

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 d'oc*, 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 *ī*, 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* (*ī*) is capable of yielding an open *e*, the *ē* 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 *ī* 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 *ī* is followed by a syllable in which an *i* occurs, it may become *ī* (*īr*, *hēri*; *mīg*, *mēdius*; *mīls*, *mēlius*); and the same holds good for *ē* in a similar situation (*cīrī*, *cērius*, *cēreus*; *fīra*, *fēria*), and for *e* in a close syllable before a nasal (*exīmplī*, *exēmplum*; *mīntrē* for *mentīrē*, *gīnt* for *gent*). *I* tonic long and *ī* short, when in hiatus with another vowel, produce *ī* (*amīch*, *amīcus*; *vīa*, *vīa*). *O* tonic long and *o* short are represented by *o* close and *o* open (*amor*, *amorem*; *pōble*, *populus*). *O* short is never diphthongized into *uo* or *us*; such a treatment is as foreign to Catalan as the diphthongization of *ē* into *ie*. Just as *e* before a syllable in which an *i* occurs is changed into *ī*, so in the same circumstances *o* becomes *u* (*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*, *scoop'lus*). Latin *u* persists with the Latin pronunciation, and, as already said, does not take the Franco-Provençal pronunciation *ū*. 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*).

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*: *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 (*vehī*, vicinus). *O* atonic close, which in genuine Catalan exists only before the tonic, has become *u*; at the present day *trivar*, *contradir* is the real pronunciation of the words spelt *trovar*, *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, *trov*) is pronounced *trovu*; *bravo* (genuine Catalan, *brau*) is pronounced *bravu*. *U* atonic keeps its ground.

The only strong diphthongs of the spoken language are *ai*, *au* (rather rare), *ēi*, *ēu*, *īu*, *ōi*, *ōu*, *ūi*, *ūu*. *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 *er* alongside of *aire*, *art*, which are learned or semi-learned forms. Of the two weak diphthongs *io* and *uo*, the latter, as has been seen, tends to become *o* close in the atonic syllable, and is pronounced *u*: *quaranta* has become *coranta*, then *curanta*. After the tonic *uo* 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*, *venit*, *partin*, for *amant*, *venint*, &c.; *mol*, multum; *ocul*, oculum); the *t* reappears in composition before a vowel (*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 *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; *ocuire*, occidere; *veure*, videre; *seure*, sedere). 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 donum *don*; sonum makes *so*, but sonum *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 *o* (*lucere* gives *lustr*, *lustr*; *recipere* gives *recebre*, *recebre*, *rebre*); at the end of a word it is replaced by *u* (*veu*, vicem; *fecit*). The group *cr* gives *ur*, just like *dr* (*jaure*, jacere; *naure*, nocere; *ploure*, 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* (*Uetra*, litera; *Uengua*, lingua). *P* readily disappears after *m*, like *t* after *n* (*cam*, campum; *tems*, 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 (*supvenit*, subvenire, *sople*, sub'to). Median intervocalic *f* gives *v* (*Estève*, 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* (*suavis*, *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* (*amīch*, *amīcum*; *joch*, *jocum*). *G* guttural is replaced as a final letter by surd *c* (*longa*, *jocum*; *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 *razo*, *rayso*, then *raho*); at the end of every word it behaves like *ts*, that is to say, changes into *t* (*preu*, pretium); instead of *ts* the second person plural of the verb—at (*is*), et (*is*), it (*is*)—now has *au*, *eu*, *iu* after having had *ats*, *ets*, *its*. *Dj* gives *g* between vowels (*verger*, *viridiarum*), and *é* as a terminal (written either *ig* or *ta*: *goig*, gaudium, *mig*, *mīza*, medium). *Sj* and *sc* before *e* and *i*, as well as *x* and *ps*, yield the sound *sh*, represented in Catalan by *x* (*angoixa*, angustia; *conexer*, cognoscere; *dix*, dixit; *mateix*, metipse). *J* almost everywhere has taken the sound of the French *j* (*judge*, &c.). *Lj* and *ll* give *l* mouillée (*ll* in the present orthography: *fill*, filium; *consell*, consilium; *null*, nullum). In the larger portion of the Catalan domain this *l* mouillée has become *y*; almost everywhere *fy* is pronounced for *fill*, *consey* for *consell*. *Nj* and *ny* 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 *amā*, *temē*, *legē*. It is never preserved except when protected by the non-etymological *t* already spoken of (*ilegit* or *ilegt*, but never *ilegit*); 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 (*vehī*, *raho*), and, added to *c*, it denotes the pronunciation of the guttural *c* at the end of a word (*amīch*).

