from a very early period—earlier doubtless than the oldest existing monuments of those languages—a labio-palatal pronunciation (ü). It is not to be supposed that the separation of Catalan from the Gallo-Roman family occurred before the transformation had taken place; there is good reason to believe that Catalan possessed the *ü* at one time, but afterwards lost it in its contact with the Spanish dialects.

Catalan being a variety of the *langue d'oc,* it will be con- venient to note the peculiarities of its phonetics and inflexion as compared with ordinary Provençal.

*Tonic Vowels.—*With regard to *a*, which is pronounced alike in open and close syllables *(amar,* amare; *obre,* arbor), there is nothing to remark. The Latin ē*,* which is treated like ĭ*,* gives *e,* sometimes close, sometimes open. On this point Catalan is more hesitating than Provençal; it does not distinguish so clearly the pronunciation of *e* according to its origin ; while ē (ĭ) is capable of yielding an open *e,* the ě is often pronounced close, and the poets have no difficulty in making words in *e* close and in *e* open rhyme together, which is not the case in Provençal. The Latin ĕ never yields *ie* in Catalan as it does in French and occasionally in Pro- vençal; sedet becomes *seu* (where *u* represents the final *d),* pedem makes *peu,* and e g o *eu\*,* in some words where the tonic *e* is followed by a syllable in which an *i* occurs, it may become *i (ir,* hĕri; *mig,* mĕdius; *mils,* melius); and the same holds good for ĕ in a .similar situation *(ciri,* cĕrius, cēreus; *fira,* f ē r i a), and for *e* in a close syllable before a nasal *(eximpli,* exemplum; *inintré* for *mentiré, gιnt* for *gent). I* tonic long andι short, when in hiatus with another vowel, produce *i (amich,* amicus; *via,* v ï a)- *O* tonic long and *o* short are represented by *o* close and *o* open *(amor,* a m o r e m ; *poble,* p o p u 1 u s). *O* short is never diphthongized into *uo* or *ue;* such a treatment is as foreign to Catalan as the diphthongization of ĕ into *ie.* Just as *e* before a syllable in which an *i* occurs is changed into *i,* so in the same circumstances *o* becomes *u (full,* folium; *νull,* volio for voleo) and also when the accented vowel precedes a group of consonants like *cl, pl, and* the like *(ull,* oc’lus; *escull,* scop'lus). Latin *u* persists with the Latin pronunciation, and, as already said, docs not take the Franco- Provençal pronunciation *ü.* Latin *au* becomes *o (cosa,* c a u s a; *or,* aurum) ; Old Catalan has kept the diphthong better, but possibly we should attribute the examples of *au* which are met with in texts of the 13th and 14th centuries to the literary influence of Provence. Latin *ua* tends to become *o (cor,* quare).

*Atonic Vowels.—*As for the Latin post-tonic vowels already spoken of, it remains to be noted that *a* is often represented in writing by *e,* especially before s; in old Catalan, the substantives, adjectives and participles readily form their singular in *a* and their plural in es: *αrmα, αrmes* (anima, animas) ; *bona, bones* (bοna, bοnas) ; *αmadα, amαdes* (amata, amatas). This *e* is neither open nor close, but a surd *e* the pronunciation of which comes very near *a.* In the same way the supporting vowel, which is regularly an *e* in Catalan, is often written *a,* especially after *r (abra,* arborem; *astra,* astrum; *para,* patrem); one may say that in the actual state of the language post-tonic *e* and *a* become indistinguishable in a surd sound intermediate between the French *a* and mute *e.* Before the tonic the same change between *a* and *e* constantly takes place; one finds in manuscripts *eηar, emor* for a*nar, amor* (the same extends even to the case of the tonic syllable, *ten* and *sent* from tantum and sanctum being far from rare), and, on the other hand, *antre, arrar,* for *entre, errar. I* atonic is often represented by *e* even when it is long *(νehi,* vicinus). *O* atonic close, which in genuine Catalan exists only before the tonic, has become *u',* at the present day *truνor, cuntradir* is the real pronunciation of the words spelt *troνor, contradir,* and in the final syllables, verbal or other, where under Castilian influence an *o* has come to be added to the normal Catalan form, this *o* has the value of a *u: troυo* (genuine Catalan, *trop)* is pronounced *trονu; bravo* (genuine Catalan, *brou)* is pronounced *brανu. U* atonic keeps its ground.

