the languages of Aragon non-scientific names.

Due to this the Coordinadora Aragón Trilingüe got back on track and a number of actions were taken in favour of our own languages.

In May 2013 the Aragonese court with votes in favour of PP and PAR approved a new act, which repeals the last one, and practically leaves the two minority languages in Aragon completely defenceless, even denying their scientific and his-

torical names (Aragonese and Catalan). At the same time 600 professors and investigators from 23 universities from around the world endorsed a manifesto in favour of Aragonese and Catalan proposed by the Rolde de Estudios Aragoneses and against the cutbacks that this Act introduced. Also the University of Zaragoza expressed its concern about the contents of this Act.

9. Does Aragonese have a future?

Until now we have looked at the past and present of our language. We must now ask ourselves about the future.

The prospects aren't very promising from an objective point of view. But we are also interested in knowing what the High Aragonese people think of the future of their language.

For that we only have one set of sociolinguistic work; carried out between 2000 and 2001 by the team Eusko-barómetro, managed by the professor Francisco José Llera Ramo and requested by the Aragonese Government. The cited study (as of now, Llera, 2001) covered the following areas: valles de Ansó (1), Hecho (2), Aragüés (3), Aísa (4), Bielsa (5), Tella-Sin (6), Gistaín (7), Benasque (8), Ribagorza central (9), y Ribagorza baja (10), comarca de Sobrarbe (11), La Fueva (12), valle del Aragón (13), valle de Tena (14), Serrablo (15), La Sotonera (16), Ayerbe (17), Agüero (18), Somontano de Huesca (19) y Somontano de Barbastro (20).

9.1. LINGUISTIC AWARENESS AND GENERATIONAL TRANSFER

The linguistic awareness of the High Aragonese people is very weak, a product of years of vulnerability and forgetfulness on the part of the public powers and the social and cultural smearing of its reputation often encouraged by them, especially (but not only), during the Franco years.

Yet still, 31% believe they speak a proper linguistic variation, 47% refer to it as Fable or Aragonese (a percentage that in the city of Huesca goes up to 77%) and 36% identify it with the name of the place that they live in, whereas 17% don't know how to refer to it.

The generational passing down of the language has been broken in the last few decades due to not having the necessary support from schools, so that only 13% of High Aragonese

people get it from their parents, and of those who live in bilingual homes only 10% exclusively use it. "The conclusion that is drawn is that, of those who live in bilingual homes and can choose Aragonese however still chose Castilian. Logically, the lack of the official state of Aragonese and its 'lack of use' in social life, takes its toll" (Llera, 2001).

9.2. ARAGONESE OR JUST POORLY SPOKEN CASTILIAN

However, 61% of High Aragonese think that what they speak in their town is a language, faced with 6% that believe it is an incorrect linguistic variant or just poorly spoken. In this regard it has improved a lot. It seems that this has led to "in the next town over, yes they speak very badly" considering themselves to have a better conservation of Aragonese.

72% believe that what is spoken in the neighbouring village is similar to what they speak and 17% believe they only speak it in their town.

According to Llera (2001), "what is remarkable is, in our understanding, that establishing a more or less wide range, most people extend the borders of their linguistic register to further than just their local area, suggesting the existence of a kind of, albeit vague and blurred, community linguistic awareness."

9.3. HOW MANY SPEAKERS?

Within the Aragonese speaking area, the amount of use and knowledge of the language is very different and, therefore, we can find zones that have varying characteristics such as the normal and daily use or the generational or domestic use.

The language has a lot of life in, above all, the western Valle de Hecho, Valle de Gistáin and Valle de Benasque, as well as in western Baja Ribagorza. In the rest of High Aragon, the language is still used a bit in Valle de Ansó and Valle de Tena, as well as in la Galliguera or certain areas of Hoya de Huesca and Somontano. At any rate, the situation is very critical and delicate. So, for example, in Valle de Bielsa where the language has maintained a great linguistic purity, the situation is almost terminal. However, all the variations, if something urgent and valiant isn't done, find themselves on the verge of disappearing. All the dialects find themselves to a larger or lesser extend on the way to extinction, the number

of speakers is scarce, it isn't completely decided and those who have conserved the language the most are old people, especially those who haven't left their hometown and have worked in the primary sector.

Census of inhabitants and linguistic census

Due to a lack of a serious and scientific linguistic census, in the general census of inhabitants in 1981, there was also an (inaccurate) question about the languages spoken in Aragon. According to the data obtained, 11,283 people used Aragonese (active speakers) and another 17,653 knew it (passive speakers). That added up to a total of 30,000 speakers. This data gave an approximate view, although not conclusive, of the reality. From studying and interpreting the results, taking into account town by town (except the capital Zaragoza and a few other towns, quantitatively of little relevance, on whose data you can't rely), the following conclusions have come out:

Taking into account the entire population of Aragon (without the capital Zaragoza):

Those who speak or know **Aragonese: 29,477** people
 Those who speak or know **Catalan: 48,029** people
 Those who speak and know only **Castilian: 554,943** people
 That means - around 632,625 = 100% - the following percentages: **Aragonese 4.66%; Catalan 7.59%; Castilian: 87.75%**)

The data broken down by region is the following:

The most suggestive evidence is that of the province of Huesca, where almost 12% are Aragonese speakers and another 12% Catalan speakers. That draws attention to the fact that there are many more people who said they could speak it than those who said they know it and, on the other hand, it is the exact opposite for Aragonese. Quite possibly you have to interpret this fact as an indicator of the state of relapse Aragonese is in (at least, as a spoken language, although not necessarily as a written language).

In 1997 a linguistic census was carried out in Monzón, an initiative undertaken by their City Council and had been proposed by the City Councillor from CHA, Chorche Paniello, and supported unanimously by the rest of the municipal political groups. The questionnaire, which consisted of 15 questions, was given to all the citizens of Monzón older than 14 (in total, some 12,000 people) in the month of

April in 1997 by 11 census agents. Subsequently, the “junior-company” EAPLE, from Business Studies School from Huesca, analysed the results for their publication. The global results were officially presented in the Monzón City Council on the 29th of June 1998. In them it showed that 48% of the people questioned spoke or knew Aragonese, 14% Catalan and 21% both languages. A total of 4,439 people spoke Aragonese, whereas according to the 1981 census the number of Aragonese and Catalan speakers added up to 1,700 in this municipality. On the other hand, 42.5% of people were in favour for the teaching of Aragonese in public schools and 49.3% believe the City Council should encourage the use of the Aragonese language. Other local censuses have been carried out in Fonz and Hecho, although not by public institutions.

According to Llera (2001), 45.4% of High Aragonese people understand Aragonese, 15.6% understand and speak it, 8.3% understand, speak and read it and only 4.6% also write it.

Objectively all this data could be seen as negative, but given the situation of the language and the difficulty to get access to teaching of it, it seems a very raised figure, that speaks positively for the interest from the High Aragonese people for their own language. Llera (2001) said in that regard: “These figures, although they show the bad situation that Aragonese finds itself in, it also offers some encouraging data facing a future recovery of its own. There is an important basis, of almost half of the High Aragonese people, that understand Aragonese. With an adequate linguistic policy the recovery of Aragonese could be achieved. There is a minimum base so that this process can be carried out, what is lacking is a sufficient institutional will to do so.

9.4. NORMALIZATION AND STANDARDISATION

In the study by Llera, 57.2% of the people asked agreed on a process of Aragonese linguistic normalization and only 18% preferred to let each variety stand on their own.

With regards to the standardisation used (remember that the study is in 2001, when they only used graphical standards from 1987, with the exception of some local writers that wrote with Castilian standards), 51% believed that written Aragonese was quite similar, very similar or equal to the spo-

ken, 22% that it had something to do with it and only 18.9% believed it had nothing to do with it. “This identification shows a positive basis for the future normalization of Aragonese.” (Llera 2001).

9.5. A HOPEFUL HORIZON IN TEACHING

Despite the fact that in the last decade the work in protecting and spreading the Aragonese language on the part of public institutions has been characterised as a mere “anecdote”, the first results from an investigation recently carried out by Campos (2013) about Aragonese education seems to confirm some of the data collected by Llera in 2001, representing a halo of hope for a language profoundly steeped in institutional neglect.

So, firstly, from an exploratory investigation carried out in 2013 with students from the first and third year of the Primary Education teaching courses from the Education Faculties of Huesca and Zaragoza (Zaragoza University) whose native language is Castilian, you can find the result that 75% of the people responded in the affirmative to the question “It seems good to me that in schools in the Aragonese villages, where Aragonese is spoken, the students study this language.” From this study a significant level of interest for the learning of Aragonese was found on the part of future teachers of Primary Education in our Community, with 62.5% people replying positively to “I would like to speak Aragonese”, 50% also asking to have the opportunity to learn Aragonese at University. In the same vein of positive attitudes, 85% of the people asked thought that a study of the Aragonese language shouldn’t be restricted to people for whom it is their native language.

