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THE DESCENDANTS OF OLD CATALAN AND PROVENÇAL *AB* 'WITH'¹

INTRODUCTION. The old preposition *ab* < APUD (*REW*, *FEW*)² has undergone changes in both languages, giving rise to a series of new forms. The problems that these changes entail, although the subject of considerable comment, invite a new scrutiny³.

1. I am deeply indebted to Professor J. Corominas, who, besides advising me generously for this research, has provided me with invaluable information from his files. I am quoting his authority for certain dialect usage of the preposition discussed here.

2. For the etymology of *ab*, F. G. Mohl had suggested an Oscan-Umbrian *amf* or *amb* (*Introduction à la chronologie du Latin vulgaire*, Paris, 1899, p. 95); his hypothesis was refuted by E. Richter (*ZRPh*, XXVI, 533), who drew attention to the fact that while there are no remains of **amf* or *am* in the dialectal Latin of Provence, *apud* appears in the sense of 'by, with' in several documents from Gaul. Richter suggests the stages of APUD > **abd* > *ab* (through a reduction of **abd* before a consonant). For a succinct account of this discussion, see Alcover Dictionary (I, 6) and J. Ronjat, *Grammaire istorique des parlers provençaux modernes* (Montpellier, 1930-41), § 748, vol. III, p. 501.

Note the use of *apud* 'with' and *ab* in early Catalan documents: « ipse pullino saxo remaneat ad Inguilberto *apud* ipsa sella » (year 948), « venerunt *apud* fratrem Isarnum » (of 972), « et ipso pullino qui est *ab* ipsas equas remaneat ad Eriballo filio meo » (of 1014), and also: (of 1050) « Et ego Guilielmus iamdictus finem nec treuam nec societatem, non auré ne no tenré *ab* Pere et *ab* Esteuen et *ab* Bernard, fills que sunt de Gerberga femina » (*RLang. Rom.*, III, 275-6).

We are using the following abbreviations: B = Barcelona; M = Madrid; V = Valencia; T = Toulouse; Mtp = Montpellier; ENCL ed. Els Nostres Clàssics; Alcover (Dictionary) = Alcover-Moll-Sanchis Guarner, *Diccionari Català-Valencià-Balear*, 10 volumes, Palma de Mallorca, 1930-62; Levy, *Suppl.* = E. Levy, *Provenzalisches Supplement-Wörterbuch*, Leipzig, 1894; Mistral, *Dict.* = F. Mistral, *Dictionnaire Provençal-Français*, Aix-en-Provence, 1878.

3. In addition to the notes found in historical grammars and etymological dictionaries (which we shall reproduce below), *ab* has been the object of a most detailed and comprehensive treatment by J. Calveras in his « Variants de les preposicions *a*, *en*, *ab* en els dialectes catalans, » *Anuari de l'Oficina Romànica de Lingüística i Literatura*, I (1928), 151-178. Calveras first examines the variants of the three prepositions in the dialect of

a. In Catalan, *ab*, after being in use as the literary form from early times, has been given up recently by the Institut d'Estudis Catalans, in favor of *amb*¹, which, pronounced without *-b* before a word beginning with a consonant (*am tu* or *am tu* in the Oriental and Occidental dialects respectively), and fully in front of a word with an initial vowel (*amb ell*), is representative of pronunciation in the greater part of Catalan-speaking territories, and especially of larger centers such as Barcelona, Girona, Palma de Mallorca, etc.². The original form *ab* survives today alongside *am* in various regions northeast of Barcelona³. There the prevailing system of pronunciation is: *ab* before a vowel, *am* before a consonant: *ab ell*, *am tu*. Many localities in Western Catalonia make use of the single form *am* regardless of the initial sound of the following word, saying *am*

Organyà (region of Upper Urgell), in the area of Occidental dialect, and then in La Galera (near Tortosa), a town which speaks a dialect very similar to Valencian. On the basis of ample documentation collected from oral speech, Calveras offers weighty arguments for the solution of the problems involved. Our study draws extensively from Calveras, note, and seeks to re-elaborate his and other scholars' views, with additional data and new comments. We have not been able to find any comprehensive study of the Occitanian forms.

1. One of the first to suggest the adoption of *amb* was J. Cases-Carbó in his article "Ab, Amb (*ambe, am, embe, emb, em, en*)... ¿Quina forma deu adoptar lo modern català literari?" in *L'Avenç*, Oct., 1890, p. 222-9. Cases Carbó claims acceptance for *amb*, as it represents more adequately the present usage, and is, moreover, a classical form firmly entrenched in the language from early times. To prove its antiquity, he calls attention to the confusion between *abdós* and *ambdós* in the old language, a fact which induces him to believe that *amb* must have existed in the medieval period. The same author, in a second note published about fifty years later, "La preposició *amb* dins els textos antics," *Miscel·lània Fabra* (Buenos Aires, 1943), p. 37-41, was able to produce several significant examples of *am(b)* from medieval texts. Some of the examples quoted by Cases-Carbó are from suspect editions, but on the whole his data are very valuable. *Amb* has been adopted by the Institut d'Estudis Catalans along with its first orthographic norms, and P. Fabra in his *Diccionari ortogràfic* (B, 1917), includes *amb* in place of *ab*; yet some texts, among them Alcover Dictionary (vols. I and II), continued to use *ab* well into the thirties.

2. *Am* is often assimilated to the point of articulation of the following sound. The tendency to assimilation varies from one region to another, and is also dependent on the mode of speech, being more common naturally in rapid conversation (see Alcover, I, 572, the art. AM; A. Badia, *Gramàtica històrica catalana*, B, 1953, p. 106, n. 3, and F. de B. Moll, *Gram. hist. cat.*, M, 1951, p. 349).

3. More specifically, the Montseny and Maresma area, according to the notes of Prof. Corominas. Alcover records *ab* in Palafrugell, Ullastret and Fontclara, which are northeast of Barcelona and somewhat beyond the Montseny and Maresma.

*ell, am tu*¹. In Alghero, *am* has developed a pleonastic *-a*, and in the towns of Pobla de Segur and Sort, in the Western Pyrenees, an *-e*, for preconsonantal position : *ama* (or *ame*) *tu*, but *am ell*. Likewise, certain dialects, especially those of French Catalonia, have advanced *amb* to *amba* in the same position : *amba tu*, *amb ell*. In Valencian country, Ribera d'Ebre, and around Ribagorza in the North, *ab* has ended up being *en*, becoming confused with *en* 'in' < IN². In the popular speech of most of the territory where *am(b)* or *amb(a)* is used, a similar confusion, but in the opposite direction — that is, *am(b)* with the function of *en* 'in' — has partially taken place. Furthermore, *am(b)* appears in some dialects with the meaning of *a* 'to' (*vid.* Alcover, 1, 6)³.

b. The offshoots of *ab* in Occitanian dialects present more variety, yet their development is, in the main, parallel to that of their Catalan congeners. *Ab* is usual in medieval texts. Today it persists in many Gascon dialects as *dab*, *dap* (with a prosthetic *d-*), and also as *dat*, *dad*⁴. *Am*

1. Prof. Corominas notes that in some points of Western Catalonia he has recorded *an* before non-labial consonants. He quotes " Han renyit *an* sa padrina " from Alcanó, which is about 20 kms. southwest of Lleida.

