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Sweet, Henry

SHORT HISTORICAL ENGLISH GRAMMAR.

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HISTORY OF ENGLISH.

PERIODS.

1. The name 'English language' in its widest sense comprehends the language of the English people from their first settlement in Britain to the present time. For the sake of convenience we distinguish three main stages in the history of the language, namely **Old English** (OE), **Middle English** (ME), and **Modern English** (MnE). OE may be defined as the period of *full* endings (*mōna, sunne, sunu, stīmas*), ME as the period of *levelled* endings (*mōne, sunne, sun, stōnes*), MnE as the period of *lost* endings (*moon, sun, son, stōnes* = *stounz*). We further distinguish periods of transition between these main stages, each of which latter is further divided into an **early** and a **late** period. The dates of these periods are, roughly, as follows:—

Early Old English (E. of Alfred)	700-900
Late Old English (E. of Ælfric)	900-1100
Transition Old English (E. of Layamon)	1100-1200
Early Middle English (E. of the Ancren Riwle)	1200-1300
Late Middle English (E. of Chaucer)	1300-1400
Transition Middle English (Caxton E.)	1400-1500
Early Modern English (Tudor E.; E. of Shakespere)	1500-1650
Late Modern English	1650-

to which may be added **Present English**, by which we understand the English of the present time as spoken, written, and understood by educated people, that is, roughly speaking, 19th-century English.

COGNATE LANGUAGES.

2. English belongs to the **Arian** family of languages, descended from a hypothetical Parent Arian language, the chief of which are given in the following table, different periods of their development being separated by dashes:—

(A) **East-Arian**, or Asiatic:

(a) Sanskrit, the sacred language of India—Pali—Bengali and the other **Gaurian** languages of India.

(b) **Iranian** languages: Zend or Old Bactrian. Old Persian, which is the language of the Cuneiform inscriptions—Modern Persian.

(c) **Armenian**, which is really half-way between East- and West-Arian.

(B) **West-Arian** or European:

(d) Greek—Romaic or Modern Greek.

(e) Latin—the **Romance** languages: Italian, Provençal, French (Old French, Modern French), Spanish, Portuguese, Roumanian.

(f) **Celtic** languages. Gaulish. The **Goidelic** group: Irish, Manx, Gaelic. The **Cymric** group: Welsh, Cornish, Breton (introduced from Britain).

(g) **Slavonic** languages. Old Bulgarian—Russian, Polish, Bohemian, Servian, Bulgarian.

(h) **Baltic** languages. Lithuanian, Lettish.

(i) **Germanic** languages.

3. The Germanic group, to which English belongs, consists of the following languages:—

(A) **East-Germanic**:

(a) Gothic.

(b) **Scandinavian** languages. **West-Scandinavian** group: Norwegian, Icelandic. **East-Scandinavian** group: Danish, Swedish.

(B) **West-Germanic**:

(c) **Low German** languages. Old Saxon—Dutch, Flemish. **Anglo-Frisian** group: English, Frisian.

(d) High German, or German.

4. English is then a member of the Anglo-Frisian group of the Low German languages.

Old English.

5. In the fifth century—or perhaps earlier—Britain was partially conquered by a variety of Germanic tribes from the other side of the German Ocean, the chief of which were

(a) **Saxons**, from the country between the Elbe and the Rhine.

(b) **Angles**, from the district still called Angeln in the South of Schleswig.

(c) **Jutes**, from the North of Schleswig.

6. The first settlement is said to have been that of the Jutes, who took Kent and the Isle of Wight.

7. The Saxons occupied the country south of the Thames; except Cornwall, where the Britons still kept their nationality. Some of the Saxons settled in Sussex; some north of the Thames in Middlesex and Essex; the remaining portion of the tribe being called 'West-Saxons,' whence their state is called 'Wessex.'

8. The rest of England was occupied by the Angles. Suffolk and Norfolk were included under the name of

'East-Anglia.' Another tribe of Anglians occupied what are now the Midland Counties, between the Thames and the Humber. These were called **Mercians**, and their country is called 'Mercia.' The country north of the Humber was occupied by a variety of Anglian tribes included under the name of **Northumbrians**. Ancient Northumbria extended up to the Firth of Forth, and thus included the greater part of what is now the Lowlands of Scotland.

9. All these tribes spoke the same language with slight differences of dialect. These differences increased by degrees, so that already in the 8th century we can distinguish four main dialects: **Northumbrian** and **Mercian**, which together constitute the **Anglian** group; and **West-Saxon** and **Kentish**, which together constitute the **Southern** group.

10. All these tribes agreed in calling their common language **English**, that is, 'Anglish,' because the Angles were for a long time the dominant tribe. The supremacy afterwards passed to the West-Saxons, and their capital, Winchester, became the capital of England; and West-Saxon became the official and, to a great extent, the literary language all over England. The West-Saxons still continued to call their language English, the name 'Anglo-Saxon' being used only as a collective name for the people, not the language.

11. In this book OE words are always given—unless the contrary is stated—in their Early West-Saxon forms; that is, in the dialect of King Alfred.

CHARACTERISTICS OF OLD ENGLISH.

12. The characteristics of OE are those of the other Low German languages. It was, as compared with MnE, a highly inflected language, being in this respect intermediate between

Latin and Modern German. In its syntax it closely resembled Modern German. It also resembled Modern German in having an unlimited power of forming new words by derivation and composition, as when it made *Scribes and Pharisees* into 'bookers and separation-saints' (OE *bōceras and sundor-hālgan*).

LATIN INFLUENCE.

13. Nevertheless it adopted many Latin words, some of which it brought with it from the Continent, such as *stræt* 'high road,' 'street,' *mīl* 'mile,' *cāsere* 'emperor' from Latin (*via*) *strāta, mīlia (passuum), Caesar*; while others were learnt from the Romanized Britons, such as *ceaster* 'city,' *lādān* 'language' from *castra, (lingva) Latina*. These are all popular words. There is another layer of learned words which came in after the introduction of Christianity in 597. Such words are *dēofol* 'devil,' *mynster* 'monastery,' *fers* 'verse,' from *diabolus, monasterium, versus*.

CELTIC INFLUENCE.

14. Very few Celtic words came into OE, because the Britons themselves were to a great extent Romanized, especially the inhabitants of the cities, who were mainly the descendants of the Roman legionary soldiers. *dr̄y* 'druid,' 'sorcerer' is an example of a Celtic word in OE.

SCANDINAVIAN INFLUENCE.

15. Towards the end of the 8th century Scandinavian pirates—chiefly from Norway, but also from Denmark, all being indiscriminately called 'Danes' by the Anglo-Saxons—began to harass the coasts of England. By the end of the next century they had conquered and settled East-Anglia (in

870), Mercia (in 874), and Northumbria (in 876); although in the next century they were forced to acknowledge the supremacy of the West-Saxon kings. In 1016 the whole of England was conquered by the Danes, and England was ruled by Danish kings till 1042, when the Anglo-Saxon royal line was restored in the person of Edward the Confessor.

16. It is not till the close of the OE period that Scandinavian words appear. Even Late Northumbrian (of about 970) is entirely free from Scandinavian influence.

FRENCH INFLUENCE.

17. With the accession of Edward the Confessor in 1042 Norman influence begins; and in 1066 the battle of Hastings made the Norman duke William king of England, although the actual conquest was not completed till 1071.

18. The Normans were Scandinavian by race, but their language was a dialect of Old French.

19. The influence of Norman French on OE was of course even slighter than that of Scandinavian, so that it does not become a factor of importance till the ME period. Nevertheless several French words passed into literary OE even before the Conquest, such as *castel* 'castle,' *capūn* 'fowl.'

Middle English.

20. In its Middle period English went through much the same changes as the other Germanic languages, though at a quicker rate. Many of the sounds were changed, most of the old inflections were lost, their place being supplied by form-words—prepositions, auxiliary verbs, etc.—and many words became obsolete.

DIALECTS OF MIDDLE ENGLISH.

21. The Norman Conquest, by depriving the old West-Saxon of its literary and political supremacy, gave free play to the development of the dialects. Although the ME dialects are continuations of the OE ones, it is convenient to call most of them by different names. The main divisions are **Northern**, corresponding to the Old Northumbrian, **Midland**, corresponding to the Old Mercian, **Southern**, corresponding to the old West-Saxon, and **Kentish**. We include the first two under the term 'North-Thames English,' the last two under 'South-Thames English.'

22. Of these dialects the Midland was the predominating one. Its commanding position in the heart of England enabled it to exercise a direct influence on all the other dialects, while Southern and Northern were completely cut off from one another. Hence even the earliest Southern of about 1200 shows considerable influence of the Midland—or Old Mercian—dialect.

23. It is to be observed that the changes which distinguish one period of English from another went on much faster in the North of England than in the South. In fact, the Old Northumbrian dialect of the 10th century had already entered on its transition period—characterized by a general confusion in the use of inflections, and was thus almost on a level with the Early Southern Middle English of about 1200. Again, the Northern dialect in its Early Middle period had got rid of nearly all the inflections that are not preserved in MnE, being thus several centuries ahead of the South-Thames dialects. The Midland dialects were more conservative than the Northern, though less so than the South-Thames dialects. It will be seen, then, that the criteria of full, levelled, and

lost endings by which we distinguish the periods of English (1) apply only to the South-Thames dialects.

STRUGGLE BETWEEN FRENCH AND ENGLISH.

24. For a long time the two languages, French and English, kept almost entirely apart. The English of 1200 is almost as free from French words as the English of 1050; and it was not till after 1300 that French words began to be adopted wholesale into English.

25. Meanwhile English was steadily gaining the upper hand. In 1258 we find it officially employed in the Proclamation of Henry III. In the next century French gradually fell into disuse even among the aristocracy. In 1362 English was introduced in the courts of law instead of French. About the same time English took the place of French as the vehicle of instruction in schools.

RISE OF THE LONDON DIALECT.

26. In the ME period the dialects had diverged so much that speakers of the extreme Northern and extreme Southern dialects were no longer able to understand one another, and the need of a common dialect became pressing. Such a common dialect can be formed only in a centre of intercourse where speakers from all parts of the country meet constantly. Such a centre was London, which now was not only the capital of England, but also a place of great and growing commercial importance.

27. The London dialect, as we find it in its earliest document, the Proclamation of Henry III, shows such a mixture of Midland and Southern forms as we might expect from its position on the border-line between these two

dialects. The Midland dialect was intermediate between the two extremes, Northern and Southern, not only geographically but also linguistically; so that speakers of Midland could understand both Northern and Southern much better than Northerners and Southerners could understand one another. Hence the Midland element in the London dialect made the latter peculiarly fitted to serve as a means of general communication. Hence also the Midland element in the London dialect became stronger and stronger in the course of the ME period, till at last even Northern forms passed into it through the medium of the Midland dialect, while Southern influence became weaker and weaker.

SCANDINAVIAN INFLUENCE.

28. Although the Norwegians and Danes spoke different dialects, the difference between these dialects was very slight. The Scandinavian words imported into English seem to be mostly Danish. Although the Scandinavian dialects were not intelligible to the Anglo-Saxons, yet the cognate languages English and Scandinavian were so similar in structure and had so many words in common, that the languages blended together with the same facility as the races that spoke them. English got the upper hand, but Scandinavian nevertheless left its mark on every English dialect, especially the East-Midland and Northern dialects, where the population was half Scandinavian. *Ill, fro* in 'to and fro,' *bound* in 'bound for a place,' are examples of Scandinavian words in English (Icelandic *ill-r* 'bad,' *frá* 'from,' *büinn* 'ready').

FRENCH INFLUENCE.

29. The Norman French introduced into England was not a uniform dialect, but was itself split up into local

varieties or sub-dialects, which in the Norman spoken in England—the ‘Anglo-Norman’ or ‘Anglo-French’ language—were mixed together indiscriminately. The loss of Normandy in 1204 put an end to the influence of Continental Norman; and henceforth Anglo-French was influenced only by the literary French of Paris, this Parisian French having the same predominance among the French dialects as London English had among the English dialects. At the time when the influence of Anglo-French on English begins to be important—that is, in the late ME period—it was, therefore, a mixture of Old French of different periods and different dialects, modified by changes of its own, and also by the influence of English itself, especially in its pronunciation.

30. French influence on English is most marked in the vocabulary. Soon after the Conquest English ceased for several centuries to be the language of the higher purposes of life, and sank almost to a mere peasant’s dialect. So when English came again into general use, it had lost a great part of its higher vocabulary, for which it had to use French words, such as *sir*, *duke*; *captain*, *army*, *battle*; *sermon*, *preach*. Even when the English word was kept, the same idea was often expressed by a French word, whence numerous synonyms such as *work* and *labour*, *weak* and *feeble*.

LATIN INFLUENCE.

31. In Old French itself we must distinguish between **popular** and **learned** words. The popular words in Old French, such as *sire* ‘lord,’ from Latin *senior* ‘older,’ are simply Latin words which have undergone those changes which take place in every language whose development is natural and unimpeded. But as Latin was kept up as an

independent language throughout the Middle Ages, Latin words were imported into Old French as well as the other Romance languages, being used first in books, then in ordinary speech. These learned words were kept as much as possible unchanged, being pronounced as they were written. It often happened that a Latin word which had assumed a popular form in French, was re-imported direct from Latin, so that chronological doublets were formed, such as *caitif* ‘wretched’ and *captif*, both from Latin *captivus*, whence the English *caitiff* and *captive*.

32. These learned French words were introduced into ME in great numbers. Hence when Latin words came to be imported directly into English, they were put into a French shape on the analogy of those Latin words which had really been brought in through French. Thus when a word in *-tio*, such as *nōminātiō*, was taken direct from Latin, it was made into *-tion* (MnE *nomination*) on the analogy of the older importations, such as *nation* (ME *nācioun*).

Modern English.

33. In the Middle period literary English was still distinctly an inflectional language. In the Modern period it became mainly uninflectional, with only scanty remains of the older inflections.

34. The Modern period is that of the complete ascendancy of the London dialect, which henceforth is the only one used in writing throughout England. Henceforth the other dialects of England continued to exist only as illiterate forms of speech confined within narrow areas.

35. The spread of Modern London English—or ‘Standard English,’ as we may now call it—was greatly aided by

the introduction of printing in 1476. The publication of Tindal's translation of the New Testament in 1525 paved the way for the Authorized Version of 1611, which made Early Modern London English what it has ever since been—the sacred or liturgical language of the whole English-speaking race.

INFLUENCE OF OTHER LANGUAGES.

36. In the Early Modern period, the Renaissance—the revival of the study of the classical authors of Greece and Rome—led to the adoption of an immense number of Greek as well as Latin words, the Greek words being generally Latinized, just as the Latin words imported into Middle English were Frenchified.

37. As the first prose writings were mostly either translations from Latin, or else the work of scholars to whom Latin was in some respects a more natural means of expression than English, it was inevitable that Early MnE prose was greatly influenced by Latin, not only in vocabulary, but also in grammatical structure and idioms. In a few generations many Latin—and some Greek—words and expressions which were at first purely learned and technical passed into the language of everyday life; while, on the other hand, many others became obsolete.

38. As the relations of England with other countries became more extended, many words were imported into English from almost every European language, especially Dutch, French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese, and from many other languages besides, such as Arabic, Persian, and Turkish, and the native languages of America.

39. Standard English has always been influenced by the different English dialects. The literary revival of Broad

Scotch—which is really Modern Northumbrian—at the end of the last century by Scott and Burns has introduced many Scotch words into literary English.

PERIODS.

40. The main general difference between Early and Late MnE is that the former is the period of experiment and comparative licence both in the importation and in the formation of new words, idioms, and grammatical constructions. The Late MnE period is, on the other hand, one of selection and organization. The most marked differences in detail are the great sound-changes undergone by the spoken language—changes which have been completely disguised by the fixity of the orthography.

cardinals: OE *twentigoba*, Late ME *twentiþe*. In Early MnE *e* was introduced by the analogy of the verb-inflection *-eth*, but these ordinals were still pronounced (twentiþ, þirtip), etc., although the spelling has now altered the pronunciation into (twenti-ip), etc.

469. In Early MnE the ordinal ending *-th* was extended to the high numerals, which before had no ordinal forms: *hundredth*, which was pronounced (hundreþ), *thousandth*, *millionth*.

470. The OE ordinals were inflected as weak adjectives.

471. In ordinal groups only the last member of the group takes the ordinal form, the others being left in the shorter cardinal form: *twenty-fifth* or *five-and-twentieth*, *hundred and second*. This usage prevailed already in OE, as in *on þān twā-and-twentigofan daga*, where *twā* is kept in the neuter, although *daga* is masculine, because it forms a sort of group compound with the ordinal.

472. The ordinals are used as nouns in MnE in the combination of two ordinals to express fractional numbers, as in *two thirds of an inch*.

VERBS.

Old-English.

INFLECTIONS.