In any case, despite the lack of support from not only the political and administrative landscape but also the Department of Education (Govern of Aragón), there is no doubt that the data collected about the linguistic attitudes of the future Aragonese teachers shows a ray of hope in the current landscape of defencelessness and profound lack of social awareness of the linguistic reality of Aragon.

However, again the lack of functionality of Aragonese in the professional field is one of the factors that leave a black stain on these hopeful attitudes, even though 62.5% of those asked were considered to be Aragonese/ felt a duty to know

the Aragonese language, 67.5% confirmed that it didn't seem necessary to learn it, as it was unlikely they would need to use it in the future. This attitude in favour of internationally used languages was confirmed with the fact that 95% of those asked said that it is more important to learn languages more widely spoken like English or French than Aragonese. Anyway, again, we can find a bit of hope in the findings, considering that 77.5% answered positively to the statement "I would be willing to learn Aragonese to be able to get a job as a teacher"

Without doubt, according to the data collected in this recent study, it seems that we have future teachers significantly predisposed to integrate the Aragonese language into their life, demanding even the possibility of it forming part of their teaching and professional activity, but nevertheless at the same time accuse it of having a lack of functionality when it comes to economic and work issues, which evidently ends up translating into a more positive preference and valuation by students for those languages that guarantees to help them in their future working prospects.

Secondly, another recent study by Campos (2013), centred on reaching a deeper knowledge of the factors involved in the origin and development of the linguistic attitudes in High Aragonese schools using a qualitative methodology, seems to largely corroborate with the impressions previously stated with regards to the reception and positive attitude for Aragonese, above all in people of a younger age and in students.

From this study you can extract interesting conclusions, like the absence of linguistic prejudice for Aragonese on behalf of students that don't study the language in school. So, according to the data collected by this investigation, it seems to be that the motivation that leads to a large number of students in primary education to not study Aragonese is not due to corruption by certain "inherited" linguistic prejudices, but more by other factors like the lack of awareness of the content and development of these classes, or other external reasons like the pressure of the majority vote by the class.

Additionally, this study has expressed some consideration about how the attitudes of students that don't study Aragonese are defined by an interest and even by an attempted memorisation and use of the Aragonese language

more and more over the course of a series of sessions experimentally carried out in students whose *leivmotiv* were different languages from those that the participating students had contact with.

Moreover, this study, that also included the views of most of the current Aragonese Departments in High Aragonese schools, recognised the principle demands of the scholarly population studied to guarantee the improvement and dignity of the teaching of Aragonese.

In short, the data collected from both a quantitative and qualitative perspective makes us think both about a student as well as a teacher of primary education in High Aragon with potentially positive attitudes towards the Aragonese language, but in the case of the teachers, they aren't strong enough to develop of their own accord a Proyecto Lingüístico de Centro which would obtain a strong commitment to the Aragonese language. And that is why we mustn't forget that the text from the Aragonese Curriculum for Primary Education leaves the door open to ambitious multilingual education projects (with the possibility of developing teaching *of* and *in* Aragonese for between 13 and 14 hours in total per course) by means of application to its III-B Annexe; the application must come from the will of the department of each school that to this day have not been developed with any great significance in any school.

From the studies by Campos (2013), we can work out that the problem of scarce support for the Aragonese language in the scholarly field isn't due to either a possible lack of willingness to learn Aragonese and/or in Aragonese on behalf of the students in Primary Education (who are shown to be completely free of linguistic prejudice and develop concerns for Aragonese inasmuch as having the possibility of being in contact with this language), nor due to an opposition from the teachers in this language; but rather in the educational deficiencies of a Faculty that has not become aware of the importance of safeguarding their own linguistic heritage as it passes through studies of teaching. Educational deficiencies that come from the scarce level of a developed agreement on the part of the teachers, who are the people in charge, according to current law, of promoting the teaching of and in their own languages in Aragonese schools.

As a conclusion of the studies to which we have alluded we can deduce that in current and future young Aragonese teachers we find a breeding ground for support of a linguistic policy truly committed to the Aragonese language. And with all of that there seems to be an attitude of special interest for Aragonese not only in High Aragonese teachers but also students whose native language isn't Aragonese, as well as the future teachers in our community. This reality could open doors to a committed decision from the relevant authorities, materialised in the development of the linguistic immersion programs that guarantee the safeguarding of Aragonese in High Aragon, therefore lighting that exterior "spark" that is needed for an Aragonese educative community that nowadays is found mostly in what Campos determines as an attitude of "conditioned interest" for the Aragonese language.

As a way of standing up to this situation, it could result in an interesting development of a system for the teaching of Aragonese that is a first step in getting closer to the one developed by a community whose own language finds itself in a socio-political situation very similar to our own: Asturias. In the Asturian case, there is no block in schools with regards to the choice of getting classes of the local language. So, despite the fact only three hours of Asturian language (bable) can be taken per week, the students have this option directly, just like the way they have the option to study or not study the catholic religion.

The data about the teaching of the bable are revelatory: in 2008, 55% of students in Primary Education of the Principality of Asturias decided to take Asturian language classes in school, which adds up to a total of 17,500 students interested in communicating in Asturian. Additionally, degrees in Primary Education teaching in this community, as happens with the rest of multi-lingual communities in Spain with regards to their own languages, have a "Minor in Asturian Language" that guarantees the formation of a large enough body of teachers to meet the high demands for the learning of this language by the students.

Consistent with similarities between both the socio-linguistic and political-administrative reality, as a first step, the two aforementioned studies include in their proposal improvements to the offer of choosing to study "Aragonese Language" to Aragonese families when formalising the enrol-

ment in any Primary Schools in High Aragon, as well as incorporating a "Minor in Teaching the Aragonese Language" in the curriculum for the Master's Degree in Pre-School Education and the Master's Degree in Primary Education in the departments of Aragonese education, in order to guarantee the existence of a body of Aragonese teachers that can answer the surging demand for said offer.

In Aragon the teaching of languages in general (and of their own in particular) remains an "unfinished task". So, with decades of delay, it is now that it seems the relevant Aragonese institutions with regards to education are starting to take notice of the importance of a good linguistic knowledge from an early age, as is shown by the recent Order of 14th February 2013, from the Education, University, Culture and Sports Aragon Minister, through which the integral program of bilingualism in foreign languages in Aragon (PIBLEA – Programa integral de bilingüismo en lenguas extranjeras en Aragón) was regulated as of the 2013/14 school year. However, the text of this order shows that in our community it has been decided to bet only on bilingual education systems, which have been proved obsolete in places where the teaching of languages is much more developed. There is no doubt that Aragon, due to its rich cultural heritage and interesting geographical position, has the ideal raw material for the development of other types of teaching, such as multilingual, that form the vanguard of teaching languages. It is the job of the Aragonese and their public institutions to explore this great potential before it is too late for the Aragonese language.

9.6. IS RECOVERY POSSIBLE?

Despite what has been said, speakers aren't very optimistic with regards to the idea of recovery or revitalisation: "The forecast for the future that has been made is practically the same as the diagnosis made by the latest developments, one that suggests that the population doesn't see that the circumstances (institutional and educational protection etc.) are changing significantly. 6 of every 10 interviewed (58.7%) believe that less Aragonese will be spoken over the next ten years (don't forget the survey is from 2001), a slightly dramatic opinion if we take into account the already meagre margins of survival of the Aragonese vernacular language. A

quarter (23.9%) think the situation will remain the same and only 10.4%, that is to say, one in ten High Aragonese people, have a positive view for the future evolution of the uses of Aragonese.” (Llera, 2001).

Indubitably for Aragonese to survive, the first thing that has to be done is to introduce it in school, something to which only 11% of High Aragonese people object. Of the rest, half of the people asked think that it should be voluntary in all of Aragon and 10% more, compulsory in High Aragon, that is to say 86% are in favour of its introduction in school, whether it be compulsory or voluntary.

9.7. AND FACED WITH THIS, WHAT CAN BE DONE?

In 2009 Aragonese courts approved the law of the **use, protection and promotion of Aragon’s own languages and linguistic dialects** that, even though it didn’t declare the official status of Aragonese and Catalan, at least could be a starting point to slow its decline. Finally, the law didn’t flourish in the 2007-2011 legislatures, and in 2013 the new Aragonese Government (PP-PAR) has presented a new draft of the law (that has led to the law **3/2013, from the 9th of May of the use, protection and promotion of Aragon’s own languages and linguistic dialects – BOA 24th May 2013**) that avoids calling Aragonese and Catalan by their scientific name and notably reduces (with regards to the previous law) the rights of the speakers, especially with regards to its public use.

Unfortunately, this course of events doesn’t make you very optimistic about the future. It is only the fondness the Aragonese has for their languages, and to Aragonese specifically, that has slowed down its disappearance. We mustn’t forget that the German linguist Alwin Kuhn predicted in 1935 its disappearance within a generation and, even though the German was unaware of the events that were going to happen in the last two thirds of the 20th century (civil war, depopulation, the influence of mass media...), fortunately he was wrong and we still have a breath of hope.