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*, *abdny* and *abdos*, *senyer* and *senyor*, *emperatre* 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

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 *ase* and *asens*. (2) Words terminating 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, the Castilian influence substituted *os*, so that one now hears *brassos*, *presos*, *mateixos*. The words in *z*, *sc*, *st* have been assimilated to words in *s* (*x*); from *bosch* we originally had the plural *bosches*, but now *boscos*; from *trist*, *tristes*, but now *tristos*. For these last in *st* there exists a plural formation which is more in accordance with the genius of the language, and consists in the suppression of the *s* before the *t*; from *aguest*, for example, we have now side by side the two plurals *aguestos*, in the Castilian manner, and *agusts*. The article is *lo*, *los* (pronounced *lu*, *lus* in a portion of the domain), fem. *la*, *les* (*las*). Some instances of *li* occur in the ancient tongue, applying indifferently to the nominative and the objective case; *el* applying to the singular is also not wholly unknown. On the north-western border of Catalonia, and in the island of Majorca, the article is not a derivative from *ille* but from *ipse* (sing. masc. *es* or *so*, fem. *sa*; pl. masc. *es*, and also *ets*, which appears to come from *istos*,—*ets* for *ests*, like *agusts* for *aguests*,—fem. *sas*). Compare the corresponding Sardinian forms *su*, *sa*, pl. *sos*, *sas*. On the pronouns it has only to be remarked that the modern language has borrowed from Castilian the composite forms *nosaltres* and *vosaltres* (pronounced also *nosaltros* and *vosaltros*), as also the form *osté*, *osté* (Castilian *usted* for *vuestra merced*).

Conjugation.—Catalan, and especially modern Catalan, has greatly narrowed the domain of the 2d conjugation in *ere*; a large number of verbs of this conjugation have been treated as if they belonged to the 3d in *ere*; *debere* makes *deure*, *videre*, *veure*, and alongside of *haber*, which answers to *habere*, there is a form *heure* which points to *habere*. A curious fact, and one which has arisen since the 15th century, is the addition of a paragogic *r* to those infinitives which are accented on the radical; in a portion of the Catalan domain one hears *creurer*, *veurer*. Some verbs originally belonging to the conjugation in *ere* have passed over into that in *ir*; for example *tenere* gives *tenir* alongside of *tindre*, *remanere* *romanir* and *romandre*. In the gerundive and in the present participle Catalan differs from Provençal in still distinguishing the conjugation in *ir* from that in *er*, *re*,—saying, for example, *sentint*. As in Provençal, the past participle of a large number of verbs of the 2d and 3d conjugations is formed, not from the infinitive, but from the perfect (*poput*, *volgut*, *tingut* suggest the perfects *poch*, *volch*, *tinch*, and not the infinitives *poder*, *voler*, *tenir*). In the present indicative and subjunctive many verbs in *ir* take the inchoative form already described, by lengthening the radical in the three persons of the singular and in the third person of the plural by means of the syllable *esc* (*isc*): *agrahir* has the present indicative *agraesch*, *agrahetzes*, *agraheix*, *agraheizen*, the present subjunctive *agraesca*, *-as*, *-a*, *-an* (or more usually now *agraesqui*, *-is*, *-i*, *-in*). The old perfect of the conjugation in *ar* had *ē* (also *ī*) in the 1st pers. sing. and *-ā* in the 3d; alongside of the *-ā*, which is proper to Catalan exclusively, we also find, in the first period of the language, *-el* as in Provençal. Subsequently the perfect of the three conjugations has admitted forms in *-r* (*amāres*, *amārem*, *amāres*, *amārem*), derived from the ancient pluperfect *amara*, &c., which has held its ground down to the present day, with the meaning of a conditional in some verbs (one still hears *fora*, *haguera*). But the simple perfect is no longer employed in the spoken language, which has substituted for it a periphrastic perfect, composed of the infinitive of the verb and the present of the auxiliary *anar*: *vaig pendre*, for example, does not mean "I am going to take," but "I have taken." The earliest example of this periphrastic perfect carries us back to the 15th century. The most usual form of the subj. pres. in spoken Catalan is that in *-i* for all the three conjugations (*amī*, *-is*, *-i*, *-em*, *-eu*, *-in*; *temi*, *-is*, &c.; *sentī*, *-is*, &c.); it appears to be an abbreviation from *-ia*, and in effect certain subjunctives, such as *cāntia*, *lēmia*, *tinguia*, *vin, uia* (for *cante*, *tema*, *tinga*, *vingia*), evidently formed upon *sia* (subj. *-f* *esser*), have been and still are used. The same *i* of the present subjunctive, whatever may be its origin, is still found in the imperfect: *amēs*, *-essis*, *-es*, *-essim*, &c.