473. There are two main conjugations of verbs in OE, **strong** and **weak**, distinguished mainly by the formation of their preterites and preterite participles. If we compare these parts of the verb with its infinitive, we find that strong verbs, such as *bindan* 'to bind,' form their preterite by vowel-change

—*band* 'he bound'—and add *-en* in the preterite participle with or without vowel-change, *ge-* being often prefixed, in weak as well as strong verbs—*gebunden* 'bound'; while weak verbs, such as *hieran* 'hear,' form their preterite and preterite participle with the help of *d* or *t*: *hīerde*, *gehīered*.

474. The following are the chief verb-endings of the active voice, including the preterite participle passive. Where two endings are given, the second is that of the weak verbs. Observe that all three persons have the same ending in the plural, and that the imperative exists only in the second person.

	Indicative.	Subjunctive.
Present Singular 1	-e	-e
2	-st	-e
3	-þ	-e
Plural	-aþ	-en
Preterite Singular 1	-, -de	-e, -de
2	-e, -dest	-e, -de
3	-, -de	-e, -de
Plural	-on, -don	-en, -den
Imperative Singular	-, -, (-e, -a)	Infinitive -an
Plural	-aþ	Gerund -enne
Participle Present	-ende	
Preterite	-en, -ed	

475. Verbs whose root ends in a vowel generally contract; thus *seon* 'to see,' *gān* 'to go,' conjugate *ic seo*, *ic gā*, *wē seāþ*, *wē gāþ* compared with *ic binde*, *wē bindaþ*.

476. For the plural ending *-aþ*, both indic. and imper., *-e* is substituted when the pronoun comes immediately after the verb: *gē bindaþ*, but *binde gē*. So also *gā gē!* compared with *gē gāþ*. These forms were originally subjunctives, *binde gē* being a shortening of *binden gē*. So also in *gā wē* 'let us go.' This change was often extended by analogy to

the ending *-on*, as in *mōte wē* 'may we,' *sohte gē* 'ye sought' compared with *wē mōton*, *gē sohlon*.

477. The passive voice, and many forms of the active voice as well, are expressed by the combination of auxiliary verbs with the pret. partic. and, more rarely, the pres. partic. The chief auxiliary verbs are *wesan* 'be,' *weorþan* 'become,' and *habban* 'have,' as in *hē wæs gefunden*, *hē wearþ gefunden* 'he was found,' *hē is gecumen* 'he has come,' *hē hæfþ gefunden* 'he has found.'

478. But besides the pret. partic., there is a trace of the old Germanic passive in the form *hätte* from *hātan*, which is both pres. 'is named, called,' and pret. 'was called.'

479. The infinitive was originally an indeclinable abstract noun formed from the corresponding verb, so that *bindan* originally meant 'binding,' 'act of binding.' The gerund is a similarly formed noun in the dative case governed by the preposition *tō*, which always precedes it, as in *hē is tō cumenne* 'he is to come' = Latin *ventūrus est*. It often takes the *a* of the infin.—*tō cumanne*.

480. The pret. partic., as already stated, generally takes *ge-* before it; but not if the verb already has *ge-* or a similar inseparable prefix, as in *forgiefen* 'forgiven,' *ālīesed* 'redeemed.' In West-Saxon *hieran* generally takes *ge-* throughout: *gehieran*, *gehiered*.

481. Both participles are declined like adjectives: *wē sindon gecumene*, *hē hæfþ hine gefundenne* 'he has found him,' literally 'he possesses him found.' But in the later language the pret. partic. in combination with auxiliary *habban* became indeclinable through the original meaning having been forgotten: *hē hæfþ hine gefunden*.

482. In the older language the second person sing. ends in *-s*: *þū lufas* 'thou lovest,' *þū lufades*. But already

in Early West-Saxon the regular forms are *lufast*, *lufadest*.

483. In Late Northumbrian inflectional *þ* became *s*: *hē bindes*, *wē bindas*.

484. In Late OE the subj. plur. ending *-en* was made into *-on* by the influence of the indic., as in *gyf hý wæron* 'if they were,' compared with Early West-Saxon *gyf hie wæren*.

485. In Late OE the *-st* of the 2nd pers. sing. pret. indic. of weak verbs is extended to the subj.: *gyf þū lufodest* 'if you loved' = Early West-Saxon *gyf þū lufode*.

STRONG VERBS.

486. In the strong verbs the plur. of the pret. indic. often has a vowel different from that of the sing.: *ic band*, *wē bundon*. The 2nd sing. pret. indic. and the whole pret. subj. always have the vowel of the pret. plur. indic.: *þū bunde*, *gyf ic bunde*, *gyf wē bunden*. The following are the Early West-Saxon inflections of the strong verb *bindan*:—

		Indic.	Subj.
Pres. Sing.	1	<i>binde</i>	<i>binde</i>
	2	<i>bindest</i> , <i>bintst</i>	<i>binde</i>
	3	<i>bindeþ</i> , <i>bint</i>	<i>binde</i>
Plur.		<i>bindaþ</i>	<i>binden</i>
Pret. Sing.	1	<i>band</i>	<i>bunde</i>
	2	<i>bunde</i>	<i>bunde</i>
	3	<i>band</i>	<i>bunde</i>
Plur.		<i>bundon</i>	<i>bunden</i>
Imper. Sing.		<i>bind</i>	Infin. <i>bindan</i>
Plur.		<i>bindaþ</i>	Gerund <i>tō bindenne</i>
		Partic. Pres. <i>bindende</i>	
		Pret. <i>gebunden</i> .	

487. Some strong verbs are inflected like weak verbs every-

where except in the preterite forms. Thus *swērian* 'swear,' pret. *swōr*, is inflected like *ſērian* (504): pres. indic. *swērige*, *swęrest*, *swęreþ*, *swęriap*; subj. pres. *swęrige*, *swęrigen*; imper. *swęre*, *swęriap*; pres. partic. *swęrigende*. Many strong verbs with double consonants, such as *biddan* 'pray,' 'ask' pret. *bæd*, are inflected like *ſettan* (503): pres. indic. *biddle*, *bilst* (*bideſt*), *bitt* (*bideþ*), *biddap*; subj. pres. *bidde*, *bidden*; imper. *bide*, *biddap*; pres. partic. *biddende*.

All of these verbs, both strong and weak, had a *j* before their endings in Germanic (148)—**swarjan*, **farjan*, **bidjan*, **satjan*; and hence all of them mutate their root-vowels. The strong verb *wēpan* 'weep' is also a 'j-verb,' as shown by its mutation, the Anglian form being *wāpan*, and is declined like the weak verb *hieran*, which however has the same endings as a strong verb in the infinitive and present tenses, and so there is nothing to distinguish the inflections of *wēpan* from those of the ordinary j-less strong verbs: pres. *wēpe*, *wēpst* (*wēpeſt*), *wēpþ* (*wēpeþ*), *wēpap*; imper. *wēp*, etc.

488. The Germanic forms of the endings *-st*, *-þ* were *-is*, *-iþ*, which are still preserved in the oldest English: *bindis*, *bindiþ*. In West-Saxon these endings mutated a preceding vowel and then dropped their own vowels, as in *þū lȳcest*, *hit grēwþ* from *lūcan* 'close,' 'lock,' *grōwan* 'grow.' The resulting consonant-combinations were modified in various ways (147): *þþ*, *đþ*, *ddþ* were made into *tt*, *t*, as in *lætt* 'lets,' *bitt* 'waits,' *bitt* 'asks,' *stent* 'stands' from *lētan* 'let,' *bīdan*, *biddan*, *standan*; and *sp* became *st*, as in *ēiest* 'chooses' from *ēōsan*. Similar changes took place in the 2nd pers. sing.: *þū biſt* 'you ask,' *þū ēiest*. In Anglian the full endings *-es* (*-eſt*), *-eþ* were restored, the unmutated vowels being at the same time restored: *lēteþ*, *bīdeþ*, *bideþ*, *biddeþ*, *stȳndeþ*; *biddes*, *ēōses*.

489. The vowel-changes in the strong verbs are generally due to gradation (150), which is often accompanied by consonant-change, as in *weorþan*, *geworden* (146). But in some verbs the vowel of the pret. is the result of contraction of Germanic and Arian reduplication; thus *hēold* 'held' (infin. *healdan*) is a contraction of **hehold*, **hehald*. Traces of this reduplication are preserved in a few OE preterites, such as *hē-ht*, later *hēt* (infin. *hātan* 'call,' 'command')= Germanic **hehail* (Gothic *hathail*).

490. The following are the classes under which the strong verbs fall according to their vowel-changes, each class being named after a characteristic verb. A few examples only are given of each class. The special Anglian forms are given in (). The forms are given in the order infin., pret. sing., pret. plur., pret. partic.

I. Reduplicative or fall-class.

491. The pret. sing. and plur. has *ēo* or *ē*, the pret. partic. keeping the vowel of the infin.:—

<i>feallan</i> (<i>fallan</i>) 'fall'	<i>fēoll</i>	<i>fēollon</i>	<i>feallen</i> (<i>fallen</i>)
<i>healdan</i> (<i>haldan</i>) 'hold'	<i>hēold</i>	<i>hēoldon</i>	<i>healden</i> (<i>halden</i>)
<i>cnāwan</i> 'know'	<i>cnēow</i>	<i>cnēowon</i>	<i>cnāwen</i>
<i>grōwan</i> 'grow'	<i>grēow</i>	<i>grēowon</i>	<i>grōwen</i>
<i>bēatan</i> 'beat'	<i>bēot</i>	<i>bēoton</i>	<i>bēaten</i>
<i>hātan</i> 'command'	<i>hē(h)t</i>	<i>hē(h)ton</i>	<i>hāten</i>
<i>lētan</i> 'let'	<i>lēt</i>	<i>lēton</i>	<i>lāten</i>

II. Shake-class.

492. These verbs have in the infin. *a*, *ea*, or, in j-verbs the mutations *g*, *ie*, in the pret. sing. and plur. *ō*, in the pret. partic. *a*, *æ*:—

<i>faran</i> 'go'	<i>fōr</i>	<i>fōron</i>	<i>faren</i>
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<i>sēacan</i> 'shake'	<i>sēoc</i>	<i>sēocon</i>	<i>sēacen</i>
<i>hebban</i> (148) 'raise'	<i>hōf</i>	<i>hōfon</i>	<i>hafen, hæfen</i>

III. Bind-class.

493. In the infin. *i*, *ie*, *e*, *eo* followed by two consonants one at least of which is nearly always a vowellike consonant—*r*, *l*, *n*, *m*; in the pret. sing. *a*, *æ*, *ea*; in the pret. plur. *u*; in the pret. partic. *u*, *o*.

<i>bindan</i> 'bind'	<i>band, bōnd</i>	<i>bundon</i>	<i>bunden</i>
<i>gieldan</i> (<i>gēldan</i>) 'pay'	<i>gēald</i> (<i>gāld</i>)	<i>guldon</i>	<i>golden</i>
<i>helpan</i> 'help'	<i>healp</i> (<i>hālp</i>)	<i>hulpon</i>	<i>holpen</i>
<i>berstan</i> (144) 'burst'	<i>barst</i>	<i>burston</i>	<i>borsten</i>
<i>wæorþan</i> 'become'	<i>wearþ</i>	<i>wurdon</i>	<i>worden</i>
<i>feohtan</i> (<i>fehtran</i>) 'fight'	<i>feakt</i> (<i>fehht</i>)	<i>fukton</i>	<i>fohten</i>

IV. Bear-class.

494. In the infin. *e*, *ie*, *i* followed by a single consonant which is generally vowellike; in *brecan* the vowellike consonant precedes the vowel; in the pret. sing. *a*, *æ*, *ea*; in the pret. plur. *ā*, *ēa*, *ō*, *ā*; in the pret. partic. *o*, *u* :—

<i>beran</i> 'carry'	<i>bær</i>	<i>bæron</i>	<i>boren</i>
<i>brecan</i> 'break'	<i>bræc</i>	<i>bræcon</i>	<i>brocen</i>
<i>sēcran</i> (<i>sēcran</i>) 'cut'	<i>sēcar</i> (<i>sēcar</i>)	<i>sēcaron</i> (<i>sēdron</i>)	<i>scoren</i>
<i>niman</i> 'take'	<i>nam, nōm</i>	<i>nōmon, nāmon</i>	<i>numen</i>

V. Give-class.

495. In the infin. *e*, *ie*, and, in the j-verbs *i*, followed by a single, non-vowellike consonant, this class differing from the last only in the pret. partic., which keeps the vowel of the infin., the mutated *i* of the j-verbs returning to *e* :—

<i>sprecan</i> 'speak'	<i>spræc</i>	<i>spræcon</i>	<i>sprecen</i>
<i>giefan</i> (<i>gēfan</i>) 'give'	<i>geaf</i> (<i>gēaf</i>)	<i>gēafon</i> (<i>gēfon</i>)	<i>giefen</i> (<i>gēfen</i>)
<i>sittan</i> 'sit'	<i>sæt</i>	<i>sæton</i>	<i>seten</i>
<i>liēgan</i> 'lie'	<i>læg</i>	<i>lægon, lāgon</i>	<i>lēgen</i>

VI. Shine-class.

496. In the infin. *i*; pret. sing. *ā*; pret. plur. and pret. partic. *i* :—

<i>drifan</i> 'drive'	<i>drāf</i>	<i>drifon</i>	<i>drifen</i>
<i>sēinan</i> 'shine'	<i>sēān</i>	<i>sēinon</i>	<i>sēinen</i>
<i>writan</i> 'write'	<i>wrāt</i>	<i>writon</i>	<i>writen</i>

VII. Choose-class.

497. In the infin. *eo*, *ū*; pret. sing. *ēa*; pret. plur. *u*; pret. partic. *o* :—

<i>bēodan</i> 'command'	<i>bēad</i>	<i>budon</i>	<i>boden</i>
<i>ēosan</i> 'choose'	<i>ēās</i>	<i>curon</i>	<i>coren</i>
<i>frēosan</i> 'freeze'	<i>frēas</i>	<i>fruron</i>	<i>froren</i>
<i>būgan</i> 'bend'	<i>bēag, bēah</i>	<i>bugon</i>	<i>bogen</i>

WEAK VERBS.

498. The weak verbs fall under two main groups, according as the vowel of the infin. is mutated or not. The mutation-group comprises two classes, the **hear**-class (*hieran*) and the **wean**-class (*wegian*), the unmutated verbs constituting the third or **love**-class (*lufian*).

I. Hear-class.

499. The following are the Early West-Saxon forms :—

		Indic.	Subj.
Pres. Sing.	1	<i>hiere</i>	<i>hiere</i>
	2	<i>hierst</i>	<i>hiere</i>
	3	<i>hiersp</i>	<i>hiere</i>
Plur.		<i>hiersp</i>	<i>hieren</i>
		<i>hierde</i>	<i>hierde</i>
Pret. Sing.	1	<i>hierde</i>	<i>hierde</i>
	2	<i>hierdest</i>	<i>hierde</i>
	3	<i>hierde</i>	<i>hierde</i>
Plur.		<i>hierdon</i>	<i>hierden</i>

Imper. Sing.	<i>h̄ier</i>	Infin.	<i>h̄ieran</i>
Plur.	<i>h̄ierap</i>	Gerund	<i>tō h̄ierenne</i>
Partic. Pres.	<i>h̄ierende</i>		
Pret.	<i>h̄iered</i>		

500. This class adds *-de* in the pret. and *-ed* in the pret. partic., where the *e* is liable to be dropped when an inflectional vowel is added, as in the nom. plur. *gēh̄ierde*. Verbs ending in *t*, *d*, *c* drop the *e* in the uninflected form also, as in *ās̄gn̄d* 'sent' (infin. *ās̄gn̄dan*), where *d* is a shortening of *dd*. After the breath-consonants *t*, *c* the inflectional *d* is unvoiced, and *c* becomes *h*: *mētan* 'find,' 'meet' *gēmētt*, *tāc̄an* 'show' *gētāht*. But the full forms *ās̄gn̄ded*, *gēmēded* also occur, especially in Anglian. Similar changes take place in the pret. *-ide*, *-p(p)de* become *-tte*, *-pte*, as in *gēmētte* 'found,' *dypte* 'dipped' (infin. *dyppan*). The inflectional *d* is also unvoiced after *ss* and the other breath-consonants, as in *missan* 'miss' *miste*, compared with *rāsd̄e* 'rushed' from *rāsan*, where the *s*=(z). In *dypte* the *p* is, of course, a shortening of *pp*. There are similar shortenings in *sendan*, *sende*, *fyllan*, *fylde*, etc.