This hope should result in legal recognition, strong support by Aragonese institutions (not only the Aragonese Government but also the City Councils and intermediate entities) and, above all, the spread and awareness of this reality.

But make no mistake: just legal recognition is not enough. There are road Laws, the protection of consumers or of broadcasting autonomy, amongst lots of others, to name just a few; all of them prevent the respect or promotion of Aragonese and Catalan, and all are pretty much unknown, save for a few merely anecdotal exceptions.

10. Aragonese Legal Situation

10.1. THE CONSTITUTION, AUTONOMY LAW OF ARAGON AND LANGUAGES LAW

The Spanish constitution of 1978 in article 3 states that:

Castilian in the official Spanish language of the state. All Spanish people have a duty to know it and the right to use it.

Other Spanish languages will also be official in their respective autonomous communities in agreement with their statutes.

The richness of the different linguistic dialects of Spain is a cultural heritage that will receive special respect and protection.

The Statute of the Autonomy of Aragon in its seventh article, rewritten in 2007, says that:

Aragon’s own languages and linguistic dialects constitute one of the most prominent manifestations of historical and cultural heritage of Aragon and deserve a social value of respect, understanding and coexistence.

On the other hand, Spain ratified in 2001 the European Charter for Regional or Minority languages, where it emphasizes the necessity to protect, not only the languages declared official by their respective Autonomous Statutes, but also those that the other Statutes promise to protect or harbour. In said Charter it stresses, amongst other issues, the necessity to spread these minority languages and to facilitate and encourage their use. Specifically, after declaring that “the following are considered as regional or minority languages, the languages recognised as official in the Autonomous Statutes of the Autonomous Communities of Basque Country, Catalonia, the Balearic Islands, Galicia, Valencia and Navarre” adding, in a clear reference to Aragonese, Catalan spoken in Aragon, Asturian and Aranese: “Therefore, Spain declares, for the same purpose, that languages that the Autonomous

Statutes protect and harbour in the territories that they are traditionally spoken are also considered regional or minority languages.”

The Charter is plainly applicable to Aragonese and so has been expressly recognised and in writing by the Spanish Government. Periodically a group of experts visit each of the regions mentioned by the Charter and the Committee of Ministers of the European Council approve a series of recommendations that the signatory states of the Charter have to follow, including the Spanish. Amongst these recommendations, we highlight the following that affect Aragonese:

In 2005 the committee of ministers, by virtue of Article 16 of the Charter, recommended that “the Spanish authorities take into considerations all the observations by the committee of experts and, primarily strengthen the protection of Aragonese and of Catalan in Aragon.”

Of similar intensity is the report from the 11th of December 2008, in which it criticises the inexistence of news of the application of the Charter with regards to Aragonese or Catalan in Aragon.

Finally, the report approved on the 12th of September 2012, in paragraph 118 say: “By virtue of the information received about the existence of a bill to change the Language Act in Aragon, the committee of experts compels the authorities to, at least, maintain the current legal level of protection for Aragonese and Catalan.”

Finally, as has been said, the 10/2009 law of the 22nd of December of the **use, protection and promotion of Aragon’s own languages**, expressly recognised Aragonese and Catalan as typical and historical languages of Aragon. However, the scarce development results in 2013 in the new government presenting a new draft of the of the Act in the courts and the 3/2013 law, that got rid of any possibility of normalisation of Aragonese and Catalan, and gave them a new name: “Aragonese languages and its linguistic dialects predominantly used in the northern and eastern areas of the autonomous community.” This law, that was approved in full on the 9th of May 2013, cuts of any possibility of linguistic normalisation, encourages dialectalisation, and is, without doubt, the death certificate of Aragonese.

This law has been challenged before the Constitutional Court.

10.2. LEGAL SITUATION OF TODAY

In the last parliamentary term the 10/2009 law of the use, protection and promotion of Aragon’s own languages was approved, but its development was only the creation of “Consejo Superior de las Lenguas de Aragón, CSLA” (High Council of Aragonese Languages) and the actions derived from its (volunteer) work, ending the term of office.

The new government, constituted by PP-PAR political parties after the may 2011 parliamentary elections, failed to obey the legality and do any action for developing the mentioned law during its two years of validity.

Moreover, a new Project of law was presented in the Parliament of Aragón, with the unfavourable report from two consultative Councils with competences in the subject: The CSLA and the “Consejo Escolar de Aragón” (School Council of Aragón), being approved only with the votes of their own parliamentary groups as new 3/2013, 9th of may “law of the use, protection and promotion of Aragon’s own languages and linguistic varieties”, which deny the existence of both minority languages of Aragón (aragonese and catalan), recognized by the international romanistic science and international organizations as Council of Europa or UNESCO.

These actions are causing, and are going to cause, an irreversible damage for the two minority languages of Aragón, specially for the weakest and unprotected: the aragonese language.

This 2013 law is a bad copy from 2009 law, from which some of the garanted rights exposed are been harshly cut, including the words “linguistic dialects”, being convenient or not.

It will be enough to make a quickly review over some differences with the 10/2009 law in order to realize of the perpetrated legal-linguistic disaster:

1. Any reference about aragonese or catalán has been eliminated, being replaced by “languages and linguistic varieties”.

2. “To be guaranteed” it is substituted by “will be favourable” or “will be promoted”

3. The right of use of both languages by public administration disappears, and the recognition of the right to the legal and administrative tutition. The previsions about procedures

and communications with citizens in their own languages are suppressed.

4. Areas of mixed use and transition-reception of languages disappear.

5. The High Council of languages of Aragón (CSLA) disappears, so the participation of University of Zaragoza in the law development and the promotion of their knowledge at University, the teachers specialization and the real introduction at University of Aragonese and Catalan Philology.

6. Both Academies (Aragonese and Catalan languages in Aragón) disappear, and are refunded as only one.

7. Funding for developing audio-visual activities disappear, so the prevision for employees in order to organise or help cultural activities.

8. Promotion and funding of services of translation and terminology research for keeping and developing in both languages of Aragón a specific and appropriated terminology administrative, business, economical, social, scientific, technic or legal disappears.

9. The promotion of their knowledge outside the areas of traditional use disappears.

10. The prohibition of practices stopping their use in social or economical activities disappear.

11. The prescription of teaching the languages (aragonese and catalan) as integrated curricular subject disappears, so teaching the history and culture, which are the expression of our languages.

12. The compulsory rule of answering in the local language, that had the Parliament of Aragón and the "Justicia" (Ombudsman), and of acting in it, that had the local Councils is suppressed.

13. The only labelling in the local language is eliminated, and the text of the law changes into: "it will be, apart in castilian language, in the traditionally used language of the country"

14. The law will provide a specific regulation to name every language and language variety, wich will include public participation and local Councils, too.

15. The word "enough" will be eliminated, providing the Governement of Aragón will assign some budget to develop the law, which doesn't have economic memory.

16. The deadline periods to apply the law disappear, except the eight months to approve the statutes of the Academy of Language and three months to design their members.

11. Aragonese language, mass media, new technologies, scenic arts and publication

11.1. CINEMA IN ARAGONESE

The relationship of cinema and the Aragonese language shows some examples that, although scarce in number, show a great interest due to its proof of the dignity of this minority language.

We will cite them in chronological order

Pleito a lo sol is a short film of 14 minutes directed by Antonio Artero in 1980, filmed on 16mm. Produced by International Symposium of Art from Val d'Echo / Ismael González PC, the script itself is very artful, made of two extracts from the third and fourth books of *La Vida de Pedro Saputo*, by Braulio Foz. The photography is by Roberto Gómez, Pedro J. Fatás and José de la Rica, the music by Luis Fatás and the editing by Eduadro Biurrun, with the acting of Dionisio Sánchez, Concha Orduña, Manuel Rotellar, Luis Felipe Alegre, Francisco Ortega, Ángela Gracia, José María Falcón, Josette Arbier, Jacques Barbier y Chema Mazo. It won critics' prize in the 1980 Huesca International Festival.

Reblar, a fiction scripted, directed and produced by José Roberto Rodés, from the year 2000, it tells in 7 minutes the memory of the last inhabitant of an abandoned village in the Pyrenees, with dialogue in Aragonese and subtitles in Castilian. The actors are Carmen Sánchez, Luis López, Enrique Toha, María Jesús Gracia, Laura Rodés, Miguel Ángel Arnal. The music is by Chabier Aparicio and the editing by José Manuel Fandos. It was filmed in Morán (Hoya de Huesca).

A Chaminera, a fictional documentary from 2002, written and directed by Carlos Baselga, lasting 52 minutes, it recreates didactically the traditional construction of a High Aragonese chimney at the end of the 19th century. Filmed in Aragonese with Castilian subtitles, the music is by O'Carolan, Lolo Burgasé and La Orquestina del Fabirol.