Catalan Dialect of Alghero (Sardinia).—As compared with that of the mainland, the Catalan of Alghero, introduced into this portion of Sardinia by the Aragonese conquerors and colonists, does not present any very important differences; some of them, such as they are, are explicable by the influence of the indigenous dialects of Sassari and Logudoro. In phonetics one observes—(1) the change of *lj* into *y* as an initial before *i* (*yitz*, *yigis*; *lego*, *legis*), a change which does not take place in the Catalan of the mainland except in the interior, or at the end of the word; (2) the frequent change of *l* between vowels and of *l* after *c*, *g*, *f*, *p* or *b* into *r* (*taura*, *tabula*; *candera*, *candela*; *sanyot*, *singultum*; *frama*, *flama*). In conjugation there are some notable peculiarities. The 1st pers. sing. does not take the *o* which continental Catalan has borrowed from Castilian (*cant*, not *canto*, &c.); the imp. ind. of verbs of the 2d

and 3d conjugations has *eva*, *iva* instead of *ia*, a form which also occurs in the conditional (*cantaria*, *drumiriva*); the simple perfect, of which some types are still preserved in the actual language (e.g., *anighe*, *aghé*), has likewise served for the formation not only of the past participle but also of the infinitive (*agher*, *habere*, can only be explained by *ach*, 3d person of the perfect); the infinitives with *r* paragogic (*viurer*, *seurer*, *plourer*) are not used (*viure*, *seure*, *ploure* instead); in the conjugation of the present of the verb *essar* or *esser*, the 2d pers. sing. *ses* formed upon the persons of the plural, while continental Catalan says *ets* (anciently *est*), as also, in the plural, *sem*, *seu*, instead of *som*, *sou*, are to be noted; *tenere* has passed over to the conjugation in *re* (*trenda*—*tenure*), but it is at the same time true that in ordinary Catalan also we have *tindre* alongside of *tenir* the habitual form; *dicere* gives not *dir* but *diure*, which is more regular.

II. CASTILIAN.—This name (derived from the kingdom of Castile, the most powerful element in the Spanish monarchy) is the most convenient designation to apply to the linguistic domain which comprises the whole of central Spain and the vast regions of America and Asia colonized from the 16th century onwards by the Spaniards. We might also indeed call it the *Spanish* domain, narrowing the essentially geographical meaning of the word *Español* (derived, like the other old form *Españon*, from *Hispania*), and using it in a purely political sense. But the first expression is to be preferred, all the more because it has been long in use, and even the inhabitants of the domain outside the two Castiles fully accept it and are indeed the first to call their idiom *Castellano*. It is agreed on all hands that Castilian is one of the two branches of the vulgar Latin of Spain, Portuguese-Galician being the other; both idioms, now separated by very marked differences, can be traced back directly to one common source—the Hispanic Romance. One and the same vulgar tongue, diversely modified in the lapse of time, has produced Castilian and Portuguese as two varieties, while Catalan, the third language of the Peninsula, connects itself, as has already been pointed out, with the Gallo-Roman.

Within the Castilian domain, thus embracing all in Spain that is neither Portuguese nor Catalan, there exist linguistic varieties which it would perhaps be an exaggeration to call dialects, considering the meaning ordinarily attached to that word, but which are none the less worthy of attention. Generally speaking, from various circumstances, and especially that of the reconquest, by which the already-formed idiom of the Christian conquerors and colonists was gradually conveyed from north to south, Castilian has maintained a uniformity of which the Romance languages afford no other example. We shall proceed in the first instance to examine the most salient features of the *normal Castilian*, spoken in the provinces more or less closely corresponding to the old limits of Old and New Castile, so as to be able afterwards to note the peculiarities of what, for want of a better expression, we must call the Castilian dialects.

In some respects Castilian is hardly further removed from classical Latin than is Italian; in others it has approximately reached the same stage as Provençal. As regards the tonic accent and the treatment of the vowels, which come after it, Castilian may be said to be essentially a paroxytonic language, though it does not altogether refuse proparoxytonic accentuation and it would be a mistake to regard vocables like *lámpara*, *lágrima*, *rápido*, &c., as learned words. In this feature, and in its almost universal conservation of the final vowels *e*, *i*, *u* (*o*), Castilian comes very near Italian, while it separates from it and approaches the Gallo-Roman by its modification of the consonants.