501. I b. **Seek-class.** In this subdivision of the hear-class the vowel of the infin. is unmutated in the pret. and pret. partic., the inflections being the same as in the other verbs of the hear-class:—

<i>sellan</i> 'give'	<i>sealde</i> (<i>sāld̄e</i>)	<i>geseald</i> (<i>gesāld̄</i>)
<i>sēcan</i> (<i>sācan</i>) 'seek'	<i>sōhte</i> , <i>sōhte</i>	<i>gesōht</i> , <i>gesōht</i>

502. Those with *n* followed by *ē* or *g*—*þ̄gn̄can* 'think,' *bringan* 'bring'—drop the nasal and lengthen the preceding vowel and modify it in other ways: *þ̄gn̄can*, *þ̄ohte*, *gēþ̄oht* = Germanic **þankjan*, **þanhita*, *an* before *h* having been regularly changed to nasal *ā*, which in OE as regularly

became *ā*. Long vowels were shortened in OE before *ht*, so that *þ̄ohte*, etc. became *þohte*. Seek-verbs in *-ēc̄* carry the mutated vowel *ē* into the pret. and pret. partic. in Late West-Saxon: *strēc̄can*, 'stretch,' *streahte*, *streaht* (*strāhte*, *strāht*) later *strēhte*, *strēht*.

503. It will be observed that all verbs of the hear-class have long syllables in the infin.—either a long vowel, as in *h̄ieran*, or a vowel followed by two consonants, as in *sendan*, *fyllan*. In the latter verb the *ll* is Germanic [cp. the adjective *full*], and is therefore kept through all the inflections of the verb, except where *l* is written for *ll* before a consonant in contracted forms: pres. indic. *fylle*, *fyllest* (*fylst*), *fyllep* (*fylþ*), *fyllap*; imper. sing. *fyll*, etc. But most of the verbs of this class with double consonants in the infin., such as *sellan* 'set,' are inflected like strong *j*-verbs such as *biddan* (487), the double consonant being also shortened in the pret. and pret. partic.: pres. indic. *sette*, *setst* (*setes*), *sett* (*setep*), *settap*; subj. *sette(n)*; imper. *sete*, *settap*; pres. part. *settende*; pret. *sette* = **setede*, pret. partic. *gesetted*, *gesett*. Some of these verbs belong to the seek-division, such as *seḡgan* 'say': pres. indic. *seḡge*, *seḡgst* (*seḡges*), *seḡþ* (*seḡep*), *seḡgab*; imper. *seḡge*, *seḡgab*; pres. partic. *seḡgende*; pret. *saḡde*, pret. partic. *gesaḡd*. So also *sellan* has pres. indic. *sette*, *setþ* (*setep*), *settap*, imper. *sete*, *settap*, &c.

II. Wean-class.

504. All of these verbs have infin. *-ian* and a short root-syllable with a mutated vowel. They form their pret. in *-ede*, and their pret. partic. in *-ed*, which is never contracted. The following are the Early West-Saxon forms of *wenian* 'accustom':—

	Indic.	Subj.
Pres. Sing. 1	<i>wenige</i>	<i>wenige</i>
2	<i>wenest</i>	<i>wenige</i>
3	<i>weneþ</i>	<i>wenige</i>
Plur.	<i>weniap</i>	<i>wenigen</i>
Pret. Sing. 1	<i>wenede</i>	<i>wenede</i>
2	<i>wenedest</i>	<i>wenede</i>
3	<i>wenede</i>	<i>wenede</i>
Plur.	<i>wenedon</i>	<i>weneden</i>
Imper. Sing.	<i>wene</i>	Infm. <i>wenian</i>
Plur.	<i>weniap</i>	Gerund <i>tō weniġenne</i>
Partic. Pres.	<i>weniġende</i>	
Pret.	<i>ġewened</i>	

So also *ƿerian* 'carry' [*ƿaran* 'go'] *styrian* 'stir.'

III. Love-class.

505. In Germanic these verbs had infinitives *-an*, *-ōn*, of which *-ian* is a later development and therefore does not cause mutation like the *-ian* of the wean-class, which is of Germanic origin. The following are the Early West-Saxon forms:—

	Indic.	Subj.
Pres. Sing. 1	<i>luſiġe</i>	<i>luſiġe</i>
2	<i>luſaſt</i>	<i>luſiġe</i>
3	<i>luſaþ</i>	<i>luſiġe</i>
Plur.	<i>luſiap</i>	<i>luſiġen</i>
Pret. Sing. 1	<i>luſode</i>	<i>luſode</i>
2	<i>luſodeſt</i>	<i>luſode</i>
3	<i>luſode</i>	<i>luſode</i>
Plur.	<i>luſodon</i>	<i>luſoden</i>
Imper. Sing.	<i>luſi</i>	Infm. <i>luſian</i>
Plur.	<i>luſiap</i>	Gerund <i>tō luſiġenne</i>
Partic. Pres.	<i>luſiġende</i>	
Pret.	<i>ġeluſod.</i>	

So also *āscian* 'ask,' *macian* 'make,' and many others.

Irregular Weak Verbs.

506. Some weak verbs, such as *libban* 'live,' show a mixture of the inflections of the hear- and the love-class: pres. indic. *libbe*, *leofaſt*, *leofaþ*, *libbaþ*; subj. *libbe(n)*; imper. *leofa*, *libbaþ*; pres. partic. *libbende*; pret. *liſde*, pret. partic. *ġeliſd.*

PRETERITE-PRESENT VERBS.

507. These verbs have for their presents old strong preterites; thus the preterite-present verb *wāt* 'I know' was originally a strong preterite of the shine-class. The present of these verbs differs however from the strong preterites in the 2nd sing. indic., which ends in *t* or *ſt*, a *t* before the inflectional *t* also becoming *s*: *iċ ſceal* 'I shall,' *þū ſcealt*; *iċ cann* 'I know,' *þū canſt*; *iċ wāt* 'I know,' *þū wāſt.*

508. From these presents new weak preterites are formed with various irregular changes: *ſceolde*, *cūþe*, *wiſte.*

509. Many of these verbs are defective, the infin., imper., and participles being often wanting. The subj. is often substituted for the imper. sing. The following are the inflections of *witan* 'know':—

	Indic.	Subj.
Pres. Sing. 1	<i>wāt</i>	<i>wite</i>
2	<i>wāſt</i>	<i>wite</i>
3	<i>wāt</i>	<i>wite</i>
Plur.	<i>witon</i>	<i>witen</i>
Pret. Sing. 1	<i>wiſte</i>	<i>wiſte</i>
2	<i>wiſteſt</i>	<i>wiſte</i>
3	<i>wiſte</i>	<i>wiſte</i>
Plur.	<i>wiſton</i>	<i>wiſten</i>

	Indic.		Subj.
Imper. Sing.	<i>wite</i>	Infn.	<i>uitan</i>
Plur.	<i>witaþ</i>	Gerund	<i>tō witenne</i>
Partic. Pres.	<i>witende</i>		
Pret.	<i>witen.</i>		

Middle-English.

EARLY MIDDLE ENGLISH.

510. The ME levelling of weak vowels under *e* had a comparatively slight effect on the verb inflections, especially in Early Southern, where the OE verb-inflections were preserved very faithfully. But the inevitable change of *-a*, *-ast*, *-aþ*, *-ode* into *-e*, *-est*, *-eþ*, *-ede*, as in *luve*, *luvest*, *luveþ*, *luvede* = OE *lufa*, *lufast*, *lufaþ*, *lufode*, necessarily led to a complete levelling of the old wean- and love-classes of weak verbs, the ME love-class including all the OE ian-verbs whether accompanied by mutation or not.

511. The Southern tendency to drop final *n* first affected the infin. and pret. partic.: Early Southern *bīnden*, *bīnde*; *ibūnden*, *ibūnde*.

512. The tendency to shorten double consonants in weak syllables made the OE gerund *tō bindenne* into ME *tō bindene*.

513. The tendency to drop final weak *e* after another weak syllable (174) led to the shortening of *tō bindene* into *tō bīnden*, which made it liable to be confused with the infin. So also *luvie* = OE *lufige*, *lufian* was often shortened to *luvi*.

In the South-Thames dialects this *-i* afterwards came to be regarded as the special mark of the infin., being sometimes extended to strong verbs as well as weak verbs with OE infin. *-an*.

514. In Early Southern the pres. partic. ending is *-inde*, as in *bīndinde*, *hērinde*, which probably owes its *i* to the influence of the verbal nouns in *-inge*, *-ing* = OE *-ing*, *-ung*, such as *lerninge* = OE *leornung*.

515. Early Southern keeps the prefix *i-* = OE *ge-*: *ibūnden*, *ihēred* = OE *gebunden*, *gehēred*.

516. The most important change in the strong verbs is that many of them became weak. Already in OE such verbs as *slēpan* 'sleep,' *ondrēdan* 'fear,' had the weak preterites *slēpte*, *ondrēdde* by the side of the strong *slēp*, *ondrēd*; in Late West-Saxon *hebban* 'raise' has the weak pret. *hefde* by the side of strong *hōf*, and so on. In ME this is carried much further. Thus even in the earliest ME we find the OE strong preterites *lēt* 'let,' *wēop* 'wept' represented not only by *lēt*, *wēop*, but also by the weak *lette*, *wepte*, although such forms as *wēp* still survive in Standard Late ME. Many other weak and strong forms existed side by side for a long time; and although in MnE the weak forms have nearly always prevailed, this was not always the case in ME, where, for instance, such a weak pret. as *hefde* 'raised' was in the Late ME period discarded in favour of the new-formed strong pret. *haf*, the old *hōf* being also preserved.

517. The inflections of the strong verbs that remained were modified by various levelling influences. The mutation in the contracted forms of the OE presents was got rid of by bringing in the unmutated vowel of the infin., etc., as in *berþ* 'carries,' *tret* 'treads,' *stont* 'stands,' infin. *beren*, *treden*, *stōnden* = Early West-Saxon *bierþ* (*bireþ*), *trill*, *stont*.

518. The gradation of consonants in the OE *ēosan*, *gecoren*, etc. was got rid of by carrying the *s* through: *chēosen*, *chēsen*, *chēs*, *ichosen*.

519. In this last verb we can also observe the extension

of *ch* = OE *ċ* to the original *c* of the pret. partic., so as to make initial *ch* uniform throughout the whole verb. We can observe the opposite levelling of *ch* under *c* in such verb-forms as *kerven*, *karf* = OE *ceorfan*, *cearf*, which have taken their back-consonant from the OE pret. plur. *curfon* and pret. partic. *corfen*.

520. But in some verbs the old consonant-gradations were preserved, as in *forlāsen* 'lose,' *forlāgs*, *forlōren*.

521. Some of the ME changes had the contrary effect of creating new distinctions. Thus OE *ā*, *ē* was regularly shortened before consonant-groups, and the resulting *æ* was afterwards broadened to *a* (177), as in the OE pret. *tāhte* 'showed,' which in ME passed through *tahle* into *lahte*, whence MnE *laught*. In many preterites and pret. participles these changes gave rise only to divergence of quantity, as in *māten*, *mette*, *imet* = OE *gemētan*, etc., and in Northern *ledde* = Southern *ladde* from *lāden* 'lead' = OE *lādan*, *lādde*.

522. The following are the inflections of the strong verb *bīnden*, and of the weak verbs *hēren* 'hear' and *luvīen*, as representatives of the two classes of weak verbs in Early Southern:—

Pres. Indic. Sing.	1 <i>bīnde</i>	<i>hēre</i>	<i>luvie</i>
	2 <i>bīndest</i> , <i>bīntst</i>	<i>hēr(e)st</i>	<i>luvest</i>
	3 <i>bīndep</i> , <i>bīnt</i>	<i>hēr(e)þ</i>	<i>luveþ</i>
Plur.	<i>bīndep</i>	<i>hēreþ</i>	<i>luvieþ</i>
Pres. Subj. Sing.	<i>bīnde</i>	<i>hēre</i>	<i>luvie</i>
Plur.	<i>bīnden</i>	<i>hēren</i>	<i>luvīen</i>
Pret. Indic. Sing.	1 <i>bīnd</i>	<i>herde</i>	<i>luvede</i>
	2 <i>bānde</i>	<i>herdest</i>	<i>luvedest</i>
	3 <i>bīnd</i>	<i>herde</i>	<i>luvede</i>
Plur.	<i>bānden</i>	<i>herden</i>	<i>luveden</i>

Pret. Subj. Sing.	1 <i>bānde</i>	<i>herde</i>	<i>luvede</i>
	2 <i>bānde</i>	<i>herdest</i>	<i>luvedest</i>
	3 <i>bānde</i>	<i>herde</i>	<i>luvede</i>
Plur.	<i>bānden</i>	<i>herden</i>	<i>luveden</i>
Imper. Sing.	<i>bīnd</i>	<i>hēre</i>	<i>luvie</i>
Plur.	<i>bīndep</i>	<i>hēreþ</i>	<i>luvieþ</i>
Infin.	<i>bīnden</i>	<i>hēren</i>	<i>luvīen</i>
Gerund	<i>bīndene</i>	<i>hērene</i>	<i>luvīene</i>
Partic. Pres.	<i>bīndīnde</i>	<i>hērīnde</i>	<i>luvīīnde</i>
Pret.	<i>ibānden</i>	<i>ihēr(e)d</i>	<i>iluvēd</i> .

523. In the forms *bīnde gē*, *būnde gē*, *-e* is substituted for *-ep* (476).

524. It will be observed that the distinction between the two classes of weak verbs is very slight, the *i* of the love-class being often dropped—*i luve*, *wē luveþ*, &c.—while the imper. sing. *hēre* has taken the *e* of *luvie*, *luve*.

Midland.

525. In Early Midland many levellings which are only just beginning in Early Southern are fully carried out. The love-class lost their *i* entirely, and as the hear-class generally had the full Anglian endings *-est*, *-ep*, there is only one set of inflections for the two classes: *hēren*, *lufen* = Southern *hēren*, *luvīen*. On the other hand, the contracted forms of the hear-class are extended to the love-class, as in *birþ* 'befits,' 'becomes' pret. *birde* = OE *gebyreþ*, *gebyrede*, infin. *gebyrian* (wean-class).

526. The characteristic feature of the Midland verb is its extension of the plur. ending *-en* of the subj. pres. and of the pret. indic. and subj.—*gif þei lufen*, *þei cōmen* 'came,' *gif þei cōmen*, *þei broūten*—to the present indic. plur.: *wē lufen*, *þei cumen* = Southern *wē luvieþ*, *heo cumeþ*. But the older *-(e)þ*

is kept in the imper. plur.: *cumeþ!*, *bēþ!* 'be ye' = Southern *cumeþ*, *bēoþ*.

527. In Early Midland the gerund was completely levelled under the infin.: *tō binden*, *tō hēren*.

528. In Midland the pres. partic. keeps the old ending: *bindende*, *hērende*, *lufende*. The *n* of the infin. and strong pret. partic. is never dropped as in Southern. The pret. partic. loses its prefix *ge-*.

529. The distinction between single and double consonant forms in the old *j*-verbs, such as *hebban*, *hefeþ*, *hōf*, *hafen* and *libban*, *leofaþ*, *lifde*, which was still kept up in Early Southern—*hebben*, *heveþ*; *libben*, *leveþ*, *liveþ*—began to break down in Early Midland through the extension of the single consonant forms; thus in Early Midland we find pres. plur. indic. *lifen* = Early Southern *libbeþ*, although the older infin. *libben* is still kept in Early Midland; but *hefen* is used not only as a pres. plur., but also as an infin.

Northern.

530. In the Northern dialect inflectional *þ* had been changed to *s*, and final *n* had begun to drop off already in the OE period: Old Northumbrian *bindes*, *bindas*, *binda* = Mercian *bindeþ*, *bindaþ*, *bindan*. In the Early Middle period weak final *e* was dropped, so that the infin. *binde* = Old Northumbrian *binda* became monosyllabic *bind*, under which the gerund *tō bind* was levelled. The subj. *binde* = Old North. sing. and plur. *binde* was reduced to the same monosyllable. Hence also the pret. plur. *herden* was reduced to the same form as the sing.—*herd*. The effect of these changes on a strong pret. such as that of *bind* was to leave only two forms—*bānd* 1st and 3rd pers. sing. indic., and *būnd* 2nd pers.

sing. and plur. and subj. generally—and the vowel-change was soon got rid of by extension of the vowel of the 1st and 3rd person sing. indic.: *ī bānd*, *þū bānd*, *wē bānd*.

531. In Late Old Northumbrian the old ending of the 2nd person pres. *-es*, *-as*, etc. was preserved by the influence of the new 3rd person *-es*, *-as* = *-eþ*, *-aþ*. Hence in Early Northern *-es* became the common ending of the 2nd and 3rd persons pres. sing. In the pres. indic. plur *-es* = older *-as*, *-ias* was dropped when the verb was immediately preceded or followed by its pronoun: *wē þat bindes*, *men bindes*; *wē bind*, *þai bind*. The 'absolute' form was afterwards extended to the 1st pers. sing. as well; *ī þat bindes*.