2. *En* is general in the territory of the old Kingdom of Valencia, excepting the town of Tàrbena (region of La Marina), which has had a Majorcan settlement since the expulsion of the Moriscos in 1610. There Prof. Coromins recorded *am* before a vowel and labial consonants, and *an* (with *a* as in Castilian) before other consonants; he cites the phrases : " *am* as giato " ' with the stock ' and " *an* sa canya " ' with the reed '.

3. Since the ALPI is not yet available, we do not have the exact picture of the distribution of *amb* and its variants. A general idea can be gleaned from the articles AB, AM, AMA of Alcover Dictionary (I, p. 6, 572 and 573).

4. The notation *Avec de la craie* of ALF (Map 345 A) is recorded in two localities of Hautes-Pyrénées as *dab era gredo* (Gavarnie) and *dab gredo* (Aureilhan), and in several other places in Landes as *dap kredo*. The pair *dab* / *dap* seems fluctuating with *dad* and *dat* in accord with the following sound. In Gavarnie, where *dab era gredo* was noted, the answer to *Avec du fil* (Map 568 A) was *dat hiu*, and to *Avec moi* (Map 864), *dad yu*; while in Aureilhan, where *dab gredo* was heard, the recordings were *dap hiu* and *dad yu*. However, in the majority of localities in Landes, *dap* predominates in the three notations (*dap kre*, *dap hiu* and *dap yu*). G. Millardet considers *dap* as the normal Gascon form (see *Études de dialectologie landaise*, T, 1910, p. 146). For the change of *dap* → *dat*, see Ronjat, *Gram. ist.*, § 382 and 483. Note also that, in his study of Gascon dialects, G. Rohlfs considers *dab* as the prevocalic form, *dap*, the preconsonantal; he documents *tap* in two places in the region of Haute Vallée de la Garonne, *tabbé* in one point in Vallée de de Luchon; also *dam*, in two places in Vallée du Lez, and *ande* in Gers (see *Le gascon*, Halle, 1935, p. 136).

appears in *tam* and *dam* of Vall d'Aran ¹ and in *dam* of some points of Gascony. In Languedocian and Provençal dialects, the most common form is *am(e)*, and its variant *em(e)* ²; both of these have a variant with *-é*, which is quite widespread. They have the same system of pronunciation as the Catalan *-a* forms: *ame* (or *amé*) *tu*, *am el*. Note the following examples from F. Mistral: "Gafouioun *emé* Tònio se maridèron", "porton au bout d'uno cano uno boufigo clarinello *em'* uno candèlo dedins" (*Darriero Proso d'Armana*, Paris, 1930, p. 52 and 76). The area immediately around the Dept. of Pyrénées-Orientales, toward Ariège, uses *amb(e)*, and *amb(é)*. In the northern parts of Languedoc, there prevail *om*, *om(e)*, *omb(e)*, *om(é)*, *omb(é)*, which are the variants of *am*, *am(e)*, *amb(e)*, *am(é)*, with the regional pronunciation of atonic *a-* as *o-* ³. The counterpart of Valencian *en* is heard in some dialects of Limousine, though with this difference, that *en* is limited to preconsonantal position, *end* being used before vowels ⁴.

1. Prof. Corominas informs me that the upper half of the Vall d'Aran says *tam*, part of the middle and the lower valley *dam*, and the lowest Aranese localities use *dab* or *dap*.

2. Ronjat, *Gram. ist.*, § 749 *emé*, in respect of *am(e) → em(e)*, calls attention to the frequent alternation between *am-* and *em-*, *an-* and *en-*: *embassada* and *ambassada*, *ensins* and *ansins* 'ainsi', *encian* and *ancian*; he also suggests an influence from *en* < IN (§ 166), and a crossing with the descendants of *inde ad* and *et magis*: *enta* 'toward, in order to' and *emai* 'and also' (as proposed by J. Huber (*ZRPh*, XXIX, 583)). The influence of *emai*, which has a close semantic affinity with *am*, must have been decisive in this change. Note also that the weakening of *a* into *e*, whether in atonic or tonic position, is quite common in some Occitanian dialects. Mistral, *Dict.*, p. 1, points to such weakening in *mar*, *pas*, becoming *mèr*, *pès*, and alternation between *sacra* and *segra*, *pesgador* and *pesquedor*, *ferra* and *farra*, *fiela* and *fiala*, *semena* and *samana*. For the explanation of *emé* form, see section 4 of this essay.

3. To illustrate this tendency to make the unstressed *a* an *o*, Loïs Alibert, *Grammatica occitana segon los parlars lengadocians* (T, 1935), p. 13, gives the following examples: *cobrit*, *costel*, *bodá* for *cabrit*, *castel*, *badar*, as common in North Languedoc and Auvergne. The same vocalic alteration in final position (e. g. *aigo*, *bancado*, *Barcilonno* for *aiga*, *bancada*, *Barcilouna*) is almost general in all Occitania.

4. In Limousine *en(d)* is used alongside *coumo*, which is from the old form *com* < CUM plus *a*; *coumo* is used only with persons, *en(d)* with both persons and things (see C. Chabaneau, *Grammaire limousine*, Paris, 1876, p. 330). In *ALF*, the notations for *Avec de la craie* (Map 345 A) read as *en de la kre*, *en de (lo) kroyo* in several points in Dordogne and Corrèze; for *Avec moi* (Map 864), we find *kumo yo* (*yeu*, *yu*) and *en yeu* or *end yeu*. In a few places in the same region, the reading is *an de lo kroyo* and *an yeu* respectively.

c. The chief present forms of the preposition in question in both languages can be summarized as: 1) *ab*, which still survives in parts of Gascony, and in a very small region of Catalonia, with its use limited to prevocalic position; 2) *am*, and the most general form bi-partite *am(b)*, and their *-a*, *-e* (and *-é*) variants; 3) *en*, usual in Valencia and in a very small part of Far Western Catalonia, in some localities in Limousin as *en(d)*.

The problems which need to be examined are: first, the development of *am*, *amb* and *en*, and of the secondary forms in *-a*, *-e* (and *-é*); then the background of *amb* in the function of *en* and *a*.

1. *Am(b)* ← *Ab*: Meyer-Lübke in his *Gram. der rom. Spr.* (Leipzig, 1899), III, 278, refers to this development as « noch unklärte », and he is silent about it in his *Das Katalanische* (Heidelberg, 1925). Alcover (I, 6), considers *amb* the first stage of change from *ab*, and explains *am* as a result of the loss of *-b* before a word with an initial consonant. However, the same dictionary finds the intercalation of *m* between *a* and *b* difficult to account for, and surmises the influence of *en* < IN, which, Alcover believes is manifest in the development of Valencian *en* from *ab*. P. Fouché (*Phon. hist. de roussellonnais*, T, 1924, p. 209) believes that the Roussellonese *em* has resulted from combinations such as *ab mi*, *ab me*; and *emb* from a crossing of *em* with *ab*, but offers no further clarification. For Anfós Par (*AORLL*, I, 126), who comments on a few instances of *amb* in the midfifteenth-century Catalan novel, *Curial e Güelfa*, *amb* is the result of a confusion between *en* and *ab*: the first became *em*, changing its point of articulation, and the second **eb*. The latter, furthermore, was nasalized and confused with *em* from *en*. Such confusion, which, Par affirms, is very frequent in old documents (though he cites no examples of it), has led to the introduction of *m* in the orthography of *ab*. Calveras (*AORLL*, I, 159), on the basis of variants of *ab* that he found in Organyà and La Galera, establishes that *am(b)* and the Valencian *en* have been the products of a phonetical change from *ab*, through the stages *ab* → *am*, and later *amb*, and in Valencian *am(b)* → *en*. He detects this intermediary form *am* (used before a consonant or vowel) in the speech of Organyà, where people say: “ Vols veni(r) am natris (= nosaltres)? ”, “ As pesquen am am, (= es pesquen amb ham) ”, etc.¹. Like Fouché, Calveras