Carlos Baselga also, in 2003, wrote, produced and directed *¿Por qué dixamos o nuestro lugar?* (subtitled *¿Por qué dejamos nuestro pueblo?*). This film (with the original version in Aragonese and subtitles in Castilian) recreates in twenty minutes the depopulation of Valle de Solana in the 60s by means of a family from this place in the region of Sobrarbe. With staging by Paco López and Director of Photography José Manuel Fandos, its actors were Tania Artigas, Josan Casabona, Raquel Reniblas, Sebi Hernández, Felipe Luna, Anabel Maurín, Miguel Guiu, Marisa López, Antonio Méliz, Fernando Baselga and Joserra Zambrano.

The music is by José Antonio Labordeta, Marco Zaragoza, La Ronda de Boltaña and Joaquín Paridinilla.

Las lenguas de Aragón (2003), by Jesús Bosque, a 20 minute documentary with a script by Francho Nagore, was filmed as a way of support for the development of the research project “Relationships between the teaching of a minority language and linguistic attitudes of students”. This shows the linguistic evolution of Aragon until now and points out the importance of the language with the culture of a town. La Orquestina del Fabirol, José Antonio Labordeta and Antón Abad all participated.

Bozes Lexanas (2005), by Juan Miguel Gutiérrez, is an 86 minute poetic documentary, about the depopulation and then repopulation of the High Aragonese villages. Shown at the San Sebastian International Film Festival (Special Zabaltegi Section), it received a prize for the best documentary in the 4th Edition of “Espiello, International festival for ethnographic documentaries from Sobrarbe” (Boltaña).

Visions d'una llengua, by Aurelio Bardaxí, is a 2007 documentary dedicated to the first writers in Bajorribagorzan Aragonese, specifically to the 19th century poet Bernabé Reomeo y Belloc, an Estadilla native. María Luisa Arnal and María Ángeles Naval, professors from the University of Zaragoza and poetry scholars, are interviewed in the film.

The Huescan director of ethnographic documentaries Eugenio Monesma, has offered us multiple examples of traditional chants and sayings of the Aragonese language over the course of the hundreds of works he has left as a legacy and reference of the Aragonese customs and purpose. To put just a few examples, we name *La Chaminera y Dulzaineros del Bajo Aragón*. *El patrimonio lingüístico en el norte de la*

provincial de Zaragoza (2002) is noteworthy as it was carried out on behalf of the DPZ.

Cosetas d'Adentro (2011), the first short: film by Lola Gracia, is a story that is born from the homonymous story that won second price in 2009 in the 7th competition of stories in Bajorribagorzan in Graus. It tells the story of a young sepherd from a small Ribagorzan village in the 50s. The short, in which a bunch of non-professional actors participated, had as scenes different Ribagorzan towns, like Graus, with its main square and some streets, Puente de Montañana, Torres del Obispo or La Puebla de Fantova and was filmed in Bajorribagorzan. The sound track is by Joaquín Pardinilla.

Some other noteworthy examples are the documentaries in Benasque Aragonese *L'espital de Benás* (2006) and *Guinea en Patués* (José María Mur, 2008), as well as the use of subtitles in Aragonese for the film *Malditos Bastardos*.

In 2013 the Aragonese version of *Camille. O zaguer onso autono de os Perineus*, by Carlos Tarazona Grasa, was released.

Finally, two Huescan directors, Héctor Pisa and Juan Alonso, have been working since 2010 on what will be the first ever animated film in Aragonese, *El Bandido Cucaracha – La Pelicula*, in which they tell the story of the oldest Aragonese bandit of the 21st century, joining modern filming techniques, post-production and special effects, with songs from Aragonese folklore and with the contribution of recognised celebrities for the voices of the protagonists. This project is on its way to getting funding by means of *crowdfunding*.

With regards to film festivals you have to mention “Espiello, International festival for ethnographic documentaries from Sobrarbe (Boltaña)”, which has now been celebrated 10 times, emphasising in its basis that the originals will be shown in whatever language and whenever voiceover isn't in Castilian, Aragonese or Catalan, it must be subtitled in Castilian. We must also mention the “International Horror Film Festival OBuxo Fest”, which has been celebrated 12 times as of 2012 and is celebrated each August in Javierrelatre.

11.2. ARAGONESE ON THE RADIO, TV AND THE INTERNET

The relationship between the Aragonese language and the radio and television, and by extension practically any social or mass media, is one of disagreement. The media

being tools of social normalisation, the typical absence of standardisation and normalisation of Aragonese, has meant that this language, its speakers and the large part of the culture and history of Aragon are ignored by said media.

Aragonese and its dissemination have induced two doubts. The first is about if these programs should be “only” for speakers, or for the public in general. The second is about its content, showing that our language can take on any topic.

With regards to the first case, there have been few programs have managed to reach a general audience. Thus the program “Charramos” from *Radio Huesca* that, over twenty years of broadcasting, sometimes was integrated into the general programming of the station, other times with its own space, nevertheless it reached a mostly a large audience in many parts of Aragon. Also you could highlight Pedro Lafuente, who with a character that specialised in local customs, and using phrases and expressions in Aragonese, enjoyed a great following and acceptance with his program “Alto Aragón” from the same broadcaster. We find another large number of programs all around Aragon on local and regional broadcasters, especially in Zaragoza (*Radio Ebro*) and even in some alternatives (*Radio MAI*, *Radio Topo* with its “Fendo Orella” played every day). And amongst the ones that are no longer on there is *Radioantena*, where the first news in the Aragonese language was played, and *Radio Zierzo* with “Fe-te o pre”. The Radio School TEA FM (Premio Ondas 2012) has in its schedule daily and weekly programs (“Mazadas d’a Historia”, “Falordietas”...). *TEA FM* collaborated with *Radio Rumania Actulitati* on a special program about the minority languages in Europe. This has consolidated in the last few years a trend of treating any topic in Aragonese, as well as speaking about our own language and its problems.

If we shift the view to television, the experiences are less numerous, but equally creative, generally on local TV like in Andorra or Sabinánigo or on *Channel 44* in Zaragoza. They are programs made with limitless effort and eagerness. In general and public television the treatment of our language has been anecdotal, and still remains that way, especially for those of us who were waiting for an autonomous television and radio in Aragon that was going to allow different treatment and better coverage of Aragonese. Only the program

Bien Dicho gives some kind of slight bit of recognition, including sometimes, phrases or conversations in Aragonese, although from a distant perspective to it as a language.

And so came the internet at the end of the 20th century, which opened a new world for Aragonese.

Our language was from the beginning of its massive socialisation on the internet, being part of the first websites, blogs, forums (such as the mythical *ziberufiarta*), *newsletter*, local vocabularies... since the mid-90s. Subsequently the *Biquipedia* arrived, and now the large majority of social entities, groups and all those that have wanted to have been able to use Aragonese without problems on the internet. Perhaps it is still lacking some kind of second level project like *charrando.com* could be, that would collect links to websites and help group and organise the files that are found scattered around the internet. Internet helps to spread and give more coverage to other communication media with the possibility to download or follow programs online with things likes podcasts and etc. We must highlight the programme *Zirano*, a dictionary of semantic things that share the culture that is part of the lexicon. *Zirano* is a multilingual and intercultural platform of conceptual analogue dictionaries that are built and consulted on a web page: www.zirano.com.

Aragonese needs, more than ever, a social presence in the media which helps its visibility, awareness and spread and, above all, gives it a stamp of normality and dignity.

11.3. MUSIC

If language is mostly sound you have to appreciate especially the importance that music (and musicians) have had in the recovery or “Renaxadura” of Aragonese from the beginning of the seventies.

On the 13th of November 1973 the first conference of Aragonese Music was held in the Teatro Principal in Zaragoza and Labordeta, Tomás Bosque, La Bullonera, Carbonell, Tierra Húmeda, Renaxer and Pilar Garzón all took part. We can say that this was the starting point of the so-called “pop song” in Aragon. Pilar Garzón and Renaxer sung in Aragonese lyrics by Ánchel Conte and Francho Nagore. Later, Valtentín Mairal and Tierra and Xera set poems by Eduardo Vicente de Vera to music. In traditional music the work by Ánchel Conte in Aínsa with the group Biello

Sobrarde was already developing, which was followed in the next decade by Josefina Loste with his Corro d'es Bailes de San Chuan de Plan and Pepe Lera with the folkloric group "Val d'Echo", that was formed in 1979, has been the most prolific, recording various records (*Subordán*, 1981, *Nugando*, 1984 - that has the most famous song made in Aragonese "S'ha feito de nuei" composed by Pepe Lera himself-, *Selva de Oza*, 1990, *Flor de nien*, 1996, e *Integral*, 2005) and was a fundamental tool in the upkeep of Cheso Aragonese. Equally, it is worth mentioning the High Aragonese groups of Chaca and Santiago de Samianigo.