532. The *n* of the strong pret. partic. was not lost in Old Northumbrian because of the inflected forms *gebundene*, etc., by whose influence the *n* was restored in the uninflected form; hence it was always kept in the ME Northern dialect as well.

533. The Northern form of the pres. partic. is *-and*: *bīndand*, *hērand* = Midland and OE *bindende*, *hērende*, Southern *bīndinde*, *hērinde*. This *a* is the result of Scandinavian influence: Icel. *bindandi*, *heyrandi*.

534. The following are then the most distinctive verb-inflections of the three dialects in their Early Middle periods:—

	Southern.	Midland.	Northern.
Indic. Pres. Sing. 1	<i>binde</i>	<i>binde</i>	<i>bind</i>
2	<i>bindest</i> , <i>bintst</i>	<i>bindest</i>	<i>bindes</i>
3	<i>bindeþ</i> , <i>bint</i>	<i>bindeþ</i>	<i>bindes</i>
Plur.	<i>bindeþ</i>	<i>bīnden</i>	<i>bind(es)</i>
Imper. Sing.	<i>bind</i>	<i>bind</i>	<i>bind</i>
Plur.	<i>bindeþ</i>	<i>bindeþ</i>	<i>bind(es)</i>
Pres. Partic.	<i>bīndinde</i>	<i>bindende</i>	<i>bīndand</i>

LATE MIDDLE ENGLISH.

535. The most important change in Standard ME and in Late South-Thames English generally is the further assimilation of the pres. partic. to the verbal nouns in *-inge* by which the earlier *bindinde* became *bindinge*, a change of which we see traces already in Early Southern, as in *heo riden singinge* 'they rode singing'—OE *hīe ridon singende*. But as the verbal nouns also occur without final *-e*, the distinction between *lerninge* partic. and *lerning* noun was not entirely lost.

536. Early ME *d* was changed to *t* in the weak pret. and pret. partic. of verbs in *rd, ld, nd*: *girtle, girt*, infin. *girden*; *bitte, bill* infin. *bilden*; *wente, went* infin. *wenden* = Early Southern *gürde, gürd*; *bülde, bül*; *wende, wend*. This change served to distinguish such forms as *hē sende* pres. subj. and *hē sente* pret., which in Early ME were both expressed by the first form. But it is also carried out in some words with *l, ll, n, nn*: *fēlen* 'feel' *felle*; *dwellen, dwelte*; *mēnen, mente*; *brennen* 'burn,' *brente*; and after *s = (z)* and *v*, where it unvoices these consonants: *losien* = OE *losian, loste*; *līven* = OE *lāfan, lefte, lafte*.

537. In Standard ME we see the same levelling and simplifying tendencies at work as in Early Midland and Northern. The old vowel-change in such preterites as *bōnd* is still kept up, but the short form *bōnd* is often extended throughout the pret.: *þū bōnd, wē bōnd* as well as *þū bounde, wē bounde(n)*.

538. In some verbs of the bear- and give-class the *ē* of the plural is sometimes extended to the sing. as in *bēr, sēt* by the side of *bār, sat* = OE *bar, sat* plur. *bāron, sēton*, Anglian *bēron, sēton*.

539. Influence of the strong plur. pret. on the sing. is

also seen in such sing. preterites as *slōw, saw* = Early Southern *slōh* plur. *slōwen*, Late OE *slōh, slōgon*, OE *seah, sāwon*.

540. In Late ME the pret. partic. begins to influence the pret. plur. As a general rule the old pret. plurals were preserved in Late ME only when they had the same vowel as the pret. partic., as in *þei bounden, þei drōnken, þei wōnnen* (class 3), *riden, writen* (class 6); otherwise the plur. pret. took the vowel of the pret. partic.: *þei holpen, foghten, chōsen*.

541. The sing. of the imper. began to be extended to the plur.: *bīnd* 'bind ye' by the side of *bīndep*.

542. In the love-class of weak verbs the *i* was dropped entirely, and the pret. ending *-ede* was often shortened to *-ed* in accordance with the general principle of dropping weak *e* after a weak syllable: *hē lōveþ, hē lōved*.

543. Some of the above changes may be the result of Midland influence, of which we have an undoubted example in the substitution of *-en* (*-e*) for *-ep* in the plur. indic. pres. *-ep* was, of course, kept in the plur. imper., although here also the Midland ending seems to occur in its shortened form *-e*: *bīnde*.

544. The following are the Standard ME inflections of the three verbs whose Early ME inflections have been given already:—

Pres. Indic. Sing. 1	<i>bīnde</i>	<i>hēre</i>	<i>lōve</i>
2	<i>bīndest</i>	<i>hēr(e)st</i>	<i>lōvest</i>
3	<i>bīndep, bīnt</i>	<i>hēr(e)þ</i>	<i>lōveþ</i>
Plur.	<i>bīnde(n)</i>	<i>hēre(n)</i>	<i>lōve(n)</i>
Pres. Subj. Sing.	<i>bīnde</i>	<i>hēre</i>	<i>lōve</i>
Plur.	<i>bīnde(n)</i>	<i>hēre(n)</i>	<i>lōve(n)</i>
Pret. Indic. Sing. 1	<i>bōnd</i>	<i>herde</i>	<i>lōved(e)</i>
2	<i>bounde, bōnd</i>	<i>herdest</i>	<i>lōvedest</i>
3	<i>bōnd</i>	<i>herde</i>	<i>lōved(e)</i>
Plur.	<i>bounde(n), bōnd</i>	<i>herde(n)</i>	<i>lōvede(n), lōved</i>

Pret. Subj. Sing. 1	<i>bounde</i>	<i>herde</i>	<i>lōved(e)</i>
2	<i>bounde</i>	<i>herde(st)</i>	<i>lōvede(st), lōved</i>
3	<i>bounde</i>	<i>herde</i>	<i>lōved(e)</i>
Plur.	<i>bounde(n)</i>	<i>herde(n)</i>	<i>lōvede(n), lōved</i>
Imper. Sing.	<i>bīnd</i>	<i>hēr(e)</i>	<i>lōve</i>
Plur.	<i>bīnde(þ), bīnd</i>	<i>hēre(þ), hēr</i>	<i>lōve(þ)</i>
Infin.	<i>bīnde(n)</i>	<i>hēre(n)</i>	<i>lōve(n)</i>
Gerund	<i>bīnden(e), bīnde</i>	<i>hēren(e), hēre</i>	<i>lōven(e), lōve</i>
Partic. Pres.	<i>bīndinge</i>	<i>hēringe</i>	<i>lōvinge</i>
Pret.	<i>(i)bounde(n)</i>	<i>(i)herd</i>	<i>(i)lōv(e)d.</i>

The following examples will show the regular development of the different classes of strong verbs:—

I. Fall-class.

545.	<i>fallen</i>	<i>fell</i>	<i>fellen</i>	<i>fallen</i>
	<i>hōlden</i>	<i>hēld</i>	<i>hēlden</i>	<i>hōlden</i>
	<i>grōwen</i>	<i>grēw</i>	<i>grōwen</i>	<i>grōwen</i>
	<i>knōwen</i>	<i>knēw</i>	<i>knēwen</i>	<i>knōwen</i>

II. Shake-class.

546.	<i>shāken</i>	<i>shōk</i>	<i>shōken</i>	<i>shāken</i>
	<i>wāken</i>	<i>wōk</i>	<i>wōken</i>	<i>wāken</i>
	<i>laughen</i>	<i>laugh, low</i>	<i>lowen</i>	<i>laughen</i>
	<i>drawen</i>	<i>drough, drow</i>	<i>drowen</i>	<i>drawen</i>

Observe that the preterites of this class have split up into two groups, one with *ō*, the other with (uu) [186].

III. Bind-class.

547.	<i>bīnden</i>	<i>bīnd</i>	<i>bounden</i>	<i>bounden</i>
	<i>singen</i>	<i>sīng</i>	<i>sōngen</i>	<i>sōngen</i>
	<i>drinken</i>	<i>drank</i>	<i>drōnken</i>	<i>drōnken</i>
	<i>winnen</i>	<i>wan</i>	<i>wōnnen</i>	<i>wōnnen</i>
	<i>keruen</i>	<i>karf</i>	<i>korven</i>	<i>korven</i>
	<i>helpen</i>	<i>halp</i>	<i>holpen</i>	<i>holpen</i>
	<i>fighten</i>	<i>faught</i>	<i>foghten</i>	<i>foghten</i>

IV. Bear-class.

548.	<i>stīlen</i>	<i>stal</i>	<i>stēlen, stal</i>	<i>stīlen</i>
	<i>bēren</i>	<i>bār, bēr</i>	<i>bēren, bār</i>	<i>bēren</i>

V. Give-class.

549.	<i>gēten</i>	<i>gat</i>	<i>gēten, gat</i>	<i>gēten</i>
	<i>sīten</i>	<i>sat, sēt</i>	<i>sēten, sat</i>	<i>sēten</i>

VI. Shine-class.

550.	<i>rīden</i>	<i>rōd</i>	<i>riden</i>	<i>riden</i>
	<i>writen</i>	<i>wrōt</i>	<i>writen</i>	<i>writen</i>

VII. Choose-class.

551.	<i>crēpen</i>	<i>crēp</i>	<i>crēpen</i>	<i>crēpen</i>
	<i>chēsen</i>	<i>chēs</i>	<i>chēsen</i>	<i>chēsen</i>

Modern English.

552. The main innovation in the MnE verb-inflections was the introduction of the Northern *-s* in the 3rd pers. sing. pres. indic.—*he calls*—which was introduced into Standard English through the medium of the Midland dialect. It did not entirely supplant the older *-th*—*he calleth*—which still survives in the higher literary language.

553. The MnE verb is further characterized by the development of a **gerund**. When the pres. partic. ending *-inge* lost its final vowel, the last vestige of a formal distinction between such a pres. partic. as *lerning* and the verb-noun *lerning*, disappeared. In OE the number of verb-nouns in *-ung, -ing* was limited, especially in the earlier stages of the language. In ME their number increased, and when the pres. partic. in *-inge* was fully established, and became indistinguishable in form from the ing-nouns, these could be

formed at pleasure from any verb; or, in other words, every pres. partic. could be used as a verb-noun. At first—in Early MnE as well as ME—these words were used entirely as nouns—taking the article *the* before them and the preposition *of* after them, etc.—as in *he thanked him for the saving of his life*, where *saving* is used exactly like the abstract noun *preservation*; but by degrees they were treated like infinitives, the article being dropped and the following noun joined on to them as to the corresponding finite verb; so that the above sentence was shortened to *he thanked him for saving his life*. In such constructions, which began in Early MnE, *saving* etc. are true noun-verbals or gerunds.

554. In MnE the dropping of weak final *e*, together with the ME tendency to drop final weak *n*, had a great effect in simplifying the verb-inflections. The monosyllabic *bind* became the representative of the following ME forms: pres. indic. 1st pers. sing. *i binde*, plur. *wē binde(n)*, etc., pres. subj. *binde*, *binde(n)*. The levelling of the distinction between the pret. and pret. partic. which had begun in ME was completed in the MnE forms *herd* (*heard*), *loved* representing ME *herde*, *lōved(e)* and (*i*)*herd*, (*i*)*lōved*. Such weak verbs as *set* and *cast* became invariable in the pret. and pret. partic.: infin. *set*, pret. *set*, pret. partic. *set*=ME *sette(n)*, *sette*, (*i*)*set*. Moreover in such verbs the distinction between strong and weak conjugation is effaced: compare *set* pret. *set* with *let* pret. *let*=OE *settan*, *sette*; *létan*, *lēt*.

555. The weak vowel of the endings *-est*, *-eth*, *-es*, *-ed* was dropped in Early MnE in the spoken language, except that full *-est*, *-es* was always kept after the hiss-consonants (*s*, *z*; *ʃ*, *ʒ*), being subject to exactly the same rules as the noun-inflectional *-es* (310), as in *misses*, *misses*, *risest*, *rises*, *wishes*, *singes*. Full *-ed* was preserved after the point-stops

t, *d*, as in *hated*, *wanted*, *wedded*, *wounded* = ME *hātede*, etc. Otherwise all these endings were shortened in speech without regard to the ME forms—in *loves* (*luvz*), *lovest*, *loveth* (*luvþ*), as well as *heares*, *hears*, *hearest*, *heareth*. In this way the distinction between the two classes of weak verbs was finally done away with as far as the endings were concerned, the distinction being only partially recognizable in the sound-changes in such verbs as *hear*, *heard* (*hiir*, *hard*); *feel*, *felt*; *teach*, *taught*.

556. But in the higher language the full endings *-est*, *-eth*, *-ed* were freely used after all consonants indifferently, especially in poetry, for the sake of the metre. *-es* was not used in this way because the less familiar *-eth* could always be substituted for it. Some very common verbs were, however, used only in the short forms, such as *dost*, *doth*, *mayst*, *wouldst*, especially the contracted *hast*, *hath*, *had*=ME *havest*, *hast* etc. *-est* was generally shortened in weak preterites, as in *lovedst*, *criedst*. *-est* and *-eth* are obsolete in Present English except in the higher language, in which they naturally keep their full forms, except in *dost*, *hath* etc. The higher language also keeps full *-ed* in many forms where the spoken language contracts, as in *beloved* (*bi'levid*) compared with *loved* (*lɛvd*), *blessed are the peacemakers*.

557. The vowel of the full endings is now weak (*i*), as in (*raizist*, *raiziz*, *raizɪþ*, *heitid*), and in Early MnE as well as Late ME it was often written *i*, *y* instead of *e*, as in Early MnE *thou spekyist*, *he dwellith*, *puttyth*, *passid*, *armyd*.

558. In writing, the silent *e* of *-es* was generally omitted in Early MnE, as in *sits*, *binds*; but not after *v*, as in *loves*, nor, of course, where required to show the pronunciation of a preceding letter, as in *shines*.

559. The consonant of shortened *-es* was assimilated as

regards breath and voice to the preceding consonant in the same way as in the noun-inflections: *lets, leads* (leedz), *loves* (luvz). The same assimilations took place with shortened *-ed*: *loved* (luvd), *breathed* (breeðd), *thanked* (paŋkt), *blessed*. *-ed* being thus used to express (t), this spelling was often extended to such preterites as *burnt, smell*, which were written *burned, smelled*, although they come from ME *brente, smelte*. But the phonetic spellings *thank't, thank't* (*thank'd*), *dropt, crost* (*cross'd*), *accurst* also came into partial use, and some of them have become fixed, such as *past* in *half past one* compared with *the time has passed quickly*.

The above are organic changes. We have now to consider the internal changes in the verb-inflections, beginning with those of a levelling character.

560. The change of strong to weak verbs which we observe in ME went on in the transition from ME to MnE, and, in some cases, in MnE itself. Thus the Early MnE preterite *clomb* and the pret. partic. *mollen* have now become *climbed, melted*. But some of the weak forms that arose in Early MnE have now been discarded, such as the Shakesperian pret. participles *comed, becomed*.

561. On the other hand, several weak verbs have been made strong by the analogy of strong verbs, such as *stick, stuck* (OE *stician, sticode*) by the analogy of *sting, stung; wear, wore, worn* (OE *wegrian, wgrede*) by the analogy of *swear, swore, sworn*. So also several weak verbs in *-own* have taken pret. participles in *-own* by the analogy of *know, known*, etc., keeping the original weak pret.: *show, pret. showed, pret. partic. shown* (OE *scēawian, scēawode*).

562. The levelling of the short quantity of the vowels in the sing. of strong preterites under the long quantity of the

pret. partic. and infin. seen in Late ME *bār* = Early ME *ber*, *bar* is carried much further in MnE, as in *brake, spake* = Late ME *brak, spak*, pret. partic. *br̄ken*, infin. *br̄ken* etc. When a certain number of preterites in *a* had been thus lengthened, others were lengthened without regard to the length of the other parts of the verb, such as *came, bade* = ME *cam, bad*, infin. *cōmen, bidden*, although the latter had a long vowel in the pret. partic. *bēden*.

563. There is also a regular process of voice-levelling in the MnE strong verb, by which final (s, f) in the pret. sing. becomes voiced as in the infin. and pret. partic., as in *rose, chose, gave, drove* = ME *rōs, chōs, gaf, drōf*, infin. *risen, driven* etc., pret. partic. *driven* etc.

564. The distinction between pret. sing. and plur. was levelled, as we have seen, in the MnE weak verbs by phonetic changes. In the strong verbs it was levelled by external, analogical changes. Already in ME strong verbs the vowel of the sing. was often carried into the plur., especially when the plur. had a vowel different from that of the pret. partic., as in *pei stal* instead of *pei stēlen* (pret. partic. *stēlen*). Hence such Early MnE preterites as *bare, brake, gave, sat* correspond to ME singulars.