1. Yet he has also recorded *amb* in the speech of old folks. The young say *sopes am ous*, the old, *sopes ambous*, which impresses the former as strange, as they get the impression of hearing *sopes am bous* and think of the horns of the bull in the soup (*AORLL*, I, 158).

explains *ab* → *am*, through the assimilation of *-b* to *m* in syntactical groupings such as *ab mi*, *ab me*. As for the development of *amb* before a vowel, Calveras, echoing Fouché once more, sees it as a crossing of *ab* and *am*, and shows how this may have taken place. *Ab* before a vowel would have doubled (he recalls the case of *poble*, regularly pronounced *pob-ble*): *ab elles* must have become *ab-b-elles*; on the other hand, the frequent clusters *mb*, resulting from groupings like *am belles*, might have paved the way for the crossing, altering the middle element of *a-b-b* (*elles*) into *m*.

Among these explanations, Calveras' is the most plausible and workable, though not satisfactory in certain important details. Our results, as will be seen below, confirm his observations in regard to the direction of development from *ab*, first to *am*, then to *amb*, and from *am* to *en*. However, Calveras' study, conducted at the synchronic level only, has produced at best hypothetical conclusions. He has not sought to supplement his enquiries by documentary data from the old language, and has not shown how old *am* and *amb* are. Only in connection with the Valencian *en* does he make reference to the few instances of *amb* in the aforementioned *Curial e Güelfa*¹. Thus, he has left unsettled the key issue raised by Alcover, whether *am* or *amb* is earlier². Calveras would have been better advised to take into consideration the Occitanian forms, which, having gone through the same mutations, cannot be separated from Catalan facts in a study of this nature. In our attempt to demonstrate the evolution of the descendants of *ab* with sufficient clarity, we propose to establish first the chronology of *am* and *amb* in both Catalan and Occitanian, and proceed therefrom to a new analysis of the problems.

2. First, however, it is necessary to assume that the change of *ab* into *am* (before a consonant), and later of *am* into *amb* (before a vowel), was carried through over a long period. Once *am*, after the normal vacillations,

1. Calveras calls attention, moreover, to the fact that *amb* is sometimes found in the first printed edition of *Tirant lo Blanch* (of 1490). It seems that he has seen these forms in M. Aguiló's re-edition of the text of 1490 (B, 1873-1905), which is very faulty, or in that of *Els Nostres Clàssics*, of which volumes I-III were published between 1925-27, before Calveras' note (1928). In this last reproduction, *amb* instead of *ab* appears more than twenty times, but this orthography seems to be due to the editors, for in M. Riquer's recent, carefully executed edition of the *Tirant* (B, 1947), which is also based on the *Principes* of 1490, the same instances appear as *ab*.

2. Since *amb* is also heard in the speech of the older generation (note 1, p. 42), Calveras' supposition regarding the oldness of *am* is somewhat weakened.

had become general before a consonant, *ab* would have continued before a vowel, *ab ell* and *am nos* being then the system. This is, in fact, not a mere assumption, since such a system actually prevails in some regions north of Barcelona, as we have pointed out in our Introduction. When *amb* had come into use before a vowel, the vacillations between *ab (ell)* and *amb (ell)* must have continued for some time, until the latter triumphed, resulting in the present-day Barcelonese system : *am tu*, *amb ell*. Our documentation of the early variants of *ab* proves that these must have been the stages of development.

a. There are examples of *am* in Occitanian as early as the twelfth century ; it may also have been frequent in all major Catalan dialects in the thirteenth century. We find the following examples in Occitanian texts :

In a twelfth-century MS of *Évangile de Saint Jean* :

E vós portaréz testimoni, car *am me* ész déis lo comenzamen (Bartsch, *Chrestomatie*, Marburg, 1901, 14, 39 ; in the same text *ab mé* appears three times, 9,24 ; 16,39 ; 18,27) ¹.

In a *canzó* of Guilhem de Peiteau (1071-1127), whose MS is of 1254, we find :

E pos Dieu platz, tot o acueill, / E prec li que. m reteng' *am* si (*Les chansons de Guillaume IX*, ed. A. Jeanroy, Paris, 1913, p. XII) ².

In *Breviari d'amor* (thirteenth century) of Matfre Ermengau :

quar plus fis ayman non veg ges, / ni fo anc plus fis en amor / de me Floris *am* Blanca (Crescini, *Manoletto Provençale*, Verona, 1905, 66,48).

As for Catalan, we have three instances of *am* in the *Usatges de Barcelona* (thirteenth century). We are quoting from *ENCl* ed., B, 1933 :

Qui. s metrà en aguait e apensadament requerrà cavaler e. l ferrà *am* fust e. l tirarà per los cabeyls, esmèn-lo per mort, cor gran onta és... E si en altra gissa, endignant per qualque cossa, en baraya ferrà cavaler, ab poin, o ab palma... o *am* pera o ab fust, esmèn li... XXI morabatins (p. 55) ; Si. l tira per los cabeyls *ab* una mà v sol. ; *am* ii mans, x sol. (p. 59).

1. The text of the *Évangile* appears in Bartsch among the eleventh century works, but the MS of the British Museum, 2928, which this editor used, is of the twelfth century (see Clovis Brunel, *Bibliographie des manuscrits littéraires en ancien provençal*, Paris, 1935, p. 6).

2. The quotation is from the *canzó* « Pos de chantar m'es pres talents ». Jeanroy has reproduced it from MS D (Molène, N, 45), which is from the year 1254 (see A. Pillet, *Bibliographie der Troubadours*, Halle, 1933, p. xii).

J. Sanchis Sivera in his book, *La Catedral de Valencia* (V, 1900), p. 74, reproduces the following inscription from the thirteenth century on one of the gates of the Cathedral :

En P. *am* Na M. sa muller
 En G. *am* Na B. sa muller... (we are citing from Cases-Carbó's essay, see our note 1, p. 39).

In *Les vides de sants roselloneses* of the thirteenth century, MS 44 of Paris, located in Roussillon, *am* is found quite often¹ :

Geta. I defora, que solat és, per què no pot *am* nós estar (f. 191rb31); E aqui el ausí los seus clergues qui. s paleyaven per so car volien pecar *am* femnes (f. 191ra22); O, Sent Concordi, leva sus e veni, e amena *am* tu En Vivian subdiache (f. 191rb22).