Mario Garcés deserves a special mention, who took a risk in recording the first LP in Aragonese (*Fendo camín*, 1983) setting music to texts by Paul Eluard, Franchó Nagore, Miguel Santolaria, Luzía Dueso, Eduardo Vicente de Vera and Veremundo Méndez. In this same year Hato de Foces published its first record (*Amadruga*). The 80s saw born Os mosicos d'as cambras, La Crica Fol-Ban, el Taller de Música Altoaragonesa, Tícotán, La Orquestina del Fabirol (*Suda, suda fabirol*, 1989, *Zorras, pollos y villanos*, 1992, *Me'n baxé t'a tierra plana*, 1994, *Albada al Nacimiento*, 1996, *Danzas de Sobrarbe*, 2000, *Acumuer*, 2002, *Ninonaninón*, 2005, *20 años de Fabirol*, 2006, Pedro Saputo, 2013 the essential samples of Aragonese folklore and a new perception of Aragonese by society that led to it being considered a normal presence in music.

So we come to the nineties with the contributions of Biella Nuei (*Las Aves y las Flores*, 1994, *Solombra*, 1998, *Sol d'ibierno*, 2006, y *Romper el muro*, 2011, *Los bufacalibos*, 2011, *La santa pereza*, 2013) and the arrival of rock to our language with Ixo Rai! (*Mosica y mondongo*, 1993, ...*Pasa pues?*, 1995, *Último grito*, 1997, *Entalto*, 1999, *Del cerdo hasta el rabo*, 1999, *Circo Rai*, 2000), Mallacán (*Entalto a reboluzión*, 1995, *Luen d'o Paradiso*, 1999, *Chera, chera!*, 2002, *País Zierzo*, 2005, y *Mar de suenios*, 2009) and Prau (*¿Qué esperabais?*, 1997, *Ye tiempo d'Enrestir*, 2000, *En o Rafe d'a Fuxaina*, 2004, *A Fin de l'Agüerro*, 2008). Additionally, there are musicians and groups whose CDs also have some songs in Aragonese like Labordeta (*M'Aganaría*, 2012), La Ronda de Boltaña (*La Ronda de Boltaña*, 1996, *Banderas de Humo*, 1998, *Un País de Anohecida*, 2001, *Salud País*, 2007), Lurte (*Deus lo bol*, 2008), Gaiters de Chaca (*País con chen*, 2008),

Dulzaineros del Bajo Aragón (*Quienta borinal*!, 1998), Esferra (*Porque agora ye nunca*, 1999) and the compilation CDs by *Á ixena!* (published by Ligallo de Fablans in 1995 and 2007) where there are groups and soloists like Dolmen, Mauricio Aznar, Qué pasa!, Rolde, Monte Solo, Gabriel Sopeña and Labordeta that sing in Aragonese.

Other groups that it is worth mentioning are Astí queda ixo (*Que aprobeche*, 2007, *Lo que hay que oír*, 2009), Borina (*A la orilla l'azud*, 2004, *Dragón dormido*, 2008), Chundarata (*Pienso a granel*, 2007), Peirot e compaña (*Peirot e compaña*, 1997), Compañía de Chesús (*Compañía de Chesús / Vinoman*, 1998), Fagüeño (*Regalando las nieves*, 2000, *Sursum corda*, 2004), La Birolla (*Músicas populares de las comarcas aragonesas*, 1996, *Hojarasca*, 1998, *Debán d'o camín*, 2003), Os Lizerons (*Astralica mano!*, 2003), Zicután (*O son d'a cullebra*, 2004, *El indiano*, 2007), Zarrakatralla (2011), A Cadiera Coixa (*MMXIII*, 2013), y Hato de Foces, Olga y los ministriles, Os Mainates, Gaiteros de Estercuel, Somerondón, A Colla...

The birth of the new century brought us A Ronda os Chotos d'Embún (*L'Arco San Chuan*, 2002, *Taratita*, 2005, *Abril ye transparent*, 2010), A Cadiera coixa (*Chez Darracou*, 2005, *Tal ferás, tal trobarás*, 2008), el Comando Cucaracha (*Todos al monte*, 2004, *Entre héroes y villanos*, 2007) and La Chaminera (*Entre líneas*, 2008) and, since "forever", Los Titiriteros de Binéfar that gives kids a normal vision of a trilingual Aragon (*Juerga*, 1996, *¡A tapar la calle!*, 1999, *Vamos a contar mentiras*, 2000, *Animaladas*, 2002, *¡Aquí te esperol!*, 2004, *Carnaval*, 2007, *Es un pañuelo*, 2009). In the last few years they've also been given, in the Aragonese Music Awards, a special award for the best song in a minority language.

11.4. THEATRE

Theatre can be considered a marginal genre in Aragonese literature, as it has been the least developed over the course of its history. For example, the percentage of plays published didn't reach 6% over the periods of 1975-1995 and 2001-2005, and not even 1% between the years of 1996 and 2000 (Franchó Nagore, 1999: 395-419; 2003:93-108; 2006:63-80). Despite this scarcity it is possible think of a group of texts that can be included in the genre of theatre.

In the 17th century the following texts are documented: *Baile pastoral al nacimiento* (1679) by Ana Francisca Abarca de Bolea, a small dramatic piece about Christmas, *Papel de sayagués* (1689), signed by Torubio el de la Montaña and represented in the festival of San Ignacio in the Jesuit College in Huesca, and the texts known as *Coplas de Santa Orosia*, written by the Valle de Ansó born Juan Francisco Aznárez, that in its final part has a dialogue in honour of said Saint

In the 18th century the shepherds recitations in local festivals “pastoradas”, dialogue between a *mairal* and a *repatán* (*shepherd*), started to be represented in different Aragonese towns, which, like the previously cited texts from the 17th century, have their roots in religious and popular theatre from the middle ages.

The 19th century left us with the play that specialised in local customs *Un concello de aldea o la conducta de Cirujano dada por él mismo* (1847) by Bernardo Larrosa García, who was part of the romantic idea of the recovery of the native languages.

The 20th century started with theatrical texts in Cheso Aragonese by Domingo Miral López, *Qui bien fá nunca lo pierde* and *Tomando la fresca en la Cruz del Cristiano o a casarse tocan*, published in 1903 in Jaca by the typography of Carlos Quintilla.

However, the last few decades of the century are the ones that welcomed a greater number of dramatic pieces in the Aragonese language. In Benasque there are those by Rafael Solana Domec and Ángel Subirá Vidal, *La Roqueta* and *Pequeño teatro donde se habla y se siente en benasqués*, respectively, printed together in Huesca in 1987 for Publicacions d'o CFA. In this same dialect there are some children's theatre plays written and coordinated by María José Subirá Lobera and published similarly by CFA, *La selba ecantada* (1993) and *La sirgandalla sabia* (1997). Also at the end of the century there were the plays written in common Aragonese *Mal d'amors* by Miguel Santolaria García (Huesca, Publicacions d'o Consello d'a Fabla Aragonesa, 1983) and *Rolde de broxas en Crenchafosca* and *No cal que t'en baigas* (Huesca, Publicacions d'o Consello d'a Fabla Aragonesa, 1986) and *Como as nabatas que baxaban por o río* (*Ruxiada*, 16-17, 1991) by Santiago Román Ledo. *La rateta*

qu'escobaba la suya caseta. Teatro pa críos (Jaca, Imprenta Raro, 2000) by Lourdes Brun started the 21st century. This piece of children's theatre in Cheso Aragonese, along with some of the previously cited works, opened a new road for a series of plays directed at young audiences, like *El canut dels diapllérons* (*Guayente*, 72, 2005, pp. 15-18) by Carmen Castán Saura, written in Benasque, or the collective works of *As siete crapetas e o lupo. Teyatro ta leyer e pintar* and *Teyatro infantil en aragonés* (Huesca, Publicacions d'o Consello d'a Fabla Aragonesa, 2002) and *Fendo teyatro* (Huesca, Comarca Alto Gállego, 2005) by Manuel Ramón Campo Novillas, all written in common Aragonese.

Also from this century are the plays *A chustizia d'Almudébar (... que lo bosc qui no en deba)* by Pablo Atarés Zandundo (Almudévar, Grupo Cultural Almena, 2001), written in common Aragonese, and *Teatro costumbrista aragonés* by Luciano Puyuelo Puente (Castillazuelo, Ayuntamiento de Castillazuelo, 2005), in the latter various works by the author written in the Aragonese from Somontano de Barbastro are compiled.

A special mention goes to the theatrical work in Ansó Aragonese undertaken in the last few years by Elena Gusano Galindo. Author of various plays, she has published *Yésica, un abrí d'agora* (Zaragoza Xordica, 2010) and managed the group Dingolondango Teatro, made up of a number of important people from Ansó. This project, as well as contributing to the dignity and revitalisation of Ansó Aragonese language, has opened the door, without doubt, for theatre to move away from being just a marginal genre in Aragonese literature.