565. In many cases, however, MnE strong preterites have the vowel of the ME pret. plur. We have seen that in Late ME there was an intimate connection between the vowel of the pret. plur. and of the pret. partic. in strong verbs, so that at last the pret. plur., when it differed from the pret. sing., almost always had the vowel of the pret. partic. Hence in MnE the vowel of the pret. plur. when thus supported by the pret. partic. was often able to supplant the original singular-vowel. This was carried out consistently in those verbs of the bind-class which had ME (uu) in the pret. plur.

and pret. partic.: *bound, found* = ME *būnd, fūnd*, plur. *bounden* etc. The same change took place in other verbs of the bind-class, and in some of the shine- and choose-class, many verbs having two preterites in Early MnE, one representing the ME pret. sing., the other with the vowel of the plur.: *began, begun*; *sang, sung*; *stang, stung*; *faught, fought* = ME *bigan, sǫng, stǫng, faught—bit*; *rode, rid*; *wrote, writ* = ME *hǫt, rǫd, wrǫt*. The present forms of these preterites are *began, sang, stung, fought, bit, rode, wrote*, the tendency evidently being to favour the original sing. forms.

566. But there has been in MnE a further assimilation of the pret. to the pret. partic., which has affected nearly all verbs of the bear-class with ME *ǫ* in the pret. partic.: already in Early MnE we find the preterites *bore, broke, spoke* by the side of *bare, brake, spake* = ME *bār, brak, spak*, ME *stal* being represented by *stole* only in Early MnE. In Present English *bare* etc. survive only in the higher language.

567. When a direct association had thus been established between the pret. and pret. partic. the two parts of the verb began to be confused—a confusion which was helped by the pret. partic. in *I have seen* etc. having nearly the same meaning as the pret. *I saw* etc.—so that the pret. began to be substituted for the pret. partic. in some verbs, especially when the older form of the pret. partic. was liable to be forgotten through not being in very frequent use—as in the case of ME *shinen* from *shīnen*—or ambiguous—as in the case of ME *stǫnden*, which was both pret. partic. and infin.—or anomalous and irregular in any way, as in *sǫten* compared with the infin. *sitten*. Hence in MnE the original preterites *shone, stood, sat* have supplanted the older pret. participles. In Early MnE this was carried still further than in Standard Present English, as in *took, shook, arose* = *taken, shaken, arisen*.

568. In the above examples the pret. participles *shone* etc. lost their final *n* through the substitution of a form with a different vowel. Such pret. participles as *bound, begun* = ME *bounden, bigǫnnen* may be considered either as the result of extension of the MnE pret. forms *bound* etc., or of dropping the *e* of the curtailed ME forms (*ǫ*)*bounde*, etc.

It sometimes happens that the pret. partic. ending *-en* is dropped in a verb, but preserved in an adjective formed from the pret. partic. before it had lost the *-en*, as in the adjectives *drunken, bounden*, (in *bounden duty*) compared with the pret. participles *drunk, bound*.

569. In Early MnE the ending *-est* was extended to the pret. indic. of strong verbs: *thou boundest, thou spakest* = ME *bounde, bǫnd, spak*. The rare Early MnE dropping of *-st* in weak as well as strong preterites, as in *thou saw, thou maked, thou had* is probably the result of Northern influence. But in Present English, poets often instinctively drop this harsh and heavy inflection, especially when the verb is separated from its pronoun: *where thou once formed thy paradise* (Byron). Verbs whose pret. is the same as the pres.—especially those in *-st*—frequently drop the inflectional *st*, or else add it with an intervening *-ed* for the sake of distinctness: *thou castedst* or *thou cast*.

570. The following is the Early MnE conjugation of the strong verb *see* and the weak verb *call*:—

Indic. Pres. Sing.	1	<i>see</i>	<i>call</i>
	2	<i>seest</i>	<i>call(e)st</i>
	3	<i>seeth, sees</i>	<i>call(e)th, calls</i>
Plur.		<i>see</i>	<i>call</i>
Subj. Pres.		<i>see</i>	<i>call</i>
Pret. Indic. Sing.	1	<i>saw</i>	<i>call(e)d</i>
	2	<i>saw(e)st</i>	<i>calledst</i>
	3	<i>saw</i>	<i>call(e)d</i>
Plur.		<i>saw</i>	<i>call(e)d</i>

Pret. Subj.	<i>saw</i>	<i>call(e)d</i>
Imper.	<i>see</i>	<i>call</i>
Infin.	<i>see</i>	<i>call</i>
Pres. Partic. and Gerund	<i>seeing</i>	<i>calling</i>
Pret. Partic.	<i>seen</i>	<i>call(e)d</i>

Besides the above inflections there are others which occur only as isolated archaisms. The contracted *-t = -eth* has left a trace in the form *list* 'wishes,' 'likes,' as in *let him do it when he list = OE lyst (lysteb)* from the weak verb *lystan*. All three ME indic. plurals are found in the Early MnE literary language, the most frequent of which—the Midland *-en*—survives in the Shakesperian *they waxen in their mirth*. The Southern *-eth* and the Northern *-es* are much less frequent. The infin. or gerund in *-en* survives in Shakespeare: *to killen*.

571. The following examples will show the regular development of the differen. classes of strong verbs in literary MnE. It will be observed that the best-preserved classes are the 3rd and the 6th, the others being so reduced in the number of their verbs, and there being so much divergence of form, that they retain hardly a trace of their OE characteristics:—

I. Fall-class.

572. <i>fall</i>	<i>fell</i>	<i>fallen</i>
<i>hold</i>	<i>held</i>	<i>held, beholden</i>
<i>grow</i>	<i>grew</i>	<i>grown</i>
<i>know</i>	<i>knew</i>	<i>known</i>

II. Shake-class.

573. <i>shake</i>	<i>shook</i>	<i>shaken</i>
<i>take</i>	<i>took</i>	<i>taken</i>

The Late ME preterites in *(-u) = OE -ōh*, such as *drow*, *slow*, were in Early MnE levelled under the more numerous *ew*-verbs of the fall-class: *draw*, *drew*; *slay*, *slew*.

III. Bind-class.

574. <i>sing</i>	<i>sang</i>	<i>sung</i>
<i>drink</i>	<i>drank</i>	<i>drunk</i>
<i>sting</i>	<i>stung</i>	<i>stung</i>
<i>swing</i>	<i>swung</i>	<i>swung</i>
<i>bind</i>	<i>bound</i>	<i>bound(e)n</i>
<i>find</i>	<i>found</i>	<i>found</i>
<i>fight</i>	<i>fought</i>	<i>fought</i>

IV. Bear-class.

575. <i>bear</i>	<i>bare, bore</i>	<i>born(e)</i>
<i>steal</i>	<i>stole</i>	<i>stolen</i>

V. Give-class.

576. <i>give</i>	<i>gave</i>	<i>given</i>
<i>weave</i>	<i>wove</i>	<i>woven</i>
<i>sit</i>	<i>sat</i>	<i>sat</i>

VI. Shine-class.

577. <i>drive</i>	<i>drove</i>	<i>driven</i>
<i>rise</i>	<i>rose</i>	<i>risen</i>
<i>write</i>	<i>wrote</i>	<i>written</i>
<i>bite</i>	<i>bit</i>	<i>bitten</i>
<i>shine</i>	<i>shone</i>	<i>shone</i>

The occasional Early MnE preterites *drave*, *strave*, etc., are probably Northern forms.

VII. Choose-class.

578. <i>freeze</i>	<i>froze</i>	<i>frozen</i>
<i>choose</i>	<i>chose</i>	<i>chosen</i>

PRESENT ENGLISH.

579. In the present Spoken English the earlier substitution of *you see*, *you saw* for *thou seest*, *thou sawest*, and of *he sees*

for *he seeth* has been completely carried out, so that the older *-st* and *-th* survive only in proverbs and in phrases taken from the higher literary language, where the older forms still survive.

Having traced the English verb down to its most reduced MnE form, it will now be more instructive to regard it from a purely descriptive, unhistorical point of view.

580. If we examine the Present English verb from this point of view, the first thing that strikes us is that the traditional distinction between strong and weak verbs can no longer be maintained: without going back to ME we cannot tell whether such preterites as *sat, lit, led, held*, infinitives *sit, light, lead, hold*, are strong or weak.

581. We are therefore compelled to make a new division into **consonantal** and **vocalic**. Consonantal verbs are those which form their preterites and pret. participles by adding *d* or *t*, such as *called, looked, heard, burnt*, infinitives *call, look, hear, burn*. Vocalic verbs are those which form their preterites or pret. participles by vowel-change without the addition of any consonant, except that the pret. partic. of some of these verbs adds *-en*: *sing, sang, sung*; *bind, bound, bound*; *run, ran, run—drive, drove, driven*; *speak, spoke, spoken*; *see, saw, seen*. Under the vocalic verbs we must also include the **invariable** verbs: *let, let, let*; *cast, cast, cast*. **Mixed** verbs show a mixture of consonantal and vocalic inflection: *crow, crew, crowded*; *show, showed, shown*.

582. The great majority of verbs belong to the regular consonantal conjugation, their pret. and pret. partic. ending being—

a. (-id) after (t) and (d): *delighted, nodded*.

b. (-d) after the other voice sounds: *played, raised, saved, turned, dragged*.

c. (-t) after the other breath consonants: *hissed, pushed, looked*.

583. Compared with these verbs those of the vocalic class must be regarded as irregular, although many of them fall under more or less uniform classes. There are also irregular consonantal verbs, such as *burn, burnt*, compared with the regular *turn, turned*. There is also a small class of specially irregular or **anomalous** verbs, such as *be, was, been*, some of which—mostly comprising the old preterite-present verbs—are defective, such as (*I*) *can, could*, which has no infin. or participles. The irregular verbs therefore comprise all the vocalic and anomalous verbs together with some of the consonantal, all regular verbs being consonantal. All newly formed verbs are conjugated consonantly, the consonantal inflections being the only living or productive ones.

584. The following are the inflections of the consonantal verb *call* and the vocalic verb *see* in Spoken English:—

Pres. Indic. Sing.	1 <i>call</i>	<i>see</i>
	2 <i>call</i>	<i>see</i>
	3 <i>calls</i>	<i>sees</i>
	Plur. <i>call</i>	<i>see</i>
	Pres. Subj. <i>call</i>	<i>see</i>
Pret. (Indic. and Subj.)	<i>called</i>	<i>saw</i>
	Imper. <i>call</i>	<i>see</i>
	Infin. <i>call</i>	<i>see</i>
Pres. Partic. and Gerund	<i>calling</i>	<i>seeing</i>
	Pret. Partic. <i>called</i>	<i>seen</i>

Irregular Verbs in Modern English.

585. In the following sections the vowel-changes are arranged in the alphabetic order of the vowels of the preterites in their phonetic spelling, to which the alphabetic order of the vowels of the infinitive is subordinated, thus

(ei . . . e) as in *say*, *said*, and then (ij . . . e), as in *flee*, *fled*, precede (iə . . . əə), and this is followed by (uw . . . o), etc. Forms that occur only in the higher literary language are marked *. Obsolete forms are marked †.

CONSONANTAL VERBS.

With Vowel-change.

Verbs which take the regular consonantal inflection (d, t), but with vowel-change:—

Vowel-change (ei . . . e).

586. say, said (sei, sed). OE weak I b *sægān*, *sæġde*, *sæġd*. In ME the *ġg*-forms of this verb were preserved in South-Thames English; but in the North-Thames dialects the *g*-forms *sggest*, *sgġeþ*, imper. *sgge* were extended to the original *ġg*-forms: *ī seie*, infin. *sein*, *seien*, pres. partic. *seiende*. These became the Standard ME forms also. The OE pret. *sæġde* became *saiide* in ME. In MnE *saiide* became (*seed*), which was shortened to (*sed*); and the same shortening took place in *says*. All the other OE *ġg*-verbs show a similar extension of the *g*-forms in ME, so that the OE infinitives *licġan*, *lġcġan*, *bycġan* appear in MnE as *lie* (ME *licn*), *lay* (ME *leien*), *buy* (ME *bien*), which correspond phonetically to the OE imperatives *lige*, *lġge*, *byge*.

Vowel-change (ij . . . e).

587. flee, fled (fliġ, fied). OE strong VII *flēon* (Oldest English *flēohan*), *flēah*, plur. *flugon*, pret. partic. *flogen*. There was another OE verb of the same class, some of whose forms were identical with forms of *flēon*, namely *flēogan* 'fly,' *flēag* (*flēah*), pret. plur. *flugon*, pret. partic. *flogen*. As the two

verbs were similar in meaning also, they were frequently confounded in Late West-Saxon, the distinctive forms of *flēogan* being used in the sense of 'flee' as well as in that of 'fly,' and *flēon* being used in the sense of 'fly.' This confusion has lasted to the present day, in as far as many modern writers use *fly* consistently in the sense of 'run away.' In ME the confusion between the two verbs was often avoided by using the weak verb *flēden*=OE *flēdan* (*flōdan*) 'flow,' 'be at high tide' (said of the sea) from OE *flōd* 'flood' in the sense of 'flee,' its pret. *flēdde* coming gradually to be regarded as the pret. of the old strong *flēon*, *flēn*. This development was probably helped by the Scandinavian weak verb *flyja* 'flee,' pret. *flyþi*.

588. creep, crept (krijp, krypt). OE strong VII *crēopan*, *crēap*, *cropen*. In ME *crēpen* developed a weak pret. *crepte* by the side of the strong *crēp*. **leap, leapt; sleep, slept; sweep, swept; weep, wept** have developed in a similar way from the OE strong verbs *hlēapan*, *hlēop* I; *slēpan*, *slēp* I; *swāpan*, *swēop* I; *wēpan*, *wēop* I. OE *swāpan* became by regular change *swēppen* in ME; the form *sweep* is the result of confusion with other verbs of similar meaning.

Vowel-change (iə . . . əə).

589. hear, heard (hiār, hœəd). OE weak I *hieran*, *hieran*, Anglian *hēran*, *hērde*, whence ME *hēren*, *herde* with the usual shortening. In Early MnE the (e) of the pret. was regularly broadened to (a) before the (r), giving (hiār, hard). The spelling *heard* shows the not unfrequent lengthening of ME *e* before (r)-combinations, which, of course, preserved it from the change into (a); (*heard*) was then shortened to (*herd*), whence the Present English (hœəd).

Vowel-change (uw . . o).

590. shoe, shod (ʃuw, ʃod). OE *sōian*, *sōde*, *gestōd*. ME *shōin*, pret. partic. *ishōd*. The MnE shortening is parallel to that in *rod* compared with *rood*, both=OE *rōd*. *shod* is now used chiefly as an adjective, *shoe* being conjugated regularly *shoed*.

Vowel-change (e . . ou).

591. sell, sold (sel, sould). OE weak I b *sellan*, *sealde*, Anglian *sāld* 'give.' ME *sellen*, *sēlde*, *isēld*. In OE the meaning 'sell' was only occasionally implied in the more general one of 'give,' as in *sellan wip weorpe* 'give for a value (price)'='sell.' So also **tell, told** from OE weak I b *tellan*.

With t instead of d.

592. burn, burnt. In OE the intransitive 'burn' was expressed by the strong verb III *biernan*, Late West-Saxon *byrnan*, Anglian *beornan*, pret. *bōrn*, *barn*, pret. plur. *burnon*, pret. partic. *geburnen*; the transitive by the weak *bærnan*, *bærnde*. In these two verbs the *r* had been transposed, the Germanic forms being **brinnan*, **brannjan*, with which compare the Scandinavian strong *brinna*, pret. *brann*, pret. partic. *brunninn*, and the weak *brēnna*, *brēndi*. In ME the originally transitive and intransitive forms came to be used indiscriminately in both senses, the weak forms gradually getting the upper hand. In Standard ME the Northern—originally Scandinavian—form *brennen*, *brente* was used both transitively and intransitively, the strong Northern form—also originally Scandinavian—*brinnen* occurring less frequently, generally in its original intransitive sense. The other dialects show a

great variety of forms: Early Southern *beornen*, *bērnēn*, *bernen*, Early Midland *bērnēn*, *bernen*, *brennen*, Early Northern *brin* (transitive as well as intrans.), *bren*. The infin. *burnen* seems to occur first in Late Midland; the *u* is probably the result of the influence of the lip-consonant *b* on the following *eo* of Anglian *beornan*. The pret. *brent* survived for some time in Early MnE.

593. dwell, dwelt. ME *dwellen*, *dwelle* from Scandinavian *dwǫlja* 'remain.'

594. learn, learnt. OE *leornian*, *leornode*; ME *lern(en)*, *lernde*, later *lernte*. The adjective *learned* preserves the fuller form of the pret. partic. So also *pen*, *pent*; *smell*, *smelt*; *spell*, *spelt*; *spill*, *spilt* from the OE weak verbs *þennan*, *smellan* 'strike,' *spellian* 'relate,' *spillan* 'destroy.'

