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 should have 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. The question, however, is one for further examination.

Catalan being a variety of the *langue Toc,* it will be convenient to note the peculiarities of its phonetic and inflexion as compared with ordinary Provençal.

*Tonic Vowels.—*With regard to *a,* which is pronounced alike in open and close syllables *(amar,* amare ; *abre,* 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 ĕ 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 Pro­vençal; sedet becomes *seu* (where *u* represents the final *d),* pedem makes *peu,* and ego *eu∙,* in some words where the tonic ĕ 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 ē in a similar situation *(ciri,* cērius, cēreus; *fira,* fēria), and for *e* in a close syllable before a nasal *(eximpli,* exemplum ; *mintré* for *menitiré*, *gint* for *gent). I* tonic long and *i* short, when in hiatus with another vowel, produce *i (amich,* amicus ; *via,* via). *O* tonic long and *o* short are represented by *o* close and *o* open *(amor,* amorem ; *poble,* populus). *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 *ze (full,* folium ; *vull,* 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, does not take the Franco-Provençal pronunciation *u.* Latin *au* becomes *o (cosa,* causa; *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).

*Atonie 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: arma, armes* (anima, animas); *bona, bones* (bona, bonas); *amada, amades* (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 *enar, emor* for *anar, amor* (the same manner of writing 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 *(vehi,* vicinus). *O* atonic close, which in genuine Catalan exists only before the tonic, has become *u* ; at the present day *truvar, cuntradir* is the real pronunciation of the words spelt *troνar, 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 : trovo* (genuine Catalan, *trop)* is pronounced *trovu ; bravo* (genuine Catalan, *brau)* is pronounced *bravu. U* atonic keeps its ground.

The only strong diphthongs of the spoken language are *ái, du* (rather rare), *ėi, 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 modem language ; *factum* has yielded *fait, feit,* and then *fet,* the last being the actual form ; *arius* has given *er* alongside of *aire, ari,* which are learned or semi-learned forms. Of the two weak diphthongs *ió* and *uá,* the latter, as has been seen, tends to become *o* close in the atonic syllable, and is pronounced *ze : quaranta* has become c*oranta,* then *curanta.* After the tonic *ua* often becomes *a* in the Catalan of the mainland *(ayga,* aqua, *llenga,* lingua), while in Majorca it becomes *o (aygo, llengo).*

*Consonants.—*Final *t* readily disappears after *n* or *l (tan,* tantum ; *aman, venin, partin,* for *amant, venint,* &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 ; amart, ohirt,* infinitive for *amar, ohir),* and even to some words terminating in a vowel *(genit,* ingenium; *premit,* 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 *s* *(z)* in the first stage of the language, has dis­appeared : fidelis gave *fesel,* then *feel,* and finally *fel* ; videtis became *vezets,* then *veels, vets,* and *veu.* Final *d* after· a vowel has produced *u (peu,* pedem; *niu,* nidum; *mou,* modum); but, when th *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; *ociure,* occidere; *veure,* vidĕre; *seure,* sedĕre). Final *n,* if originally it stood between two vowels, falls away *(bo,* bonum ; *vi,* vinum), but not when it answers to *mn* (thus donum makes *do,* but domnum *don;* sonum makes *so,* but somnum *son). Nd* is reduced to *n (demanar, comanar* 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 (veu,* vicem ; *feu,* fecit). The group *c’r* gives *ur,* just like *Ir (jaure,* jacĕre; *zιazere,* nocĕre; *plaure,* placere; but facere, dicere, ducere, make *far (fer), dir, dur.* Initial *l* has been preserved only in certain monosyllables (the article *lo, los)* ; everywhere 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 (lletra,* litera; *llengua,* lingua). *P* readily disappears after *m,* like *t* after *n (cam,* 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 (Esetve,* 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 (suau,* suavis; *viure,* vivere). *G* 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 (aznich,* amicum ; *joch,* jocum). *G* guttural is replaced as a final letter by surd *c (longa,* but *lonc ; trigar,* but *trich). Tj* after a consonant gives *ss (cassar,* captiare) ; between vowels, after having been represented by soft *s*, it has disappeared (rationem gave *razó, raysó,* then *rahó)* ; 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 —at(i)s, et(i)s, it(i)s—now has *au, eu, iu* after having had *ats, ets, its. Dj* gives ǵ between vowels *(verger,* viridiarum), and ć as a terminal (written either *ig* or *tx: goig,* gaudium, *mig, mitx,* medium). *Stj* and *sc* before *e* and *i,* as well as *x* anti *ps,* yield the sound *sh,* represented in Catalan by *x (angoxa,* angustia ; *coneixer,* cognoscere; *dix,* dixit; *mateix,* 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 ; *consell,* con­silium; *nzell,* nullum). In the larger portion of the Catalan domain this *l* mouillée has become *y* ; almost everywhere *fiy* is pro­nounced for *fill*, *consey* for *consell. 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, llegi.* It is never pre­served except when protected by the non-etymological *t* already spoken of *(llegirt* or *llegí,* but never *llegir)* ; the *r* reappears, never­theless, whenever the infinitive is followed by a pronoun *(donarme, 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 *Dezes* and *Deze, amors* and *amor, clars* and *clar, forts* and *fort*, *tuyt* and *tots, abduy* and *abdos, senyer* and *senyor, emperaire* and *emperador* ; 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