You must also highlight Renaxedura who put on a play titled *As cartas d'a lola Bisi* (between 2010 and 2012) and the theatre group Algabenaires who has done their part with the plays *O yayo volador* and *A capiella de Lanuza, ¿Y agora qué?*

11.5. TRANSLATION INTO ARAGONESE LANGUAGE

Translating important pieces of literary works, especially poetry, has been a permanent task from the beginning of the Aragonese language recovery. Evident samples of this can be found in Magazines –Fuellas, Luenga y Fabras– and in different publishers work.

We can find translated into aragonese, although nominally, the work of writers such as Neruda, Juan Ramón Jiménez, Octavio Paz, Ángel Guinda, E. de Andrade, L. Ivo, Günter Grass, Paul Éluard, D. Gaudez, E. Pelissier, Pavese, Tabucchi, Passolini, D. Pasero, T. Burat, I. Roqueta, Joan Maragall... all of them in the first range of literature in their vernacular language

The most important publishers in aragonese have reserved for translation part of their production. So, “Consello d’a Fabla Aragonesa”, in “Os Fustez” collection, collects translations of authors as Crespo, Valéry and from actual fiction in catalan language. “Rolde d’Estudios Aragoneses” published *Istorias menimas* by Javier Tomeo. “Xordica”, in different collections, has published some books of contemporary literature, but maybe the most relevant, related our topic, could be its large list of titles about children literature.

“Gara d’Edizions”, publishers specially created for promoting the translation into aragonese, has published a lot of titles, which could be defined as “classical”, between them *O Prenzipet* (Saint-Éxupéry), *A metamorfosis* (Kafka), *A plebia amariella* (Llamazares), *Réquiem por un Labrador español* (Sender), *Camín de sirga* (Moncada) o *Rebelión en Torre Animal* (Orwell).

Finally, we would like to emphasize the important task made by PRAMES publishers, not only in the Cartography collection, providing hikers and travellers with tourist guides with accurate place names in Aragonese, which have collaborated to the normalization of the use of these right aragonese place names in the mountaineering world.

We have to remark, too, the collection of tourist guides, some of them (*Guía turistica d’a ziudá de Uesca*, *Guía turistica d’a Tierra Biescas*, *Guía turistica de San Chuan d’a Peña / Santa Cruz d’as Serós y Botaya*, o *Guía turistica de Serrablo*) with its own Aragonese edition.

Last but not least, we cannot forget the Aragonese versions of the special size books such as *Por a endreza* of Lucien Briet, or books of short mountain tracks, in which the description of going track is in Castilian language, but the return track is in aragonese. This is a peculiar collection of books, introducing aragonese inside a book in Castilian, but

without stridencies, till some of these books are not in the bibliographical lists of books in aragonese.

We have to name here, too, some books, originally written in aragonese but translated into other languages, such as catalán (*Branquil d’a Cerdanya*, *Capiscol*), russian (*Reloch de pocha*, *Aguardando lo zierzo*, both translated into french, too); castilian (*Ta one im*, *Astí do l’aire sofla ta sobatir as fuellas de os árbols*, *Tiempo de fabas*), or german, (in *Iberia Polyglotta* where poems of seven aragonese authors are included).

11.6. LITERARY PRIZES IN ARAGONESE

From the moment Aragonese society was relatively aware of the wealth of the autochthonous linguistic heritage that they still had and of the process of decline that it was suffering, some institutions and, mostly, different associations and groups that had arisen for its conservation and development were taking measures to stimulate, promote and support the Aragonese language.

One of the most common decisions taken was the creation of prizes, competitions and contests that motivated and favoured the creative process as one of the highest potentials of a human being. The creative levels rose, more so, if someone was immersed in the language. It then pursued, awakened and motivated, through Aragonese, the capacity of seeing things in a new way that manifested itself in sensitivity, aesthetic taste and imagination.

In the year 1967 came the first initiative: the *Premio Alto Aragón* for stories and novels in Aragonese, promoted by the City Council of Balbastro and stayed until the 80s.

It was REA (and then RENA), who from 1977 organised the awards *Falordias en Fabla Aragonesa* that would be in two of the first numbers in the collections “Cuadernos de Cultura Aragonesa”

CFA is the association that with their sustainable publishing work has contributed the most to the promotion and spreading of modern literature in Aragonese. In 1976 they created the *Premio “Ana Abarca de Bolea”* in honour of the writer of the same name, for books of poetry. In 1987 they instituted the *Premio Internacional de Nobela curta “Chusé Coarasa”* with the idea of inspiring literary creation, mostly narrative, and help to publish young writers. In 1989 they

founded the *Premio “O Gua” de falordias e narracions ta ninos e ninas*. With this award CFA created in the year 2000 the collaboration “O Gua” of expressly children’s and youth literature. These three awards are announced alternately once every three years.

The group “La Parilla” from Huesca announced “*Premio para teatro infantil*” that had two versions in 1982 and 1985.

In 1982 the *Premio Literario “Val d’Echo” en fablas bernáculas* was established. The city council of Echo promoted it with the help of CFA. In its different phases it had a wide participation of already known writers and books and had a great impact on the recovery of Aragonese. It was held until 1992 with some interruptions.

The association “Guayén” from Bal de Benás conceived in 1983 the *I Concurso de Falordias, leyendas y Narraciones en “Patués” de l’Alta Ribagorza*. During the 80s they also instituted the literary prize “Villa de Benasque” one of the most prestigious competitions in Aragon, promoted by the city council. This prize has the speciality of, amongst others, “*Narrativa y poesía en “Patués”*” for children and adults.

In the year 1984, in Graus, the first Theatre festival and the *Premio teatro en aragonés* were started.

The organisation “Colectivo Zero” from Zaragoza introduced in 1985 the *Premio Naya de falordias y cuentos en aragonés*. The subsequent editions carried on until the beginning of the nineties.

The city councils of Calatorao and La Almunia and some cultural associations from the region (L’Albada amongst others) collaborated in the creation of the *Premio “Bal de o Xalón” para narración y poesía en aragonés*. In Calamocha, in 1991 they introduced the *Premio “Bal de Xiloca” para teatro en aragonés*.

The comic section also had its promoters: in 1988 the association “Alassets” from Bal de Benás established the *I Concurso de Cómic en aragonés benasqués*. In Sabiñánigo, the group “La Murga” decided in 1988 to hold the *Premio “Tenazeta de Fierro” de cuatrons ta moñacos en fabla aragonesa* that lasted until 1995. This same group, in 1999 and biannually, organised the *Premio “A carracla” de cuentos ta ninos/as en aragonés*. In Zaragoza the *Crica de culture Aragonesa* supported, in 1993, the *I Premio de Cómic Chobe-*

nil and in Monzón, sponsored by the city council, the *Concourse “Cuento infantil ilustrado”*.

In 1988 the Ministry of Culture and Education in the Aragonese Government started the *Premio “Arnal Cervero”* with the aim of encouraging and spreading literary creation printed in any of the linguistic dialects of Aragon. It is the most prized award and its presentation is done in a very special ceremony.

In Lo Grau, over the course of the Second Cultural Week, celebrated in 1989, they resolved the creation of the biannual *Premio “Lo Grau”*, for short stories and poetry. The city council supported in collaboration with CFA, who publishes the works.

In Sietemo the city council, with the support of CFA, instituted the *Premio Billa de Sietemo* in 1991. It is biannual and published by CFA.

LFA, in 1997, created the “*Arredol*” prize as a tribute to and recognition of the work, in favour of Aragonese, by different celebrities.

The city council of Balbastro decided, in 1999, to establish the *I Premio Internacional de Nobela curta “Ziudá de Balbastro”*. It is presented triennially.

The group of Culture and city council from Sallén de Galligo decided, in 2003, to promote the *Concurso de relatos para leer en tres minutos “Luis del Val”*. It has a part in Aragonese and the works that received prizes and were finalists are published every two years.

In the Zaragoza University they hold, since 2004, the *Concurso de narrativa y poesía en aragonés “Universidad de Zaragoza”*

The Zaragoza City Council (October Pilar Festivals, “Sociedad Municipal Zaragoza Cultural”) holds the *Concurso de coplas en aragonés*. It has already had 25 iterations.

The Graus city council, together with those from Estadilla and Fonz, promotes the *Premio Literario en baixo-ribagorzano “Condau de Ribagorza”*, for short stories and poetry. More than ten editions has happened and the ceremony happens on the “Days of Speaking Ribagorzan” that are celebrated every two years in Graus. In 2012 the association “Mallau-Amigos from Susín” created the *I Premio Pire-*

naico de Narración oral in the village of Susín to promote storyteller sessions.