In the texts cited, *ab* is the usual form and *am* seems to be due to the absent-mindedness of the scribe. In the fourteenth century, the same situation prevails, with *am* appearing occasionally besides the common *ab*. Alcover (1, 572, art. AM) lists two examples :

Balesta ap fil e *am* nots ad ops d'adobar balestes (from a document of 1326 ; note that the scribe also devoiced the *-b* of *ab* before an *f*) ; Qua vos vingats tost *am* mi (from *La Versione Catalana dell' Inchiesta del San Graal*, whose MS is of 1383).

However, in a few texts from the same century, *am* already appears as the usual form, before a consonant and vowel, while *ab* is in the minority. In the inventory of the archives of the Consulat de Montpellier (*RLang. Rom.*, III, 9-67), of the middle of the fourteenth century, we see : " Un vidimus, *am* bulla de plom penden ", " Letra, *am* sagel penden ", " per anar ad Avinho *am* diversas protestacios ", " *am* la cofermacio ", " doas cartas *am* I sagel " (p. 16-17), " mandava que tot hom lo seguis *am* armas a Rems " (p. 44). In two other documents, of later date, from the same archives, *am* is used without exception.

b. We have not been able to find any examples of *amb* in thirteenth-century Occitanian texts². However, it must have been already common

1. For the data from this source, I am indebted to Mrs. Charlotte Kniazzezh, who is editing part of this text for her University of Chicago doctoral dissertation.

2. There is one example in *La vie de Sainte Douceline*, which Bartsch lists as being of the thirteenth century. The form *amb* here may be authentic, despite the fact that the only MS of the work (Bibl. Nat. Fr. 13503) is of the fourteenth century (Brunel, *Bibliogr.*, p. 54). In this text both *am* and *amb* are used in complete accordance with the pronun-

at the end of the thirteenth century in competition with *ab*. In the first half of the fourteenth century, it seems to have become sufficiently widespread in important dialects of Occitania, to have recommended itself to the grammarians as the literary form. The *Leys d'amors* (text of the second quarter of the fourteenth century, completed in 1356), which served as the rhetorical guide to the poets belonging to the Consistory of Toulouse until well into the fifteenth century, sets down the following rule: " *Am* deu hom dire seguen consonan, com. a *am* madona et *ab* oz *amb* vocal seguen, com. a : *ab* el, *amb* ela » (ed. J. Anglade, T, 1919, livre III, 55); and on page 67, the same rule is repeated with the examples: " tu vas *amb* Esteve et *ab* Ermengau, " with the admonition that the use of *amb* before a consonant does not sound right: " jaciaysso que *amb* bel no caja, seguen consonan, com. a : *yeu* vau *amb* mos pars ; quar miels es dig : *am* mos pars o *ab* mos pars. " The editors of the *Leys* do not object to the use of *ab* in place of both *am* and *amb*, evidently because of its traditional employment and its persistence in the speech of certain areas. But, for good measure, they regularly write *amb* before a vowel, and *am* before a consonant, throughout the book. They have applied this strict observance of the rule even in the orthography of the poems which they have quoted from old poets as examples, and which in the original must have been written with *ab*. Nevertheless, in Occitanian texts of the fifteenth century, *ab* is still the most frequent form, while *am(b)* appears only occasionally, and the *-e* forms make their appearance (see below).

In Catalan texts, *amb* is not found until the fifteenth century, yet it is most likely that the *ab* seen in many books represented in the majority of cases *amb* before a vowel. Our first examples are from Francesc de la Via's *Procés de la senyora Valor contra En Bertran Tudela* (written around 1406), a work with many Occitanian elements despite its relatively late date. In a few cases, *amb* in this text appears before a consonant. The author seems to have considered it an orthographic variant of *ab* without regard to its usage.

E. I novelh auzelhó / qu. esteron dins lo niu / comensaron piu piu / *amb* laugeres passadas / e. z *amb* plasens muntades (verses 3-7; we are quoting from A. Pacheco's edition, B, 1963; according to Pacheco the MS he used must be from 1420 to 1430).

ciation, that its, before a consonant and vowel respectively. It is quite possible that its scribe was acquainted with the recommendations of the *Leys d'amors*, which we shall discuss below.

The anonymous writer of *Curial e Güelfa* (middle of the fifteenth century), however, wrote *amb* in only four cases in a work of over six hundred pages, but always before a vowel : *amb vn standart* (line 6405); *amb una roba burella* (l. 14920), *amb amorosos besars* (l. 14989), and *amb ales molt grans* (l. 15041).

In a Valencian document of 1459, reproduced in the *Dietari del capellà d'Anfòs el Magnànim* (ed. Sanchis Sivera, V, 1932), there is one case of *amb* :

E meté, l'àngel, al dit senyor rey en la ciutat, fins en la plaça dels Sarrans, *amb* molta bella sermònia (l. 22729).

Ab and *amb* alternate in the passages, written in Valencian dialect, of *Seraphina* (1514-17) of Torres Naharro, who was from Extremadura, but who learned Catalan in Valencia. Yet the use of *amb* in this play also does not follow the dual pattern of pronunciation. Our examples are from J. E. Gillet's edition (*Propaladia and Other Works of Bartolomé Torres Naharro*, Bryn Mawr, Pa., 1946, vol. II) :

Donches, què voleu que us diga ? Que si'm vull *amb* vos casar (p. 72) ; que negú si acoste a ell, / sa muller no stiga *amb* ell / ni'l paeixca sols vn dia (p. 25) ; but cf. *ab mi* (p. 33), *ab altra*, *ab castella* (p. 61).

Moreover, in a short text of the second half of the sixteenth century, from Urgell (which is in the occidental dialect zone), there is one example of *enb* before a vowel :

Vés *enb* un ull, y l'altre en la bolsa (*Dialects del cançoner de Hajar*, reproduced in *Teatre profà*, ENCI, B, 1962, 1, p. 72).

c. The foregoing documentation of *am* and *amb* shows that the former is the common variant until the fourteenth century, and thus it can definitely be postulated that chronologically the development was *ab* → *am* → *amb*. Furthermore, an examination of the examples of *am* helps to demonstrate the phonetical circumstances under which the change came about. As we have pointed out above, in the thirteenth century texts from which we cited the examples, *ab* is the regular form, and the instances of *am* resulted from the scribe's absent-mindedness. Each scribe, in accordance with his pronunciation wrote *am*, yet the slip occurred three times before a nasal : *am me*, *am Na*, *am nos*; three times before a labial : *am Blanca*, *am pera*, *am fust*; twice in front of a dental : *am si*, *am .ii.* (which was prompted by *ambdós*, pronounced *amdós*).