Vowels.—Normal Castilian faithfully preserves the vowels *ē*, *ī*, *ō*, *ū*; the comparatively infrequent instances in which *ē* and *ō* are treated like *ē* and *ō* must be attributed to the working of analoggy. It diphthongizes *ē* in *ie*, *ē* in *ue*, which may be regarded as a

weakening of *uo* (see *Romania*, iv. 30). Sometimes *ie* and *ue* in the modern language are changed into *i* and *e*: *silla* from *sella* (Old Cast. *siella*), *vispera* from *vespera* (Old Cast. *vispera*), *castillo* from *castellum* (Old Cast. *castiello*), *frunte* from *frontem* (Old Cast. *frunte*), *fleco* from *flöccus* (Old Cast. *flueco*). The words in which *f* and *ü* have kept their ground are either learned words like *médico*, *nérito*, or have been borrowed from dialects which do not suffer diphthongization. In many cases the old language is more rigorous; thus, while modern Castilian has given the preference to *mente*, *como*, *modo*, we find in old texts *miente*, *cumo*, *muedo*. Lat. *au* makes *o* in all words of popular origin (*cosa*, *oro*, &c.).

Consonants.—On the liquids *l*, *n*, *r* there is little to be remarked, except that the last-named letter has two pronunciations—one soft (voiced), as in *amor*, *burla*, the other hard (voiceless), as in *rendir*, *tierra* (Old Cast. in this case goes so far as to double the initial consonant: *rrendir*)—and that *n* is often inserted before *s* and *d*: *ensayo*, *mensaje*, *rendir* (reddere). *L* mouillée (written *ll*) represents not only the Latin *l*, *ll*, *lj*, but also, at the beginning of words, the combinations *cl*, *gl*, *pl*, *bl*, *fl*: *llama* (flamma), *llave* (elavis), *llorar* (plorare); the tendency of the modern language is, as in Catalan, to reduce *ll* to *y*; thus one readily hears *nyo* (plenum). *N* mouillée (*ñ*) corresponds to the Latin *nn*, *nn*, *nj*, and sometimes to initial *n*: *año* (annum), *daño* (damnum), *ñudo* (nodum). Passing to the dentals, except as an initial, *t* in words that are popularly current and belong to the old stock of the language, can only be derived from Lat. *tt*, *pt*, and sometimes *ct*, as in *meter* (mittere), *catar* (captare), *punto* (punctum); but it is to be observed that the habitual mode of representing *t* in normal Castilian is by *ch* (pron. *tch*), as in *derecho* (directum), *pecho* (pectus), so that we may take those words in which *t* alone represents *ct* as secondary forms of learned words; thus we have *benedito*, *otubre*, *santo* as secondary forms of the learned words *benédito*, *octubre*, *sancto*, alongside of the old popular forms *benédicho*, *schubre*, *sancho*. *D* corresponds in Castilian to Latin *t* between vowels, or *t* before *r*: *amado* (amatus), *padre* (patrem). At the present day the *d* of the suffixes *ado*, *ido* is no longer pronounced throughout the whole extent of the domain, and the same holds good also of the final *d*: *salú*, *poné*, for *salud*, *poned* (from *salutem*, *ponite*). Sometimes *d* takes the interdental sound of *z* (English *th*), or is changed into *l*; witness the two pronunciations of the name of the capital—*Madrid* and *Madril* (adj. *Madrileño*). The study of the spirants *c*, *z*, *s*; *g*, *j* is made a very delicate one by the circumstance that the interdental pronunciation of *c*, *z* on the one hand, and the guttural pronunciation of *g*, *j* on the other, are of comparatively recent date, and convey no notion of the value of these letters before the 17th century. It is admitted, not without reason, that the spirants *c*, *z*, which at present represent but one interdental sound (a lispéd *s*, or a sound between *s* and Eng. *th* in thing), had down till about the middle of the 16th century the voiceless sound *ts* and the voiced sound *dz* respectively, and that in like manner the palatal spirants *g*, *j*, *z*, before assuming the uniform pronunciation of the guttural spirant (—Germ. *ch* in *Buch*), had previously represented the voiced sound of *z* (Fr. *j*) and the voiceless sound of *s* (Fr. *ch*), which are still found in Portuguese and in the Castilian dialects of the north-west. The substitution of these interdental and guttural sounds for the surd and sonant spirants respectively did certainly not take place simultaneously, but the vacillations of the old orthography, and afterwards the decision of the Spanish Academy, which suppressed *x* (= *s*; *x* was retained for *cs*) and allows only *c* and *g* before *e* and *i*, *z* and *j* before *a*, *o*, *u*, make it impossible for us to follow, with the help of the written texts, the course of the transformation. *S* now has the voiceless sound even between vowels: *casa* (pronounced *cassa*); final *s* readily falls away, especially before liquids: *todo los* for *todos los*, *ramono* for *ramos nos*. The principal sources of *j* (*g*) are—Lat. *j* and *g* before *e* and *i* (*juego*, *jocum*; *gente*, *gentem*); Lat. initial *i* (*jábon*, *saponem*); Lat. *x* (*cojo*, *cozum*); *ij*, *cl* (*consejo*, *consilium*; *ojo*, *oculum*). The sources of *z* (*c*) are Lat. *cc*, *cj*, *ij*, *s*, *cielo*, *caelum*; *calza*, *calcea*; *razon*, *rationem*; *zampoña*, *symphonia*: As regards the spirants *f* and *v*, it is to be observed that the beginning of a word *f* has in many instances been replaced by the aspirated *h* (afterwards silent), while in others no less current among the people the transformation has not taken place; thus we have *hijo* (fillium) alongside of *fiesta* (festa). In some cases the *f* has been preserved in order to avoid confusion that might arise from identity of sound: the *f* in *fiel* (fidelis) has been kept for the sake of distinction from *fiel* (fel). As for *v*, it has a marked tendency to become confounded, especially as an initial letter, with the sonant explosive *b*; Joseph Scaliger's pun—*Dibere est vivere*—is applicable to the Castilians as well as to the Gascons. *H* is now nothing more than a graphic sign, except in Andalusia, where the aspirate sound represented by it comes very near *j*. Words beginning in *hue*, where the *h*, not etymologically derived, marks the inseparable aspiration of the initial diphthong *ue*, are readily pronounced *güe* throughout almost the whole extent of the domain: *huele* for *huele* (oleo); *güeso* for *hueso* (os). This *güe* extends also to words beginning with *hue*: *güeno* for *hueno* (bonum).