11.7. NEWSPAPERS IN ARAGONESE

Their importance in the revival process of Aragonese has been, and is, fundamental. They can be distinguished into: a) newspapers, b) magazines, c) scientific publications. Amongst the casuistic and thematic differences of each of them, the most distinctive is whether they publish in: 1) Aragonese, 2) half Castilian and half Aragonese, 3) Castilian but with some Aragonese contributions, 4) in Castilian but with works about Aragonese.

a) **Newspapers** have been sparing in publishing texts in Aragonese. Until the seventies, almost as an exception, we can find a little bit in *El Pirineo Aragonés* (Jaca, since 1882), and most of all in the first phase of *El Ribagorzano* (Graus, 1904-1931). These are usually literary collaborations in the local or regional dialects.

Also in the Aragonese newspaper *El Ebro* (Barcelona, 1917-1936) we find one text in Aragonese. Then, in *El Cruzado Aragonés* (Balbastro), *Ecos del Cinca* (Monzón), as well as in the second phase (1981-1985) of *El Ribagorzano* and in the third (from 1997), this time in the form of a quarterly magazine. *El Noticiero* (Zaragoza, 1901-1977) in its last few months of life published by chapter what would be the seed of *Gramática de la lengua aragonesa* (1977), by F. Nagore. *Aragón-Exprés* (Zaragoza, 1970-1983) published in 1975-1976 the section “Intra-Aragón” with texts in and about Aragonese. The daily paper *Nueva España* (Huesca, 1936-1985) regularly published articles in Aragonese in the section “Debantando a fabla” (1979-1984). When in 1985 the headline was changed for *Diario del Alto Aragón*, it disappeared and it is only possible to find some text specialising in local customs in the Sunday supplement and then (2001-2003) a weekly page of current affairs subsidised by the DPH. In *Andalán* (Zaragoza, 1972-1987) articles frequently appeared in Aragonese. *Siete de Aragón* (weekly, Zaragoza, 1993-2003) published a bimonthly supplement in Aragonese, *O rayón* (1995-1997) with the contribution of LFA (with a second phase in 2002-2003); and then various sections in Aragonese (“A finestra”, “O fizón”, “Sin amerar”...) between 1997 and

2002. Even at the beginning of the 90s some articles were published in *El Diario de Teruel* and in *El Día* (Zaragoza). In the Sunday supplement of *Heraldo de Aragón* a section almost always specialising in local customs has appeared in the last few years.

b) **Magazines** often are in most cases newsletters or bulletins by associations and groups. Of those published entirely in Aragonese, the oldest is *Fuellas*, published uninterruptedly in Huesca by CFA since June 1978.

Others with some continuity and magnitude are: *L’Albada* (A. C. l’Albada, La Alumnía de Doña Godina, quarterly, 1988-1990), *O Espiello*, that is defined as a news magazine in Aragonese (A. C. “Nogarà”, Zaragoza (2002-2012), *A lucana* (Zaragoza, LFA, 1992-1999), *La mancheta* (Cultural association “Alasets”, Villanova, Balle de Benasque, 1985-1989), *Orache* (Zaragoza, LFA, 1982-1995), *Prexinalllo berde* (Zaragoza, Críca de Cultura Aragonesa, 1988-1998), *Ruxiada* (Teruel, Colla de Fablans d’o Sur, 1989-1999), *L’urmo* (Fonz, Asociación “Esparavel”, since 2008). As a kids’ magazine in Aragonese *Papirroi* (Zaragoza, REA, since 2008) stands out, and as a comic in Aragonese, *O follet* (Zaragoza, 1980s) stands out. Some others, with scarce continuity and craftsmanship are: *Endreza* (Huesca, Youth Association of the Aragonese Language, 1974-1975), *Conquerius* (Zaragoza, Rolde Aragonés Nazionalista, 1989-1990), *El fogaril* (Graus, 1996-1999), *Fuellas de Caxico* (Sabiñánigo, Rolde “O caxico” in Fabla Aragonese d’o Biello Aragón, 1996-1997) *Literafura* (1981-1990), *O lupo* (electronic information bulletin, nineties), *Rebellar* (Zaragoza, “Cholla chubenil d’a Fabla”, 1980).

There are even more magazines published in Castilian but with Aragonese contributions: *Entabán* (a bulletin by medical students at the University of Zaragoza, 1970s, and a group of Aragonese migrants in Madrid, in the 80s), *Astí* (magazine by Aragonese migrants in Barcelona, 1980s), *O salmon* (fanzine, Monzón, 1992-1997), *Rechitos* (magazine by the Aragonese emigration in Valencia, 1987-1992). And lots of local and regional magazines: *L’Aurora* (Estadilla), *L’Aigueta* (Barbaruens), *Comarca* (quarterly, Ayerbe, since 1994), *La craba roya* (Fonz), *Erata* (yearly, Biescas, since 2005), *Galliguera* (Santa Eulalia de Gállego), *A Gorgocha*

(Ansó), *Gradas* (El Grado, 1980-81), *Guayente* (quarterly, Sahún, since 1987), *O Gurrión* (Labuerda, since 1981), *Jaceta-nia* (Jaca, since 1966), *Monte Perdido* (biannually, Aínsa, since 1991), *Serrablo* (Sabiñánigo, since 1971), *Vía Lata* (Almudé-var, since 1992), *Ro Zimbeler* (Castillazuelo, since 2000), *O Zoque* (Yebra de Basa since 2000). You can also include here the brochures for festivals with contributions in Aragonese, like that of Graus (*El llibre*) and lots of other towns: Ayerbe, Hecho, Ansó, Campo, Fonz, Huesca...

And some literary magazines that included texts in Aragonese, like *Bardos* (Huesca, 1984-1994) or *MicRoma-nia* (Châtelet, Wallonie/Belgique, since 1992). Some use pretty much half and half Aragonese and Castilian, with different content in both language, like *Bisas de lo Subor-dán*, news magazine from Valle de Echo (Hecho, since 1999; biannually); as well as with texts translated and put side by side, like *Don Gols*, a sports magazine (Zaragoza, since 1994), with an offshoot in Huesca and Alcoraz football Stadium (since 2001), in common Aragonese. All this contributes to the spread of Aragonese; and some specifically to literary creation.

And in general they have all had and have their importance in the process of recovery and normalisation of Aragonese.

c) In **Scientific publications** we can distinguish on the one hand magazines of local studies. The following are published in Castilian, but some articles in Aragonese or about Aragonese can appear, *Somontano* (Barbastro, Centro de Estudios del Somontano), *Sobrarbe* (Boltaña, Centro de Estudios del Sobrarbe, since 1994), *Xiloca* (Calamocha, Centro de Estudios del Jiloca), etc. Secondly, general sector magazines from Aragón, without any thematic specialisation: amongst these the magazine *Rolde* (REA), published in Zaragoza since the end of 1977, regularly publishes texts in Aragonese. Thirdly, magazines specialised in linguistics and philology: published in Castilian, like the *Archivo de Filología Aragonesa* (Zaragoza, IFC, since 1945), that have accommodated a good number of works about Aragonese; in Castilian, but with some articles in Aragonese, like *Alazet* (Huesca, IEA, since 1988); more recently, *De lingua aragonesi* (Benasque-Grause, Aragonese Linguistic Society,

since 2005) published in Catalan, Occitane and Aragonese; fundamentally in Aragonese, *Luenga & fablas* (Huesca, CFA, since 1997), that is defined as an annual publication of studies, research and documentation about Aragonese and its literature. All of these make their contribution to research; and also some of them, especially the latter, contribute to the normalization of Aragonese.

To finish, a very important event happened between December 2012 and May 2013. Over 17 weeks, through *El Periódico de Aragón*, and with the financial support of the City Council of Zaragoza and the contribution of the Institute of High Aragonese Studies and the University of Zaragoza, published by CFA and REA, the book *El Aragonés. Una lengua Románica* was released, in collectible fascicles, which in almost 600 pages condenses the history, grammar, literature and culture generated by the Aragonese language. Additionally there is a complete dictionary of almost 10,000 words. 60 people have collaborated on this project, which has had a circulation of 10,000 copies, aimed at the public and has had a great reception.

11.8. PUBLICATION IN ARAGONESE (1971-2010)

The book of poetry *Sospiros de l'aire* by Francho Nagore opened in 1971 a new era for Aragonese, that, considered until 2010 (40 years gives sufficient perspective), allows us to observe that, in a community of speakers of less than 10,000 people and with a high level of illiteracy in its own language there has been a production of more than 400 books. This means an average of 10 books per year, but that isn't a real *ratio* because the explosion of literature in Aragonese in the year 1996 when 18 titles were produced, a number that has remained approximately the same until the present, although a slight decrease in the last years studied (2008-2010) has been observed.

With regards to the genres, equally we can see a change from the first years, basically dedicated to poetry, to narration (novels and stories) around the mid-80s, becoming more consistent with any other language.

On the other hand, the practice didn't start to kick off until the mid-90s (around 1996), when almost 40% of the published titles corresponded with this genre. An unresolved issue is theatre, of great importance for the socialisation of the

language, yet only 12 books of the 400 published are part of this genre.