That is, *am* resulted from *ab* before a nasal, through the nazalization of *-b*; also from *ab* before a labial, through differentiation to avoid complete assimilation. Now it may be wondered: was the change purely phonetical? Could not there be other factors involved, such as an influence through analogy? In this connection, it is worth considering the confusion (already touched upon by Cases-Carbó, note 1, p. 39), which appears frequently between *ambdós* and *abdós* in old texts¹. In fact, we have recorded above one passage where *amdós* seems to have influenced the scribe to write *ab* as *am*. The influence of *ambdós* meaning 'both' (= the two together) could be expected, phonetically and semantically, yet it must have been very small, if any, since *ambdós* has not survived in any Catalan dialect, and it was a literary word infinitely less used than *ab* in the old language. However, in the case of Occitanian, an analogic influence from *emai* 'and also', 'and in addition', a word of very common usage at all levels since early times, must have been an important factor that helped the phonetic tendency for the change to become general. (A probable influence for the change of *am(e)* into *em(e)* has already been mentioned, see note 2, p. 41).

d. For the development of *amb* before a vowel, the process suggested by Calveras — the doubling of the *b* of *ab-b-elles*, on one hand, and a crossing with a combination such as *am belles*, on the other — offers some difficulty. Calveras sees in the doubling of *b* before a vowel a parallel situation to that of *poble* (pronounced *pob-ble*), which is quite doubtful. In this last case, the doubling is due to the coalescence of two consonants, *b* and *l*, each requiring an occlusion, and to the natural tendency to ease the sharp switch from the bilabial occlusion of *b* to the lingua-alveolar of *l*. The doubling of *-b-* in *ab elles* might perhaps have occurred if the *b* were occlusive. We know that medieval Catalan used to distinguish between *b* and *v* (as bilabial and labio-dental respectively), but we are not sure

1. The first question, however, is to determine which of the two forms originated from AMBO DŪOS, and which might have suffered the influence of the other. Cases-Carbó, for example, in his first essay published in *L'Avenç* (1889), considered *abdós* as the normal form. Yet a development AMBO DUOS → *abdós*, is totally inconceivable in terms of Catalan or even Romance phonetics, since the cluster -MB-, when not retained without any change, is reduced to *m* but never to *b* (see AMBO in REW). In the majority of cases, in the old language, under the orthography of *abdós* would be concealed a pronunciation *amdós* or *endós*, which are, in fact, common in old Catalan texts. *Abdós* seems, then, to have resulted from the confusion between *am* and *ab*, born from the habit of writing as *ab* what in fact used to be pronounced *am*.

that the intervocalic *-b-* remained an occlusive, so that, if it were fricative (as in present-day usage generally), there could not have been a doubling ¹.

Perhaps the explanation is not so complicated, after all. In fact, the direction of the development, *am* → *amb* at the cost of *ab*, can offer us the clue to what happened. At the stage when *ab ell* and *am tu* prevailed, the next tendency seems to have been to extend *am* to prevocalic position as well ². And while *am* was moving on its conquering way, the popular awareness that *-b* is the characteristic sound before a vowel seems to have been awakened and to have introduced it after *am*. In the dialects in which this consciousness did not arise, the use of *am* became general for prevocalic and pre-consonantal position. It goes without saying that the frequent *mb* cluster occurring in context (*am bones*, *am belles*, etc.) must have helped in the process.

3. *En* ← *Ab* : *En* 'with' is regularly heard in the popular speech of Valencia (and of a small area of the Western Pyrenees), where people say "se va casar *en* una xica rica", "anava *en* un amic" (see Alcover, I, 6; and IV, 820, art. EN). Note the following passages from the nineteenth-century dramatist E. Escalante: "esta nit se quedarà *en* nosatros", "ahon va vosté *en* eixa llum" (*Obras Dramàtiques*, V, 1923, vol. II, 124 and 126). It is also heard, though rather sporadically, besides the normal *amb*, in some places which speak the Oriental dialect. P. Nonell i Mas (*Gramàtica de la llengua catalana*, Manresa, 1898, p. 236) quotes several examples from authors from the Principality: "Marieta, quan te casis, / no't casis *en* cap pagès; / que't farà culli(r) bajoques; / i't farà lleva(r) a les très" (from *Montblanch* of A. Palau i Dulcet); "Tothom diu qu'ès bruixa — que té pacte *en* s'inimic" (from *Flors i estrelles* of Tomàs Aguiló). (As we have already mentioned, in the Oriental dialect it is much more common to encounter the confusion in the opposite sense, that is, *amb* for *en*, see below.)

Among Occitanian dialects, only in Limousine does *en(d)* 'with' seem to have been extended to general usage as in Valencian. Chabaneau

1. No such doubling is attested in old texts. The Gascon form *tabbé*, which Rohlfs has documented in the Vallée de Luchon, is attributed by this scholar to a *dab bé* 'avec bien', with a probable influence from *tabé* 'aussi' (*Le gascon*, § 435).

2. For instance, in one passage of the inventory of the archives of Montpellier, we quoted above, *am* and *ab* appear alternately before a vowel: « Lo seguisson *ab* armas a Viana », « lo seguís *a n* armas a Rems » (*RLang. Rom.*, III, 43-44).

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(*Gram. limous.*, p. 330) gives the following examples: "óu s'en vai *en* sa fenno" and "fendre dóu bouei *end* uno chou". Apparently, *en* 'with' is not altogether unknown to Languedocian, judging by the following example that we have found in a late nineteenth century text: "Yeu m'en vau, dins un mount, expliqua l'aucasieu / Que m'a pourtat aisy *en* vostre permissieu" (*RLang. Rom.*, XXI [1882], 6).

One problem which has not been clarified yet is the date of appearance of *en* 'with'. In Limousine it seems to be a relatively late development, since it does not appear in old texts. This is also the general opinion with respect to the Valencian form. Alcover Dictionary (1, 6) affirms that it must have been quite recent, and to press this point home it lists passages from old Valencian writers (Auziàs March, Jaume Roig, etc.) all using *ab*. According to Calveras (*AORLL*, I, 166), *ab* is not seen in Valencian texts and documents until the beginning of the seventeenth century, when Valencian ceases to be an official language and suffers extreme dialectalization. He thus implies that the form used since then has been *en*¹. However, *en* 'with' seems to have been common in Valencia already in the fifteenth century, as frequent confusions between *en* and *ab* are noted in the works of that period.

A comparison between the first printed edition of F. Eiximenis' *Llibre de les dones*, the Incunabulum of 1490, and its earlier manuscripts (*A* of 1427; *B*, date unknown, of the fifteenth century), shows that the following changes affecting *en* and *ab* were made²:

deus lo mal faent refrenar, quan *ab* tu es, ab bones paraules (*Inc.* chap. 273 ;
but the reading in *A* is the correct and logical "... quant *en* tu es"
f. 89Vb).

1. In the eighteenth century, *en* 'with' appeared in only a few texts of extremely popular tone, while *ab* continued to be the preferred literary form. In *Rondalla de Rondalles* (V, 1768) of Fr. Lluís Galiana, which is a text in the speech of lower classes, *en* is the only form employed; but in the preface-letter of the author, *ab* is used. Carlos Ros (1703-74), a lexicographer and the poet of *romances* and *colloquis*, writes *ab* in all his works. *En* becomes frequent in Valencian works of the second half of the nineteenth century, though *ab* is still predominant in texts of even modestly literary tone. Valencian writers showed themselves to be even more conservative than those of other regions, in retaining *ab* (to be sure, in their natural aversion to *en*), and in continuing to use it until a few decades ago, when the publishing-houses adopted the orthographic norms of the Institut d'Estudis Catalans.

2. I am indebted, for the following data, to Professor Frank Naccarato, who has recently edited this Eiximenis text for his University of Chicago doctoral dissertation under Professor J. Corominas.

enemich de Déu e de totes les leys e manaments e de tots aquells qui *ab* Déu entenen (*Inc.*, chap. 283; *B* has the correct form *entendre en*).

quanta perfecció contén *ab* si lo vot de pobrea (the title of chap. 294; *A* has the logical reading "contén *en* si" f. 202Va).