Inflection.—There is no trace of declension either in Castilian or in Portuguese. Some nominative forms—*Dios* (anciently *Dios*, and in the Castilian of the Jews *Dio*), *Cárlos*, *Márcos*, *sastre* (sartor)—have been adopted instead of forms derived from the accusative, but the vulgar Latin of the Peninsula in no instance presents two forms (subjective and objective case) of the same substantive. The article is derived from *ille*, as it is almost everywhere throughout the Romance regions: *el*, *la*, and a neuter *lo*; *los*, *las*. The plural of the first and second personal pronoun has in the modern language taken a composite form—*nosotros*, *vosotros*—which has been imitated in Catalan. *Quien*, the interrogative pronoun which has taken the place of the old *qui*, seems to come from *quem*.

Conjugation.—The conjugation of Castilian (and Portuguese) derives a peculiar interest from the archaic features which it retains. The vulgar Latin of Spain has kept the pluperfect indicative, still in current use as a secondary form of the conditional (*cantára*, *vendiera*, *partiera*), and, what is more remarkable still, as not occurring anywhere else, the future perfect (*cantára*, *vendiera*, *partiera*, formerly *cantáro*, *vendiero*, *partiero*). The Latin future has been replaced, as everywhere, by the periphrasis (*cantare habeo*), but it is worth noticing that in certain old texts of the 13th century, and in the popular songs of a comparatively ancient date which have been preserved in Asturias, the auxiliary can still precede the infinitive (*habeo cantare*), as with the Latin writers of the decadence: "Mucho de mayor precio a seer el tu manto que non será el nuestro" (Berceo, *S. Laur.*, str. 70), where *a seer* (*habet sedere*) corresponds exactly to *será* (*sedere habet*). The vulgar Latin of the Peninsula, moreover, has preserved the 2d pers. pl. of the imperative (*cantad*, *vended*, *partid*), which has disappeared from all the other Romance languages. Another special feature of Castilian-Portuguese is the complete absence of the form of conjugation known as inchoative (intercalation, in the present tense, of the syllable *isc* or *esc* between the radical and the inflexion), although in all the other tenses, except the present, Spanish shows a tendency to lay the accent upon the same syllable in all the six persons, which was the object aimed at by the inchoative form. Castilian displaces the accent on the 1st and 2d pers. pl. of the imperfect (*cantáramos*, *cantárais*), of the pluperfect indicative (*cantáramos*, *cantárais*), and of the imperfect subjunctive (*cantásemos*, *cantásetis*); possibly the impulse to this was given by the forms of future perfect *cantáremos*, *cantáreis* (*cantarimus*, *cantaritis*). The 2d persons plural were formerly (except in the perfect) *-ades*, *-edes*, *-ides*; it was only in the course of the 16th century that they got reduced, by the falling away of *d*, to *-ais*, *-eis*, and *-is*. The verb *essere* has been mixed, not as in the other Romance languages with *stare*, but with *sedere*, as is proved by older forms *seer*, *sides*, *sieden*, *seyendo*, obviously derived from *sedere*, and which have in the texts sometimes the meaning of "to be seated," sometimes that of "to be," and sometimes both. In old Latin charters also *sedere* is frequently met with in the sense of *esse*: e.g., "sedeat istum meum donativum quietum et securum" (anno 1184), where *sedeat*—*sit*. The 2d pers. sing. of the present of *ser* is *eres*, which is best explained as borrowed from the imperfect (*eras*), this tense being often used in Old Spanish with the meaning of the present; alongside of *eres* one finds (but only in old documents or in dialects) *ses*, formed like *sois* (2d pers. pl.) upon *somos*. The accentuation in the inflexion of perfects in the conjugation called strong, like *hubieron*, *hicieron*, which correspond to *habuerunt*, *fecerunt* (while in the other Romance languages the Latin type is *erunt*: Fr. *euvent*, *firent*), may be regarded as truly etymological, or rather as a result of the assimilation of these perfects to the perfects known as weak (*amaron*), for there are dialectic forms having the accent on the radical, such as *átcon*, *átcon*. The past participle of verbs in *er* was formerly *udo* (*utus*) in most cases; at present *ido* serves for all verbs in *er* and *ir*, except some ten or twelve in which the participle has retained the Latin form accented on the radical: *dicho*, *hecho*, *visto*, &c. It ought to be added that the past participle in normal Castilian derives its theme not from the perfect but from the infinitive: *habido*, *sabido*, from *haber*, *saber*, not from *hubo*, *supo*.