595. spoil, spoilt. ME *spoilēn*, *despoilēn* from Old French *spolier*, *despoillier* [from Latin *spoliāre* 'strip,' 'plunder'] was associated with *spillen* from OE *spillen*, so that when *spillen* took the special sense 'waste liquids,' 'spill,' *spoilēn* took the old meaning of *spillen*, namely 'destroy,' and formed a pret. *spoilte* on the analogy of *spille*. *spoil* in the sense of 'plunder' is regular.

596. feel, felt from OE *fēlan* (*fālan*), *fēlde*. **kneel, knelt** from ME *knēlen*, *knelde*, *knelte* of Scandinavian origin.

With t instead of d and Vowel-change.

Vowel-change (ij . . e).

597. (be)reave, *bereft, bereaved. OE (*be*)*rēafian*, *rēafode*. ME *birēven*, *birēvde*, *birēfte*, *birāfte*, the last being the Standard ME form.

598. cleave, cleft 'divide,' 'adhere.' OE strong VII *clēofan*, *clēaf*, *clōfen* 'divide'; ME *clēven*, *clōf*, *clōven*. OE weak III *cleofian*, *clifian* 'adhere'; ME *clēvien*, *clēvede*.

There was also a strong verb VI in OE *clifan* 'adhere,' ME *cliven* pret. partic. *cliven* 'adhere,' 'climb.' In ME *clīf*, Northern *clāf*, originally pret. of *cliven*, was used also as pret. of *clēven*, whose pret. partic. *clōven* had in Late ME the same vowel as *clīf*. A new weak pret. *clefte* was then formed from *clēven*. In the Earliest MnE *cleve* 'divide' kept (ii) = ME close *ē*, but was soon confused with *cleave* (kleev) 'adhere' = Early ME *clevien*, Late ME *clōvien*, so that it was written with *ea*. The MnE pret. *love* may be regarded either as the descendant of the OE pret. *clāf* or as the ME pret. *clīf* (from OE *clēaf*) levelled under the pret. partic. *clōven*. The other MnE pret. *clave* is of course the Northern form of OE *clāf*. The following are the forms of the two verbs in MnE:—

cleave 'divide'; *clove*, †*clave*, *cleft*; *cloven*, *cleft*, †*cleaved*.
cleave 'adhere'; †*clave*, *cleaved*; *cleaved*.

599. **deal, dealt** (dijl, delt). OE *dælan*, *dælde*. **leave**. **left**; **mean, meant** from OE *læfan*, *læfde*; *mēnan*, *mēnde*.

600. **dream, dreamt, dreamed** (drijm, dremt, drijmd). OE *drīman*, Anglian *drēman* 'modulate' [*drēam* 'melody,' 'joy']. The ME *drīmen*, *dremde*, *drem(p)te* got the meaning 'dream' from the Scandinavian *dröyma* 'dream.' In Early MnE the verb was levelled under the noun *dream*, the ME pret. being however kept in spelling—*dremt*—as well as pronunciation by the side of the new pret. *dreamed*. The spelling *dreamt* is, of course, a blending of *dremt* and *dreamed*.

601. **lean, leant, leaned** (lijn, lent, lijnd). OE *hleonian* (*hlinian*), *hleonode*; ME *līnien* (*linien*), *līnede*. The pret. *leant* comes from another OE verb meaning 'to lean,' namely *hlēnan*, *hlēnde*; ME *līnen*, *lende*, *lente*.

Vowel-change (ai . . o).

602. **buy, bought**. OE *bycgan*, *bohte*. ME *biggen*, *bien* (586), pret. *bohte*, *bouhte*.

Vowel-change (uw . . o).

603. **lose, lost**. OE strong VII *forlēosan*, *forlēas*, *forloren* 'destroy,' 'lose,' weak III *losian* 'go to waste,' 'get lost.' ME *lēsen*, *forlēsen* 'lose,' *lēs*, *forlēs*, *loren*, *forloren*. The dropping of the *for-* is due to the influence of *losien* = OE *losian*, whose transitive use, as in *hē losede al his folc* 'he lost all his people (army)' is due to the influence of *forlēsen*. Hence the pret. partic. *ilosed*, later *lost*, came to be used as the pret. partic. of *lēsen*, when the old pret. participles *loren*, *forloren* had come to be isolated from their verbs in meaning, so that MnE **lorn* in *love-lorn*, etc., *forlorn*, are now used only as adjectives. In Early MnE *lese* took (uu) from the adjective *loose* and verb *loosen* [ME *lōs*, *lōsnen* from Scandinavian *lōuss* 'free,' 'loose,' *lōusna* 'get loose'], being at first written *lose*, then *lose*, to distinguish it from the adjective *loose*.

With t instead of -ded.

604. **gird, girt, girded**. OE *gyrdan*, *gyrde*. So also **build, built, †builted**; **gild, gilt, gilded**; **bend, bent, †bended**; **rend, rent**; **send, sent**; †**shend, †shent**; **spend, spent, *wend, went** from the OE weak *byldan*, *gyldan*, *bēndan*, *rēndan*, *sēndan*, *sēndan* 'put to shame,' *spēndan*, *wēndan* 'turn.'

605. **blend, †blent, blended**. OE strong I *blandan* 'mix.' Weak OE *blēndan* has only the meaning 'blind.'

606. **lend, lent**. OE *lēnan*, *lēnde*. ME *lēnden*, *lenden* is a new-formation from the OE preterite-forms; from *lenden*

a new pret. *lende, lente* was formed on the analogy of *senden, sente*, etc.

With Consonant-loss.

607. **make, made.** OE *macian, macode*. ME *makien, makede, imaked*, Late ME *mākien*, contracted *māde, (i)mād*.

With Consonant-loss and Vowel-change.

Vowel-change (ou . . æ).

608. **clothe, clad, clothed.** OE *clāpian, clāpode* [*clāp* 'cloth']. Scandinavian *klāpa, klāpdi*, whence ME *clāpen, cladde* Northern *clēde*, as well as *clāp(i)en, clāpēde*.

Vowel-change (æ . . o).

609. **catch; caught.** ME *cacchen, caughte* from Old French *cachier* [Low Latin *captiāre* = Latin *captāre*, a frequentative of *capere* 'seize']. *cachier* is probably a North-East French (Picard) form; the Parisian form being *chacier* (Modern French *chasser*), whence the MnE *chace, chase*. ME *cacchen* having the same meaning and the same termination as *lacchen, laughte* from OE *lēcčan, gelāhte* 'seize,' 'catch' [compare MnE *latch*], naturally formed its preterite in the same way.

610. **distract; †distraught, distracted.** OE *strecčan* 'stretch,' pret. *streahte, streghte*, appears in ME in the form of *strecchen, straughte, streighte*, the pret. partic. *straight* being still kept in MnE as an adjective—*straight* literally 'stretched out.' In Late ME the Latin *distractus* was imported as an adj. *distract* (French *distract*), which was made into *distraught* by the influence of *straught*. When *distract* was made into a verb in Early MnE, *distraught* was naturally regarded as its participle. Through further confusion *straught* itself was

used in the sense of 'distracted,' and a new partic. †*bestraught* was formed on the analogy of *beset*.

Vowel-change (æ . . o).

611. **work; †wrought, worked** (wæc, rot). OE *wyrčan*, Anglian *wircan*, the corresponding noun being *weorc*, Late West-Saxon *worc*, Anglian *werc*, which in ME influenced the verb. The ME forms are: Southern *würchen, wörchen* with the usual change of *wü-* to *wu-*, Midland *werken*, Northern *wirk*. The OE pret. *worhte* underwent the usual r-transposition in ME, becoming *wrohhte*, MnE *wrought*, which in ordinary speech survives only as an adjective, as in *wrought iron*.

Vowel-change (i . . o).

612. **bring; brought** (brin, bröt). OE *bringan, brohte*.

613. **think; thought.** In OE there were two weak I a verbs of allied form and meaning: *þencan, þohhte* 'think'; *þyncan, þuhhte* 'seem,' which was impersonal, *mē þyncþ* 'it seems to me' having much the same meaning as *ic þence*. In ME *þencan* became regularly *þenchen* in South-Thames English, *þenken* in North-Thames English; and *þyncan* became *þinchen, þinchen* in South-Thames English, *þinken* in North-Thames English. The pret. *þuhhte* was soon disused, *þo(u)hte* taking its place: *hē þohhte* 'he thought,' *him þohhte* 'it seemed to him.' In Standard ME the two verbs were still kept apart in the infin. and present tenses, which had the Midland forms *þenken, ī þenke*; *þinken, mē þinkeþ*, etc.; but in the compound *bipinken* 'consider' = OE *bepencan*, the latter had already begun to encroach. In Northern *þink* completely supplanted *þenk*, as in MnE. Hence MnE *think* is historically = OE *þyncan*, and its pret. *thought* = OE *þohhte*, the pret. of the lost *þencan*.

Vowel-change (ij . . o).

614. seek; sought; beseech; besought. OE *sēcan* (*sēcān*), *sohte*. ME South-Thames *sēchen*, *bisēchen*, North-Thames *sēken*, *bisēken*. The MnE *seek* and *beseech* are therefore from different dialects of ME. Shakespere has the Midland form not only in *seek*, but also in *beseek*.

615. reach; traught, reached. OE *rācan*, *rāhte*. ME *rāchen*, *ra(u)ghte*, Northern *reghte*. So also *teach*, *taught* from OE weak *tācan* 'show.'

INVARIABLE VERBS.

(aa).

616. cast. ME *casten* from Scandinavian weak *kasta*, *kastapi*. In Early MnE there is also a regular pret. *casted*.

(ai).

617. *dight 'adorn' as in *storiéd window richly dight* (Milton). OE *dihlan* 'arrange,' 'appoint' from the Latin *dictāre*.

(u).

618. cut. ME *kutten*.

619. shut. OE *sēyttan* 'lock,' 'bolt' [*gēstot* 'shot,' 'dart'; *sēōtan* strong VII 'shoot']. ME *schütten*, *schutten*.

620. thrust. ME *prūsten*, *prusten* from Scandinavian *prýsta*.

(e).

621. let. OE strong I *létan*, *lét*, *lāten*. ME *lēten*, pret. strong *lēt*, and weak *lette* from **lētte*. In MnE the short vowel of this weak pret. was extended to the infin., etc. The obsolete verb *let* 'hinder,' still preserved in the phrase *let or*

hindrance, is the OE weak *lēttan*, *lētte*, connected with *læt* 'slow,' *late* adv. 'late.'

622. set. OE *settān*, *sette*, connected with the strong verb V *sittan*, pret. *sæt*.

623. shed. OE strong I *sēādan*, *sēādan*, *sēād* 'separate,' a meaning still preserved in the noun *watershed*. ME *schēden* formed a weak pret. *schadde*, *shedde*, and developed the new meaning 'separate into drops,' 'shed.' In MnE the short vowel of the pret. was extended to the pres., etc., as in *let*.

624. shred. OE *sērēadian*, *sērēadode*. ME *schrēden*, *schredde*, the short vowel being afterwards extended to the pres., etc. So also *spread* (spred) from weak OE *sprēdan*.

(eo).

625. burst. OE strong III *berstan*, *bærst*, *burston*, *gebörsten*. The *u* of *burst* is the result of the influence of the lip-consonant *b* on the *eo* of ME *beorsten*, as in *burn* (592), the *u* being afterwards extended to the pret. partic. *bursten*, which survived in Early MnE.

626. hurt. ME *hürten*, *hurten*.

(i).

627. hit. ME *hitten* from Scandinavian *hitta* 'find.'

628. knit. OE *cnyttan* 'tie' [*cnotta* 'knot']. The invariable pret.-form is now preserved only as an adjective in *well-knit*, etc. Otherwise the pret.-form is regular—*knitted*.

629. quit. ME *quiten* pret. *quille* from Old French *quiter* from Latin *quīctus*. In MnE the shortened vowel of the pret. was extended to the rest of the verb. The derivative *requite* keeps its original length, having a pret. partic.

requit in Early MnE. *acquit* is invariable in Early MnE. All these verbs are now regular.

630. rid. ME *redden*, *rüdden*, *ridden* 'rescue,' 'separate fighters' is apparently a blending of OE *hræddan* 'rescue' and Scandinavian *rybja* pret. *rudda* 'clear away.'

631. slit. OE strong VI *slitan*, *slāt*, *sliten*. ME has both strong *sliten*, pret. partic. *sliten*, and a weak verb *slitten*, which may have existed in OE.

632. split. ME *splatten*, of which Early MnE *splette* is probably a Northern form. *splet* seems to have been made into *split* by the influence of *slit*.

(o).

633. cost. ME *costen* from Old French *coster* (Modern French *coûter*) from Latin *cōnstāre*.

(u).

634. put. ME *pullen*.

VOCALIC VERBS.

Vowel-change (ai . . au).

635. bind; bound. OE strong III *bīndan*, *band*, *bunden*. The older pret. partic. is still preserved in *bounden duty*. So also **grind, ground; wind, wound** from OE strong III *grīndan*, *wīndan*.

636. find; found. OE strong III *fīndan*, *fand*—more generally weak *funde*—*funden*. ME pret. *fīnd*, *founde*.

Vowel-change (ai . . e).

637. strike; struck. OE strong VI *strīcan*, *strāc*, *strīcen* 'move about,' 'touch lightly.' ME *striken*, *strȳk* (Northern

strāk), *striken*. Early MnE *strike*, pret. *stroke*, *strake*, *struck*, pret. partic. *stricken*, *strucken*, *struck*.

Vowel-change (æ . . e).

638. hang; hung, hanged. OE strong I *hōn* (from earlier **hōhan*), *hēng*, *hangen*, the *g* being a weakening of the *h* of the infin., where *ō* = Germanic *an* (502), so that *hōn* = Germanic **hanhan*. There was also a weak intransitive *hangian*, *hangode*, *hōn* itself being used transitively. In Early ME the consonantal variation in the strong verb was soon levelled: sometimes the infinitive form was extended to the pret. partic. which was made into (a)*hōn*; but afterwards the *ng*-forms got the upper hand, being supported by the weak verb *hangien*, and a new strong infin. *hangen* was formed, pret. *hēng*, pret. partic. *hangen*. In some dialects the pret. was shortened to *heng* with short close (e), which being an unfamiliar sound in ME was made into *i*. This new pret. *hing*, which is frequent in some Midland dialects, was made into an infin. in Northern by the analogy of the *bind*-class, with pret. *hang*, which afterwards made its way into the Standard dialect in the form of *hōng* parallel to *sōng* 'sang.' A pret. partic. *hung* was further developed on the analogy of *sing*, *sang*, *sung*, and *hung* was then extended to the pret. sing. in the same way as *clung*, etc. (565), the older infin. *hang* being preserved in the Standard dialect. In MnE the strong form *hung* is both transitive and intransitive, *hanged* being used only transitively, contrary to the OE usage.

Vowel-change (i . . e).

639. dig; dug, †digged. ME *diggen*, *diggede*, equivalent to OE *dician* [*dīc* 'ditch'], of which it seems to be a

modification by some analogical influence. The vocalic pret. *dug* developed itself towards the end of the Early MnE period; it is not found in the Bible.

640. cling; clung. OE strong III *clingan*, *clang*, *clungen* 'wither.' ME *clingen*, *clōng*, *clungen* 'shrivel,' 'adhere,' 'hang.' So also **slink, slunk; spin, span, spun; sting, stung; swing, swung; win, won; wring, wrung** from OE strong III *slincan*, *spinnan*, *stingan*, *swingan*, *gewinnan*, *wringan*.

641. fling; flung. ME strong III *flingen* from weak Scandinavian *flegja* [compare ME *wing* from Scandinavian *vęgr*]. *flingen* was, of course, made strong on the analogy of *sting* and the other strong verbs in *-ing*.

642. sling; slung. ME strong III *slingen* from Scandinavian *slōngva*, which passed through *slengen* into *slingen*, and then became strong in the same way as *fling*. The pret. *slang* occurs in the Bible.

643. stick; stuck, †sticked ' Pierce,' 'adhere.' OE *stician* (*stiocian*), *sticode* ' Pierce,' 'adhere.' ME strong V *steken*, *stak*, *steken* and *stoken* [like *spoken* = OE *speccen*] ' Pierce,' 'imprison,' which may represent an OE strong verb. *stuck* may owe its *u* to the influence of *stung*.

644. string; strung, stringed. This verb is a MnE formation from the ME noun *string* from Scandinavian *strengr*, with the usual change of Scandinavian *-eng* into *-ing*. We keep the older consonantal inflexion in *stringed instruments*.

Vowel-change (v . . æ . . e).