In these other instances the correct form *ab* is substituted for *en* in the *Inc.* :

Si 'u pren *ab* paciència guanyarà gran guardo en Paradís (chap. 350; *A* has *en* f. 239Va).

bellea de monga [= monja] era haver la cara e lo cors magre, la color grogua, e tota sa apparença mostra que és cors mortificat e que res no ha *en* lo mon (chap. 331; *A* has "ab lo mon" f. 226Rb).

The Incunabulum of Eiximenis is a copy of copies, whose place of origin cannot be ascertained. Its orthography reflects the Oriental dialect, but Professeur Corominas is inclined to believe, on the basis of some internal evidence, that one of the copies was made in Valencia, and the confusion between *ab* and *en* may be due to this factor.

There are other examples of *en* 'with' from native Valencian authors of the fifteenth century. We find in *Tirant lo Blanc* (ed. M. Riquer, B, 1947) :

Senyor — dix Diafebus —, io hauré enujada la senyoria vostra *en* tantes de raons que he explicat (p. 201); Io fui *en* mon temps crestià batejat, e per mos pecats vaig *en* molt gran pena (p. 687); Molt s'alegrà Plaerdemavida *en* la bona resposta del Capità, e... *ab* cara afable de semblants paraules li feu resposta (p. 989) ¹.

Another example from one of the works of Roiç de Corella, noted by the modern editor Miquel i Planas as a rare form (*Obres de R. de Corella*, B, 1913) is :

Estaua aparellat un apartament de nostra alta posada *en* gran abundància de moltes e delicades viandes (p. 209; for another example see p. 215).

Note also the following example from the aforementioned *Seraphina* of Torres Naharro (p. 32) :

Yo no us entre en tot axò, / ni m'entenc d'exes cadenes; / prou tinch que fer *en* mes penes, / puix les me he volgudes yo.

1. In view of these examples, it is very likely that there has been a hypercorrection in the wording *de biga ab biga* of the following passage in the 1490 edition: « e posaren aquelles bigues en lo riu davall lo pont de pedra, e de biga ab biga claveren bons cabirons grossos » (Chapter 140). Riquer corrects it as *de biga en biga* in his edition (p. 402).

In view of these examples of confusion, we can safely assume that *en* was quite widespread in the familiar language of Valencia in the fifteenth century.

For the development of *en*, Calveras (*AORLL*, I, 166-7) proposes: first *am* must have become general, during the fifteenth century, at the cost of *amb* for prevocalic position; then *am* → *an*, before a dental, and this last form, at a later date, *en*. As a proof of the last stage, Calveras points to *an* and *en* in the speech of La Galera, both of which, apart from meaning 'in', are used in the sense 'with': "Los peixcava *an* am (= ham)", "ha tornat *en* la seua mare."

Only in one detail do we disagree with this explanation. Since *en* 'with' is not rare in Valencian texts of the fifteenth century, it is doubtful that the first stage was necessarily the generalization of *am* at the cost of *amb*. To all appearances, *en* seems to have been a direct development from *am*. That is, in Valencia the changes *am* → *amb*, and *am* → *en* must have been in operation about the same time. In the fifteenth century, as our documentation shows, both *en* and *am(b)* must have been common in Valencia (the latter in careful speech), and the competition between the two must have ended in favor of *en* perhaps already in the sixteenth century.

For the rest, all testimonies support Calveras' hypothesis. In the Oriental dialect of Catalan, the *-m* of *am* is often assimilated to the place of articulation of the following sound (see note 2, p. 39), so that, if it precedes a dental, it is dentalized and becomes *n*. The intermediary stage *an* is also heard in some points of Western Catalonia and in the town of Tàrbena (Valencia) before non-labial consonants (see notes 1 and 2, p. 40). The *an* and *en* forms, resulting from an assimilation, are also known in parts of Languedoc. Mistral, *Dict.*, art. AM, states that in Languedocian this variant appears before a consonant, in addition to *am*, *dam*, *em*, as *an* and *en*. Noteworthy is the Limousine *en(d)*, which developed from *am* before the preposition *de*, since in this dialect — as well as in the others in Occitania (excepting those of Gascony in the main and a few regional ones in the south) — the preposition in question is accompanied by *de* in partitive usage (see *ALF*, maps 345 and 568). Moreover, *ande*, the intermediary stage of the Limousine form, is heard in some parts in Languedocian (see Alibert, *Gram. occit.*, p. 215).

Thus we are able to show how the Valencian *en*, and the Limousine *en(d)*, must have developed. Still to be explained is why the consonantal

alteration which led to these forms operated extensively in these two dialects of Catalan and Occitanian. In the second case, this seems to be due to the fact that Limousin had not developed a pleonastic *-e* or *-a* after *am* at an early date, as the others generally had, and consequently *am* in this dialect was always directly exposed to the influence of *de*¹. Since in the dialects in which *am* (*em*), *amb* (*emb*) were advanced to *ame*, *ambe* (those of Provence and Languedoc generally), a new system of usage was born with *-e* forms for preconsonantal position (*am ell*, *ame tu* or *ambe tu*), and the *m* of *am* remained free from the influence of other consonants.

In Valencian, on the other hand, the change seems due to consonantal timbre. In this dialect, the passage from *am* to *an* before a dental must have been happening with much more ease than in the others, since the implosives manifest less firmness in Valencian than, for example, in the Oriental and Western dialects. The common Valencian alterations such as the voicing of the *-t* before a vowel (*tođ alò* for *tot allò*), or its elimination before a consonant (*to cantant*, *to m'agrada*) ; *anyš* or *anyç* for *anys*, are not heard or at least not so extended in the North.

4. The *-a*, *-e* (and *-é*) forms : The final vowel of the Catalan variant is a neutral in the Oriental dialect, and so is represented as *-a* or *-e*. In Occitanian, the final vowel is usually *e*, but *amba* is also recorded in some places in the aforementioned maps of the *ALF*.

Ame and *ambe* appear quite early in Occitanian texts; and regularly before a consonant. Levy, in his *Supplement-Wb* (I, p. 4), gives an example of *abe* ("abe sa compagna") from a work believed to be from the end of the fourteenth century or from the beginning of the fifteenth. The cited *abe* must be an orthographic representation of *ambe*, since the latter is also quoted by Levy from the same work : « Un noble apoestat, / *Ambe* mot gran conrrey / Si con tagn fiyylz de rey ». In the Passion play, *Ludus Sancti Jacobi* (from the early fifteenth century), we find :

Mon fill, per la fe que ay a sant Martí / *ambe* ta mayre restaras... / Per ma fe,
payre, non faray / car *ambe* vos m'en anaray (Bartsch, *Chrest.*, 444, lines 20-25).

In the sixteenth-century Occitanian texts, *em(e)* and *amb(e)* almost regularly replace *ab*. Note the following examples, which we are quoting

1. For the absence of pleonastic vowel-tagging in Limousine, see Chabaneau, *Gram. limous.*, p. 59, under the paragraph heading « Paragogue ».

from *Poètes provençaux du XVI^e siècle : Pierre Paul — Michel Tronc* (ed. A. Brun, Aix-en-Prov., 1957) :

Lou varlet va fasié *eme* sa gran destrau (p. 149) ; *qu'ero d'in lou pestrin / em'* un gran gibassier (p. 152 ; the selections are from M. Tronc).