CASTILIAN DIALECTS.—To discover the features by which these are distinguished from normal Castilian we must turn to old charters and to certain modern compositions in which the provincial forms of speech have been reproduced more or less faithfully.

Asturian.—The Asturian idiom, called by the natives *bable*, is differentiated from the Castilian by the following characters. *le* occurs, as in Old Castilian, in words formed with the suffix *ellum* (*castiellu*, *portiellu*, while modern Castilian has reduced *le* to *i*. *E*, *z*, *u*, post-tonic for *a*, *e*, *o*: *penes* (*penas*), *gracies* (*gracias*), *esti* (*este*), *frenti* (*frente*), *lechí* (*leche*), *nuechi* (*noche*), *unni* (*uno*), *primeru* (*primero*). There is no guttural spirant, *j*, but, according to circumstances, *y* or *x* (*z*); thus Lat. *cl*, *ij* gives *y*: *veyu* (= *veclus*) *espeyu* (*speculum*), *conseyu* (*consilium*); and after an *i* this *y* is hardly perceptible, to judge by the forms *fiu* (*fillium*), *escoidas* (Cast. *escogidos*), *Castia* (*Castilla*); Lat. *g* before *e* and *i*, Lat. initial *j*, and Lat. *ss*, *x*, give *x* (*z*)—*xiente* (*gentem*), *xudiru* (*Judaenus*), *baxu* (*bassus*), *coxu* (*cozus*), *flouxu* (*fluxus*). Lat. initial *f* has kept its ground, at least in part of the province: *fu*, *fuera* (Cast.

hijo, *hoja*). A very marked feature is the habitual "mouillure" of *l* and *n* as initial letters: *lleche*, *lleer*, *lluna*, *llutu*; *ñon*, *ñunca*, *ñaves*, *ñube*. With respect to inflexion the following forms may be noted—personal pronouns: *i* (*illi*), *yo* (*illos*); possessive pronouns: *mió*, pl. *miós*; *to*, *tos*; *so*, *sos* for both masc. and fem.; verbs: 3d pers. pl. imp. of the 2d and 3d conjugations in *iu* for *ien* (Cast. *ian*); *train*, *tenin*, *facin* (from *facere*), *fin* (from *fer*), and even some instances of the 2d pers. sing. (*abis*; Cast. *habias*); instances of pres. subj. in *ia* for *a* (*stirria*, *métia*, *sepia*). The verb *ser* gives *yes* (sometimes *yeres*) in the 2d pers. sing., *ye* in the 3d. *Facere* appears under two forms—*face* and *fer*,—and to the abridged form correspond *fets*, *fendo*, *fin*, &c. *Ire* often appears under the form *dir* (*antes de diros*—*antes de viros*), which it is not necessary to explain by *de-ire* (see Schuchardt, *Ztschr. f. rom. Philol.*, v. 312).