The only strong diphthongs of the spoken language are *di, du* (rather rare), é*i, éu, íu, ói, óu, úi, uu. Ai* produced by *a+i* or by a+a palatal consonant has for the greater part of the time become an *e* in the modern language; *factum* has yielded *fait, feit,* and then *fet,* the last being the actual form ; *arius* has given *èr* alongside of *aire, ari,* which are learned or semi-learned forms. Of the two weak diphthongs *io* and *uá,* the latter, as has been seen, tends to become *o* close in the atonic syllable, and is pronounced *u : quaronta* has become *corαnta,* then *curonta.* After the tonic *uo* often becomes *o* in the Catalan of the mainland *(oyga,* aqua, *llengo,* lingua), while in Majorca it becomes *o (oygo, Ιlengo).*

*Consonants.—*Final *t* readily disappears after n or *l* *(ton,* tantum; *aman, υenin. portin,* for *amont, υenint,* &c.; *mol,* multum; *ocul,* ocultum) ; the *t* reappears in composition before a vowel *(fon,* fontem, but *Font-alba).* On the other hand, a *t* without etymo- logical origin is frequently added to words ending in *r (cart* for *car, quare; mart* for *mar, mare; omart, ohirt,* infinitive for *amar, ohir),* and even to some words terminating in a vowel *(genit,* i n g e n i u m ; *prernit,* premium), or the addition of the *t* has taken place by assimilation to past participles in *it.* The phenomenon occurs also in Provençal (see *Romania,* vii. 107, viii. 110). Median intervocal *d,* represented by 5 *(z)* in the first stage of the language, has disappeared : fidelis gave *fesel,* then *feel,* and finally *fel* ;videtis became *υezets,* then *veets, vets* and *veu.* Final *d* after a vowel has produced *u (peu,* pedem; *niu,* nidum ; *mou,* modum) ; but when the *d,* in consequence of the disappearance of the preceding vowel, rests upon a consonant, it remains and passes into the corresponding surd ; frigidus gives *fred* (pronounced *fret).* The group *dr,* when produced by the disappearance of the intermediate vowel, becomes *ur (creure,* credere; *ocïure,* occidere ; *veure,* vidĕre; *seure,* sedĕre). Final *n,* if originally it stood between two vowels, drops away *(bo,* bonum; *vi*, vinum), but not when it answers to *nin* (thus donum makes *do,* but domnum *don ;* sonum makes *so,* but somnum *son). Nd* is reduced to *n (de- manar, comanor* for *demandar, comandar).* Assibilated *c* before *e, i* is treated like d; within a word it disappears after having been represented for a while by s (lucere gives *llusir, lluhir* ; recipere gives *rezebre, reebre, rebre)* ; at the end of a word it is replaced by *u (υeu,* vicem ; *feu,* fecit). The group c’r gives *ur,* just like *d'r (jaure,* jacĕre; *naure,* nocĕre; *plaure,* placĕre; but facere, dicere, ducere, make *far (fer), dir, dur.* Initial *l* has been preserved only in certain monosyllables (the article *lo, los)* ; every- where else it has been replaced by *l* mouillée (Prov. *lh),* which in the present orthography is written *ll* as in Castilian, but formerly used to be represented by *ly* or *yl (lletro,* litera . *llenguo,* lingua). *P* readily disappears after *m,* like *t* after *n (com,* campum; *terns,* tempus). *B* is replaced by the surd *p* at the end of a word *(trobar* in the infinitive, but *trop* in the present tense) ; so also in the interior of a word when it precedes a consonant *(supvenir,* subvenire,*sopte,* sub'to). Median intervocalic *f* gives *v (Estéve,* Stephanus) ; it has disappeared from profundus, which yielded the form *preon,* then *pregon (g* being introduced to obviate the hiatus). *V,* wherever it has been preserved, has the same pronunciation as *b;* at the end of a word and between vowels it becomes vocalized into *u (suou,* suavi s; *viure,* vivere). *C* guttural, written *qu* before *e* and *i,* keeps its ground as a central and as a final letter; in the latter position it is generally written *ch (amich,* amlcum ; *joch,* jocum). *G* guttural is replaced as a final letter by surd *c (longa,* but *lonc; trigar,* but *trich). Τj* after a consonant gives *ss (cossor,* captiare) ; between vowels, after having been represented by soft s, it has disappeared (rationem gave *rozó, royso,* then *roho) ;* at the end of every word it behaves like *ts,* that is to say, changes into *u (preu,* pretium); instead of *ts* the second person plural of the verb—a t(i)s,e t(i)s, it(i)s—now has *au*, *eu*, *iu* after having had *ats, ets its. Dj* gives f between vowels *(verger,* v i r i d i a r u m), and *c* as a terminal (written either *ig* or *tx : goig,* g a u d i u m. *mig, mitχ,* m e d i u m). *Stj* and *sc* before *e* and *i,* as well as *x* and *ps,* yield the sound *sh,* represented in Catalan by *x (ongoxo,* angustia; *coneixer,* cognoscere; *dix,* dixit; *moteix,* metipse). *J* almost everywhere has taken the sound of the French *j (jutge,* &c.). *Lj* and *ll* give *l* mouillée *(ll* in the present orthography: *fill,* filium; *cοnsell,* consilium; *null,* nullum). In the larger portion of the Catalan domain this *l* mouillée has become *y.* almost everywhere *fly* is pronounced for *fill, consey* for *conseil. Nj* and *nn* give *n* mouillée *(ny* in both old and modern spelling: *senyor.* seniorem; *any,* annum). Sometimes the *ny* becomes reduced to y; one occasionally meets in manuscripts with *seyor, ay,* for *senyor, any,* but this pronunciation has not become general, as has been the case with the *y* having its origin in *ll.* Lingual *r* at the end of a word has a tendency to disappear when preceded by a vowel : thus the infinitives amare, temere, \*legire are pronounced *amá, temé, llegí.* It is never preserved except when protected by the non-etymological *t* already spoken of *(llegirt* or *llegî,* but never *Ilegîr)* ; the *r* reappears, nevertheless, whenever the infinitive is followed by a pronoun *(donorme, dirho). Rs* is reduced to s *(cos* for *cors,* corpus). *H* is merely an orthographic sign ; it is used to indicate that two consecutive vowels do not form a diphthong *(vehi raho),* and, added to *c,* it denotes the pronunciation of the guttural *c* at the end of a word *(amich).*

*Inflexion.—*Catalan, unlike Old Provençal and Old French, has never had declensions. It is true that in certain texts (especially metrical texts) certain traces of case-endings are to be met with, as for example *Deus* and *Deu, amors* and *amor, clars* and *clar, forts and fort, tuyt* and *tots, abduy* and *obdos, senyer* and *senyor, emperoire* and *emperodor\*,* but, since these forms are used convertibly, the nominative form when the word is in the objective, and the accusative form when the word is the subject, we can only recognize in these cases a confused recollection of the Provençal rules known only to the literate but of which the transcribers of manuscripts took no account. Catalan, then, makes no distinctions save in the gender and the number of its nouns. As regards the formation of the plural only two observations are necessary. (1) Words which have their radical termination in *n* but which in the singular drop that *n,* resume it in the plural before s: *homin-em* makes *ome* in the singular and *omens* in the plural ; *asin-um* makes *ose* and *osens. (2)* Words termi- nating in *s* surd or sonant and in *x* anciently formed their plural by adding to the singular the syllable *es (bras, brasses; pres, preses; mateix, mateixes),* but subsequently, from about the 15th century,