The same poet also uses *ambe* : *ambe tout aquo* (p. 169) ; but before a vowel : *emb' un que counisset* (p. 153) ; P. Paul usually employs *emb(e)* : *embe son Durandail* (p. 15), *emb' uno gran fortune* (p. 14).

In Catalan, the *-a* (or *-e*) variant is not widespread. It may have been quite old, but Catalan writers, who were more conservative in their use of *ab*, do not offer examples of it. Professor Corominas informs me that in Barcelona and other parts of Eastern Catalan, *amba* is usually heard before the demonstratives (*amba quin, amba qui, amba què*).

According to Calveras (*AORLL*, I, 163), the tagging of the final *-a* has been due to a false division in the syntactical groupings having *am* or *amb* and a word with an initial *a-*. This author indicates that at Organyà the use of *ama* occurs also before the interrogatives *quin* and *què* : *ama quin ? ama què ?* The answers, such as *am aquest, am aquell* given to these questions, pronounced as *a-ma-quet, a-ma-quell*, must have paved the way for the use of *ama* before the interrogatives as well. Alcover Dict. (art. AMA) words the same explanation more deftly by saying that an instinct of analogic rhythm must have caused *am-a* to be extended from *a-ma-quet*, etc. to *am-a quin ?* and *am-a què ?*

A parallel formation *an-a* from the Catalan *an* (apparently an antihaptic variant of *a*, see below), can be given as supporting evidence for this explanation. *An*, normal before certain demonstratives and pronouns with an initial vowel (*an un, an ell, an ella, an aquella*, etc.), appears as *ana* before some pronouns with an initial consonant : *ana mi* [a mi], *ana tu, ana qui*, no doubt through the pattern of analogy set by the cases of *an ella, an aquella*, pronounced as *a-ne-lla, a-na-que-lla*. In reference to this matter, P. Fabra (*Converses filològiques*, B, 1954-56, vol. IX, p. 47) calls attention to the ruptured form *per quell* for *per aquell*, caused by the same process of false division as in *an aquell*. Owing to such a reduction in the initial vowel of *aquel, aquó* and *aquí*, the forms *quel, quó* and *quí* have become regular in some parts of Languedoc (see L. Alibert, *Gram. occit.*, p. 31).

We can establish, on the basis of these facts, that in Occitania, as between the forms *ama* (resulting from *am aquel*, etc.) and *ame* (from *am*

ela), the latter became general. For *-é* variant, Ronjat (*Gram. ist.* § 749 *emé*) proposes the same process of development. The accented *-é* in a grouping such as *em ela*, *amb ela* 'with her', pronounced *e-mé-la* and *ambé-la*, must have been extended through analogy to the combination *em* or *amb* plus the feminine definite art. *la*, as *emé* or *ambé la*. In this process, adds Ronjat, the instability of accentuation in a word such as *eme* or *ambe*, which is generally proclitic, must have helped to fix the stress on the last syllable. The same author repeats J. Huber's observation (*ZRPh*, XXX (1906), 583) about a crossing that must have occurred between *am* and the descendants of *inde ad* and *et magis*, that is, *enta* 'to, toward, in order to' and *emai* 'and also'.

However, the tagging of *-a* or *-e* to *am*, *amb* (and *an*) seems to derive essentially from a structural or organic tendency in both languages, namely, the necessity of adding a vocalic reinforcement between two consonants in weak position. Nonell i Mas (*Gram. cat.*, p. 10) states that an epenthetic *e* is common after the pronouns *els* and *ens*, etc., in enclitic and proclitic positions: *els separa* becomes *els-e-separa*, and *partiu-la* (short for *partiu-us-la*) becomes *partiu-e-la* in the Oriental dialect. Ronjat (*Gram. ist.* § 560, 784) also speaks of the same tendency in Gascon dialects, where *enze* and *etse* are heard for *ens* and *ets* in enclitic position. Moreover, an inorganic *e* appears after the final occlusives in some areas. Fouché (*Phon. rous.*, p. 209) mentions this, although the only example he gives is our *em* → *eme*; in parts of Languedoc people say *drape* for *drap*, *escartate* for *escartat* (Ronjat, *Gram. ist.*, § 404). Alcover Dict. (I, 6) refers to pronunciations such as *teməs* for *temps* and *breskamə* for *brescam* in certain localities.

5. *Amb* 'in': This usage is common sporadically in many parts of the Principality of Catalonia and the Balearic Islands, where one can hear « pasturava el ramat *amb* un camp », « saben parlar *amb* italià », « no penseu *amb* aquestes coses » (Moll, *Gram. hist. cat.*, p. 348). In Organyà, where *am* has ascendancy over *amb*, Calveras documents: « gasta *am* ous molts diners » (*AORLL*, I, 158). Nonell i Mas (*Gram. cat.*, p. 249) cites several passages with *amb* for *en* from authors of the end of the last century: « Al cap d'una estona parava la màquina, s'exugava 'ls ulls, i altra volta reprenia la feyna i a pensar *ab* (for *amb*) son fill, que 'l tenia lluny » (from *Gent de casa* of E. Vilanova); and " I fins faré que l'anyore/pensant molt sovint *ab* ella " (from *La meva promesa* of Collell). Nonell i Mas mentions, moreover, cases such as *entendre amb una cosa*, *negociar*

amb essència (p. 248 and 252). This confusion of *amb* with *en* perhaps dates back to the fifteenth century, judging from the examples given above from Eiximenis' *Llibre de les dones*, although they may also be mere hyperurbanisms caused by the pronunciation *en* for *ab*. We have at least one example from a sixteenth-century text reproduced in the *Cancionero de Juan Fernández de Hajar*. We are quoting from the edition by J. M^a. de Azaceta (Madrid, 1956), p. 803 : "yo resti tan clarificat / que pensant tos temps *ab* ella / may de mi'm son recordat ¹".

According to Nonell i Mas (*Gram. cat.*, p. 278), the use of *amb* in place of *en* in cases like *amb un bosc*, *amb un recó* (for *en un bosc*, *en un recó*) is "a fi d'evitar la cacofonia que resulta de la proximitat de les dues *nn* (la de la preposició *en* i la de l'article *un*, *una*). " Yet, this can hardly be a satisfactory explanation for such cases as *pensar amb ell*, *negociar amb essència* for *pensar en ell*, etc., since there is no question there of the proximity of two *n*'s.

On the other hand, Calveras' thesis (*AORLL*, I, 173) adequately meets all conditions. He believes that the *am* 'in' of Organyà is the result of a development from *en*, reversing exactly the process of *am* → *en*. First, *en* must have become *em* before a bilabial, and then *am*, since the atonic *em* and *am* are often confused in the dialect of Organyà; thus, *en* must finally have assumed the same pronunciation as *am* 'with'. In the Eastern dialect, as is well known, the unstressed *em* and *am* are both pronounced *am*. This *am* from *en* was treated as was *am* 'with', and acquired a *-b* before a vowel. It must be noted that in such stock expressions as *pensar en*, *entendre en*, the *amb* form has become so general that even some educated people employ it readily ².