Navarro-Aragonese.—In its treatment of the post-tonic vowels this dialect parts company with normal Castilian and comes nearer Catalan, in so far as it drops the final *e*, especially after *nt*, *rt* (*mont*, *plazant*, *muer*, *fuert*, *parents*, *gents*); and, when the atonic *e* has dropped after a *v*, this *v* becomes a vowel—*brevu* (*brevum*), *grievu* (*grevum*), *meuvu* (*novem*). Navarro-Aragonese has the diphthongs *ie*, *ue* from tonic *e* and *ü*, and adheres more strictly to them than normal Castilian does,—*cuende* (*cömitem*), *mevey* (*hödie*), *queyo* (*pöidium*), *yes* (*est*), *yeran* (*erant*), while Castilian says *conde*, *hoj*, *pojo*, *es*, *eran*. The initial combinations *cl*, *pl*, *fl*, have withstood the transformation into *ll* better than in Castilian: *piano*, *pleno*, *plega*, *clamado*, *flama* are current in old documents; and at the present day, although the *l* has come to be "mouillée," the first consonant has not disappeared (*pluma*, *plora*, *plano*—pronounced *pljuma*, &c.). Lat. *ei* gives *ei*, not *ch* as in Castilian: *nueyt* (*noctem*), *destruido* (*destructum*), *proveito* (*provetum*), *dito* for *dicto* (*dictum*). *D* between vowels kept its ground longer than in Castilian: documents of the 14th century supply such forms as *vildieron*, *vilo*, *hudio*, *provedir*, *redenair*, *proeza*, *Benedit*, *vidiendo*, &c.; but afterwards *y* came to be substituted for *d* or *dj*: *veyere* (*videre*), *seyer* (*sedere*), *seyra* (*gandium*), *enueyo* (*inodium*). Initial *f* does not change into *h*: *fillo*, *feito*. Navarro-Aragonese does not possess the guttural spirant (*j*) of Castilian, which is here rendered according to circumstances either by *g* (Fr. *j*) or by *ll* (*l* mouillée), but never by the Asturian *x*. Certain forms of the conjugation of the verb differ from the Castilian: *dar*, *estar*, *haber*, *saber*, *poner* readily form their imperfects and imperfect subjunctives like the regular verbs in *ar* and *er*,—*havieron* (Cast. *hubieron*), *estaron* (Cast. *estubieron*), *sabio* (Cast. *supo*), *dasen* (Cast. *diesen*), *ponisse* (Cast. *pusiese*); on the other hand, past participles and gerundives formed from the perfect are to be met with,—*fisiendo* for *faciendo* (perf. *fiso*), *tuviendo* and *tuvido* for *teniendo*, *tenido* (perf. *tuvo*). In the region bordering on Catalonia the simple perfect has given way before the periphrastic form proper to Catalan: *voy cayer* (I fell), *va fé* (he has done), *vamos ir* (we went), &c.; the imperfects of verbs in *er*, *ir*, moreover, are found in *eba*, *iba* (*comeba*, *subiba*, for *comia*, *subia*), and some presents also occur where the Catalan influence makes itself felt: *estigo* (Cast. *estich*), *vaigo* (Cast. *vaig*), *veigo* (Cast. *veig*). Navarro-Aragonese makes use of the adverb *en* as a pronoun: *no les en daren pas*, *no'n hi ha*.

Andalusian.—The word "dialect" is still more appropriately applied to Andalusian than either to Asturian or Navarro-Aragonese. Many peculiarities of pronunciation, however, are commonly called Andalusian which are far from being confined to Andalusia proper, but are met with in the vulgar speech of many parts of the Castilian domain, both in Europe and in America. Of these but a few occur only there, or at least have not yet been observed elsewhere than in that great province of southern Spain. They are the following. *L*, *n*, *r*, *d* between vowels or at the end of a word disappear: *sá* (*sal*), *só* (*sol*), *vise* (*viene*), *tice* (*tiene*), *yaa* and *pa* (*para*), *mía* (*mira*), *naa* and *na* (*nada*), *too* and *to* (*todo*). *D* is dropped even from the beginning of a word: *e* (*de*), *inero* (*dinero*), *on* (*don*). Before an explosive, *i*, *r*, *d* are often represented by *i*: *saiga* (*salga*), *vaiga* (*valga*), *laigo* (*largo*), *maira* (*madre*), *paire* (*padre*). Lat. *f* is more rigorously represented by *h* than in normal Castilian, and this *h* here preserves the aspirate sound which it has lost elsewhere; *habla*, *horma* (*forma*), *hoder*, are pronounced with a very strong aspiration, almost identical with that of *j*. The Andalusians also very readily write these words *habla*, *horma*, *hoder*. This aspirate, expressed by *j*, often has no etymological origin; for example, *Jándalo*, a nickname applied to Andalusians, is simply the word *Andalus* pronounced with the strong aspiration characteristic of the inhabitants of the province. *O*, *z* are seldom pronounced like *s*; but a feature more peculiar to the Andalusians is the inverse process, the softened and interdental pronunciation of the *s* (the so-called *ceceo*): *zeñor* (*señor*), &c. Before a consonant and at the end of a word *s* becomes a simple aspiration: *mismo* (*mismo*), *Dios* (*Dios*), *do reales* (*dos reales*). In the inflexion of the verb there is nothing special to note, except some instances of 2d pers. sing. of the perfect in *tes* for *te*: *estuvistes*, *estuvistes*, for *estuviste*,—evidently a formation by analogy from the 2d pers. of the other tenses, which all have *s*.