The weakness of theatre in publication has been compensated largely by the activity of musical groups and children's entertainment groups, in that their songs and spectacles have effectively replaced theatre for kids, although you can't say the same for adults.

With regards to publishers, it can be seen that the private initiative (especially associative) has been critical in the rebirth of publication in Aragonese. Scarcely 10% of titles are published by public institutions, especially that of the Aragonese Government, by means of the publication of the literary awards in minority languages (Aragonese and Catalan), followed by the Institute of High Aragonese Studies (IEA), the institution "Fernando el Católico" and some city councils, although it is true that these and other institutions (the regions, for example, principally that of High Gallego valley) have supported publications that, otherwise, would have found it difficult to see the light. The private publishers that publish regularly in Aragonese are: Publicacions d'o CFA, Xordica Editorial, PRAMES, Gara D'Edizions, Sociedad Cultural Aladrada and REA.

Finally, and given the lack of standardisation of the language, it is important to look at the books published in common Aragonese and the different dialects, and also published with standardised spelling or with a different spelling. In this sense, the evidence is that around 60% of the books are published in common Aragonese. Additionally, you have to take into account that a good part of those published in local dialects are by late authors, through retrospective publications. With regards to spelling, more than 85% follow the standards approved in 1987, whilst the remaining 15% correspond to different ways of writing, generally either following Castilian standards or none at all. Between 2005 and 2007, however, there was a larger tendency to not follow the referred standards. But since then, which coincides with the second Aragonese Conference (2006), this tendency went back to favouring the standards from 1987 as of the beginning of 2007.

Finally, with regards to the print runs, there is a large variety that means it isn't possible to establish common parameters, so it goes from the 300 copies, that are normally published of

Acts of Congress or eventually of books of poetry, to the 4000 or 5000 copies that are general published of a dictionary.

In conclusion, you have to point out that Aragonese institutions, and especially the Aragonese Government which has the statutory mandate of promoting, protecting and spreading our minority languages, haven't put in all the desired effort to complete it, neither in the field of publishing, and has left the non-Castilian speaking population of the community unassisted.

The burden, as with other fields (spread, research, and teaching) has fallen back on the private initiative and, especially, on cultural associations that have selflessly taken on the role of spreading literature in our minority languages.

12. Aragonese language internationally

The actions carried out in favour of Aragonese outside of Spain started relatively recently, given that the defence movement for the language was scrupulously complied with the jurisdictional system established by the Constitution and the subsequent Autonomous Statutes of Aragon in this matter, and its actions on said levels. Only after waiting patiently and generously for almost 30 years, in which the successive expectancies generated since the approval of the first Aragonese Statute of 1982 were being systematically put to an end by dilettantism and almost complete inactivity, the time had arrived to grab the attention of agencies and of the international public opinion to get their support and pressure on the Aragonese and Spanish authorities in favour of Aragonese.

The first relief initiative happened on the 28th of April 2009 with the arrival in Brussels of a team of 24 people who joined with representatives of the main defence entities for Aragonese and Catalan in Aragón, as well as with elected representatives and managers of this party. Their activity developed, firstly, in the European Parliament, in which they were welcomed by the MEP Mikel Irujo, (from the political group the Greens/European Free Alliance), who developed at that moment an intense involvement within the European Parliament Intergroup for Traditional Minorities, National Communities and Languages, in favour of the languages of the EU that are the biggest minorities. They also help a

meeting in the European Commission with Johan Häggman, responsible for the regional and minority languages from the General Management of Multilingualism of said institution and gave a press conference that had an important repercussion in Aragonese media.

A few months later they approved the 10/2009 Law of the use, protection and promotion of Aragon's native languages so that internally it went back to having potential as a way to stop the abandonment of the Aragonese language through its meticulous application, therefore the international campaign stopped. However, the misapplication of this law and after learning the intentions that, since the electoral campaign, the parties (PP and PAR) said finally the government would approve after the May 2011 elections, the international activity restarted again.

Effectively, the 28th of March 2012 CHA handed over to the European Council, specifically to the secretariat of the European Charter a "complaint report about the current situation of languages in Aragon with regards to the application of the European Charter of Regional or Minority Languages." The delivery was made to the head of the office of this international organisation in Brussels, in the headquarters of the European Parliament, where, by offer of the MEP of the Greens/European Free Alliance, Ana Miranda, and the Secretary General of this political group, a meeting was had with the help of communication media. There a new interview was agreed with Mr Alexey Kozhemyakov, head of the Secretariat of the European Charter, in the headquarters of the European Council in Strasbourg, as well as the appearance of the President of CHA, José Luis Soro, at the meeting that the intergroup would have to confirm on the 28th of May in the same city.

Meanwhile, some organisations (CFA, APUDEPA, REA, Centre d'Estudis Ribagorçans, Institut d'Estudis del Baix Cinca, Associació Cultural del Matarranya and the Department of Catalan Philology at the University of Zaragoza, amongst other) publicly announced themselves against the linguistic policy measures that were being revealed.

As has already been said, on the 28th of May 2012 the second meeting took place with the European Council in Strasbourg and the summons in the European Parliament.

In the latter, and as a result of the dawning interest for the Aragonese case as well as the animated debate that followed, a group of MEPs agreed to submit letters to the President of the Aragonese government, Luisa Fernanda Rudi, and to the President of the Spanish government, Mariano Rajoy, in which they warned of the dire consequences that the substitution of the 10/2009 law for another that the governing party was planning would have dire consequences. Another further action at an international level was the proposal made by the "Aragonese Foundation on the 29th of June" in the General Assembly of the European foundation Centre Maurits Coppieters (CMC) celebrated in Sovata (Transylvania, Romania) on the 15th of June 2012, to organise a European conference about minority languages in the capital of Aragon, on a date yet to be confirmed.

Equally, the participation of the Centre Maurits Coppieters in Expolangues was decided, the world's largest festival dedicated to languages, that is celebrated in Paris in February every year, and that, as a consequence of this decision, featured in their 2013 celebration the presence of a representative of the publishing process in Aragonese, holding a roundtable with regards to Minority languages, within which Aragonese was included, and the display of books from all publishers, writers and eras.

In January 2013 José Ignacio López Susín and Miguel Martínez Tomey appeared at the Paul Valéry University in Montpellier, as representative of CMC, at the international symposium: *E-Gestion de minorités linguistiques dans l'Europe du XXI^e siècle*. Moreover, the CFA formed part of the Association pour les Langues et Cultures Européennes Menacées (ALCEM), of which Francho Nagore Laín is one of the vice-presidents.

In September 2013 the European Parliament passed a resolution on endangered European languages and linguistic diversity in the European Union. His rapporteur, MEP François Alfonsi, presented it in Zaragoza in November. Two weeks earlier, on October 24th, Chulia Ara gave a speech to the European Parliament Intergroup for Traditional Minorities, National Communities and Languages on behalf of Consello d'a Fabla Aragonesa and Rolde de Estudios Aragoneses on the situation of the Aragonese language, invited by Mr.

Alfonsi. Both associations were also invited to participate at the European Language Equality Network (ELEN) General Assembly, held in Paris on November 23, 2013. Franchó Pérez talked there on their behalf.

Once they approved the new 3/2013 law of the use, protection and promotion of Aragon's own languages and linguistic dialects, the same law was also transferred over to the European Council and other international bodies which are expected to continue in the same line of action described above.

13. Conclusions

The lack of normalising processes (in short, of the normalisation of the social use of the language and social dignity) and standardising processes (the creation and acceptance of a cultured and more than local linguistic model that serves as a reference to the different geographical dialects of the language) has encouraged localism and the absence of a wider view for the Aragonese language in time and space and within a universe of possible communicative uses that it, like all languages, possesses.

It is symptomatic that currently in the linguistic system we call Aragonese the name and, with it, any possibility of official recognition and, in short, any hope of life is being covered up. The long process of recovery of the Aragonese language

mustn't reach the point where Aragonese society, at a political level and with the government at the head, undertakes a series of brave and risky actions that decidedly promote the use of Aragonese in certain areas and instances such as:

The education system (schools, institutes, university)

Mass media (especially territorial and more than just local)

Public life

Cultural and artistic demonstrations

The road to safeguarding the language needs to go through these landmarks. Above all taking into account that Aragonese society has changed in the last few decades its view on Aragonese, from one of disdain to one of sympathy,

One of the main bastions for the survival of any language is its teaching. According to the latest studies about the issue the problem of scarce support for the Aragonese language in the school landscape isn't found nor is a lack of will to learn Aragonese and/or in Aragonese by the students nor an opposition by the teachers; but more in the downfalls of a faculty that hasn't taken notice of the importance of safeguarding their own linguistic heritage as they go through teacher training.

Largely, the survival of Aragonese depends on an active linguistic policy in its favour, preferably of its teaching and presence in mass media and administration, but also relies on the will and awareness of its speakers.