6. *Amb* for a 'to': In this meaning *amb* appears in the regions of Catalonia where *amb* 'in' is known. It appears before articles, pronouns and demonstratives, *un*, *el*, *els*, *ell*, *ells*, *aquest*, *aqueix*, *aquell* (all having an initial vowel), in both the direct and indirect case : *Vam anar amb un santuari*, *besà la mà amb aqueix capellà*, *convidar amb un amic*, *l'hi vaig dir àmb*

1. We cannot take into consideration one earlier case of *pensar ab*, which Alcover Dict. (I, p. 5, art. AB, 6) quoted from Aguiló's edition of *Tirant lo Blanch*, 123. In Riquer's edition the reading is *pensar en* (p. 395).

2. See also what P. Fabra says in *Converses filols.*, § 241. *Pensar amb* is the most common form to show the substitution of *en* by *amb*, from early times, but it is likely that in this case there was an influence from the verb *somiar*, which regularly takes *amb* : *somiar amb una persona*.

ell, etc. Popular writers keep this form in their orthography. The following examples have been extracted by Nonell i Mas (*Gram. cat.*, p. 245) from the novels of M. Genís i Aguilar :

Al punt que exí la Mercé, un d'aquells cavallers salta de cavall, corre *ab* ella, i li pregunta... ; — Vaja, conteu-nos-ho tot : — digué la Nor, qu'havent acavat de servir a taula, s'acostà *ab* ells.

Some contemporaries of Genís i Aguilar write *an*, *a n'* or *en* in the same cases :

Donada la benedicció *an* aquella imponent audiència (quoted by Alcover from Verdaguer) ; — Anem, va dir ella, aixecant-se i donant una mirada *an* ell que volia dir moltes coses (S. Rusinyol, *L'Auca del senyor Esteve*, ed. Bibl. Selecta, B, 1956, p. 87) ; ja ho dirà l'avi *an* el pare d'ella (*ibid.*, p. 87).

Nonell i Mas cites other cases of *an*, which are written as *a n'els* or *ne'ls*.

Apparently, in the familiar language of Montpellier and Lodève, *amb* in the function of *a* is also known. Ronjat (*Gram. ist.*, § 746 *emé*) quotes from Lamouche's text on the language of these areas : *a pancara perdounat emb' aquel cabour*, with the translation « il n'a pas encore pardonné à ce louard », and *l'an penjat emb' un aubre* « on l'a pendu à un arbre ».

The Catalan examples written as *amb*, *an*, *a n'*, show that *amb* in the function of *a* has developed from the particle *an* (pronounced *ən*), in the same way as *en* (also pronounced *ən*) 'in' moved toward *amb*. The vacillation in the graphic representation of *an* is due to the fact that some writers (and editors) considered *an* a variant of the preposition *a*, used in front of the aforementioned pronouns and demonstratives, and some believed that it was a hybrid form composed of *a* and *en* (see P. Fabra, *Controverses filològiques*, B, 1954-56, § 238-41, and 611).

In Montpellier and Lodève, *emb* 'to' must have also originated from *an* (written usually as *a-n*), which is currently replacing the now receding anti-hiatic *aç*. From the examples listed by the Mistral Dict. (I, p. 2), it appears to be used not only before pronouns and demonstratives, but also before nouns in general governed by the preposition *a*, and even before infinitives : *pico à-n-aquelo porto* 'frappe à cette porte', *l'auro coumenço à-n-alena* 'le vent commence à souffler', *à-n-un sou li cerieso* 'à un sou les cerises', *à-n-Estève vau à-n-Arle*, *à-n-Avignoun*. Mistral employs *a-n* regularly in his writings. In some parts of Gascony (Gers and Landes), the form *an* also replaces *ad* for prevocalic use (G. Rohlf's, *Le gascon*, § 435).

E. Richter (*ZRPh*, XXVII (1903), 193-7) attempts an explanation of the evolution of Occitanian and Catalan *an*. She departs from the observation of the *Leys d'amors* in respect of *an*'s being a dative form, composed of *a* and the title of respect *En* < DOMINE, and tries to prove that this *an*, having become general before personal names without its concept of a title, must have been later applied to pronouns and other forms. However, her note does not end conclusively¹.

Mistral states, in the above-mentioned passage of his dictionary, that the *n* of the particle *a-n* is « euphonic », and that it is added in order to impede elision or hiatus². In other words, it is an adventitious consonant with the function, on the one hand, of preventing cases like *a En* from becoming *an*, and, on the other, of easing the effort of articulation of two contiguous vowels. How could this *n* have been generated? Most probably in groupings such as *a En* and *a un*, through a consonantal metathesis, giving *an En* and *an un* respectively, being applied from there to *a* plus other pronouns and forms with initial vowel. It must be noted that, in the old language, *anan* for *a En* is well documented (see Richter's article). The tendency to use *a-n* must have been strengthened by the analogic influence of *en* (*en un*, *en una*, etc.). The influence of *en* in the Catalan development must have been particularly strong and decisive, since in this language the combination of *a* plus *n* has the same pronunciation as *en*, and moreover, the prepositions *a* and *en* have several common usages, a factor which would have facilitated intrusion on the part of *en*³.

CONCLUSIONS : On the basis of evidence from written sources and dialect geography, we have been able to establish that : *a*) the development

1. Richter considers it unusual that this *an*, taken from the dative construction (e.g. *an Jacme*, a name with an initial consonant), should appear only before words beginning with a vowel.

2. Grammarians in general assign to the *n* of *a-n* the functions set down by Mistral. See Chabaneau (*Gram. limous.*, p. 329); Alibert (*Gram. occit.*, p. 30); Nonell i Mas (*Gram. cat.*, p. 9-10). etc.

3. Fabra (*Converses filols.*, § 238-41, and 611) calls attention to the cases in which the prepositions *a* and *en* are used without distinction in old and modern Catalan : it is possible to say *ésser a la plaça* and *ésser en una casa*, *arribar al castell* and *arribar en el castell*, *pujar a l'ermita* and *pujar en aquella ermita*. He sees a tendency to use *en* preferably before a vowel, and *a* before a consonant and especially before the definite article *l'*. From his long discussion of the problem of *an*, we are able to surmise his conclusion as follows : cases such as *anar en aquell lloc* beside *anar a aquell lloc* must have led to *donar-ho en aquell*.

of *ab* → *am*, *amb*, is of early date (thirteenth and fourteenth centuries respectively) and was worked out through phonetical influences ; *b*) the change *am* → *en* in Valencian is also old (fifteenth century) ; it results from an assimilation of *-m* to the next sound (a dental), a phenomenon more or less known in other dialects and in certain consonantal combinations. The generalization of *en* in Valencian is due to the weakness of its implosives. In Limousine, *en(d)* has resulted from a similar assimilation, before the preposition *de*, which accompanies *am* in partitive usage. *c*) The final vowel of *amba* and *eme* (*-è*) seems to have originated from the initial vowel of some pronouns and demonstratives (*aquest*, *el*, *ell*, etc.), and the tagging tendency seems to have been provoked by an organic pressure to strengthen the consonant groupings in unstressed position. *d*) *amb* 'in' has developed through phonetic causes in exactly the opposite direction of *am* → *en*. *e*) *amb* 'to' is from the particle *an*, which is *a* and an adventitious *n* generated in syntactical phonetics with an additional aid from *en*.

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