It is with the Andalusian dialect that we can most readily associate the varieties of Castilian which are spoken in South America. Here some of the most characteristic features of the language of the extreme south of Spain are reproduced,—either because the Castilian of America has spontaneously passed through the same phonetic transformations or because the Andalusian element, very strongly represented in colonization, succeeded in transporting its local habits of speech to the New World.

Leonese.—Proceeding on inadequate indications, the existence of a Leonese dialect has been imprudently admitted in some quarters; but the old kingdom of Leon cannot in any way be considered as constituting a linguistic domain with an individuality of its own. The fact that a poem of the 13th century (the *Alexandro*), and certain redactions of the oldest Spanish code, the *Fuero Juzgo*, have a Leonese origin has been made too much of, and has led to a tendency to localize excessively certain features common to the whole western zone where the transition takes place from Castilian to Galician-Portuguese.

III. PORTUGUESE.—Portuguese-Galician constitutes the second branch of the Latin of Spain. In it we must distinguish—(1) Portuguese (*Portuguez*, perhaps a contraction from the old *Portugales*—*Portugalensis*), the language of the kingdom of Portugal and its colonies in Africa, Asia, and America (Brazil); (2) Galician (*Gallego*), or the language of the old kingdom of Galicia (the modern provinces of Pontevedra, La Coruña, Orense, and Lugo) and of a portion of the old kingdom of Leon (the territory of Vierzo in the province of Leon). Portuguese, like Castilian, is a literary language, which for ages has served as the vehicle of the literature of the Portuguese nation constituted in the beginning of the 12th century. Galician, on the other hand, which began early in the Middle Ages a literary life,—for it was employed by Alfonso the Wise in his *cantigas* in honour of the Virgin,—decayed in proportion as the monarchy of Castile and Leon, to which Galicia had been annexed, gathered force and unity in its southward conquest. At the present day Gallego, which is simply Portuguese variously modified and with a development in some respects arrested, is far from having as a dialect the same importance as Catalan, not only because the Spaniards who speak it (1,800,000) number much less than the Catalans (3,500,000), but also because, its literary culture having been early abandoned in favour of Castilian, it inevitably fell into the vegetative condition of a provincial patois. Speaking generally, Portuguese is further removed than Castilian from Latin; its development has gone further, and its actual forms are more worn out than those of the sister language, and hence it has, not without reason, been compared to French, with which it has some very notable analogies. But, on the other hand, Portuguese has remained more exclusively Latin in its vocabulary, and, particularly in its conjugation, it has managed to preserve several features which give it, as compared with Castilian, a highly archaic air. Old Portuguese, and more especially the poetic language of the 13th century, received from the language of the troubadours, in whose poetry the earlier Portuguese poets found much of their inspiration, certain words and certain turns of expression which have left upon it indelible traces.

Vowels.—Lat. *z*, *z* with the accent have not been diphthongized into *ie*, *uo*, *ue*: *pé* (*pedem*), *dez* (*decem*), *bom* (*bonus*), *podé* (*potet*). On the other hand, Portuguese has a large number of strong diphthongs produced by the attraction of an *i* in hiatus or the resolution of an explosive into *i*: *raiba* (*rabia*), *feira* (*feria*), *feito* (*factum*), *seixo* (*saxum*), *oito* (*octo*). A quite peculiar feature of the language occurs in the "nasal vowels," which are formed by the Latin accented vowels followed by *m*, *n*, or *ñ*, *ã*: *bê* (*bene*), *grã* (*grandem*), *bõ* (*bonum*). These nasal vowels enter into combination with a final atonic vowel: *irmão* (*germanus*); also *amãdo* (*amant*), *sermão* (*sermonem*), where the *o* is a degenerated representative of the Latin final vowel. In Old Portuguese the nasal vowel or diphthong was not as now marked by the *til* ("), but was expressed indifferently and without regard to the etymology by *m* or *n*: *bem* (*bene*), *tan* (*tantum*), *dixerom* (*dixerunt*), *sermon* (*sermonem*). The Latin diphthong *au* is rendered in Portuguese by *ou* (*ouro*, *aurum*; *pouco*, *paucum*), also pronounced *oi*. With regard to the atonic vowels, there is a tendency to reduce *e* into *a*