645. run; ran; run. OE strong III *irnan*, *iernan* (*eornan*), Late West-Saxon *yrnan*, pret. *grn*, *arn*, pret. partic. *urnen*, with the same transposition of the *r* as in *burn*, the older

forms being preserved in *gerinnan* 'coagulate,' literally 'run together,' *gerann*, *gerunnen*. The ME verb was influenced by the two Scandinavian verbs, the strong *rinna*, *rann*, *runninn* and the weak *renna*, *reñdi*, the Standard ME forms being indeed entirely Scandinavian: *reimen*, *ran*, *irunnen*. The Early Southern forms of the infin. are *irnen*, *eornen*, *urnen* probably = *ürnen* from Late West-Saxon *yrnan*. The infin. *run* appears in Northern by the side of the Scandinavian *rin*. The *u* of the infin. seems to have been originally a Southern development out of *ürnen*, perhaps by the influence of *burn*.

Vowel-change (i . . æ).

646. sit; sæt. OE strong V j-verb *sillan*, *sæt*, *seten*. ME *sitten*, *sat*, *seten* and also *silen* with the vowel of the infin. From the ME partic. *siten* is derived the obsolete MnE pret. and pret. partic. *sit*, which made the verb invariable. The obsolete MnE pret. *sate* is due to the analogy of *came*, *spake*, etc., the short *sat* being kept up at the same time by the short vowel of the infin. *sit*.

647. spit; spat. There were in OE two weak verbs of the same meaning *spiltan*, *spille* and *spētan*, *spētte*, both of which were kept in ME, where the pret. *spētte* became regularly *spalte*. The MnE *spit*, *spat* is, therefore, a mixture of two distinct verbs.

Vowel-change (i . . æ . . e).

648. begin; began; begun. OE strong *beginnan*. So also **drink, drank, drunk(en); shrink, shrank, shrunk; sing, sang, sung; sink, sank, sunk(en); spring, sprang, sprung; stink, stank, stunk; swim, swam, swum**

from OE strong III *drincan*, *sīrincan*, *singan*, *sincan*, *springan*, *stincan*, *swimman*.

649. ring; rang; rung. OE (*h*)*ringan*, which is apparently weak.

Vowel-change (i . . æ . . i-n).

650. (for)bid; -bad; -bidden. OE strong V j-verb *biddan*, *bied*, *beden* 'pray,' 'ask'; strong VII *bēodan*, *bēad*, *boden* 'offer,' 'command.' The corresponding ME forms are *bidden*, *bad*, *bēden* and—by the analogy of the infin.—*bidden*; *bēden*, *bēd*, *bēden*. But already in Early ME the two verbs began to be confused. *bidden* in the special sense of 'ask to one's house,' 'invite' soon got confused with *bēden*, which developed the meaning 'offer an invitation,' the confusion being aided by the weak verb *bēd(i)en*=OE *bodian* 'announce'—itself connected with *bēodan*. Hence even in Early ME we find *iboden* used in the sense of 'invited.' It was still more natural to soften down the command expressed by *bēden* by the substitution of the milder *bidden*. The pret. *bad* soon supplanted *bēd* by taking to itself the meaning 'commanded,' except in the emphatic *forbēden*, which in Standard ME only rarely has the pret. *forbad* instead of *forbēd*. The following are the Standard ME forms—

bidden, *bēden*; *bad*; *bēden*, *bēden*.

forbēden; *forbēd* (*forbad*); *forbēden*.

In the transition to MnE the *bid*-forms were gradually extended till they entirely supplanted the others. The relation between the two forms *bad* and *bade* is the same as that between *sat* and *sate* (582). In Early MnE the pret. partic. was often shortened to *bid*, which was used also as a pret., so that the verb became invariable.

Vowel-change (ij . . e).

651. bleed; bled. OE weak *blēdan* (*blādan*), *blēde*. [*blōd* 'blood']. So also **breed, bred; feed, fed; lead, led; meet, met; read, read** (*rijd*, *red*); **speed, sped** from the OE weak *brēdan*, *fēdan*, *lēdan*, *mēlan*, *rādan*, *spēdan*.

Vowel-change (ij . . e . . ij-n).

652. eat; ate; eaten. OE strong V, with exceptional (Germanic) lengthening in the pret. sing., *etan*, *āt*, pret. plur. *āton*, pret. partic. *eten*. ME *ēten*, *ēt*, *at*, *ēten*, the pret. *at* being of course due to the influence of the other verbs of the same class.

Vowel-change (ou . . e).

653. hold; held. OE strong I *healdan*, *hāldan*; *hēold*; *gehealden*, *gehālden* ME *hōlden*; *hēld*, *held*, *hild*; *ihōlden*. We still preserve the fuller form of the pret. partic. in *beholden*.

Vowel-change (o . . e . . o-n).

654. fall; fell; fallen. OE strong I *feallan*, *fallan*; *fcoll*; *feallen*, *fallen*. ME *fallen*; *fēl*, *fel*, *fil*; *fallen*.

Vowel-change (ai . . ei . . ei-n).

655. lie; lay; lain. OE strong V j-verb *liēgan*, *lāg*, *geleēgan*, imper. sing. *lige*, etc. The ME development of this verb is analogous to that of the other ēg-verbs (586). In Early Southern the infin. *liggen* was preserved by the side of the imper. *lie*; but in the North-Thames dialects it was levelled under the ēg-forms, becoming *lin*, *lien*. The Standard ME forms are *lien*, *lai*, pret. partic. *leien*, *lein*.

Vowel-change (v . . ei . . v).

656. come; came; come. OE strong IV, with anomalous weak vowel in the pres. and infin. and exceptional extension of the vowel of the pret. plur. to the pret. sing.: *cuman; cwōm, cōm; c(w)ōmon; cumen*. The pret. *cōm* was preserved in Standard ME, but was partially supplanted by the new formation *cam* on the analogy of the strong verb IV *nimen* 'take,' *nam, nōmen*. *cam* underwent the usual lengthening into *came* in MnE.

Vowel-change (i . . ei . . i-n).

657. give; gave; given. OE *giefan* (*ġefan*); *geaf* (*ġeaf*); *ġiefen* (*ġefen*).

Vowel-change (ai . . i).

658. light; lit, lighted. OE weak *lihtan, lihte* 'illuminate' and 'make light,' 'alleviate' [*leoht* adj. 'light of colour' and 'light of weight']. There was a third OE weak verb *lihtan, ālihtan* 'alight from a horse.' The MnE verb *light* in *light on* must be referred to this last. The consonantal preterite-form *lit* does not, of course, appear till *light* had become (*lɔit*), that is, in the MnE period, when it arose from imitation of *bite, bit*, etc. The verb *alight* still keeps the older consonantal inflexion, which is also used in the other verbs.

Vowel-change (ai . . i . . i-n).

659. bite; bit; bitten. OE strong VI *bitan*. The shortened pret. partic. is still kept in the phrase *the biter bit*.

660. chide; chid; chidden. OE weak *ċīdan, ċidde*. ME *chīden, chidde*. In Early MnE the verb was made strong

—*chide, chode, chidden*—on the analogy of *ride, rode, ridden*. The pret. partic. was then shortened to *chid*, and extended to the pret. The verb is nearly obsolete in the present spoken English. **hide, hid, hidden** is a strong verb of similar recent formation, except that it does not seem to have developed any pret. analogous to Early MnE *chode*: OE *hīdan, hīdde*, ME *hīden, hidde*.

Vowel-change (ij . . ij . . ij-n).

661. beat; beat; beaten. OE strong I *bēatan, bēot, bēaten*.

Vowel-change (ai . . o).

662. shine; shone. OE strong VI *sīnan, sēan, sīnen*.

Vowel-change (e . . o . . o-n).

663. (for)get; forgot; forgotten, got. In OE the strong V verb *ġietan, gytan* (*ġelan*); *ġeaf* (*ġæt*); *ġielen, gytlen* (*ġelen*) occurs only in the compounds *beġietan* 'get,' *ongġietan* 'understand,' *forġietan* 'forget' and a few others. In ME *begilen, begelen* was shortened to *gilen, geten* through the influence of the Scandinavian *gela, gat, gelinn* 'get,' or rather the Scandinavian word was substituted for it.

664. tread; trod; trodden. OE strong V *tredan, trōd, treden*. ME *trēden, trad, trēden* and—by the analogy of *broken*, etc.—*trōden, troden*.

Vowel-change (ij . . o . . o-n).

665. seethe; †sod, seethed; sodden, †sod, seethed. OE strong VII *sēopan, sēap, soden*.

Vowel-change (uw . . o).

666. shoot; shot. OE strong VII *sċōtan, sċēat, sċōten*.

Standard ME *schäten, schēt, schoten*. There is also an infin. *schuten* in ME, whose *u* probably = \bar{u} from OE *ēo*, as in *choose* (680), which afterwards became (uu) and was written *oo* in Early MnE.

Vowel-change (ai . . ou).

667. **climb**; †**clomb, climbed**. OE strong III *climman, clamm, clummen* and also *climban, clamb, clumben*, although the latter is found only in late texts. ME *climmen, clam, clōmmen* and *climben, clōmb (clamb), clōmben*.

Vowel-change (ai . . ou . . i-n).

668. (a)**bide**; †**bode, †bid, bided**; †**biden, †bid, bided**. OE strong VI *bīdan* 'wait,' *ābīdan* 'endure.' ME (a)*bīden, bīd, biden*, there being also a weak pret. *abidde*.

669. **drive**; **drove, †drave; driven**. OE strong VI *drīfan*. So also **ride, rode, ridden; rise, rose, risen; shrive, †shrove, shrived, shriven; smite, smote, smitten; stride, strode, †stridden, strode; write, wrote, written** from OE strong VI *rīdan, ārīsan, scrīfan, smītan* 'smear,' *strīdan, wītan*.

670. **strive; strove; striven**. ME strong VI *strīven, strīf, striven*, which is the Old French *estrīver* [from Old Low-German *strīp* 'strife'] made into a strong verb on the analogy of *driven*.

671. **thrive; throve; thriven**. ME *þrīven* from the Scandinavian strong reflexive verb *þrīfask*.

Vowel-change (ei . . ou).

672. **wake; woke, waked**. OE strong II *wacan, wōc, wacen*, generally compounded with *on-*: *omwacan, awacan*. (on)*wacan* and the weak *ā(wæcnian), wacian* 'keep awake'

are intransitive. The corresponding transitive verb is *wēccan, weahte, wēhte*. ME has (a)*waken, wōk, waken* and *wakien, wakede; wakenen, wak(e)mede*. The (ou) instead of (uw) in the MnE *woke* is probably due to the influence of the numerous preterites of the shine-class—*rose*, etc.

673. **stave; stove, staved**. This verb was first formed in MnE from the noun *stave* 'piece of a cask,' itself a late formation from *staves*, plur. of *staff*. Its vocalic inflexion is of course the result of analogy.

Vowel-change (ei . . ou . . ou-n).

674. **break; broke, †brake; broken, †broke**. OE strong IV *brecan, bræc, brocen*.

Vowel-change (ij . . ou . . ou-n).

675. **freeze; froze; frozen, †frore** OE strong VII *frēosan, frēas, froren*.

676. **heave; hove, heaved; †hoven, hove, heaved**. OE strong j-verb II *hebban, hōf, hafēn*. ME *hebben, hēven; hōf, haf; hōven, hēven*, the last form being due to the influence of the infin., while *haf, hōven* are due to the influence of *wēven, waf, wōven* (679). There was also a weak ME pret. *hesde, hevede*. The MnE *hove* probably points to a ME pret. *hōf* with the vowel of the pret. partic.

677. **speak; spoke, †spake; spoken, †spoke**. OE strong V *sprecan, spræc, spracen*. In Late OE this verb began to drop its *r*—especially in the Kentish dialect. In ME the *r* disappeared entirely, and the pret. partic. took *o* on the analogy of *broken*, etc.: *spēken, spak, spēken, spēken*.

678. **steal; stole; stolen**. OE strong IV *stelān, stēl, stōlen*.

679. **weave; wove, weaved; woven, weaved.** OE strong V *wefan, waf, wesen*. ME *wēven, waf, wōven, wōven*.

Vowel-change (uw . . ou . . ou-n).

680. **choose; chose; chosen.** OE strong VII *čēosan, čēas, coren*. ME *chēsen, chēs, chosen*. There was also a West-Midland infn. *chūsen* with the regular West-Midland change of OE *ēo* into *ū*. In Early MnE (tʃuz) became (tʃuuz), which was written phonetically *choose*, although the older spelling *chuse* survived till the end of the last century. *chese* also occurs in Early MnE.

Vowel-change (ai . . o).

681. **fight; fought.** OE strong III *feohtan (fehlan); feaht (faht); fohten*. ME *fighten, faught, foughlen*. In the pret. Early MnE fluctuates between *au* and *ou*.

Vowel-change (eə . . ə . . ə-n).

682. **bear; bore, †bare; born(e).** OE strong IV *beran, bar, boren*. MnE makes a distinction between *born* in the sense of French *né* and *borne* = 'carried' which did not exist in OE or ME.

683. **swear; swore, †sware; sworn.** OE strong j-verb II *swerian, swōr, swaren, sworen*, the *o* of the last form being due to the influence of the preceding *w*. ME *swerien, swāren; swōr, swār; swāren*. *swār* is, of course, due to the analogy of *bāren, bār*.

684. **tear; tore, †tare; torn.** OE strong IV *teran*.

685. **wear; wore, †ware; worn.** OE weak *werian, werede* 'wear clothes.' The vocalic forms were first developed in Early MnE by the analogy of *bear*.

Vowel-change (ei . . o).

686. **freight; *fraught, freighted.** The Late ME weak verb *fraughten* [imported from Dutch?] was made into *freight* in Early MnE by the influence of the synonymous *fret*, and *fraught* itself came to be regarded as the pret. of this new verb *freight* by a vague association with *work, wrought*, etc. But *fraught* was still used as a pres. in Early MnE: *the good ship . . . and the fraughting souls within her* (Shakespeare).

Vowel-change (iə . . ə . . ə-n).

687. **shear; †shore, †share, sheared; shorn, †sheared.** OE strong IV *scieran (sceran); scear (scær); scoren*.

Vowel-change (ij . ə . . ij-n).

688. **see; saw; seen.** OE strong V *sēon; seah (sæh); sārwon (sāgon); sewen (sēgen)*. In Late Northumbrian the adjective *gesēne* = West-Saxon *gesiene* 'visible' was used as the pret. partic. Early ME *sēon, sēn; seih* (Southern), *sah, sauh* pret. plur. *sāwen, sāien*; pret. partic. *seien, sein*. In Late ME the pret. sing. forms dropped the *h* by the influence of the pret. plur. and pret. partic., giving *sei, sai* and *saw*, the last being the usual North-Thames form, especially in Northumbrian, which also kept the Old-Northumbrian pret. partic. in the form of *sēn*. The Standard ME inflections are *sē(n); seigh, sai; (i)sein*. In MnE the Northern pret. *saw* and pret. partic. *seen* were introduced into the Standard dialect.

Vowel-change (æ . . . u).

689. **stand; stood.** OE strong II with *n* inserted in the pres. etc.: *standan, stōd, standen*.

Vowel-change (ei . . . u . . . ei-n).

690. **forsake**; **forsook**; **forsaken**. OE strong II *forsacan* 'renounce,' 'deny.' So also **shake**, **shook**, **shaken**. from OE strong II *scacan*.

691. **take**; **took**; **taken**, **ta'en*. ME strong II *tāken*, *tōk*, *tāken* from Scandinavian *taka*, *tōk*, *tēkinn*. In Northern this verb was contracted like *make*, and the pret. partic. *ta'en* passed into Standard MnE.

Vowel-change (ai . . . uw . . . ou-n).

692. **fly**; **flew**; **flown**. OE strong VII *flēogan* (*flēgan*, *fligan*); *flēag*, *flēah* (*flēh*); *flugon*; *flogen*. ME *flēn*, *flīen*; *fleigh*, *fley*—with the same dropping of final *h* as in *sei* = OE *gesah*—*flȳ*; pret. plur. *flōwen*, *flōwen* (influence of pret. partic.); pret. partic. *flōwen*. The Early MnE pret. *flew* (*fliu*) probably arose in the same way as *drew*, etc. (573).

Vowel-change (ei . . . uw . . . ei-n).

693. **slay**; **slew**; **slain**. OE strong II *slēan* (from *sleahan*); *slōg*, *slōh*; *slagen*, *slāgen*, *slāgen*. ME Southern *slēn*, Midland *slēn*, Northern *slā*; *slōh*, Late ME *slough*, *slow* = (sluu); pret. partic. *slawen*, *sleien*, *slain*. In MnE, the *ai* of the pret. partic. was extended to the infin., and the *ow* of the pret. underwent the usual analogical change into *ew*. The archaic forms *slee* = *slea*, pret. *slue* still lingered in Early MnE.

Vowel-change (ou . . . uw . . . ou-n).

694. **blow**; **blew**; **blown**, **blowed**. OE strong I *blāwan* 'blow' (of wind), *blēow*, *blāwen* and *blōwan* 'bloom,' *blēow*, *blōwen*. ME *blōwen*, *blēw*, *blōwen* and *blōwen*, *blēw*, *blōwen*.

695. **crow**; **crew**, **crowed**; †**crow**, **crowed**. OE strong I *crāwan*, *crēow*, *crāwen*. **grow**, **grew**, **grown**; **know**, **knew**, **known** from OE strong I *grōwan*, *cnāwan*.

Vowel-change (o . . . uw . . . o-n).

696. **draw**; **drew**; **drawn**. OE strong II *dragan*; *drōg*, *drōh*; *dragen*.

MIXED VERBS.

697. There are several verbs which have a strong pret. partic. in *-en* with a regular consonantal pret. Some of these are old strong verbs which have become partially consonantal; but others are weak verbs which have taken the partic. ending *-en* by the influence of old strong verbs which they happen to resemble. In the following list the latter class are marked †.

698. **go**; **went**; **gone**. OE strong I *gān*, *gangan*; *gēong*, *ēode* (weak); *gegān*, *gegāgen*. ME *gē(n)*, *gange(n)*; *yōde*, *wente*; *gē(n)*, *gāgen*. In ME the longer form *gang* was gradually restricted to the Northern dialect. The curtailed Southern pret. partic. *gē* is still preserved in the adverb *ago* = OE *āgān* 'passed' (of time).

699. **grave**, **graved**; **graven**, **graved**. OE strong II *grafan*, *grōf*, *grafen*.

700. **hew**; **hewed**; **hewn**, **hewed**. OE strong I *hēawan*, *hēow*, *hēawen*.

701. †**lade**, **load**; †**laded**, **loaded**; **laden**, †**laded**, †**loaden**, **loaded**. OE strong II *hladan*, *hlōd*, *hlāden*, *hlāden*. The MnE change of *lade* into *load* is through the influence of the noun *load*, ME *lōde* = OE *lād* (fem.) 'leading,' 'way,' connected with *lādan* 'lead,' which had also the meaning

'carry,' so that in ME *lȳde* came to mean 'load,' and was at last confused with the verb *lāden*.

702. **melt**; **melted**; **molten**, **melted**. OE strong III *meltan*. *molten* is now used only as an adjective.

703. **mow**; **mowed**; **mown**, **mowed**. OE strong I *māwan*, *mēow*, *māwen*.

704. **rive**; **rived**; **riven**, **rived**. ME strong VI *rīven*, *rōf*, *riven* from the Scandinavian *rīfa*.

705. †**saw**; **sawed**; **sawn**, **sawed**. ME weak *saw(i)en*. MnE *sawn* by the analogy of *drawn*.

706. **shape**; **shaped**; **shapen**, **shaped**. OE strong II j-verb *scieppan*, *scyppan* (*scēppan*); *scōp*; *scāpen*, *scāpen*. In ME this verb was influenced by the Scandinavian verb *skapa*, *skōp*.

707. **shave**; **shaved**; **shaven**, **shaved**. OE strong II *scāfan*, *scōf*, *scāfen*.

708. †**show**; **showed**; **shown**, **showed**. OE weak *sēawian*, *sēawode* 'survey,' 'look at.' ME *schēw(i)en*, *schēwien*, Northern *schaw*. Early MnE *shew* and *show*. *shown* by the analogy of *known*, etc.

709. **sow**; **sowed**; **sown**, **sowed**. OE strong I *sāwan*, *sēow*, *sāwen*.

710. †**strew**; **strewed**; **strewn**, **strewed**. OE weak *strēwian*, *streowian*. ME *strewen*, *strēwen*, *strawen*. *strewn* by the analogy of *hewn*.

711. **swell**; **swelled**; **swollen**, **swelled**. OE strong III *swellan*.

ISOLATED FORMS.

712. Some obsolete verbs occur only in isolated forms, namely *quoth*, *hight*, *iclept*, *wont*.

713. **quoth**. OE strong V *cwēpan*, *cwāp*, *cwēdon*,

geweden 'say.' In ME the strong consonant of the infin. was kept throughout: *cwēpan*, *cwāp*, *icwēpan*; so also *bicwēpan* 'bequeath,' which in MnE is consonantal—*bequeathed*. In Late ME the simple *cwēpan* was gradually disused except in the pret. sing. As *cwāp* was often unstressed in such combinations as *cwāp hē*, it developed a weak form *cwod*, *quod* through the regular rounding of unstressed *a* into *o* after a lip-consonant, as in OE *Ōswold* = earlier *Ōswald*. The explanation of the *d* is that *cwāp hē* etc. were made into (*kwaʔee*) which became (*kwað'ee*, *kwoð'ee*); and when (*kwoð*) was detached and received strong stress—as it naturally would—the final (*ð*), being an unfamiliar sound in strong syllables, was changed into (*d*). The form *quoth* is a blending of strong *quath* and weak *quod*.

714. **hight** 'is named, called,' 'was called,' ME *highte* is a blending of the OE passive form *hätte* (478) and *hēht*, the active pret. of the same verb *hātan*.

715. **iclept** = ME *iclēped*, OE *gēcleopod* 'called' the pret. partic. of the weak verb *cleopian*, *clīpian*.

716. **wont** 'accustomed' = OE *gewunod*, pret. partic. of the weak verb *gewunian* [*gewuna* 'custom,' 'habit.']

ANOMALOUS VERBS.

717. Most of the MnE verbs that we class as anomalous are old preterite-present verbs. Two of these preterite-present verbs—*dare* and *owe* = OE *dearr*, *āg*—have been made regular in certain meanings. The original inflections of these verbs have been much curtailed in MnE, most of them having only the inflections of the finite present and preterite. The only one which has an infin. is *dare*, which seems to have taken it from the regularly inflected verb *dare*. Two of

the old preterite-present verbs—*must* and *ought*—occur now only in the OE preterite forms, which have taken the place of the OE present *mōt* and *āg*, so that these verbs are incapable of marking the distinction between pres. and pret.

718. can, canst; could, couldst. OE *cann, canst*, plur. *cunnon*; pret. *cūpe*; infin. *cunnan* 'know.' ME *can, canst*, plur. *cōnnen, can*; *coupe, coude*; infin. *cōnnen. coude* probably owes its *d* to the influence of *wolde* and *scholde* (723, 724). In Early MnE *coud(e)* it was made into *could* on the analogy of *should* and *would*=OE *scōlde, wolde*.

719. dare, darest, (he) dare, †dares; durst; infin. dare. OE *dearr, dearst, durrōn; dorste*; ME *dar, dār* (as in the pret. *bār*), *darst; dorste, durste* with the *u* of OE *durrōn*; infin. *durren, dāren*, of which the former represents the probable OE infin. *durran*, the latter being a new-formation from *dār*. In MnE *dare* in the transitive sense of 'challenge' has become quite regular: *he dared him to do it*. The intransitive pres. partic. *daring* is used only as an adjective.

720. may, mayst; might, mightst. OE *mæg, þū meahht (mæht), miht*, plur. *magon*; pret. *meahhte (mæhte) mihte* 'be able.' [Compare *māgen, meahht, miht* 'power,' 'force.'] The ME forms seem to have been influenced by another OE preterite-present verb of similar meaning, namely *dēag, dēah* 'avail' plur. *dugon*; pret. *dohte*; infin. *dugan*. The ME forms are: *mai, miht*, and, very late, *mayst*, plur. *mawen, mutwen, moun*; pret. *mahte, mihte, mohte*.

721. †mote (muot); must. OE *mōt, mōst, mōton; mōste* 'may.' ME *mōt, mōst, mōten; mōste*. The pres. survived only as an archaism in Early MnE: *as fair as fair mote be* (Spenser). Already in ME the pret. was used in the sense of the pres., and in Early MnE this usage became

fixed. It began with the use of the pret. subj.—which was practically indistinguishable from the pret. indic.—to express mild command, so that *þou mōste*= 'you would be able,' 'you might' was understood to mean 'you will have to,' 'you must.' The vowel of *mōste* passed through (uu) into (u) in Early MnE, the shortening having probably begun in the weak form.

722. (owē); ought. OE *āg, āh, þū āht, aht*, plur. *āgon*; pret. *āhte, ahte*; infin. *āgan* 'possess.' The adjective *āgen* 'own' is an old pret. partic. of this verb. From *āgen* is formed the weak verb *āgnian*, 'appropriate,' 'possess.' In Early ME *ahte* developed regularly into *a(u)hte*, but afterwards *ȳ* was introduced from the infin. etc., giving *ȳ(u)hte*. In ME *ȳwen* in the sense of 'possess' soon took regular weak inflection—*ȳwe, wē ȳweb*, etc.—still keeping the older *ȳuhte* as its pret. The meaning 'possess' gradually developed into that of 'have a debt,' 'owe,' which, again, developed the abstract meaning 'ought,' especially in the pret., which by degrees took the function of a pres. in the same way as *must* (721).

723. shall, shalt; should, shouldst. OE *sēal (sēal), sēalt (sēalt), scūlon; scolde*, Northumbrian *sēalde* by the analogy of *walde* (724)=*wolde*. ME *shal, schalt, schulen, schullen* (by the analogy of *willen*); *scholde, schulde* (by the influence of *schulen*).

724. will, wilt; would, wouldst; imper. will. This verb was in OE originally a strong subjunctive preterite, with which pres. indic. forms were afterwards mixed: *wile, wille, willt, willap*; *wolde, walde* (originally weak?); infin. *willan*. In OE this verb has, together with several other verbs in very frequent use, special **negative** forms, the result of contraction with a preceding *ne* 'not': *ic nyle, þū nyllt, hē nyle, wē nyllap*;

nolde, etc. One of these negative forms is still preserved in the phrase *willy nilly*, Early MnE *will he, nill he*=OE *wile hē, nyle hē*. The ME forms are: *wile, wōle, willt, wōlt, willeþ, willen, wōllen; wolde, walde, wōlde*, whose (u) is the result of the influence of the pres. forms *wōle*, etc., which were probably at first weak forms, in which the *w* rounded the following vowel and gradually assimilated it to itself.

725. †wot; †wist. OE *wāt, wāst, witon; wiste; witan; witende*. The adjective *gewiss* 'certain' is an old pret. partic. of this verb. ME *wōt, wōst, witen*; infin. *witen*; pres. partic. *witinge*. In Early MnE *wot* was sometimes made the base of a regular verb: *he wotteth, wots*, pret. *wotted*, pres. partic. *wotting*. The old pres. partic. still survives in the adverb *unwittingly*, and the infin. in the adverb phrase *to wit*=viz.

The ME adjective *iwis*=OE *gewiss* has in MnE been often wrongly divided *i wis*, as if it were the pronoun *I* with a verb equivalent to *wot*, a view which has been further supported in recent times by the chance resemblance of the Modern German equivalent of *wot*, namely *weiss*, plur. *wissen*.

726. need. This verb agrees with the preterite-present verbs in having no *s*-inflection. The loss of the *s*—which seems to have begun in the transition from ME to MnE—is apparently partly the result of similarity of meaning to that of the preterite-present verbs; but the absence of the inflectional *s* is partly due to the verb *need* 'require' being formed directly from the noun *need* through the ambiguity of such sentences as Early MnE *what need all this waste?*

We now come to the anomalous auxiliary verbs *be, have, do*.

727. The verb *be* in OE is made up of three distinct roots; that seen in (a) *is, are*, (b) *was*, and (c) *be* :—

	Indic.	Subj.
Pres. Sing. 1	<i>eom (eam); bēo</i>	<i>sīe, sȳ; bēo</i>
2	<i>eart (earþ); bist</i>	<i>sīe, sȳ; bēo</i>
3	<i>is; biþ</i>	<i>sīe, sȳ; bēo</i>
Plur.	<i>sind, sindon (earon); bēoþ</i>	<i>sien, sȳn; bēon</i>
Pret. Sing. 1	<i>wes</i>	<i>wære</i>
2	<i>wære</i>	<i>wære</i>
3	<i>was</i>	<i>wære</i>
Plur.	<i>wæron</i>	<i>wæren</i>
Imper. Sing.	<i>wes; bēo</i>	Infin. <i>wesan; bēon</i>
Plur.	<i>wesap; bēoþ</i>	Gerund <i>tō wesenne; tō bēonne</i>
	Partic. Pres. <i>wesende</i>	

728. The *ea* in *eart* and the Anglian *eam, earon* is a weakening of *eo* (368), preserved in the West-Saxon *eom* and the occasional *eort, eorum*. In Late Northumbrian this *ea* undergoes the usual further weakening into *a*: *am, arþ, aron*.

729. The Standard ME forms are: *am, art, is, bē(n)*; subj. *bē, bē(n)*; pret. *was, wǣr(e), was, wǣre(n)*; pret. subj., *wǣr(e), wǣre(n)*; imper. *bē, bēþ*; infin. *bē(n)*; participles *bēinge, bē(n)*. The ME pret. partic. is, of course, an analogical new-formation. The North-Thames plur. *ar(n)* is still rare in Standard ME, but is firmly established in Early MnE, which inflects: *am, art, is, are*; subj. *be*; pret. *was, wast, wert*, plur. *were*; subj. pret. *were, wert, were*; infin. *be*; partic. *being, been*. The use of *be* in the pres. indic. is still kept up in Early MnE: *I be, thou beest, they be*, etc.; the form *he bes* is, however, very rare. There is in MnE a tendency to get rid of the distinctively subjunctive inflections

of this verb not only by using *thou beest* as if it were a subjunctive—*if thou beest = if thou be*—but also by substituting *if I was* for *if I were*, etc. *was = were* was frequent in the last century not only as a subjunctive, but also in the indic. *you was*. In the present Spoken English the distinction between *was* and *were* is strictly maintained, the substitution of *was* for *were* being a vulgarism. The subj. pres. is, on the other hand, extinct in the spoken language, except in a few phrases.

730. have. The OE inflections resemble those of *libban* (506): *hæbbe, hafast, hæfst, hafap, hæfp*, plur. *habbap*; subj. *hæbbe, hæbben*; pret. *hæfde*; imper. *hafa, habbap*; infin. *habban*; partic. *hæbbende, gehæfd*. In ME the old *bb* was gradually supplanted by the *v = OE f* of the other forms, the *v* itself being often dropped by contraction. The Standard ME forms are: *hāve*, weak *hav, hast, hap*, plur. *hāve(n), hān, han*; pret. *hadde*; pret. partic. *had*. In ME the weak short-vowel forms gradually supplanted the long-vowel ones; but we keep the long-vowel forms in the derivative *behave*, pret. *behaved = ME behāven*. The MnE literary forms are: *have, hast, hath, has* plur. *have*; subj. pres. *have*; pret. indic. *had, hadst*; pret. subj. *had*; imper. and infin. *have*; partic. *having, had*. Early MnE still kept the shortened infin. *ha, a = ME han: she might a been* (Shakespeare).

731. do. OE *dō, dēst (dāst), dōþ (dāþ)*, plur. *dōþ*; pret. weak *dyde*; imper. *dō, dōþ*; infin. *dōn*; partic. *dōnde, gedōn*. The mutation in *dēst, dōþ* is common to all the dialects. In Standard ME the *ō* of the other parts of the verb supplanted the older *ē*: *dō, dōst, dōþ*, plur. *dōn*; *dide*; imper. *dō, dōþ*; partic. *dōinge dō(n)*. In MnE (uu) = ME *ō*.

PARTICLES.

732. All the OE particles are either **primary** or **secondary**. The secondary particles are formed from other (declinable) parts of speech; thus *hām* in *hē ēode hām* 'he went home' is formed from the masc. noun *hām* 'home,' 'homestead.' Primary particles, such as *be* 'by,' *swā* 'so' are not formed from other parts of speech. There is no strict division between the three classes of particles, most of the prepositions being used also as adverbs, some adverbs being used also as conjunctions. Thus *ær* is a preposition in *ær dæge* 'before day(break),' an adverb in *hē efl was pāpa swā hē ær was* 'he was pope again as he was before,' and a conjunction in *ær þæt flōd cōm* 'before the flood came.'

733. Some of the particles are **simple**, some **derivative**, such as *uf-an* 'above,' some **compound** (group-compounds), such as *be-neoþan* 'beneath,' which is compounded with the preposition *be*. The above are primary adverbs. Secondary particles also admit of the same divisions, such as *hām, sōþlice* 'truly,' *ealne-weg* 'always,' literally 'all (the) way.'

Adverb-endings.

734. In OE, adverbs are regularly formed from adjectives by adding *-e*, a preceding *æ* being generally changed to *a*: *dēope* 'deeply,' *hearde* 'strongly,' 'severely,' *nearwe* 'narrowly,' *late* 'slowly,' 'with delay' from *dēop, heard* 'hard,' 'strong,' 'severe,' *nearu, lat* 'slow.' Adjectives with a mutated vowel often have an unmutated vowel in the adverb, as in *sōfte* 'gently,' 'luxuriously,' *swōte* 'sweetly' corresponding to the adjectives *sēfte (sāfte), swēle (swāle)*. The numerous adjec-